

1. LETTER TO ABBAS TYABJI

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
May 2, 1928

MY DEAR BHRRR,

You were right in your surmise about absence of any letter from me.¹ God is great and good and even merciful.

I am following the events in Bardoli. Every word of what you say is well deserved by Vallabhbhai. Don't flatter yourself with the belief that if the Government invite you as their guest, they will house you at Sabarmati. The Ashram is too near for the Sabarmati guest house.²

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 9563

2. NECESSITY OF DISCIPLINE

Some workers in the Khadi Service write :³

Here there is an obvious confusion of ideals. Distorted notions of superiority and inferiority have given rise to indiscipline in almost all the national organizations. Many people think that to abolish distinctions of rank means passport to anarchy and licence. Whereas the meaning of abolition of distinctions should be perfect discipline,—perfect because of voluntary obedience to the laws of the organization to which we may belong, i.e., the laws of our being. For man is himself a wonderful organization and what applies to him applies to the social or political organizations of which he may be a member. And even as though the different members of the body are

¹ Following the death of Maganlal Gandhi, Gandhiji had not sent any letter to the addressee.

² Abbas Tyabji who was at the time assisting Vallabhbhai Patel in the Bardoli struggle had, while giving an account of the arrest and trial of Ravishanker, mentioned the possibility of his own arrest.

³ The letter is not reproduced here. The workers had complained that though they were required to attend Khadi Office punctually the Secretary himself was not punctual. They had asked: “. . . Why should this inferiority and superiority prevail among workers in the same field?”

not inferior to any, they are voluntarily subject to the control of the mind, whilst the body is in a healthy state, so have the members of an organization, whilst none is superior or inferior to any other, to be voluntarily subject to the mind of the organization which is the head. An organization which has no directing mind or which has no members co-operating with the mind suffers from paralysis and is in a dying condition.

The correspondents who have signed the letter I have reproduced to not realize that if they do not accept the elementary discipline involved in giving regular attendance, that Khadi Office of which they are members cannot work profitably to its purpose, i.e., service of *Daridranarayana*. Let them realize that the voluntary discipline of a khadi office should be much stricter than the compulsory discipline of a Government office. If the chief of the Khadi Office concerned does not attend always in time, it is highly likely that he is engaged in khadi work even when he is not at his office. For whilst the staff has fairly regular hours the chief has no hours of recreation. If he is honest and realizes the responsibilities of his high office, he has to work day and night in order to make khadi what it should be. It is one thing to come into a going concern, totally another to enter a newly-formed organization intended to be the largest of its kind in the world. Such an organization requires the vigilant, intelligent and honest watch not of one worker but of thousands. These workers have to come into being by belonging to the existing organizations and imposing on themselves the hardest discipline of which they way be capable.

Young India, 3-5-1928

3. THANKS

Friends from far and near have overwhelmed me with their kind messages in what has been to me the greatest trial of my life. It was foolish of me but it is nevertheless true that I had never contemplated Maganlal Gandhi's death before mine. The cables, telegrams and letters I have received from individuals, associations and Congress Committees have been a great solace to me. The senders will forgive me for not making personal acknowledgments. I assure them all that I shall try to become worthy of the affection they have bestowed upon me and of the silent devotion with which Maganlal Gandhi served the ideals he held in common with me.

M. K. G.

Young India, 3-5-1928

4. LETTER TO VIRUMAL BEGRAJ

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
May 4, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. You do not want me to answer your questions as a lawyer; for my law may not be accepted. But as a layman, it seems to me that neither the Bava nor his widow nor the Brahmin in the other case have any right to the properties mentioned by you and held under the circumstances described by you.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. VIRUMAL HEGRAJ
"SINDHI" OFFICE
SUKKUR

From a microfilm: S.N. 13214

5. LETTER TO P. T. PILLAY

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
May 4, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I do not consider the burning of *Manusmriti* to be on a par with the burning of foreign cloth. Burning of foreign cloth is like burning a thing that is injurious; but the burning of *Manusmriti* is at best like the burning of an advertisement for foreign cloth showing nothing but childish rage. Moreover, I do not regard *Manusmriti* as an evil. It contains much that is admirable, but in its present form it undoubtedly contains many things that are bad and these appear to be interpolations. Whilst a reformer would therefore treasure all excellent things in that ancient code, he would expurgate all that is injurious or of doubtful value.

If we are to attain swaraj by effort from within, I do consider removal of untouchability like achieving Hindu-Muslim unity as a condition precedent to the attainment of swaraj. But when the English rulers resist the demand for swaraj because we have not attained fully removal of untouchability, I regard their resistance as hypocritical and illegitimate.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. P. TIRUKOOTASUNDARAM PILLAY
SINDUPPONDURAI
TINNEVELLY

From a microfilm: S.N. 13211

6. LETTER TO L. CRANNA

[May 4, 1928]¹

The reference to me in the last paragraph of your letter, I am grieved to say, is a fabrication from beginning to end.² I should be sorry to learn that the Dean of Bristol had indeed spoken as reported.

L. CRANNA, ESQ.

C/O Y.M.C.A.

SINGAPORE

From a photostat: S.N. 14345

7. LETTER TO HARIBHAU UPADHYAYA

Vaisakha 15, May 4, 1928

BHAI HARIBHAU,

I shall see Punjabhai with regard to Raichandbhai's writings. Yes, do translate Mr. Gregg's book³ into Hindi. There is little hope of getting any funds from Charkha Sangh in this connection. The article on khadi in C.P. will appear in *Navajivan*. I shall try to give a synopsis in *Young India*.⁴

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI HARIBHAU

KHADI KARYALAYA

AJMER

From Hindi: C.W. 6059. Courtesy: Haribhau Upadhyaya

¹ This was an enclosure to "Letter to L. Cranna", 13-7-1928. The addressee in his letter of May 18 had referred to it as of this date.

² Cranna had earlier sent Gandhiji a letter addressed to "Sustaining Members" enclosing a cutting from *Central Christian Advocate*, which read :

"A friend of mine, said the Dean of Bristol, lately, 'told me recently a striking story of Mr. Gandhi. After one of his foreign tours as a champion of Indian interests, he was received by a tremendous meeting of people in Calcutta. He was the popular hero of the day and the place was crowded with, I think, 15,000 Bengalees who had come to welcome him. My friend was the one Englishman present. For three hours the orators of Bengal spoke in praise of themselves and Mr. Gandhi: and then came the great moment, when Mr. Gandhi rose and all this vast assembly settled themselves on their haunches waiting for their great orator to speak. His speech consisted of one sentence, and one sentence only: 'The man to whom I owe most and to whom all India owes most is a man who never set his foot in India—and that was Christ.' And then he sat down."

Cranna had asked: "Has this your confirmation?"

³ *Economics of Khaddar*

⁴ An article by Mahadev Desai appeared in *Hindi Navajivan*, 10-5-1928, and a summary by Haribhau Upadhyaya in *Young India*, 9-8-1928, under the title "Khadi in Central India".

8. INDULGENCE IN THE NAME OF DEVOTION

Thanks to Shri Jaydayalji Goenka, an attempt is nowadays being made to create a spirit of devotion in the Marwari society. With this object in view *bhajan* groups have been formed and *bhajan bhavans*¹ are also being run. One such *bhavan* called Govind Bhavan has been started in Calcutta. At Shri Jaydayalji's instance, a certain gentleman was put in charge of it. He indulged in debauchery in the name of devotion. He accepted puja from women; women regarded him as God and worshipped him; he gave them his left-overs to eat and debauched them. The simple-hearted women believed that having physical relations with one who had attained self-realization could not be regarded as sinful.

Although the incident is painful, it does not surprise me. All around us we find people who gratify their lust under the guise of devotion. And so long as the essence of devotion is not understood, is it surprising that robberies are committed in the name of religion? It would be surprising if false devotees did not bring evil.

I am a votary of Ramanama and the *dwadashamantra* but my worship is not blind. For anyone who is truthful, Ramanama is like a ship. But I do not believe that anyone who repeats Ramanama hypocritically is saved by it. Instances are cited of Ajamil and others; they are poetical creations and even there there is a hidden meaning. Purity of sentiments has been attributed to them. Anyone believing that Ramanama would calm his passions is rewarded by repeating it and is saved. The hypocrite repeating Ramanama in pursuit of his passions is not saved but is doomed—

“A person will meet the fate conforming with his sentiment.”

Devotees should bear two things in mind :

One, that devotion does not merely consist in repeating the name but also in sacrificial activity that must constantly go with it. There is a belief nowadays that worldly activities have no connection with dharma or devotion. This is untrue. The truth is that all activities in this world are related to dharma or *adharma*. The carpenter who practises his trade merely in order to earn a living, steals wood and spoils his work is guilty of *adharma*. Another practises his trade for the good of others, say, for making a bed for a sick person, does not

¹ Institutions for *bhajans*

commit any theft and works to the best of his abilities and repeats Ramanama while working. This constitutes work done in pursuit of dharma. This carpenter is a true devotee of Rama. A third carpenter, whether deliberately or through ignorance, gives up his trade in order to repeat Ramanama, begs for himself and his children, and if asked to make something for a sick person says: "For me there is only Rama. I would know no sick man and no happy man." This carpenter is a degraded creature fallen into the well of ignorance.

Man does not pray to God through speech alone but through thought, word and deed. If any one of these three aspects is missing, there is no devotion. A fusion of these three is like a chemical compound. In the case of the latter, if a single ingredient is not present in its proper proportion, the expected result does not follow. The devotees of today appear to think that the limits of devotion are reached in the use of beautiful language and hence ceasing to be devotees become mere rakes and corrupt others too.

In the second place, how and where should man, who has a physical form, worship God? He is omnipresent. Hence the best and most understandable place where He can be worshipped is a living creature. The service of the distressed, the crippled and the helpless among living things constitutes worship of God. The repetition of Ramanama is also meant to help us learn to do so. If Ramanama does not thus result in service, it is both futile and a sort of bondage, as it proved in the case of the man in Govind Bhavan. Let this instance serve as a warning to all devotees.

Now a few words to the women. The man who makes others worship him necessarily becomes depraved; but why should the women become so? If they must worship human beings, why should they not worship an ideal woman? Moreover, why worship any living being? The saying of the learned Solon is worthy of being carved in one's heart—"No man can be called good while he is alive."¹ Those who were good one day have become wicked the following day. Moreover, we cannot even spot hypocrites. Hence God alone should be worshipped. If a human being has to be worshipped he should be worshipped only after his death. This is so because after his death we worship only his virtues, not his physical form. It is necessary that men repeatedly, insistently and courteously point this out to our gullible sisters.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 6-5-1928

¹ The saying attributed to Solon, however, is: "Call no man happy till he be dead."

9. LETTER TO MANILAL AND SUSHILA
GANDHI

Silence Day, May 7, 1928

CHI. MANILAL AND SUSHILA,

What shall I write to you this time? There has been no change at all in my routine work, nor do I think constantly about any particular matter, and yet I feel that a change has come over my life these days. Imperceptibly and involuntarily, a struggle is going on within me. Maganlal's soul rules over my heart. The thought of his death fills me with a kind of happiness. Ba, I and all of us had always believed that I would die first. Had it happened so, I feel, as I see the unmanageable growth of our activities, that he would have been crushed by their weight. We are all thinking how to limit them. I do not know if any of us will be able to cope with the work. But I put my trust in God. He who has steered the ship so far will steer it in future too. No matter if Maganlal has died or others die. All of us will die but the truth which we have thought and lived will never die.

I don't think I can write to the others today.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4737

10. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

May 7, 1928

CHI. MIRA,

I have your letter. I hope you are properly fixed up now. Anyway you will insist on finding for yourself the comfort your health way demand.

I have carefully gone through the revised translation. It is very good.

You should occasionally go to Vallabhbhai's meetings if he desires.

Love.

BAPU

PS.

Surendra took charge of the tannery yesterday.

SHRIMIRABEHN
SWARAJ ASHRAM
BARDOLI
Via SURAT

From the original: C.W. 5301. Courtesy: Mirabehn

11. LETTER TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA

May 7, 1928

CHI. BRIJKRISHNA,

Your letter. Hip-baths should not be given up. Yes, do go to Almora. Stick to the same diet as in Delhi, but there is no harm in eating more if you have the appetite.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2357

12. LETTER TO MOTILAL NEHRU

THE ASHRAM,

SABARMATI,

May 8, 1928

DEAR MOTILALJI,

I have your letter. As I have no power in me to resist you, I have sent you just now a wire¹ saying I would be in Bombay as desired by you. But as I have said in my wire, I have really no confidence in myself to render active service at the present moment. My views are like that of a mad man. Here, Maganlal's death has cast upon me a tremendous burden; but it is a task which pleases me and which, if I can consolidate, is likely to be of great service to the country if not now certainly in the near future. And to tear myself away from that work even for a day in the vain hope of doing something in Bombay is not a pleasant contemplation. But unless you countermand your orders, you will find me in Bombay on 16th.²

If none of these big political bodies which you mention want a constitution for swaraj, what can we do? We won't be able to force the situation; for we have not the ability to carry things by storm.

I have no faith in a legislative solution of the communal

¹ This is not available.

² In his letter of May 3, Motilal Nehru had written: "Dr. Ansari has instructed Jawahar to call a meeting of the Working Committee on the 16th May. . . . It will be for the Working Committee to go thoroughly into the various aspects of the situation and fully make up its mind as to what is in the best interest of the country to do at the present moment. When we have so made up our minds we can press our views on the all-Parties or some-Parties Conference whatever it is going to be with confidence born of conviction. . . . I simply want you to be in Bombay, while these meetings are being held, to be accessible to those who might wish to consult you."

question. And who will listen to my drastic views on almost every matter? But apart from my views, will it be good statesmanship to have the meeting in Bombay unless we can be sure of a representative attendance? It might be as well to ascertain beforehand whether those whom we would like to attend the meeting would do so or not, and, in the event of negative replies, to convene a meeting of the Working Committee only to decide upon the future programme. I throw out this suggestion for what it is worth. As I am not *au fait* with the full situation, I know that my opinion should not carry much weight. You must be the sole judge.

Of mills when we meet.

Yours sincerely,

PANDIT MOTILAL NEHRU

ANAND BHAVAN

ALLAHABAD

From a photostat: S.N. 13218

13. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

[May 9, 1928]¹

CHI. MIRA,

Your letter. Never mind the cold bath if you took all the precautions after. The bath in the circumstances you mentioned was almost inevitable. In future it is better to remember that a sponge in such circumstances is better. Tell Pyarelal to write to me. Chhotelal has taken up his work.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 5302. Courtesy: Mirabehn

14. MILL-CLOTH v. KHADI

A friend writes in effect :

Several Congressmen are nowadays advocating the use of indigenous mill-cloth side by side with khadi. There is a movement to give mill-cloth a place in Congress khadi shops. Will you not give your clear opinion on this point? I know what it is but all Congress workers do not. They would like to have your guidance especially in view of your recent articles on the part the indigenous mills may play in the boycott movement.

The Congress resolutions on khadi are unequivocal. For those therefore who wish to respect them there is no course open but to

¹ From the postmark

avoid the use of cloth manufactured in our mills. But in these days of growing anarchy, it is idle to quote Congress resolutions either to support or to oppose particular conduct on the part of Congressmen.

Let us therefore re-examine the question of Congressmen optionally using indigenous mill-cloth in the place of foreign cloth, or hawking such mill-cloth. We know the experience of Bengal. The swadeshi movement of Bengal during the partition days suffered a check because of the greed and dishonesty of mill-owners. They inflated prices and even sold foreign cloth in the name of swadeshi. There is no warrant for the belief that they would behave better on this occasion. Indeed the facts about spurious khadi that I have brought to light show that the mills will not be slow to exploit the swadeshi spirit for their own benefit as opposed to the larger benefit of the consumer.

But even if the mills were to play the game, Congressmen will not need to use mill-cloth or to advertise it. The mills playing the game means their advertising and selling khadi, their assimilation of the khadi, spirit, their recognition of the predominance of khadi over mill-cloth.

It must be definitely realized that mills alone, even if they wished, cannot in our generation displace foreign cloth. Therefore there be in the country an agency that would devote its attention, so far as boycott of foreign cloth is concerned, exclusively to khadi propaganda. That agency has been the Congress since 1920. Khadi production and khadi propaganda act at once as a check upon the greed of mills and also, strange as it may appear, as an indirect but very effective encouragement to mills in their struggle against foreign competition. Exclusive devotion to khadi on the part of Congressmen enables khadi to find a foothold and enables mills effectively to carry on their operations where the Congress has as yet no influence worth the name. Hence it is that the mills have never resented the khadi propaganda. On the contrary many of their agents have assured me that they have benefited by the khadi propaganda inasmuch as it has created an anti-foreign-cloth atmosphere enabling them to sell their comparatively coarser-count cloth. Stop exclusive khadi propaganda, play with mill-cloth and you kill khadi and in the long run you kill even mill-cloth, for it cannot by itself stand foreign competition. In a competition between indigenous and foreign mills the one disturbing factor of healthy mass sentiment will be wholly wanting, if there was no khadi spirit.

Last but not least the inestimable value of khadi consists in its

capacity for tremendous mass education, mass uplift and substantial relief of growing starvation. Whereas mill-cloth affords no work and no financial help to the masses, every yard of khadi means so much work and money to the masses who are being doubly ruined for want of work and wages. Therefore for every patriotic lover of the country there is no escape from exclusive use of and propaganda of khadi.

Young India, 10-5-1928

15. MORE OF MILL-OWNERS' CREED

The figures I gave the other day of spurious khadi manufactured by our mills were for nine months only.¹ I have now obtained them for ten months. Here are the magic figures :

Figures of the Production of Khadi, Dungri or Khaddar for Ten Months, April to January :

	1925-26	1926-27	1927-28
Lb.	2,58,22,442	3,11,95,169	3,70,36,206
Yards	7,32,44,238	8,54,31,611	10,30,61,072

This shows that they manufactured one crore yards for month, meaning at least 20 lakhs of rupees worth of khadi per month. This means a year's output of genuine khadi. This is taking money directly out of the mouths of the poor people through a movement that was designed for helping the starving millions. Baseness could go no further. The mill-owners could have served the country if they had made common cause with khadi and helped it directly instead of trying to kill it by unfair and dishonest competition. Their action is on a par with of marchants who sell to a gullible public artificial ghee claiming it as genuine product. Like the Government they have traded on the ignorance of the people and like all their predecessors in kind they will find, if they do not retrace their steps that they played the trick once too often. It is possible to fool some people for all times but it is not possible to fool all the people all the time. It should not be necessary for capital to be dishonest for its growth.

Young India, 10-5-1928

¹ *Vide* "A Mill-owner on Boycott", 5-4-1928.

16. DEADLY MARCH OF CIVILIZATION (?)

“Although at the time of writing (1917) foreign cloths are being imported to a certain extent into the Shan States, it is the custom for all Shan women to weave cloth for their own garments and those of their families. . . . The cotton from which the cloths are made is grown locally and prepared by the women. . . . In Shan villages nearly every house has a loom made sometimes of bamboo, sometimes of heavy wood, and generally kept on the ground in the open space beneath the living rooms. The raw cotton is prepared by drying the balls in the sun, extracting the seeds by passing them through the usual small two-roller gin and then opening it out by catching the partly cleaned cotton up from the revolving basket in which it is placed, by means of an instrument shaped like the bow of a violoncello. After the cotton fibres have been separated in this way they are made into slivers and wound round a stick about 8 in. long and $\frac{3}{4}$ in. thick, from which the cotton is converted into thread by a form of spinning jenny.” From *Burmese Textile* from the Shan and Cachin Dt. . . . Notes from Bankfield Museum, by Laura E. Start 1917.

But for the hypnotic spell under which the intoxicating education of our times drives us to live, we would consider it a sacrilege to deprive people of their own existing honourable occupation in the distant, vague and often hope of bettering their fleeting material condition. If civilization means change of form merely without regard to substance it is an article of doubtful value. And yet that is what the foregoing paragraph sent by Sjt. Balaji Rao means. Under the guise of the civilizing influence of commerce the innocent people of Burma are being impoverished and reduced to the condition of cattle. As Sjt. Madhusudan Das has pointed out, people who merely work with cattle and forget the cunning of the hand by giving up handicrafts are impoverished not only in body but also in mind.

Young India, 10-5-1928

17. LETTER TO BEHRAMJI KHAMBHATTA

May 10, 1928

BHAISHRI KHAMBHATTA,

I have your letter. I have already written to you in reply to your telegram. Do not grieve about your son Jal. His soul is immortal. It was, moreover, a highly advanced soul and, therefore, you may be

sure he is happy wherever he is now. If we suffer it is because of our selfish attachment to transitory things. Improve your health if you can. I do not know anyone connected with Kuhne. If you find his place, he will do for you what he does for others. You can of course make use of my ordinary letters.

To both of you,

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 7540

18. LETTER TO MRS. E. BJERRUM

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
May 11, 1928¹

I must try to answer your questions today.

What you say about prayer at the Ashram is largely true. It is still a formal thing, soulless; but I continue it in the hope of it becoming a soulful thing. Human nature is much the same whether in the East or in the West. It does not therefore surprise me that you have not found anything special about prayers in the East and probably the Ashram prayer is a hotchpot of something Eastern and something Western. As I have no prejudice against taking anything good from the West or against giving up anything bad in the East, there is an unconscious blending of the two. For a congregational life a congregational prayer is a necessity and, therefore, form also is necessary. It need not be considered on that account to be hypocritical or harmful. If the leader at such congregational prayer meetings is a good man the general level of the meeting is also good. The spiritual effect of an honest intelligent attendance at such congregational prayers is undoubtedly great. Congregational prayer is not intended to supplant individual prayer, which, as you well put it, must be heart-felt and never formal. It is there you are in tune with the Infinite. Congregational prayer is an aid to being in tune with the Infinite. For man who is a social being cannot find God unless he discharges social obligations and the obligation of coming to a common prayer meeting is perhaps the supremest. It is a cleansing

¹ It appears the letter was dictated on May 10 and dispatched the next day after revision.

process for the whole congregation. But, like all human institutions, if one does not take care, such meetings do become formal and even hypocritical. One has to devise methods of avoiding the formality and hypocrisy. In all, especially in spiritual matters, it is the personal equation that counts in the end.

The roll call is not the ordinary roll call. It is a note of the results of the daily *yajna*, that is, sacrifice. Everyone says what he has spun. Spinning has been conceived in a sacrificial spirit. The idea is to see God through service of the millions. The day must not close without every member of the congregation confessing whether he or she has or has not performed the daily sacrifice to the measure of his or her promise. It is therefore not business at the end of the prayer, but it is the finishing touch to the prayer. It is not done at the beginning of the meeting, because those who are late should have the opportunity of registering their sacrifice. Remember, too, this is a sacrifice not intended to be made in secret. It is designed to be done in the open.

In my opinion, Christianity or the message of Jesus is a response to the human want even as are the messages of Krishna, Buddha, Muhammad and Zoroaster. Though they were designed and delivered at different places and at different times, they have also a universal value. According to the needs of the time one message puts more emphasis on one thing than upon another. A man of religion will not hesitate to profit by all these messages and according to his predilection derive more comfort from one than from another.

I do believe that real art consists in seeing the hidden beauty of moral acts and effects and, therefore, much that passes for art and beauty is, perhaps, neither art nor beauty.

I think I have now answered all your quesitons. You will please remind me if I have missed any and you will not hesitate to write to me again if I am anywhere obscure or unconsciously evasive.

My love to both of you.¹

Yours sincerely,

MRS. E. BJERRUM
UNITED THEOLOGICAL COLLEGE
BANGALORE

From a photostat: S.N. 13221 and 15365

¹ *Vide* also "Interview to Mr. and Mrs. Bjerrum", before July 14, 1927.

19. LETTER TO MARY J. CAMPBELL

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
May 11, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your kind letter for which I thank you.

The only message I can think of sending to the World Convention of Temperance Women is that the sisters assembled should study the facts about every country in which temperance movement is being carried on by them and then and not till then may they expect a proper solution. For I find that many movements of reform lack this very simple foundation of facts. I take India by way of illustration. Very few temperance societies realize that total prohibition in India is impeded not by the people but the policy of the existing Government.

I thank you for your sympathy in my loss and reciprocate your wish that we may some day meet.

Yours sincerely,

MISS MARY J. CAMPBELL
DELHI

From a photostat: S.N. 13220

20. LETTER TO S. GANESAN

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
May 11, 1928

MY DEAR GANESAN,

I am asking the Manager, *Young India*, to supply you with the list you require if he has not any objection.

I see no objection to your turning the concern into a limited company if you can find sufficient friends to support you. I cannot reconcile myself to your getting a loan carrying a big interest.

What I mean by offering to take Mr. Gregg's book off your shoulders was that if it would be of any help to you I might try to have the books bought out.

Yours sinerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 13221

21. LETTER TO ANNE MARIE PETERSEN

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
May 11, 1928

MY DEAR PETERSEN,

I was glad to have your letter. I know that if you did not write it is not for want of affection but it is because of affection. I have you often in my thoughts.

Yes, Maganlal's death is a heavy blow, if I am to consider this to be a Godless universe and we a purposeless creation; but when I realize that the hand of God is in everything, the grief itself turns to joy and gives me zest for greater service, greater dedication.

Yours sincerely,

MISS MARIE PETERSEN
KODAIKANAL

From a microfilm: S.N. 13222

22. LETTER TO S. N. MITRA

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
May 11, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. The only thing I can advise the students to do is that they should at least boldly adopt khadi and spinning irrespective of cost and consequences if they would at all identify themselves with the poorest at whose expense they are being taught in Government colleges and schools.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. SACHINDRA NATH MITRA
5/2 KANTAPUKUR LANE
BAGBAZAR
CALCUTTA

From a microfilm: S.N. 13600

23. LETTER TO DEVCHAND PAREKH

May 11, 1928

BHAI DEVCHANDBHAI,

Bhai Bhagwanji was here and he told me that it would be better if an arbitrator is appointed to settle the dispute between Revashanker

and Manasukhbhai's wife. He suggests Krishnalal Jhaveri's name for the purpose, but will accept any other name which you may propose. I am sure you will agree to this proposal.

Vandemataram from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5699

24. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

May 11, 1928

CHI. MIRA,

I am glad your fever has left you. You must be strong and send me your weight. You are there under Vallabhbhai's jurisdiction. If he wants you, you may stay on and take part in the struggle to the extent desired by him. You may come whenever you like to fetch your things if you are to stay there beyond your programme as originally mapped.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 5303. Courtesy: Mirabehn

25. LETTER TO T. B. KESHAVARAO

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
May 12, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. Nothing would please me better than to dot India with model dairies and model tanneries after my conviction; but unfortunately I have not been able to convert even the existing cow societies to my view. In spite of repeated letters to them individually, they have not responded even to the extent of supplying the Secretary with the information wanted.

The monetary help received also is not much, as you can notice from *Young India*. The substantial help received has been from personal friends only, not from the general public. Every donation and yarn contribution is published periodically in the pages of *Young*

India. Both the tannery and the goshala in the Ashram are partly helped by the funds collected.

I think this deals with all your questions.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. T. B. KESHAVARAO
PRANIDAYA GNYANAPRASARAKA SANGHA
DAVANGERE, MYSORE STATE

From a microfilm: S.N. 13223; also G.N. 161

26. LETTER TO NIRANJAN SINGH¹

May 12, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. There is no objection to your publishing a Punjabi translation of “My Experiments with Truth” as long as nothing is omitted from the book.

Yours,

M. K. GANDHI

From a microfilm: S.N. 13215

27. LETTER TO MOTILAL NEHRU

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
May 12, 1928

DEAR MOTILALJI,

As every day spent at the Ashram just now is precious to me, I propose to be in Bombay not on the 16th but the 17th instant. Jawahar expects me to be in Bombay not earlier. You yourself tell me in your wire that you will be in Bombay in the afternoon of the 16th. Unless therefore you want me in Bombay on the 16th, I propose to reach there on the 17th, that is, if you do not absolve me from the obligation altogether.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 13224

¹ The addressee was Professor of Chemistry, Khalsa College, Amritsar.

28. LETTER TO SHANKARAN

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
May 12, 1928

MY DEAR SHANKARAN,

I have your letter. I am glad you have written. But you are mistaken. I do not want to turn all into Maganlals. That would be an impossible task. But I am trying to put the Ashram on a basis such that it becomes easy of management. If we have a common kitchen, it should be common to all, should it not? But there too I shall be doing nothing without the consent of the general body of the people. In any case under the present constitution I can do nothing except through the Managing Board in which I have no voice officially. That everybody still listens to me is of course true. I wish you were here whilst these changes are being made. But you are on duty. That is as good as being here.

I cannot send you to Bardoli unless I can replace you, which it is not possible to do just now.

BAPU

From a microfilm: S.N. 13225

29. LETTER TO LAJPAT RAI

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
May 12, 1928

DEAR LALAJI,

I have your letter. Please do not think that I used the term “patronizing” in any offensive sense.¹ Let me reiterate what I have said and want to say. I want you not as a distant admirer of khadi and khadi movement. I want you to throw yourself heart and soul into it with a full deep conviction just as you have thrown yourself into untouchability movement. You are not satisfied with merely recounting the merits of removal, but you are devoting your great energy to the eradication of the evil. And so I want you not to wait for the hostile criticism that may appear in the Press, but to ask those who are likely to be hostile critics to let you have their views, unless of

¹ *Vide* “Letter to Lajpat Rai”, 29-4-1928.

course a second and serious reading of the literature, especially of Gregg's book, has made your conviction unshakable. I know that your health cannot permit you to engage in a hurricane tour. But you know what I want, and that you can give me only if you have an immovable heart conviction.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 13226

30. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
May 12, 1928

DEAR SATIS BABU,

I am glad you have given me the details of your diet. I am inclined to think that you should omit gram powder. It is not easy to digest especially when the gram is fried. You take it I suppose for its protein. Why not take the more digestive wheat in the form of well-cooked chapati or even baker's bread. It seems to me that you are not taking enough milk. A cup of milk I suppose means eight ounces, and if you take it twice, it means one pound only, not sufficient for the work you do. You should take at least two pounds of milk.

I do not know that you need rice. If you do, take it by all means. There is very little fruit in your diet. Occasional oranges won't do. We want vegetable vitamins just as much as we are supposed to require animal vitamins. And the vegetable vitamins are to be had principally from fresh fruits or fresh vegetables, the latter uncooked are not so easily digestible as fresh fruits, and the moment you cook anything you lose part of the vitamins.

How about the water treatment—hip-baths? They ought to put you right with the food I suggest. And if you will take a liberal diet and occasional fast, you will do a great deal of good.

From what you tell me, we must be prepared to lose Nikhil. I should so love to put him under the treatment of an experienced nature-cure man.

Jamnalalji tells me you would like to pass a few days with me. That you can do any time. I would have even Nikhil here and if he must die, he may do so here. But the weather may be too trying for him and for you all.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: S.N. 13227

31. LETTER TO RAMDAS GANDHI

SABARMATI ASHRAM,
Wednesday, May 12, 1928

CHI. RAMDAS,

I have your letters. In my view, there is hardly a young man as fortunate as you. I have been watching you from your childhood and I have felt that God has created you for great service. There can be many kinds of service. But you have been destined to serve the sick. You have to serve me as well as Ba, Sundaram, the Naidu brothers, etc. I have never had the feeling that you have shirked that service. Hence I see only good for you. Your lack of faith in the *atman* hinders you, makes you indifferent but it also makes you humble. So, I welcome the fact that you are called upon to serve Kanti.¹ I know that even if you did not ask for it, you certainly welcome it.

Keep writing to me daily. Many people here are laid up at the moment. Even so this year there is comparatively less illness. Read to Kanti the letter addressed to him and Kishorelalbhai's letter about him.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Sansmarano, pp. 87-8

32. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

May 12, 1928

BHAI GHANSHYAMDASJI,

I got your letter.

Jamnalalji is here. I shall speak to him about exercise. He needs it.

Which *asanas* are you practising? My health may be said to be fair.

It would be good if Satis Babu was given assistance. He is so self-sacrificing and pure.

Yours,
MOHANDAS

From Hindi: C.W. 6167. Courtesy: G.D. Birla

¹ Kanti Parikh had been injured during communal riots in Surat.

33. LETTER TO BHAGWANJI

May 12, 1928

BHAISHRI BHAGWANJI,

I have of course written to Devchandbhai.¹

I have carefully preserved your article on God. I hope to write about it some day.

Vandemataram from

MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5811

34. CELEBRATING PENANCE

A friend writes to say :²

I congratulate this friend on showing so much courage and disregarding an unworthy practice. If other Jains, Vaishnavas, etc., follow this example, welfare activities in the country will be helped and pleasures enjoyed in the name of religion will be somewhat curtailed.

We are so much given to enjoyments that we convert the purest of pure activities into excuses for them. Putting aside the spiritual benefits of fasting, we seek greatness thereby and then make fasting an occasion for indulging our palate.

Indeed those who would practise austerities should abstain from proclaiming the fact with beat of drums or causing others to do so and they should not become proud. And if relatives and such others wish to put such penance to good use, they should quietly and without a motive make that an occasion for making donations to worthy causes.

There is another point too in this friend's letter. Institutions like orphanages and children's homes expect donations for a feast on such occasions. This is a deplorable custom. By establishing orphanages, orphans should be given a sense of belonging. And if these latter are given this sense of belonging, they should never be fed

¹ Vide "Letter to Devchand Parekh", 11-5-1928.

² The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had referred to the practice current among Jains of celebrating the end of a religious fast on *Vaishakh Sud 3* by feasting on a lavish scale, accepting gifts and singing as at a wedding. The correspondent had however refrained from such celebration and saved Rs. 201, which he sent to Gandhiji to spend on any cause he liked.

on meals which have been begged from others. It is one thing to obtain donations for running orphanages and another to feed its inmates with whatever donors wish to give them. In the one case the purpose is to run an institution while in the other the self-respect of the orphans is touched. Moreover, institutions accepting such meals endanger the health of their inmates, make them fussy about food and cause them harm. Hence if such institutions insist upon donations instead of meals and if donors insist upon not giving feasts by way of donations, they will be contributing to public welfare.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 13-5-1928

35. *THE YAJNA IN BARDOLI*

So far Vallabhbhai has not asked for any financial assistance for the *yajna* that is going on in Bardoli; now, however, the time for that has come. Satyagrahi soldiers like Shri Ravishanker and Shri Chinai are in prison. Others too will follow them as they ought to. If the people have any fire in them and if the Government does not wish to yield till the end, not a single soldier will remain outside prison nor a single landowner will own any property or remain outside prison. All wars are alike up to a certain point, whether they be satyagrahi in nature or those involving brute force. Both certainly involve sacrifice. In the Great War in Europe, soldiers on both sides were ruined, the warriors of both sides lost their lives. Myriads of people in Germany were rendered homeless. However, here the similarity between brute force and satyagraha ends. The satyagrahi ruins himself. He deliberately gives up the momentary pleasure of ruining the enemy and finds happiness in his own renunciation. Hence a satyagrahi struggle may be called a *yajna*. It involves self-purification.

In this sacrifice, financial support has chiefly come till today from Bardoli itself. Whatever contribution has been sent by anyone voluntarily has been accepted. To do so hereafter would be beyond our capacity. Tomorrow the people of Bardoli may have no homes, no possessions, no fields, no cattle. In such circumstances, Vallabhbhai has a right to ask for outside assistance. Everyone should read Vallabhbhai's leaflet appealing for funds and those who approve of this movement in Bardoli and those who see purity and courage in it should contribute all they can.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 13-5-1928

36. PRIMARY EDUCATION—I

Among the aims of the Gujarat Vidyapith is that its activity should be primarily concerned with village education. Village education today has broadly come to mean primary education. The task of this Vidyapith is not to turn out schoolteachers or clerks but to train village workers. If the Vidyapith must be near a city, its task is to contribute towards changing the attitude of the city if possible. In other words, the cities which today flourish on the ruins of villages should so change that they serve the villages.

Whether or not the cities change, the Vidyapith must convert to this viewpoint as many as possible of the young men and women there.

Hence it is necessary that primary education should be considered from various points of view.

I wish to dwell on only one idea in this article. From many years of reflection and quite a few experiments, I have come to the conclusion that primary education should be given for at least a year without using any text-books and even after that pupils should make the minimum use of them.

When a child is learning the alphabet, when he is trying to master the forms of numerals and letters, his senses remain dormant and his intelligence, instead of blossoming, becomes stunted. A child starts learning immediately after birth but it does so mainly through the eyes and ears. It learns language as soon as it starts speaking. Hence the child is as its parents are. If the latter are cultured, the child pronounces words correctly and imitates the right ways of the home. This alone constitutes his true education and were it not that our civilization has become so disrupted, children would be receiving the best education in the home itself.

But we are not yet in such a happy situation. There is no alternative to sending children to schools.

However, if children must go to schools, these should feel like homes to them and their teachers should be as parents. The education given also should be similar to that which is imparted in a cultured home. In other words, children must receive their primary education from teachers through the spoken word. By receiving education in this manner can a child gain in a year through his eyes and ears ten times the knowledge he can acquire through the alphabet.

The child will have got a general knowledge of history and geography in the first year through play and in the form of stories. He will have learnt some poems by heart with their correct pronunciation. He will have memorized his tables. Moreover, as the child will not be burdened with having to identify letters of the alphabet, his mind will be kept from withering and his eyes will not be misused.

The child's hand, instead of being used to form crooked letters on a slate and trying to understand the difficult symbols that are letters, would rather be engaged in drawing geometrical lines and recognizing pictures. This is the primary education of the hands.

And if we wish to impart primary education to the crores of children of Gujarat and of India, we shall not be able to do so in any other way.

Under the present circumstances, it is impossible for this country to see that books reach crores of children. I admit that if it is necessary to supply children with books in order to give them primary education, we should try to do so, whatever the cost. However, if books are regarded as superfluous and harmful, the practical argument may be put forward. What is unnecessary or harmful from an ethical standpoint is also found to be impractical. In a civilization that is from flaws, the ethical and the practical are not opposed to each other and should not be.

It is clear that such education cannot be given by the teachers of present-day primary schools. These teachers may thrash the children and make them learn the alphabet and perhaps a few numbers. The poor teacher himself does not have the general knowledge which I visualize for the child in the first year. When the teachers themselves do not know how to speak the language in its pure form, how can the children learn it from them?

We shall consider this idea in the second part.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 13-5-1928

37. LETTER TO P. V. KARAMCHANDANI

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
May 13, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your kind letter. I had heard of the radium treatment.¹

I thank you for your offer to send me the bottles in your possession. But I shall not avail myself of your offer as, apart from my disinclination to take medicine internally, at the present moment I do not seem to be suffering from much blood-pressure.

Yours sincerely,

CAPTAIN P. V. KARAMCHANDANI, I.M.S.
INDIAN MILITARY HOSPITAL
PISHIN
BALUCHISTAN

From a photostat: S.N. 13228

38. LETTER TO SHANTIKUMAR MORARJI

Sunday, May 13, 1928

CHI. SHANTIKUMAR,

Even if you don't ask for my blessings, you have them. May you live long and render much useful service. What present did Sumati give you on your birthday? Does she spin saily? Is she a habitual wearer of khadi? Does she constantly think of the poor? If she gives you such presents on every birthday, both of you will reap the reward of goodness and the poor will prosper.

I will use your cheque in accordance with your wishes.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 4704. Courtesy: Shantikumar Morarji

¹ The addressee had suggested the use of radium chloride for treatment of Gandhiji's blood-pressure.

39. LETTER TO LORD IRWIN

SABARMATI,
May 16, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I deeply appreciate your letter containing reference to my loss. I am just reminded that Maganlal Gandhi was presented to you at Nadiad last year.

I am,
Yours Excellency's Faithful friend,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 13386

40. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL GANDHI

[May 16, 1928]¹

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I have your letter. No doubt your work there is going on well. Shall I use the information in the newspaper now? The other alternative is that you or Prabhudas writes on the work and I give that write-up in the paper.

I am so fascinated by the work there that I feel like buying a small plot there and start a small Ashram so that those who are keeping indifferent health could go there for change of air, and at the same time the work could go on. I do not at all want Prabhudas to risk his health. And he has found his work there.

Hope you have taken complete rest there. Now I want you to come here. According to my plan, you could arrive here in the beginning of June². After staying here for a week, you may go to Orissa. Kashi insists on accompanying you. Let her do so. Bhai Jivram is already in Orissa. I can understand it if he or Gopabandhubabu want you to hasten up. But I would not like you to go in a hurry and fall ill. Let the things take their own course. You must go after taking

¹ From Gandhiji's Bombay programme mentioned in the postscript; Gandhiji left Ahmedabad for Bombay on May 16, 1928.

² The addressee came and met Gandhiji on 6th June; *vide* "letter to Vasumati Pandit", June 6, 1928.

as much rest as you can.

The other things can be taken care of when Krishna or someone else writes to you. There are so many things happening.

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

I am going to Bombay today for four days. Mahadev and Chhotelal will accompany me. Devdas would have reached there.

From the Gujarati original: S.N. 32899

41. THE ONLY ISSUE

The Bardoli campaign is going on merrily. At the rate the forfeiture notices are being served, practically the whole of the Taluk of Bardoli should be in Government's possession and they can pay themselves a thousand times over for their precious assessment. The people of Bardoli if they are brave will be none the worse for dispossession. They will have lost their possessions but kept what must be the dearest of all to good men and women—their honour. Those who have stout hearts and hands need never fear loss of belongings.

But forfeiture notices having failed the Government, are now adding to them the imprisonment of workers. They are holding mock trials such as we saw during the Punjab martial-law days. The prosecutor is asking for and the obliging special magistrate is giving deterrent sentences which are all rigorous. These too like dispossession will do good to the willing victims. Suffering willingly undergone never harms the sufferer.

What however goes against the grain is dishonesty and insolence of office. The Commissioner, Northern Division has written a letter to a correspondent full of insulting insinuations and untruths.

It is an untruthful insinuation to suggest that the campaign was started by Kheda agitators. It was started by the Bardoli people themselves and the only person whose help and advice they sought was Sjt. Vallabhabai Patel whom I presume the Commissioner knows somewhat. Whether he can truthfully be called agitator in the sense intended by Commissioner must be left to the reader to judge.

It is untruthful to say that the officers of the Government are subjected to "spying, mobbing and other indignities".

The workers are described as "the swarm of agitators living on

them (the people of Bardoli) and misguiding them". This is an insult for which under better times and if the nation was conscious of its strength the Commissioner would be made to offer a public apology. Let him know that those whom in his anger and intoxication of power he calls a "swarm of agitators" are honourable servants of the nation giving their free services to Bardoli at considerable sacrifice. Among these, besides Vallabhabhai Patel who is a Barrister, are the hoary-headed Abbas Tyabji, another Barrister and an ex-Chief Judge of Baroda, Imamsaheb Bawazir, who is practically a fakir needing no support from Bardoli, and Dr. Sumant Mehta and his equally cultured wife. Dr. Sumant Mehta who has been ailing for some time has gone to Bardoli at considerable risk to his health. These four by the way do not belong to Kheda at all. Then there is the Darbarsaheb of Dhasa and his intrepid wife Bhaktiba who for the sake of their country have sacrificed their estate. They are not living upon the people of Bardoli. There are doctors Chandulal and Tribhuvan-das, again not of Kheda. Add to these Fulchand Shah, his wife, and his lieutenant Shivanand (already in jail). These again do not belong to Kheda and have for years dedicated themselves to silent service. It is the wail of Bardoli that has called these and others whom I can name. If the Commissioner has any sense of honour about him he will volunteer an apology to these ladies and gentlemen. In fact the Kheda workers are in a hopeless minority among the numerous workers.

The Commissioner pompously trots out the adverse vote of the Bombay Council and conveniently suppresses the two previous votes of the Council that had gone against the Government and that were by them treated as beneath contempt and beneath notice.

The Commissioner suppresses the very relevant truth that before resorting to direct action the people of Bardoli tried every means known as constitutional to get redress and hopelessly failed.

The Commissioner throws dust in the eyes of the public when he suggest that if the sorely tried people of Bardoli give up their campaign he would gladly investigate the case of any village that may be found to have been wrongly grouped. He suppresses the truth that the point at issue is not the wrong grouping of this village or that; the point at issue is the palpably wrong method of assessment. *And the people of Bardoli do not insist upon their point being accepted but they do insist upon an independent and impartial tribunal being appointed to investigate the justice of their complaint and to abide by*

the judgment of that tribunal whatever it may be. Here there is no shirking of payment, no question of redress of individual hardship. The question is one of principle. The people of Bardoli deny the right of the Government to dictate without proper investigation any increase in the assessment. Let me add that this is no no-tax campaign launched for any political end. This is a campaign directed towards a well-defined specific grievance affecting the people of a whole Taluk.

It is therefore the height of impudence and gross untruth for the Commissioner to say :

No one is more anxious than I that the poor cultivators should not be ruined by the swarm of agitators who are living on them and misguiding them.

There are five taluks in Kaira District from which these agitators come, the revision settlements of which have been postponed for 2 years on account of floods. Nearly half a crore of rupees has been advanced by Government in Kaira District for flood relief in the last 7 or 8 months. If they succeed in Bardoli, the recovery of Government assessment and *takavi* in Kaira District would be imperilled.

If the “agitators” succeed, it will not be the *takavi* to Kheda that will be in jeopardy. If it is withheld by the borrowers the Government will find the arch-agitator Vallabhbhai Patel to be their unpaid collector of the loans. What however will happen if the agitators succeed is that the Government officers will not dare to insult honoured servants of the people and utter untruths as the Commissioner, Northern Division has done and that the people will be able to have some redress against grossly unfair and unjust assessment as the Bardoli assessment is claimed to be.

One word to the people. The Government in their wisdom and in order to emphasize the fact that this rule is sustained by the policy of *divide et impera* have drafted in the midst of an over-whelmingly large Hindu population Mussalman officials and Pathan hirelings. As satyagrahis the people can easily checkmate the Government. Let them treat the officials and the Pathans as friends. Let them not distrust or in any the slightest manner fear or molest them. They the officials are our countrymen, the Pathans are our neighbours. Ere long the Government will discover their mistake and know that the honour of a Hindu is as dear to a Mussalman as to a Hindu and *vice versa*. The people of Bardoli have the chance of demonstrating this in a concrete manner. Let them vindicate the law of satyagraha which is also the law of Love and they will melt even the stony heart of an autocratic Commissioner.

Young India, 17-5-1928

42. SUPPRESSED CLASSES AND BAGHAT STATE

After all the Rana Saheb of Baghat did receive on the 5th instant a deputation on behalf of the Arya Pratinidhi Sabha, Punjab, consisting of Rai Saheb Lala Ganga Ram, Pandit Chamupati, M.A., Dewan Ram Sharan Das of Ludhiana, Pandit Dharmavir Vedalankar and Lala Shankar Nath, Advocate, Simla, to discuss the situation that had arisen out of the recent attitude of the State in the matter of wearing of the sacred thread by Kolis, reclaimed by the Arya Samaj.

The deputation has been permitted to issue the following agreed statement of what happened at the interview :

The members of the deputation thanked Rana Saheb for the cordial hospitality extended to them, and explained the position of the Shastras and the Arya Pratinidhi Sabha in this behalf. His Highness gave a patient hearing to their representation and assured them that his State gave perfect liberty to all well-established religious societies to propagate their religion among his subjects. The members expressed their gratitude for the courtesy with which their representation was heard and the encouraging reply vouchsafed to them and withdrew.

The agreed statement betrays too much caution and great timidity on the part of the State. The State would have gained in public estimation by a frank confession of the wrong done to the suppressed classes and the insult offered to a great religious organization. However let us be thankful for small mercies. The wrong and the insult will be forgotten if the letter and the spirit of the promise made by the Rana Saheb are fulfilled.

Young India, 17-5-1928

43. MAGANLAL GANDHI MEMORIAL

The Council of the All-India Spinners' Association passed the following resolution at its meeting on the 12th instant :

Resolved that a khadi museum be organized in memory of the late Sjt. Maganlal K. Gandhi and that an appeal be made for rupees one lakh for this purpose, the location of the Memorial and other details of the administration to be decided by the Council.

The numerous messages of condolence sent to me from all parts

of India and distant South Africa show the place that the deceased found in the affections of the public. A silent worker so good and popular as the deceased deserves a memorial. The Council of the All-India Spinners' Association after deep consideration came to the conclusion that there could be no better memorial to the deceased than that a khadi museum be established at some suitable place. The deceased himself had conceived the idea and as was his wont had utilized a room in the Satyagraha Ashram for a miniature museum. But the manner in which khadi has progressed requires a permanent and commodious building and a collection worthy of the deceased and the movement. Such a museum cannot cost anything less than one lakh of rupees. Hence the minimum amount of one lakh fixed by the Council. A khadi museum to be a house of serious study and instruction is capable of limitless expansion. With one lakh of rupees the Council hopes only to make a modest yet substantial beginning and give permanent shape to the scheme the deceased had in view. In accordance with the response the public may make, the museum may have a full set of books dealing with the past and the present of cotton culture, the specimens of the finest to the coarsest khadi produced in the past and in the present, the specimens of spinning-wheels, hand-gins, carding-bows and handlooms from the most ancient obtainable to the most modern. There may be a plot of ground attached to the museum where experiments can be made in cotton-growing to suit not the world market and the princes of exploitation but the humble villager. This latter was being done by the deceased at the Satyagraha Ashram. The cotton grown at the Ashram has become very popular with spinners. Home-grown cotton, which is well picked and which does not need to undergo the devitalizing process of pressing, saves immense labour and time for the carder and enables the spinner to draw a stronger thread. These and many other things can be done at the proposed museum if the response is liberal and exceeds the minimum fixed by the Council.

The machinery to give effect to the scheme is to be the All-India Spinners' Association which is a growing organization of men determined upon doing solid and constructive work.

The venue of the museum is not fixed as the Council has a choice of more places than one. Sabarmati naturally occurs first to the mind. And if it is found to be otherwise the most convenient spot, no doubt it will be chosen by the Council. It hopes to make the Museum

as businesslike as was the deceased himself. No false sentiment will therefore be allowed to weigh with the Council in the choice of the venue.

All subscriptions will be acknowledged in these columns. Payments may be made either to the Secretary, Sjt. Shankerlal Banker, Mirzapur, Ahmedabad, or to Sheth Jamnalalji Bajaj, 395, Kalbadevi Road, Bombay, or to the Manager, Satyagraha Ashram, Sabarmati.

Young India, 17-5-1928

44. KHADI IN HYDERABAD STATE

It is a matter for joy that the Princes of India are recognizing the place of khadi in national economy. The latest comer in the line is the Hyderabad State. The Department of Industries in the Nizam's dominions recently sent its inspector to study the technique of khadi at the Stayagraha Ashram and sent also two young men to learn the various processes. The young men were not able to finish the course, as the climate and perhaps the life at the Ashram did not agree with them. The point is that a beginning has been made, the inspector Moulvi Mahomed Ali was full of enthusiasm and he seemed to realize as never before the importance of the spinning-wheel. Let me hope that the Department of Industries will keep in touch with the Technical Department of the A.I.S.A. and organize the charkha work in Hyderabad in a proper businesslike manner, as it is being done in Mysore, where the other day the Dewan Mr. Mirza Mahomed Ismail personally inspected the khadi work being done through the suppressed classes. Sjt Pujari who escorted the Dewan tells me that he admired the work and appreciated the fact that besides being a supplementary occupation for the peasantry the spinning-wheel seemed to give substantial uplift to the suppressed classes.

Young India, 17-5-1928

45. THE FACTS ABOUT INDIA: A REPLY TO MISS MAYO

It is not without regret, certainly not without hesitation, that I find room for the following chapter and more to follow.¹ I doubt if replies to Miss Mayo have not been overdone. If I was convinced that the readers of Miss Mayo's libel read the refutations that have been

¹ These articles by C. F. Andrews are not reproduced here.

and are being published I should have much less hesitation in publishing Deenabandhu Andrews's reply. But I fear that the refutations do not reach her readers and therefore lose much of their value. Miss Mayo represents an evil principle. No nation can be a world menace. India certainly is not. But writers like the authoress of *Mother India* are a world menace. And I am not sure that they can be dealt with by mere counter-writings however pure and able they may be. In other words the question that is troubling me is whether lying tongues and pens can be checked merely by my truthful tongues and pens. Is not something quite different and nobler necessary to be done if the evil propaganda of Miss Mayo is to be successfully checked? But I have no ready-made effective substitute for the writings as such as Deenabandhu Andrews's. And as he is a co-sharer with me in the principle that *Young India* connotes and even after second thoughts he persists in thinking that there is still room for his refutations, I am no longer able to resist him. I know that he will be satisfied, as I shall certainly be, if even one man or woman who before believed Miss Mayo's caricature comes to be disillusioned by his chapters.

Young India, 17-5-1928

46. LETTER TO TREASURER, AJMAL JAMIA FUND

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,¹

SABARMATI,

May 18, 1928

THE TREASURER

AJMAL JAMIA FUND

395 KALBADEVI ROAD

BOMBAY

DEAR SIR,

AJMAL JAMIA FUND

Your letter of the 10th May. I have to draw your attention to a discrepancy in the totalling in the copy of the list sent to us on 21-4-28. You have put in down as Rs. 6,935-1-0, whereas on actual totalling it comes only to Rs. 6,884-9-0. Therefore there is a difference of Rs. 50-8-0. Kindly compare the figures published in

¹ Gandhiji was in Bombay on May 18, 1928.

Young India of this week with your books and find out the discrepancy and let me know so that the same can be rectified in the coming issue.

The following names and their donations have been omitted from the list, "Further Collections in the Week". This was done, because we deemed it much better to give the collections made from the members of the Ashram in a lump sum. The Secretary is sending you a complete list in which you may include the omitted figure also.

Names and donations omitted :¹

Unfortunately in this week's *Young India*, a mistake in the figures in the list published has crept in. The totalling in actuals exceeds by eight annas. I am looking into the original list sent to the press and I hope to find the mistakes and rectify the same in the coming issue.

When sending the new list you will kindly send us a complete list including the last one sent by you for publication in this week's issue, that is, the list sent by you after your letter dated 10th May. Please omit the names of the Ashram donors. It is thought better to contribute a lump sum in the name of the Ashram rather than small sums in the names of the individuals. If you want the list to be published it must reach us before Monday.

Yours faithfully,

From a photostat: S.N. 14923

47. TELEGRAM TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

BOMBAY,
May 18, 1928

MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI
JAI LODGE, PANCHGANI

PROBABLY LEAVING TOMORROW EVENING.

BAPU

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

¹ Here followed a list, which is not reproduced.

48. TELEGRAM TO MAHOMED ALI

[On or after *May 19, 1928*]¹

DELIGHTED RECEIVE YOUR WIRE. HOPE PROGRESS KHADI WILL
BE GUARANTEED BY MAHARAJA SAHEB.

GANDHI

From a microfilm: S.N. 13599

49. PRIMARY EDUCATION—II

The problem is how to impart the education we discussed in the last issue and wherefrom to get the teachers to impart it. This is the real problem regarding education. The Government Training College has not solved this problem. It has not even solved the problem of the three Rs—that is, reading, writing and arithmetic. Even of these three so little is learnt that neither the pupils nor the public profit much by it.

Hence this task has to be taken up by the National College. It is the duty and the right of the latter to find new methods in the field of education which would sustain the national cause. And in my humble opinion, we can take these methods in a very small measure from Europe and in an even smaller measure from the current trends in India. In every country education is for the preservation of its independence.

Hence we shall have to conduct new experiments in our education. In doing so, we may well make ourselves familiar with the experience in Europe; but we should not conclude that all that if found there is good or what is good under the conditions prevailing there will be good for us. One of the conclusions that emerges from this is that we should regard with suspicion the methods practised in the Government schools. Since the education imparted by the Government is fatal to swaraj as well as to our civilization, it is possible that if we follow the opposite methods in many matters we may find

¹ This was sent in reply to a telegram received on May 19 from Mahomed Ali, Inspector, Industries, Aurangabad, which read: “Khadi Exhibition spinning demonstration succesful by your blessings. Maharajah Bahadur kissed your yarn and sends best salaams and promises to spin. Your blessings required.”

the right path. Let us take an example.

The medium of instruction there is English, hence we must conclude that the medium of national education cannot be English.

They put up huge expensive buildings in which to give education. We should realize that this is improper. Our School buildings should be simple and inexpensive.

Stress there is purely on literary learning and India's industries are ignored. We know that this is improper.

In that form of education, teaching of religion, that is, religion not of any particular community but universal religion, has no place. We know that this leads to a negation of education.

The history that is taught in Government schools is, if not false, written from the British standpoint. The very same facts have been interpreted differently by German, French and American historians. Contemporary events are interpreted by the Government in one way and by the people in another, as in the case of the massacre in the Punjab.

The economics taught in Government schools upholds the British system while we, on the other hand, view it differently. Government schools make a plea for the town civilization, whereas the villages are the soul of our national civilization.

In Government primary schools, their teachers, with the minimum amount of knowledge, are employed without regard to their character and on the minimum salaries possible, whereas in national primary schools, the teachers being self-sacrificing and persons of character and learning (and not because they are in a sorry plight), should accept the smallest salaries.

We can now have an idea of the kind of education that should be given in the city schools.

Our pupils should live in villages, lend stability to village civilization, be familiar with the needs of villages, rid them of such faults as they may have, teach their children not to become city-dwellers but to remain villagers, i.e., to become farmers. Hence so long as the existing system of education in the cities is not basically changed without fear, we shall not attain one of the basic ideals of the Vidyapith nor may we be said to practise it.

Let us take only one example: In Ahmedabad itself we are running a university, a new Gujarati school and a Vinay Mandir. We shall have the right to run them only when we attempt to make villagers out of the children who study in them, when we succeed in making them take interest in village life, when we make them understand the latter, and, finally, when those of them who are about

to leave the Vinay Mandir or the University, spread out into the villages and start serving the villagers.

We shall consider next how this can be done.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 20-5-1928

50. LETTER TO MANIBEHN PATEL

*Silence Day [May 21, 1928]*¹

CHI. MANI,

I read your note about Sharadabehn in you letter to Chi. Kanti. I felt slightly unhappy. I think about the matter every day. I inquire about it from everyone coming from there. Mirabehn has told me much. How can I write all that? But I have not given up hope. I rest in the belief that everything will be all right. Write to me when you feel like doing so. From what Vallabhbhai told me in Bombay I could see that he was satisfied with your work there. I felt so happy. But then, that is not enough for me. I want to see in you maturity, equanimity, contentment, discrimination, modesty, firmness, scrupulous regard for truth, earnestness, study and meditation. Without these yours will not be a life that becomes a virgin and dedicated social worker.

Blessings from

BAPU

CHI. MANIBEHN PATEL

SWARAJ ASHRAM

BARDOLI

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro—Manibehn Patelne, pp. 65-6

51. LETTER TO ZAKIR HUSAIN

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,

SABARMATI,

May 23, 1928

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter, which I prize for its absolute frankness.

I would personally have preferred a declaration of emphatic non-co-operation; but I am not prepared to advise you to abandon the institution because you have a milder declaration. After all, it is not the declaration that so much matter as action when the testing time

¹ As in the source

comes. The fate of the institution will depend ultimately not upon the trustees but upon the professors who are giving their all to it.

I know your pecuniary difficulties. I am helpless. I discussed the thing with Dr. Ansari in Bombay and he told me that he hoped to send you some money from Bombay. I could not ask Jamnalalji to send you further advance unless everything was in order.

I do not at all like the large body.

Dr. Ansari has promised to come to Sabarmati immediately after Id. If he does, I shall re-discuss the thing with him.

Yours sincerely,

DR. ZAKIR HUSAIN
JAMIA MILLIA
KAROL BAGH
DELHI

From a microfilm: S.N. 14925

52. HISTORY OF SOUTH AFRICAN SATYAGRAHA

Sjt. S. Ganesan, the enterprising publisher of Madras, has now brought out a translation from the original of my History, if it may be so called, of Satyagraha in South Africa. The translation has been carefully made by Sjt Valji Gavindji Desai. The volume is well printed, is bound in khadi, covers 511 pages and is rightly dedicated by the publisher to the late Maganlal Gandhi. The book contains 50 chapters and covers practically the whole of the period of my stay in South Africa. Those numerous readers who are following “The Story of My Experiments with Truth” cannot afford to be without this volume, if they will rightly understand the implications of truth as they have occurred to me and the very wonderful and matchless force which I have called or rather which Maganlal Gandhi called ‘satyagraha’ otherwise rendered as ‘love-force’, ‘soul-force’, ‘truth-force’, as distinguished from the force connoted by the term ‘passive resistance’. Satyagraha is not conceived as a weapon merely of the weak. It is the strongest force that one can possibly imagine or wish for and is a complete substitution for brute force. Those who will understand how the former worked in South Africa in the face of all odds should possess this volume. It can be had from S. Ganesan, Publisher, Triplicane, Madras, S. E., price Rs. 4-8-0.

Young India, 24-5-1928

53. ANDREWS'S TRIBUTE

From the tribute sent by Deenabandhu Andrews to the memory of Maganlal Gandhi, with whom he had come in close contact, I take the following¹, omitting personal references.

Young India, 24-5-1928

54. BUYING MERIT

A correspondent draws my attention to the institution of lotteries in Goa for the purpose of supporting hospitals. The correspondent tells me that lakhs of rupees are spent by people in British India in these lotteries in the vain hope of suddenly becoming rich without effort and yet gaining heavenly merit. Here is an extract from an advertisement sent by the correspondent :

Behold the sick. He that giveth to the poor lends to God. Then why not help our poor by staking a rupee at this drawing? It is a comely way of exercising charity.

The advertisement contains a portrait of a hoary-headed reverend gentleman.

It would be interesting to know the condition of the hospitals built with the monies gained from these lotteries. Meanwhile it is worth while to examine the ethics of founding charitable institutions with monies collected by an appeal to man's greed, enhancing it by a promise of merit if the purchaser of such a lottery ticket should fail to get the tempting prize or prizes as lakhs of purchasers must fail.

As it is, the haste to be rich without working and waiting for the happy day pervades the atmosphere. Everyone who spends a rupee on the race course or in a lottery ticket erects the pyramid of his hope on the foundation of the ruin of a multitude of such hopes of men and women having equal right with the few lucky (?) winners of prizes. It is difficult, however, to single out the lottery system for criticism, when the gambling spirit possesses even those who are ranked among the most respectable. The share-market is nothing but a feverish gamble. And yet who is free from that fever? Every man who finds himself rich in a day by manipulating the share-market knows that the sudden accession of wealth means desolation of many a widow's home. Only

¹ Not reproduced here

the relatives of the widows who bought shares had, no doubt, almost the same kind of hope that the clever speculator of our imagination had.

Cotton, rice and jute are, strange as it may appear, objects of such speculation. The system of lottery is but a crude extension of the same gambling spirit. It is no doubt good to treat the lottery as disrespectable, but it is better to make the acquaintance of the spirit that is common to the lottery and the share-market and thus deal with the root cause of the disease rather than its worst symptom. It is, therefore, to be wished that the worst symptom will enable us to reach the root cause and deal effectively with it.

But it is a far-off hope. Let not my mention of the pervasive nature of the disease make a single person connected with these lotteries seek justification for his participation in the lottery system.

And the caution is all the more necessary when the lottery is in connection with a charitable institution. Surely it is bad enough to want to be rich without deserving, but it is positively wrong to connect charity with a gamble. Those who throw away rupees in lotteries must not think that they gain merit even whilst they are hoping to satisfy an unlawful ambition. We may not hope to serve God and Mammon at the same time.

And why do the Christian conductors of the Goan hospitals degrade religion by exploiting the evil tendency of human nature? Do they imagine that they please God by attempting to support a hospital by making lakhs of people morally diseased? Are they not robbing Peter to pay Paul? What will it profit them to heal a few bodies if at the same time they wound a thousand times more souls?

Young India, 24-5-1928

55. SPINNING IN MUNICIPAL SCHOOLS

The Secretary, Khadi Board, Jalgaon, sends me a well-prepared tabulated report of *takli* and charkha-spinning in its municipal schools. The report covers the period between 15th June, 1927 and 15th February, 1928. 149 girls and 126 boys were spinning either on the *takli* or the wheel. The time allowed was from 25 minutes to 50 minutes per day. The total output was 4,48,000 yards. The maximum speed on the *takli* was 125 yards per hour and on the wheel 325 yards. This is a creditable record. What has been possible in the Jalgaon Municipal schools is possible in all the municipal schools. It

can be shown that if the nation willed it, it could get all the yarn it needs through its schools-going children and teach them self-repect and self-reliance during their scholastic life, a period which some falsely think is one of irresponsibility and indulgence. I note that only boys spinning on the wheels do their own carding. The implication is that the others do not. It is being more and more realized that the secret of good spinning is not merely good but perfect carding. This can be attained only if everyone cards for himself or herself. If it is learnt truly it is easily learnt. Another suggestion I venture to offer is that no time should be lost in turning all the yarn spun into khadi and for that purpose either one of the promising boys should be trained or one of the teachers should learn the art of weaving. Failing that the local weaver should be induced to weave such yarn.

Young India, 24-5-1928

56. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
May 24, 1928

DEAR SATIS BABU,

I have your letter. Here is a copy of my letter to Mr. Sen Gupta.¹

Yours,

Encl. 1

From a microfilm: S. N. 13640

57. LETTER TO J. M. SEN GUPTA

May 24, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I hear that you are having a grand exhibition at the time of the forthcoming Congress at Calcutta. But I am told also that it is not to be confined merely to absolutely genuine swadeshi but that it is to contain all exhibits—foreign and otherwise. Can this be true? I should have thought that you will have khadi as the centre-piece and round it you will have exhibits of those things that are absolutely swadeshi from start to finish and that you will not only exclude foreign cloth

¹ *Vide* the following item.

and all foreign things but also indigenous mill-cloth. Such has been the history of the Congress Exhibitions since the Ahmedabad Session. The first painful departure from this practice took place at Madras last year. I hope Calcutta won't repeat the mistake.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SJT. SEN GUPTA
CALCUTTA

From a microfilm: S. N. 13606

58. LETTER TO MAHOMED HABBIBULLAH

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
May 24, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter enclosing copy of Sjt. Sastri's cable¹ for my confidential information.

Yours, sincerely,

SIR MAHOMED HABIBULLAH
VICEROY'S COUNCIL MEMBER
SIMLA

From a photostat: S. N. 11987

59. LETTER TO T. PRAKASAM

May 24, 1928

MY DEAR PRAKASAM,

I have your letter. Mr. Banker reminds me that the money was given to you at my instance whilst I was convalescing at Juhu. Of course you got it for khadi work, but surely you don't mean to suggest that because you got it for khadi work, you are not personally

¹ Sastri's cable from Cape Town read: "In continuation of my telegram dated 24th April 1928, No. 202, I have been obliged to cancel the tour in Transvaal and come to Cape Town to interview the Minister of Interior regarding condonation scheme. Have urged 1914 lines which Gandhi and Patrick Duncan favour. Department of Interior is keen on the scheme being operated notwithstanding recent judgments reported in my telegram dated April 27th No. 214. Indians Transvaal greatly agitated especially the Gujaratis but might be pacified by the 1914 line. Minister promised consideration but I have misgivings.

Please send copy of this confidentially to Gandhi by post."

liable? In fact the money was advanced because of your personal guarantee. If you question the correctness of the interpretation will you accept arbitration? The Council of the A.I.S.A. has a duty to perform. You will therefore recognize their difficulty and mine.¹

Yours sincerely,

SJT. T. PRAKASAM

“SWARAJYA”

BROADWAY, MADRAS G. T.

From a microfilm: S. N. 13607

60. A LETTER²

May 24, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

You will now have heard from Mr. Ramanathan, and I trust that if you are not satisfied about the reasons for withholding the amount of security deposited by you, you will accept arbitration.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S. N. 13608

61. LETTER TO S. RAMANATHAN

May 24, 1928

MY DEAR RAMANATHAN,

I have your letter about . . . It is quite correct. I have written to . . . as per enclosed copy.³

I send you herewith connected papers.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S. N. 13609

¹ A copy of this letter was forwarded to the Secretary, All-India Spinners' Association.

² Addressee's name is omitted.

³ *Vide* the preceding item.

62. *LETTER TO MEHAR SINGH RAIT*

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
May 24, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I fear that so long as we are without swaraj, we must resign ourselves to the disabilities such as you are labouring under.¹

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 808

63. *LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA*

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
May 24, 1928

DEAR SATIS BABU,

Ram Binod is giving great trouble. He has not yet discharged his obligation to the Association. Is it possible for you to make an appeal to him?

What is Krishnadas doing?

How are you keeping?

With love,

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 1592

64. *LETTER TO F. H. BROWN*

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
May 25, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I was delighted to receive your letter. I remember very well our meetings in London, when I visited it with the South African deputation.

¹ The addressee had been deported from America. His American wife also had lost her citizenship "by marrying a Hindu".

With reference to the permission for an English edition of “The Story of My Experiments with Truth”, the permission was given last year to the Macmillan Company of New York.

The second volume of the book is not to be published just now. It will take some time, because I do not know how the chapters of Indian experience will run. I have no definite plan mapped out. I am, therefore, unable to say how many more chapters I shall have to write, and it is for that reason that publication of the second volume has been suspended.

I thank you for your condolence.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

F. H. BROWN, ESQ.

DILKUSHA

FOREST HILL, LONDON, S.E. 23

From a copy: S.N. 14317; also C.W. 4440. Courtesy: F.H. Brown

65. LETTER TO JANAKDHARI PRASAD

THE ASHRAM,

SABARMATI,

May 25, 1928

DEAR JANAKDHARI BABU,

I have your letter. There should be nothing between God and us, if we are to be nearest to Him. Love between husband and wife is a hindrance, for that love as we understand it, is necessarily exclusive and necessarily personal.

2. Faith in God cannot be reasoned out. It does not come from the head but from the heart, and, things of the heart are spontaneous and instinctive. Our very weakness and limitations should inspire faith in the Perfect and the Limitless. And if we have that faith, we would necessarily be without troubles, miseries and the like.

3. Why do you say that you are not serving the public cause because you are drawing Rs. 50 per month? Everyone who serves the Charkha Sangh undoubtedly serves the nation. It would be foolish to expect in this poor country to work without even being fed. That other people have no regard or love for you because you are not a flourishing lawyer is no cause for sorrow. But it is a good cause for

congratulation, if you can be happy without wealth and public esteem.

Why should Babu Vindeshwari Prasad seek your protection? If he has the conviction that it would be right in giving up his practice, he should delight in earning his starvation wage as millions of our countrymen are doing. If he is repentant that he gave up his practice, he should resume it.

As for your children the true education that you can give them is to bring them up as honest labourers. And that education can profit them and the country; and instead of your children being a burden on you, will be blessing to both.

I hope your wife has completely recovered. Let me say that the Ashram constitution is undergoing a drastic revision and at the present moment, the desire is not to take any more for at least one year. Therefore, if your wife should desire to come here during the next one or two months, please write to me before you think of sending her.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 51

66. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

THE ASHRAM,

SABARMATI,

May 25, 1928

I have your letters. I asked Mahadev to keep you duly informed and tell you everything about Maganlal's death. I have not the time to dictate much. This is just to say how much I appreciate your cable and your letters.

I have now taken up my abode in Maganlal's room.

Mahadev must have given you the cause. Maganlal went on duty to Calcutta. Then he went to Gaya, from there to see Radha at the place where she had gone to tear down the *purdah* in a family. On the way he contracted a chill, developed pneumonia and surrounded by kind friends who did all that was humanly possible for him, he died in peace after nine days' illness.

H. S. L. POLAK, ESQ.

42, 47 & 48 DANES INN HOUSE

265, STRAND, LONDON, W.C. 2

From a photostat: S.N. 14316

67. LETTER TO KISHORELAL MASHRUWALA

Friday, Jeth Sud 6, 1984 [May 25, 1928]

CHI. KISHORELAL,

I have read both your letters carefully.

What I said, and the manner in which I said it, does not seem to have been correctly reported to you.

There is nothing new in the changes I have suggested. I have not made any change in the definition of an Ashram inmate. The only significance of the change is that we should strive hard to follow the ideal which we have always kept before us.

I never put pressure on anyone, and have never wished to do so. I have recently refused to do that on two friends who wish to run separate kitchens for themselves. I, therefore, see no compulsion in regard to anything. I employ earnest argument (with love) and try to explain everything clearly.

I am of the view that those who have joined the Ashram should conform to the moral growth or changes in the Ashram. They cannot say that they will obey certain rules only and that, if new rules are made and applied, it would be breach of contract. No institution can continue to exist on that condition. There can be fixity only about concrete matters, such as salary, period, etc. At the Ashram, however, generally speaking, we have no restrictions other than moral.

Even so, we decided to enforce the rule about *brahmacharya* only after all the inmates had been invited to discuss it and everyone had accepted its necessity. I did say, when reading out this rule, that those who could not or did not wish to observe it, could leave the Ashram.

The common kitchen is functioning satisfactorily at present.

I shall not inflict anything more on you. I have written even this unwillingly. Really speaking, you should not, in your present illness and from that distance, strain yourself thinking about the changes taking place here. Maybe it is morally wrong for you to do so.

How are you now? There is of course no question of your staying at Santa Cruz. You are fit enough to come here. You can take your treatment even here. The climate here is certainly better than there. If, however, you decide to come, I hope you will not think of going away again.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11802

68. TELEGRAM TO HARILAL DESAI

[After May 25, 1928]¹

RECEIVED LETTER. IMPOSSIBLE PAY ENHANCED PORTION BEFORE ENQUIRY. ORIGINAL ASSESSMENT CAN BE PAID IF INDEPENDENT OPEN INQUIRY WITH RIGHT LEAD EVIDENCE CROSS QUESTION CROWN WITNESSES GRANTED FORFEITED LANDS RESTORED SATYAGRAHI PRISONERS DISCHARGED. PEOPLE WILL ACCEPT DECISION ARBITRATION COURT WIRE REPLY: BARDOLI VALLABHBHAI.

From a photostat: S.N. 12705

69. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

May 26, 1928

CHI. MAHADEV,

You send me enough every time. How did all of you imagine something which had not occurred to me even in my dreams? On that occasion, the day before yesterday, I did not aim my remarks against anyone in particular. I opened the subject in a general way as affecting all eighty people. Even in my mind I did not, and do not, blame, or think harsh things about those who cannot join the common kitchen; where was the question then of my saying such things in the meeting? It should be enough, therefore, if I say that there was no violence in my heart. I said harsh things only on that evening. On that occasion, I was not at all pained by the opposition. I was unhappy because of the weakness displayed by all. I liked Narahari's frankness very much indeed, but I did not like that he and others should have lost the use of their reason. If it was I who had deprived them of their reason, what a worthless fellow I must be? As I tried to think what my duty in these circumstances was, and as I realized it, I awoke and was immediately at peace. Do you know that I have put on two pounds in nine days? Can you imagine what peace of mind this means?

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11448

¹ The telegram was sent by Vallabhbhai Patel in reply to the addressee's letter of May 25. It was drafted by Gandhiji.

70. LETTER TO C. F. ANDREWS

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
May 26, 1928

MY DEAR CHARLIE,

I have been receiving your letters regularly. I told Mahadev to write to you also which I hope he did. He has to go to Bardoli for two days in the week to help Vallabhbhai. He is therefore away today.

I always think of you, but never get the time to write to you. And I do not feel disturbed as I know you never expect letters from me.

My whole heart goes out to Gurudev.¹ I do hope that he will be strong enough to take up the voyage giving himself full rest on the Continent and return with renewed vigour. And I hope too that incidentally you would rest your wearied limbs and still more wearied brain. But I have my doubts about your being able to do so.

I am concentrating my attention on overhauling the Ashram and bringing it more in line with its ideals. We are therefore conducting the common kitchen on a large scale. About 80 sit together at meals where they attempt to consecrate themselves to more service. But more I must not say for want of time.

Did Mahadev tell you that I had taken up my abode in Maganlal's little room. And it makes me feel happy and enables me more fully to commune with his spirit.

With love,

MOHAN

From a photostat: S.N. 13392

¹ Tagore had fallen ill on his way to London to deliver the Hibbert lectures at the Oxford University.

71. LETTER TO SAMUEL R. PERRY

[After May 26, 1928]

DEAR FRIEND,

I was thankful for your letter of 26th May last. I do not remember having received the book *Does Civilization Need Religion?*¹ It has given me joy to have so many friends and sympathizers in the Far West.

Yours sincerely,

SAMUEL R. PERRY

From a photostat: S.N. 14043

72. PRIMARY EDUCATION-III

The problems of primary education or village education can be solved only when we thoroughly change the curricula of the Vidya Mandir and the University and when the teachers have understood my viewpoint.

Today we hesitate to effect certain changes for fear of losing pupils, for fear of public opinion or from a sense of false prestige. If we had no hesitation these Vidya Mandirs would produce a fine set of people who would serve the villages and this would somewhat atone for the sins of the cities.

The pupils of these Mandirs would become first-class spinners, carders and weavers; they would have the best knowledge of cotton-growing, they would know carpentry to suit the needs of the village; in other words, they would know how to make good spinning-wheels, they would know how to repair—if not make—bullock-carts, ploughs, etc., they would know sewing enough for the needs of the village, their handwriting would be as beautiful as pearls, they would have a basic ability to write, they would know Indian multiplication tables, they would be familiar with ancient literature like the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana* and their modern spiritual meaning; they would know village games; they would be familiar with the rules of hygiene, they would be good home-doctors, i.e., they would be able to diagnose common ailments and prescribe remedies for them; they would know how to clean village dumping-grounds, ponds wells and so on. In

¹ By Reinhold Niebuhr

other words, education in these schools would be such that it enables the pupils to serve the villages in every way and the expenses incurred should be regarded as having been incurred on primary education. Only when we do so and are able to do so, can we be said to have truly entered the villages.

But directly such a question is raised, such a change brought about and such an ideal proclaimed, our Vidya Mandirs will become empty. Should such a contingency arise I would be willing to welcome it in the cause of truth. But so long as the ideal of the Vidyapith regarding village education remains what it is, not to do this would amount to untruth and betrayal.

However, it is my belief as well as my experience that if we remain steadfast in our objective, the public will in the end understand it and help in advancing it. If we looked into the causes of failures—so called or so considered—we would find that those who believed in the ideals were themselves disloyal, half-baked and half-hearted. He who doubts will perish, but people instead of taking his doom for what it is think that it was his ideal that was wanting in some way and so failed.

It is my firm belief that if our Vidya Mandirs had teachers with faith and a spirit of self-sacrifice, they would overflow with pupils. People can recognize a genuine thing. Often it seems to take time, but that is merely an illusion. It is a rule without an exception that the straight path is the quickest.

An institution which panders to people's weaknesses and their love of pleasure may fill in no time. So what? That certainly does not prove its success. One consequence may however flow from the acceptance of my viewpoint. Those pupils who have come in the hope of getting the same kind of education as is imparted in Government schools, those who have come in the hope of acquiring fitness to lead a city life, would be disappointed and leave our Mandirs. But it would be as well. We as well as they would be saved from a false situation, would be able to render true service to one another. I should like to close this series by dilating a little more on the idea with which I started it. And then I hope to discuss a few questions I have before me on this subject.

If the view that a knowledge of the alphabet should be totally avoided during the first year of primary education is correct, some of its desirable consequences ought to be apparent in the Vidya Mandirs and the University.

Nowadays the cult of bookish knowledge has increased a great deal. New books are being published every day. Anyone who has any command over language, anyone who has reflected even a little, becomes eager to put his ideas into print and believes that in so doing he is rendering national service. Consequently, an unbearable burden is placed on the brains of pupils and the pockets of their guardians. The pupil's intellect becomes confused. Their brains stuffed with a multitude of facts have no room for any original thought. And even facts instead of being properly arranged lie about in disorder in these brains like things in the house of an idle person. They are of no use either to themselves or to the public.

Hence in my opinion the numerous books that are published nowadays should not be given to the pupils. Even literate pupils should receive the larger part of their education orally from the teachers. They should read the minimum number of books but should reflect on what they read and while doing so translate into practice whatever they find acceptable. By doing so, the life of the pupils will become interesting, thoughtful, wise, steadfast, pure and energetic. Such education befits a poor nation and will prove useful to the pupils and the public.

Hence the solution to the serious problem before the Vidyapith depends on the capacity of its present teachers to imbibe its ideals and to make a mighty effort to put them into practice.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 27-5-1928

73. LETTER TO KARNAD SADASHIVA RAO

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,

SABARMATI,

May 27, 1928

MY DEAR SADASHIVA RAO,

I hope you are now completely free from the after-effects of malaria. I hope to be at the Ashram practically throughout the year. But I never know when I might have to move out owing to unforeseen circumstances. When therefore you propose to bring your daughters here, you will ascertain my movements beforehand.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. SADASHIVA RAO

KODAIKAL

MANGALORE

From a microfilm: S.N. 13229

74. LETTER TO Y. ANJAPPA

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
May 27, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. The only thing I can suggest to you now is that you should send a statement of the account and expenditure of your Company and samples of all khaddar you are producing and such other information that you can send from there to enable the All-India Spinners' Association expert to examine the condition of your concern.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. Y. ANJAPPA,
C/O YADGIR AND CO.
TOBACCO BAZAR
SECUNDERABAD (DECCAN)

From a microfilm: S.N. 13230

75. LETTER TO SATYANANDA BOSE

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
May 27, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

The suggestion that you make is not new. It has been discussed from several points of view. But personally I have felt that the time has not come for us to take the lead. Meanwhile, good work in this direction is being done by the Poet Rabindranath Tagore. His work in contributing to an all-Asia awakening is of the greatest value. For us lesser men I feel that we would strengthen our position only by developing forces from within.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. SATYANANDA BOSE
78 DHARMATOLLA STREET
CALCUTTA

From a photostat: S.N. 13231

76. *LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI*

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
May 27, 1928

MR DEAR C.R.,

I just read your pencil notes "Unsold Stock". The views about khadi are purely introductory. The views about Hindu-Muslim unity are entirely unseasonable and are likely to be misrepresented if not resented. You must therefore keep them under lock and key for the time being.

Yours sincerely,
BAPU

From a photostat: S.N. 13232

77. *LETTER TO C. RANGANATHA RAO*

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
May 27, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

When I was in Bangalore you had sent me the charkha turned out in the Government Workshop. You were turning out good spindles also if I remember rightly. Could you please ascertain through your Engineering Foreman whether there is any machine which turns out absolutely true spindles and whether that machine or any such machine can straighten out absolutely correctly spindles that may become bent or crooked? At the Ashram we are doing it without the use of a machine. It is a laborious process and can be mastered only by a few and imposes a terrific strain upon the eyes of the mender if he has to correct many in a day. I shall esteem any information that you can give me or procure for me in this matter.

I wonder what progress the wheel is making in your Department.

Yours sincerely,

C. RANGANATHA RAO SAHEB, ESQ.
DIRECTOR OF INDUSTRIES
GOVERNMENT WORKSHOPS, BANGALORE

From a photostat: S.N. 13233

78. *LETTER TO GANGA PRASAD*

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
May 27, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I did read your book through. And whilst I could say that you had taken much trouble over it, you had not proved authorities to their original sources. But in this respect most of our authors are sinners. We are easily satisfied with proofs that would support our own preconceived notions or theories.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. GANGA PRASAD
TEHRI

From a microfilm: S.N. 13234

79. *LETTER TO BHOJRAJ KHUSHIRAM*

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
May 27, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. If you have real purity of heart and real love for your father and for the girl to whom you are married, you will by force of purity and love bear down all opposition and convert the girl. Whereas if it is merely a matter of your not liking the girl and the proposed *brahmacharya*, a matter merely of convenience, it is your clear duty to carry your wife with you.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. BHOJRAJ KHUSHIRAM
FISH MARKET
ROHRI (SIND)

From a microfilm: S.N. 13235

80. LETTER TO MANIBEHN PATEL

[May 28, 1928]¹

CHI. MANI,

You yourself are proving that it is not without reason that I think you to be a fool. I have never taken as gospel truth what Mirabehn tells me. That lady is pure-hearted. . . . Had you been here, I could have talked to you personally. As you were not here, I told Lakshmidasbhai. But I cherish the hope that one day you will stop being a fool and become wise.

Blessings from

BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro—Manibehn Patelne, pp. 66-7

81. DRAFT OF LETTER TO HARILAL DESAI²

[May 28, 1928]

DEAR,

A full wire was sent to you under my authority from Ahmedabad.³ I enclose copy which speaks for itself. As probably our methods of work and service clash, what may be a satisfactory minimum to me may be an exorbitant demand in your estimation.

What can be the use of any inquiry if the enhancement is to be paid up? Government have ample security for its collection if in the event of a decision unfavourable to the people the enhanced rate is not quickly paid up by them.

Please note that the terms of reference will also have to be agreed upon. Any reference will not do.

It must be a point of honour for any self-respecting agent of the people to insist upon the release of prisoners and lands especially when they are illegally punished or forfeited.

Lastly you would best serve the cause by refraining from any action, if you cannot act strongly and do not feel the strength of the

¹ As in the source

² The draft is in Gandhiji's hand. Mahadev Desai, reproducing the letter with a few verbal variations in *The Story of Bardoli*, says that it was sent by Vallabhbbhai Patel.

³ *Vide* "Telegram to Harilal Desai", After 25-5-1928.

people as I do. Whilst I want to shut no door to an honourable settlement, I am in no hurry to close the struggle without an honourable settlement or without putting the people to the severest test they are capable of fulfilling. I would have a brave defeat rather than an ignominious compromise.

Now you will perhaps understand that I am not anxious to run to M[ahabaleshwar] or Poona. You will please therefore not send for me unless you think my presence indispensable.

From a photostat: S.N. 12705

82. CABLE TO SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN CONGRESS'

[On or after *May 29, 1928*]

SAIC

JOHANNESBURG

SETTLEMENT COVERED BY CORRESPONDENCE. STRONGLY ADVISE
PUTTING FULL CASE BEFORE SASTRIJI AND THEN ACCEPT HIS
GUIDANCE.

M. K. G.

From a photostat: S.N. 11989

83. LETTER TO SHANKARAN

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,

SABARMATI,

May 30, 1928

MY DEAR SHANKARAN,

You are quite right. We must not take parcels of foreign or mill-cloth for the Bardoli people, nor are they in need in that manner. They are not starving. The expenses are not connected with feeding or clothing them. The expenses incurred are in supporting the larger number of volunteers and carrying on extensive propaganda.

Your sincerely

From a photostat: S.N. 13396

¹ This was in reply to the cable dated May 28 received the next day. It read: "You cable to Hon. Sastri on illicit entrants not explicit. Did you obtain protection for all entrants in Transvaal who were in possession of registration certificates fraudulently obtained up to 1914? Could Congress be justified in declaring Government as having committed a breach of 1914 Settlement if Government now calls upon all fraudulent documents holders before Settlement to come forward for condonation? Please reply urgent" (S.N. 11989).

84. *LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI*

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,

SABARMATI,

May 30, 1928

MY DEAR C. R.,

I did not argue with you about the reason for not publishing your tribute to the Abhoy Ashram. About the labourers, I think I gave you my reason. About the Abhoy Ashram, your tribute is well deserved. But instead of benefiting them, the tribute was likely to rouse all kinds of jealousies and I felt that it was better not to rouse any jealousy.¹

From a photostat: S.N. 13397

85. *LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA*

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,

SABARMATI,

May 30, 1928

MY DEAR SATIS BABU,

I have your interesting letter. The milk diet will surely do you much good. I am sure that the hip-bath will benefit you. If Nikhil cannot bear hip-bath, try an earth bandage on the abdomen, six inches long and three inches in width. It might be good to keep Nikhil for a time on milk without sugar and distilled water only, giving him enema regularly every 24 hours if the bowels do not move. He should take as much milk as he can comfortably, but no more. I have been trying it here in a rather bad case with considerable success. You may consult a medical friend about this treatment.

I hope you will succeed with Mr. Birla. I am anxious that he should help you far more for the soundness of your khadi propaganda than for the help you may render in his business. The latter is undoubtedly good and he should have all the assistance you can give. But khadi, if it is to succeed, can do so only on the strength of its merits and that of the business-like character of its organizations.

¹ Rajagopalachari had in article commended the efforts of the workers at Abhoy Ashram (Comilla) in connection with the riots in late 1927. *Vide* also "Letter to C. Rajagopalachari", 27-5-1928.

Did I tell you or send you an extract from one of Mr. Birla's letters in which, while he praised you much for your love of khadi and your immense self-sacrifice, he was not convinced of the soundness of the Pratishthan or of the khadi propaganda as you had explained it to him? This was more than a year ago. I tell you this to emphasize what you say in the following sentence in your letter: "If he is convinced that the work as carried on by me here deserves his fullest support, I do hope that he will spend lakhs as he spends thousands." He is a man like that. If he is convinced, he is quite capable of giving unlimited help.

With love,

BAPU

SJT. SATIS CH. DAS GUPTA

KHADI PRATISHTHAN

SODEPUR

From a photostat: G.N. 1593

86. *LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT*

SABARMATI,

*Wednesday [May 30, 1928]*¹

CHI. VASUMATI,

I have your letters. Talk with the Principal gently from time to time about the uncleanness and take measures to remove it. Here things are going on fairly well.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 475. Courtesy: Vassumati Pandit

¹ From the postmark

87. BARDOLI ON TRIAL

One may hastily think that the Government is on its trial in Bardoli. But that would be a wrong opinion. The Government has been tried and found wanting scores of times. 'Frightfulness' is its code of conduct when its vital parts are affected. If its prestige or its revenue is in danger, it seeks to sustain it either by means fair or foul. It does not hesitate to resort to terrorism and cover it with unblushing untruths. The latest information that Pathans are now being posted in villages with instructions to surround the houses of the villagers day and night need not cause either surprise or anger. The surprise is that they have not yet let loose in Bardoli a punitive police and declared martial law. We ought by this time to know what a punitive police or martial law means. It is evident that by the latest form of 'frightfulness' the Government is seeking to good people into some act of violence, be it ever so slight, to justify their enactment of the last act in the tragedy.

Will the people of Bardoli stand this last trial? They have already staggered Indian humanity. They have shown heroic patience in the midst of great provocation. Will they stand the greatest provocation that can be offered? If they will, they will have gained everything. Imprisonments, forfeitures, deportations, death, must all be taken in the ordinary course by those who count honour before everything else. When the terror becomes unbearable, let the people leave the land they have hitherto believed to be theirs. It is wisdom to vacate houses or places that are plagueinfected. Tyranny is a kind of plague and when it is likely to make us angry or weak, it is wisdom to leave the scene of such temptation. History is full of instances of brave people having sought exile in preference to surrender to *zoolum*.

Let me hope however that such a step will not be necessary. One hears rumours of intercessions by well-meaning friends. They have the right, it may be even their duty, to intercede. But let these friends realize the significance of the movement. They are not to represent a weak cause or a weak people. The people of Bardoli stand for an absolutely just cause. They ask no favour, they seek only justice. They do not ask anyone to consider their case to be true. Their cause is to seek an independent, open, judicial inquiry and they undertake to abide by the verdict of such a tribunal. To deny the tribunal is to deny justice which the Government have hitherto done. The means at the

disposal of the people are self-suffering. In such a cause then minimum and maximum are almost convertible terms. Those who rely upon self-suffering for redress of a grievance cannot afford to rate it higher than it actually is. Those, therefore, who will intervene will harm the people and their cause, if they do not appreciate the implications of the struggle which cannot be lightly given up or compromised.

The public have a duty to perform by the satyagrahis. The response is already being made to Vallabhbhai's appeal for funds. It will be remembered that he refused to make the appeal as long as it was possible to refrain. The imprisonments have made the appeal imperative. I have no doubt that the response will be quick and generous. Equally necessary is the expression of enlightened public opinion. Let the public study the facts carefully and then cover the whole of the land with public meetings. I like the suggestion made by Sjt. Jairamdas that June 12th or any other suitable day should be proclaimed as Bardoli Day when meetings representing all parties may be held to pass resolutions and make collections in aid of the sufferers of Bardoli.

Young India, 31-5-1928

88. UNTOUCHABILITY IN THE SOUTH

Though untouchability appears in its worst and crudest form in the extreme south, that is Kerala, not much, at least not enough is being done by the reformers in the south to stamp out the evil. They will not even finance the movement to the extent that is necessary and possible for them. When, therefore, I started collections during my visit to Calicut amongst the people locally, I was glad to find that the South Indian colony in Bombay signified their intention of making a much more substantial collection than was made in Calicut and giving it to me when I passed through Bombay. In continuation of their promise a deputation came to me in Bombay during my recent visit and assured me that they had not forgotten it but that they were waiting for a favourable season for making the collections. One of them now writes :

Many a young man with meagre salary is wasting his money in races and other city inducements, and if only we could wean them from their present tendencies, much could be expected of them for their own benefit as well as for the benefit of the city of Bombay.

I hope that this reform movement will take deep root amongst the South Indian young men. I would advise them not to wait for a “favourable season”. For any time is a favourable season for doing good work or begging or giving in a good cause. No cause can be better than the cause of the untouchables, the “unapproachables” and the “invisibles”. If the young men from the south living in Bombay will only deny themselves some of the costly luxuries such as smoking, races, visits to teashops, etc., there will be a fat collection. Every religion enjoins the setting apart of a certain portion of one’s income for charitable purposes. Unfortunately young men nowadays in most cases have given the go-by to religion. But if the practice of invariably allocating a certain portion of one’s income to charitable purposes can be revived, causes such as those of the untouchables need never wait for a “favourable season”

Young India, 31-5-1928

89. *LETTER TO S. N. MITRA*

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,

SABARMATI,

May 31, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. In my opinion, I have solved the question put by you through the suggestion I have made if it can be accepted because students while they are studying cannot do more or better than personally spinning and adopting khaddar for their use and wear. And if they cannot do this much, they are not likely to do anything else that may be of substantial benefit to the country.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm : S.N. 13612

90. LETTER TO G. N. KANITKAR

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
May 31, 1928

MY DEAR KANITKAR,

I had your letter. I am surprised that you have fixed a date for the meeting without consultation with Jamnalalji and then you expect him to attend the meeting. Surely it was due to him as President that you should have first conferred with him as to the date and the agenda and then issued your circular. Jamnalalji is now telegraphing to you to appoint another date when he will certainly attend.

With reference to the dispensary, all I told you was that there should be no difficulty in giving the Rashtriya Shikshan Mandal a lease of the premises, if the Council of the Association approved of the terms, etc. And this could happen only after an unconditional transfer of all the rights of the Swavalamban Pathashala in connection with the property and the Charkha Sangh.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. G. N. KANITKAR
341 SADASHIV PETH
POONA CITY

From a photostat : S.N. 13613

91. LETTER TO A. T. GIDWANI

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
May 31, 1928

MY DEAR GIDWANI,

I was wondering when I should hear from you. I was therefore delighted when Girdhari handed me your letter.

The personal things you call petty are of as much interest to me as Bardoli, for I love to know all about co-workers. I understand your desire to throw up everything and rush to Bardoli, but there is no occasion for it as yet. When it does arrive, you will find me summoning you without the slightest hesitation. I know that like a good soldier that you are you will promptly respond to the summons. As it is, Vallabhbhai has enough workers.

I am glad that you are keeping much better health and I know that Gangabehn has shed all her moroseness. But tell her she must not forget her Gujarati. And if she is not doing so already she must help you in your work. She can do a great deal in going to girls' schools, organizing them and teaching them *takli*, etc.

The communal trouble is always and everywhere with us. I hope that it will not prove beyond your strength to cope with.

Yours, sincerely,

From a photostat: S. N. 14475

**92. LETTER TO MANAGER, IMPERIAL BANK OF INDIA,
AHMEDABAD**

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 1, 1928

THE MANAGER,
IMPERIAL BANK OF INDIA
AHMEDABAD

DEAR SIR,

Please hand to the bearer the sum of Rs. 65-1-8 in accordance with receipt duly signed and enclosed herewith.

Yours faithfully,

Encl. I receipt

From a photostat: S. N. 13400

93. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

June 1, 1928

Do keep writing to me without expecting a letter from me.

[From Gujarati]

Bapuni Prasadi, p. 90

94. LETTER TO V. J. PATEL

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
B. B. C. I. RLY.,
June 1, 1928

BHAISHRI VITHALBHAI,

I have your letter. I have not yet actually received that letter of yours but I read it in the newspapers. It will produce a good impression. What shall we say or do about Harilal Desai? I am writing to Mahadev at Bardoli to send you a copy of Vallabhbhai's letter. We must keep on doing our work. You are doing your part very well. Is not God Himself *Karta-harta*.¹

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 14436

95. LETTER TO KEVALRAM

Saturday, before 4 a.m., June 2, 1928

BHAISHRI KEVALRAM,

I have your letter. I wanted to reply earlier but owing to lack of time I could not write till today. I hope your health has improved by now. You should take great pains to regain your health completely.

Knowing your nature, I fear that you will not be able to put up with the charges already made and the changes yet to be made in the Ashram.

To all those who take responsibility, both men and women, *brahmacharya* is essential.

Gradually everyone has started coming to the common kitchen. At present 90 dine there.

Labourers are gradually being reduced. Therefore everyone has to put in more manual labour.

There is talk about giving up buffalo milk and ghee and of living only on cow's milk produced at the Ashram.

If at all you come back you ought to be ready to do weaving.

¹ He who does and undoes

The *Niyamavali*¹ is almost ready. I shall send you a copy as soon as it is.

Harihar and Taranath have left [the Ashram] because of the *brahmacharya* clause.

Both of you should think deeply before deciding to come and stay in the Ashram and I would be very happy if you could fully observe the rules.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 11803

96. LETTER TO TARABEHN JASANI

June 2, 1928

CHI. TARA,

I do not have even a moment's respite. So I could not write to you. I am snatching some time especially to write this.

1. Devotion to God means rendering selfless service to all Gods's creatures.

2. The purpose of such devotion is self-realization.

3. Actionless devotion is no devotion; it is merely delusion.

4. . . .²

5. By being a burden on others one does not pursue devotion, one only denigrates God.

6. It is devotion of a pure kind if a man, after seeing to his essential needs, spends all the remaining time in the service of all living creatures. It is possible for one to reach the stage where one can serve by thought alone. But none of us have reached that stage. Therefore, for a man of flesh and blood, service of all that lives is the only way of devotion. Such service must be selfless, altruistic.

7. God means pure consciousness that pervades this world and without which not a single business of the world can go on for a single moment.

¹ Book of Rules; *vide* "Satyagraha Ashram", 14-6-1928.

² Illegible in the source.

There were more questions you wanted me to answer, but I cannot find the letter. If you remember you may ask me again.

Be careful of your health. Manu is waiting, so I shall not write more. Who has sent the invitation form Rangoon? . . .¹ Do not worry but keep writing to me.

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

There are many changes here now.

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G. N. 8781

97. IMPORTANCE OF BARDOLI

The lustre of the Bardoli Satyagraha increases day by day. Whose heart would not jump for joy at seeing Shri Vithalbhai Patel's letter which I have just received? A translation of it is published in this very issue. However, the fulfilment of the expectations with which he has written that letter lies in the hands of the Bardoli satyagrahis themselves. The Government's notice too has been published along with Shri Vithalbhai's letter. The gist of the note is that the so-called satyagrahis are no satyagrahis but cowards, and, because they are cowards, they secretly go and pay up their revenue dues. There are other such points mentioned in the note, which deserves to be considered by the satyagrahis. The Government has built its castle of hopes of the people's weaknesses, whereas the Himalayas of the hopes of the satyagrahis and their well-wishers like Vithalbhai rest on the satyagrahis' courage and determination. Being built by man, a castle crumbles. The Himalayas being a gift of God, will stand firm and if they should fall it would be the end of everything. It is indeed true that man forges his own fetters and he himself can break them. The *yajna* at Bardoli is intended to prove this.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 3-6-1928

¹ Illegible in the source.

98. *QUESTIONS ON EDUCATION-I*

Having written the three articles on primary education, it is now easy for me to answer the following questions :

Q. 1. You once said reducing the burden imposed by English on students would amount to saving so many years of their life. If we interpret national education to mean nation-wide education, how much would be the burden imposed upon society? How much, that is, in terms of years?

A. Let me first explain the meaning of the phrase “reducing the burden imposed by English”. It is not my contention that students should not be taught English at all. But let us learn English as a foreign language in the same way that a Frenchman learns it. If we learn English only to that extent, we shall not have to carry the burden of thinking in English, speaking or writing it with correctness. In my opinion, at least five years of the student’s life are wasted in carrying this burden. Not only this. Because of the strain caused during these five years, his capacity to think is affected, he becomes enfeebled in the body and, like blotting-paper absorbing ink, he starts merely imitating in a superficial manner. How much a person would learn if he spent five years in getting the knowledge he needs through his mother-tongue! How much time he would save thereby! He would readily learn the best thoughts in his own language and be spared the burden of learning the difficult pronunciation of a foreign language.

Q. 2. Child education at one end and university education at the other are very expensive. Can these both be included in national education? Alternatively, do you have any scheme for providing equally solid education at a lower cost?

A. I have tried to show in those three articles how child education could become inexpensive, almost self-supporting. If we can fashion a university education which will aid primary education, it can be made inexpensive and students can acquire the necessary knowledge useful to the nation. If the phrase “solid education” implies education similar to that provided by Government schools, the question is irrelevant, as I do not regard that education as solid. The education given in the national university or primary schools is distinct from that provided by Government schools and is very often of a novel and original kind. It is therefore solid in its own way.

Q. 3. Advocates of tradition try to inculcate in pupils devotion for the guru. They tell the pupils that learning can be acquired only by pleasing the guru and in no other manner; that if one does not please the guru, does not serve him and attend on him he may out of slyness withhold knowledge; that one should always be flattering him to keep him from wicked in this way. Is this a definition of *gurubhakti*?

A. I am a believer in *gurubhakti*. However, every teacher cannot become a guru. The guru-disciple relationship is spiritual and spontaneous, it is not artificial, it cannot be created through external pressure. Such gurus are still to be found in India. (It should not be necessary to warn that I am not speaking here of gurus who give *moksha*.) The question of flattering such a guru just does not arise. The respect towards such a guru can only be natural, the guru's love is also of the same kind. Hence the one is always ready to give and the other is always ready to receive. Common knowledge, on the other hand, is something which we can accept from anyone. I can learn a lot from a carpenter with whom I have no connection and of whose faults I am aware; I can acquire a knowledge of carpentry from him just as I purchase goods from a shopkeeper. Of course, a certain type of faith is required even here. I cannot learn carpentry from a carpenter if I do not have faith in his knowledge of that subject. *Gurubhakti* is an altogether different matter. In character-building, which is the object of education, the relationship between the guru and his disciples is of utmost importance and where there is no *gurubhakti* in its pure form, there can be no character-building.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 3-6-1928

99. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,

SABARMATI,

June 3, 1928

BHAISHRI VALLABHBHAI,

I am enclosing herewith a draft of the reply to the Governor. [The struggle] is developing well. May you live long. Write or wire

when you need me. There are constant reports that you may be arrested. You will get some rest if you are. If you are not, haven't we taken a vow never to rest?

BAPU

VALLABHBHAI PATEL

SWARAJ ASHRAM

BARDOLI

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro—Sardar Vallabhbhaine, p.13

100. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

SABARMATI,

Silence Day [June 4, 1928]¹

CHI. VASUMATI,

I receive your letters regularly. You should acknowledge receipt of mine. I am just not able to write regularly. I am writing this at four o'clock in the morning. The bell has started ringing now.

There is scope enough yet to improve your handwriting. I read out one of your letters to the sisters here. As far as possible go to bed before 9 and get up at 4. Do you take exercise or not? Use some insecticide for killing bugs. If you can make any suggestions about keeping things clean, do so. How many Gujarati girls are there? Now 90 people dine in the kitchen. The number keeps on increasing, but others must be writing to you about all this.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : C.W. 476. Courtesy : Vasumati Pandit

¹ From the postmark

² *Vide* "Indians in South Africa", 7-6-1928.

³ *Vide* "Cableram to South African Indian Congress", On or after 29-5-1928.

101. LETTER TO V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI

SABARMATI,
June 4, 1928

MY DEAR FRIEND AND BROTHER,

You are posting me regularly with the events on your side. They help me much.

I am writing this week a cautious article¹ in *Young India* on the two judgments. If possible, I shall send you an advance copy.

Pragji has written a long letter to me. He is a good man. I have acted upon your cablegram and cabled³ to our friends there that they should rely of you for guidance.

I do hope you are keeping well.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 8815

102. BARDOLI DAY

SABARMATI,
June 5, 1928²

I hope that the Bardoli Day, that is, 12th June next, will be observed throughout India in an earnest and becoming manner. The best way to do so is wherever it is possible to suspend all work and devote the day to collection of funds for the satyagrahi sufferers and for helping Sjt. Vallabhbhai Patel and his band of workers in carrying on the struggle, and have mass meetings where further collections should be made and resolutions passed supporting the demand of the satyagrahis and condemning the coercive measures of the Government. I do not think that there should be a call for volunteers, because Sjt. Vallabhbhai Patel has already enough for his requirements. Offers have been received from all parts of the country. And if more are required, I have no doubt that there are volunteers ready all over the country. Friends from Maharashtra, Sind and elsewhere have already sent me messages that Vallabhbhai could rely upon almost an

¹ *Vide* "Indians in South Africa", 7-6-1928

² The date is from *The Bombay Chronicle*, 6-6-1928, which carried a brief report of this item.

unlimited number. There may be unwarrantable optimism in this language, but after due allowance is made, there is no doubt that enough men and women, if necessary, will be forthcoming when and if the call comes.

Young India, 7-6-1928

103. LETTER TO SHANTIKUMAR MORARJI

*Tuesday [June 5, 1928]*¹

CHI. SHANTIKUMAR,

Enclosed herewith is Sumant's letter. Now I do not know what to do. I see there is need to reply to his charge. I shall call him here if you wish. But it would be better if you yourself talked it out with him if he has not altogether lost good sense.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 4705. Courtesy: Shantikumar Morarji

104. LETTER TO CHHOTALAL MANSINHA

ASHRAM,

*Jeth Vad 3, Tuesday [June 5, 1928]*²

BHAI CHHOTALAL,

I have your letter. We cannot discuss the suicide of the late Acharya Bhatt in *Navajivan*. Hindu society can be reformed by everyone adopting the necessary changes in his family.

MOHANDAS GANDHI

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 27588

¹ From the postmark

² As noted on the letter

105. LETTER TO V. J. PATEL

ASHRAM,

Wednesday, Jeth Vad 4 [June 6, 1928]¹

BHAISHRI VITHALBHAI,

I have received Swami's letter. I feel that we certainly cannot agree to the condition that the farmers should from today put into the bank the money which they will have to pay if the decision of the committee to be appointed goes against them. I see Vallabhbhai's as well as the farmers's lack of trust in it. At present the farmers are putting up a fight saying that the enhanced revenue is unjustifiable. The Government has no reason to believe that they would not pay or Vallabhbhai would not help them even if the decision of the committee by which they would themselves agree to abide went against them. Therefore, at least for the sake of our self-respect, we cannot agree to the condition that we deposit the money in the bank. All the terms of agreement will be made in public. Even Vallabhbhai's terms of agreement will be made in public. The people will certainly pay up the revenue without the additional amount, that is, nearly five lakhs. To collect the remaining money should be very easy for the Government. I smell a rat in the talk of somehow recovering the additional amount first. It will never satisfy us if they appoint a committee in name only. The committee should be impartial and open. We have not the slightest right to be so spiritless after the people have shown so much strength. If ultimately the people are to lose, they will do so. We should have no hand in their discomfiture.

You can judge better than I when and at whose invitation you should go to Mahabaleshwar. I do not think that now I have left any part of Swami's letter unanswered.

BAPU

[From Gujarati]

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

¹ *Jeth Vad 4* seems to be an error for *Jeth Vad 3* which was a Wednesday and corresponded to June 6.

106 LETTER TO BECHAR PARMAR

ASHRAM,

Wednesday, Jeth Vad 4 [June 6, 1928]¹

BHAISHRI BECHAR,

I have your letter. One reply to it is that if any occupation goes against morality, it must be given up. The other is that there are only four varnas and there is nothing wrong with any of them. Therefore one should stick to one's own varna and give up whatever immoral practices one's parents might have adopted, so that one could take up some other occupation whilst yet belonging to one's own varna.

Blessings from

MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5572

107. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

ASHRAM,

Wednesday, Jeth Vad 4 [June 6, 1928]²

CHI. VASUMATI,

I do get your letters. You must have got mine.³ Gangabehn and Manibehn have gone to Bombay. At present more than 90 people dine in the common kitchen. Lilabehn too has come here for 15 days. Bhai Chimanlal also dines there. The work is proceeding well. Balkrishna is here at present. Chhaganlal and Prabhudas paid me a visit yesterday. We get buffalo's milk and mostly buffalo's ghee only; therefore the question of giving up ghee in the Ashram is under discussion. You should find some simple way to overcome the problem of latrines. In any case earth must be used at the end.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 578. Courtesy: Vasumati Pandit

¹ From the discussion regarding the varnas, continued in his letter to the addressee dated 23-6-1928, it would seem that this letter too was written in 1928, in which year *Jeth Vad 4* corresponded to June 6. Wednesday however was *Jeth Vad 3*.

² From the postmark

³ *Vide* "Letter to Vasumati Pandit", 4-6-1928

108. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

ASHRAM,
June 6, 1928

BHAISHRI GHANSHYAMDASJI,

I got your letter. I too hold that *asanas* are beneficial. But my experience is that specific knowledge is needed to choose the *asanas*.

It now seems that I shall remain in the Ashram during August. Do come.

Yours,
MOHANDAS

SHRIYUT GHANSHYAMDAS BIRLA
BIRLA PARK
BALLYGUNGE
CULCUTTA

From Hindi: C.W. 6159. Courtesy: G.D. Birla

109. LETTER TO CHIMANLAL VORA

Jyaishtha Krishna 3 [June 6, 1928]¹

BHAI CHIMANLALJI,

Your letter. Five articles mean just five and no more. If two articles are taken as medicine they have to be counted as two. Salt is not a separate article. My present diet consists of goat's milk, vegetable, wheat, lemon and almonds. Turmeric is counted separately. If some-thing is added to quinine even that would make two items, and so forth.

My belief is that by human effort one can within limits lengthen or shorten one's life. Ultimately it is God who does everything but He uses someone as His instrument.

Yours,
MOHANDAS GANDHI

SHRI CHIMANLAL GULABCHAND VORA
SHRIMALI MOHALLA
RATLAM

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 6300

¹ From the postmark

110. THE TWO SIDES

The communique of the Government of Bombay on the Bardoli Satyagraha is in keeping with the letter of the Commissioner, Northern Division, which I had the painful duty of criticizing only the other day.¹ This communique opens with a repetition of the insult that Sjt. Vallabhbhai and his co-workers are outsiders. Instead of being described as such they described as “persons who do not reside there” (in Bardoli). The communique then shamelessly refers to the fact that when the attempt at distraint had failed, the Government resorted to an “organized attachment of buffaloes and movable property.” Sjt. Vallabhbhai’s publicity department has shown what the attachment of buffaloes has meant. The communique further triumphantly refers to the fact that “forty Pathans were obtained to assist the Mamlatdar and Mahalkaris in the work of attachment and the care of animals attached.”. The publicity department has again shown us what the introduction of Pathans has meant. Even without the assistance of the department, we could have guessed the meaning of this introduction. Whether it is the Government or private people who employ Pathans, people know why the services of these friends are enlisted. Lest, however, the accepted meaning might be attached to the enlistment of Pathans, the communique proceeds : “Unfounded allegations have been made against these Pathans. Government are satisfied that their conduct has been exemplary in every respect”. Who does not laugh at this explanation? If, as the Government contend, the Pathans have been employed in order to replace the Vethias who are alleged to be under threat of excommunication, it is relevant to ask why Pathans have been chosen instead of Vethias from other places or some other mild-mannered men. The Government pooh-poo the notion as incredible that “five parties, each of five Pathans, working under the eye of a responsible officer of Government, can terrorize a population of 90,000 persons”. Again experience of the people of India shows what one Pathan armed with authority can do in a whole village. It is no doubt humiliating to think that Pathans or anybody else can terrorize large masses of men, but unfortunately it is a fact of daily occurrence in this fearridden, terror-stricken India. And I would consider the Bardoli struggle to be well fought, even without any further result, if the people of Bardoli shed

¹ *Vide* “The Only Issue”, 17-5-1928.

their fear of men and authority and turn the Pathans into friends.

But the communique is not satisfied with a recital of the coercive measures taken in respect of movable property; it refers to forfeiture of lands. The Government are not ashamed to own that “up to date of the communique 1,400 acres of such land have been disposed of under forfeiture notices and that about 5,000 acres more will be disposed of in due course unless the arrears due thereon be sooner paid”, and unnecessarily add that “such lands once disposed of would never be returned”. There are several other statements in the communique which are open to criticism, but I forbear.

The communique announces some insulting accommodation for those who would pay the assessment on or before the 19th instant. It is for the people of Bardoli to return the only answer open to self-respecting men and women. When they embarked upon this struggle, they knew the cost of resistance. I have little doubt that they will not fail to render a good account of themselves when the last heat of the struggle commences as they did during the opening stages.

In marked contrast to the communique comes the letter addressed to me by Sjt. Vithalbhai Patel announcing a handsome monthly donation of Rs. 1,000 so long as the struggle lasts. Throughout his brilliant career as the Speaker of the Assembly Sjt. Vithalbhai Patel has upheld the rights of the people. Occupancy of office has not in the slightest degree made him lose his head or compromise the honour of his country. Whilst he has acted with strict impartiality, he has neither hesitated nor been afraid to act on behalf of the people wherever the holding of his office has permitted him to do so. The alien rulers have established a slavish tradition that those who are in the pay of the Government must in all circumstances refrain from showing their sympathy for the people when the latter engage in any fight with the Government, and this even when the Government act in a manner contrary to laws promulgated by themselves. Sjt. Vithalbhai Patel has broken through that unhealthy and slavish tradition and has been able to do so because he has accepted his office not for its honour, not for the salary it brings him, but, as he puts it in his letter, as a trust on behalf of those who have elected him to the office. It must be remembered that the Speaker is not a statutory servant of the Crown. He is a popular representative and without taking an active part in political controversies and the like, he has a perfect right to show his sympathy for the people. Having

been elected as the Speaker, Sjt. Vithalbhai ceased to be a party man; but he did not and could not cease to be representative of the combined parties who called him to preside over their deliberations. I therefore tender him my congratulations for the manly stand he has taken up on behalf of the people. If entry into legislative bodies created by the alien Government can be held at all justifiable, he has shown to those who may enter these bodies and accept office the way to act nobly and fearlessly.

Young India, 7-6-1928

111. CASH v. CREDIT

The Secretary, All-India Spinners' Association, writes as follows:

The credit sales of the provincial branches of the Association amount to Rs. 1,54,488-13-8½ representing 15 per cent of the capital invested in these branches, and this is in spite of the resolution passed by the Council putting a ban generally on credit sales. This is largely due to the misgivings of our workers. They fear that the sales will go down if credits are completely stopped. The fear is groundless. The Tamilnad has done away with all credit sales, and it after all shows the largest sales amongst all the khadi depots throughout India. You may inform your various branches and the public that past experience shows that khadi work loses through these credit sales as well by reason of the purchasers making default as by reason of the locking up of capital which is none too large.

I entirely endorse the warning uttered in the foregoing letter. So long as khadi remains an infant national industry requiring delicate nursing and protection from the public, there should be no credit sales in khadi depots. We must simply rely upon the support of a patriotic public and if we cannot command cash sales, we may regard the disinclination to pay cash as a sign that khadi does not enjoy the benefit of public protection. But my own personal experience throughout my extensive wanderings has shown that people gladly pay cash for khadi when they require and receive credit in respect of their other purchases. To pay cash for khadi that the people want is the least protection that khadi is entitled to. Managers of sale depots must not be afraid of losing custom if they do not give credit. They must rely upon their ability to carry on propaganda in their neighbourhood in favour of khadi for commanding cash sales. And in no case are they warranted in giving credits in spite of instructions

from headquarters to the contrary. Discipline demands that if they have no confidence in themselves to carry on khadi depots successfully without being able to give credit, they should give such notice to the head office and ask to be relieved of their charge. The head office should be trusted to know what is best on the whole for turning khadi into a business proposition as quickly as possible.

Young India, 7-6-1928

112. INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA

Two very important cases have been decided recently by the Transvaal Provincial Division of the Supreme Court on South Africa. One of them, *S. B. Medh v. Immigrants Appeal Board*, though important in itself, affects only a few special cases of Indians who received exemption certificates under the Smuts-Gandhi Settlement as being educated Indians. It was contended by the Union Government that the exemptions were not complete. I need not go into greater detail. The Court has now found that the exemptions were complete in the sense submitted on behalf of the appellant.

The other case, *Days Purshottam v. Immigrants Appeal Board*, has farreaching consequences for the Indian settlers. The judgment in this case lays down that section 5 of Act 37 of 1927 does not possess retrospective effect. Hence certificates obtained by fraudulent means do not become cancellable at the will of the Immigration Board or the Immigration Officer. If this judgment stands, holders of certificates even though they were originally tainted will remain undisturbed. This is a great victory for the settlers. I have no desire to see fraud in any shape or form protected. But the case of these settlers is not one of ordinary fraud. In many cases, at least up to 1914 the Asiatic Office was a corrupt department and it made it practically impossible for *bona-fide* entrants to enter unless they resorted to some crooked means so as to satisfy the greed of the Asiatic officers. Where Government officials are privy to fraud, it ill becomes that Government to punish the helpless victims.

Cables from the South African settlers tell me that the Government are appealing against the two decisions. I venture to suggest to the Union Government that it would be more in keeping with their conciliatory attitude and the spirit of the new understanding that they do not seek to deprive the Indians of the advantage the two appeals give them. The judgment in the first appeal protects only a

few individuals. And in their case there is no question of fraud. The judgment in the second appeal protects a fair number of those who are already in the Union. It will be no serious calamity for the Union to have to absorb a few more Indians than the Government had counted upon. The Union Government should remember that these appeals are very expensive affairs especially for the poor Indians. It is hardly fair for an organized powerful Government to take successful citizens through appellate courts and thus exhaust them into submission or worse. It may be well to possess a giant's strength, but it is admittedly wrong to use it against dwarfs.

The settlers will do well not to set much store to their success in these two appeals. They have in Sjt. Sastri a great friend and adviser. Let them press their suit as much as ever before him but having done so let them abide by his advice. He will use in their behalf all the influence he has acquired with the Union Government. I welcome their cables. I appreciate the trust they repose in me. But my power to help them from this distance and in the changed circumstances I found myself in 1920 is much too limited to be of value. Their strength therefore lies in their unity, moderation and reliance upon one who is not merely Agent General for the Government of India but is their true and powerful friend and guide.

Young India, 7-6-1928

113. LETTER TO SIR KISHUN PARSHAD

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,

SABARMATI,

June 7, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

It gave me joy to hear from the lips of Babu Rup Narayan of the great interest you have been taking in the khadi movement and of the fact that you had already commenced spinning yourself. I commend to your attention the manner in which the movement is being handled by the Mysore State. I have no doubt that if it is properly taken up it will be a blessing to the poor agriculturists in the Nizam's Dominion.

Babu Rup Narayan tells me that I am to expect a sample of your yarn and your eldest son's. I am looking forward to the receipt of the

samples. And if you will permit me, they will go to our Museum where samples of yarn spun by distinguished persons are collected.

Yours sincerely,

H. E. MAHARAJAH SIR KISHUN PARSHAD

YAMINUS-SULTANATH

CITY PALACE

HYDERABAD (DECCAN)

From a microfilm: S.N. 13614

114. DRAFT OF LETTER TO SIR LESLIE WILSON

[June 7, 1928]¹

I thank you for your prompt reply to my letter of the 4th instant.

It is evident from your letter that we are working at cross purposes. I fail to see why because I hold an important public position, I might not write to another holding an equally important public position a friendly letter drawing his attention to what I might consider to be a serious breach of law or official duty on the part of his officials. The fact that the holding of the position I occupy prevents me from entering into proofs of statements I might make does not mean that I have no warrant for making such statements or that I might not make them confidentially to a fellow official and that in the public interest.

If you will re-read my letter of the 4th instant, you will find therein that I have not said that I have no proof of the statements I have made; on the contrary, I have given you the sources of my information. Is it not up to you now to adopt the only possible course, if you really want to have those statements proved, namely, to appoint a committee of enquiry? Tell me how otherwise you are to be satisfied about the correctness or otherwise of the statements I have made to you.

With reference to the third paragraph of your letter, there is no question of my not believing you. I simply quoted your own letter to show that at the time you wrote to me that letter, you had made no enquiry. You evidently seem to think that the letter of the Commissioner is not open to objection, whereas I venture to suggest

¹ This was enclosed with the following item.

that it is highly offensive and if it does not set at nought all law, it does set nought all order and decency and is bereft of all official responsibility. And the last paragraph of your letter of the 17th ultimo, which is clear, shows that you had made no enquiry at the time you wrote that letter into the allegations made by me.

As to the fourth paragraph of your letter, let me assure you that my letter was in no way written in haste. It was a deliberate statement made by me with the full sense of my responsibility.

In conclusion, let me ask you these two questions :

Do you propose to take any notice of the letter of the Commissioner, Northern Division, to which I have drawn your attention?

Do you propose to make any enquiry into the allegations to which I have drawn your attention?

Statements which I believe and for which ample proof can be given if the Committee of enquiry is appointed are as follows :

(1) In many cases of attachment no *panchnamas* were prepared, no receipts given and no account was rendered of the property attached.

(2) Buffaloes were attached without identifying the owners.

(3) Property exempted from attachment under Civil Procedure Code has also been attached.

(4) Attachment during night.

(5) House-breaking by breaking through hedges, removing doors off their hinges, etc.

(6) Torturing of milch cattle and selling them for a trifle. Buffaloes valued at Rs. 1,200 were sold for Rs. 216.

(7) A Pathan caught in the act of stealing.

(8) Pathans molesting and acting indecently before women.

(9) Pathans otherwise wounding the susceptibilities of the people.

(10) Arbitrary notifications by the Collector or the District Superintendent.

(11) Irregular procedure of the trials of satyagrahis.

I have taken only a few samples out of many supplied to me.

I need hardly say that whilst my letters being purely of a friendly nature have been meant to be confidential, if you think that

the correspondence between us may be made public, I have on my part no objection whatsoever thereto.

H. E. SIR LESLIE WILSON

GOVERNOR OF BOMBAY

From a photostat: S.N. 11447

115. LETTER TO V. J. PATEL

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,

SABARMATI,

June 7, 1928

BHAISHRI VITHALBHAI,

Herewith a draft of the reply to be sent to the Governor. You may make any change in it you want to. I see no need to send everything that Swami has put down. I have taken some of the points from it. I very much wish that the entire correspondence is published; but how is that to be done? The Governor seems to be binding himself more and more with every letter that he writes.

Vandemataram from

MOHANDAS

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 14441

116. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

[After June 7, 1928]¹

CHI. MAHADEV,

I have your wire. I have taken whatever was good. Lack of humility would be the least reason. I did not at all like the style of the article. I shall analyse it when you come. This article has almost the same drawback which disqualified Swami's. But I do not know if you have a different opinion or expectation about your article; therefore if I have erred in my estimate, we shall both have to put up with it.

Vallabhbhai will be pleased to see Rameshwar Birla's letter. I enclose herewith the Governor's letter to Vithalbhai along with the draft of a reply.

Blessings from

BAPU

¹ From the reference to the draft reply to Governor's letter, it is clear that this was written after June 7.

[PS.]

I have destroyed those of your letters which were fit to be destroyed. You will see them all here.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11447

117. LETTER TO J. B. PENNINGTON

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,

SABARMATI,

June 8, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I know that however much we may differ, if I am ever able to come to England, I am sure of a hearty greeting from you.

A friend did write to me saying that I should not reject the advances of Sir John Simon if he wanted to see me, that he was a simple-minded, honest Englishman, who never stood on ceremonies and was likely to seek me out. If he had done so, I would certainly have gladly greeted him at the Ashram. I was uninterested, as I still am, in the Commission. And, therefore, I did not feel called upon to seek an interview with him. You know the geography of Western India. Ahmedabad is in an out-of-the-way corner, and therefore I may not expect busy people like Sir John Simon to go out of their beat to see individuals like me who can be of no assistance to them in their work.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 14325

118. LETTER TO SVENSKA KYRKANS

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 8, 1928

MESSRS SVENSKA KYRKANS
DIAKONISTYRELSES BOKFORLAG
STOCKHOLM 7
GENTLEMEN,

With reference to your letter of the 8th February, you are at liberty to publish an unabridged Swedish translation of the first volume of the "Story of My Experiments with Truth".

Any payment you make will be utilized for the furtherance of some of my public activities.

Yours faithfully,

From a photostat: S.N. 15034

119. LETTER TO T. DE. MANZIARLY

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 8, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter and the magazines for which I thank you.

I take you at your word and send you this "very short" article if you will call it so.

"My belief in the possibility of Hindu-Muslim union is unchangeable in spite of the fact that if anyone were to ask for my reasons for that belief I should not be able to give them."

Yours sincerely,

MADAME T. DE MANZIARLY
21 RUE DU CHEMIN VERT
COURBEVOIE
SEINE

From a photostat: S.N. 14324

120. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 8, 1928

DEAR SATIS BABU,

I have your letter. Our course is clear. If the Congress Exhibition is to be a replica of the Madras Exhibition, there should be no khadi exhibition at the time of the Congress.¹ I have not yet heard from Mr. Sen Gupta.

I am anxious to know the medical report about Nikhil. He ought to pull through under the hip-bath treatment, perfect rest and milk diet.

I send herewith an extract from Sir Daniel Hamilton's letter. Do you know anything of the property in Sunderbans?² And if you do, what is the condition of the people there and how many inhabit the property?

With love,

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 8916

¹ For Gandhiji's views on the Madras Exhibition, *vide* "The National Congress (subtopic - The Elephant and the Ant)", January 5, 1928.

² In his letter dated May 16, 1928, Sir Daniel had written : "On my property in Sunderbans of Bengal I want to make handicraft compulsory as well as book-learning. I want the children to be taught spinning, weaving, carpentry and improved agriculture."

121. LETTER TO MRS. RACHEL M. RUTTER¹

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 8, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter. What you say about Miss Mayo is only too true. There are people who will not stop at anything however untruthful it may be.

I am taking the liberty of quoting in *Young India* that part² of your letter which refers to Miss Mayo. I am not making use of your name.

Mr. Andrews is just now in Colombo, nursing the Poet who on his way to Europe had to disembark owing to sudden illness.

Yours sincerely,

MRS. RACHEL M. RUTTER
IRESON LANE
WINCANTON
SOMERSET, ENGLAND

From a photostat: S.N. 14323

122. LETTER TO RAMESHWARDAS PODDAR

ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 8, 1928

BHAI RAMESHWARDAS,

Jamnalalji has passed on your letter to me. What shall I write to you ! Do not lose patience, be calm and do not insist on doing anything that is beyond your capacity. We still have a saintly man like Shankerrao, consult him and act or if you stay in Wardha do what Jajuji advises.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 195

¹ English missionary who had visited Gandhiji when he was convalescing at Juhu, Bombay, in 1924

² This was published in *Young India*, 29-6-1928, under the title "An Impertinence".

123. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

June 9, 1928

CHI. VASUMATI,

I am getting all your letters. If no other arrangement can be made about a latrine and if there is difficulty in taking an enema, use a commode and clean it yourself. It would be cheaper to get one made there than going in for an English article. Commodes are used in many houses in Dehra Dun. Make whatever improvements you can without creating any ill will.

Chi. Kamala did not open your trunk. It was Gangabehn who had it opened for something and at that time she asked Prabhavati to see if there was a *thali*¹ in it. Gangabehn had entrusted to Prabhavati the job of opening the trunk. I don't see in this any cause for you to feel unhappy. Kamala says that she never ransacked the trunk. She has told me to inquire of Prabhavati and further to confirm it and I intend to do so. But I do not think that Kamala has hidden anything. I shall question Prabhavati too for your satisfaction.

The work here goes on satisfactorily. Now it is there o'clock in the morning.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Improve your Hindi a great deal.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 477. Courtesy: Vasumati Pandit

124. LETTER TO TAIYABALI

ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 9, 1928

BHAISHRI TAIYABALI,

I have your letter. I congratulate you on your resigning your job for the sake of your self-respect.

Articles on khadi are published in *Navajivan* from time to time. But it would not be proper to write articles bearing on individual communities.

¹ Metal plate

Put up with criticism from your relatives. What profession have you taken up now?

Vandemataram from

MOHANDAS GANDHI

From Gujarati: C.W. 7758. Courtesy: Lalchand Jeychand Vora

125. LETTER TO HEMPRABHA DAS GUPTA

ASHRAM,

June 9, 1928

DEAR SISTER,

I have your letter. Nikhil has come to Sodepur; in a way I am glad. I am inclined to believe that a milk diet, hip-baths, fresh air and perfect rest will cure him. In any case, don't worry. What God has given He can take away when it pleases Him. How is Tarini? Other patients suffering from tuberculosis should, if they can afford it, be sent to a hill-station.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 1657

126 LETTER TO KEDARNATH BANNERJEE

[After *June 9, 1928*]¹

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter.

I have no doubt that even if it should cause temporary pain to your father you should leave him and go where you can earn a decent livelihood so as to help your people.

Yours sincerely,

KEDARNATH BANNERJEE

NAYA GANJ

CAWNPORE

From a microfilm: S.N. 14056

¹ This was in reply to the addressee's letter dated June 9, 1928.

127. QUESTIONS ON EDUCATION-II

Q. 4. Nowadays the teacher's task has in fact been reduced to that of a postman or a foreman. It consists only of placing books written by educationists in the hands of pupils and of supervising whether they make use of these or not. In addition to this, what other skill do you expect the teachers to possess?

The science of education has been developed to the extent where the term 'teacher' may be defined as one who can clarify the meaning of difficult passages and prepare abstracts of long chapters. Why should we not now accept this ideal?

A. I keep on feeling that teachers in the true sense of the word are essential, no matter how good the text-books are. A good teacher would never content himself with summarizing or explaining the meaning of difficult passages. Time and again, he would go beyond the text-books and present his subject to the pupil in a vivid manner in the same way as an artist does. The best text-book may be compared to the best photograph. However, just as a painting by an artist although second rate is invariably superior to a photograph, similar is the case with a real teacher. A true teacher introduces the pupil to his subject, creates in him interest for the subject and enables him to understand it independently. In my opinion, one who explains difficult passages and prepares abstracts can never be regarded a good teacher. Our endeavours should be to turn out true teachers who could be infused with a spirit of service. It is not that stray instances of such teachers are not be found even today.

Q. 5. At the time of the educational conference at Broach you said although primary education might be free, it should not be compulsory and that even a good thing should not be compulsorily enforced on a nation which was not independent. If today the educational structure were to come within your control, would you or would you not see that your educational system in which khadi and other national crafts have a place of primary importance was made compulsory?

A. I don't think I have as yet the courage to make compulsory the educational system that I have conceived. I think our country has no need of it for many years to come, because although primary education ought to be made compulsory, many conditions that go before it remain to be fulfilled. I feel that if we put before the people the type of education that will further their growth and also meet with

their approval, they will readily welcome it without any effort on our part.

Q. 6. Do you believe that teachers have a right to give any kind of religious instruction which is in accordance with their viewpoint?

A. Teachers who teach under a common administrative system have no right to impart religious instruction according to their own viewpoint.

As in the case of other subjects, religious instruction too must be given in accordance with the scheme provided by the administrative authorities. Every teacher will have his own method of teaching within that framework; however, such instruction may be imparted only in accordance with the ideals that have been laid down by the authorities with regard to religion. It is true that instruction in other subjects can be imparted by one who has read certain books on these subjects. That is not the case of religious instruction. It is never given through books. The method of imparting this instruction is quite different from that followed in the case of other subject. Whereas the latter is communicated through the intellect, the former can proceed from one's heart alone. Hence so long as the teacher is not steeped in religion, he should not impart religious instruction. Although in this manner the means of imparting religious instruction are different, nevertheless it is necessary to have a certain amount of understanding about the way in which it is to be done. In other words, one cannot impart education which would encourage violence where non-violence has been accepted as the supreme dharma. Or, instruction antagonistic to other religions cannot be imparted where the ideal of love, tolerance and compassion towards all religions has been accepted as the ideal. In short, there can be no place for a state of anarchy with regard to religious instruction where its necessity has already been accepted.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 10-6-1928

128. THE YAJNA AT BARDOLI

The satyagraha being offered at Bardoli is certainly a kind of *yajna*. All altruistic work is directed towards the welfare of others. Since the peasants of Bardoli are fighting not for their individual interest but for the benefit of society and for their self-respect, it is a *yajna*. Offerings are made every day. The news of the latest of these

has just come in. It is as follows :¹

This can be regarded as a fitting rejoinder to the Government's notification. I congratulate the patels and the talatis on showing courage in this manner. I hope that they will remain steadfast in this decision and well never repent of it.

It is imperative that people get over the glamour or Government service. Anyone whose limbs are intact and who is industrious finds no difficulty in earning his bread honestly. If instead of welcoming the opportunity to rob people which a Government employee gets, if we considered it as something wrong and avoided it, the limbs of the Government would be weakened. Our own people are the limbs of the Government. If they get out, its ammunition and aeroplanes would be rendered useless.

The Government's notification is full of untruth, arrogance and contempt for the people. I hope no peasant of Bardoli will be lured by the temptations it holds out.

The Government has fully exploited and is still exploiting the fourfold method of *sama*, *dama*, *danda*, *bheda*.² Amongst these punishment is the least blameworthy since we can recognize it. Having endured it, we can spare ourselves its dread.

The other three are subtle. These involve temptations. Just as a fish while trying to lick the bait on the hook gets caught in it, unsuspecting and timid people get caught up in these poisonous triple strands. The temptation offered to people who would pay up their revenue before the 19th of June constitutes the policy of bribery. The people have a right to expect that not one peasant will break his pledge by succumbing to this bribe. Let Bardoli ensure that the stamp of courage and forbearance which it has impressed upon the whole of India is never erased. The policy of *bheda* is even more hateful than bribery.

Many kinds of rumours are afloat. Some say the Government desires a settlement, others claim that the people are weakening; yet others say that people have started secretly paying up revenue dues; some others say that but for fear of ostracism, people are prepared to

¹ This is not translated here. It stated that about 40 patels and eight talatis had resigned in the two preceding months as a protest against the Government's policy of repression. In their latest notification the Government threatened to take stricter action.

² Appeasement, bribery, (threat of) punishment and divisiveness

pay up their dues; some assert that people refrain from paying up their dues for fear of the outsiders like Vallabhbhai and his colleagues, and that these poor people would like to pay up their revenue and live in peace.

All this amounts to a policy of *bheda*. I do not mean to say that anyone specifically plans this so. But a policy based on these four tactics operates by itself. All those who are in the Government's service know that rise in their salaries and their position is implicit in their being amenable to the policy of the Government. Bhishma, Drona and others too had to point to their stomach before Yudhishtira. Hence, as the movement gathers momentum, the policy of alienation will be intensified. All satyagrahis should avoid this snare. They should give credence to no rumour. They should put before Sardar whatever they come to hear and should then forget all about it. A satyagrahi should have only one consolation. His task is accomplished when his pledge is fulfilled. More he should not ask for and with less he should not be satisfied. He should be resolved to sacrifice what is dearest to him at the altar of his pledge. What could such an individual have to do with rumours? Moreover, need he be misled or tempted by the words of anyone who has the audacity to make an outsider of their beloved Sardar? Sardar will tell them when a settlement is about to be made.

And he should not be misled by the talk of people secretly paying up their dues. A few weak individuals are to be found in every community. It has been my experience that although only a few give in secretly, their number is exaggerated. It therefore befits a satyagrahi not to believe this talk of secret paying-up. He should believe that others also have the same strength that he himself has. But he should not feel despondent if after all some people do give in secretly. Dharma is for them who observe it.

God's way is for the brave; it has no room for the coward.¹

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 10-6-1928

¹ The first line of a song by Pritam, a Gujarati poet

129. BARDOLI DAY

The 12th of June has been fixed for expressing sympathy with the satyagrahis of Bardoli and helping them in other ways. How should we observe this day? All struggles involving satyagraha call for self-purification. A satyagrahi tries to make his truth triumph through his own purity and through his penance and he has faith in his endeavours. Hence let us attain the utmost degree of purity on the 12th of June and ask God to give us the strength to bear any sufferings so that truth may triumph. This can be regarded as first-class help. Moreover, since Bardoli is in Gujarat, that province, realizing that it has a special responsibility towards it, should start on the 12th of June a *yajna* for selfpurification. If possible, on that day everywhere people should absolutely voluntarily stop their routine business—their means of livelihood—and collect funds to help the struggle in Bardoli. Huge meeting should be held at various places in the evening and resolutions should be passed expressing sympathy with the struggle and condemning the Government's anarchical policy. Further, at all such meetings contributions should be collected from those who have not been approached for such contributions during the course of the day, and have come to attend the meeting.

[Form Gujarati]

Navajivan, 10-6-1928

130. GOD OR GURU—WHO IS GREATER?

Under the above heading a gentleman has sent me the following article :¹

I have no knowledge of what the writer has said about the Marwari devotee. I am not acquainted with the three verses from *Siddhanta Rahasya*² whose purport he has given. But there is no doubt that a belief of the kind he has discussed does exist in Hinduism. I myself sing the following verse every morning :

Guru is Brahma, Guru is Vishnu, Guru is God Siva,
Guru verily is the supreme Brahman; to that Guru I bow.

I am convinced there are strong reasons for the Hindu belief concerning the greatness of the guru. That is why I have been looking for the true meaning of the word ‘guru’ and saying time and again that I am in quest of a guru. The guru in whom Brahma, Vishnu and Siva merge and who is the Supreme Brahman Himself cannot be an embodied man with his humours and diseases. He will possess the powers of Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva. In other words, He can only be an ideal being. This guru, our desired god, can only be God who is the embodiment of Truth. Hence the quest for such a guru is the quest for God. If we look at the matter thus, the meaning of all that the writer has said is easily understood. One who can show us God is certainly fit to be guru and may be said to be greater than God. We see God’s creatures suffering in many ways. Anyone who can free us from this web would deserve a place superior to God’s. This is also the meaning of the saying : “The servant of Rama is greater than Rama.” The meaning of all these great utterances is so simple that if we examine them with a pure heart we shall not be led astray. Every such great utterance has an indispensable condition attached to it. One who frees us from desire, anger and so on, initiates us into the religion of love, frees us from fear, teaches us simplicity, gives us not only the

¹ This is not translated here. The writer had referred approvingly to Gandhiji’s view that no living being should be worshipped and no man could be called good while yet alive (*vide* “Indulgence in the Name of Devotion”, 6-5-1928.), but had pointed out that, according to Hindu tradition, God could be reached only by the grace of the guru and therefore one could worship the guru. He gave the instance of a Marwari devotee from Calcutta being received by the crowds in Bombay with drums and cymbals.

² A work of Vallabhacharya

intelligence to establish identity with the poorest of the poor but also the heart to feel such identity, is certainly, for us, more than God. This does not mean that such a servant of God by himself is greater than God. If we fall into the sea we shall be drowned. However, if we drink, when we are thirsty, a jugful of water from the Ganga which flows into the sea, taking it from near the source, that Ganga water is more to us than the sea. But the same Ganga water is like poison if taken at the point where the Ganga meets the sea. The same is true with regard to the guru. To accept as guru one who is full of conceit and arrogance and hungering to be served is like drinking the poisonous water of the Ganga that carries all manner of filth into the sea.

Today we practise *adharma* in the name of dharma. We cherish hypocrisy in the name of truth and degrade ourselves as well as others by pretending to be possessed of spiritual knowledge and usurping all kinds of worship. At such a time dharma consists in refusing to accept anyone as guru. It is doubly sinful, when a true guru cannot be found, to set up a clary figure and make a guru of it. But so long as a true guru is not found there is merit in going on saying “Not this. Not this.”, and it may one day lead to our finding a true guru.

There are many hazards in trying to go against the current. I have had, as I continue to have, many experiences—bitter and sweet—of this. I have learnt but one thing from these, viz., that whatever is immoral and must be opposed should be opposed, even if one is all alone in opposing it. And one should have the faith that if the opposition is truthful it will one day surely bear fruit.

A devotee who is after eulogy or worship, who is offended if not given honour, is no devotee. The true service of a devotee is to become a devotee oneself. Hence I oppose, wherever possible, the worship of human beings which is in vogue nowadays and urge other to do likewise.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 10-6-1928

131. WHAT DOES SELF-CONTROL REQUIRE?

A gentleman who wishes to enter into an argument writes to say :¹

It is my experience that self-control which requires another's consent cannot last for any length of time. Self-restraint needs only the consent of one's own inner voice. It owes its strength to soul-force. And that self-control which has its roots in knowledge and love cannot but leave its impress on its surroundings. Ultimately the other party too becomes agreeable to it. This is true also of husband and wife. If the husband has to wait till the wife is ready or *vice versa*, most probably neither will be able to shake off the desire. In many instances where one partner relies on the other for practising self-control, it finally breaks down because of this lukewarm attitude. If we go deeper into the matter we shall find that when one partner waits for the other's consent, he is not really prepared for self-control or is not truly keen. It is for this very reason that Nishkulanand has said : "Unless attachment goes renunciation cannot stay." If the latter requires attachment to go along with it, one who wishes to practise self-control may require the consent of the other who does not.

The above correspondent has a straight path before him. He is yet unmarried, and if he is really determined to practise *brahmacharya* why should he marry at all? His parents and other relatives will of course say from their own experience that for a youth to talk of *brahmacharya* is like churning the ocean and, saying so, holding out threats, displaying anger and meting out punishment, they would try to dislodge him from his pious resolve to practise *brahmacharya*. However, one to whom breach of *brahmacharya* is the highest punishment and who would not do it even to secure an empire, how can such a one get married, giving in to anyone's threats? My article from which the above passage has been quoted was not meant for those who are not so firmly determined and who have not set such great store by *brahmacharya*.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 10-6-1928

¹ The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had asked whether a spouse wishing to observe *brahmacharya* should not first seek the concurrence of the other party.

132. LETTER TO N. R. MALKANI

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 10, 1928

MY DEAR MALKANI,

I have your letter. Don't expect anything long from me just now.

I am glad Mathuradas's work was as sound as you describe it to have been. I had no doubt about his ability in the direction. He is a fine worker.

I am glad too that you are discovering potency of khadi in more directions than one. But of course your chief work is to make flood relief thoroughly businesslike. If you need any help from here in the shape of workers, you will not hesitate to tell me. I may not be able to cope with your demand, but at least let me have the option of saying no.

Ignore the Hindu-Muslim question. Let experts devote themselves to it.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. NARAYANDAS MALKANI
CENTRAL FLOOD RELIEF COMMITTEE
HYDERABAD, SIND

From a microfilm: S.N. 13410

133. LETTER TO JANAKDHARI PRASAD

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 10, 1928

DEAR JANAKDHARI BABU,

I have your letter. The word 'labour' covers the work of service such as you are doing.¹ But it cannot cover artistic, literary or other pursuits for pleasure.

¹ The addressee had asked : 'What is the meaning of 'honest labourers', Do you use it in the sense of manual labourers or in the wider sense? Is there any room for literary, artistic, aesthetic pursuits?'

I see that your reference was to the eldest son of Vindheshwari Babu. I am sorry for the mistake.

Of course I do not anticipate any difficulty about your wife.¹

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 52

134. LETTER TO ARTHUR MOORE

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,

SABARMATI,

June 10, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I must apologize to you for not having acknowledged your telegram. And meanwhile I have your letter² before me. Since receiving your telegram, I have been having cuttings from *The Statesman*, which I am keeping on my desk. I have read the first two articles with interest. I have not yet reached the rest. The fact is I hardly get any time to attend to anything outside my beat.

If I can usefully take part in the discussion that you have inaugurated, I shall not fail to do so. But I confess to you that neither the Statutory Commission nor constitution-making interest me much. I am concentrating my attention upon the means of attainment of swaraj. Neither the Statutory Commission nor constitution-making appeals to me as part of the means.

Yours sincerely,

ARTHUR MOORE, ESQ.

EDITOR,

“THE STATESMAN”

6 CHOWRINGHEE

CALCUTTA

From a photostat: S.N. 13411

¹ The addressee had written : “I shall certainly write to you before I think of sending wife to the Ashram.”

² The addressee had written : “Is it not possible that we could collectively clarify our ideas by a friendly discussion during the course of this summer, and, perhaps, arrive at some agreement, or approach to agreement, as to the lines of a future constitution? My idea is that this discussion should be conducted without regard to the Statutory Commission, so as to bring into it both those who are willing to co-operate with Commission and those who are not.”

135. LETTER TO SADANAND

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 10, 1928

MY DEAR SADANAND,

I have your letter with a copy of my so-called contribution to the Anglo-American Newspaper Service.

I have sent nothing to this Service or any other Service on the topic mentioned in this copy. But on going through the copy sent by you, I observe that it is an indifferently-taken newspaper report of a speech I delivered in Colombo during my Ceylon visit.¹ A fairly good report of that speech appears in Mahadev's booklet² on the Ceylon tour. I am glad you did not publish it and referred the copy to me for confirmation.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 13413

136. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 10, 1928

DEAR SATIS BABU,

If your interpretation of the Pabna settlement is correct, what a great tragedy? And yet I must remain dumb. I thought that we had outlived this dread of imprisonment. Evidently we have not. How is Nikhil? Hemprabhadevi must give me a weekly letter. Did [I tell]³ you I wrote to Dr. Ray?

With love,

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 1594

¹ Gandhiji visited Ceylon in November 1927

² *With Gandhiji in Ceylon*

³ The paper here is discoloured.

137. SPEECH AT GUJARAT VIDYAPITH, AHMEDABAD

June 11, 1928

At present you students are perhaps in a disturbed mood. You invited me to stay here so that your state of suspense may end or for some other reason, and I agreed, hoping to ease or to end this state. But all or most of those who extended the invitation have proved to be cowards. Having invited me they turned me out. The conditions laid down when I was called again were such as would not be acceptable to a self-respecting man like me. By breaking them, you let slip a good opportunity to come closer to me. But we are not separated. The aims of the Vidyapith form a bond between you and me. I wanted you to assimilate these ideals, but then I could not succeed.

You might have gone through these aims during the vacation. If you had thought over them, you must have understood quite a few things. If you did not utilize your holidays in that way you must have come back as you went home. I have often said in the Vidyapith that you should never strive to increase your numbers. I do not mean to say that we would not like large numbers, but their absence need cause no disappointment to us, it must not give rise to a feeling that it is all over or that we have lost the game. We may be fewer number or more but our real strength lies in the acceptance of these ideals and in practising them to the extent it is humanly possible. Even if there are few such students, we can surely accomplish what we want to through the Vidyapith, that is to say, freedom, not final deliverance, but deliverance in the form of swaraj; the freedom for which the Vidyapith has been established will be surely won. If we are false we shall not get swaraj. You will see that the changes which have taken place and which you will find taking place hereafter had to be introduced with some hesitation lest they prove burdensome to you. What a pitiable condition this is! This is worthy neither of you nor of us. What is needed is a categorical assurance from you to the teachers and the management that you will not hesitate in the least to implement these principles; you will never swerve from the path of duty. There has been no such assurance and I have come to ask for it. The work will shine forth if from the very beginning of the term you free your teachers from worry. There should not be even an iota of falsehood in your work. You will bring credit to the Vidyapith only if

you do not deceive yourselves, your teachers, your elders and your country. You can ask your teachers for an explanation for every single matter. It is their duty to solve your problems. If you fail to do it and just mark time, then the administration of the Vidyapith will be out of tune. The functioning of the Vidyapith should be as smooth as music. The ground note of the *tanpura* produces only gross music. It is only one whose life is full of music who can be said to know music in the true sense. Even a child would know this music of life, if its parents have guided him correctly. Crying is the only speech known to the child, even that, if harmonious, sounds well. The students should have the sweetness of a child. It is easy to obtain this state if you are truthful. India's swaraj can be won through the students if they are truthful in their conduct. There is no need to prove that swaraj is to be achieved only through the way of truth and non-violence, as this is inherent in the principles of the Vidyapith. One who doubts it has no place here; or if he does he should have his doubt cleared at the earliest opportunity.

The difference between a Government school and our school should be understood. Some of our students have gone to jail and more will follow. That is a credit to the Vidyapith. Can the students of a Government school dare help Vallabhbhai? Or after helping him, can they remain in the college without deceiving their teachers? Then, whatever their education, what use is it? What use is education stripped of its essence? What is a counterfeit rupee worth? The man who cheats by circulating it deserves to be punished. The position of the students of a Government school is like that of this counterfeit rupee. Our school certainly has preserved that essence; besides, it is going to increase.

Another difference should also be borne in mind. I have pointed out many times that there can be no comparison between the education imparted in a Government college and that given to you. You will be lost if you enter that maze. We shall not be equal to them. We do not want to teach English the way it is taught there. But we want to give the students a deep understanding of literature through the Gujarati language. We want to ensure the spread of the Gujarati language, to see that it shines forth, that it is able to express our deepest thoughts. To have to use English words while talking in Gujarati is a perverse and utterly shameful state. In no other country do we find such a state of things. We shall later impart such knowledge of the English literature as would be necessary. Whatever

knowledge we acquire at present will be obtained through Gujarati only. We shall learn science also through our own language. If we cannot coin new technical terms, we shall adopt English words but their explanation will be in Gujarati only; thus our language will acquire force and whatever adornments we want to use would come naturally to our tongue and pen. We ought to get out of this ludicrous state as soon as we can. What I have written about this in *Navajivan* you may take as the last word. How much has the nation to suffer because knowledge is imparted through English! This is one instance of the fact that we have failed in our dharma, and in our conduct too.

The second instance relates to economics. The economics taught there is inadequate. If you are inquisitive, you will find that the economics taught in German, American or French languages differs from one another. From the talk that I had with a Hungarian visitor, I gathered that the economics of his country must be quite different. Each country has its own science of economics, based on the local conditions. It is not right to assume that one country's economics is true for the whole world. Why are the economics taught today ruining India? We do not know Indian economics, we have to discover it.

The same is true of history. The teachers should consider what the history of India could be. A Frenchman writing a history of India will write it in a different way; so would an Englishman. An Indian looking into original records and studying Indian conditions would certainly write it differently. Do you believe as absolutely true the English accounts of the Anglo-French conflicts? Whoever wrote them might have written them correctly, yet they are written from his own point of view. He would narrate only those incidents wherein the English won. We too would do the same. The French too would do the same. In fact we would write an altogether different history of India. An English scholar would interpret the *Mahabharata* in one way, an Indian in another, and in a still different way if he sincerely followed it. Vincent Smith has a style and erudition, what he writes therefore looks well, but it is not correct. English scholars themselves point out that there is in it much that is not true and that much has been left out. The same can be said about William Wilson Hunter. Here history would not be taught from books. If the teacher has made an extensive study of India and has observed for himself, if he is a patriot, he will teach history in a particular way. But if he has stuffed his mind with histories written by Englishmen he is going to take you nowhere; nor has he himself found a way. He is under the malignant influence of

Saturn!

In our institution, everything will be taught in a way opposite to that in a Government school. Our teacher will solve mathematical problems in a different way. Gregg is composing a novel science of mathematics for the Indian children whom he teaches. Our teacher should not teach with the help of the distance between Manchester and Liverpool. He should frame his examples from conditions here, so that our history and geography too maybe learnt from this. We have to reconstruct everything, mathematics, history, economics, geography. If you students do not help in this, what can the teachers do? And if the teachers themselves are immature it is obvious that the principles will crumble.

Do not give up your faith, patience and perseverance. If you have faith in the teachers and the principles, you would not be faint of heart, nor even if your strength is small, and you will bring glory to the Vidyapith. You will compel your teachers to give you all that they have. If you are studious, you will be able to pester your teachers with questions about what I have spoken. If you take enough interest here is plenty of interesting work, you will have vigorous bodies, vigorous minds and vigorous souls.

You come here to enlighten your souls. Hence if you take interest in vocational training that is provided here, even if you have no flair for vocations, you will acquire one. But it will not be possible if you go about your work mechanically. If you take interest you will see that it also is a science by itself. If you work intelligently, you will find that there is a lot of interest in it. You will be able to prove that there is a science behind it. Resolve that you want to become a weaver, a carpenter, and win freedom for India; that you do not want to take up a job nor be a teacher. Determine to live by labour, by weaving khadi, by becoming a khadi worker.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 17-6-1928

138. LETTER TO PREMLILA THACKERSEY

June 11, 1928

DEAR SISTER,

I received Rs. 100 from you two days ago. I got your letter only today. If we can still see to it that your name is not published, we shall do so. This will be possible only if it has not yet been published.

I am keeping well. When will you come again?

Vandemataram from

MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 4812. Courtesy: Premlila Thackersey

139. LETTER TO S. MURATORI

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,

SABARMATI,

June 13, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

With reference to your letter of 15th May, I have no objection to your publishing an Italian translation unabridged of the first volume of "The Story of My Experiments with Truth".

I do not make any special conditions, but anything you may care to give will be utilized for the furtherance of my public activities.

Yours sincerely,

S. MURATORI, ESQ.

C/O ITALIAN CONSULATE

BALLARD ESTATE

BOMBAY

From a microfilm: S.N. 14747

140. SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM

This Ashram was opened on 25th May, 1915. A constitution was drawn up when it was founded. It underwent a revision during my incarceration. The copies were exhausted long ago. My colleagues and I found it desirable to recast the constitution in view of the many changes and ups and downs that the Ashram had undergone. Its unexpected expansion too made the old constitution out of date. The burden of preparing the first draft fell on my shoulders. Though pressure of work was ample excuse for the delay, I know that my subconscious self shirked the task. I was not clear as to the changes that were to be made. But my colleagues would give me no peace and Maganlal's death hastened the completion. The following constitution is the result of the joint labours of the main workers. It is published purely as a draft, though pending revision it is to be accepted as a binding constitution by the Managing Committee. It is published in order to secure the opinion of friends and critics known and unknown of the Ashram. Any criticism or suggestions that may be sent will be thankfully received. I may be permitted to mention that the Ashram represents a prayerful and scientific experiment. The observances are many but they have been tested for the past 13 years of the existence of the Ashram. Whilst it is impossible to claim their perfect fulfilment by any one of us, the workers have in all humility tried to enforce them in their lives to the best of their ability and with more or less success. The curious will find that the new draft bears very close resemblance to the original constitution as it was drawn up in 1915.

Founded on *Vaishakh Sud 11th, Samvat 1971*,—May 25th, 1915,—at Kochrab, and since removed to Sabarmati.

OBJECT

The object of this Ashram is that its members should qualify themselves for, and make a constant endeavour towards, the service of the country, not inconsistent with the universal welfare.

OBSERVANCES

The following observances are essential for the fulfilment of the above object :

I. TRUTH

Truth is not fulfilled by mere abstinence from telling or practising an untruth in ordinary relations with fellow-men. But Truth is

God, the one and only Reality. All other observances take their rise from the quest for and the worship of Truth. Worshipers of Truth must not resort to untruth, even for what they may believe to be the good of the country, and they may be required, like Prahlad, civilly to disobey even the orders of parents and elders in virtue of their paramount loyalty to Truth.

II. NON-VIOLENCE OR LOVE

Mere non-killing is not enough. The active part of Non-violence is love. The law of Love requires equal consideration for all life from the tiniest insect to the highest man. One who follows this law must not be angry even with the perpetrator of the greatest imaginable wrong, but must love him, wish him well and serve him. Although he must thus love the wrongdoer, he must never submit to his wrong or his injustice, but must oppose it with all his might, and must patiently and without resentment suffer all the hardships to which the wrongdoer may subject him in punishment for his opposition.

III. CHASTITY (*Brahmacharya*)

Observance of the foregoing principles is impossible without the observance of celibacy. It is not enough that one should not look upon any woman or man with a lustful eye; animal passion must be so controlled as to be excluded even from the mind. If married, one must not have a carnal mind regarding one's wife or husband, but must consider her or him as one's lifelong friend, and establish relationship of perfect purity. A sinful touch, gesture or word is a direct breach of this principle.

IV. CONTROL OF THE PALATE

The observance of *brahmacharya* has been found, from experience, to be extremely difficult so long as one has not acquired mastery over taste. Control of the palate has, therefore, been placed as a principle by itself. Eating is necessary only for sustaining the body and keeping it a fit instrument for service, and must never be practised for self-indulgence. Food must, therefore, be taken, like medicine, under proper restraint. In pursuance of this principle one must eschew exciting foods, such as spices and condiments. Meat, liquor, tobacco, bhang, etc., are excluded from the Ashram. This principle requires abstinence from feasts or dinners which have pleasure as their object.

V. NON-STEALING

It is not enough not to take another's property without his permission. One becomes guilty of theft even by using differently

anything which one has received in trust for use in a particular way, as well as by using a thing longer than the period for which it has been lent. It is also theft if one receives anything which one does not really need. The fine truth at the bottom of this principle is that Nature provides just enough, and no more, for our daily need.

VI. NON-POSSESSION OR POVERTY

This principle is really a part of No. V. Just as one must not receive, so must one not possess anything which one does not really need. It would be a breach of this principle to possess unnecessary food-stuffs, clothing or furniture. For instance, one must not keep a chair if one can do without it. In observing this principle one is led to a progressive simplification of one's own life.

VII. PHYSICAL LABOUR

Physical labour is essential for the observance of non-stealing and non-possession. Man can be saved from injuring society, as well as himself, only if he sustains his physical existence by physical labour. Able-bodied adults must do all their personal work themselves, and must not be served by others, except for proper reasons. But they must, at the same time, remember that service of children, as well as of the disabled, the old and the sick, is a duty incumbent on every person who has the required strength.

VIII. SWADESHI

Man is not omnipotent. He therefore serves the world best by first serving his neighbour. This is swadeshi, a principle which is broken when one professes to serve those who are more remote in preference to those who are near. Observance of swadeshi makes for order in the world; the breach of it leads to chaos. Following this principle, one must as far as possible purchase one's requirements locally and not buy things imported from foreign lands, which can easily be manufactured in the country. There is no place for self-interest in swadeshi, which enjoins the sacrifice of oneself for the family, of the family for the village, of the village for the country, and of the country for humanity.

IX. FEARLESSNESS

One cannot follow Truth or love so long as one is subject to fear. As there is at present a reign of fear in the country, meditation on and cultivation of fearlessness have a particular importance. Hence its separate mention as an observance. A seeker after Truth must give up the fear of parents, caste, Government, robbers, etc., and he must be

frightened by poverty or death.

X. REMOVAL OF UNTOUCHABILITY

Untouchability, which has taken such deep roots in Hinduism, is altogether irreligious. Its removal has therefore been treated as an independent principle. The so-called untouchables have an equal place in the Ashram with other classes. The Ashram does not believe in caste which, it considers, has injured Hinduism, because its implications of superior and inferior status, and of pollution by contact are contrary to the law of Love. The Ashram however believes in varnashrama dharma. The division of varnas is based upon occupation, and therefore a person should maintain himself by following the hereditary occupation, not inconsistent with fundamental morals, and should devote all his spare time and energy to the acquisition and advancement of true knowledge. The ashramas (the four stages) spoken of in the *smritis* are conducive to the welfare of mankind. Though, therefore, the Ashram believes in varnashrama dharma, there is no place in it for distinction of varnas, as the Ashram life is conceived in the light of the comprehensive and non-formal sannyasa of the *Bhagavad Gita*.

XI. TOLERANCE

The Ashram believes that the principal faiths of the world constitute a revelation of Truth, but as they have all been outlined by imperfect man they have been affected by imperfections and alloyed with untruth. One must therefore entertain the same respect for the religious faiths of others as one accords to one's own. Where such tolerance becomes a law of life, conflict between different faiths becomes impossible, and so does all effort to convert other people to one's own faith. One can only pray that the defects in the various faiths may be overcome, and that they may advance, side by side, towards perfection.

ACTIVITIES

As a result of and in order to help fulfilment of these observances, the following activities are carried on in the Ashram :

I. WORSHIP

The social (as distinguished from the individual) activities of the Ashram commence every day with the congregational morning worship at 4.15 to 4.45 and close with the evening prayer at 7 to 7.30. All inmates are expected to attend the worship. This worship has been conceived as an aid to self-purification and dedication of one's all to

God.

II. SANITARY SERVICE

This is an essential and sacred service and yet it is looked down upon in society, with the result that it is generally neglected and affords considerable scope for improvement. The Ashram therefore lays special stress upon engaging no outside labour for this work. The members themselves attend to the whole of the sanitation in turns. New entrants are generally first of all attached to this department. Trenches are sunk to the depth of nine inches and the nightsoil is buried in them and covered with the excavated earth. It thus becomes converted into valuable manure. Calls of nature are attended to only at places assigned for the purpose. Care is taken that the roads and paths should not be spoilt by spitting or otherwise.

III. SACRIFICIAL SPINNING

Today India's most urgent problem is the growing starvation of her millions, which is chiefly due to the deliberate destruction by alien rule of her principal auxiliary industry of hand-spinning. With a view to its rehabilitation in national life, spinning has been made the central activity of the Ashram, and is compulsory for all members, as a national sacrifice. The following are the various branches of work in this department :

1. Cotton cultivation;
2. workshop for making and repairing spinning-wheels, spindles, carding-bows, etc;
3. ginning;
4. carding;
5. spinning;
6. weaving cloth, carpets, tape, rope, etc.;
7. dyeing and printing.

IV. AGRICULTURE

Cotton for the khadi work and fodder crops for the cattle are the chief activities of this department. Vegetables and fruit are also grown in order to make the Ashram as far as possible self-contained.

V. DAIRY

An attempt is being made to convert into a model dairy the Ashram dairy which supplies milk to the inmates. Since last year this dairy is being carried on in consonance with the principles of and with the pecuniary help of the All-India Cow-protection Association, but as

an integral part of the Ashram itself. There are at present 27 cows, 47 calves, 10 bullocks, and 4 bulls. The average dairy output of milk is 200 pounds.

VI. TANNERY

At the instance of and with the help of the All-India Cow-protection Association, a tannery has been established for the tanning of dead-cattle hides. There is attached to it a sandal and shoe-making department. The dairy and tannery have been established because the Ashram believes, in spite of the claim Hindus make to the protection of the cow, that Indian cattle will further and further deteriorate and ultimately die out, carrying man along with them, unless vigorous attention is paid to cattle-breeding, cattle-feeding and the utilization in the country of dead-cattle hides.

VII. NATIONAL EDUCATION

An attempt is made in the Ashram to impart such education as is conducive to national welfare. In order that spiritual, intellectual and physical development may proceed side by side, an atmosphere of industry has been created, and letters are not given more than their due importance. Character-building is attended to in the smallest detail. 'Untouchable' children are freely admitted. Women are given special attention with a view to improving their status, and they are accorded the same opportunities for self-culture as the men. The Ashram accepts the following principles of the Gujarat Vidyapith :

1. The principal object of the Vidyapith shall be to prepare workers of character, ability, education and conscientiousness, necessary for the conduct of the movements connected with the attainment of swaraj.

2. All the institutions conducted by and affiliated to the Vidyapith shall be fully non-co-operating and shall therefore have nothing to do with my help from Government.

3. Whereas the Vidyapith has come into being in connection with the swaraj movement, and Non-violent Non-co-operation as a means thereof, its teachers and trustees shall restrict themselves to those means only which are not inconsistent with truth and non-violence and shall consciously strive to carry them out.

4. The teachers and the trustees of the Vidyapith, as also all the institutions affiliated to it, shall regard untouchability as a blot on Hinduism, shall strive to the best of their power for its removal, and shall not exclude a boy or a girl for reason of his or her

untouchability nor shall give him or her differential treatment having once accorded admission to him or her.

5. The teachers and the trustees of and all the institutions affiliated to the Vidyapith shall regard hand-spinning as an essential part of the swaraj movement and shall therefore spin regularly, except when disabled, and shall habitually wear khadi.

6. The language of the province shall have the principal place in the Vidyapith and shall be the medium of instruction.

EXPLANATION. Languages other than Gujarati may be taught by direct method.

7. The teaching of Hindi-Hindustani shall be compulsory in the curricula of the Vidyapith.

8. Manual training shall receive the same importance as intellectual training and only such occupations as are useful for the life of the nation shall be taught.

9. Whereas the growth of the nation depends not on cities but its villages, the bulk of the funds of the Vidyapith and a majority of the teachers of the Vidyapith shall be employed in the propagation of education conducive to the welfare of the villagers.

10. In laying down the curricula, the needs of village dwellers shall have principal consideration.

11. There shall be complete toleration of all established religions in all institutions conducted by and affiliated to the Vidyapith, and for the spiritual development of the pupils, religious instruction shall be imparted in consonance with truth and non-violence.

12. For the physical development of the nation physical exercise and physical training shall be compulsory in all the institutions conducted by and affiliated to the Vidyapith.

NOTE. Hindi-Hindustani means the language commonly spoken by the masses of the North—both Hindu and Mussalman—and written in the Devanagari or the Arabic script.

The Ashram school has so far sent forth 15 boys and 2 girls.

VIII. KHADI TECHNICAL SCHOOL

A separate technical school is conducted which prepares candidates for the Khadi Service on behalf of the All-India Spinners' Association. There are at present 33 students from various provinces under training. 205 students have so far availed themselves of this

school. The curriculum is as follows :

SYLLABUS OF STUDIES

I. 21 WEEKS' SPINNING :

1. To learn to spin with fingers only.
2. To learn the principles of twist.
3. To learn spinning efficiently to be able to spin strong and even yarn as follows :

Time	Count	Yards	Strength	Evenness	Quality of Cotton
1 hour	6	250	50	80	Inferior
„	9	250	50	80	„
„	12	300	60	90	Fair
„	16	300	70	90	Good
„	20	300	70	90	„

and to finish the following quantities within the period set apart :

1 week, preparation and practice.

4 weeks, 6 counts 5 lb.

3 weeks, 9 counts $2\frac{1}{2}$ lb.

4 weeks, 12 counts $4\frac{1}{4}$ lb.

4 weeks, 16 counts $2\frac{3}{4}$ lb.

4 weeks, 20 counts $2\frac{3}{4}$ lb.

1 week extra

21 [Total]

4. Testing correctness of spindle and its correction.
5. Spinning on *takli*.
6. To learn to guess approximately the count of any yarn.
7. To learn to find out by calculation counts of yarn.
8. To learn to reel properly the yarn spun on the spindle.
9. To know the names and measurements of all the parts of a spinning-wheel.
10. To learn to twist a strong *mal* out of one's own yarn.
11. To learn the principles of examining cotton.
12. To study *Charkha Shastra* and *Takli Teacher*.
13. To learn to spin on one's own provincial charkha.

II. 7 WEEKS' CARDING :

To go through the whole carding course :

- (a) To learn to equip a carding-bow.
- (b) To learn to adjust cushion.
- (c) To learn to make the carding mat.
- (d) To learn to distinguish various qualities of guts.
- (e) To finish carding and rolling in following quantities within the specified period :

Large bow, 18 lb. in 2 weeks.

Medium bow, $22\frac{1}{2}$ lb. in 3 weeks.

Bardoli and ordinary small bow, 8 lb. in 2 weeks.

- (f) To be able to card and sliver as under :

Large bow, 3 lb. in a day of 8 hours.

Medium bow, 2 lb. in a day of 8 hours.

Bardoli and ordinary bow, $1\frac{1}{4}$ lb. in a day of 8 hours.

Practice with crude bows also.

III. 2 WEEKS' GINNING :

To learn ginning to be able to gin 32 lb. of seed cotton in a day of 8 hours.

To gin 100 lb. of seed cotton after threshing seed cotton.

Foot gin to be taught.

Andhra process to be taught.

Process of untouchable spinners.

IV. HANDLOOM WEAVING :

Days

- 1. Piecing thread 2

- 2. Tape-making 20 yards including twisting yarn for warp and opening yarn for weft. 10

- 3. Bed-tape-making 75 yds. including all the processes as above 15

- 4. Carpet-making

Three *asans* without design 24¢ ¥ 24¢ each including twisting yarn for for warp and opening yarn for weft.

Three *asans* with designs including all the processes.

Two carpets on handloom 2 yds. ¥ 30¢ each including all the processes as above. 45

V. PIT-LOOM

5. Weaving 6 count double thread coarse texture 20 yds. ₹ 30¢¢ reed 5 dents per inch including soaking and drying yarn, winding bobbins, warping, sizing, piecing, etc. (doubling also). 20

6. Weaving 6 count double thread close texture 10 yds. ₹ 30¢¢
reed 8 or 9 dents per inch including all the above processes (doubling also). 20

7. Weaving 9 count double thread close texture 10 yds. ₹ 30¢¢ reed 12 dents per inch including all the processes. 10

8. Weaving 6 count single thread close texture 10 yds ₹ 30¢¢ reed 18 or 19 dents per inch including all the processes. 12

9. Weaving 9 count single thread close texture 10 yds. ₹ 30¢¢ reed 18 or 19 dents per inch including all the processes. 12

10. Weaving 12 count single thread close texture 10 yds. ₹ 30¢¢ reed 21 dents per inch including all the processes. 14

11. Weaving 16 count single thread close texture 10 yds. ₹ 30¢¢ reed 24 dents per inch including all the processes. 15

VI. FLY-SHUTTLE

12. Weaving 12 count single thread ordinary texture 10 yds. ₹ 42¢¢ reed 17 dents per inch.

Weaving 16 counts single thread ordinary texture 20 yds. ₹ 45¢¢ reed 20 dents per inch.

Weaving 20 counts single thread ordinary texture 10 yds. ₹ 50¢¢ and 10 yds. ₹ 54¢¢ reed 22 dents per inch including all the processes. 72

13. Weaving design cloth (yarn to be used of 1 to 6 counts).

Drill 10 yds. ₹ 30¢¢ 16 dents per inch 8

Honeycomb 10 yds ₹ 30¢¢ 12 dents per inch 8

Twill 10 yds. ₹ 30¢¢ 16 dents per inch 8

14. Heald-making and reed-repairing.

Twisting yarn 4 lb. 3

Heald-making from the beginning. 15

Reed-repairing. 5

15. Colours.

Dyeing and printing in accordance with the publications of Dr. P. C. Ray and Sjt. Bansidhar Jain.

Prominent foreign colours in printing and colouring to be included. 24

VII. CARPENTRY

1. Making *aterans* of 3 varieties and tool-sharpening. 30
2. Making *takli* cases and spindle-holders. 30
3. Making middle-size carding-bow, Bardoli and ordinary spindle and *takli*. 30

NOTE. Side by side with the course as above, classes are conducted in Hindi, accountancy, and the khadi essay and bulletins, and there are arranged besides lectures by members of the Working Committee of the A.I.S.A. as well as other leaders.

The average monthly food bill per student amounts to about 12 rupees.

MANAGING COMMITTEE

Since *Ashadha Sud* 14th, *Samvat* 1982 (24th July 1926) the Ashram has been managed by a Committee. This Committee is at present constituted as follows :

- Sjt. Mahadev Haribhai Desai (Chairman)
- „ Imam Abdul Kadar Bawazir (Vice-Chairman)
- „ Vinoba Bhave
- „ Chhaganlal Khushalchand Gandhi
- „ Narahari Dwarkadas Parikh
- „ Lakshmidas Purushottam Asar
- „ Ramniklal Maganlal Modi
- „ Chimanlal Narsinhdas Shah
- „ Narandas Khushalchand Gandhi
- „ Surendranath
- „ Chhaganlal Nathubhai Joshi (Secretary)

The Committee is empowered to fill up any vacancy caused in it by resignation, death or otherwise.

Election shall be by a majority of at least three-fourths of the existing members.

The Committee shall have the right to elect two more members to it.

The quorum shall be composed of at least three members.

The Committee shall have charge of the entire administration of

the Ashram.

NOTE. In accordance with their express wishes Gandhiji and Kakasaheb are not on the Committee.

MEMBERS OF THE ASHRAM

Members of the Ashram shall be such persons as believe in the object and obey the rules and regulations of the Ashram, and who shall be constantly endeavouring to observe its principles, and be faithfully performing the duties assigned to them by the Managing Committee or by the Secretary on its behalf.

MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE

Only such persons shall be eligible for membership of the Managing Committee, who are over 21 years of age, who have lived in the Ashram for not less than five years and who have pledged themselves to lifelong service through the activities of the Ashram.

IMPORTANT RESOLUTIONS

The Managing Committee has passed the following important resolutions :

1. Responsible workers of the Ashram, and also residents in the Ashram, whether temporary or permanent, shall all observe *brahmacharya*.

2. Persons desirous of admission to the Ashram shall have observed the rules of the Ashram in their own homes for the period of one year. The Chairman shall have the power of granting exemption from this rule in special cases.

3. It being undesirable that any further kitchens should be started in the Ashram, newcomers, whether single or married, shall dine in the common kitchen.

TO GUESTS

The number of visitors and guests has steadily increased. Such arrangements as are possible are made for showing visitors round the various activities of the Ashram.

Persons wishing to stay in the Ashram are requested to write to the Secretary for permission before coming, and not to arrive without having received an affirmative answer to their enquiries.

The Ashram does not keep a large stock of bedding and eating-utensils. Those intending to stay in the Ashram are therefore requested to bring their own bedding, mosquito net, napkins, plate, bowl and drinking-pot.

No special arrangements are made for visitors from the West. But for those who cannot dine comfortably on the floor, an attempt is made to provide them with a raised seat. A commode is always supplied to them.

Guests are requested to observe the following rules :

1. Attend the worship.
2. Keep the dining hours shown in the daily routine given below.

BRANCH

The Ashram has a branch at Wardha, which observes nearly the same rules, but which is independent of the Ashram in respect of management and finance. Sjt. Vinoba Bhave is the Manager of the branch.

EXPENDITURE

The average monthly expenditure of the Ashram is Rs. 3,000 and is met by friends.

PROPERTY

The Ashram possesses land, 132 acres 38 *gunthas* in area, of the value of Rs. 26,972-5-6, and buildings worth Rs. 2,95,121-15-6, which are held by the following Board of Trustees :

1. Sheth Jamnalal Bajaj
2. Sjt. Revashanker Jagjivan Jhaveri
3. „, Mahadev Haribhai Desai
4. „, Imam Abdul Kadar Bawazir
5. „, Chhaganlal Khushalchand Gandhi

The present population of the Ashram is as follows :

MEN

- 55 workers in the Ashram.
- 43 teachers and students of the A.I.S.A. Technical School.
- 5 professional weavers.
- 30 agricultural labourers.

133 Total.

WOMEN

- 49 sisters in the Ashram.

10 professional labourers.
 7 weavers.
 66 Total

CHILDREN

35 boys.
 36 girls.
 7 babies.

78 Total Grand Total 277

DAILY ROUTINE

a.m.	4			Rising from bed
„	4-15	to	4-45	Morning prayer
„	5-00	to	6-10	Bath, exercise, study
„	6-10	to	6-30	Breakfast
„	6-30	to	7	Women's prayer class
„	7	to	11-30	Body labour, education and sanitation
„	10-45	to	11-15	Dinner
„	11-45	to	12	Rest
„	12	to	4-30 p.m.	Body labour, including classes
p.m.	4-30	to	5-30	Recreation
„	5-30	to	6	Supper
„	6	to	7	Recreation
„	7	to	7-30	Common Worship
„	7-30	to	9	Recreation
„	9			Retiring bell

NOTE. These hours are subject to change whenever necessary.
Young India, 14-6-1928

141. IMMOLATION OF BARDOLI

Bardoli suffers through the lawlessness of the Government of Bombay and it suffers through self-imposed suffering. Both the instance will be found in Mahadav Desai's notes on Bardoli. The Government are using a Nasmyth hammer to crush a fly. For the sake of, to them, a paltry sum of Rs. 1,00,000 which the enhancement represents, they are resorting to force, untruth, flattery and bribery. These are strong expressions, but none too strong for the doings of the Government. Then force is on the surface for anyone to see. Authority makes a show of force even when it is unable to command it. In the present case it has force enough and to spare. This method is the least dangerous for it is visible. The other three are mischievous because they are invisible. The insolent letter of the Commissioner, N. D., the evasive communique of the Government are instances of untruth by way both of commission and omission. We shall know at the end of the chapter the instances of flattery and bribery. We know how those who degraded their manhood during the Punjab martial-law regime got titles and promotions. History will repeat itself in this as yet miniature edition of the Punjab. I do not mention here the subtle forms of flattery that the Government resort to when they want someone to do some questionable deal for them. Most governments resort to these four methods but what pains one most is that all these forces should be set in motion by the Bombay Government in order to bend the proud spirit of people known for their docility and innocence. It is a base calumny to suggest that they are law-breakers. If a man can lawfully repudiate a liability which he does not admit, why may not men lawfully repudiate a liability which they contend is unjustly imposed upon them by a State? And why may not the State adopt, and be satisfied for the collection of what it considers to be its dues with, the same civil measures that are open to individuals?

But this suffering to which the people of Bardoli are being wantonly subjected is raising them since they had prepared themselves for it. The brave stand taken by the simple peasants has undermined the very prestige to prop up which the Government are making the frantic efforts described from week to week in these pages.

But more purifying than this suffering imposed by godless and insolent authority is the suffering which the people are imposing upon themselves. I refer to the resignations of sixty-three patels and eleven

talatis of Bardoli and Valod. It is not a small thing for these people to give up their posts which hitherto they have used not unoften in order to make illegitimate addition to their ordinary emoluments. It is more difficult for people such as these to give up their positions than for big Government officers to do so. But suffering as well as bravery is the badge of the humble. I tender my respectful congratulations to these patels and talatis. Let them know that their sacrifice has commanded the admiration of all India. It is sacrifice such as theirs that will in the end give us our freedom. We are salves to our desire for office under the Government. The latter knowing our weakness exploits it to the full for consolidation of its own power. But if we would only believe that He who has created us is bound to support us, if we would but do His will, i.e., work with our honest hands and feet, we should never starve, we should never walk on all fours before authority.

Young India, 14-6-1928

142. WHAT IS THE BARDOLI CASE?

The following epitome of the case has been prepared in response to many calls for the barest summary of the case for the busy reader.¹ Though the case has been stated in ample detail in these pages, the following summary will be helpful to those who want to work for the satyagrahis, but who may not know what the case exactly is and who may have no time to go through the files of papers. The summary is necessary because of the ever growing interest excited by the heroic sufferings of the people of Bardoli.

Young India, 14-6-1928

¹ For the article by Mahadev Desai, *vide* Appendix "What is the Bardoli Case?", June 14, 1928.

143. A.I.S.A. MEMBERSHIP

The Director of the Technical Department of the All-India Spinners' Association sends me the following comparative table¹ :

The table is an instructive study. Whilst the business side of khadi shows a steady though slow improvement in quality, quantity and price and whilst the number of paid spinners is increasing, sacrificial spinning is steadily on the decline, except in Bihar and Ajmer. It either shows that the deep conviction about the power of hand-spinning to ameliorate the condition of the masses and to bring the middle class in healthy contact with the masses is lacking, or the latter, though they have the conviction, are too lazy or indifferent to make the small but continuing measure of sacrifice required of them. It is curious that even the national institutions such as in Gujarat are not supplying their full quota of voluntary spinners and that the workers even in the Khadi Service are disinclined to take the trouble of spinning that brings them no return. Is it to be wondered at that the progress of khadi is not commensurate with the national requirements? Let khadi workers and khadi lovers take note.

Young India, 14-6-1928

144. LETTER TO RAMDEV

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,

SABARMATI,

June 15, 1928

DEAR RAMDEVJI,

I have delayed replying to your letter in the hope of being able to persuade Ba to go to Dehra Dun. But she will not be persuaded. She seems to have lost all interest in what is going on about her. The momentous changes that had been recently made in the Ashram have also, I am afraid, preyed upon her mind. She is not now keeping over well either. Mental and physical fatigue has crept upon her. In spite of all this I tried my best but failed. I am sorry to have to disappoint you. But you will recognize how helpless I am. After all she is a free agent and has been always treated as such.

¹ Not reproduced here

I am glad you are now all right.

Yours sincerely,

BAPU

From a photostat: S.N. 13416

145. LETTER TO RICHARD B. GREGG

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,

SABARMATI,

June 15, 1928

MY DEAR GOVIND,

I have your letter. Your argument is convincing. And since the inner voice tells you that in pursuit of the very goal we hold in common your place just now is in America rather than in India, I can have nothing to say. I wish you every success in America. And since I accept your conclusion, I do not need to say anything more.

I hope to be at the Ashram throughout the year, except in December. There is just a possibility of my having to go to Burma in October. But if that is so, it would be about the end of that month. You will know in good time if that is to happen. On no account should you go away without our meeting.

I am looking forward to seeing your Science Primer.

I wish I had the time to describe the momentous changes that have been made in the Ashram. If I find that there is time I shall describe them to you, otherwise you will see them for yourself in full working order.

I hope you are now perfectly strong and well.

RICHARD B. GREGG

KOTGARH, SIMLA HILLS

From a photostat: S.N. 13417

146. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

Friday [June 15, 1928]¹

CHI. VASUMATI,

I have your letter. I have written to Pandit Abhayji² about the state of affairs at the Gurukul. I feel that reform can be brought about only if some man is there. There was a theft here. Surendra was beaten up, even Shankerbhai got a slight beating. A sum of Rs. 200 was stolen from the store. A number of changes are taking place in the Ashram. There is no time to write more. Surendra is in good health. Mahadev fell off the top of the well and got badly hurt.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI VASUMATIBEHN
KANYA GURUKUL
DEHRA DUN

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 478. Courtesy: Vasumati Pandit

147. LETTER TO S. RAMANATHAN

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 16, 1928

MY DEAR RAMANATHAN,

I have your touching letter. Its sincerity endears you all the more to me, if more is possible.

I do not agree with some of the views you have expressed in your letter, but that is now irrelevant. That you implicitly believe in what you say is what matters. For my part, I do feel that we should not now strive with you but let you part company with all goodwill. But I am sending your letter to Rajagopalachari which I know you will not mind and taking notes with him.¹

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm : S.N. 13620

¹ From the postmark

² Abhaydev Sharma

³ Vide "Letter to C. Rajagopalachari", 17-6-1928.

148. LETTER TO RAMACHANDRAN

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,

SABARMATI,

June 16, 1928

MY DEAR RAMACHANDRAN,

I was delighted to hear from you from Tiruppur.

Yes, you must master everything, the smallest detail. For khadi is nothing but attention to the tiniest fibre. Whether it is spinning or whether it is weaving or carding, we have to begin with the very fibre. And so is it with reference to accounts in connection with khadi.

You must write to me regularly, and therefore I would like you to tell me how often you would write, whether once a week, or once a fortnight, so that I may know on a particular date like South African mail your letter has got to arrive.

You must read the Ashram constitution² carefully and pass on your suggestions. The constitution as you know appears in this week's issue of *Young India*.

Mahadev hurt himself severely whilst he was fetching water from the Ashram well. He slipped and fell on his back. He is better now.

The Ashram has undergone many important changes, one of which is that there are hardly any labourers of the labour type now. The cow-shed and fields and every such thing has to be attended to by the inmates. And the common kitchen has gone up to 94. We had two serious burglaries. One was a visit by 50 robbers who surrounded the Tannery and belaboured every male inmate in the hope of getting something. But there was little to be had there. Poor Surendra came in for a fair beating. But he is all right now.

SJT. RAMACHANDRAN

A. I. S. A., TIRUPPUR

From a microfilm: S.N. 13621

¹ Vide "Satyagraha Ashram", 14-6-1928.

149. NOTE ON KHADI WORK DURING VACATIONS

I publish an article here—without making any changes—sent to me by the office-bearers of the Takli Mandal of the National School in Bombay with the approval of Shri Gokulbhai. Let me draw the attention of all school-teachers to it. I offer my congratulations to the Takli Mandal on utilizing their vacation so well. All students studying in a National School should join the Takli Mandal. Much more can be achieved by making its activity still more interesting.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 17-6-1928

150. MY NOTES

JOURNALIST ROBBERS

The proprietors and editors of some newspapers seem to be engaged in robbery. They make it their profession to rob people's money by inventing all sorts of pretexts, by making unfounded allegations against innocent persons and threatening them. Some accept bribes and try to justify dishonest practices and in this manner dupe the innocent public. A friend from Calcutta has informed me of one such instance. A journal published there has been taking advantage of the publicity given to the immoral practices at Govindbhavan, and is making allegations against many families and persecuting the simple folk of the Marwari community. Having concocted indecent incidents which never took place, they implicate certain family people in them. The friend who has sent me this filthy paper wants me to write something about such journals so that they may mend their ways. I have no such hopes for my article. It is therefore not addressed to them but to those families who are being maligned and blackmailed by such journals.

There is a saying in English that knaves prosper among fools. This saying is based on experience. The critic at last tires and gives up criticizing those who are not cowed down by any criticism. We are too much given to a false sense of shame and a needless fear of public humiliation. Hence anyone is able to frighten and blackmail us. If someone maligns us or makes false allegations against us, we are somehow scared as if we merited such criticism and allegations. Whereas the correct attitude is that whatever the criticism against us, if

it is not just, we should not be cowed down by it or worry over it.

ABOUT TRUTHFULNESS AND OTHER VOWS

An inmate of the Ashram had suggested some additions he considered essential, to the Book of Ashram Rules and as they have a subtle import and are helpful in the observance of the vows, I give below their gist. Each vow has been finally supported by a quotation from the Hindu Shastras. These have been deliberately omitted from the Book of Rules because the Ashram believes that the principles implicit in the vows are not a monopoly of Hinduism but are common to all faiths. However, the statements which have been quoted in support are beautiful and are therefore given here for the reader's information.

TRUTH

As brevity is the armour of truth, it is contained in it. 'Truth alone will triumph and not untruth.'

NON-VIOLENCE

Non-violence is the limit set by all religions. 'Sin cannot be answered by sin.'

THE VOW OF BRAHMACHARYA

This vow implies complete control of all senses. 'Those wishing to attain God practise *brahmacharya*.'

ASTEYA

'One who enjoys the gifts of God without offering them to Him is verily a thief.'

APARIGRAHA

'Enjoy it after giving up its possession.'

THE VOW OF FEARLESSNESS

Fear and morality are mutually contradictory concepts. Fearlessness is the foundation of *daivi sampad*¹. 'He alone becomes fearless who dispels fear in others.'

ASVAD

To eat food with a view to gratifying the palate is violence. 'Purity of diet leads to purity of heart, this in its turn strengthens *atman*'s awakening which in its turn destroys all bonds.'

SWADESHI

Just as non-violence sets the limit for dharma, so swadeshi

¹ Divine heritage

sets the limit for conduct. Even death is to be preferred in the discharge of one's own dharma.

BODILY LABOUR

'When one exerts one's body without any desire one commits no sin.'

ABOLITION OF UNTOUCHABILITY

Salutation to all—high and low.

TOLERANCE

Forbearance means tolerance towards all religions.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 17-6-1928

151. THE GOVERNOR AND BARDOLI

Shri Munshi's correspondence with H.E. the Governor gives a vivid picture of the existing system of government. On the one hand, the Government writes long argumentative letters in order to humour Mr. Munshi so that he does not go over to the people's side, while on the other it writes specious untruths attempting to prove the people wrong. It still insists on denying what has been repeatedly and clearly put forward by the people, as if untruth by frequent repetition can become truth!

Only one point stands out in the whole letter : the Government is not prepared to change its land revenue policy. If the revenue policy is changed, the most expensive Government in the world would cease to function or, alternatively, its expenses would be in proportion to the people's capacity to bear them.

The Governor maintains that no independent inquiry can be held as between the Government and its people. By saying so, he is throwing dust into the eyes of the Britishers. An independent inquiry too will be officially conducted. Although the judiciary is independent of the executive, it is nevertheless a Government department. No one has demanded that the committee be appointed by the people. But the people have asked for the appointment of neutral persons to conduct an inquiry into the case regarding the collection of land revenue in Bardoli, in a manner similar to that followed in law-courts. This does not imply that the Government should give up the business of governing. However, it does imply the Government's giving up its high-handed autocratic ways. And if the

people are to have swaraj and if they want to obtain it, this autocracy must be summarily done away with.

From this standpoint, the struggle in Bardoli has now assumed a wider significance or the Government has fortunately for us lent it this significance.

Shri Munshi's argument or his admission that satyagraha is an illegal weapon is indeed painful. It could now be regarded as a recognized weapon. When it was employed in South Africa, Lord Hardinge had defended it. The Government of Bihar had accepted it in Champaran and appointed a committee. Shri Vallabhbhai had used the very weapon in Borsad and the present Governor himself had honoured it and had met the people's grievances. One fails to understand why this weapon should now be regarded as illegal.

However, the relevant question at the moment is not whether satyagraha is legal or illegal. If the people's demand is reasonable it does not become less justified on account of their way of putting it forward.

Bringing about a solution to this problem is in the hands of the satyagrahis of Bardoli alone. It will be solved in only one way if their sacrifice and their courage are real. If the people do not pay the revenue, the Government will either have to write it off or appoint a committee. The fact that the people's honour rests in their own hands is borne out from this correspondence.

On the 12th, the people of Bardoli were praised everywhere. From outside Bardoli people can for the present do one thing only and that is to give financial help and express their sympathy. Financial help is coming in freely from all quarters. Until now a lakh of rupees has come in. The whole of India solidly supports Bardoli's demand. But an autocratic government bows only to force. The people have wisely given up the use of brute force. Bardoli has been making use of soul-force in the form of satyagraha. The might of the Government is negligible before it. Will Bardoli honour its pledge?

It is necessary to examine a suspicion that arises out of the Government's letter and the records of its Information Department. In H.E. the Governor's letter the reason for withdrawing the Pathans has been stated to be deference to the people's wishes, whereas the Government's Information Department claims that there is likely to be little use of the Pathans now that the monsoon has set in. The Governor [alone] would know what lies behind the two divergent accounts. Let us, however, understand the inwardness of the reason

given by the Information Department. During the rainy season instead of resorting to confiscation and such other measures, that is, instead of resorting openly to a policy of repression, there is the likelihood and the fear that it will resort to secret negotiations with the people. There is a possibility that it will invite the people, send out secret agents, hold out temptations, coupled with threats, and adopt measures to divide them. I hope people will beware of this muffled blow.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 17-6-1928

152. QUESTIONS ON EDUCATION—III

Q. 7. Do you not feel that just as it is necessary for students to now three or four languages, it is also necessary for them to be informed about the dogmas, rituals, injunctions and superstitions of all the prevailing religions?

A. If we wish to create among students respect, tolerance and love for every religion—which is indeed religion and not irreligion, we should certainly instruct them in their principles. I do not consider it very necessary to have a knowledge of the superstitions and rituals. In a country like India anyone who goes about with his eyes and ears open can see for himself the superstitions and rituals. If we wish to adopt that which is virtuous, we should not at all insist upon a knowledge of the superstitions and rituals of every religion. It is possible that a good deal of the students' time will be taken up by our insisting on their gaining a minute knowledge of whatever rituals and superstitions are to be found in our religion and trying to introduce any necessary reforms in them.

Q. 8. Since you believe in the system of varnas, do you not accept that persons of different varnas should be given different kinds of education?

A. I do not feel that there should be different kinds of education for the different varnas. There is much in common among them and our education should be, as it is at present, common to all. One of the aims of education is to make men of students and he who has become a man will easily understand the norms that apply to and should govern human beings. My conception of the varnas is that they are based on occupations and as the four varnas have to earn their living through their own occupations, the special features of

each should be hereditary. Moreover, I do not interpret the varna-dharma to imply that one varna can never have the virtues of the other three. A Brahmin will not earn his livelihood by serving like a Shudra; nevertheless, if he cannot serve or is ashamed to do so he is no Brahmin. True knowledge is unattainable without disinterested service. And although the Shudra will not live on the food received in the begging-bowl after teaching the Vedas and other scriptures, nevertheless, in a well-ordered society, he too will have a knowledge of the Vedas.

Q. 9. Is it true that you say that vocational training includes all education and intellectual training is merely a frill of education? If this is so why do you welcome college education?

A. It is as much true as it is false. Where there is blind worship of intellectual education, I would certainly say that vocational training covers everything. In my definition of education, there is no wall of brick and cement separating intellectual training from vocational training, but the latter includes the former, that is, it provides scope for the development of the intellect. I would make bold to say that a true development of the intellect is not possible without vocational training. The knowledge a mason requires to earn his livelihood is not education at all in my opinion. His education should comprise a knowledge of the place of his vocation in society, of bricks and their importance, of the need for houses and what they should be like and how closely they are connected with civilization. We often wrongly believe that intellectual education implies a general knowledge of events. A full development of the intellect is possible without such knowledge. The educationist who turns the student's brain into a storehouse of innumerable facts has himself not learnt the very first lesson in education. It must have been clear by now what is said in the question is both true and false. It is false if you accept my view of intellectual and vocational education. It is true if these are regarded as mutually exclusive, if there is misconception concerning education and if in framing the question this misconceived education has been kept in mind. It should now be understood why and under what conditions I welcome university education. The university which I visualize will consist of masons, carpenters and weavers who will be truly intellectual social workers,—they will not be only masons, carpenters and weavers having a knowledge of their trades sufficient merely for them to earn their livelihood. From this university I look forward to seeing a Kabir arise from the weavers, a Bhoja Bhagat from

the cobblers, an Akha from the goldsmiths and a Guru Govind from the farmers. I regard all these four as having received intellectual education.

Q. 10. If vocational training is all that education is, why do you not entrust the Vidyapith to a committee of carpenters, blacksmiths and weavers; let them then engage professors for intellectual education as expert servants.

A. The answer to this question is covered by the answer to Question 9; nevertheless, it has been reproduced with a view to clarifying my meaning further. If I had with me weavers, etc., like Kabir, I would certainly hand over the reins of the Vidyapith to them and these professors who impart intellectual education would not be ashamed to serve under them but rather consider it an honour to do so. It is because we have not regarded vocational training as part of education that those practising the trades are regarded as inferior and we get little or no help from the latter in social service work.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 17-6-1928

153. LETTER TO RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

June 17, 1928

DEAR RAMANANDA BABU,

The only excuse for not acknowledging your letter together with the registered book-packet¹ is that I have been altogether overwhelmed with work and I am in arrears with my correspondence. Mahadev Desai who generally attends to part of the correspondence, moves between Bardoli and Ahmedabad and therefore he is unable even to look at it. And there have been other causes to make me short-handed even whilst I am overwhelmed with work.

I am keeping the manuscript in front of me in the hope of being able to read it the very first opportunity I can get. But when that will be is more than I can tell.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE
PRABASI PRESS
91 UPPER CIRCULAR ROAD
CALCUTTA

From a photostat: S.N. 13419

¹ The manuscript of *India in Bondage: Her Right to Freedom* by Dr. J. T. Sunderland was sent to Gandhiji for comments.

154. LETTER TO SURENDRANATH BISWAS

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 17, 1928

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter.¹ My heart is with you, but no my head. As you know I have always been against workers living above their means and incurring debts and then finding themselves in trouble. I regard it as a vicious habit. How can I help you? Or better still, the only help I can give you is to advise you even to face the insolvency court, or to approach your creditors, surrender everything to them and then live the life of a labourer pure and simple. I see no other way for us educated men, if we are to serve India truly.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. SURENDRANATH BISWAS
P 14 A NEW PARK STREET
CALCUTTA

From a photostat: S.N. 13421

¹ The addressee had written that he had incurred certain debts as Chairman, Reception Committee of the Bengal Provincial Conference held in Faridpur in 1925. He had also incurred certain debts in his private capacity. Several suits were pending against him and he was for some time put under arrest. Appealing to Gandhiji, he wrote : "May I have the indulgence of begging of you a letter of introduction? I want you to write only that you attended the Conference and heard the Reception Committee had incurred debts for defraying the expenses, that I was the Chairman of the R.C. and am known to you and that I as the Chairman need help from the generous public to pay off the debts."

155. LETTER TO FLORENCE K. KREBS

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 17, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I shall be pleased to see you whenever you can come to the Ashram. I am not likely to leave the Ashram during the year. And when you come, you will of course stay at the Ashram, if you can manage with very simple vegetarian fare and comparatively simple life.

Yours sincerely,

FLORENCE K. KREBS¹
CARE POST MASTER
SRINAGAR
KASHMIR

From a photostat: S.N. 13422

156 LETTER TO N. C. BARDALOI

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 17, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

Mr. Banker has given me your letter. It has caused me pain. The loan was given to you for a definite purpose at the instance of Rajendra Babu. And why should [you] mistake discipline for dictation? Can an organization be run successfully when everybody wants to work without interference from headquarters which gives loans to workers? Surely, there must be a higher code of honour regulating the relations between a volunteer organization and its voluntary workers than between a purely business organization run for profit and its employees.

But your last sentence simply amazes me. You say you will not take any responsibilities, when you took responsibility at the time you

¹ An American traveller, who studied Eastern religions and wrote articles for magazines

borrowed well knowing the conditions under which the loan was given. And why should you want the presence of an agent from the A.I.S.A. to help you? I can only say that the loan is a debt of honour even more than a debt in law, which it certainly is, and that you should honourably discharge it.¹

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SJT. N. C. BARDALOI
SANTIBHAVAN
GAUHATI (ASSAM)

From a microfilm : S.N. 13623

157. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 17, 1928

DEAR SATIS BABU,

I have your letter. I am not worrying about Nikhil. Personally, I have resigned myself to his approaching death. What worries me is the shock that it will give to Hemprabhadevi. Although she has been writing to me bravely, I know what the actual fact will mean to her and must mean to you also. But having gone through the purgatory in the death of Maganlal, I am emboldened in asking you to steel your hearts against giving way to grief. He who gives must have the right to take away. And, after all, there is no taking away. "Death is but a sleep and a forgetting." Maganlal is living in a more real sense now than when he was in the flesh. Every change that he himself would have desired but perhaps could not have carried out is now in the course of being made in the Ashram with a hearty will by the co-workers.

I wish I had the time to describe these to you.

To have a separate exhibition of our own side by side with the Congress Exhibition, will savour of active opposition, which I think we may not offer. I am quite clear about refraining from taking part in it, if mill-cloth is admitted. But I am not at all clear about the propriety or the advantage of having an exhibition in opposition to the

¹ A copy of the letter was sent to the Secretary, A.I.S.A.

Congress Exhibition, for it can be interpreted in no other way. I would like you therefore to think over this thing seriously.

The order from the Calcutta Corporation is a good stroke.

With love,

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 8917

158. LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,

SABARMATI,

B.B. & C.I. RLY.

June 17, 1928

MY DEAR JAWAHAR,

I have your two letters. The news about Kamala and Indu is disturbing. I am hoping to have more definite information from you. I am tempted to suggest for both, and certainly at least for Kamala, the poor man's remedy, and that is hip-bath and sitz-bath according to Kuhne's system, and dieting together with sun-bath. But I know that this is not practicable and that she will have to go through the ordinary treatment.

I hope that there will be an agreed draft constitution in a complete form brought out by the Committee.

Mahadev had a serious fall from the platform of the Ashram well. He is bed-ridden but better.

From the original : Gandhi-Nehru Papers. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library.

159. LETTER TO C. VIJAYARAGHAVACHARIAR

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,

SABARMATI,

June 17, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your warm letter as also your kind cheque. I know that Vallabhbhai will very much appreciate it.

I agree with you that it will be a tragedy if the All-Parties Committee does not bring out a full-fledged constitution. I know that Motilalji is keen about it and therefore I am hoping that we shall have

a constitution from this Committee.

I did get from the *Hindu* Office the cutting containing your interview. I read it with much interest, but I do not agree with your remarks about Mr. Das. It is however now unnecessary for me to discuss the reasons for my dissent. Your affection for me which I see running through that interview and which I have always prized was no new discovery for me.

I am asking the Manager, *Young India*, to send you the required information.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 13424

160. LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

June 17, 1928

Herewith letter from Ramachandran which you would like to see and appreciate.

Navajivan has been converted into a Trust. I have included your name as one of the trustees. I hope you do not mind this. The trustees are :

Sjt. Dattatreya Balakrishna Kalelkar
„ Shankerlal Ghelabhai Banker
„ Jamnalalji Bajaj
„ Mahadev Haribhai Desai
„ Vallabhbhai Jhaverbhai Patel
„ Chhaganlal Khushalchand Gandhi
„ Chakravarti Rajagopalachari
„ Mohanlal Maganlal Bhatt

Many changes have been made in the Ashram. Two burglaries have also taken place, one of a serious nature. I have asked Subbiah to describe all these to you.

Here is Ramanathan's letter and my reply.¹
Encls. 3 (5 sheets)

From a photostat: S.N. 13622

¹ *Vide* "Letter to S. Ramanathan", 16-6-1928.

161 LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 17, 1928

CHI. VASUMATI,

It was very good that you had the chance to see Sahasradhara. The word is not *sahastra*, it is *sahasra*. Giving up of buffalo's ghee and milk applies to the Ashram only. It does not apply when one goes elsewhere, although one who has well understood the distinction will give it up wherever he may be. At present sufficient cow's milk is available at the Ashram. Arrangements have been made to get cow's ghee from somewhere.

I dictated this letter before four o'clock in the morning. I received a second one in the course of the day. I let Kamala read the part containing the apology. Nowadays I get up early, at three o'clock, [otherwise] I could not cope with my work. Chi. Kusum also insists on getting up at that time and I do not object.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 480. Courtesy: Vasumati Pandit

162. LETTER TO V. J. PATEL

June 17, 1928

BHAISHRI VITHALBHAI,

Vallabhbhai, Swami and Jamnalal have arrived. I am enclosing the draft herewith. I feel there is no need for us to go any deeper into the matter. Just now let him do what he likes. If the satyagrahis are true, victory is theirs and finally if they prove to be weak, then it will be morning when they wake.

The saying that weak friends are no better than enemies is being proved.

Everyone is extremely pleased with you work at present. May you live long and do much.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From a microfilm of the Gujarati : S.N. 14445

163. LETTER TO PRABHASHANKAR PATTANI

June 18, 1928

SUJNA BHAISHRI,

I had read the news that you had reached safely. This is a letter of supplication. I have some lean cattle and dry cows and some calves; it costs a lot to keep all of them in the Ashram. If you can keep them in your estate it would be less expensive. I can pay the expenses if you wish. If you think that this can be done, please send Bhai Joshi here. This idea occurred to me just because he is there. After he has come and seen and given you the report, if you think it proper you may offer shelter to the Ashram cattle. I am making this experiment on behalf of the Cow-protection Society. Does Lady Ramabai remember the spinning-wheel?

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5908; also C.W. 3222. Courtesy: Mahesh Pattani

164. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

ASHRAM,
June 18, 1928

BHAI GHANSHYAMDASJI,

I enclose with this two letters from friends¹ in Austria. Both are most deserving. I consider it necessary to invite them to India and make them acquainted with the country. For such purposes I do not wish to make use of your donation. Bhai Jugalkishoreji takes pleasure in such matters. If you deem it proper, send him all the letters. We have to send them £200. If he wishes to make this donation the amount will have to be sent promptly.

Your health, I trust, is good. Read the Ashram rule² carefully and do send whatever suggestions you consider proper.

Yours,
MOHANDAS

From Hindi: C.W. 6160. Courtesy: G.D. Birla

165. LETTER TO RAMDAS GANDHI

[Before June 19, 1928]³

CHI. RAMDAS,

I must regularly get your letters. They should also describe things.

Vasumatibehn has left to join the Kanya Gurukul at Dehra Dun. At present, eighty men, women and children have their meals in the joint kitchen. The kitchen will shift tomorrow to the hostel kitchen. The present kitchen will cease to be a kitchen and will be turned into a women's section. Such things happen all the time. There was problem of lack of space which has been solved for now.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : Mrs. Sumitra Kulkarni Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

¹ Mr. and Mrs. Standenath

² *Vide* "Satyagraha Ashram", 14-6-1928.

³ From the contents, chiefly the reference to shifting of the joint kitchen to the hostel kitchen; *vide* "Letter to Pyarelal Nayar", June 19, 1928.

166. LETTER TO MANILAL AND SUSHILA GANDHI

ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 19, 1928

CHI. MANILAL AND SUSHILA,

I continue to get your letters. But I cannot say that they satisfy me. You always say that both of you are pressed for time; it is difficult for me to conceive what great work you have on hand. But we both derive comfort from the proverb that it is better to have someone to call uncle than to have no uncle at all. I had hoped for something better from Sushila but even if she lacks Manilal's physical fitness she must have at least reached his level of wisdom. But must you take on each other's defects, and not virtues? I shall be pleased if you cast aside this great lethargy and you will be benefited too. Other letters from Africa and elsewhere always contain more news than is to be found in your letters. I must get a reply to my previous letter in which I have reminded you of the debts to the Ashram. If you want you may coolly contemplate the fact that the debt will be entered in the Bad Debts list but I cannot. At present significant changes are taking place at the Ashram. I have no time to describe them now. These days I get up before the four-o'clock morning prayers and dictate many letters, for only so can I cope with it somewhat. Whilst dictating this, the four-o'clock bell has rung, so I stop.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4739

167. LETTER TO PYARELAL NAYAR

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 19, 1928

MY DEAR PYARELAL,

I dictate this because I am spinning and I want to save the few minutes that will be required for writing to you in Gujarati.

I am eager to write to you at once to tell you that your article is A 1. I have read it through, though hurriedly. But I find nothing in it jarred and it is just the kind of thing that was wanted for “outsiders”, not in the Government sense, but in our sense. No one else, I am confident, could have written the article, because no one else would have the penetration that you have. You have shown why the struggle has been possible and how the splendid organization has come into being. I only hope that the article will be copied widely by the Indian Press. This article shows, and I never had any doubt ever since my reading of your essay which was published in *Young India*, what capacity you have, if you will only have confidence in yourself. Between you and Mahadev I can safely forget all about [*Young*] *India* and perhaps never write a single line. However, let me hope and wait.

Mahadev is all right now. He will be up and doing in one or two days. He is doing even now. You know what the cause was. He had a fall at the well where he was fetching water. We have very few labourers in the Ashram. You know that we had one robbery and one burglary. There were nearly 50 robbers. Surendra and Shankerbhai came in for a fair beating alongside the workers at the Tannery. And I was so happy to find these two amongst those who were beaten. The burglary was committed in the store-room two days after the robbery, though I do not think that they are interrelated.

There are many other startling changes. The common kitchen has expanded to nearly 100 and the place where I was staying is turned into women’s quarters. My office is in Maganlal’s room. The kitchen has been transferred to the kitchen attached to the Chhatralaya. I take my meals with the rest there. The other things you must learn from Imam Saheb if you open out to anybody at all.

I hope that you are keeping your body in perfect form. Devdas has returned to Almora.

From a photostat: S.N. 13427

168. LETTER TO MOTILAL NEHRU

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 19, 1928

DEAR MOTILALJI,

Sen Gupta writes to me saying that I should move the Gujarat Provincial Congress Committee to vote for you as President of the coming Congress. Of course the idea appeals to me. But before I make any move at all, I should like to know your own opinion about it. Perhaps it is not yet time for Jawahar to occupy the throne. And if the Committee that you are managing brings up something substantial, it would be as well for you to wear the crown. Sen Gupta suggests Malaviyaji as an alternative. I will await your reply before writing to Sen Gupta.¹

I was disturbed about Kamala's health. Jawahar gave me bad news. And he told me that doctors thought that Indu also required attention. Doctors never scare me. But I should like to feel that there is nothing wrong with Kamala and certainly nothing wrong with Indu.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 13624

169. LETTER TO K. S. SUBRAMANIAM

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 19, 1928

MY DEAR SUBRAMANIAM,

I have thought over Subbiah's requirements and I feel that he should have a clear Rs. 100 and if he has to live in a rented house, his rent up to Rs. 20 should be extra. This arrangement should be retrospective as from 1st of May. Therefore he should have the extra Rs. 15 paid to him, half by the Association and half by the *Young India* Office. I am writing to Mohanlal to the same effect. You will

¹ *Vide* "Letter to J. M. Sen Gupta", 21-6-1928.

require Jamnalalji's and Mr. Banker's sanction. Please receive the same and make the payment. I do not need now to worry any more over this or to write to Mr. Banker or speak to Jamnalalji.

Blessings from

SJT. K. S. SUBRAMANIAM

A. I. S. A., MIRZAPUR

AHMEDABAD

From a microfilm: S.N. 13428

170. LETTER TO SHANKARAN

THE ASHRAM,

SABARMATI,

June 20, 1928

MY DEAR SHANKARAN,

I have your letter. The list has always remained with me and the acknowledgment was printed in *Navajivan* without the list having been got from me. I knew of the acknowledgment appearing in *Navajivan* only from your letter. About *Young India* I was myself looking over it and therefore I corrected the mistake yesterday and have the whole list printed, which you will see in *Young India* of this week. It was all done before your letter came. I hope however to see that all the names appear in *Navajivan*. I say I hope because I am so rushed just now that I may forget it.

Mahadev had had a somewhat serious fall at the well where he was drawing water. He was laid up for 5 days. He is better now and in two three days he will be quite restored.

Now about your questions : Even though the cause for which a donation was given may have been fulfilled, the balance left cannot be used at the will of the donee, even though the cause for which he uses it is superior to the cause that is fulfilled. For, what the donee may consider superior may be bad cause in the estimate of the donor. I have just now an instance of that character on which I had to decide yesterday. A gentleman gave Rs. 10,000 in connection with national schools to Jamnalalji. That amount of money is still unused. Jamnalalji wants to make use of that money for national education, but for national education which includes the untouchables. This is a superior cause as you, Jamnalalji and I would consider. But I have advised that without the donor's permission, seeing that the money is

still unused, it cannot be used. And the donor is certain not to give his permission because of the disturbing introduction of the so-called untouchables. If Jamnalalji utilizes the money for a purpose which the donor had never intended, he would be wrong and guilty of the breach of the vow of *asteya*.

With reference to the second question : I take your own case. You have reduced yourself to comparative poverty by throwing overboard your job. Surely, you are the richer for it. And if your personal wants are still further reduced, you would be richer again. It is better that a man gives the whole of himself than that he must retain a part for himself and a part for society. And when a man reduces his wants to nil, he has given away his whole self.

I hope now the thing is clear. I am keeping well.

From a microfilm: S.N. 13429

171. ACCUSED JUDGING

The Director of Information has entered into a remarkable refutation of the allegations made in these pages by Mahadev Desai regarding the conduct of the Pathans.¹ Mahadev Desai having had a serious fall at a well whilst he was drawing water is laid up in bed and is therefore unable to write out his weekly notes and therein take notice of this refutation. But the Director's refutation does not need a specialist. The admissions made in it are damaging to his cause, which is the Government's, and his refutations are unconvincing, where they are not utterly worthless.

But before I examine the Director's communiques, let me make one point clear. What is it that the Government is after in publishing these communiques through the Director of Information? Does it seek to substitute its own courts of law and become judge in cases against its own officers? I freely confess that so far as the public are concerned, the allegations made by the Satyagraha Publicity Office are *ex-parte*, unproved statements. But for this Publicity Office there is no other course open to it. Satyagrahis, even if they have no compunction about going to courts of law, cannot go to the Bardoli courts, where they know they can get no hearing, much less justice, because their complaint is not against private individuals but against Government officers, and that too during a regime which very nearly

¹ This appeared in *Young India* issues of May and June, 1928.

approaches martial law. The satyagrahis have therefore no other course open to them but to acquaint the public with the extraordinary nature of the coercive measures that the Government has adopted. What however can be the meaning of counter-allegations by the Director? What can be the value of his denials? He is not in the same plight as the satyagrahis. The Government has all authority. If the allegations made by the Satyagraha Office are untrue, the Government has its own remedy. The Government little realizes that it has lost all credit and that even where statements made on its behalf are true, they are suspected by the people as untrue. Such is its black record. If then the Government has evidence to show that the allegations are untrue, let it appoint an impartial open committee of enquiry and the Satyagraha Office will under take to prove every statement made by it and apologize and otherwise suffer where its statements cannot be sustained. But the Governor's long and copious letters to public men leave no room for any such hope. I therefore welcome the resolution that Sjt. Munshi has adumbrated in his powerful letter addressed to the Governor announcing his resignation. I tender my congratulations to Sjt. Munshi for his resignation and more for his brave letter. I hope he will carry out his resolve to get together a committee of investigation. Let him get the soundest men and if I may venture to suggest, let him take a leaf out of the Government book and get colleagues drawn from the various communities. Let him get one Parsi, one Mussalman and if possible one Christian, whether English or Indian, and let there be for this self-appointed committee a proper reference within which it would work, and if it would take a little more trouble, I would suggest that it should not confine its investigations merely to the coercive measures but extend them to the case of the satyagrahis regarding the enhanced assessment. I hope too that the committee will invite the Government to send its witnesses to present its case. That the Government may not condescend to send witnesses to such a committee is highly likely. If it does not, it would provide one more cause for its condemnation.

Now for the Director's communiques. The Governor says that the Pathans are to be withdrawn in order to "remove any misunderstanding". The Director says that they are being withdrawn as owing to the impending rains their service would be no longer required. Which statement is the public to believe? And if the Pathans are not required because of the impending rains, why is a glorified edition of the Pathans in the shape of armed police with a special

officer and working under special magistrate required? The people will be excused if still suspect behind the withdrawal of the Pathans a sinister design still further to encompass the satyagrahis of Bardoli and awe them into subjection.

Another communique denies that one of the Pathans was only the other day caught red-handed in the act of theft. The denial is set forth in the language of a judge as if the Director had both the complainant and the accused present before him and had come to the definite conclusion. I have before me the statement submitted to Sjt. Vallabhbhai Patel, as President of the Railway Union, by the Pathan watchman at Bardoli station who caught the man red-handed, along with the knife and the stolen salt. He states therein that the police authorities were trying to water down evidence and coercing him to withdraw the complaint. But the Director comes to the following pontifical conclusion : “The police have found the case to be one fit to be classed as untrue.” No wonder because the railway Pathan will not lend himself a tool in the hands of the police. Of equal value is the statement that “the Deputy Superintendent of Police can definitely state that the photographs taken by non-co-operators were not taken during the commission of the so-called theft”. But the admission that the accused Pathan was on the railway platform, that he did pick up handful—as a matter of fact two bundlefuls—of salt sufficiently damages the Government. Who does not know that when people caught red-handed are sought to be protected, the acts witnessed are watered down by a corrupt police? In this instance salt became waste and came to be picked up from the ground. And since it is inconvenient to have a Pathan with a knife, possession of a knife by the Pathan is denied. I have had the good fortune to know Pathans in South Africa. I have had equally good fortune to know many here. Their bravery when they are not spoiled is unquestioned. But I cannot recall a Pathan without a knife. But the so-called non-co-operators do not claim implicit trust in their allegations. They claim an impartial investigation. Not so the Director of Information. He claims the authority of a judgment for his statements.

The second denial is just as embarrassing to the Director as the first. It is not denied that the Pathan threatened Kalyanji, but it is denied that he threatened to stab him. The threat, it is said, was held out because the Pathan objected to being photographed. The Director gratuitously adds that non-co-operators are well aware that the Pathans object to being photographed. I am one of the non-co-operators. But

I have not known a Pathan yet to raise such objection and I have known many Pathans to have been photographed and I have known some who had been eager to be photographed. I understand from Sjt. Vallabhbbhai that the very Pathans were, until they discovered that the camera was being used to discredit them, anxious to be photographed. He further assures me that if he got the opportunity he wants, he would be able to show how and where the objection was manufactured. And we all know that the King of the Pathans, His Majesty Amanullah, has willingly submitted to the tortures of photographers. But in the forest of words that the Director has brought into his assistance, one thing stands out clear, namely, that Kalyanji was threatened. By the way, let me make this clear, that the satyagrahis in Bardoli are not today offering non-co-operation. On the contrary they want to co-operate with the Government in finding out the truth about assessment. As non-co-operators they could not have asked for a committee. They could simply have repudiated the authority of Government. But they have not done so. Their satyagraha is merely confined to securing justice from the Government of the day.

The third refutation is about the pulling of a woman by a Pathan out of her house. It is admitted that a Pathan stood in an open doorway. It is not stated why he should have stood in an open doorway in a private house. It is admitted also that a woman came forward to say that she had been pulled and pushed by a Pathan trying to enter the house. The valuable information is then given to the public that this woman a few days afterwards excused herself to Mr. Benjamin who taxed her with the falsehood by saying : "What was I to do?" Surely cross-examination of the woman is here required before any value can be attached to Mr. Benjamin's statement.

The fourth refutation is about the indecent behaviour of a Pathan. Here too the fact of the nudity of the Pathan is not denied. But what is stated is that there was no indecent intention behind indecent appearance. And the absence of indecent intention is sought to be inferred from the practice of the villagers answering calls of nature at all kinds of places in villages. An intelligent public can easily draw its own inference from such a denial.

Of the same type is the denial about another Pathan exposing himself before two girls.

In the sixth refutation about the indecent assault committed on a

woman the assault is haltingly admitted. But the Director naively says : “It is possible that someone acted as Rehmat states, but there is no evidence that the man (if any) was a Pathan”, as if the evidence of Rehmat herself to the effect that it was a Pathan who committed the assault is of no consequence. The Satyagraha Office has the statement made by the cartman who rescued Rehmat to the effect that the assailant was a Pathan employed by Government.

I have taken only a few samples from the communiques and I have analysed the one that has special reference to *Young India*, for I claim for this journal such absolute impartiality and insistence upon truth as is possible for erring human beings. All the writers in *Young India* have to append at least their own initials. Sjt. Mahadev Desai is himself a lawyer. By over ten years of practice of the profession of journalism he may be claimed to be a fairly trained journalist. As such he must among several qualifications possess that of being able to sift fact from fiction. He goes periodically to Bardoli in order to see things with his own eyes and hear with his own ears. It may be presumed that he has a reputation to lose. I therefore felt constrained while he was on his back to study his notes which are the subject-matter of the refutation as also the Director’s notice of his notes and I at once saw that Sjt. Mahadev Desai had nothing to be ashamed of and that the Director’s refutations did not contain anything to shake Mahadev’s estimate of the facts that he observed in Bardoli.

The Director is conveniently silent about the brutal beating of the buffaloes by the Pathans who in one instance battered a poor beast to death. And does he know that though he proclaimed in one of his communiques that the resignations given by the talatis and patels were under duress, the patels and talatis have emphatically repudiated the calumny?

The communiques as also the Governor’s letters make much of the fact that the Government could not be blamed for having brought in Pathans, as Banias in Bardoli had also Pathans as their watchmen. Neither the Governor nor the Director seem to know that nobody in Gujarat relishes the idea of anyone hiring the services of Pathans as watchmen, etc. Not that the people of Gujarat have any ill will against them, but there is a sinister motive behind the hiring of Pathans, and those who hire such service do not take care to pick out the noblest amongst them. On the contrary, they take good care to get hold of men who may be capable of doing the greatest mischief. And if the selfish Banias and others do not mend, they and the rest of the people

of Gujarat will have to pay a heavy price for getting hold of bad characters and exploiting them for their own purposes, be they Pathans or others. But when a Government copies a practice that is known to be essentially bad and distasteful to the people in general, it heaps wrong upon wrong and should not be surprised if it comes in for an extra dose of blame. There could be no other meaning in the Government sending Pathans to Bardoli than the meaning that attaches to the hiring of the services of Pathans by private individuals. And what inference can the Governor or the Director want the public to draw from the fact that some Pathans are not foreigners? Surely both must have the sense to know that the objection raised in Bardoli was not against Pathans as such. The word 'Pathan' there has a different connotation. As used by the people in Bardoli it means an essentially bad character, —a hooligan. The people of Bardoli would welcome all the good Pathans from wherever they may come. And after all, it was a railway Pathan who came to the rescue and made the statement to Vallabhbhai about a fellow Pathan. The objection then is not to the race but to the character of men posted in Bardoli. Therefore the situation is not altered in the slightest degree by the Government's withdrawal of Pathans, when they have sent instead an armed police. Let it not be said of the Government that if the people of Bardoli resented whips in the shape of Pathans, they received scorpions in the shape of armed police backed by special magistrates.

Young India, 21-6-1928

172. BARDOLI BUNGLER

The more the Government excuses itself in the Bardoli case, the more it accuses itself. The long letters of H.E. the Governor written to Sjt. Munshi make confusion worse confounded and do not improve its position even in the estimation of a constitutionalist as Sjt. Munshi claims to be.

The Governor's letters altogether evade the issue. His Excellency claims that another inquiry has already been made and assures his correspondent that "there is not one member of Government who is not fully satisfied as to the justice of Government's action and in fact I should use the word 'generosity'".

This is moving in a circle. If the Government were to make fifty inquiries of the type mentioned in the correspondence, they would not improve matters for it. On the contrary, these inquiries would prove its

perverse determination to give a stone each time the Bardoli people ask for bread. They do not want a hole-and-corner inquiry in which they are not usefully and effectively represented and which is not open and independent. They contend that what the Government regards as just, even generous, the people believe to be unjust and oppressive. They contend, and these columns have attempted to show why, that Mr. Jayakar's and Mr. Anderson's reports are worthless, full of misstatements and errors even of calculation.¹ They undertake to substantiate their contention before an open, impartial and independent committee.

The Government proudly and with fatiguing reiteration tell the public that they accepted neither Mr. Jayakar's rate of assessment, i.e., 30 per cent increase, nor Mr. Anderson's, i.e., 29 per cent increase (a generous reduction indeed upon 30 per cent) but that they reduced the increase to 20 per cent. And now we are informed by the Governor that this reduction was not only just but even generous. What the people want is not generosity but justice pure and simple, and they submit that even the 20 per cent increase is unwarranted by facts, unwarranted by the condition of the agriculturists. His Excellency on the other hand protests that if a committee was appointed, it would be found that the increase should have been much higher. If that is the sincere belief of the Government, why does it not accept the very reasonable prayer of the people for the appointment of a proper committee by whose decision they declare they are willing to abide?

When the people challenge the findings of officers of the Government, it is monstrous, it is insulting to throw in their teeth the reports of other officers who base their conclusions upon mere documents often varnished and more often superficial. If the Governor is desirous, as he professes to be, of acting on the square, let him accept the honourable offer sealed and sanctified as it is with, the sufferings of the people for whom His Excellency makes in his letters profuse avowal of anxious sympathy.

But, declares the Governor, the "outsiders", whom the Commissioner, N. D., has made famous by his insulting libel, stand in the way of the full flow of that sympathy. If they are in the way of the agriculturists, "who", the Governor claims to "know well", "would

¹ *Vide* "What Is the Bardoli Case?", 14-6-1928.

all pay up the assessment as many are now doing, if they are allowed to”, why does he not summarily remove these objectionable trespassers? The Government has been hitherto always found to be resourceful enough to remove all the “tall poppies” it has discovered inconveniently in its way. Why then is it leaving alone this (in the elegant language of the Commissioner, N.D.,) “swarm of agitators from Kheda living on the poor people of Bardoli” and allowing the innocent peasants to become a prey alike to the “agitators” and the Pathans now to be replaced by the organized police drafted into Bardoli?

The Governor is in such a hurry to justify his ‘constitutional’ position and discredit Sjt. Vallabhbhai Patel and his faithful companions, that forgetful of his statement in one letter that there were 40 Pathans, in another he says there were only 25. But of the Pathans I shall have to say more in another article.

The Governor seeks to justify the assessment in Bardoli on the ground that the people of Chorasi who are similarly assessed have not resisted the enhancement. I know nothing of the case of Chorasi. But I do know this that many a wrong has been submitted to before now by the people of India earning for them (in their case) the uncomplimentary title of “the gentle Hindoo”. It may be that the people of Chorasi are too weak to resist the levy, whereas the people of Bardoli having been under healthy influence for the past six years have found themselves strong and willing enough for sufferings that must be entailed in resisting a Government that has become notorious for its unscrupulousness and frightfulness.

Here is the naked paw. Says His Excellency :

Why should Government give up its undoubted right of administration to, as you suggest, the decision of some independent committee? I am anxious to meet the situation in every way that is possible, but no Government would be worth the name of Government which allowed such a thing to happen.

“The undoubted right of administration” is the uncontrolled licence to bleed India to the point of starvation. The licence would be somewhat controlled if an independent committee were appointed to adjust the points in dispute between the people and the executive authority. Let it be noted that the independent committee does not mean a committee independent of the Government. It means a committee appointed by the Government of men known to be

independent of official pressure and authorized to hold the enquiry in the open with the right to the aggrieved people to be duly and effectively represented. But such an open enquiry means the death knell of the secret, autocratic revenue policy of the Government. Where is, in the modest demand of the people, the slightest “usurpation of the functions of Government”? But even the least check upon the utter independence of the executive officers is enough to send the Government into a fury. And when the British lion is in a fury in British India, God help the “gentle Hindoo”. Well, God does help the helpless and He only helps when man is utterly helpless. The people of India have found in satyagraha the God-given infallible *gandiva* of self-suffering. Under its stimulating influence the people are slowly waking up from the lethargy of ages. The Bardoli peasants are but showing India that, weak as they are, they have got the courage to suffer for their convictions.

It is too late in the day to call satyagraha unconstitutional. It will be unconstitutional when truth and its fellow—self-sacrifice—become unlawful. Lord Hardinge blessed the South African satyagraha and even the all-powerful Union Government gracefully bent before it. Both Lord Chelmsford, the then Viceroy, and Sir Edward Gait, the then Governor of Bihar, recognized its legitimacy and efficacy and an independent committee was appointed resulting in adding to the prestige of the Government and resulting in the ending of a century-old wrong. It was then recognized in Kheda and a settlement, reluctant, half-hearted and incomplete as it was, was made between the Government agents in Kheda and those who were guiding the movement and the people. The then Governor of the Central Provinces condescended to treat with the Nagpur Flag satyagrahis and released the prisoners and recognized the right claimed by the satyagrahis. Last but not least Sir Leslie Wilson himself when he was yet untouched by the atmosphere of the “most efficient service in the world” recognized its efficacy in Borsad and granted the Borsad people relief.

I wish both His Excellency the Governor and Sjt. Munshi will take note of these facts that have happened within the past fourteen years. Satyagraha in Bardoli cannot now be suddenly declared unconstitutional. The fact is the Government have no case. They do not want their revenue policy to be challenged at an open enquiry. If the Bardoli people can stand the final heat, they will have the open

enquiry or the withdrawal of the enhancement. It is their undoubted right to claim for their grievance a hearing before an impartial tribunal.

Young India, 21-6-1928

173. NOTES

A NOBLE SOUL GONE

As I am writing for *Young India*, I have a wire from Nilkanth Babu advising me of the death at Sakhigopal of Pandit Gopabandhu Das who was one of the noblest among the sons of Orissa, the land of sorrows and tears. Gopabandhu Babu had given his all to Orissa. I heard of him and his sterling character and steadfastness when Sjt. Amritlal Thakkar was sent to Orissa in 1916 to distribute relief to the famine-stricken. Sjt. Thakkar used to write to me how Gopabandhu Babu braved inconvenience and disease in struggling to help the helpless. He gave up his practice and his membership of the Legislative Council during the Non-co-operation days and never wavered. What was more for him was to stake the existence of his dearest creation, the Satyavadi School. He braved the taunts of some of his closest friends and persisted to his eternal honour in what they considered to be his folly. His one ambition in life was to see dismembered Utkal united and happy. He had lately become a member of Lala Lajpat Rai's society and was planning to make khadi an efficient vehicle for the economic relief of poverty and flood-stricken Orissa. The country is the poorer for the death of Pandit Gopabandhu Das. Though he is not in our midst in the flesh, he is in our midst in the spirit. Let that noble spirit guide the workers of Orissa, let his death result in a larger dedication to service, greater effort, greater self-effacement and greater unity among the scattered workers who are too few for the national requirements. I tender my condolences to the relatives and the many disciples of the deceased patriot.

A SHAME UPON YOUNG MEN

A correspondent sends me a newspaper cutting showing that recently in Hyderabad, Sind, the demand for bridegrooms has been increasing at an alarming rate, an employee of the Imperial Telegraph Engineering Service having exacted Rs. 20,000 as cash dowry during betrothal, and promises of heavy payments on the wedding day and

on special occasions thereafter. Any young man who makes dowry a condition of marriage discredits his education and his country and dishonours womanhood. There are many youth movements in the country. I wish that these movements would deal with questions of this character. Such associations often become self-adulation societies, instead of becoming as they should be, bodies representing solid reform from within. Good as the work of these bodies is at times in helping public movements, it should be remembered that the youth of the country have their reward in the public appreciation they get. Such work, if it is not backed by internal reform, is likely to demoralize the youth by creating in them a sense of unwarranted self-satisfaction. A strong public opinion should be created in condemnation of the degrading practice of dowry and young men who soil their fingers with such ill-gotten gold should be excommunicated from society. Parents of girls should cease to be dazzled by English degrees and should not hesitate to travel outside their little castes and provinces to secure true, gallant young men for their daughters.

A TRIBUTE

In a letter to Mahadev Desai thus writes Mr. H. S. L. Polak about the death of Maganlal Gandhi :

I can fully enter into your appreciation of the disaster that has befallen the Ashram by Maganlal's sudden passing. It was as though I had lost an own brother. You, of course, know far better than I how tremendously important he was to the life and purposes of the Ashram, and how much he symbolized its ideal and practical character. It seems incredible that this dear, cheerful, smiling brother, with whom I had exchanged so close and affectionate an embrace on my last day at the Ashram, should have passed in the physical form from among us so suddenly. He has died, as gallantly as any knight of old, on the battlefield.

Maganlal and I, as you know, worked closely and always harmoniously at Phoenix. Indeed, cheerfulness and harmony were the keynotes of his character, and a supple courage that adapted itself to meet the needs of each new trial. Of late years we met only upon my occasional visits to India, and then only for brief periods, but I always felt refreshed and stimulated by this renewal of an old and affectionate comradeship.

He has left a noble and shining example for us all, and I feel very sure that, though he be absent really in the flesh, his spirit will move among you

perhaps more really than if he had remained in the form that was so familiar and dear to us.

Many of us in the Ashram are realizing the truth of the last observation.

Young India, 21-6-1928

174. LETTER TO J. M. SEN GUPTA

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 21, 1928

MY DEAR SEN GUPTA,

I have your letter about the President of the forthcoming Congress. I like your suggestion. But before deciding upon the thing finally, I want to know Panditji's own mind. I have therefore written to him in the matter¹ and, as soon as I hear from him, I hope to write to you further and more definitely.

I had your letter about the Exhibition. It does not satisfy me. But evidently in this matter we shall have to agree to differ. As you know I hold very strong views about swadeshi. But if they do not commend themselves to Bengal, I must wait till Bengal is converted or I collapse. However, I may not argue with you. I shall watch the developments there. I see no difference between what you write to me and the information that was given to me. Let me conclude by saying that I am not against machinery as such, but I am opposed to machinery that may be designed to displace the masses without giving them any adequate and satisfactory substitute.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 13626

¹ *Vide* "Letter to Motilal Nehru", 19-6-1928.

175. LETTER TO ETHEL ANGUS

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 22, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter for which I thank you. If I succeed in going to Europe next year and if it is at all possible, I should certainly accept your kind hospitality. I have no doubt about it that I have many friends in England as in other parts of Europe.

Mr. Rajagopalachariar is making steady progress with his Ashram in the South. I am taking the liberty of sending your letter to him and I know that he will read it with interest and joy.

I thank you and Rev. John Todd Ferrier for his books. Much as I should like to read the several books that friends send me, it is difficult to find time to read them. But I have glanced through some of the books sent by you. The argument about purity of food naturally makes a forcible appeal to me.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 14334

176. LETTER TO RAMLAL BALARAM BAJPAI

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 22. 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I have gone through the article of Miss Mayo, which you sent me. I have no desire to reply to the libel. If there are people who believe in this story invented by Miss Mayo, no repudiation on my part can give any satisfaction to such people.

Thank you for your kind enquiries about my health. I am keeping fairly well.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. RAMLAL BALARAM BAJPAI
209 SULLIVAN PLACE
BROOKLYN
NEW YORK
U.S.A.

From a photostat: S.N. 14337

177. LETTER TO K. SRINIVASAN

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 22, 1928

MY DEAR SRINIVASAN,

I have your letter and the cheque for Rs. 11. You certainly deserve upbraiding if the money that you got for yourself was not needed by you.

It gives me great joy to find that you are keeping your promise. I wish you will not be ashamed of spinning before your friends. If you believe it to be good, let them see what you are doing.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. K. SRINIVASAN
MARCONI WIRELESS COLLEGE
CHELMSFORD
ESSEX

From a photostat: S.N. 14338

178. LETTER TO DEVI WEST

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 22, 1928

I have your letter. I had the charming photograph¹ also. I call it 'charming' because it is lifelike.

What you say about Maganlal is too true.

¹ Of the addressee

I wish I had the time to describe the many changes we have made in the Ashram. Prabhudas had just now descended from the hills where he was convalescing. Krishnadas is here and so are Chhaganlal and his wife. His parents are also here for the time being. Devdas is in the hills, I am keeping fairly well. It is possible that we may meet next year. If all goes well, I might visit Europe next year.

From a photostat: S.N. 14339

179. LETTER TO HORACE ALEXANDER

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,

SABARMATI,

June 22, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have long delayed replying to your letter, as I have hoped to send you a fairly lengthy reply. But I see that I am not likely to get sufficient leisure for attempting a very full reply in the near future.

What you say about silent prayer and congregational silence I understand and I appreciate also in theory.¹ When I was in South Africa, I attended several such meetings. But I was not much struck with the performance. In India, it will fall flat. After all, there are many ways of worship and it is not necessary to graft new ways, if old ones will answer. I am myself not satisfied with what we are able to do in the Ashram. I cannot procure a devotional mood all of a sudden or in an artificial manner. If some of us in the Ashram really have that mood whilst at prayer, it is bound to have its effect in due course. It is because of the belief that there are some earnest souls in the Ashram who approach the prayer time in a proper devotional mood, that I have persisted in retaining the congregational prayer meetings in spite of odds and sometimes even severe disappointments. I may be partial, but my own experience is that our prayer meetings are very slowly but surely growing in dignity and strength. But I am painfully aware of the fact that we are far far away from what we want to achieve. Nevertheless, I shall bear your suggestions in mind. I have already discussed them with friends.

You seem to think lightly of my having invited suggestions with reference to sanitary matters. In my own humble opinion we

¹ The addressee, who had earlier visited the Ashram, had written suggesting observance of united silence on the pattern of Quakers.

needlessly divide life into water-tight compartments, religious and other. Whereas if a man has true religion in him, it must show itself in the smallest detail of life. To me sanitation in a community such as ours is based upon common spiritual effort. The slightest irregularity in sanitary, social and political life is a sign of spiritual poverty. It is a sign of inattention, neglect of duty. Anyway, the Ashram life is based upon this conception of fundamental unity of life.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

HORACE G. ALEXANDER, ESQ.

WOODBROOK

SELY OAK

BIRMINGHAM

From a photostat: G.N. 1405

180. LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

THE ASHRAM,

SABARMATI,

June 22, 1928

I have decided to help Ganesan to the extent of Rs. 8,500 by way of loan against the security of four publications : 1. *Satyagraha in South Africa*, 2. *Gandhiji in Ceylon*, 3. *Seven Months with Gandhiji*¹, 4. *Economics of Khaddar*. But I would like you to help him and guide him. He was inclined to throw up the sponge and retire from the publishing business entirely. I thought that was unmanly and I have advised him to brave all difficulties and survive the storm. I have advised him to secure your guidance. I also suggested to him that he might get Natesan's help. But I leave all that to you. If you will think that he should do so, you will introduce him to Natesan, whom you know so well.

The books are to be stored with Harihar Sharma. If you have any other advice on the point, you will tell me.

From a microfilm: S.N. 13433

¹ The title of the volume by Krishnadas is *Seven Months with Mahatma Gandhi*.

181. LETTER TO ESTHER MENON

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,

SABARMATI,

June 22, 1928

I have your two letters. Maganlal's death has not only upset all my plans but has prompted me to make what may appear revolutionary changes in the Ashram. I must not therefore give you a long love-letter.

If all goes well and the friends in Europe still want me, I hope to find myself in readiness to go next year.

I can understand your being ill in India, but why should you be ill there. I expect you to return with your original bloom and vigour.

How long do you both expect to be away? Where is Menon studying?

MRS. ESTHER MENON

HAVE, ASNAES

DENMARK

From a photostat: S.N. 14336

182. LETTER TO BEN M. CHERRINGTON

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,

SABARMATI,

June 22, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. You altogether overrate my ability to help you. I however try to answer your questions to the best of my ability.

Yours sincerely,

BEN M. CHERRINGTON, ESQ.

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

UNIVERSITY OF DENVER

DENVER

COLORADO

U.S.A.

From a photostat: S.N. 14335

[ENCLOSURE]¹

I have never had occasion to study the history of the foundations in the West. My knowledge of them being too cursory to be of any value.

In my judgment, the growing need of the times however is restoring to the things of the heart, that is, moral well-being, its true place in life. Social science, according to my view, should therefore be approached from that moral standpoint. No tinkering will answer the purpose. Your foundation¹ therefore, if it is to be true to itself, should be utilized for subverting the system under which the extraordinary accumulation of riches has been possible in America. It would seem then that if you adopt my suggestion, it becomes for the most part independent of monetary help.

In view of my answer to the first question, I need hardly answer the second. But I would say independently of the first that the organization of the foundation round industrial, racial and international relationships would be any day preferable to the traditional academic departments. If the view underlying my answer to the first question is accepted, you will have to do original research work.

In view of the foregoing the answer to this is unnecessary. It would certainly be wise to have all nations, races and classes represented. If you can take care of the youth, the citizens will right themselves.

I should lock up in fairly commodious but not too comfortable rooms a few professors and students and insist upon their finding a way out of the present intolerable position, if you hold with me that the present is an intolerable position.

I am unable to answer this.

The idea is good. Perhaps the most effective way of securing the proper type or exchange of visiting members would be to send out a representative to the countries from which you may want such members so that he may come in direct touch with the living institutions of the country or countries in question.

From a photostat: S.N. 14262

¹ The questions, to which these are Gandhiji's answers, are not available.

² The source has "function".

183. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 23, 1928

CHI. VASUMATI,

I have your letter. As I dictate this, the four-o'clock bell is ringing. Jaidevji has been guilty of a moral lapse; therefore I am atoning for it by going on a three days' fast. Today is the second day. I shall break the fast on Monday morning. Except for a slight weakness I feel nothing. Therefore there is no cause for worry at all. Does the climate there suit you? Correspondence is going on with Gurukul Kangri regarding better organization of Kanya Gurukul.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 479. Courtesy: Vasumati Pandit

184. LETTER TO SHANTIKUMAR MORARJI

ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 23, 1928

CHI. SHANTIKUMAR,

I am dictating this letter to you at four o'clock in the morning. From this you can imagine how rushed I am. Mahadev is still confined to bed with the injuries he had suffered. The papers about Sumant have only been placed on the table but I have not been able to read them. Of course, the one to read them is myself. I have so much trust in you that I believe that whatever satisfies you will satisfy me. Bhai Sumant's letter has not created a good impression on me because I saw anger in it and rage. But I shall write what I feel after I read it. I believe that in this connection I shall not be able to do anything either through Sumant or in any other way. That is why I have not insisted on disposing of the papers you sent me by putting aside other matters. I do not think I shall be able to go to Poona just now. If I do go, I should wish to stay in your hut. Premililabehn has long ago taken a promise that I should stay in her hut. I have retained

a proviso that I shall go only if I do not have to go elsewhere for work.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 4787. Courtesy: Shantikumar Morarji

185. LETTER TO BECHAR PARMAR

ASHRAM,

SABARMATI,

June 23, 1928

BHAISHRI BECHAR,

If the sons of a carpenter go in for business it would not be considered proper. Only labourers are to be included in the caste. I consider carpenters, cobblers, etc., as Vaishyas. It is difficult to reply to the fourth question because there has been an intermingling of castes but we can say in general that everyone should stick to his occupation if it is not against morality and has been carried on from generation to generation. He who is considered worthy of being admitted to the Satyagraha Ashram will board at the Ashram only if he has no other means of subsistence. The Managing Committee has decided not to admit any newcomer for one year except under special circumstances since a lot of changes are made and are still being made at the Ashram. You will see in the *Niyamavali* that if you approve of the regulations, you will have to stay outside for one year and observe them. If you wish to be admitted at the end of the year you will have to know and live the Ashram life from today. If at all you wish to join the Ashram at any time, first of all you should stay there for two or three days.

Vandemataram from

MOHANDAS GANDHI

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5571

186. *QUESTIONS ON EDUCATION—IV*

Q. 11. In the aims of the Vidyapith it has been said that the progress of India depends upon its villages and not its cities. It this is so, why do you wish to convert our city boys? You are free to give village education to village boys, but city boys want to live city life. Why would you not give them the kind of education that suits them? Moreover, the funds for the Vidyapith come from cities. We shall say nothing if you carry the ideals of the Vidyapith to the villages and collect money, foodgrains and cotton.

A. Fortunately, this question is not asked by many city-dwellers or many students living in cities. How can city people, who are beginning to repent, talk in terms of village children getting village education at their own expense? The Vidyapith was born as a result of city people turning their attention to villages. The city-dwellers themselves took over running the Vidyapith after their eyes opened. If it is intended chiefly to serve the villages why should the villagers pay money for running it? Today even the educational machinery of the villages has necessarily to be run by the city-dwellers. the very same allegations that the city-dwellers level against the Government can be levelled against us by villagers: 'You city-dwellers have robbed us in the past and still continue to do so. We shall be grateful to you if you will stop doing so. We are prepared to let bygones be bygones.' We woke up when a few among us city-dwellers understood this. We became aware of the grave injustice that we have done to the villages and we decided to make atonement for it. The first part of this consists of non-co-operation with the Government with whose strength and support it was and still is possible to suck the life-blood of the villages. And the second part consists in our learning to save ourselves from the results of co-operation as we gradually understand the essence of non-co-operation. If we offered non co-operation and then sat down with folded hands, it could be said what we had not understood the meaning of non-co-operation. It is not enough not to help one who robs us of our belongings; it is also necessary to stop him from doing so and make him give up the loot. Then alone can we be said to have non-co-operated with the robber. Non-co-operation can be violent or non-violent, warlike or peaceful, one involving brute force or soul-force. We have chosen the latter alternative in each case and hence we

have come to the conclusion that some of us city-dwellers who have robbed the wealth of the villages and live comfortably because of it should, by way of atonement, serve the villages in some way and offer them something in return. The Vidyapith was born as a result of this trend of thought and it is because some of us are awake and are votaries of truth that we are day by day realizing the secret of non-cooperation and, to that extent, are making the Vidyapith purer. It will now be understood why the main part of the funds contributed by the city-dweller should be used only for the purpose of educating villagers and that this can be done at present only by the graduates from the cities who have been trained the Vidyapith.

It is my belief that if would be a betrayal of the people's trust in us if we used the funds received in the name of the Vidyapith for some other purpose. Those who donated money did so under the impression that it would be used to impart a type of education different from that which is currently given and which would be of the type described by me.

Q. 12. Over the past eight years, the stress of the Vidyapith has been on the abolition of untouchability. How many *Antyajias* have become *vinitas* or *snatakas* as a result of this?

A. I find the question strange and ignorant, for abolition of untouchability never meant, and should never mean, that we make graduates of youths regarded as untouchables. It is possible that some of them obtain these degrees in course of time. That is as it should be. It is also in the fitness of things that the Vidyapith should always be ready to help such individuals. But to turn untouchables into graduates does not in any way form part of the programme for the abolition of untouchability. The Vidyapith has proved its partiality for and its adherence to the cause of abolition of untouchability by forgoing thousands, if not lacs, of rupees and risking its very existence and by letting go help in the running of its administration from some individuals who were otherwise quite able to give such help.

Q. 13. We see clearly that the absence of *brahmacharya* has led to physical and mental enfeeblement of the nation and endeavour and enterprise have slackened. Why then have you not permitted the use of the word *brahmacharya* in the last clause about the aims of the Vidyapith?

A. The questions is well put. It is not proved that the absence of *brahmacharya* alone is responsible for the physical and mental

weakening of the nation and the slowing of sustained industry and enterprise. Why should we belittle such a diving things as *brahmacharya* by linking it with physical exercise, which, however good, is a transitory thing as compared to the former? The Westerners do not practise *brahmacharya*, yet they are not weak physically or mentally. Their untiring industry and spirit of adventure are worthy of imitation. It can be said of Gurkha, Pathan, Sikh, Dogra and British soldiers—all of whom have fine physique—that none of them are *brahmacharis*. These will outdo the students of our gymnasia in physical exercise. We can cite many such examples, to prove that physical strength, a certain kind of mental strength, ceaseless diligence and adventure—all the four of these can be attained without practising *brahmacharya*. The *brahmacharya* of my conception—one that leads to the attainment of the Brahman—is distinct from the above. It is both the means and the end; hence in order to practise it, I am prepared to sacrifice my body. One who is enamoured of the physical self will hardly be able to practise unbroken *brahmacharya*. Citing the examples of the *brahmacharya* of Bhishma and others here would be misleading. If we take too literally the events described in the *Mahabharata*, the *Ramayana*, etc., we shall be led along the path of untruth and fall headlong into a chasm. We shall certainly rise if we understand their inner meaning and put it into practice.

The body is not thing to be thrown away. It is a thing to be preserved. If it has become the abode of Ravana, it is also the Ayodhya of Rama; it is also Kurukshetra. We must not, therefore, ignore it. It is necessary to keep it strong and healthy and so it must have exercise. When we say this do we not give exercise its due? We preserve truth, and this amount of inducement is sufficient and has been sufficient to make exercise popular among students. On the other hand, if we try to establish an inevitable connection between exercise and *brahmacharya*, not only shall we be guilty of exaggeration but there will be real danger that a student who happens to lag behind in his exercises, instead of correcting the error in his reasoning, will blame *brahmacharya* and give it up.

Brahmacharya does not require the support of the desire for physical strength. Its necessity can be proved in other and much better ways. The West may have physical strength as well as mental strength but where does it have spiritual strength? Why envy that possession of someone by virtue of which we find that they readily succumb to passions, cannot tolerate any opposition at all, and use their will-

power, diligence and courage for the purpose of robbing another nation and destroying it? And why imitate them? Since all their strength is related to what is opposite of *brahmacharya*, it has proved to be fatal to the progress of the world in the right direction. That is why I have called it monstrous. Here I do not wish to run down the West. There are many Westerners who are worshippers of truth and morality. There are a number of *brahmacharis* there too. They understand the agonizing Western urge that I am describing here. Hence we can understand and describe the outcome of all the Western tendencies while at the same time having a feeling of love and respect for the Westerners. Had the Western civilization been built on the ideal of *brahmacharya*, the state of the world would have been very different today and instead of being pitiable would have been attractive.

In this way, realizing the frightful results of lack of *brahmacharya* in the world, it is desirable that we should put the ideal of *brahmacharya* independently before the people. Full development of the soul is impossible without *brahmacharya*. Without it, man may act like a well-fed but wild horse without reins, but he cannot become civilized. Without it, wholesome as well as continuous activity and noble courage are impossible. Without it, the mind may well appear to be strong; however, it will be slave to a thousand passions and temptations. And though a body that has been developed without *brahmacharya* may well become strong, it can never become completely healthy from the medical point of view. It is not necessary to put on flesh and develop the muscles. It has been my experience over a long period that without *brahmacharya* it is impossible to have body which, even though lean, can withstand the rigours of heat, cold and rain and remain totally free from diseases.

I can cite innumerable instances from my own life as well as that of my colleagues of how every passion destroys the strength and soul of man. Hence I for on would say that although the body may collapse or be wasted anyone who cares for the *atman* ought to preserve *brahmacharya*.

The reasons for the physical and mental weakness of our students are quite different. Child-marriages, the fact of ourselves being the fruit of child-marriage, family responsibilities, lack or inadequacy of wholesome diet due to poverty are some of them. Let not the reader commit the error of equating lack of *brahmacharya*

with child-marriage. Very great efforts are required to rid the students of the evil habits that they have formed in their childhood. Evil customs of society must be reformed; the artificial burden imposed by education must be lightened. But since this is an altogether different subject, I shall not discuss it here. I shall say only that our students will not be able to improve their physique by physical exercise alone. We can obtain the desired results only if a simultaneous effort is made on all fronts.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 24-6-1928

187. AT THE HOUR OF DOOM

The policy that the Government has been following in regard to Bardoli would seem to suggest that the hour of its doom is near! H.E. the Governor's letters to Shri Munshi evoke sorrow, pity and laughter. When anyone holding a high office writes lengthy, discursive letters in his defence, we wonder why such a person should do such a thing; we feel sorry for him and then, since we cannot possibly take pity on him, we feel like laughing at him.

H.E. the Governor has surpassed his predecessors in writing letters and advancing arguments and has got entangled in his own arguments. In other words, we may say that his subordinates who draft his letters have gradually got him into a knot. If instead of defending the increase in land revenue, the Governor appointed the committee demanded by the people, the misconceptions of the people as well as those of their supporters would be cleared. The Governor is like a person who claims to possess something and though in a position to show it refuses to do so, and since he persists in his claim is treated as an impostor and laughed at.

Moreover, the head of the Information Department of the Governor who has come out in support of the latter has gone to the most absurd lengths. He has tried to refute the details cited by Mahadev Desai in his report on the misbehaviour of the Pathans. It has been customary for the people to cry out when they are subjected to atrocities. However, the Government seems to have adopted a novel practice. The ruler, instead of conducting an impartial inquiry into the people's protests summons the culprit to his presence, listens to his one-sided story and, having dismissed the complainant, thinks he has done his duty. Why should the Government appoint a *panch* as

demanding by the people to determine whether their grievances are real or otherwise? How can the guilty officials permit the appointment of such a *panch* ?

The Government says that no one protests when some Banias of Bardoli engage Pathans as watchmen; then what harm is there in the Government doing likewise? This is much like trying to shield one offence with another. And how does the Government know that the people do not resent Banias and others engaging Pathans? The fact is that the people are harassed by the tendency which is growing in Gujarat of engaging Pathans for duty as watchmen and the like. Those who engage them, as well as others, cannot in the end escape punishment for it. The point that the Government wishes to make, viz., that all Pathans are not outsiders, shows its absolute naivete. The people do not resent the Pathans as such, they can have nothing against this community, they cannot be against outsiders merely because they are outsiders. They will always respect those among the Pathans who are courageous and noble. Here the word Pathan implies disreputable characters, hired murderers. Unfortunately, there are among the Pathans those who perform such evil deeds. They come down from their mountains into India in search of wealth. Indians, especially the unarmed, timid and peace-loving people of Gujarat, are afraid of such Pathans. Good, courageous and noble Pathans would not come to India looking for employment as watchmen or gatekeepers. Banias and others look for Pathan servants, and employ them because of their capacity for harassment. Since Gujaratis can stand up to Gujaratis, timid Banias get on satisfaction by employing them and do not regard themselves well-protected. Because of their short-sightedness they do not see the harm implicit in this. However, what is the meaning of a powerful Government like the British Government imitating timid people and employing Pathans against the people? Could this not be an instance of the mind turning perverse at the hour of doom? I do not recall even this Government having acted thus before.

But what surpasses the Governor's letter and the notes of the Chief of the Information Department is the Collector's advice to the farmers. This leaflet of "good advice" asks the farmers to be courageous and not to let themselves be caught in a trap. I find in it nothing but falsehood from beginning to end and I feel pained. The Collector regards saytagraha as *duragraha*. This officer has thought up a novel way to deal with Vallabhbhai and other leaders. They are

described as “persons who have no agricultural land to lose”. The Collector, in the arrogance of his position, fails to see that their honour is a thousand times dearer to them than land that the good of the cultivators is even dearer to them than their own honour. Having tried to discredit the leaders by putting words into their mouths and ignoring them in every way, the Collector has given to the farmers of Bardoli and Valod the sinister advice to pay up their revenue dues without delay and violate the pledge that they themselves have taken and reiterated several times. The least that the farmers of Bardoli and Valod can do by way of answering this immoral and degrading advice is not to pay their dues until their demands are conceded. Land, household goods and livestock frequently come and go; but a pledge once broken cannot be retrieved just as that which has been spat out cannot be swallowed again.

We have had a true picture of the Government’s unreasonableness in the Governor’s correspondence with Shri Munshi. As a result of this, the latter went to Bardoli, saw the people’s plight at first hand and wrote a strong and cogent letter to the Governor—on all of which he deserves to be congratulated. He has done well to proclaim his intention to form a committee and look into the matter if the Government does not appoint a committee of inquiry. If that committee gets the co-operation of leaders of all the major communities inquires into the matter without delay, the satyagrahis would get a good opportunity to put their case before public. It is desirable that this committee should not be content with only making an inquiry into the policy of repression but should also look into the people’s grievances regarding land revenue. There is absolutely no doubt that an inquiry conducted by such a committee will help greatly in solving this problem.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 24-6-1928

188. CATTLE-BREEDING

The reader is aware that experiments in cattle-breeding are being carried on in the dairy attached to the Ashram. The occasion has not yet come for describing these experiments fully. One of the aims of these experiments, however, is to breed good bulls. Two such bulls are ready in the Ashram now. Those who are keen on service to the cow or improvement of her progeny are advised to come and see these bulls and, if they wish to buy them, to meet the secretary and inquire about their price and so on.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 24-6-1928

189. 'A DICTIONARY'

An inmate of the Ashram who has read its Book of Rules criticizes the vows in the following manner and then gives his own definitions under the caption "A Dictionary".

Although the definitions of the Ashram vows are exhaustive they cannot be readily understood. It is not quite clear as to what one is expected to do, hence I have put down the meanings as I have understood them or, one may say, I have prepared a dictionary of vows.

TRUTH : One must renounce artificiality at any cost and discover one's inmost nature.

NON-VIOLENCE : One must not forsake any creature—man or beast. Whenever there is friction and consequent suffering one should not try to make the other party suffer but take all the suffering on oneself.

BRAHMACHARYA : One should calm down all passions—whether subtle or gross—when they are about to overflow. One should always be cheerful. One should be engrossed all the twenty-four hours in holy matters.

ASVAD : One should sit down to a meal only when one is extremely hungry and get up when one's stomach is only half-full. One should not touch food which has been prepared by many persons with a great deal of trouble and which is likely to add to one's temptations.

ASTEYA : One should reduce one's need to the very minimum. Today's needs ought indeed to be fewer than yesterday's

APARIGRAHA : On every Diwali and Holi day one must get rid of any money in excess of Rs. 25 that one may have in one's possession. No one

should have more money than he would require for a year's expenses.

Why expenses for a years?

BODILY LABOUR : One should not spare oneself.

SWADESHI : One should not be disloyal to one's neighbours.

FEARLESSNESS : People are not awed by one who does not awe people.

ABOLITION OF UNTOUCHABILITY : An intense feeling that anyone regarded as wretched and miserable is not more so than oneself.

TOLERANCE : Giving up of the arrogant belief that what one cannot perceive does not exist.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 24-6-1928

190. LETTER TO SADANAND

SABARMATI,

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,

June 24, 1928

MY DEAR SADANAND,

I have your letter with the enclosure.

I did have the pleasure of seeing the Assam Planters. But I have no recollection whatsoever of having told them that I was satisfied with the condition of the labour in their plantations. On the contrary, I remember having told them that my hurried visit would not permit of giving a definite opinion about the special condition of labour in the Assam Plantations and having told them what was my test of the proper condition of labourers.

I never agreed nor was there any occasion for agreement that I should abstain from political agitation among the labourers. For, it is my invariable custom not to carry on political agitation among labourers. I confine myself in dealing with labourers to their own special grievances as I did in Champaran and have done since in various parts of India.

You may make what use you like of this letter.

Yours, sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 13430

191. LETTER TO LILY MUTHUKRISHNA

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 24, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

Enclosed are the addresses¹ of Muthukrishna's wife and children. His brother-in-law Mr. Pillay gave these addresses. He is the Indian Interpreter in the Durban Magistrate's Courts.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 13435

192. LETTER TO NILKANTH

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 24, 1928

DEAR NILKANTH BABU,

Every arrangement had been made to pack off Chhaganlal on Friday. But that very day an unforeseen circumstance prevented me from sending him to you. I am now detaining him, but I hope not indefinitely.

Sjt. Amritlal Thakkar is expected to be with you just for a short time to console the bewildered workers. But I am trying to lay my hands on someone who can take the place of Chhaganlal, if I cannot send him. But tell me meanwhile whether you would really want someone during the rainy season? Can you do much charkha work during that season? I would appreciate a telegraphic answer whether you want someone immediately and whether you can take a substitute for Chhaganlal Gandhi.

I hope you have all recovered from the shock and are continuing Gopabandhu Babu's work with added zeal.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 13436

¹ These are not available.

193. LETTER TO K. NATARAJAN

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 24, 1928

DEAR MR. NATARAJAN,

With reference to your leaderette in the *Indian Daily Mail* of . . . I would like to say just this: Whatever might have been your impression of the conversaton between us when you kindly offered a donation for the Bardoli fund, I never wished to convey to you that I was collecting for Bardoli sufferers only, but I did include Bardoli sufferers in my estimate. But Sjt. Vallabhbhai tells me that there are no Bardoli suferers as yet worth mentioning. He says that they, the peasants of Bardoli, are too proud to accept help so long as it is possible for them to avoid it. Indeed in the initial stages of the struggle, it was they who supported the numerous workers who in Mr. Smart's language are no better than a "swarm of agitators living on the poor people of Bardoli". But when the struggle became intense, forfeitures became the order of the day and when buffaloes, the real wealth of the peasantry and the mainstay of their agriculture, became a fit prey for the *japti* officers, it was no longer possible for the people of Bardoli and Valod taluks to sustain the ever-growing expenditure. Hence it was that Sjt. Vallabhbhai issued a public appeal for pecuniary help to which our countrymen have made so prompt and so generous a response. But Sjt. Vallabhbhai is anxious that we should accept no contributions from those who do not sympathize with the struggle and want to confine the use of their donations only to the sufferers. For he contends that it is wrong to accept such help when the largest portion of the donations has to be utilized for carrying on the work of the publicity office and for maintaining the many volunteers who receive and ask for no pay but who must be fed. I am therefore reluctantly obliged to inform you that I may not accept your donation unless you could see your way to remove the restriction and support the struggle on merits. I may add that since reading your article I have seen most of the principal donors who had paid me personally and they tell me they were under no impression that their donations were to be restricted as you seem to think they were and they have confirmed my

impression that the donations were to be used for the purpose named above and that they have paid because they are in full sympathy with the struggle.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. K. NATARAJAN
EDITOR,
“INDIAN DAILY MAIL”
BOMBAY

From a microfilm: S.N. 14446

194. LETTER TO V. J. PATEL

June 25, 1928

BHAISHRI VITHALBHAI,

I have your letters. You should know that I get your letters one day late. The short one should have reached me on Saturday and the long one yesterday on Sunday but I got them both late. It is not customary for letters to be opened at the post office but it is of course necessary to know if they are, or is it that they were posted late there?

I like everything you say in the long letter. We should certainly maintain the dignity of the Sardar in the proper way but of course not at the cost of the people's interest. Like you I believe that the Government will have to come to a settlement. Haven't you seen the *Statesman* article? It acknowledges the weakness of the Government's case.

Whatever you are doing, while yet a speaker, is enough for the present. I do not feel it is time yet for you to give up that position.

I have found out the cause for the late arrival of your letters. You address them to Ahmedabad, while it should be Sabarmati.

Vandemataram from

MOHANDAS

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 14447

195. LETTER TO RAMNATH

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 27, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. It is unfortunately true. But we have not yet been able to arrive at a stage when we can manufacture khadi thread. It will take some time.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. RAMNATH
OVERSEER
P.O. SHEIKHAWAHAN
BAHAWALPUR STATE

From a microfilm: S.N. 13432

196. LETTER TO GOVARDHANBHAI I. PATEL

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 27, 1928

MY DEAR GOVARDHANBHAI,

I have your letter.¹ Whilst it sets forth the substance of the conversation between you and me and then between Sheth Mangaldas and me, I would put my own view in this language :

It is open to the donors, and the donors are invited by the Labour Union, to appoint a committee of inspection which will have the powers of scrutinizing and inspecting the working as well as the expenses of the schools conducted by the Union and it will be open to

¹ The addressee had, among other things, written : "I and Sheth Mangaldas have understood from personal discussions with you that you entertain certain objections on principle regarding the joint administration. . . . At the same time, I understand that you advise us to appoint our own committee which may be called a Committee of Inspection with powers to scrutinize and inspect the working as well as the expenses of the Labour Schools. The conditions and suggestions made by this Committee, from time to time, will be given effect to by the Labour Union, and in the event of their non-compliance on the part of the Labour Union, the grant to the Labour Schools will cease automatically."

the donors upon receipt of report from any such committee to prescribe conditions or make suggestions in connection with the schools and in the event of these suggestions and conditions not being carried out by the Labour Union to suspend the grant made to the schools, provided that the donors before suspending any such grant will hear what the Labour Union might have to say by way of explanation regarding conditions and suggestions, that is, if they are unable to carry them out.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. GOVARDHANBHAI I. PATEL
MEMBER, AHMEDABAD MILLS
TILAK SWARAJ FUND COMMITTEE
LALAVASA'S STREET
SANKDISHERI
AHMEDABAD

From a microfilm: S.N. 13439

197. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 27, 1928

DEAR SATIS BABU,

I have your letter. I understand your anxiety to check the anti-Gandhian spirit. But you will have to fight it in the Gandhian spirit and that would be to let the anti-force expend itself without resistance. I won't be able to explain what I mean through correspondence. I am certain that your business is not to expend your energy in resisting but to devote it to consolidating your own constructive work. The question you have raised is not new. It cropped up at Belgaum when I presided and I said to the non-co-operators that they must not resist, in spite of the protest of Shyam Babu and several others. I have seen nothing since to change my view. But we must discuss this personally. When I feel that the time has come, I shall certainly write upon it.

Kshitish Babu's letter I like very well. There is not a superfluous word in it. That kind of public instruction is not included in the non-resistance I have suggested.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 8918

198. LETTER TO RICHARD B. GREGG

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,

SABARMATI,

June 27, 1928

MY DEAR GOVIND,

I have your letter. I am passing on your letter to Narayandas with reference to your suggestion regarding the constitution¹ and sending a copy also to Shankerlal.

Mahadev is still bedridden and will have to be so for some time. He has developed shooting pain in the part affected.

I am not likely to leave the Ashram at least before October, if them.

Yours sincerely,

PS.

I miss an index to your great work². I wonder if you have the time to compile it. I know I must not inflict this work on you. But unless I ask Varadachari or Mahadev, both of whom are just now overworked, I do not know to whom else I should go. Each time I turn to the book, I miss the index.

From a photostat: S.N. 13434

¹ Of the Ashram

² *Economics of Khaddar*

199. A CORRECTION

Miss Schlesin of whom mention has been made in the autobiographical chapters¹ tells me that she is not, as I have stated, principal of a girls' school but that she is a teacher at a High School. The error has given her pain for which I am sorry. I may at once say that she is in no way responsible for the error.

Young India, 28-6-1928

200. THE DOOM OF PURDAH

A reasoned appeal signed by many most influential people of Bihar and almost an equal number of ladies of that province advising the total abolition of the *purdah* has been just issued in Bihar. The fact that over fifty ladies have signed the appeal shows that if the work is carried on with vigour, the *purdah* will be a thing of the past in Bihar. It is worthy of note that the ladies who have signed the appeal are not of the Anglicized type but orthodox Hindus. It definitely states :

We want that the women of our province should be as free to move about and take their legitimate part in the life of the community in all particulars as their sisters in Karnatak, Maharashtra and Madras in an essentially Indian way, avoiding all attempts at Europeanization, for while we hold that a change from enforced seclusion to a complete Anglicization would be like dropping from frying pan into fire, we feel that *purdah* must go, if we want our women to develop along Indian ideals. If we want them to add grace and beauty to our social life and raise its moral tone, if we want them to be excellent managers at home, helpful companions of their husband and useful members of the community, then the *purdah*, as it now exists, must go. In fact no serious step for their welfare can be taken unless the veil is torn down and it is our conviction that if once the energy of half of our population, that has been imprisoned artificially, is released, it will create a force which, if properly guided, will be of immeasurable good to our province.

I know the evil effects of the *purdah* in Bihar. The movement has been started none too soon.

The movement has a curious origin. Babu Ramanandan Mishra, a khadi worker, was desirous of rescuing his wife from the oppression of the *purdah*. As his people would not let the girl come to the

¹ Pt. IV, Ch. XII

Ashram, he took two girls from the Ashram to be companions to his wife. One of them, Radhabehn, Maganlal Gandhi's daughter, was to be the tutor. She was accompanied by the late Dalbahadur Giri's daughter Durgadevi. The parents of the girl wife resented the attempt of the Ashram girls to wean young Mrs. Mishra from the *purdah*. The girls braved all difficulties. Meanwhile Maganlal Gandhi went to see his daughter and steel her against all odds and persist in her efforts. He took ill in the village where Radhabehn was doing her work and died at Patna. The Bihar friends therefore made it a point of honour to wage war against the *purdah*. Radhabehn brought her charge to the Ashram. Her coming to the Ashram created additional stir and obliged the husband who was already prepared for it to throw himself in the struggle with greater zeal. Thus the movement having a personal touch promises to be carried on with energy. At its head is that seasoned soldier of Bihar, the hero of many battles, Babu Brijkishore Prasad. I do not remember his having headed a movement that has been allowed to die.

The appeal fixes the 8th of July next as the date on which to inaugurate an intensive campaign against the system which puts a cruel ban on social service by one half of Bihar humanity and which denies it freedom in many cases and even the use of light and fresh air. The sooner it is recognized that many of our social evils impede our march towards swaraj, the greater will be our progress towards our cherished goal. To postpone social reform till after the attainment of swaraj is not to know the meaning of swaraj. Surely we must be incapable of defending ourselves or healthily competing with the other nations, if we allow the better half of ourselves to become paralysed.

I therefore congratulate the Bihar leaders on their having earnestly taken up the struggle against the *purdah*. The success of such a reform especially, as of all reform generally, depends upon the purity of the workers. A great deal will rest with the ladies who have signed the appeal. If notwithstanding their having given up the *purdah*, they retain the original modesty of India's womanhood and show courage and determination in the face of heavy odds, they will find success quickly awaiting their effort. The campaign against the *purdah* if properly handled means mass education of the right type for both men and women of Bihar.

Young India, 28-6-1928

201. LETTER TO RAMDAS GANDHI

SABARMATI,

Thursday [June 28, 1928]¹

CHI. RAMDAS,

I received your letter. There can be no discourtesy in anything you write. Rather, I welcome such letters from you.

In my view, [Jayadevji's]² misbehaviour was serious enough. But it would not be right to ask him to leave for that reason. So far, we have not sent away anyone. With what face, then, can I send him away? I have not sentenced myself to leave any time when I may have been guilty of some lapse. Nor would I be pleased if a superior or an elder relation sent me away. How, then, can I all at once send away anybody else for his lapse?

It is possible that the work I am doing may continue only so long as I live. Even so, what? I should do what seems clear as daylight to me and not leave the burden of making changes in it on those who come after me. They will do what they are able to do. If they wish to introduce changes, they will do so, or would wind it up altogether if they so wish. The Ashram cannot exist without a common kitchen for all.

[How can I agree to your going for formal education? But then you know you are quite free to do as you please]³. I keep you tied to myself with the soft string of love. You have to stretch it just a little to break it. As for me, I do not need to test its strength. All that I am doing is to hold on firmly to one end of it, lest it might break altogether if you stretch it a little too strongly. . . .⁴

Manilal has not enough money to be able to ask you to join him in S. A.⁵ It seems rather that he is in debt. I am unhappy that he

¹ From the postal cancellation mark; also, June 28 in 1928 corresponded to a Thursday.

² Square brackets as in the source

³ *ibid*

⁴ The rest of the paragraph is illegible.

⁵ South Africa

has still not repaid the money he owes to the Ashram. However, I will never stand in the way of any of your good resolves.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original: Mrs. Sumitra Kulkarni Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

202. LETTER TO PARVATI

ASHRAM,

SABARMATI,

June 30, 1928

CHI. PARVATI,

I have received a cablegram from South Africa to the effect that Pragji has won the case. I hope you are keeping well. Write to me sometimes. Though I may not be able to share your joys and sorrows, I would like to hear from you.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5032

203. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

June 30, 1928

CHI. MATHURADAS,

I have your letter. I have also received Dr. Muthu's book. How did you think of sending it at this late stage? Mahadev is slowly improving.¹ He has suffered a lot of pain. It is surprising that in spite of having so much pain he had no fever at all. There is scanty rain where you are but here there is not a drop. Why is Taramati bored at Panchgani? Why should she be bored when you and Dilip are there? However, even if she wants to go, I wish you would not go to Bombay right now.

It seems to me that now the Government will have to come to a

¹ Mahadev Desai had few days earlier slipped at a well while drawing water.

settlement about Bardoli.¹ Sir Purushottamdas and Lalji Sheth came to see me. They promised to do nothing that would weaken our demands. I do not know what is happening now. But the source of Satyagraha is to be found in people's courage, firmness and calm. Is that not so?

If you can think of any corrections and alterations in the rules, let me know.²

Blessings from

BAPU

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

204. LETTER TO TARABEHN JASWANI

June 30, 1928

CHI. TARABEHN,

After you reached Rangoon, I have had no letter at all from you. Divali has written that she will send you a box spinning-wheel and I have told them to send it to you. There must be at least one spinning-wheel. Do you keep good health? One must take good care. Recently a lot of changes have taken place here.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8782

¹ For the settlement reached on the issue on August 6, 1928, *vide* "All's Well", August 9, 1928.

² For the draft constitution of the Satyagraha Ashram, *vide* "Satyagraha Ashram", June 14, 1928.

205. DRAFT INSCRIPTION FOR JALLIANWALA BAGH MEMORIAL¹

This ground was hallowed by the mingled blood of fifteen hundred innocent Sikhs, Mussalmans and Hindus who were martyred by British bullets on 13th April, 1919. The ground was acquired from the owners by public subscriptions.

From a microfilm: S.N. 15369

206. QUESTIONS ON EDUCATION-V²

Q. 14. Ever since you made your entry into the public life of this country, there has been a tendency to approach you and get your views of a problem whenever a person or persons have been in doubt and have failed to reach a clear-cut conclusion. People are eager to know from you whether a certain thing on a certain occasion is right or not. I am only describing the situation as it really is. It shows that all your activity is basically of a religious nature. Would it be right that, when you are no more, these decisions be delivered by a body of persons by a majority vote if necessary? If not, is it not necessary to create what may prove to be a continuous line of knowledgeable men, versed in the precepts of dharma?

A. I do not deem it worthy that people should approach me and ask me to pronounce judgment on disputable points. It is true that all my activities, whatever their outward form, are fundamentally religious. But the fact that I am asked to pronounce judgment on every disputed matter shows that people have either not understood the principles which I follow in shaping my conduct, or they have doubts about them. And because I am known as a Mahatma or respected as a good man, and our people are credulous and not given to thinking for themselves, they continue to put all forms of questions to me. This may gratify my sense of pride or even help me up to a point in doing my work, but it does not appear to me that it helps in any appreciable way either the people or the questioners. Indeed, I

¹ This was an enclosure to "Letter to Mulkaraj", 1-7-1928.

² For the earlier questions and answers in this series, *vide* "Questions on Education - I", 3-6-1928, "Questions on Education - II", 10-6-1928, "Questions on Education - III", 17-6-1928 and "Questions on Education - IV", 24-6-1928.

have often felt how nice it would be if I stopped making any pronouncements and did whatever suggested itself to me silently. But in that case I must first stop this weekly that I am now conducting, as also severely cut down much of my present correspondence. That, however, would need a courage which I do not feel within myself. But, there is the great friend of man, the Lord of Death, who can extend his invitation to me at any time and put a stop to all this chatter on my part whether I agree or not.

I do not see any wrong in bodies or associations of men following my principles and giving their opinions on disputed questions by a majority vote when I am no more, or even now whilst I am alive. But as in the case of individuals so also in that of groups they must be inspired by the ideal of dharma.

Q. 15. The education in the Vidyapith is divided into three distinct stages: the primary, the secondary and the higher. How far would it be right to name these respectively as education for the village, education for the city, and education for those who would take up social service work?

A. I do not like the meanings suggested here by the correspondent to the primary, the secondary and the higher education respectively. Why should we want village people to be satisfied merely with primary education? They too have a right to receive secondary and higher education—those of them at least who want it. And the boys in the cities cannot do without primary education. The object of all the three should be the prosperity of the villages.

Q. 16. Why do you always attach so much importance to music?

A. It is sad that the study of music is generally neglected in our country today. Without it, the entire educational system seems to me to be incomplete. Music brings sweetness to the individual and to the social life of the people. Even as *pranayama*¹ is necessary for the regulation of breath, so is music for disciplining the voice. Dissemination of the knowledge of music among the people will greatly help in controlling and stopping the noise which is a usual feature of public meetings in this country. Music pacifies anger and its judicious use is highly helpful in leading a man to the vision of God. It does not mean shouting and shrieking a tune anyhow like a rigmarole, nor does it mean the singing of stage songs. I have already

¹ Breath-control

referred to its ordinary meaning above, but its deeper meaning is that our whole life should be sweet and musical like a song. It goes without saying that life cannot be made like that without the practice of virtues such as truth, honesty, etc. To make life musical means to make it one with God, to merge it in Him. He who has not rid himself of *raga* and *dwesha*, i.e., likes and dislikes, who has not tasted of the joy of service, cannot have any understanding of celestial music. A study of music, which does not take account of this deeper aspect of this divine art, has little or no value for me.

Q. 17. The art of painting means expression of the emotions of the artist through line and colour. If this definition of painting were to be accepted, would you include painting as an essential part of the scheme of national education which should be universally taught to all?

A. I have never disparaged drawing and painting, though I have certainly deprecated the blots of ink and colour passing under its name. I doubt if painting as defined by the artist could be made universal. There is this difference between music and painting: While painting can be learnt only by a few who have a natural aptitude for it, music must be and can be learnt by all. In painting too, drawing of straight lines and the figures of animate and inanimate objects can be taught to all. It is certainly useful and necessary and I want it to be taught to every child before it is taught the alphabet.

Q. 18. Some people are of the view that such subjects as grammar, compound interest, higher geometry, etc., which the learners are apt to forget in after years, should not be included in the courses to be framed for purposes of national education. Do you agree to this? If you do, why should not Urdu also be put in the same category? When Hindus and Muslims feel the urge to come into close contact with each other and to understand each other's culture, then only will the knowledge of Sanskrit and Urdu prove useful and lasting. Knowledge of Urdu will be put to active use and hence increase only when there is respect for and a desire to learn the culture of which Urdu is the vehicle. Until then it is bound to remain no more than a religious rite like the worship of Ganesh—a formal affair without any practical value.

A. I do not understand why grammar, compound interest and higher geometry have all been classed together. I have always believed that grammar is absolutely necessary for the mastery of a

language, and that grammar and higher geometry are highly interesting subjects. Both provide innocent, intellectual entertainment. I will, therefore, accord a place to both these subjects in national education for those who go in for higher education or wish to study the science of language. In the same way, he who wants to be good at accounts cannot do so without learning compound interest. Therefore, all the three things mentioned by the correspondent in the question will have their due place in the syllabus for national education. The point is that there are things which are common to all schemes of education. Today, we have to differentiate between Government education and National education because the former is detrimental to national development. But there are many things in Government schools which will and must also be in our schools. Thus, though there are points of similarity between the two, the atmosphere in Government schools strengthens the bonds of slavery and is used at critical moments to suppress us. Therefore, such schools are to be renounced. Besides, as we have already seen, a portion, at least, of the education imparted there is wholly unnecessary; it is just a burden and nothing more. But I am straying from the subject under discussion. I have thought it fit to offer this clarification under the impression that I might not have grasped the point behind this question.

Urdu stands apart from the above-mentioned subjects; the question of its study must be considered separately. Hindus and Muslims will ultimately unite but in our national schools we must continue to strive unremittingly to bring them closer together. For this, we must acquaint ourselves with each other's religion. If the students forget whatever little of Urdu they learn, evidently they are not serious about its study and must be learning it only because they must. But this can also be said about Hindi. Only God knows how interest in Hindi or Urdu can be created among the students, but there is no doubt in my mind that its knowledge is necessary for the progress of the nation.

Q. 19. Students should have full freedom; there should be nothing which will obstruct their free growth; to achieve this objective the teachers should have no prejudices for or against anything; while they teach they should so conduct themselves as though they have no partiality for any particular rule or habit or principle. This ideal for a teacher is coming to be accepted in many places. Do you accept it?

A. What has been said above can be supported as well as

opposed. If it does not help in preserving the real essence, it should be opposed, and if it does help, the students may well be allowed full freedom and the teachers remain as detached and neutral as they like. They may do what they wish with a view to securing the independence of the students, the only condition being that they must mix with the students to the extent of being one of them. In the language of Akha¹, I will say to them:

Live in the world as you like,
But keep constantly before your mind
The aim of attaining to God at any cost.

An ideal teacher never had nor should he ever have any other aim before him.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 1-7-1928

207. FAIR DEALING

Shri Vithaldas Jerajani writes:²

Many such instances can be given. It can be proved that this kind of dealing ultimately brings profit to the business man. In spite of that, many business men resort to unfair ways, and fall because of an intense desire to make money. But a khadi worker or a khadi seller must have endless patience. Khadi has no other support except truth, patience and faith. Hence khadi stores should take note of the suggestion made by Shri Jerajani.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 1-7-1928

¹ Akha Bhagat, a Gujarati poet

² The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had stated that a Maratha labourer had purchased a short-sleeved khadi shirt but had come back with it and was readily given a fresh one in exchange. Thereafter, he purchased a khadi coat as well.

208. MY NOTES

DEFINITION JUSTIFIED

A reader, while sending his criticism of the Satyagraha Ashram regulations¹, suggests the following definition of nonviolence:

Ahimsa means a desire not to hurt anyone, from the tiniest insect to God.

And he suggests the following for self-help:

One should not heedlessly get service from another. One should not needlessly serve another.

The definition that he has given for ahimsa is worth considering. And what he has suggested in respect of self-help, though not pertinent, is proper in these days. Very few have the desire to serve others without any reason and there are not many such occasions too. But the aim here is to put a stop to the giving of alms out of a religious sentiment and to such false service, and that seems but proper.

PROFESSOR'S MARRIAGE TO A YOUNG GIRL

A reader writes:²

The writer has sent me the name and address of this professor. This is not an easy reform to bring about. The reformer has to make a determined attempt to change the environment wherever possible without distinction of educated and uneducated. We should not feel disheartened about the uneducated if the educated class fails to respond. Wherever possible, it is necessary to arouse public opinion against child-marriages. From such examples, we see every day that modern education has very little to do with spiritual progress. And if we go deeper, we even find that on such matters public opinion is indifferent, and to some extent it even approves of such worthless customs. If that were not so, how would any organization tolerate a man who married a girl fit to be his daughter? And that a professor? Why should students study at all under that type of professor? There

¹ *Vide* "Satyagraha Ashram", June 14, 1928.

² The letter is not translated here. It cited the case of a professor-widower of 45 who had married a girl of 14, despite his having five children including a married daughter.

are instances of a professor having been boycotted because he had insulted just one student. A professor who contracts child-marriage certainly dishonours students and his own society. But the students, society and all tolerate this outrage. It becomes almost impossible to commit a particular sin if society is not prepared to tolerate it. Therefore, public opinion should be patiently educated against such cruel practices as child-marriage, etc., and where peaceful boycott is possible, that weapon should be used in awakening public opinion. And in accomplishing these tasks if the young people are themselves pure and disciplined, they can help a lot.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 1-7-1928

209. A VOLUNTEER'S DILEMMA

A gentleman writes from Bardoli Satyagraha camp:¹

The circumstances in which this gentleman is placed confront many in this country. The rule is that one who accepts selfless service as one's duty would sacrifice one's family for its sake. But even though we know this fundamental rule, we do not always find a straight principle to guide us in our conduct. Ordinarily the man oscillates between duty to his family and duty to his country. Under ideal conditions these two duties are not incompatible, but in the present situation we often see only conflict between them. That is so because love of family is based on selfishness and the family members are worshippers of selfishness; therefore, as a normal course it may be suggested that one should plunge into the service of the country after providing for the needs of the family in accordance with the poor living conditions in India. No one can serve the nation by leaving the family to fend for itself. But what can be called a family? And even in a family, who is to be maintained? This article is not meant for him who deceives himself by regarding all his fellow-castemen as his family. Nor is it meant for him who wishes to feed the able-bodied members of the family who sit at home. He who wishes to serve the country will continue his work by remaining above reproach in such

¹ The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had asked what would happen to his dependants, if he took up national work or joined the satyagraha fight without a wage. For a summary of the Bardoli case, *vide* Appendix "What is the Bardoli Case", June 14, 1928.

matters. It is my experience that the families of such people do not have to starve. It is the right of those who are engaged in the service of the nation to earn enough to meet their needs; and by virtue of that right hundreds of selfless workers support themselves and their dependants.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 1-7-1928

210. A TRUE WORKER¹

In the death of Pandit Gopabandhu Das, India and especially Utkal has lost a true and sincere worker. He was a gem of Orissa. When ten years ago, (Shri Amritlal Thakkar had gone to Utkal to help during the famine, he used to write from time to time about the high-mindedness of Babu Gopabandhu Das and his unceasing labours and love for the people. During the days of Non-co-operation, Gopabandhu Babu was a member of the Legislative Assembly and used to practise law. Instead of accumulating wealth through his profession he founded a school in Sakhigopal which, although popular, had connections with the Government. He fully appreciated the principle of non-co-operation and severed its connections with the Government. He gave up his legal practice and accepted a life of utter poverty; he also resigned from the Legislative Council. It was not difficult for him to give up both these; it was, however, a great sacrifice on his part to sever the connections of his most cherished school (which had truth for its motto) with the Government and jeopardize its very existence, disregarding the warning given by his friends. Yet, never have I known him to have a thought of regret for what he had done. Once when the school was almost without any students, the pressure from his friends almost weakened him. He once again applied to the Government to restore the school's affiliation, but when the Government laid down compromising conditions, he at once repented his weakness in making the petition. The Government, by offering such terms, proved its own unworthiness and spared Gopabandhu Babu an undesirable relation-ship, for which he was grateful to God. The weakness of those who have a simple and pure heart sometimes proves to be their strength. And so it was with Gopabandhu Babu's weakness. When he spoke about this to me, on

¹ *Vide* also "Notes", June 21, 1928.

the one hand I could see in his eyes and in his speech? his love for his beloved school and, on the other, his extremely candid admission of weakness. This combination appeared to lend him splendour. And when last year he took me to Sakhigopal during our tour of Utkal, it pained me to see the large buildings of the school, set in a beautiful grove, now in ruins. But I saw no sign of despondency in him. He had, during the last four years, realized the great value of khadi in eliminating the poverty of Utkal. He was doing khadi work and discussed with me how to give it greater impetus. Gopabandhu Babu had joined Lalaji's Servants of the People Society and was its Vice-President. Let us hope the social workers in Utkal will take up the work of Gopabandhu Babu. The noble live beyond their death, while others are as good as dead even while living. We do but grieve over the physical disintegration of saintly persons like Gopabandhu Babu because we look at it from a selfish point of view; but such separations should not pain those who can see with a clear vision that God is not without mercy and dispenses justice. We cannot follow their purity during their lifetime. But we ought to obtain such strength by remembering, in the true sense, his virtues. We find this happening in innumerable instances. That is why we shed the fear and sorrow of death when free from delusion and thus prove the immortality of the soul.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 1-7-1928

211. MESSAGE TO BROACH DISTRICT CONFERENCE¹

[July 1, 1928]

Those who help Bardoli, help themselves.

The Bombay Chronicle, 3-7-1928

212. LETTER TO MANILAL AND SUSHILA GANDHI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

July 1, 1928

CHI. MANILAL AND SUSHILA,

I got your letters. Sushila, believes that she is not fit to write to me. Anyone who sincerely admits in this manner his or her unfitness will strive to the utmost to become fit. I wrote² to you rebuking you about the money which you owe to this place. That letter of mine you must have got during the same week in which you wrote to me about it. I had already written by then what I wish I did not have to. I should like you to become vigilant.

Even an ordinary person should observe certain proprieties.

Everyone here is all right.

I dictate this letter at four in the morning.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4740

¹ Held on July 1. K. F. Nariman presided; Vallabhbhai Patel, Jamnalal Bajaj, Abbas Tyabji and H. J. Amin were among those present. The report adds: "The Conference passed several resolutions supporting the cause of the people of Bardoli, congratulating the people of that taluk for putting up a strong fight in what they believed to be a matter of principle, exhorting the people of Broach not to buy any lands confiscated by the Government, congratulating those members of the Bombay Legislative Council who resigned on the Bardoli issue and calling upon the Hon. Dewan Bahadur Harilal Desai, the Hon. Dehlavi, the Hon. Sir Chunilal Mehta and the Thakore Saheb of Kerwada to resign."

² On June 19, 1928; *vide* "Letter to Manilal and Sushila Gandhi".

213. LETTER TO GOVARDHANBHAI I. PATEL

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 1, 1928

DEAR GOVARDHANBHAI,

I have your letter¹. I really do not see that I had added any new conditions. I have told you that what you have stated in your letter might be re-put in my language. If the donors wish the Committee of Inspection to have absolute powers,² I do not mind that at all.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. GOVARDHANBHAI I. PATEL
LALAVASA'S STREET, SANKADI SHERI, AHMEDABAD
From a microfilm: S.N. 13446

214. LETTER TO R. M. DESHMUKH

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 1, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter of the 23rd June.

The suggestion³ you make does not appear to me to be practicable. Experience has taught khadi workers that unless hand-spinning is organized by experts, it will fail. The Association will not be able to take up any yarn that may be offered to it. It can only take hand-spun yarn that is tested, that is fairly even and therefore yarn that is wound according to the instructions. And I do not think that you will be able to offer to the Association hand-spun yarn that would satisfy these conditions. Moreover if you expect to popularize hand-spinning by sporadic effort and propaganda, it will fail. I

¹ Dated June 29, this was in reply to Gandhiji's letter of June 27; *vide* "Letter to Govardhanbhai I. Patel", June 27, 1928.

² Govardhanbhai had written: "It would not be obligatory for the Committee [of Inspection of Labour Schools] to refer to the donors their suggestions, etc., before asking the Labour Union to comply with them, . ." (S.N. 13442).

³ Explaining the difficulties in marketing hand-spun yarn, Deshmukh had suggested in his letter (S.N. 13627) that in order to enable the Co-operative Department to make hand-spinning a subsidiary industry in Central Provinces, the All-India Spinners' Association, rather than the Central Banks, should undertake to purchase all such yarn as the members of the co-operative societies produced.

therefore suggest to you that you examine the conditions under which the thing is being organized in Mysore and take up hand-spinning after the Mysore style. The special feature of that organization is that a certain district has been handed over to the Association for organization. The organization is financed by the Mysore State. Whether, if you make any such offer to the Association, it can take up or not is a question I have not yet examined nor does the occasion for examination arise until you have any concrete proposal.

Yours sincerely,

HON. R. M. DESHMUKH

MINISTER FOR AGRICULTURE, CENTRAL PROVINCES, NAGPUR

From a microfilm: S.N. 13631-A

215. LETTER TO MULKARAJ

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

July 1, 1928

DEAR LALA MULKARAJ,

I have your two letters, one being a copy of your letter to Pandit Malaviyaji regarding the misunderstanding¹ that has arisen between the Sikhs and the Committee². My advice is that you should promptly and finally deal with this matter. And I do not think that merely fencing³ will set the matter right, though I agree that fencing is a necessity. There must be a proper and satisfactory settlement of this matter between the Sikhs and the Committee.

With reference to the second letter, I enclose herewith my draft of the inscription⁴ to be put on the tablet.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. LALA MULKARAJ

SECRETARY, JALLIANWALA BAGH MEMORIAL FUND, AMRITSAR

From a microfilm: S.N. 15369

¹ About the boundary line

² Jallianwala Bagh Memorial Fund Committee

³ An iron fencing of the Jallianwala Bagh memorial ground from where bamboo *jafris* erected by the Committee had been forcibly removed by some Akalis and others (S.N. 15367)

⁴ *Vide* "Draft Inscription for Jallianwala Bagh Memorial", 1-7-1928.

216. LETTER TO SHAH MOHAMMED QASIM¹

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 1, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. It is not possible for me to notice your letter in *Young India* without verification. I am now making inquiries² and if I feel that publication of your letter or dealing with it in any way will serve any useful purpose, I shall certainly write about it.³

Yours sincerely,

SHAH MD. QASIM SAHEB
C/O SYED MD. HUSSAIN, P.O. NURHUT (GAYA)

From a microfilm S.N. 12395-A

217. LETTER TO SECRETARY, JODHPUR STATE

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 1, 1928

DEAR SIR,

The enclosed letter⁴ has been received by me for publication. But before I do so, I should like to have a reply to the letter on behalf of the State. I shall be obliged if you will kindly let me have a brief reply.⁵

¹ In reply to his letter dated June 9, 1928, complaining that the Muslims of Jodhpur had not been allowed to sacrifice goats on the Id Day.

² *Vide* the following item.

³ *Vide* "Letter to Shah Mohammed Qasim", 11-7-1928.

⁴ *Vide* footnote 5 on the preceding page.

⁵ In his letter dated July 5, 1928, the Secretary wrote: "Against the standing orders of the State a sacrificial he-goat was taken by a couple of Mohammedans through an open street populated by orthodox Hindus. It has been an old practice with Hindus in the State to take hold of sacrificial he-goats when they are taken out openly through their headquarters, make them *Amar* by putting iron rings in their ears and maintain them for their lives. That he-goat was thus taken possession of by the Hindus, made *Amar* and made over to the Police for protection because Mohammedans got excited over their religious conduct. The Police kept the he-goat in the City Police Station but the Mohammedans numbering about 3,000 besieged that place and demanded the animal back by show of criminal force. The assailants scaled the walls of the Police Station with lathis and swords in their hands and were about to attack the Police when Military was called who dispersed them. No casualty happened" (S.N. 12397-A).

Please return the letter at the time of acknowledgment.

Yours sincerely,

Enclosure: 10 sheets

From a microfilm: S.N. 12396

218. TELEGRAM TO JAMNADAS GANDHI

SABARMATI,
July 2, 1928

JAMNADAS GANDHI

OPPOSITE MIDDLE SCHOOL, RAJKOT

COME IMMEDIATELY FOR TWO DAYS.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 8698. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

219. LETTER TO BECHAR PARMAR

July 2, 1928

BHAISHRI BECHAR PARMAR,

The drawbacks which you think belong to the barber's profession are probably to be found in all professions. If everyone, however, clings to his own profession for a living, there would be minimum friction.

Vandemataram from

MOHANDAS GANDHI

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5567

220. LETTER TO RAMNARAYAN PATHAK

July 2, 1928

BHAI RAMNARAYAN,

I have preserved your letter of April 18 till this day with the idea of writing to you when I got a little time. I certainly felt unhappy at your leaving the Vidyapith¹. I do believe, however, that though you

¹ Gujarat Vidyapith

have given up direct connection with it, you will always help as much as you can an institution which you have served. I trust you are keeping good health.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 6110

221. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

July 2, 1928

BHAI GHANSHYAMDASJI,

Your letter and the *hundi*¹ for Rs. 2,700 have been received. I am in touch with China no doubt but I am not inclined to send them a wire. It would smack somewhat of arrogance. I intend to visit China if I live long enough. They want to invite me after things have cooled down a bit.

I always shrink from asking for financial assistance from you and your brothers because you give me whatever I ask for. I understand [what you say] about Dakshinamurti. The fact is that there are plenty of worthy causes in the country but not so many donors. A good cause is not held up but enough new donors are not forthcoming. Fresh tasks are always mounting.

You are right in saying that the value of the Ashram rules depends only upon those who follow the rules. The money has been sent to the Austrian friends².

Yours,

MOHANDAS

From a copy of the Hindi: C.W. 6158. Courtesy: G.D. Birla

¹ Bill of exchange

² Frederic and Francisca Standenath; *vide* footnote 1 to "Letter to G. D. Birla", June 18, 1928.

222. LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

July 3, 1928

MY DEAR JAWAHAR,

I have your letter. Yes, Father wrote to me all about Kamala and Indu.

It is clear that we have not got the atmosphere for a proper settlement. Look at the Kharagpur horror! There will have to be more pitched battles before the parties come to their senses.

I wish you will not feel lonely. Let us recognize that the task before workers is not as easy as we thought at one time it was. I would like you not to lose patience and take up some plodding work with a living faith in it. Let The Song Celestial be your guide-book.

With love,

BAPU

Gandhi-Nehru Papers, 1928. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

223. LETTER TO BEHRAMJI KHAMBHATTA

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

July 3, 1928

BHAISHRI BEHRAMJI,

I did get your letter about Maganlal. I have ceased to think about his death.¹ His soul is present and working in the Ashrameven today. Try and improve your health vastly. Remain cheerful both of you.

Blessings from

BAPU

SHRIYUT BEHRAMJI KHAMBHATTA

LIFE'S NATURE CURE HEALTH HOUSE, ENGLAND

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 4370. Courtesy: Tehmina Khambhatta

¹ Maganlal Gandhi passed away on April 23, 1928; *vide* "My Best Comrade Gone", April 26, 1928.

224. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 3, 1928

CHI. VASUMATI,

I got your letters. You have given a good description of the celebration there, but you could have given a still better one. You did well in narrating the whole story to Devsharmaji. Here, too, the position about rain is the same. There has been only one shower so far—it was yesterday—and even that was not sufficient for farmers to start sowing.

Mahadev seems likely to recover and be on his feet in a day or two now.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 481. Courtesy: Vasumati Pandit

225. LETTER TO N. R. MALKANI

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 4, 1928

MY DEAR MALKANI,

I have your letter. What are these two parties over the separation of Sind? I mean Jethmal¹ and others on the one hand and Jairamdas² and company on the other? Which are the newspapers you refer to?

You think that it is enough, if the dowry is limited instead of being unlimited. And what about the poor parents who can't pay Rs. 3,000, the lowest figure mentioned by you?

Please congratulate on my behalf the girls who are helping you in khadi-hawking. It certainly requires special bravery on the part of a Sindhi girl to wear khadi in Hyderabad and then to hawk it.

Yours sincerely,

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 887

¹ Jethmal Parasram

² Jairamdas Daulatram

226. LETTER TO SRI PRAKASA

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 4, 1928

MY DEAR SRI PRAKASA,

I have your letter. Do please come whenever you can. I am not likely to move out of the Ashram for some months yet.

I am dividing your cheque equally between Maganlal Memorial and Bardoli.

I am delighted that you have at last joined the Association. I shouldn't be content till you belong to the "A" class. "B" class is certainly not for such as you.¹

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 13450

227. LETTER TO B. W. TUCKER

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 4, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. Surely there was nothing in your previous letters to be ashamed of. Though I could not accept your judgment², I certainly appreciate the affection underlying your criticism. The attitude³ that you have taken up with the Deputy Commissioner

¹ The reference is to the All-India Spinners' Association. According to its Constitution, "A class shall consist of persons . . . who deposit regularly from month to month . . . 1,000 yards of self-spun yarn", and the B class of those "who pay an annual subscription of 2,000 yards of self-spun yarn . . ." *Vide* "The Constitution of the All-India Spinners' Association", September 24, 1925.

² Tucker, an American Missionary of a Calcutta school, had written in his letter (S.N. 13440) dated June 28: "I have been heartily ashamed of the critical attitude. . . those criticisms were most of them the products of the weaker side of my nature and an effort to justify some of my attitudes about which I have much uncertainty in my own mind and heart. . . ."

³ Tucker had written: "I was utterly astonished when I met Mr. Wares [Deputy Commissioner] to have him tell me that the offence which I had committed was that I had attended political meetings . . . that attendance at such meetings was a violation of the undertaking which the Board of Foreign Missions in America had given on behalf of its missionaries . . . if I did not cease attending such meetings . . . our school in Calcutta . . . would lose the Rs. 175 per month of grant from the

appears to me to be correct. Indeed the conduct of foreign missions in India does not in any way appeal to me. It is more expedient and mundane than correct and religious. How can a religious body accept the terms that have been imposed upon foreign missions? The English missionary effort is frankly political. It is in alliance with the Government and takes its code of conduct generally from the Government. Such at any rate is my reading. I expect that one of the reasons which determined Andrews¹ in giving up the Cambridge Mission was its over-secularity. But here too I write under correction. My own judgment is wholly independent of Andrews's attitude. The present crisis that has overtaken you, I, therefore, regard as a blessing in disguise. And if you have the conviction and the strength, you will sever your connection once for all. And, in my opinion, you will be all the fitter for becoming a messenger of Truth.

I understand what you say about my proposed visit to the West.² If the external circumstances are favourable and if I keep good health, I hope to go next year.

Yours sincerely,

REVEREND B. W. TUCKER

"THE MANSE", DARJEELING

From a photostat: S.N. 13451

Government and that the Government would complain to the Missionary Board to withdraw me I have already communicated the report to Bishop Fisher and the Secretary of the Board in America, and have told them that I have no inclination to accept this order. If they insist that I conform to the demand of the Government, there is no honourable course for me to take but to resign as a missionary of the Board. . ."

¹ C. F. Andrews

² Tucker had written: "I agree with your plan not to deliver public lectures but only to meet selected individuals and groups. It will not only save you from the severe strain . . . but it will also enable you to make your message and personality felt in larger measure. . ."

228. LETTER TO P. C. GHOSH

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

July 4, 1928

MY DEAR PROFULLA BABU,

I have read the resolution¹ you have sent me. It does not betray either humility or the khadi spirit. I do not know what is humiliating in the letter written by Jamnalalji of which you have sent me a copy. Do you notice any humiliation in the language of the letter or do you derive it from the statement made in the letter? I do not nowadays know what is being done at the Council meetings. I therefore know nothing about the sanction of the ten thousand rupees, except that I might have noticed it when the resolutions were sent to me in due course. But I have no recollection now. Jamnalalji is not at the Ashram. But reading the letter as an outsider, I can see nothing wrong either about its manner or its matter. Supposing that nothing had been collected and that all the ninety thousand rupees had only remained as promises, could Jamnalalji have given you ten thousand rupees? I know this that at the present moment the Association has not any surplus funds. I should expect you to be careful, patient and not distrustful. After all the Council has no easy job before it to manage. Instead of passing resolutions in condemnation of the Council you should have appreciated its difficulty and corrected its error where it might have been found to be in error. If I were you, I should withdraw the resolution without being asked. But, if you feel that you no longer need any assistance and if you feel unconvinced that you have been hasty in your judgment, you will of course stick to your resolution.

Yours sincerely,

DR. P. C. GHOSH

SECRETARY, ABHOY ASHRAM, COMILLA

From a photostat: S.N. 13631-B

¹ "Whereas the letter dated Bombay, the 13th June 1928, of Seth Jamnalal Bajaj, the acting President, A.I.S.A., over the loan of Rs. 10,000 sanctioned in its Council meeting at Bashirhat is in contravention of the spirit with which the resolution was adopted in the aforesaid meeting and whereas the treatment accorded to us is humiliating and whereas injustice has been done to us in the past and is being done even now, this meeting of the members of the Abhoy Ashram resolves that the said loan of Rs. 10,000 be refused with regret and that no further loan be taken from the A.I.S.A. in future" (S.N. 14448).

229. LETTER TO MASOOD JUNG BAHADUR

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

July 4, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for a copy of your Convocation Address at the Karve University. I had the cutting made for me from the papers which contained extracts from it and you might have noticed in *Young India* I have already dealt with the subject matter¹ of your address. I shall now give myself the pleasure of reading it through as soon as I find a few spare moments.

Yours sincerely,

NAWAB MASOOD JUNG BAHADUR

DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION

H.E.H. NIZAM'S GOVERNMENT, HYDERABAD, DECCAN

From a photostat: S.N. 13449

230. THE CURSE OF FOREIGN MEDIUM

The spirited plea on behalf of the vernaculars as media of instruction of Nawab Masood Jung Bahadur, Director of Public Instruction, Hyderabad State, recently delivered at the Karve University for Women, has evoked a reply in *The Times of India* from which a friend sends the following extracts for me to answer:

Whatever is valuable and fruitful in their writings is directly or indirectly the result of Western culture . . . Instead of sixty, we can go back a hundred years and yet say that from Raja Ram Mohan Roy down to Mahatma Gandhi, every one of the Indians who have achieved anything worth mentioning in any direction was or is the fruit directly or indirectly, of Western education.

In these extracts what is considered is not the value of English as the medium of higher instruction in India but the importance and influence of Western culture to and on the persons mentioned. Neither the Nawab nor anyone else has disputed the importance or the

¹ *Vide* the following item.

influence of Western culture. What is resented is the sacrifice of Indian or Eastern culture on the altar of the Western. Even if it could be proved that Western culture was superior to Eastern, it would be injurious to India as a whole for her most promising sons and daughters to be brought up in Western culture and thus become denationalized and torn from the people.

In my opinion, whatever reaction for the better the persons named in the extracts had upon the people at large was due to the extent they retained their Eastern culture in spite of the adverse influence of the Western. I regard as adverse the influence of Western culture in this connection in the sense in which it interfered with the full effect that the best in Eastern culture might have produced on them. of myself whilst I have freely acknowledged my debt to Western culture, I can say that whatever service I have been able to render to the nation has been due *entirely* to the retention by me of Eastern culture to the extent it has been possible. I should have been thoroughly useless to the masses as an Anglicized, denationalized being knowing little of, caring less for and perhaps even despising their ways, habits, thoughts and aspirations. It is difficult to estimate the loss of energy caused to the nation by her children being obliged to resist the encroachments of a culture which, however good in itself, was unsuited for them whilst they had not imbibed and become rooted in their own.

Examine the question synthetically. Would Chaitanya, Nanak, Kabir, Tulsidas and a host of other reformers have done better if they had been attached from their childhood to the most efficiently managed English schools? Have the men named by the writer of the article in question done better than these great reformers? Would Dayanand have done better if he had become an M.A. of an Indian university? Where is among the easy-going, ease-loving, English-speaking rajas and maharajas brought from their infancy under the influence of Western culture one who could be named in the same breath as Shivaji who braved all perils and shared the simple life of his hardy men? Are they better rulers than Pratap the intrepid? Are they good specimens of Western culture, these Neros who are fiddling in London and Paris whilst their Romes are burning? There is nothing to be proud of in their culture which has made them foreigners in their own land and which has taught them to prefer to waste the substance of their ryots and their own souls in Europe to

sharing the happiness and miseries of those over whom they are called by a higher Power to rule.

But the point at issue is not Western culture. The point at issue is the medium of instruction. But for the fact that the only higher education, the only! education worth the name, has been received by us through the English medium, there would be no need to prove such a self-evident proposition that the youth of a nation to remain a nation must receive all instruction including the highest in its own vernacular or vernaculars. Surely, it is a self-demonstrated proposition that the youth of a nation cannot keep or establish a living contact with the masses unless their knowledge is received and assimilated through a medium understood by the people. Who can calculate the immeasurable loss sustained by the nation owing to thousands of its young men having been obliged to waste years in mastering a foreign language and its idiom of which in their daily life they have the least use and in learning which they had to neglect their own mother tongue and their own literature? There never was a greater superstition than that a particular language can be incapable of expansion or expressing abstruse or scientific ideas. A language is an exact reflection of the character and growth of its speakers.

Among the many evils of foreign rule this blighting imposition of a foreign medium upon the youth of the country will be counted by history as one of the greatest. It has sapped the energy of the nation, it has shortened the lives of the pupils, it has estranged them from the masses, it has made education unnecessarily expensive. If this process is still persisted in, it bids fair to rob the nation of its soul. The sooner therefore educated India shakes itself free from the hypnotic spell of the foreign medium, the better it would be for them and the people.

Young India, 5-7-1928

231. OUR TOBACCO BILL

A correspondent who is interested in a variety of reforms asks what the nation pays for her tobacco bill. I find that we pay for unmanufactured tobacco and cigarettes 213 lakhs of rupees per year. The cost is increasing every year. The import of unmanufactured tobacco which was 1_ million lb. in 1923 rose to 5 million in 1927. There was a corresponding increase in the import of cigarettes. If the references I have consulted are reliable, we do not export any of our own tobacco. Therefore the value of that considerable crop has to be added to the figures quoted above. If every smoker stopped the dirty habit, refused to make of his mouth a chimney, to foul his breath, damage his teeth and dull his sense of delicate discrimination and made a present of his savings to some national cause, he would benefit both himself and the nation.

Young India, 5-7-1928

232. AN AMERICAN TRIBUTE

One of the many American friends who visit and sometimes stay at the Ashram writes thus¹ to Mrs. Maganlal Gandhi:

The memory of the two days I spent in 1925 at the Ashram, and particularly, in your hospitable home, stays with me like a benediction. . . . Mr. Maganlal Gandhi, whom I have always considered one of the rarest and most beautiful souls I ever met. Though so true an Indian, he had a sympathy and understanding broad as life itself. He seemed the very embodiment of that spirit of satyagraha which I had come to know through the writings of Mahatma Gandhi, in *Young India*. Strength, purity and sweetness radiated from him like perfume from a flower....

One felt in his presence . . . that every gift, every ability, every part of his being had been laid upon the altar, consecrated to God for the highest purpose to which man as a human being can aspire. Not that he talked religion or stressed piety—even the tone of his voice showed the same, practical, efficient man of affairs that he was about the Ashram; but religion was the spring from which the current of his life flowed, and the sanctity which emanated from his presence was the sanctity that comes from surrender of

¹ Only excerpts are reproduced here.

self—the constant habit and purpose of living and doing for others. . . .

It was worth going round the world to have met him alone, when one considers all that his life means to India from the support which he gave and still continues to give to the work of the great Mahatmaji.

But I am well aware that words of commendation for the dear departed, whatever their sincerity, or the sympathy they seek to convey, are of little avail in assuaging grief like yours. I must remind you, however, that the potency for good of a soul like that of Mr. Maganlal Gandhi cannot wholly leave the sphere of its usefulness here on earth. It abides in a thousand tangible ways and will be there to comfort you, even though the bodily form be removed by death. But more truly than in any other way he will be with you in your children—your two beautiful daughters and your son, who will take up the work and carry it on—the great work to which the life of your revered husband was so nobly consecrated.

Young India, 5-7-1928

233. LETTER TO BHUPEN

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

July 5, 1928

MY DEAR BHUPEN,

I had your letter enclosing a cheque for Bardoli fight.

You remind me that you have received no acknowledgment of your previous letters. The fact is I am terribly in arrears with reference to my correspondence. And even today I had to make a search in the file and take your letter out of the order in which the letters are lying and in which I am dealing with them in order to be able to reply to you. I hope to write something about the Santhals in *Young India*. Don't ask me to do anything beyond that. I must not give you a letter to the Birlas, nor am I able to do anything else whilst I am buried in the Ashram where I must remain buried for the time being.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 13454

234. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

July 5, 1928

CHI. MATHURADAS,

I have received your letter. Why does Dilip have to be seen by a doctor? Have you found any reason for the plague breaking out in Panchgani? At Deolali there is only Pranal's bungalow. Is it not possible to have accommodation there? I hope you do not have to climb up and down while you look for a bungalow. Or, can Shankaran not do it? Here the rains have been very well received.

I had dictated this letter at 4 o'clock in the morning. While I sign it, another letter from you has arrived.

Blessings from

BAPU

SJT. MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

C/O SHETH PRANLAL WEVKARAN

BANGANGA ROAD

BOMBAY

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

235. MESSAGE TO "THE HINDU"¹

July 6, 1928

I gladly add mine to the many tributes that will be paid to The Hindu on its Golden Jubilee. I consider The Hindu to be one of the best, if not the best, among the Indian owned dailies throughout India.

From a microfilm: S.N. 13456

¹ For its Golden Jubilee Commemoration Number, October 4, 1928

236. LETTER TO A. RANGASWAMY IYENGAR

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

July 6, 1928

MY DEAR RANGASWAMY,

Here is my humble message¹ for the Jubilee Souvenir Number.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. A. RANGASWAMY IYENGAR

“THE HINDU” OFFICE, MOUNT ROAD, MADRAS

From a microfilm: S.N. 13457

237. LETTER TO E. C. DEWICK

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

July 6, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your cordial letter. As owing to the death of Maganlal Gandhi all my plans have become upset, I am not sure whether I would be able to attend the Federation meeting in Mysore. But I will not finally make up my mind against the idea of going to Mysore.

Yours sincerely,

REV. E. C. DEWICK

2 INFANTRY ROAD, BANGALORE

From a microfilm: S.N. 13455

238. LETTER TO P. RAMACHANDRA RAO

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

July 6, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. You will see the constitution and rules of the Ashram in Young India of June 14th.² Much as I should like to have your daughter in the Ashram, I very much fear that she won't be able to stand the comparatively rigorous life that is being led at the

¹ *Vide* the preceding item.

² *Vide* “Satyagraha Ashram”, June 14, 1928.

Ashram. Then she would be terribly handicapped for want of knowledge of Hindi. She will have nobody to talk to in English or Kanarese. And then there is not that literary atmosphere about the Ashram which your daughter might crave for. There is a studious attempt to create an atmosphere of labour in the Ashram. Lastly you will notice from the Ashram rules that as we have made great changes, the desire is not to take new admissions for one year. Some time is required for settling down.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. P. RAMACHANDRA RAO

CLOTH MERCHANT

TUMKUR (MYSORE STATE)

From a microfilm: S.N. 13458

239. LETTER TO M. P. SRINIVASAN

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

July 6, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. In my opinion, you are not bound to marry against your will, even to please your parents. But you are bound to vacate the house if your father is so desirous. Obedience to parents has well-defined limits. Disobedience becomes a virtue when the orders are repugnant to the moral code.

I do not know of any book on fasting that can be of any use to you.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. M. P. SRINIVASAN

SUB-EDITOR, TAMIL "SWARAJYA"

2 VALLABHA AGRAHARAM, TIRUVATEESVARANPET

TRIPPLICANE, MADRAS

From a microfilm: S.N. 13459

240. LETTER TO SAMANDLAL

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

July 6, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. As the Ashram is just now undergoing many

changes, the Committee of Management has thought it desirable to restrict for the time being even temporary admissions as far as possible and since your main object is to learn spinning, I can tell you that you will be able to learn it easily in Madras as you will find many there to help you.

Yours sincerely,

BABU SAMANDLAL
C/O SGT. M. G. KARNIKAR
90 IMALI BAZAAR, INDORE (HOLKAR STATE)

From a microfilm: S.N. 13461

241. LETTER TO M. M. ASLAM KHAN

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 6, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. You will please excuse me for not being able to give you anything. Without knowing a magazine, it is very difficult for me to frame anything be it ever So short.

Yours sincerely,

M. M. ASLAM KHAN
SUFI MANZIL, PINDI BAHAUDDIN, PUNJAB

From a microfilm: S.N. 13462

242. LETTER TO ANAND SWARUP

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 6, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. Permission has already been granted for translations of "My Experiments with Truth" in Urdu and Hindi.

Yours sincerely,

SGT. ANAND SWARUP
ADVOCATE, H.C., SAHARANPUR, U.P.

From a microfilm: S.N. 13463

243. LETTER TO DR. M. A. ANSARI

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

July 6, 1928

DEAR DR. ANSARI,

I have had a full chat with Dr. Zakir Husain. The position is certainly very precarious. The liabilities are accumulating and the money collected for the Jamia Millia Fund cannot be released till a proper trust-deed is made, which is the condition in the original announcement. The constitution framed is acceptable neither to Jamnalalji nor to me, nor is it in accordance with the terms we discussed when you were here. What is to be done in the circumstances? I feel that the new Committee should surrender all the powers to the professors who have pledged themselves to become life-workers, or the committee should become an active working body and take charge of the institution so far as the financial liabilities are concerned. But from what Dr. Zakir Husain tells me and from what I can see for myself, the Committee will not act swiftly and effectively. And if it neither acts nor surrenders full control to the working professors, I can see nothing but a lingering death for the Jamia and that would be a terrible tragedy. One would not mind it if it was inevitable. What should happen to the Ajmal Jamia Fund collected up to now is difficult to say. If a trust-deed acceptable to us four collectors cannot be made, the only way possible in order to release the fund is to publish the constitution that has been framed and call upon the donors to signify their wish whether they want their donations to be given to the Committee under the constitution. of course, this is a most unsatisfactory thing and hardly a step that can be taken, if we will cherish the memory of Hakim Saheb¹ and value the good of the Jamia. Is it then not possible to give the full control to the working professors and then they can frame a proper trust-deed and release the fund already collected and make an effort to collect more?

Yours sincerely,

DR. M. A. ANSARI

1 DARYAGUNJ, DELHI

PS.

Dr. Zakir reminds me that I have said nothing in this letter about the time-limit. Time in this case is of the essence. I therefore hope that you will come to some definite conclusion long before so that there

¹ Ajmal Khan

may be either a decent burial to the Jamia or that the Jamia may resume its work with some degree of safety.

From a microfilm: S.N. 14930

244. LETTER TO R. S. KADKIA

July 6, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. It is not possible to give you a detailed reply to all the questions you have put, but it is possible to give you a general reply, namely, that wherever you can curtail your requirements so as to bring yourself to a level with the poor you should do so, and, in considering your requirements, you should as a rule decide against yourself. And if you do so, you are likely to reach the real minimum.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. R. S. KADKIA

CONGRESS OFFICE, HYDERABAD (SIND)

From a photostat: S.N. 13460

245. LETTER TO SHAUKAT ALI¹

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

July 6, 1928

DEAR BROTHER,

I got your letter after the Governor of Kabul had already seen me. We had a very affectionate and cordial interview. I was however sorry that I did not know of his coming beforehand.

I enclose herewith a copy of my letter² to Dr. Ansari. It speaks for itself. Dr. Zakir Husain has seen it and he agrees with its terms.

Yours sincerely,

MAULANA SHAUKAT ALI

CENTRAL KHILAFAT COMMITTEE, DONGRI, BOMBAY

From a photostat: S.N. 13465

¹ In reply to his letter dated July 3, requesting Gandhiji to meet Ali Ahmed Khan, Governor of Kabul

² *Vide* "Letter to Dr. M. A. Ansari", 6-7-1928.

246. LETTER TO BHAGWANJI P. PANDYA

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

July 6, 1928

DEAR BHAGWANJI,

I have your letter. Your balance-sheet is all right but you need to try still harder. Remain where you are and try to observe the rules to the best of your ability. Inspire your wife also to try and practise the ideal of self-control. You will not succeed so long as you only try to reason with her. Cravings of the body cannot be quietened by arguments. But when she sees in you firmness combined with love, she cannot but be infected by your aspiration. Do not give up the job hastily. But the moment you find that you may be violating truth for the sake of the job give up the latter as we would let go a serpent we may find on our hands.

Blessings from

BAPU

BHAISHRI BHAGWANJI PURUSHOTTAMDAS

C/O VRAJLAL PRADHAN & CO.

PROMA, BURMA

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 9792. Courtesy: Bhagwanji P. Pandya

247. LETTER TO BHAGWANJI P. PANDYA¹

[After *July 6, 1928*]²

DEAR BHAGWANJI,

Come when all your expectations have died out and only a sense of duty is left behind and there is perfect agreement between you two.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 9789. Courtesy: Bhagwanji P. Pandya

¹ This was in reply to the addressee's letter enumerating his difficulties in joining the Ashram and from the contents appears to have been written after the preceding one.

² *ibid*

248. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

July 7, 1928

CHI. VASUMATI,

I get your letters regularly. I see that it is a difficult task to persuade the people there to improve the cleanliness. How can anything be done in a matter like this so long as the head of the institution is not keen about it? All the same, you should slowly try to bring about changes in a manner which will cause no friction. You should never get upset, but should show infinite patience.

You must have come to know that Prabhavati fasted for four days to cure her rheumatism. It is impossible to say yet whether the rheumatism has disappeared.

A prolonged discussion is going on regarding the common kitchen.

Blessings from

BAPU

CHI. VASUMATIBEHN

KANYA GURUKULA

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 482. Courtesy: Vasumati Pandit

249. LETTER TO HARIBHAU UPADHYAYA

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

July 7, 1928

BHAI HARIBHAU,

Read the accompanying letter and let me know what truth it contains. The correspondent has told the story about Bihar, but it concerns Rajputana. Probably, therefore, you will be able to say more about it.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 6060. Courtesy: Haribhau Upadhyaya

250. MONKEY NUISANCE

A reader writes to say:¹

This problem is worth giving a thought to. It is not only farmers who are harassed by monkeys. In places like Prayag, Vrindavan, etc., monkeys harass even the citizens a great deal. People who are thus troubled would not be displeased if the animals were killed or removed by someone.

Although I thus admit that monkeys are a nuisance, I cannot immediately suggest the remedy of killing them.

There can be no comparison between a rabid dog and monkeys. The former is bound to die from the disease itself. Anyone who kills it saves it from the torture and spares others the danger of contracting the disease while in the case of monkeys, there is no question of doing good to them by killing them. Again, it is not as if the nuisance of monkeys cannot be prevented without killing them.

It is often seen that, wherever there is this monkey nuisance the fault lies with us. Monkeys are petted, they are given food and are treated in many ways which encourage them to take liberties with us. Monkeys are a very intelligent species. They understand us immediately. I had seen in Vrindavan that in all Indian locality they would fearlessly continue to destroy things, while in the area occupied by Europeans there is no trace of monkeys because they are afraid that they would get a beating if they went there. The threat of beating is also a form of violence. There is no need to concern ourselves here in solving that complex problem. The question is only whether or not monkeys can be saved from the final form of violence—that of killing. I feel that so long as the situation is under our control, we may perhaps be able to spare them capital punishment.

Readers must know that nowadays trade in monkeys is being carried on a large scale. Thousands of monkeys are exported to Europe for making various kinds of experiments on them and in fact many cruel experiments are made on them before they are killed. Therefore, it is but proper to adopt whatever measures we can to prevent an increase in their number.

Now remains the question of death penalty. I realize that, if it is our dharma to protect fields and, if there is no other way of protecting

¹ The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had asked Gandhiji whether monkeys might be killed in the same way as rabid dogs.

these from the nuisance of monkeys, then the necessity to kill them does arise. But that is not non-violence. The slaughter of animals even for the sake of saving fields involves violence. That some such forms of violence are part and parcel of human life and are unavoidable is a fact that we encounter at every step. It is difficult to say when the killing of monkeys becomes actually inescapable, but it is not difficult to find out ways to spare ourselves this slaughter. If in spite of those remedies the nuisance does not diminish, each should work out his own dharma. There can be no uniform general rule for the killing of monkeys. Violence is never an independent dharma. There is only one such dharma and that is non-violence. Violence is a measure of the degradation of man; non-violence is his highest achievement.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 8-7-1928

251. MY NOTES

STUDENTS' SACRIFICE

Students are contributing to the Bardoli Satyagraha Fund by saving money on their food and clothing and by working; that is a good sign. One more example of such sacrifice is that of the students of the Kutchi Visa Oswal Jain Hostel. They have informed me that they had stopped drinking milk for a month and thus saved Rs. 220, which amount their association has donated to the Fund. For this sacrifice the students deserve thanks and the Bardoli satyagrahis should note that, having accepted such sacrificial help, they have a duty to adhere more firmly to their pledge. It is no exaggeration to say that, at present, the honour of India rests in their hands.

WHAT SHOULD STUDENTS DO?

Three students write to say: "We wish to serve the country. Do please let us know through *Navajivan* how we can do this while continuing our studies and remaining where we are". These students have sent their names, addresses and age, and add: "Do not publish our names and addresses, etc. Don't even write to us. We are not even in a position to receive your letters." It is difficult to give advice to such students. What advice can be given to those who cannot even receive a reply to their own letters? Nevertheless, this much can be said that purity of soul is itself a good service to the country. Have these

students acquired purity of soul? Is their heart pure? Have they been able to stay away from the polluted atmosphere prevalent amongst students? Do they practise truth, etc.? The very fact that they are unwilling to receive a reply implies that something is amiss. Students should learn to shed such fears. They should learn to put forward their views before elders with boldness and determination. Do students wear khadi? Do they spin? They are taking part in national service even if they do this. Do they serve a sick neighbour in their free time? Do they spare some time to clean up, by their own efforts, any filth in their neighbourhood? Many such questions can be asked, and if students can answer them satisfactorily, even today they will have a place of honour among public servants.

MARRIAGE OF OLD WITH YOUNG

Last week I had to tell the story of a professor's marriage with a young girl.¹ This week some Bhatia friends have written to me about the marriage of a wealthy Bhatia. This octogenarian has got married to a young girl by giving Rs. 25,000 or 30,000 to her father. In this marriage, it is difficult to say who is more to blame—the eighty-year-old man who has married for the fifth time a young girl or the father who for greed of money has sold off his daughter like a helpless cow being sent to a slaughter house I have heard that some Bhatia gentlemen made efforts to thwart this greed, but the eighty-year-old bridegroom, proud of his wealth, turned them out.

Only last week, I thought out the remedy to prevent such cruelty. I can think of no other method but creating non-violent public opinion and non-violent boycott. And this would mean not only boycott by the caste, but by the whole society. All relations with such people should be severed, except when helping them when they need food, or during illness or in case of death. Without this, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to awaken such men out of their lust.

CHILD-WIDOW

The reader will recollect that I had written a few weeks ago about the intention of Shri Muljibhai Barot to marry a young girl. Later I had congratulated Shri Muljibhai on having given up the idea of this marriage, because of the article in the *Navajivan* and the

¹ Vide "My Notes", 1-7-1928, sub-title, "Professor's Marriage to a Young Girl".

criticism of the Brahmabhatt caste. Subsequently I received a letter that the announcement was nothing but a fraud and that Shri Muljibhai had got married secretly without the knowledge of his caste. I had decided to write about this last week, but could not do so for want of time. Now news has come that Muljibhai has passed away leaving the young girl a widow. We would not wish the death of a person whether good or bad. We wish that the bad may develop good sense—on the principle of wishing to others what you wish for yourself.¹ But what about the young widow? It is for society to consider this question. Even if a fourteen-year-old girl declares that she wishes to remain a widow, this has no meaning. Such a girl would certainly wish to remarry if cruel public opinion is not against her doing so. The leaders of the Brahmabhatt caste should rush to the rescue of this poor girl. If the leaders have not understood their duty, the young men of the caste should patiently convince them and rescue the young girl. If the leaders are not convinced, but if the relatives are, then too, such problems can be solved. But to solve such problems the well-wisher himself should possess the requisite qualities. He should have purity of mind and heart and also patience. These qualities are required for the achievement of swaraj through peaceful means; these very qualities are needed also for the solution of such problems as the marriage of young widows and so on.

HAWKING KHADI

Shri Rishabhadas, of Wardha Khadi Bhandar, writes of his experience while he went round hawking khadi:²

All hawkers of khadi must be having such experiences. Shri Malkani has written in one of his letters that selling khadi from door to door is for him a valuable training in politics. For others it is a training for developing patience. For Rishabhadas this training leads to further strengthening of his faith in God. But faith in God is not something so easily attainable. Rishabhadas and his colleagues got success immediately, but God puts many of his devotees to a test even unto death. A true devotee does not link his faith in God with the achievement of success. Success and failure are one and the same to him.

¹ आत्मवत् सर्वभूतेषु

² The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had stated that, while selling khadi from door to door in Maharashtra, he had received further confirmation of his faith in God.

METHOD OF SELF-RELIANCE

The contribution of the method of *svavalamban*¹ towards carrying out propaganda for khadi should not be underestimated. There is no doubt that this is popular and that it is the most straightforward course of action. Shri Jethalal Govindji who is working for khadi in Bijolia and who is a staunch advocate of this system writes to say:²

According to him other methods should also be adopted along with this one. But very few have made a scientific study of the method of self-reliance, and even fewer have had any experience of it. Therefore, wherever this system is practised, it would prove very useful if khadi workers write about their experiences. Everyone can propagate this system at least in his neighbourhood. But as the saying goes, 'one cannot go to heaven before one's own death'; similarly anyone who does not produce his own khadi cannot carry on propaganda for others adopting this principle.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 8-7-1928

252. LETTER TO SHIV DAYAL SWHANEY

July 8, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I am sorry that you, a young man of 27, should give way to despondency. You should be brave and surmount all domestic difficulties. You may not leave your wife and children as you propose. Suicide is undoubtedly a sin, which you must not commit on any account. It is no use coming to the Ashram in the expectation of peace. Peace we must find wherever we are. But as I have said in my telegram to you, you should consult Lala Lajpat Rai and act in accordance with his advice. It would be difficult from this distance for me to guide you. I shall be glad to hear in reply to this letter that you have regained your elasticity and that you have shed your weakness.

¹ The principle that one should spin enough yarn to meet all one's needs by way of cloth; literally, 'self-reliance, self-sufficiency'

² The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had stated that, the requirement of cloth per head being very small, farmers and agricultural labourers, if trained, could produce all that they need.

The balance of the money sent by you has been transferred to the Bardoli Fund.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. SHIV DAYAL SAWHNEY
C/O PANDIT MULKRAJ
OVERSEER, CAMP, LELLPUR, PUNJAB

From a microfilm: S.N. 13467

253. LETTER TO AMBALAL SARABHAI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 8, 1928

DEAR BROTHER,

A district conference is to be held here regarding Bardoli. It has been unanimously decided to invite Shri Kelkar¹ to preside over it. I feel that it would add to the effectiveness of the conference if you could agree to be the chairman of the reception committee. If you have no objection to it in principle, I would urge you to accept the position. I feel there is need at the present juncture for us to express our unanimity of views.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 11121. Courtesy: Sarabhai Foundation

254. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 10, 1928

CHI. VASUMATI,

I have your letter. Your efforts seem to produce good results. The more your words are inspired by love, the more the effect they will have. You should work for the institution² there as if it were your own. After having drawn people's attention to the drawbacks there, you should adopt a generous attitude so that they may not feel hurt but, on the contrary, may thank you.

¹ N. C. Kelkar

² Kanya Gurukula; *vide* "Letter to Vasumati Pandit", 7-7-1928.

I trust you are keeping very good health. Instead of telling you about the things here in just one sentence, I have asked Kusum to write to you. You will, therefore, have the maximum information and, since she will write at the same time that I do, unnecessary postage will also be saved. I am sure you have made it a practice to keep account of every pie that you spend there. If you have not, you should start now.

Ramdevji, too, writes to me.

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

I have not revised this.

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 483. Courtesy: Vasumati Pandit

255. LETTER TO HAFIZ MOHAMMED ABDUL SHAKOOR¹

July 10, 1928

I am opposed to the purdah system if only because men do not put themselves behind the purdah.

From a microfilm: S.N. 13441

256. LETTER TO SHAH MOHAMMED QASIM

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

July 11, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

With further reference to your letter of 9th ultimo, I enclose herewith a copy of a letter² received from the Jodhpur Darbar in reply to my enquiry.

Yours sincerely,

Enclosure: 2 sheets

SHAH MOHAMMED QASIM

C/O SYED MOHAMMED HUSSAIN

P.O. NURHUT, GAYA

From a microfilm: S.N. 12397

¹ According to S.N. Register this was a reply to Hafiz Mohammed Abdul Shakoor's letter dated June 28, 1928, from Madras asking Gandhiji for his views on *purdah* among Muslims.

² *Vide* footnote 3 to "Letter to Secretary, Jodhpur State", 1-7-1928.

257. *LETTER TO MANAGER, INDIAN PRESS LTD.*

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 11, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter and the book called *The Coming Renaissance*¹. I am very sorry to have to tell you that I have not a minute to spare for reading and reviewing the book. Nor is [it] usual for me generally to review books in the pages of *Young India*. Do you wish me to return the book?

Yours sincerely,

THE MANAGER
THE INDIAN PRESS LTD., ALLAHABAD

From a microfilm: S.N. 13471

258. *LETTER TO K. R. BHIDE*

July 11, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. Your Father will be welcomed to the Ashram whenever he comes. But either he or you will please inform the Secretary of the Ashram beforehand when he may be expected.

With reference to your questions, you can answer them for yourself if you are a constant reader of *Young India* or *Navajivan*. If you are not, I should suggest your searching the files of these papers.

I think it is possible for you to receive training at the *Young India* office if you can begin work as a common labourer. But this depends more upon the manager than upon me as I do not interfere with the management of the press.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. K. R. BHIDE
LIMAYE BUILDING, CHIKALWADI, BOMBAY-7

From a microfilm: S.N. 13473

¹ By P. M. L. Varma

259. LETTER TO B. M. TWEEDLE

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 11, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter and the packet of pencils. You have correctly guessed when you say that I might not approve of your method of raising funds for clearing your debt¹. It would seem to me to be easier to make a direct appeal for a donation than to sell a particular thing at double or treble its cost price. In either case an appeal to one's charitable instincts has got to be made. Why then mix it up with the selfish instinct? But I may not argue.

As required by you I am reposting the box.

Yours sincerely,

MISS B. M. TWEEDLE
WESLEYAN MISSION VILLAGE INDUSTRY
TRIVELLORE, CHINGLEPUT DISTRICT, SOUTH INDIA

From a microfilm: S.N. 13472

260. LETTER TO GOVARDHAN BHAI I. PATEL

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 11, 1928

DEAR GOVARDHANBHAI,

I thank you for your letter². I regret the decision of the Committee.³

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 13475

¹ On account of the new school building.

² Dated July 7 in reply to Gandhiji's letter of July 1. Govardhanbhai had written: "The subject-matter of my recent correspondence with you was placed before the meeting of the contributors to the [Ahmedabad Mills] Tilak Swaraj Fund for their consideration.... The meeting rejected the proposal for a Committee of Inspection and reaffirmed their previous resolution for a Committee of Joint Administration quoted in my letter to you of the 26th June 1928. . . ."

³ A copy of this was forwarded to Shankerlal Banker for information.

261. LETTER TO T. PRAKASAM¹

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 11, 1928

DEAR PRAKASAM,

May I not have a reply to my last letter²?

Yours sincerely,

SJT. T. PRAKASAM
“SWARAJYA”, MADRAS

From a microfilm: S.N. 13634

262. LETTER TO SHANKARAN

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 11, 1928

MY DEAR SHANKARAN,

I have your letter and the cheque sent to Chhaganlal Joshi. The names will appear in due course.

There is no breach of *asteya*³ when the donor's consent is obtained for the use of his donation for a cause other than the one or which it was originally meant.

On the principle that a labourer is worthy of his hire, a worker may be considered to have reduced his wants to nil when he is satisfied with the minimum of food and clothing and accommodation and then too if he makes no condition that he should be fed and clothed against service. The institution that takes work from him will feed him and clothe him for its own sake. One who has surrendered himself completely will cheerfully face starvation, if starvation is to be his lot. After all self-surrender is a mental attitude. The millions who starve helplessly have surrendered nothing because their minds do not co-operate with their enforced starvation.

I am sending you this letter before knowing your new address. I hope you will receive it.

From a photostat: S.N. 13469

¹ A copy of this was forwarded to Secretary, A.I.S.A., Ahmedabad, with reference to his letter.

² Dated May 24, 1928

³ Non-stealing

263. LETTER TO S. A. SAHASRABUDDHE

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 11, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have all your letters. I do not necessarily acknowledge all the correspondence I receive, if only for want of time. I do not notice in *Young India* all the functions that may take place with reference to men dead or alive whom I may admire.

I have not altered my opinion that I have expressed before about Shivaji and other heroes. But because they are not my gurus nor my models, I am not blind to their heroism nor to the important part they have played in the world drama.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. S. A. SAHASRABUDDHE
ZAVBA'S WADI, PAREKH BUILDING
GIRGAON, BOMBAY

From a photostat: S.N. 13470

264. LETTER TO M. B. NIYOGI

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 11, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter¹. I am glad that Sjt. Awari is keeping well.

I know that he holds very strong views about khadi. My own opinion is that after having explained his position if he is still compelled by the jail authorities to wear the uniform made of non-khadi, he ought not to make it a point of hunger-strike. I see no harm in his agitating for uniform made of khadi and I think that you should help him in this direction. His objection cannot be to the jail

¹ Dated July 7, which read: "Manchar Shah Awari of Nagpur had led a movement known as Sword Satyagraha and was sentenced to four years' rigorous imprisonment. . . . Mr. Awari insists that he should be permitted to wear his own khaddar clothing. . . . The jail authorities are prepared to allow him to use his own khaddar next to skin but insist on his wearing the jail uniform over it. Mr. Awari is not agreeable. . . . I request you to give your opinion on the point whether wearing private khaddar clothing next to skin and jail uniform over it, offends against the vow to wear khaddar; and whether death is a better alternative to acceptance of the compromise proposed by jail authorities."

uniform, but his objection is and can be to the kind of cloth of which the jail uniform is made. He can even offer to have khadi uniform made at his expense. Without his prompting, I do not see with you should not see the authorities and have this very simple matter regulated without any fuss.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. M. B. NIYOGI

ADVOCATE, CRADDOCK TOWN, NAGPUR

From a photostat: S.N. 13474

265. NOTES

EDUCATION FOR SERVICE

A friend sends the following interesting extract from *The Service of Motherhood* by M.E.D. Smith:

Our educational methods have been far too slipshod. It has, for instance, been too much the practice at our universities to let the young men learn if they choose, but if they find study distasteful, then to allow them to idle their time away almost at their own pleasure. It seems strange that it should have been overlooked what a wrong was thereby being done to the nation, for wrong it assuredly is, since every member of a nation is born into it to serve, not to be a mere passenger. For the slack methods pursued certain of our educational heads are much to blame. Blind to the needs of the hour and dwelling in an atmosphere of aloofness and self-complacency, they have failed to appreciate the real aim and the vital importance of education. Let us hope that in the future it will be accounted as great a disgrace to omit to take advantage of opportunities for learning as it now is for a soldier to desert his post.

Be it remembered that this is said of national education as of national military service. It will be as wrong to serve in an army of hirelings drilled and paid to crush the spirit of their kith and kin as it would be to belong to an educational institution designed to subserve the purpose of a foreign domination.

KASHI VIDYAPITH

Principal Narendra Deva of Kashi Vidyapith, Benares Cantonment, sends the following¹ for publication:

¹ The extract which is not reproduced here gave the date of reopening of the Vidyalaya, subjects taught, minimum qualifications for admission, etc.

This is one of the few national institutions that still retains its existence, thanks mainly to Babu Shivaprasad Gupta's faith and generosity.

ARE WE GETTING POORER?

Professor Sam Higginbottom sent me some time ago for answer a series of questions¹ on India's poverty. As his inquiry was serious and as I know him to be desirous of helping us to solve this difficult problem, I thought that instead of merely giving my own answers, I would seek the assistance of experts in the matter. Letters were therefore addressed to a few such friends asking if they would make time to give their considered opinion. Professor C. N. Vakil of the University of Bombay has kindly sent me his opinion in a series of articles². The first instalment the reader will find elsewhere in this issue.

ALL-INDIA COW-PROTECTION ASSOCIATION³

A general meeting of this Association will be held at the Satyagraha Ashram, Sabarmati, at 3.30 p.m. on 25th instant to consider the following resolution⁴:

"In as much as the All-India Cow-protection Association has not been able to command public attention and sympathy commensurate with the all-India character it has claimed, and inasmuch as its activities have been confined to the slow spread of the objects of the Association and especially to helping to conduct a dairy and tannery at the Satyagraha Ashram in terms of the objects of the Association, and inasmuch as the subscriptions and donations are mainly confined to those who are interested in the experiment, and inasmuch as the numerous goshalas and pinjrapoles which were expected to respond to and be affiliated to the Association have failed to do so, the existing members of the Association hereby resolve to disband it and to adopt the less pretentious title of Cow-protection and Preservation Society and to entrust the affairs, management and

¹ Vide "Our Poverty", 6-9-1928.

² Entitled "The Poverty Problem in India". These were published in *Young India* on July 12, 19 and 26, August 2 and 9, 1928.

³ Formed by Gandhiji on April 28, 1925

⁴ For resolution as amended and adopted at the meeting, vide "Service, not Protection", 2-8-1928.

control of the funds and stock of the Association to the following Committee of Management of the Society with full powers to disburse the funds, conduct the said experiments, to add to their number and otherwise carry out the objects of the Association and to frame a constitution and rules for the management of the Society and to make such amendment thereof as may from time to time be required.”

It is unnecessary for me to write anything more on the reason for bringing forward the resolution. Sjt. Jamnalalji and I have felt for a long time that we were not doing justice to the Association or the public by running it under the ambitious general title without showing work or results in keeping with the high title. The funds too are principally those that he has received from personal friends and some received by me for the experiments, which I believe are most important if the cow is to be saved from destruction. It therefore seems that it would be proper and more honest to make the Association a small society of those who are interested in and approve of the methods advocated in these pages for the preservation of the cow. The funds at the present moment are about Rs. 17,000, the stock consists of a few books mostly gifts received by me. The current monthly expenditure is about Rs. 55. The liability of the Association is to disburse such expenses as may be incurred by the Ashram for the purpose of conducting the experiments entrusted to it.

Young India, 12-7-1928

266. AWAKENING AMONG STUDENTS

The message of Bardoli has not yet been fully delivered. But incomplete as it still is, it has taught us lessons which we shall not easily forget. It has revived our drooping spirits, it has brought us new hope, it has shown the immense possibilities of mass non-violence practised not from conviction, but like most virtues with most of us as a policy. The descriptions I have heard from eye-witnesses of the wonderful demonstration held in Bombay in honour of Sjt. Vallabhbhai Patel, the spontaneous offering of Rs. 25,000, the affectionate besieging of his car, the showering of gold and bank notes on him as he was passing through the huge crowds, the ovation that signalized his entry into the theatre are proof of what Bardoli has wrought in the space of a few months by its courage and sufferings.

Marked as the awakening has been throughout India, it has been more marked amongst the students and the most among the Bombay students. I tender my congratulations to Sjt. Nariman and the brave lads and lasses on whom he has acquired such a wonderful hold. And among the students the eye-witnesses single out the three Parsi girls, Miss Davar and Misses Bhesania, who by their boundless enthusiasm and courage are said to have electrified the student world in Bombay. Mahadev Desai has a letter from a student in a Poona College whose students on the 4th instant spontaneously observed the Students' Bardoli Day, stopped all work and made collections to which there was a willing response. May this manifestation of courage on the part of the students of Government colleges and schools never die out nor fail at the crucial moment. The letters being received from students of self-denial practised by them for the sake of paying their humble mite to the Bardoli funds are most touching. The students of the Gurukul Kangri, Vaishya Vidyalaya, Sasawane, a hostel in Ghatkopar, Supa Gurukul near Navasari and several other institutions which I cannot recall at the time of writing have been either doing labour to earn a few rupees or denying themselves milk and ghee for a month or less.

It would have been monstrous if the lesson that the rustics of Bardoli, especially the illiterate women whom we have hitherto refused to count amongst the fighters for freedom, have been teaching us by their silent suffering and cool courage, had been wholly lost upon us. It can be said without fear of contradiction that it was the students of China who led the fight for freedom in that great country, it is the students in Egypt who are in the forefront in Egypt's struggle for real independence. Students of India are expected to do no less. They attend schools and colleges or should attend not for self but for service. They should be the salt of the nation.

The greatest obstacle in the way of students is fear of consequences mostly imaginary. The first lesson therefore that students have to learn is to shed fear. Freedom can never be won by those who are afraid of rustication, poverty and even death. The greatest fear for students of Government institutions is rustication. Let them realize that learning without courage is like a waxen statue beautiful to look at but bound to melt at the least touch of a hot substance.

Young India, 12-7-1928

267. LETTER TO BARBARA BAUER

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 13, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter¹. I don't know how the story about miraculous powers possessed by. me has got abroad. I can only tell you that I am but an ordinary mortal susceptible to the same weakness, influences and the rest as every other human being and that I possess no extraordinary powers.

Yours sincerely,

MISS BARBARA BAUER
BIG SPRING, TEXAS, U.S.A.

From a microfilm: S.N. 14349

268. LETTER TO DR. JOSIAH OLDFIELD

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 13, 1928

MY DEAR FRIEND,

What a joy to receive your letter² after so many years.

You must have seen in the Press that I could not make up my mind to go to Europe this year. I have a mind to do so next year. If I do I have no doubt that we shall meet somewhere. But whether I shall be able to come to your Hospital as a friendly visitor or as a patient to receive medical and nursing care I do not know.

Yours sincerely,

DR. JOSIAH OLDFIELD
LADY MARGARET HOSPITAL, DODDINGTON, KENT

From a photostat: S.N. 14352

¹ Dated May 24, 1928, which read: "My request of you is this: To resurrect my dear brother who recently passed away.... I know you can accomplish it in a Master's way.... I know you are endowed with these Divine Powers . . ." (S.N. 14314).

² Lated June 20, 1928, which read: "Pray . . . be sure of a very hearty and warm welcome if you can spend any time under my care here . . . If you need any medical or nursing care we will gladly give it to you. . ." (S.N. 14331).

269. LETTER TO L. CRANNA

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 13, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

With reference to your letter¹ of the 18th May last, the letter written to “Sustaining Members” to which I sent you the reply² was addressed by yourself to me. It bears your signature. I enclose herewith the original.

It is amusing how misrepresentations some of which appear to me to be wilful, are made about me and my belief in so many papers—even those which profess to be conducted on Christian lines.

Yours sincerely,

Enclosure: 1

L. CRANNA, ESQ.

C/o Y.M.C.A., SINGAPORE

From a photostat: S.N. 14345

270. LETTER TO ADA ROSENGREEN

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 13, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter and the German book³. I think I have told you that I do not know German.

Nothing is yet settled about my visit to Europe next year.

I hold strong views about divorce. My own opinion is that if husband and wife do not agree temperamentally and there is always a jar between them, they should live in voluntary separation. But I do not accept the propriety of either party remarrying. Being a believer in the necessity of celibacy, I naturally incline to the view that the

¹ Which read: “I am at a loss to know how my letter to Sustaining Members got into your hands, and would be very grateful to you if you would enlighten me” (S.N. 14313).

² Dated May 4, 1928, *vide* “Letter to L. Cranna”, May 4, 1928.

³ Prepared by the Neutral Committee which had investigated the cause of the World War.

greater [the restraint] the man or woman exercises the better it is for himself or herself.

Yours sincerely,

M. ADA ROSENGREEN
LIDINGO, SWEDEN

From a photostat: S.N. 14346

271. LETTER TO H. N. MORRIS

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 13, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter and a copy of Helen Keller's book, *My Religion*.

I am not unfamiliar with Helen Keller's name and work. But I am sorry to have to inform you that I get not one moment to read much that I should like to read. The book you have sent me therefore still remains unread. But of course it will be read with interest by the inmates of the Ashram.

As you must have seen in the papers, I have to abandon the idea of visiting Europe this year. It is just probable that I may pay that visit next year.

Yours sincerely,

H. N. MORRIS, ESQ.
140 WITHINGTON ROAD, WHALLEY RANGE, MANCHESTER

From a photostat: S.N. 14347

272. LETTER TO SAMUEL M. HASSAN

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 13, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I consider myself unfit to guide you in choosing your course in medicine.

Your name has been duly sent to the Manager, *Young India* Office.

With reference to the Hindu-Muslim unity, etc., I agree with you that there should be a perfect union between the different communities and a great effort is being put forth in order to bring about that unity.

Regarding *Mother India* I refer you to my article¹ in *Young India* dated 15th September, 1927.

When you return to India you will be welcome to the Ashram.

Yours sincerely,

SAMUEL M. HASSAN, ESQ.

GENERAL CHEMISTRY SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY, SYRACUSE, U.S.A.

From a photostat: S.N. 14348

273. LETTER TO W. COLDSTREAM

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 13, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your cordial invitation. If I succeed in my desire to visit Europe next year, I have no doubt that we shall meet somewhere and I shall be glad of the meeting. But whether I shall be able to accept your hospitality or not is more than I can say at the present moment. The possibility is that I shall not be master of my engagement.

Yours sincerely,

W. COLDSTREAM, ESQ.

69 WEST CROMWELL ROAD, LONDON, S.W. 5

From a photostat: S.N. 14350

¹ Entitled "Drain Inspector's Report" dated September 15, 1927.

274. LETTER TO MRS. CAMEBUS

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 13, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. Mrs. Anasuyabai has told me all about you. It is not possible to encourage you to come here. And in any case I would like you not to come except for a trial and unless you have sufficient means to take you back provided the climate does not agree with you. I feel, however, that it is better for you to remain where you are and do such service as may fall to your lot.

Yours sincerely,

MRS. CAMEBUS¹

34 DE CRESPIGNY PARK, LONDON, S.E. 5

From a photostat: S.N. 14351

275. LETTER TO ABID ALI JAFFERBHAI

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 13, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

Here is the message for your Annual:

Those who live in places outside India such as Singapore should bear in mind that they are the trustees for the honour of the nation to which they belong and therefore their conduct should be above board and absolutely honest with strangers in whose midst they are living. They should also retain the bond with the poorest in the motherland by the use of khadi.

Yours sincerely,

ABID ALI JAFFERBHAI

YOSUF BUILDING-C, MOUNT ROAD, MAZGAON, BOMBAY 10

From a photostat: S.N. 14568

¹ Teacher and social worker

276. LETTER TO SHANKERLAL BANKER

Unrevised

July 13, 1928

CHI. SHANKERLAL,

Enclosed is a letter from Jamnalalji. Come on receipt of it so that we can talk it over.

Subhas Bose has written a letter of complaint from Calcutta. I have not been able to find time so far to reply to it.¹ You should not worry about anything. We must do what we can. I wish you would not burden yourself with too much work. Come to me any time you wish. I can spare a little time for you. How nice it would be if you could come daily and have one meal or both meals here? Even that one meal fills me with peace. For it is not merely a meal but the leavings of a *yajna* —it is my keen desire and attempt to make it so.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : S.N. 32728

277. LETTER TO U. K. OZA

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

July 14, 1928

MY DEAR OZA²,

I have your letter³. You have put upon me a burden which I am ill able to bear. The proposal you make seems to me to be attractive,

¹ For Gandhiji's reply to Subhas Chandra Bose, *vide* "Letter to Subhas Chandra Bose", July 18, 1928.

² Editor, *Democrat*, Nairobi; General Secretary, East African Indian National Congress.

³ Dated June 27, 1928, suggesting terms of settlement between Indians and Europeans of East Africa on the question of common electoral roll. Oza had added: "The European community agree to a common electoral roll for both the communities. The voters' qualification should be based on a residential, age and educational or property qualification. The educational test should be reading and writing of English. The Indian view has been expressed to the effect that the property should be definitely possession of real estate valued at £1,000. I differ and think it should be lower. . . . The above proposals were first to be put before the Congress and if they were approved of, prominent Indians and Europeans were to affix their signatures to them and issue them as a joint manifesto outlining a fair basis of settlement of the Indian question in Kenya" (S.N. 12855).

but I am unable to guide you offhand. I can only say therefore that the local men are the best persons to decide. The caution that I would like to utter is that whilst the local men are the best persons to decide, they are expected in anything they may do, not to compromise the dignity or the honour of the nation as a whole.

With reference to the last paragraph¹ of your letter experience has hardened my faith in ahimsa. From all that is happening around me, I do not learn the lesson of himsa but of *himsa*. I may be totally wrong, but I have no knowledge or feeling of wrong about me.

I have sent you a cable saying “wait”.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 12855-A

278. LETTER TO S. G. VAZE

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 14, 1928

MY DEAR VAZE,

Here is a copy of a letter from Oza. With my reply. I do not feel safe about guiding and I have told him as much. But you have studied the situation locally. Can you guide him?

I am writing to Benarsidas² also. I have cabled Oza asking him to await reply.

I was greatly pleased with your Bardoli report³.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. S. G. VAZE

SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY, POONA

From a microfilm: S.N. 12861

¹ Which read: “I believe you will soon have to lead a strong youth movement and personally I think that you will have to lay aside non-violence also. Do you not see the gathering clouds all around?”

² Banarsidas Chaturvedi

³ The report was prepared by Hridayanath Kunzru, Vaze, Editor of *The Servant of India*, and Amritlal Thakkar, all members of the Servants of India Society. For a summary of the report by Mahadev Desai, *vide* Appendix “Bardoli Report”, before July 14, 1928.

279. LETTER TO BANARSIDAS CHATURVEDI

[July 14, 1928]¹

BHAI BANARSIDAS,

Here is a letter from Oza. I am in no way qualified to advise him. You can write something on this subject to him.

Vandemataram from

MOHANDAS

[From Hindi]

Banarsidas Chaturvedi's correspondence with A.I.C.C. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum

280. LETTER TO PRABHASHANKER PATTANI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

July 14, 1928

SUJNA BHAISHRI,

I got your letter. Were it not that Mahadev is ill and confined to bed, I would probably have sent him to the station for his own satisfaction. But now I am sending none. However, Chi. Kusum has to go to the station to meet her friends and so I take the opportunity to tell you through this note that all of us are looking forward to your arrival.

Vandemataram from

MOHANDAS

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 3223. Courtesy: Mahesh Pattani

¹ *Vide* the preceding item.

281. MY NOTES

THE SCORPION OF PASSION

A student from Calcutta writes to say¹:

It has been my experience as well as that of my associates that if a husband and wife voluntarily observe *brahmacharya*, they can experience maximum happiness and see it increase every day. There is no difficulty in demonstrating the glories of *brahmacharya* to an uneducated wife or, we may say, that *brahmacharya* knows no distinction between the educated and the uneducated. It is simply a matter of having moral strength. I know some uneducated women who observe *brahmacharya* although they are married. A husband who observes *brahmacharya* is better able to protect the virtue of his wife even in a corrupt social environment. Absence of *brahmacharya* does not prevent a wife from deviating from the path of virtue, but instances can be cited where it has provided a cover to a wife's depravity.

The power of *brahmacharya* is immeasurable. It is my experience in many cases that he who observes *brahmacharya* is himself not free from lust and is hence unable to impress his wife with his endeavours. Lust is a clever fellow; hence he does not take long to discover his friends. A wife who is not free from lust and is not yet ready to shed it, perceives at once the passion hidden in her husband's heart and secretly laughs at his feeble and fruitless endeavours while she herself remains fearless. None should doubt that the *brahmacharya* which is constant and full of pure love burns up the lust of the other person and reduces it to ashes. Among the many beautiful images which I saw at Belur, there was one where the craftsman had given passion the form of a scorpion. This latter had stung a woman. Its intensity had made her naked and thereafter lifting its tail and lying at the woman's feet in the pride of its victory, it smiled at her. There is the pleasant coolness of *brahmacharya* in the eyes, in the touch, in the speech of a husband who has conquered this scorpion. Within an instant, he cools off and pacifies the lust around him.

¹ The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had asked Gandhiji how one could observe *brahmacharya* with regard to one's wife.

MARRIAGE OF OLD AND YOUNG OR DEBAUCHERY?

I take the following extract from a sister's letter¹:

There is justification in this sister's argument. But the remedy is the same that I have already pointed out.² Society may well boycott the man who practises debauchery. But if we accept the plea that as long as society does not boycott an adulterous man we should not boycott an old man who marries a child-bride, it will take a long time to prevent such ill-matched unions. There is no doubt that debauchery is to be condemned. Both parties are willing partners in debauchery and when one of them wishes to get out of this sin he or she can do so. In the case of a union of an old man and a child-bride, there is room neither for reform nor for atonement because dharma itself comes in the way of stopping that *adharma*. Dharma proves as a sort of shield to this so-called conjugal relationship. Moreover, when *adharma* assumes the guise of dharma, it is not less blameworthy but more so because hypocrisy is added to it.

It is a matter of regret that society is as unconcerned about unions of old men and child-brides as it is about adultery. Hence, without confusing the two issues, the said sister, other sisters and young men should take the question of such unions in hand and build up public opinion against them. Those who wish to bring about this necessary reform should of course be pure themselves. It is the verdict of law that "those who wish to seek justice must purify themselves and then enter the temple of justice." Experience fully supports this rule.

TO HIM WHO IS GOOD, THE WORLD IS GOOD

When I felt sad on hearing people being found fault with, a friend startled me by repeating the following³. As I liked the verses immensely, I share them with the reader in order to make him a partner in my enjoyment:

When we knew not our own state
We kept looking at others' failings,

¹ Not translated here. The correspondent, referring to Gandhiji's advice that society should boycott old men who married child-brides, had asked how that could be done when many people considered such unions as permitted and proper. She added that there were men who though married kept mistresses and society did not boycott such men.

² Vide "My Notes", 8-7-1928, sub-title, "Marriage of Old with Young".

³ Urdu verses

But when we saw our own defects
There was none bad in our eyes.
Says Zafar that he is no man who
However brilliant and self-controlled
Does not remember God in his hour of happiness
But forgets Him in his anger.

I hope that “poets” will not rain poems on me because I have made bold to quote this verse. I know that we cannot bring about inner purity by means of beautiful poetry; hence poems rarely find a place in *Navajivan*. But there is a story behind the use of the above poem and hence it has been presented to the reader in the hope that at any rate after having seen their own failings, people will stop finding fault with others.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 15-7-1928

282. *QUESTIONS OF A GRADUATE*

“SILK AND TIGER-SKIN”

A graduate of the Vidyapith writes to say:¹

I have no doubt that from the point of view of ahimsa silk and tiger-skin should be given up. Similarly, things like pearls too should also be given up. It seems that people in the age in which the custom of wearing silk and tiger-skin was prevalent, did believe in the dharma of ahimsa, but still continued to use these things. This is because at that time they realized the usefulness and necessity of silk and tiger-skin and hence despite their faith in ahimsa, they used both these. Despite their belief in the principle of ahimsa our predecessors made sacrificial offerings of animals, and we find some people doing so even now. Those who sacrifice animals state on the authority of the Shastras that violence done for the sake of *yajna* cannot be termed

¹ The letter is not translated here. The correspondent wondered how silk and tiger-skin could be considered sacred by people who professed nonviolence.

violence. Similarly, those of us who eat a strictly vegetarian diet, destroy vegetables which have life in them, and believe that this does not affect our ahimsa.

The moral we derive from all this is that human beings cannot altogether abstain from *himsa*. Even those living only on air and water are guilty of *himsa* to some extent. Therefore, we can make a rule that the use of anything which involves *himsa* should as far as possible be abandoned. And while practising such renunciation, we should not criticize but extend charity to those who do not do so.

Although, as mentioned above, we needs must be simple in our habits of eating and dressing, and although our dharma is to save the lives of lower beings, yet we should realize that the ahimsa practised in such self-control is not everything but only a small part of dharma. We find every day that a person who meticulously practises this type of ahimsa can also be guilty of great *himsa*, and may have no sense of ahimsa at all. From the fact that, following inherited traditions, we use certain things for eating and dressing we cannot claim that we practise ahimsa towards these objects. Let the material results be the outcome of ahimsa which is practised through tradition or necessity; in itself, however, ahimsa is a noble sentiment and can only be attributed to the person whose mind is non-violent and is overflowing with compassion and love towards all beings. A person who does not take non-vegetarian food even today because he has never done so, but loses his temper every moment and robs others regardless of morality or immorality? And is unconcerned about the happiness or unhappiness of those whom he robs, such a person can in no case be regarded as non-violent but may be said to be guilty of great *himsa*. Diametrically opposed to him is the person who eats meat in accordance with inherited traditions, but is overflowing with love, free from anger and hatred and treats everyone as equal; he is truly non-violent and deserves to be revered. While considering ahimsa we always think of it in terms of eating and drinking; that is not ahimsa, that is a state of unconsciousness. That which gives *moksha*, that which is the supreme dharma, in whose presence ferocious beasts shed their violence, an enemy sheds his hatred, a hard heart is softened, this ahimsa is a supernatural power and it is only attained by a few after great effort and penance.

The second question of the graduate is as follows:¹

The distinction between capital and labour is not a recent one. It has been in existence since ancient times. In this age it has reached an acute stage because there is a great awakening in the labour class. Again there has been an increase in the number of capitalists in this age, and capitalism has assumed a fierce form. In olden days the king was the principal capitalist, besides a few who came into contact with him. But in our times there has been a sudden increase in the number of capitalists. How can it be said that the world is progressing in such circumstances? But the way to mend the situation is not through hatred of the capitalists, that is by using force against them. I believe that capital and labour will always remain in greater or smaller proportions. I believe too that we can, by conscious effort, reduce a good deal the differences between the two. The words of a Chinese king quoted by the graduate are as good as gold. In this world, someone has to carry the burden of whoever sits idle. Therefore, it is a sin to sit idle even for a moment; if we understand this, we will be able to resolve many of our problems and, just as it is wrong for anyone to sit idle, so it is for anyone to take or hoard more than one needs. If people starve, this is the reason.

PURPOSE OF KHADI

The third question of the graduate is as follows:²

That is surely one of the purposes of khadi; but there are many others also, i.e., To provide the agricultural class with some occupation which can be widely practised at home during spare time; to boycott foreign cloth; to ensure that there is an increase in the spirit of co-operation amongst the people; to provide thousands of middle-class people with an honest livelihood and, if crores of people understand the message of khadi, they would realize that the strength to achieve independence is readily available in it.

With the success of khadi the supremacy of the mill will surely end.

¹ Whether in view of capitalists continuing to enjoy comforts at the expense of labour, the world can be said to be progressing.

² Whether there is any purpose underlying the khadi movement other than the proper distribution of wealth and whether as a result of this movement the machine age will eventually come to an end.

A FEW WORDS TO THE GRADUATE

The graduate has asked several other questions, but I feel there is no need to answer them. Those questions are regarding past life, rebirth and destiny. These questions have been raised since times immemorial. I would advise the graduate to have patience in order to find solutions to such problems. Whatever answers I give, ten other questions could be asked in reply to them and thus the battle of wits will continue for ever. The royal road is for us to keep ourselves engaged in doing the duty that lies before us, and to be patient and hopeful that God will solve spiritual problems. We have a clear understanding of sin and righteousness; the dharma, that we should do good deeds and avoid sinful ones, has been handed down to us through the ages. We should remain satisfied with this. The battle between fate and strenuous human effort is always on. While doing a good deed we should rely on the latter. The Gita has suggested this easy road. One should do one's duty without expectation of reward.

Lastly, I would suggest to the graduate to improve his handwriting. Good handwriting is a beautiful art. It is the outward mark of good breeding. I found some difficulty in reading his letter. I could not myself learn to write a neat hand. No one pointed it out to me during my student-days, nor was I taught to do so, and, afterwards I did not find the time to improve it. But, because I give trouble to many who have to read my handwriting, I have, out of self-pity, taken the trouble to read the graduate's letter. Graduates and all students should take a lesson from my mistake and learn to write a hand as beautiful as pearls, at least for the sake of their friends.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 15-7-1928

283. AN ARMY AGAINST AN ANT

While on the one hand the Bardoli enquiry¹ conducted by Pandit Hridayanath Kunzru, Shri Vaze and Shri Amritlal Thakkar has ended the doubts of the few Indian leaders who still had doubts and has enlisted public opinion without exception in favour of the satyagrahis, there is on the other hand a rumour circulating that the Government is mobilizing a large army to attack the ant. Some persons claim that the Imperial Government, sitting on the Simla heights, is charging the Bombay Government with incompetence for allowing leadership to pass into the hands of Sardar Vallabhbhai, and is now issuing orders from Simla as if the Bombay Government had not itself fully exploited the four weapons of *sama*, *dama*, etc. It is also rumoured that the present discontinuance of the work of the police and attachment officers portends the ominous lull before the storm. These are the faint and distant echoes of the Government's preparations of a new and more aggressive strategy.

But the Bardoli satyagrahis should remain utterly unaffected by such rumours. If they are false, the Government will be less to blame and the satyagrahis be tried less. If they are true, the cup of the Government's sills will be filled to the brim, and the satyagrahis will get the desired opportunity to prove their worth.

Someone has said, "One who is forewarned is ever at ease." On the basis of this, satyagrahis should be fully prepared. If the rumour is true and the Government takes an unexpected step by launching a sudden attack and creating confusion amongst the satyagrahis, it could break up their ranks, and whatever has been gained so far would be instantaneously lost.

Where the commander is awake all the twenty-four hours, what need is there to give a warning? What need is there to wake up those who are already awake? Eternal vigilance is one of the inevitable conditions of satyagraha. Moreover, satyagrahis do not have to concern themselves with the problem of different kinds of strategies. The satyagrahi's strategy remains the same for all ages, all places and all circumstances. After all, can even the rich have more than two eyes however much they want to? A satyagrahi learns his first and last lesson with his oath; therefore, the work of the commander and his

¹ Vide Appendix "Bardoli Report", before July 14, 1928.

army becomes simple, straightforward and easy. Satyagraha is a wonderful remedy needing no modification. One 'No' from the satyagrahi is capable of eradicating the thirty-six diseases. Let the Government confiscate our property, attach all our land, imprison us, exile us, put us to the sword or blow us with cannonballs. One who cannot pass any of these tests cannot be considered a true satyagrahi. A satyagrahi's vow can never be observed in parts because truth is not composed of parts. Truth is only one, whole and indivisible and stays as such for all time, past, present and future. Truth can be compared to an arch. If even one brick of the arch comes off, the whole arch crumbles. Because a counterfeit coin is accepted at ninety-nine shops, it does not acquire the worth to be accepted in the hundredth shop. It was a false coin from the very moment of its making—only its real test was delayed.

Similarly if a satyagrahi is unable to pass the final test, he was never a satyagrahi. He might be anything else. The nation might have gained by whatever sufferings he has undergone; he too might have gained from the self-denial; however, he cannot be ranked among satyagrahis, he cannot receive the certificate of being a satyagrahi. In words similar to Solon's, it can be said of a satyagrahi: "Do not regard anyone as a satyagrahi before his death."

The satyagrahis of Bardoli should remember this statement and carry it into their hearts.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 15-7-1928

284. THE ALPS OR THE HIMALAYAS?

The swadeshi sentiment does not end merely with khadi. One, moved by this, will get one's wants supplied from near at hand, that is, from one's own native land. Such a one is content with this and, dissatisfied with his hut will not envy another's palace, nor strive in vain to acquire one.

This thought struck me when I read a beautiful description¹ of a scene near Almora in the Himalayas, which a friend has sent me:

The Alps is a mere kid compared to the Himalayas. The people of Europe have a right to be crazy over the Alps. They derive joy in

¹ This is not translated here.

its valleys and gain health. They do not have to come to the Himalayas and, if they do, they do so only after paying their debt to the Alps. We who are educated, do not know the Himalayas, do not know and do not care to know the miraculous health-giving properties of the plants which grow on them. We take no note of the fact proved by Ayurveda that the very air of the Himalayas is medicinal. We take no pride in the beauty of the Himalayas.

How splendid it would be if young men were made to travel on foot in the Himalayas! How much would that add to their health, their span of life, their knowledge, their national pride and their skills! Even students with average means could undertake such a trek.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 15-7-1928

285. *EQUANIMITY IN HONOUR AND DISHONOUR*

The Secretary of the Nadiad Taluk Congress Committee has asked me to write a note on the addresses presented to Shri Lakshmidas Purushottam Asar and Imam Saheb Abdul Kadar Bawazeer by the residents of that taluk on June 24. Normally, such events are not mentioned in *Navajivan*. Workers have to face both honour and dishonour. When no note is taken of dishonour, how can honour be recorded? Moreover, both of them are inmates of the Ashram. How can notice be taken of the addresses presented to them? If they need the encouragement of an address or notice of it, they cannot continue as inmates of the Ashram. But an important point behind this welcome address certainly merits notice. Neither of these workers knows English and neither has learnt Gujarati at school. Both of them have studied in the school of experience and yet Shri Vallabhbhai would never have been able to complete successfully the important relief work without these and many other workers who like them were unlettered in English. Shri Lakshmidas has by his capacity for work charmed Sir Purushottamdas. In every aspect of the relief work the latter could notice Shri Lakshmidas's "scrupulousness in accounts, his impartiality, his great ability and his administrative capacity". Our experience of this relief work as well as that which we are gaining in Bardoli shows us clearly that for running the administration under swaraj, we shall not need many learned men with a knowledge of English or capable of delivering speeches but we shall

need workers who love the people and know their language, who understand their needs, who are truthful, dutiful, industrious, poor, fearless and indifferent to honours.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 15-7-1928

286. LETTER TO MOTILAL NEHRU

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

July 15, 1928

DEAR MOTILALJI,

I have your letter¹. Fortunately Vallabhbhai came here for the District Conference. I had a full chat with him. He thinks that it is not possible for him to wear the crown at least for this year, as even if the Bardoli struggle is finished there will be an immense amount of consolidation work to be done which will require his undivided attention. I think he is right. He is therefore out of the question. The more I have thought about yourself, I feel the more that you should be reserved for a more propitious occasion and I thoroughly agree that we should give place to younger men. And amongst them, there is no one even to equal Jawahar. I have therefore telegraphed to you saying that I am recommending his name for adoption by provincial committees, unless I receive a wire from you to the contrary in reply to my wire.

I have your circular letter today to the members of the Committee. Indeed I should go further and under the constitution reserve for the future parliament the right to revise on the score of justice and equality the obligations that we might be called upon to shoulder. Whether we have the strength today to carry out even the milder suggestion made by you is another question. But as you say, we must at least speak out our mind.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 13636

¹ Dated July 11, suggesting Vallabhbhai Patel or, alternatively, Jawaharlal Nehru for the Congress Presidentship (S.N. 13633)

287. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 15, 1928

CHI. VASUMATI,

I got your letters. You must bear as inevitable what you cannot remedy there. Think which verses in the *Gita* teach us to do this, and tell me if you spot them. Whenever you are in difficulty, look into the *Gita*. If you go on doing this, you will find the work a veritable Kamadhenu. I may die any day. The *Gita* will be with you till the hour of death, and is your provision even for the journey beyond. Have patience and love for every teacher and pupil who does not behave properly towards you, and you will win them over. Be content with whatever you can teach in the time which Vidyavatiji spares for you. Why cannot you use the *takli* instead of the spinning-wheel? For persons like us the spinning-wheel is a means not of livelihood but of *yajna*. Explain this to Vidyavatidevi. As you should not reply back, or even feel angry, when anyone criticizes you, irrespective of whether the criticism is right or wrong, so you should not when you hear any criticism of me.

It is raining much here. One may actually say that the rains obey our wishes. It will take some time before Mahadev is all right and on his feet, but he is improving every day.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 484. Courtesy: Vasumati Pandit

288. LETTER TO MANILAL AND SUSHILA GANDHI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 15, 1928

CHI. MANILAL AND SUSHILA,

I got the letters from both of you. I get no time these days and so dictate most of the letters between three and four in the morning. This I find convenient. I have to give much of my time to the problems of the common kitchen. I do that because the experiment seems to me an extremely important one and it is essential that I pay attention to it. At present about a hundred persons take their meals in

it. Despite this large number, there is no noise at meal-time and complete peace is preserved. One cannot be sure, though, how long this will last. We have shifted the kitchen and merged it with the one in the Hostel, and the room formerly used for the purpose is now occupied by women. If you were here at present, you would thus see the Ashram changed in many ways. Chi. Chhaganlal has handed over about Rs. 10,000 which he had accumulated and now observes the vow of non-possession quite strictly. He had the fullest co-operation of Chi. Kashi in this act of self-sacrifice. That family has now joined the common kitchen. Mahadev had Rs. 4,000 with him, and he has handed over that amount. The separate kitchens which still remain will have closed down by the next *Kartik Sud* 1. There are only a few of them.

Harilal came and stayed here for one day. Ramdas and Rasik are still at Bardoli. The *Gita* recitation is kept up every day. The eighteen chapters are finished in fourteen days.

I was prompted by love in writing what I did about the Rustomji case in the “Autobiography”.¹ I have omitted other names but given this one; my aim in giving certain names is that they should be remembered as long as the “Autobiography” is recognized as an important work. I follow what you say about Miss Schlesin². But, then, isn’t she half crazy? She has written a sort of wild letter even to me. Ask me again if you do not follow my point.

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

I have not revised this.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4741

¹ Pt. IV, Ch. XLVII, published in *Young India*, 12-4-1928

² Sonja Schlesin; *vide An Autobiography*, Pt. IV, Ch. XII; also “A Correction”, June 28, 1928.

289. *LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA*

July 16, 1928

BHAI GHANSHYAMDASJI,

I have your loving letter. The fact is that its language will further prevent me from stretching out the begging bowl. But has a beggar prudence? Therefore whenever I am helpless I shall be at your doorstep.

It now appears that some settlement will come about in Bardoli.

Yours,

MOHANDAS

From Hindi: C.W. 6161. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

290. *LETTER TO HEMPRABHA DAS GUPTA*

July 17, 1928

DEAR SISTER,

Your letter to hand. If you are really calm that will give the girl her peace.

Nikhil's problem is a deep-seated one. If you have given up your attachment for his body, please do not at any cost deceive Nikhil. If he does not wish to take a medicine prepared from meat, he should not be compelled to do so. And he should not be restrained if on doctor's advice he wants to take it. It should be left entirely to Nikhil. If however you have any doubts on this matter, then it becomes your duty to persuade Nikhil to take the medicine. It is mentioned in the books which are described as Shastras that there is no harm in taking wine or meat in the name of medicine. Among vegetarians too there are many who see nothing wrong in taking meat, etc., In the name of medicine. Do not act impulsively.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 1658

291. LETTER TO VIJAYA

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
*July 17 [1928]*¹

CHI. VIJAYA,

I was very glad to read your letter. It will be God's grace if Prabhudas recovers. Do keep writing to me. Because of the plague at Panchgani, Mathuradas is also thinking of coming there.

Blessings from

BAPU

CHI. VIJAYABEHN
LILAVATI SANATORIUM
BLOCK NO. 2
DEVLALI

From a copy of the Gujarati: Chhaganlal Gandhi Papers. Courtesy Sabarmati Sangrahalaya

292. LETTER TO C. S. VISHWANATHA IYER

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 18, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. There was a letter before also. Unfortunately I have not been able yet to go through the manuscript² that is always lying in front of me. But I am so overwhelmed with work and new responsibilities that it is not possible to tell you when I shall be able to go through your manuscript. All I can tell you is that I am desirous of going through it.

¹ The year has been inferred from the reference to the outbreak of plague at Panchgani; *vide* "Letter to Mathuradas Triumji", September 2, 1928. The source, however, has "1925", obviously a slip.

² Of the *Gita* translations

I am under the impression that you had a copy of the manuscript that you gave me. If you are in a hurry to have your manuscript returned, please do not hesitate to tell me, but if not, I would love to keep it till I have found time to read it.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. C. S. VISHWANATHA IYER, *VAKIL*
90 EXTENSION, COIMBATORE

From a microfilm; S.N. 13478

293. LETTER TO K. VENKATAPPAYYA

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 18, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I had your long letter regarding C. V. Rangam Chetty. Of course I did not want you to give me such an elaborate thing. So far as I am myself concerned, I never doubted the propriety of your action, according to your own best judgement.

Personally I do not think we should insist upon exclusion of khadi manufactured in other provinces. I discussed the thing with Shankerlal¹ today and he promised to write to you more fully.²

Yours sincerely,

SJT. KONDA VENKATAPPAYYAGARU
GUNTUR

From a microfilm: S.N. 13642

294. LETTER TO SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 18, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter and I have a letter from Satis Babu too giving me chapter and verse in answer to your letter of which you had very

¹ Shankerlal Banker

² A copy of this with Venkatappayya's letter was forwarded to Secretary, A.I.S.A., for necessary action.

correctly sent him a copy. Whilst I do not know much about the manner in which Satis Babu is carrying on propaganda to educate public opinion in favour of his view, I must confess as I have said in my letter to Sjt. Sen Gupta that I share the view Satis Babu takes of the Exhibition. In my opinion, we must not take in everything, even in the shape of machinery unless we are absolutely certain that it is beneficial and requires encouragement without which it would not be taken up by the public. I do not believe in distracting public attention by introducing in the Exhibition, even things that may be beneficial but that may not require Congress patronage for use by the public. Thus, for instance, I would not have in the Exhibition watches which we do not manufacture but we do need but which the various manufacturers have ample means of advertising. But in this matter we may differ in our opinion and if such is the case, there is no reason why each opinion should not be put before the public without leading to bitterness or acrimony. If there is anything definite against Satis Babu showing that he has been unscrupulous in his propaganda, I would gladly write to him about it.

I hope that there is no trace whatsoever of the illness you have contracted whilst you were under detention in Burma. I have received your telegram¹ about Pandit Motilalji. Motilalji himself is disinclined to accept the honour. I share his view and subject to Sjt. Sen Gupta's consent I had prepared an article for publication in the forthcoming issue of *Young India*. But on hearing from him in answer to my wire I cancelled the article and I shall say nothing about the election in the pages of *Young India* or elsewhere unless Bengal friends would let me.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE
CALCUTTA

From a photostat: S.N. 13641

¹ Dated July 17, which read: "Bengal unanimous in favour of Motilalji's Presidentship. Kindly recommend him otherwise pray remain neutral" (S.N. 13640).

295. LETTER TO SHAUKAT ALI

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

July 18, 1928

MY DEAR BROTHER,

I had just received your letter. Your matter-of-fact description of your sister and her death tells more than an adjectival description could have of the grief you have felt over the loss of one who was not merely a sister to you but a friend in need. But I know I do not need to commend to you God's care and mercy. You have enough and independent faith in you and therefore do not stand in need of prompting from without. Whilst I share to the full your condemnation of the English officials, I cannot like you exonerate the Nawab for his heartlessness even in the face of death.¹

I hope you will win your High Court case.

I understand and appreciate what you say about the Jamia.² But I fear that unless you give Dr. Zakir Husain a free hand, the Jamia will collapse. There are risks to be run either way. If you keep the unmanageable large committee of control, Dr. Zakir Husain and his associates must starve. If you give the control to a small body who can be easily approached and brought together by Dr. Zakir Husain and have not an equivocal constitution like the present one but an unequivocal emphatically non-co-operation constitution, there is just a chance of tiding over the difficulty. You will now decide between the two courses, or you may think of a third. The Ajmal Fund which after all is small enough cannot be parted with unless the Jamia is put upon a firm and on an acceptable footing. Dr. Ansari was coming here for this purpose and if he could have come, it might have been better for us three to meet. As it is I would not worry you to come to Ahmedabad just to discuss this point without Dr. Ansari. You have

¹ In his letter dated July 16, Shaukat Ali had written that the Nawab of Rampur had sent him a "nasty telegram" in reply to his request for permission to visit his sister's grave.

² Shaukat Ali had written: "I flank all moneys as are being collected for the 'Ajmal Memorial' should be given for the payment of the debts of the Jamia, and keep it going up to the time as we were able to get big sums or endowment. What is the use of sitting over the moneys while the Jamia was getting ruined? *I want the Jamia to live*, as without it we will have no place to educate our children. . . ."

stated your view with absolute clearness, and I do not expect to be able to influence your decision, and I know that whatever you do in Delhi would be done according to the best of your judgment and belief.

Your remarks about Motilalji make painful reading.¹ I am unable to pass any judgement, but I do feel that he is incapable of wilfully coming to a perverse decision. Do you expect me or want me to do anything in this matter? If you do, do not hesitate to tell me what and if I can see eye to eye with you and have the ability to do it, you may depend upon my doing it.

Yours sincerely,

MAULANA SHAUKAT ALI

SULTAN MANSION, DONGRI, BOMBAY

From a photostat: S.N. 13465

296. LETTER TO V. J. PATEL

July 18, 1928

BHAISHRI VITHALBHAI,

I got your letter. We shall have known the outcome², whatever it is, before you get this letter. I had a full discussion about the matter with Vallabhbbhai on Sunday.

Let the outcome be what it is, you should certainly pay a visit to Rangoon. That is the spirit in which we should carry on our work.

That your relation with Motilalji have been kept up is of good augury.

Please write to me from time to time even during the journey. I have written to Maganlal Pranjivandas at Rangoon. I suppose you will be staying with him.

Vandemataram from

MOHANDAS

¹ Shaukat Ali had written: "Apparently there is no change in the attitude of Panditji and he wants the Madras Resolution to go and the Mussalmans to give up the Reservation of Seats and the Separation of Sind also....I am afraid, if Panditji insists on adopting the Mahasabha formulas, then the position of Moslem Congressmen would be most unpleasant. . . ."

² Of Bardoli Satyagraha

[PS.]

Let the monthly contributions you send go on accumulating. When you have any suggestion to make, do so.

I do not wish to spend the sum without your consent. Interest on it is of course being credited regularly.

MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 14452

297. LETTER TO HARIBHAU UPADHYAYA

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 18, 1928

BHAI HARIBHAU,

Read the accompanying letter. Inquire into the matter, and reply to Kamalakar direct.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 6061. Courtesy: Haribhau Upadhyaya

298. LETTER TO JETHALAL G. SAMPAT

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 18, 1928

BHAISHREE JETHALAL,

I got your postcard. Largely it is only the English-educated people who are politically conscious. If they believe in khadi, a khadi atmosphere will be created in the country and no one will find any other cloth in India.

Vandemataram from

MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 9842. Courtesy: Narayan Jethalal Sampat

299. FOR SOUTH AFRICA INDIANS

A cable from the Secretary, South African Indian Congress, Johannesburg, says:

Condonation scheme accepted. Illegal entrants in the Union now in India must either return before 30th September next or send applications to reach before that date the Commissioner, Asiatic Affairs, Pretoria. After sending applications they must return to the Union before 30th March, 1929. Give wide newspaper publicity all parts India.

This ends the agitation that was going on in South Africa in respect of the condonation scheme and was making the Rt. Hon. Sastri's position difficult and causing an anxious time in South Africa as well as here. Let those Indians, who have domiciled rights in South Africa, are holders of certificates and are desirous of availing themselves of the right of return, make haste to send their applications so as to reach the Commissioner of Asiatic Affairs, Pretoria, on or before the 30th September next, unless they propose to proceed to South Africa themselves so as to reach there before that date. Each applicant should give full particulars, giving name, address, occupation, date and number of certificate and disclose all relevant facts. The application should be sent by registered post in good time. I wish that I could give more definite guidance. Not having got the application form¹ or any text of the scheme² before me, I am powerless to do so. And whilst I hope to publish further information as fast as I get, let no one delay sending his application pending the receipt of further and fuller information.

Young India, 19-7-1928

300. NON-CO-OPERATION OR CIVIL RESISTANCE

Fear has been entertained in Government circles that the movement going on in Bardoli is one of non-co-operation. It is necessary therefore to distinguish between non-co-operation and civil resistance. Both are included in the wider term 'satyagraha' which covers any and every effort based on truth and nonviolence. The term 'non-co-operation' was designed to include among other things the

¹ *Vide* Appendix "South African Condonation", August 9 and 16, 1928.

² *ibid*

items named in the programme of 1920 at the special session of the Congress at Calcutta¹ and re-affirmed the same year at Nagpur² with the object of attaining swaraj. Under it no negotiation with or petition to the Government of the day was possible except for the purpose of attaining swaraj. Whatever the Bardoli struggle may be, it clearly is not a struggle for the direct attainment of swaraj. That every such awakening, every such effort as that of Bardoli brings swaraj nearer and may bring it nearer even than any direct effort is undoubtedly true. But the struggle of Bardoli is to seek redress of a specific grievance. It ceases the moment the grievance is redressed. The method adopted in the first instance was through conventional prayer and petition. And when the conventional method failed utterly, the people of Bardoli invited Sjt. Vallabhbhai Patel to lead them in civil resistance. The civil resistance does not mean even civil disobedience of the laws and rules promulgated by constituted authority. It simply means non-payment of a portion of a tax which former the aggrieved ryots contend has been improperly and unjustly imposed on them. This is tantamount to the repudiation by a private debtor of a part of the debt claimed by his creditor as due to him. If it is the right of a private person to refuse payment of a debt he does not admit, it is equally the right of the ryot to refuse to pay an imposition which he believes to be unjust. But it is not the purpose here to prove the correctness of the action of the people of Bardoli. My purpose is to distinguish between non-co-operation with attainment of swaraj as its object and civil resistance as that of Bardoli with the redress of a specific grievance as its object. This I hope is now made clear beyond doubt. That Sjt. Vallabhbhai and the majority of the workers under his command are confirmed non-co-operators is beside the point. The majority of those whom they represent are not. National non-co-operation is suspended. The personal creed of a non-co-operator does not preclude him from representing the cause of those who are helplessly co-operators.

Young India, 19-7-1928

¹ *Vide* "The Non-Cooperation Resolution", September 5, 1920.

² *Vide* Appendix on "Congress Resolution on Non-Cooperation", December 30, 1920.

301. SPINNING IN SAWANTWADI

The following report¹ prepared by Sjt. S. P. Patwardhan² has been lying in my file for some time. It will be read with interest by the general reader and with profit by khadi workers.

Young India, 19-7-1928

302. BY-PRODUCTS OF KHADI

On the 14th instant the Gandhi Ashram conducted by Sjt. C. Rajagopalachari near Tiruchengodu in Tamil Nadu had a free dispensary opened by Dr. Ray. From the report read at the meeting it appears that round khadi as the centre, removal of untouchability and of the drink evil, rural sanitation and medical relief have sprung up. The Ashram serves 175 villages among which annually 45,000 rupees are distributed through khadi. Removal of untouchability is done through the personal service of the 'untouchables' exactly on the same terms as the rest. The Ashram now proposes as soon as funds permit to dig five wells and build cottages for them. They need Rs. 10,000, five being for five wells. The wells are a sore need as the 'untouchables' "have to go long distances and suffer many humiliations and hardships to get their daily pot of water". In 15 months the Ashram gave medical relief to 28,095 men and women. The need for expansion became so great that they had to build a proper dispensary at a cost of Rs. 5,000. It was to open this that Dr. Ray travelled all the way to the Ashram. The hospital cost Rs. 200 per month which was supported from khadi work. But now the need for donations is felt. I must give in its own language the report of sanitation work:

The people are very conservative in their habits and are impervious to new ideas. Under these conditions we thought our campaign for sanitation should begin with the children. A children's bathing scheme was started on February 18, 1928 under which all the children in the neighbourhood below twelve years were offered an oil-and-soapnut bath on Saturdays and a soap-bath on Tuesdays. The doctor and other members of the Ashram attend to this work personally, oiling and removing the vermin from the children's hair and

¹ Not reproduced here

² A devoted khadi worker who had worked in the National School of the Ashram and later went to work in Konkan

rubbing them down clean and tidy. Only the untouchables have taken advantage of the scheme. At first a very large number of these children came and it was a happy sight to see them being bathed and made clean and tidy. But many of them have later stopped away as the novelty wore off. Only about twenty children are regularly attending every week. We hope, however, that if we persist, a large number will take advantage of the scheme.

Such are the few among the many by-products of Khadi. Let scoffers take note. And let friends help the Ashram which is slowly but surely penetrating the masses through their real service by making them self-reliant and self-supporting.

Young India, 19-7-1928

303. LETTER TO T. R. PHOOKAN

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 19, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

Till you not now pay the long-overdue account due by you to the All-India Spinners' Association? It is Rs. 319-2-3.¹

Yours sincerely,

SJT. T. R. PHOOKAN
GAUHATI (ASSAM)

From a microfilm: S.N. 13644

304. LETTER TO T. PRAKASAM

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 20, 1928

MY DEAR PRAKASAM,

Your letter astounds me. Evidently your code of public business and mine are as poles asunder. I have never known the interpretation you put upon a personal guarantee given by a public man in connection with a public transaction. What I have seen in India and South Africa is quite different from what you enunciate. Public men even when they have given verbal assurances about *bona fides* of

¹ A copy of this was forwarded to Secretary, A.I.S.A., Ahmedabad, with reference to his office letter No. 3783 dated July 18.

transactions have paid from their own pockets when the transactions have turned out to be not as expected by the assurers, on the strength of whose expectations investments were made by public corporations such as the Spinners' Association. Only the other day a man paid nearly Rs. 21,000 out of his own pocket and has nearly ruined his own pecuniary prospects, because the moneys were entrusted to his care on the strength not merely of his honesty but a belief in his capacity for judgement. No extensive public business would be possible, in my opinion, upon the terms that you suggest should guide public men and their dealings.

In view of this fundamental difference, the questions of fact that you raise need not be discussed. If I could possibly bring you round to my view of public dealings and public honesty, I would gladly go into the facts you suggest, and, if any injustice has been done on that score, ample redress will be given to you. I am sorry for the shape that the correspondence between you and me has taken over the transaction.

I suppose in fairness I must tell you that Sjt. Shankerlal Banker told me only the other day that the guarantee signed by you was . . .¹

From a microfilm: S.N. 14453

¹ The source is incomplete. Replying to this in his letter dated July 25, Prakasam wrote: "I quite agree that our experiences and course of public business and public honesty are in this matter 'as poles as under'. I have known so many cases in which such clauses of personal guarantee have been inserted in the documents to serve merely as penal clauses of threat to keep parties on good behaviour, without any intention of enforcing them: . . . I am talking only as an ordinary mortal and I have no claim to place myself on a higher level with one in your position. You must excuse me for differing from you in my last letter. I said I was agreeable to an arbitration but in your closing sentence you said that you had advised Sjt. Shankerlal Banker to take such action as he might be advised by his lawyer. I know already that the Khadi Board has been preferring latterly law-courts to arbitration. I am sorry that you could not take a more dispassionate view in the matter. With kind regards. . . ."

305. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 20, 1928

BHAI GHANSHYAMDASJI,

Your two letters.

It does not matter if you have sent nothing for Bardoli. Enough contributions are pouring in. If I am hard up I shall certainly bother you. There is now little possibility of an agreement. It is all right if it comes about and none the worse if it does not. The reins of satyagraha rest in the hands of God alone. Vallabhbhai is here today.

I shall write again in *Navajivan* on the boycott.

Yours,
MOHANDAS

From Hindi: C.W. 6162. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

306. INTERVIEW TO ASSOCIATED PRESS OF INDIA ON BARDOLI

AHMEDABAD,
July 20, 1928

Interviewed by a Press representative on the Bardoli question, Mr. Gandhi said that his views were the same as those of Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel. It was, he added, a matter of deep regret to him that there was a possibility of the negotiations failing but if they did, the fault would be, so far as he could judge, entirely the Government's.

The communique that was published after the Surat Conference¹ baffled him. He

¹ Held on July 18; as representatives of the agriculturists of Bardoli, Vallabhbhai Patel, Abbas Tyabji, Sharada Mehta, Bhaktalakshmi Desai, Mithubehn Petit and Kalyanji Mehta met the Governor of Bombay, who put the following conditions for a settlement:

"Firstly either the full assessment shall be paid forthwith or the *difference* between the old and the new assessment *be paid into the treasury on behalf of the peasants.*

Secondly that the movement to withhold land revenue shall be abandoned.

If these proposals were accepted, Government would be prepared to take steps by the establishment of a special enquiry *into the alleged errors of the official calculations of facts*, either by a Revenue Officer who had nothing to do with the present case, or by a Revenue Officer with a Judicial Officer associated with him, it being the duty of the latter to decide any *disputed questions of facts or figures . . .*" (*The Story of Bardoli*, p. 159)

missed there the friendly and trustful spirit that was essential for an honourable compromise. To a lay mind like his, this insistence upon the deposit of the enhanced part of the assessment seemed inconceivable, and if he could so put it, absurd. It passed comprehension how the great Government could possibly demand such a deposit from people who were under their jurisdiction and control. On the other hand, it was not difficult to understand why the people were definitely against making any such deposit. For them, it was a point of honour. In waiving the deposit, the Government stood to lose nothing. There were several points in the communique on which it was easy to enlarge, he should seek another channel¹ for placing his views before the public.

Asked if he realized that the failure of the negotiations might lead to very serious consequences to the peasants of Bardoli, Mr. Gandhi said that nothing more serious could befall the people of Bardoli than that they should break the pledge they had taken deliberately and repeated times without number.

Asked whether he thought that all the suffering and sacrifice involved in this struggle would ultimately result in any good either to the people of Bardoli or to the country at large, he said that he certainly thought so; the greater the sacrifice, the greater the gain to the country and the people of Bardoli.

Asked if he was in entire agreement with all the methods adopted by Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel in his campaign, Mr. Gandhi said that he was in perfect agreement with all the methods pursued by Mr. Patel. He knew absolutely nothing to warrant the charge, which he could only call a libel, that Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel had in any way directly or indirectly countenanced violence.

The Bombay Chronicle, 21-7-1928

307. LETTER TO SHANKARAN

SWARAJ ASHRAM, BARDOLI,
July 21, 1928

DEAR SHANKARAN,

I have been waiting to hear from you about . . .² The need is rather urgent as we are likely to have our hands over full now that we are promised hot repression as a result of the breakdown of negotiation. We shall know the final upshot in a couple of days.

You will be amused to learn that I made my first acquaintance in

¹ *Navajivan* and *Young India*; vide "Evil Genius of the Government", 22-7-1928, and "An Appeal to Government", 23-7-1928.

² As in the source

life with pick-pockets last night. I had gone with Kalyanji and Mithubehn to Surat with some important despatches that were to be delivered to Vallabhbhai who was going to Bombay by the Kathiawar Mail.¹ As the train was to arrive at past midnight towards the small hours of the morning we all three waited in our car outside the Railway Station and as may naturally be expected, casually dozed off, though mosquitoes and bugs did not permit that blissful experience to last for more than a quarter of an hour or so at the outside. When the train arrived I jumped out of the car but when I plunged my hand into my pocket for my watch I found to my utter surprise that the spectacles case in which I used to keep the watch and the chain was not there. It appears that some consummate member of the light-fingered gentry had practised his art upon me in the brief interval that I had gone to sleep. It was a wrench to part with the memento owing to its association and especially the yeomen service that it had rendered me during the last two years.

How are you faring in your enterprise as a house agent? So far as I am aware Rattan Terrace is the only bungalow besides the Windy Hall that is worth going in for at Devlali. But maybe that some new bungalows have been erected during the last four years. In view of the uncertainty of your movement I am sending it to your Bombay address.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 13260

308. *LETTER TO G. V. SUBBA RAO*

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

July 21, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I am sorry that I shall not be able to write anything useful about the late Gopalakrishnayya. I could not write

¹ To meet his brother, Vithalbhai Patel, who was leaving for Burma

anything about him without having to criticize his conduct in several matters. I have therefore considered it wise not to say anything about the deceased.¹

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 3625

*309. LETTER TO SUPERINTENDENT, AHMEDABAD
CENTRAL PRISON*

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

July 21, 1928

SIR,

The Manager of the Satyagraha Ashram has handed me your letter of the 20th instant containing the information that three strangers with two dogs were crossing the jail fields at 7.30 p.m. On some day not mentioned in your letter under reply. Though the two paragraphs of your letter show no connection with the Ashram, the third paragraph asks the Superintendent of the Ashram to enquire into the matter and instruct the persons whoever they may be not to trespass into Government fields and you end with the threat that “otherwise it might lead to unnecessary troubles”. Will you please tell me how the Ashram is to enquire into a matter with which it has no connection and instruct persons whom it does not know about an occurrence whose date is not given? And may I know the meaning of the threat contained in your letter under reply? But I may point out to you that much to the annoyance of the inmates, some persons from the Jail did trespass into the Ashram grounds during the evening of the 19th instant, and fortunately for the Jail officials, the Ashram has by its constitution rendered itself powerless to punish such trespass. But if you have any desire to keep your own subordinates under discipline and prevent them from molesting inoffensive neighbours, you can have all the evidence you may need in order to establish the charge I am making.

¹ *Vide* also “Letter to G. V. Subba Rao”, 27-7-1928.

I may mention further for your information that I read out your letter to the inmates of the Ashram at the prayer meeting at 7 o'clock yesterday evening, and I was told that the occurrence you refer to might have happened on the previous evening and that, at the time you mention, those who are in the habit of going out for a stroll in the direction of Sabarmati Station did see some persons with two dogs walking towards Wadaj in haste. These persons have no connection whatsoever with the Ashram.

Whilst I am replying to your letter of the 20th instant, I take the opportunity of adverting to another letter of yours dated the 21st May last. I acknowledge the friendly tone of that letter, but I cannot help saying that your conviction that no violence was used by the Jail Warder in question could only rest on very slender basis. I wonder how you could arrive at a definite conviction without hearing both the parties. I was astounded on reading your letter of the 21st May to find that you seem to rely more upon the word of your warders than on that of men occupying some status in society and having no reason to bring a false charge against anybody.

You should also have known that the parties referred to in the second paragraph of that . . .¹

From a photostat: S.N. 13483

310. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 21, 1928

CHI. MATHURADAS,

I have your letter. Why do you let yourself be so affected by the injustice prevailing in the world? Does not the world itself mean selfishness? How would the world go on without selfishness? That is why the *Gita* teaches detachment. How would selfishness avail one

¹ The source is incomplete.

² An incomplete version of this letter has appeared under July 5, 1928, which appears to be an incorrect date.

suffering from tuberculosis or some such disease? But should I talk such wisdom to you? What is surprising is that you were upset by the behaviour of the owner of the bungalow¹ towards you. Write to me when things are settled. I have not detained Shankar. You have done well to resist the temptation of coming here. It will be very good if you come in winter.

Blessings from

BAPU

CHI. MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI
18 BANGANGA ROAD
WALKESHWAR, BOMBAY

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

311. CABLE TO RAJENDRA PRASAD²

[On or after *July 21, 1928*]

RAJENDRA PRASAD
CARE JAYAWATI, LONDON

APOLOGIZE MY ABSENCE.

GANDHI

From a microfilm: S.N. 14753

¹ At Devlali

² In reply to his cable dated July 21, which read: "Propose attending Vienna Conference. Cable instructions care Jayawati."

312. PROHIBITION OF SILK

Apropos what I have written¹ in *Navajivan* about silk and tiger's skin, Kakasaheb sends me the following reasons² for prohibiting silk, which are worth considering.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 22-7-1928

313. EVIL GENIUS OF GOVERNMENT

When the Governor of Bombay went to Simla, and I saw newspaper reports about this visit, I felt that the change that Shri Vallabhbhai was anxious to bring about in the Government had taken place. But, from the results of the deliberations at Surat,³ it appears that the Government's heart has not yet softened; how then can one talk about a change? That heart has become harder than a stone.

I see bad motives in every line of the Government's circulars which are published in all the newspapers. Even after five hours of deliberations, the problem defied solution. Apart from what we read in the newspapers, there is not a single new point in the Government's Press Note. Not even an effort has been made to understand what the satyagrahis of Bardoli demand.

Just as a child who, in his innocence, lets go a useful object and

¹ *Vide* "Questions of a Graduate", 15-7-1928, sub-title, "Silk and Tiger-skin". Gandhiji had expressed the view that from the point of view of ahimsa, both silk and tiger-skin had to be given up.

² Not translated here. D. B. Kalelkar had pointed out that all people in the world used skins of animals in olden times, that in the Vedic period sages used to sit upon deer-skins while performing *yajnas*, that *Kshatriyas* and dutiful kings went hunting and killed deer and tigers for protecting crops and cattle. Since skins of dead animals and of animals killed for food could not be thrown away, they were freely used. As animals were currently being killed merely for their skins these latter ought to be discarded from the point of view of ahimsa. Kalelkar had made the further point that our ancestors were not unaware of silk though he held that originally there was no silk in India. As the people did not know that it came from China and was produced from the body of insects, they must have welcomed it. Once the people liked a thing, it was difficult to discard it. However, the moment this fact became known, they gave it up.

³ *Vide*, footnote 1 to "Interview to Associated Press of India on Bardoli", 20-7-1928.

asks for a toy, the Government is giving up a useful thing like justice and is clinging to the toy of prestige. And the more the Government tries to cling to this prestige, the further it recedes. At the end of the struggle, the Government will incur disgrace rather than earn a good name.

The enquiry to which the Government has consented is different from what the satyagrahis want. They do not demand an enquiry in order to examine omissions, commissions or any factual errors. Those mistakes are apparent to anyone who sees the pages of the Enquiry Committee's reports. It is their contention that the Enquiry Committee has not carried out the enquiry according to the provisions of law. Therefore they want that the entire enquiry should be conducted afresh. So long as this is not done, people would not get justice, whatever type of enquiry is undertaken. Hence the terms of reference for the enquiry should be made clear at the very outset. The people of Bardoli or Valod do not say that there has been injustice only in two or three cases, but that the whole enquiry is full of mistakes. The case of the satyagrahis is that the Government does not have adequate basis in their rules and regulations for collecting revenue on a higher assessment. Hence, the burden of proof that there is such justification falls on the Government. This should have been clearly stated in the terms of reference of the Enquiry Committee, but this was not done.

Again another condition is absolutely necessary. The Committee should also enquire whether Government was justified in adopting a policy of oppression in the collection of revenue.

Whatever redress can be given to the people should be with regard to the hardships suffered by them as a result of this policy. They lost health; their cattle became weak, some of them died. Misfortunes such as these are inevitable in a satyagraha struggle. People should not ask for compensation in these matters. But what of those who are in jail, of those whose land has been confiscated and of those whose property has been sold away at ridiculously low prices? Hence, if a settlement is indeed to be arrived at and if the Government wishes to do justice, no sooner is the document for the settlement¹ drawn up than the following should be done:

1. Satyagrahi prisoners should be released.
2. Land attached (whether sold or not) should be returned to

¹ For the terms of Bardoli Settlement, *vide* Appendix on "Bardoli Settlement", before July 22, 1928.

the owners.

3. The market price of buffaloes, liquor, etc., Which have been auctioned or sold should be paid back.
4. If *talatis* or *patels* have been dismissed from service, they should get back their posts, or permission should be granted to those who had tendered resignations to withdraw them.
5. Other punishments inflicted on account of satyagraha alone should be revoked.

None of these is to be found in the Government's Press Note. I do not know of any other truce in which there has been such a one-sided decision as the Government has taken in this case. These are the conditions which must be laid down in regard to the enquiry before it actually begins.

However, the Government continues to demand that the excess of revenue be kept in deposit. If it wants to persist in this demand, where was the need to invite Shri Vallabhbhai to Surat? What need was there for H.E. the Governor to take the trouble to visit Surat? The Government holds that the reasons for this demand are clear enough. It appears to me that, except the Government, no one has any clear notion about these reasons. It does not seem that any impartial individual has favourably considered this demand for depositing the amount of the additional assessment. English newspapers like *The Pioneer* and *The Statesman*, which are the mouthpieces of the British, also favour the policy adopted by the satyagrahis and congratulate them on not overstepping their limits. I have found it impossible to understand why the Government is clinging to its obstinate demand for the excess revenue being kept in deposit. It should not have the misapprehension that, if the people lose the case, they would not; pay the increased revenue; because the Government always has the means for collecting it. Underlying this obstinacy is an absence of faith in Vallabhbhai and the people. How can he or anyone who loves self-respect tolerate such an insult? This obstinacy of the Government brings to the surface its meanness and wickedness.

The path of the satyagrahi is well-defined. He should always be prepared for a just settlement; if this is not achieved, he should not be disappointed, but should always be ready to fight for it. The satyagrahi is fortunate in that, in his struggle, there is absolutely no need for any ammunition or external weapon. Therefore he is ready whenever it falls to his lot to take part in a struggle.

On seeing the Government Note, Vallabhbhai felt no necessity to continue any longer negotiations for a settlement. However, although prepared for battle, the satyagrahi should, as mentioned above, not give up the hope for a settlement. Hence he would not forgo a single opportunity for it. It is the profession of a satyagrahi to melt even a stone-like heart.

The farmer of Bardoli should not look up to Surat, Bombay or Simla. He has to look up to God, to the All-knowing, and keep his pledge, and for its fulfilment be ready to embrace death or ruin himself. His pledge should be kept even at the cost of life.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 22-7-1928

314. MY NOTES

MY RELATIONS WITH BARDOLI

There is no need for me to explain to the readers of *Navajivan* my connection with the Bardoli struggle. But it has become necessary to state it clearly because a dangerous rumour has been spread lately. Let it be known to the readers that I have associated myself with the Bardoli Satyagraha from its very beginning. Its leader is Shri Vallabhbhai and he can take me to Bardoli whenever he needs me. Not that he needs my advice; but, while taking any important decisions, he consults me. He does all the work whether small or big on his own responsibility. I do not go to attend the meetings, etc., But this is an understanding reached between him and me before the struggle began. My health does not permit me to carry on all kinds of activities. That is why he has taken a vow not to take me anywhere in Ahmedabad or elsewhere in Gujarat without sufficient justification, and he has kept this vow to the letter. I have full sympathy with all the steps undertaken in the struggle. I have full sympathy with the steps that may be taken by Vallabhbhai in the dangerous situation which may possibly arise now. And if he is arrested, I am fully prepared to go to Bardoli. Neither he nor I have seen any need for me to go to Bardoli or take any active part so long as he is there. Where complete mutual trust exists, there is no room for outward show or politeness.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE SPINNING-WHEEL

Bhai Fulchand, the soul of the Wadhwan Rashtriya Educational

Society, has been in the Bardoli struggle right from the beginning. He is at present working in Vedchhi. He writes from there:¹

Those who have no faith in the spinning-wheel may question the claim that Bhai Fulchand has made for the spinning-wheel and say that the same result can be achieved by any other kind of industry. Although it is true that a good deed produces good results, nevertheless, there is always some difference between one type of industry and another. Some occupations build up a man's physique, others strengthen the mind, yet others bring peace, while some make him restless. I have already quoted the opinion of an experienced teacher of Scotland that working on the spinning wheel is such an occupation that, if a restless and unsteady person takes to it, he becomes peaceful and steady. A fiery-tempered person will be able to give up anger. Moreover, the nature of the sentiments underlying an activity determines the qualities which it generates. If the activity of the spinning-wheel is carried on by a saintly couple and if they make the spinning wheel the means for spreading the spirit of saintliness amongst the people, this quality would then be visible in this activity. The advantages of the spinning-wheel which are seen in Vedchhi may not be seen everywhere. Hence it can be said that the fearlessness and frankness which Bhai Fulchand notices around Vedchhi owe their existence not to the spinning-wheel, but to Bhai Chunilal and his wife. They have spun their good qualities around the spinning-wheel. It can certainly be claimed that they were able to spread these qualities through the spinning-wheel with much greater ease than they could have done through any other means.

The same is true of the Bhajan Mandali. Through a Bhajan Mandali, fraud can be spread, and such a Bhajan Mandali can also be an everlasting medium for the spread of purity. There is no doubt that the Mandali has played an important role in the Bardoli struggle, and the root of these two activities is in religion. If the Bardoli struggle had not been carried on through the medium of religious sentiment, the success that it has achieved today would never have been gained.

¹ The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had described the beneficial results following the introduction of the spinning-wheel in Vedchhi and propaganda done by the Bhajan Mandali for khadi, prohibition and other good causes.

Consciously or unconsciously people crave for religion. They saw religion in satyagraha and in the commander of the satyagrahis; hence, they followed him and we can see signs that they will do so to the end.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 22-7-1928

315. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

July 22, 1928

CHI. VASUMATI,

I have got out of bed just now at 1 o'clock, through mistake. You have spotted the verse¹ correctly. What is it which brings on fever? You do not get it merely because you may have gone out in the rain. The body must have been predisposed to it. One may certainly point out someone's mistake, but that should be done out of love. You must have received the umbrella. The common kitchen is flourishing.

Blessings from

BAPU

CHI. VASUMATIBEHN

KANYA GURUKULA

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 485. Courtesy: Vasumati Pandit

316. A LETTER

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

July 22, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I had full discussion with Sjt. Gulzarilal² who has just returned from Bombay after a preliminary study of the strike situation. He had a conference with the principal leaders of the Strike Committee. Unfortunately you were absent. The head men of the strikers came to Ahmedabad with a note from you addressed to the Labour Union.

¹ *Vide* "Letter to Vasumati Pandit", 15-7-1928.

² Gulzarilal Nanda

They saw me and asked me to actively assist them in making collection and even advise the Union to contribute from their Union funds. I told them I could not do so, because I did not believe in strikes being continued through doles of charity or public donations, and told them that my method was to make the strikers self-dependent by inducing them to find some work during the strike. I told them too how the first big Ahmedabad strike after my settling in Ahmedabad was organized and conducted.¹ I told them further that I had not studied the situation in Bombay and that I do not know exactly what the strikers' case was, nor did I know the leaders in the movement except you. Such being the case, I told them that I could not give active help, but that it was open to them to go amongst the mill-hands and collect what they wish to pay and I assured them that I would not directly or indirectly influence the mill-hands against payment.

But it was thought that the position should not be left at that and that as a direct appeal was made to the Union here, it was necessary to make a study of the question. Hence the visit of Sjt. Gulzarilal to Bombay. My discussion with him has not satisfied me that the Labour Union could go further than it has done. I now want your guidance, knowing my views now as you do, what . . .²

From a microfilm: S.N. 13237

317. AN APPEAL TO GOVERNMENT³

By the time this appears in print probably the Bombay Government would have made its final decision on the Bardoli question. I am framing this appeal on Monday afternoon when probably the Governor is making his statement before the Council. I know too that the appeal will fall on deaf ears. But as a satyagrahi, it is not for me to yield to my fear but to do what is right in disregard of consequence. As one intimately connected with the movement, it is perhaps my duty to appeal to the Government to desist from a course which has been universally condemned and which, so far as I am able

¹ The reference is to the Ahmedabad mill-hands' strike in 1918

² The source is incomplete.

³ Written on "Monday", July 23, 1928; *vide* also "Letter to Vallabhbhai Patel", 24-7-1928.

to judge impartially, cannot be defended on any ground whatsoever.

The offer made at Surat is less than what according to reliable rumour had been offered privately. The conditions named by Sjt. Vallabhbhai Patel have been the conditions always contemplated by him and in various ways conveyed to the Government. He has asked for nothing that has not always been done in honourable settlements. If it is acknowledged, as it has been acknowledged even in unexpected quarters, that the people of Bardoli and Valod have undergone terrible sufferings for the sake of what to them is a matter of principle, they have not done so merely to have an inquiry by a subordinate revenue official into individual cases which the inquiry proposed by the Government amounts to in fact; nor can the people be expected to forgo valuable land which they contend has been wrongly forfeited; nor yet can they as honourable men and women leave in the lurch those who have been wrongly made to suffer. The Government offer means that although the people have done wrong in refusing payment of the enhancement, they would graciously reopen individual cases if the people will cease to do wrong and if they will deposit the very amount which they say is wrongly imposed on them. This is a position which no leader worth the name can possibly subscribe to, when he has no conviction of such wrong on the part of the people and when on the contrary he has the deep conviction that the people are altogether in the right and the Government hopelessly in the wrong.

But Sjt. Vallabhbhai does not make, like the Government, impossible conditions. He does not ask the Government to own themselves to be in the wrong. His letter reduced to one sentence asks the Government to refer the question of right or wrong to a committee of the Government's choice with the only reasonable proviso that it will adequately represent the people. And in making his counter proposal he asks the Government to recognize the natural and logical consequence of such an impartial committee, viz., to revert to the *status quo ante bellum*. I venture to suggest that he would be guilty of a gross breach of trust if he asked for or took less. In his proposal there is no humiliation intended or implied of the Government. His reasonableness and anxiety to come to any honourable compromise limits him to the barest minimum. For it is surely open to him to raise the whole question of the revenue policy of the Government and ask for damages for the terrible losses suffered by the people during the past four months without any fault of theirs.

Two courses are open to the Government—either to bow to the public opinion of all India and accept Sjt. Vallabhbhai's offer or in order to uphold a false prestige to reassert the doctrine of frightfulness. If it is not too late, I appeal to the Bombay Government to take the way of truth.

Young India, 26-7-1928

318. TELEGRAM TO MOTILAL NEHRU¹

July 23, 1928

FEAR YOU SHOULD SHOULDER BURDEN ESPECIALLY
FOR BENGAL'S SAKE. WIRED SEN GUPTA.

GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 13645

319. TELEGRAM TO SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

July 23, 1928

HAVE WIRED MOTILALJI HE SHOULD WEAR CROWN
SPECIALLY FOR BENGAL'S SAKE.

GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 13645

¹ In reply to Motilal Nehru's letter dated July 19 which concluded: "Please wire your decision about the 'crown' after considering the enclosed correspondence and the communications you may have received." Motilal Nehru had forwarded two letters (S.N. 13646) which he had received. One of them was dated July 16 from Subhas Chandra Bose reading: "I cannot tell you how disappointed the whole of Bengal will feel if for any reason you decline Congress President ship. Your close association with the work and policy of Swaraj Party is one of several reasons for which your name is universally acceptable in this province...." And the second one was dated July 17 from J. M. Sen Gupta reading: "Yesterday I received a telegram from Mahatmaji telling me that you were disinclined to accept the President ship of the Congress. The news came to me like a shock. . . . We are unanimous in sending a reply by wire telling Mahatmaji in strong terms to press you to get over your disinclination... . We must have you.... You must come and lead us in this political crisis at home and abroad...." *Vide* also "Letter to Subhas Chandra Bose", 18-7-1928.

320. LETTER TO RAMDAS GANDHI

SABARMATI ASHRAM,

July 23, 1928

CHI. RAMDAS,

Rasik has written to me that you have been put in charge of the kitchen and that in consequence the work has been proceeding very smoothly. You do have the requisite qualities for that work. In answer to a query from Girirajji one Monday in January I had written that the person in charge of a kitchen which stresses self-control must possess the qualities of a *sthitaprajna*. I am now more confirmed in that view. Such a person should always be alert. He must not get angry. He must put up with everybody's anger. He must treat everyone alike. It will not do if he serves nice things to some and worthless things to others. His mistakes can have grave consequences. If he does not have an orderly mind his work will suffer. If he has not conquered the palate he will prevent other people acquiring restraint. And he steals. Therefore, running a kitchen based on the principle of restraint is like demonstrating the meaning of the verses about detachment. One thing which is not required in running a kitchen with restraint is scholarship. But God's grace is so bountiful that scholarship is required in very few jobs. No freedom is possible without prudence. Millions have achieved salvation without scholarship. And scholarship has often led to downfall in some cases. Go deeper and understand the implication of the management of the kitchen being entrusted to you. Read the enclosed letter and then pass it on to Rasik.

Blessings from

BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Sansmarano, pp. 142-3

321. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

July 24, 1928

BHAISHRI VALLABHBHAI,

I think we should give the briefest reply to the Governor's speech¹ in which he has tried hard to mislead the people. A long reply to such a thing would be harmful. Hence, I send a short one.² I wrote an article³ in *Young India* yesterday. I did not feel like revising it in the light of the speech and stopped writing any further. Whatever you tell us from there will suffice us. We shall see to it next week. But today one thought keeps dwelling in my mind. The 14 days ahead are very critical; therefore not one word should be uttered from our side which may impede the settlement if at all there were to be a settlement. So I suggest that you come here for a few days if you are not needed there or, if you wish, I shall join you there. Now they must arrest you; therefore I must reach there in advance. The decision on these two points should be yours. On them not I but you are responsible because I do not know the state of affairs there.

BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro—2: *Sardar Vallabhbhaine*, pp. 13-4

322. CROWN OF THORNS

The Congress crown has ceased to be a crown of roses. The rose petals are year by year falling off and the thorns are becoming more and more prominent. Who should wear such a crown? Father or the son? Pandit Motilalji the weather-beaten warrior or Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the disciplined young soldier who by his sterling worth has captured the imagination of the youth of the country? Sjt. Vallabhbhai Patel's name is naturally on everybody's lips. Panditji says in a private letter that he as the hero of the hour should be elected and the Government should be made to know that he enjoys the

¹ In the Council on July 23

² *Vide* "Notes" 26-7-1928, sub-title, "Sjt. Vallabhbhai's Reply".

³ *Vide* "An Appeal to Government", 23-7-1928.

fullest confidence of the nation. Sjt. Vallabhbhai is however out of the question just now. His hands are too full to allow of his attention being diverted from Bardoli. And before December comes upon us he may be a guest in one of His Majesty's innumerable prisons. My own feeling in the matter is that Pandit Jawaharlal should wear the crown. The future must be for the youth of the country. But Bengal wants Motilalji to guide the Congress barque through the perilous seas that threaten to overwhelm us during the coming year. We are torn within and are encircled by an enemy that is as unscrupulous as he is powerful. Bengal has special need of an older head and one moreover who has proved a tower of strength to her in the hour of her trial. If India as a whole has no easy time before her, Bengal has still less. There are a thousand reasons why Panditji should be chosen to wear the crown of thorns. He is brave, he is generous, he enjoys the confidence of all parties; Mussalmans acknowledge him as their friend, he commands the respect of his opponents and often bends them to his view by his forceful eloquence. He has moreover deep down in him a spirit of conciliation and compromise which makes him an eminently worthy ambassador of a nation that is in need of and is in the mood to take an honourable compromise. It is these considerations which actuate even the dare-all Bengal patriot¹ to want Pandit Motilal Nehru as the helmsman for the coming year. Let the impatient youth of the country wait a while. They will be all the stronger for the waiting.

Young India, 26-7-1928

323. NOTES

SJT. VALLABHBHAI'S REPLY

Sjt. Vallabhbhai Patel has issued the following statement² to the Press in reply to His Excellency's Council speech on the 23rd instant:

I must confess that I was unprepared for the threatening deliverance of His Excellency the Governor. But threats apart, I want to remove the confusion that the speech is consciously or unconsciously intended to create. The Governor says in effect

¹ Subhas Chandra Bose; *vide* "Telegram to Subhas Chandra Bose"? 23-7- 1928.

² *Vide* "Letter to Vallabhbhai Patel", 24-7-1928.

that if civil disobedience is the issue, he is prepared to meet it with all the power which Government possesses, but “if the only question to be dealt with is the justice or injustice of the re-assessment, then Government is prepared to submit the whole case, after the revenue now due to the Government has been paid and the present agitation ceases, to a full open and independent inquiry as outlined in the statement which has been published”. I venture to point out that civil disobedience has never been the issue. I know that there is no unanimity of opinion amongst all parties about the wisdom or legitimacy of civil disobedience. I have my own opinion which I hold strongly about it. But the Bardoli people are not fighting in order to have the right of civil disobedience vindicated. They are fighting by way of civil disobedience or whatever name the method adopted may be given-in order to induce the Government either to waive the enhancement, or if they are not convinced that the enhancement is improperly made to appoint an impartial, independent inquiry to find out the truth. The only question therefore is that justice or injustice of the re-assessment. And if the Government are prepared to have that question examined by a “full, open and independent inquiry”, they must surely accept the logical consequence of the proposition they themselves lay down, namely, not to insist upon the payment of the enhancement which is in dispute and to restore the people to the condition they occupied before the struggle commenced. I warn the public also about the qualifying clause that is attached to “the full, open and independent inquiry”, viz., “as outlined the statement which has been published” is a dangerous clause. For what is promised in the Surat communication is not “a full, open and independent inquiry” but a mockery of it. The Surat statement contemplates a very limited inquiry to be conducted by a revenue officer assisted by a judicial officer to investigate errors of calculation and fact and totally different thing from “a full, open and independent inquiry”. I hope therefore that undeterred by the threats contained in the Governor’s deliverance, public opinion will concentrate only on the one point that I have mentioned.

A TRIUMPH OF JUSTICE

There is in Wardha a well-known and very well decorated shrine dedicated to Shri Lakshminarayana. It was built by Seth Jamnalalji grandfather. It is a private temple made accessible to the public. Jamnalalji has been endeavouring to have this temple available to the so-called untouchables also, as he has been trying with great success to have wells in Wardha made accessible to them and generally to procure for them all the facilities available to the other classes. He had difficulty with the trustees in bringing them round to his view that this select temple should be thrown open to those whom blind orthodoxy has suppressed. Success has at last attended his effort. On the 17th instant the trustees unanimously passed the following resolution:

Whereas the question of admitting the so-called untouchables inside the temple of Shri Lakshminarayana has been before the Committee on several occasions and they have been unable to come to a firm decision till now; and whereas the most representative body in India, namely, the Congress has insisted upon the removal of untouchability and whereas the Hindu Mahasabha has considered it necessary and just that all public temples should be made accessible to the so-called untouchables, and whereas the well-known leaders of public opinion in India have expressed the same opinion, the trustees hereby resolve, regard being had to the foregoing facts and after full consideration of the religious and the social condition of the country, that the above-named temple dedicated to Shri Lakshminarayana in Wardha be declared open to the 'untouchables' and that the managing trustee, Sheth Jamnalal Bajaj, be authorized to enforce this resolution in such manner as may appear to him to be best.

Accordingly a printed notice was widely circulated in Wardha that from the 19th instant, that is, two days after the resolution, the temple would be declared open for the 'untouchables'. It is stated that although there was no organized effort made beyond circulating the foregoing notice, nearly 1,200 men and women and children including 'untouchables' visited the temple without the slightest untoward incident having occurred. It is most significant that in an important centre like Wardha a celebrated temple could be flung open for the 'untouchables' without orthodoxy raising its voice of protest or some people in the name of sanatana dharma creating a disturbance at the time of 'untouchables' trying to cross the sacred and hitherto forbidden threshold of a Hindu shrine. It is a striking demonstration

of the tremendous headway that the movement against untouchability has made. It shows too what quiet determination and persistence can do to create healthy public opinion in favour of a genuine movement for reform. I congratulate Sheth Jamnalalji and his fellow-trustees on the bold step that they have taken and hope that this example will be followed all over India.

PURDAH IN BIHAR

The organized demonstration against the *purdah* that was held in many important centres in Bihar on the 8th instant was, a Bihari friend's letter tells me, successful beyond the expectations of the organizers. *The Searchlight* report of the Patna meeting opens thus:

A unique spectacle was witnessed at the mixed meeting of ladies and gentlemen of the 8th July held at Patna in the Radhika Sinha Institute on Sunday last. In spite of heavy rains that fortunately stopped just at the time of the meeting, the gathering was unexpectedly large. In fact half of the spacious hall of the Radhika Sinha Institute was crowded with ladies, three-fourths of whom were such as had been observing *purdah* a day before, nay, an hour before.

The following is the translation of the resolution adopted at the meeting: We, the men and women of Patna, assembled hereby declare that we have today abolished the pernicious practice of *purdah*, which has done and is doing incalculable harm to the country, and particularly to women, and we appeal to the other women of the province, who are still wavering, to banish this system as early as they can and thereby advance their education and health.

A provisional committee was formed at the meeting to carry on an intensive propaganda against *purdah* and for the spread of women's education in the province of Bihar. A third resolution advised the formation of Mahila Samitis in every town and every village of the province. And a fourth resolution was passed to the effect that Mahila Ashrams should be started at different places where ladies might stay for certain periods and receive a training so as to become 'good wives', 'worthy mothers' and 'useful servants' of the country. Over 5,000 rupees were promised on the spot for the purpose and I see many ladies among the donors, giving anything between Rs. 250 and 25. The paper publishes reports of similar meetings in several places in Bihar. If the campaign is well organized and continued with zeal, the *purdah* should become a thing of the past. It should be noted

that this is no Anglicizing movement. It is an indigenous conservative effort made by leaders who are conservative by nature and are yet alive to all the evils that have crept into Hindu society. Babu Brijkishore Prasad and Babu Rajendra Prasad who from far-off London is keenly watching and supporting the movement are no westernized specimens of Indian humanity. They are orthodox Hindus, lovers of Indian culture and tradition. They are no blind imitators of the West and yet do not hesitate to assimilate whatever is good in it. There need therefore be no fear entertained by the timid and the halting ones that the movement is likely to be in any shape or form disruptive of all that is most precious in Indian culture and especially in feminine grace and modesty so peculiar to India's womanhood.

ASHRAM CONSTITUTION AND RULES

Since the publication of the draft constitution and rules of the Satyagraha Ashram, there has been a constant demand for copies. Postage alone amounts to not an insignificant item. Those who would possess a copy of the constitution will kindly send one anna stamp to cover the charge of packing and posting.

A CORRECTION

Sjt. Gokulbhai Patel who was the bearer of cheques for Bardoli from Santa Cruz and Vile Parle draws my attention to a mistake occurring in the acknowledgement made in *Young India* of these gifts. The names that should have appeared under the heading Vile Parle have appeared under the heading Santa Cruz. I am sorry for the mistake. In spite of all the care taken to ensure accuracy on the part of an overworked staff, mistakes will occur. The generous reader will forgive them when they are not wilful or worse.

Young India, 26-7-1928

*324. LETTER TO SUPERINTENDENT, AHMEDABAD
CENTRAL PRISON*

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 26, 1928

SIR,

I have your letter of the 24th instant. I have no desire to enter into a prolonged correspondence. Your letter does not enable me to alter the view expressed in mine of the 21st instant.¹ If you do not think that the persons whom you saw were inmates of the Ashram, I fail to see how the Ashram could be called upon to enquire who the parties were and warn them. And I fail also to understand that a trespasser is not a trespasser if he is treated courteously by those against whom he commits a trespass. You may be interested to know we try to treat courteously even thieves and robbers.

You will pardon me for not referring to Sjt. Kothari or Sjt. Kalelkar to prove the civility of your officials when I have your own correspondence in front of me.

Yours faithfully,

From a photostat: S.N. 13486

325. LETTER TO HEMPRABHA DAS GUPTA

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
[Before *July 27, 1928*]²

DEAR SISTER,

I have your letter also. We should not at all worry on account of Nikhil. If God does not wish to take any service from Nikhil in this birth. He may well take him away.

Love of children or husband or friend, all mean the same. We should sublimate all loves into the love of God because ultimately we all have to merge in God as rivers merge into the sea. Where then is Ganga or Yamuna? If you can regard all boys as Anil and Nikhil, your grief will be no more. Those who are attached to self have sons

¹ *Vide* "Letter to Superintendent, Ahmedabad Central Prison", 21-7-1928.

² *Vide* "Letter to Hemprabha Das Gupta", 27-7-1928.

to be counted as one, two, three and so on. Those who are not have innumerable sons.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 1652

326. LETTER TO C. F. ANDREWS

July 27, 1928

MY DEAR CHARLIE,

The within writing is a copy of the cable sent to you in reply to yours. I have no time to spare just now. Subbiah has gone to Madras to put his pregnant wife with her parents. Mahadeo is still laid up though he is otherwise quite well.

I am sending you five copies of Autobiography.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 2628

327. LETTER TO G. V. SUBBA RAO

July 27, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I shall most certainly keep an open mind. You shall see me whenever I come. Nothing would please me better than to find myself to have been in error regarding the deceased friend whose many merits I was not unaware of.¹

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

SJT. G. V. SUBBA RAO

INDIAN BANK, BEZWADA, SOUTH INDIA

From a photostat: G.N. 3626

¹ *Vide* also "Letter to G. V. Subba Rao", 21-7-1928.

328. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

[July 27, 1928]¹

CHI. VASUMATI,

I felt worried yesterday and, therefore, sent a wire. Having received the reply today, I am at ease. The fever has lasted very long. Keep up your courage. Do not get frightened. Do not forget our principle of looking upon every place which we visit as our own home and accepting any service that is absolutely necessary. False pride and false shame are our enemies. I must get a letter from you every day and you should write or dictate every detail in it. Today is the last day of the seven-day fast undertaken by Nanibehn for the sake of her health.

Blessings from

BAPU

CHI. VASUMATIBEHN

KANYA GURUKULA

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 486. Courtesy: Vasumati Pandit

329. LETTER TO HEMPRABHA DAS GUPTA

July 27, 1928

DEAR SISTER,

What shall I say to you? We were all prepared for Nikhil's passing away. He is relieved of his pain. He was such a wise and sober lad that he must have attained divine life. Satis Babu has amazed us all by his absolute calm. I expect the same calm from you all.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 1659

¹ From the postmark

330. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

July 28, 1928

CHI. MATHURADAS,

I had expected to hear from you after you reached Deolali. You will all be in good health. How is Dilip? Is not this bungalow the same you had stayed in earlier? How is the weather there?

Blessings from

BAPU

SHRI MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

WINDY HALL

NASIK ROAD

DEVLALI

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

331. GOVERNOR'S THREAT

It seems that the governing class in India refuses to learn even from experience. They act as if they are not aware that the people have got over the fear of threats. Not only threats make no impact on hundreds of thousands of people, but also a do-or-die class has now come into being on which even the carrying out of threats has no effect whatsoever. What can punishment inflicted by the State do to those who have given up the fear of death and the infatuation for possessions? What effect can a threat have upon those who love their self-respect above everything else? Hence the Governor's threat and Earl Winterton's full endorsement of it cannot have any influence on the people of Bardoli. On the contrary, I learn that it has made the latter more resolute.

But it is not our intention to analyse the Government's threat. We are aware that the Government has the ability to implement it; it will not allow us to forget this even if we wish to. Our prestige lies in assuming that the Government will act in accordance with its threats and in being prepared to welcome its wrath. The people of Bardoli should inscribe on their doors the proverbial saying, "He who is on

his guard is always happy”, and they should always be on their guard. Vallabhbhai had warned the people at the very beginning of the struggle, saying:

If you wish to offer resistance, you will have to face perils. The Government will seize your possessions, confiscate your land, sell your possessions at ridiculous prices, evict you from your land; it may even shoot you down. Yet do not turn your backs but receive the showers of bullets on your chests as if they were flowers.

Those who remember these words need no further warning.

But we are not concerned with the wrath of the Government. It is the ruler who has the monopoly of getting angry; we do not want to be angry at the wrath of the Government. A satyagrahi has no right to be angry. We wish to win over anger by an absence of it in ourselves. Even if the Government utters angry words, we do not wish to swerve from the path of truth. Whether the Government gets angry or not, our demand should remain the same. The Governor has made a speech as fiery as the lava of a volcano. Although the unintelligible Government Note issued at Surat is regarded as its final word, we keep hearing a talk of settlement. We need not worry whether the Government has a hand in these or not; but even if there is a single door open to settlement, we should be eager to enter through it. When people who are determined to sacrifice their lives give up discretion, they are no longer fearless men but indiscreet, ignorant persons. He who unnecessarily sacrifices himself is considered either insane or stupid, and his death not being a courageous one is of no advantage either to himself or to anyone else.

Although the people of Bardoli and Valod have the right to make more demands, they have not acted on that right. But now that the Government has crossed all bounds of decency, they cannot make any more demands. The satyagrahis need:

1. An independent and impartial committee to hear their complaints and give justice.

2. Implementation of the conditions which should form the basis of such a committee, i.e., (a) release of those who have been imprisoned in connection with the struggle; (b) release of lands which have been confiscated in connection with the struggle; and (c) restoration of the direct losses suffered by the people and by other individuals for the sake of the people.

The satyagrahis have every right to demand compensation for

the indirect loss that people have suffered in respect of their cattle and property, yet they do not do so. If they ask for it, it would not be regarded as a sign of compromise. A satyagrahi always starts satyagraha after preparing himself to sacrifice his life and property. Hence, the satyagrahi will not ask for any compensation for any indirect loss which has resulted from the policy of repression.

Once the Government accepts the above demands of the people, it would become the people's dharma to pay the revenue arrears at once. I take it that the people have always kept themselves in readiness to pay them. At some time or other, these will have to be paid. A newspaper report has reproduced a telegram sent by a gentleman from Bombay who has offered to pay the additional levy of land revenue against the injustice of which the satyagraha movement was started. If he has decided to present that sum to the Government, no one can stop him. If the Government feels satisfied by such a gift, we have no grudge against it. Whether that gentleman of Bardoli Taluk, settled in Bombay, has done harm to himself or to the people by offering that money cannot be judged today. If the Government is satisfied with the paying up of what should be regarded as an insignificant increase in assessment and, if it is possible to arrive at a settlement, it is the dharma of the satyagrahis to do so.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 29-7-1928

332. MY NOTES

WE OURSELVES SHOULD DO IT

A young gentleman writes from Cambay:¹

I regard feasts given at marriages and similar occasions as pardonable, but would consider feasts given at the ceremony performed at the time of *simant*² as shameful, and also would consider it sinful to give a feast after anyone's death, whether it is for the 12th or the 13th day, whether it is for the old or the young. All feasts seem to me meaningless and uncivilized. I cannot understand why we allow the daily needs of the body to become means of enjoyment. My weakness may tolerate such things, but if we do not become slaves to tradition, we would not attend feasts given after death or at the *simant* ceremony. Our own conduct may be something commendable, but we should not feel hurt if parents, wives or grown-up children do not follow it. We cannot force our views on them. We should have the faith that, if our conduct is pure, others will be affected by it. I do not know: what the Jain sadhus do, but if they remain indifferent about the evil customs of society, I have no doubt that it is improper.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 29-7-1928

333. BOYCOTT OR NON-CO-OPERATION

A friend writes:³

Nowadays, when there is restlessness, violence and impatience in the minds of the people, even the best of things are misused. At such a time, if we use the words boycott and non-co-operation and if we use individual or collective adjectives before these words, it is bound to be

¹ The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had asked whether Gandhiji could do something in order to influence the wives and elders of those young men who, as a result of reading *Navajivan*, had given up attending feasts given on occasions such as death, *simant*, etc. He had also wished to know whether it was proper for Jain sadhus not to condemn such feasts.

² Religious ceremony held during first pregnancy

³ The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had stated that it was likely that people might boycott the entire family of an old man who married a young girl, whereas the proper thing would be to boycott the individual alone.

misunderstood. Hence, we should merely suggest the limitation of each thing and, while putting it into practice, fully bear in mind those limitations and be satisfied. Even in individual boycott or non-co-operation, there ought not to be the slightest degree of *himsa*. I do not suggest hatred towards those who in old age marry young girls. These persons are to be pitied. When the passion of enmity possesses a man he loses his senses. The most sacred relationships are obliterated. This intoxication is even worse than that of drink. Therefore, remembering our own weaknesses and faults, we should pity the old men who are full of lust. But to pity them and to co-operate with them are two distinct things. True compassion has no room for blind love or infatuation. Hence, anyone who has erred is guilty of an offence against society and it is extremely important that he should be made to realize it. And that realization can be brought about only through boycott or non-cooperation. It may be imparted either by punishing the offender or by depriving him of rights which society has given him on certain terms. There is a difference between depriving them of the rights and punishing them. It is one thing if I employ a person as a servant, believing that he is honest, and dismiss him upon finding him to be not. But it is another if I give him physical punishment, or deprive him of his house, etc., or register a complaint with the authorities and get him punished. And if I do not punish him or get him punished, would I at all tolerate such treatment to his family or relatives? Actually, when the element of punishment or violence enters into boycott or non-cooperation, it ceases to be a powerful weapon, because the one who inflicts it becomes an offender himself while the latter, believing that he has done *prayaschitta* for his acts becomes more confirmed in his viciousness and ready to repeat the offence, if occasion arises. It is because of this that till today the infliction of punishment or violence has not prevented sin or crime. I have therefore suggested in all my writings that the reformer should be pure and respectful and that all his acts should be non-violent or full of love. Thus I; have suggested that boycott should mean that we do not accept any service from the one who is boycotted; that we put up with inconvenience and deny him any special rights. However, we should render him service when the need arises. The person who is boycotted thus cannot attend a community feast. If we have made him a professor, that position should be taken away from him. If he is a teacher and we happen to be studying under him, we should discontinue doing so. If he happens to be our tenant, he should cease

to be one. But if he is ill, he can avail himself of our services. If he is suffering from hunger for no fault of his, we should give him food. This is Just by way of illustration. In short, we should think consciously and should never wish or do to others what we do not wish done to ourselves.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 29-7-1928

334. LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

July 29, 1928

MY DEAR JAWAHARLAL,

I do hope Kamala and Indu are flourishing. I had your wire and letter. The Presidential business is now finished.

I write this to consult you about Bhuvارجي. He asks the Ashram to give him Rs. 20 per month and for this he wants Rs. 100 in advance. I would like you to tell me how he is working and whether he is giving you satisfaction. The A.I.S.A. will not and cannot give him anything. Do you advise the Ashram to supply his needs? What is the nature of work he is doing?

Yours sincerely,

BAPU

Gandhi-Nehru Papers, 1928. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

335. LETTER TO JETHALAL JOSHI

July 29, 1928

BHAISHRI JETHALAL,

It is certainly not a fast if you eat fruits. The aim behind a fast may be purification of the body or of the mind or of both. A fast contributes very little to purification of the mind. You will find the replies to the other questions in *Niyamavali*¹.

Vandemataram from

MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G. N. 1352

¹ Booklet on rules for the inmates of the Ashram

336. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

July 29, 1928

CHI. VASUMATI,

Your illness has lasted too long now. How is your cough? I feel all the time that the courses of treatment employed in the Ashram and its air would help you to recover in the shortest possible time. But you must cling to that place with a firm mind. I hope you are not swallowing too many medicines. Though I write thus, I don't wish that you should remain there anyhow. If at any time you wish to come over here, please write to me. I must get a report of your health every day.

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

Please tell Vidyavatiji that I got her letter.

CHI. VASUMATIBEHN

KANYAVIDYALA

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 487. Courtesy: Vasumati Pandit

337. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

July 30, 1928

BHAI CHHAGANLAL JOSHI,

Keep this in the office. If you have anything to say about this matter, please do. It would be worth while to consider the last item in the Managing Committee.

BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 11804

338. LETTER TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

July 30, 1928

BHAISHRI VALLABHBHAI,

I got your letter. Rest assured that I am ready to start on the very day that I get your message that I should do so. I suppose you intend to send your call before the fourteen days' sand runs out of the glass, that is, before Sunday. If I am right, it is not necessary to send

Mahadev today. I cannot say that he is completely all right. Whatever the state of his health, he will of course accompany me. If, however, you require his presence immediately, send a wire and he will start tomorrow. He is not so bad now that he cannot go. He takes care when sitting down or getting up and walking. My only aim is to save him from the jerks in the train for as many days as possible.

I shall think and decide tomorrow what we should do about the workers' school. Krishnalal has arrived here. The money which is lying with the Provincial Committee may remain where it is. He may do what he likes in the matter. My idea was that the Ashram should take possession of it. I have not given up that idea, but we shall think about the matter when we meet if there is still time for it then. At the moment, you have one foot in the stirrup and who knows when you will be astride the horse?

Improve your health. There was another cable from Andrews as follows:

Times, Guardian both published my communication. *Guardian* gave friendly editorial. Cable further important developments.¹

I am now thinking what further information we can cable.²

There was a letter from Munshi. Mahadev will enclose with this a copy of my reply to him.

BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 14454

339. LETTER TO AMBALAL SARABHAI

July 30, 1928

RESPECTED BROTHER,

You have there an amount of Rs. 1,21,000 in the name of either Vallabhbhai or Punjabhai. I would like you to transfer the money to Shri Jamnalalji's account. If it is not inconvenient will you please do

¹ The source has this in English.

² *Vide* the following item.

this on receipt of this letter? The purpose of writing this letter is to save the interest on the amount. There is no intention of keeping any money in Vallabhbhai's name at the moment .

Vandemataram form

MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 11122. Courtesy: Sarabhai Foundation

340. CABLE TO C. F. ANDREWS¹

[On or after *July 30, 1928*]

SITUATION WORSE. GOVERNMENT SEEMS DETERMINED
HUMILIATE SATYAGRAHIS AND THEIR LEADERS AND INSIST
ON OBJECT ACCEPTANCE BY COUNCIL MEMBERS REPRESENTING
SURAT DISTRICT OF UNINTELLIGIBLE TERMS
WELL KNOWING THESE MEMBERS HAVE NO INFLUENCE
IN BARDOLI. SITUATION THUS FORCED HOPELESSLY UNREAL.
BARDOLI PEOPLE REPORTED ABSOLUTELY FIRM. READY FOR
ANY SUFFERING. PAPERS PREDICT ARREST VALLABHBHAI
AND CO-WORKERS ON EXPIRY GOVERNOR'S ULTIMATUM.
EXPECT REACH BARDOLI ANY DAY UPON VALLABHBHAI'S
CALL.

MOHAN

From a microfilm: S.N. 13264

341. LETTER TO VALLABHAI PATEL

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

July 31, 1928

BHAISHRI VALLABHBHAI,

I have your letter. Today I was expecting a wire calling me there. I had held myself in full readiness.

I am not writing much just now as Bhai Nariman and Haribhai are expected here. Our line is clear. We can give up neither the *talatis* nor the lands. The Enquiry Committee's enquiry must be comprehensive. We cannot afford to let its scope be restricted in any way. Let Kaye and Davis be appointed if you think fit. Please wire the date on which you expect me there.

¹ In reply to his cable dated July 28; *vide* the preceding item.

Manibehn came and saw me. She is much pulled down. It is good that you have sent her. For the present she will live in the city. She says she will come on the fifth. Bhai Nariman and Haribhai have come and met me. I think it desirable that you should go if you receive a call through the members of the Legislature. The conditions [of agreement] are what we have drafted.¹

BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro—2: Sardar Vallabhbhaine, p. 14

342. LETTER TO BEHCHAR BHAWAN PARMAR

Wednesday, [July/August, 1928]²

BHAI BEHCHAR BHAWAN,

I have your letter. It seems to me that you should be able to earn an honest livelihood from your traditional occupation itself. In my view, there is nothing shameful about following the useful occupation of a barber. There is nothing lowly about it.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G. N. 5569

343. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
August 1, 1928

CHI. VASUMATI,

I am dictating this before three in the morning. I trust you have not become nervous because of illness. Keep cheerful. If you feel despondent, forget your suffering and recover cheerfulness by reciting:

दुःखेध्वनुद्धिग्रमनाः सुखेषु विगतस्पृह ।
वीररागीभयक्रोधः स्थितधीर्मुनिस्त्व्यते ॥³

¹ *Vide* “Evil Genius of Government”, 22-7-1928.

² From the contents; *vide* “Letter to Bechar Parmar”, July 2, August 6 and August 15, 1928.

³ A Bihar woman who had come to be trained at the Ashram with Rajendra Prasad’s recommendation

and meditating on its meaning. What is the name of the doctor who attends on you? What does he permit you to eat just now? I suppose you know that Nanibehn's fast has ended. I may have to go to Bardoli in a day or two.

Blessings from

BAPU

CHI. VASUMATIBEHN,
KANYA GURUKULA

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 488. Courtesy: Vasumati Pandit

344. LETTER TO HARI-ICHCHHA DESAI

August 1, 1928

CHI. HARI-ICHCHHA,

I have had many letters from you but have not been able to reply to them. I do get news about you through Chi. Rasik.

Rasik has lost nothing by leaving school. He will learn more through experience here than he would have by attending school. There is no reason, therefore, to feel sorry at his having given up studies.

I had indeed expected that you would keep up the Ashram atmosphere there. I hear that Prabha has forgotten it as completely as you have kept it up. Take care of your health. Read what you can. Continue reading of the *Ramayana*. And of course there are carding and spinning.

Chi. Santok and Rukhibehn will arrive there towards the end of this week. Meet them occasionally. Write to me from time to time.

To all you sisters,

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 4907. Courtesy: Hari-ichchha Kamdar

345. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

August 1, 1928

CHI. NARANDAS,

Mirabehn has made slivers of the finest quality out of five *tolas* of cotton and given them to me. You credit them under whichever head you may decide and debit them in today's account against Behn Rajkishori. I have given them to her.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11806

346. SERVICE, NOT PROTECTION

Although the meeting (for 25th July last) of the All-India Cow-protection Association was advertised in *Young India* and Hindi and Gujarati *Navajivan* and although circular letters were sent to the members individually, even defaulters, there was an attendance of not more than perhaps a dozen, the majority being from the Ashram itself. This was an eloquent testimony, if any was needed, in support of the preamble of the draft resolution that was published in these pages and unanimously adopted by the meeting. Here is the full text of the resolution as amended and carried at the meeting:

Inasmuch as the All-India Cow-protection Association has not been able to command public attention and sympathy commensurate with the all-India character it has claimed, and inasmuch as its activities have been confined to the slow spread of the objects of the Association and especially to helping conduct a dairy and tannery at the Satyagraha Ashram in terms of the objects of the Association, and inasmuch as the subscriptions and donations are mainly confined to friends who are interested in the experiment, and inasmuch as the numerous *goshalas* and *pinjrapoles* which were expected to respond to and be affiliated to the Association have nearly entirely failed to do so, the existing members of the Association resolve to disband it, and not retaining the existence of the Association in any shape

or form, to adopt the less pretentious title of Go Seva Sangha (Cow Service Society) and irrevocably to entrust the affairs, management and control of the funds and stock of the Association to the following permanent Standing Committee of management of the Society, viz.,

M. K. Gandhi (Chairman), Revashankar Jagjivan Jhaveri (Treasurer), Jamnalalji Bajaj, Vajjnathji Kedia, Manilal Vallabhji Kothari, Mahavirprasad Poddar, Shival Mulchand Shah, Parameshvariprasad Gupta, Dattatreya Balkrishna Kalelkar, Vinoba Bhawe, Chhaganlal Khushalchand Gandhi, Chhaganlal Nathubhai Joshi, Narandas Khushalchand Gandhi, Surendranath, Chimanlal Narsinhdas Shah, Pannalal Balabhai Jhaveri, Yashvant Mahadev Parnerkar, Valji Govindji Desai (Secretary), with full powers to disburse the funds, conduct the said experiments, to add to their number, to fill up vacancies caused by the resignation or the death of a member, to expel a member by a majority vote and otherwise carry out the objects of the expiring Association and to frame a constitution and rules for the management of the Society and to make such amendments thereof as may from time to time be required.

The name suggested in the published draft for the much smaller body that was to take the place of the All-India Association was 'Cow Protection Society'. The eagle eye of Sjt. Jamnalalji detected the incongruity in the name. He rightly argued that the very small body of persons mostly unknown to fame could not arrogate to themselves the function of protecting the cow, they could only and in all humility endeavour to serve the cow to the best of their ability. He therefore suggested the proper title, Go Seva Sangha, literally, Cow Service Society. This was acclaimed by those present as the better title.

Thereader may know that the majority of the members of the new Society are inmates of the Ashram and then too only those who are either actually conducting the dairy and the tannery experiment or are specially interested in it. The rest are those who whole-heartedly believe in this class of constructive work as the only real means of saving the cow from inevitable destruction. It will be the duty of these workers to try to interest the shepherds and the *govals* in the science of cattle preservation. If this numerous body of men and women could be induced to take a more intelligent and humanitarian view of their occupation than which there can be nothing more honourable,

half the battle is won. There is at present a close race for life being run between the cow and man in India. And if the cow is not scientifically bred and profitably used, she must eat us or be eaten by us. Whilst therefore the ambitious title and the equally ambitious constitution are withdrawn the work survives only to be done in an intenser form. I hope therefore that those who have hitherto sent donations in cash or kind to the defunct Association will help the successor. The Managing Committee will at no distant date publish the new constitution and rules. But donors need not wait for it for sending their donations.

Lastly, although it was proper for the old Association to be disbanded it may be claimed that its existence was not altogether purposeless. It was instrumental in putting before the public valuable literature on the subject in a popular, cheap and handy form. Above all it succeeded in removing to a large extent the Hindu prejudice against tanneries. Whereas four years ago everyone laughed at the idea of tanneries being any part of a scheme of cow-protection, now everybody recognizes at least in theory their tremendous importance in cow-preservation. Again, four years ago, no one worth mentioning thought of constructive work in connection with cow-protection. The all-pervading idea was that the cow could be saved if the Mussalman could be induced not to slaughter her for Bakr Id. Now almost everyone recognizes that without the constructive work of the kind mapped out by the defunct Association the cow cannot be saved.

But before it is taken up in practice by the public at large, an ocular demonstration of the feasibility of the constructive method has to be given. That is the work inherited by the Go Seva Sangha from the parent body. I know from four years' experience how difficult it is, what patient study and labour it requires. It asks therefore for the help and prayer of those who will serve the cause of the cow — the chosen representative of the dumb creation, so idolized by Hindu humanity and yet so ill used by reason of its ignorance and superstition.

Young India, 2-8-1928

347. SELF-SUPPORT IS SELF-RESPECT

The suggestion has often been made in these columns that in order to make education compulsory or even available to every boy or girl wishing to receive education, our schools and colleges should become almost, if not wholly, self-supporting, not through donations or State aid or fees exacted from students, but through remunerative work done by the students themselves. This can only be done by making industrial training compulsory. Apart from the necessity which is daily being more and more recognized of students having an industrial training side by side with literary training, there is in this country the additional necessity of pursuing industrial training in order to make education directly self-supporting. This can only be done when our students begin to recognize the dignity of labour and when the convention is established of regarding ignorance of manual occupation a mark of disgrace. In America, which is the richest country in the world and where therefore perhaps there is the least need for making education self-supporting, it is the most usual thing for students to pay their way wholly or partially. Thus says the *Hindustanee Student*, the official bulletin of the Hindustan Association of America, 500, Riverside Drive, New York City:

Approximately 50% of the American students use t summer vacation and part of their time during the academic year to earn money "Self-supporting students are respected", writes the bulletin of the California University. With reasonable diligence a student can devote from 12 to 25 hours per week (during the academic year) to outside work without seriously interfering with college work of 12 to 16 units (credits) involving 36 to 48 hours a week . . . A student should have some sort of practical knowledge of the following: carpentry, surveying, drafting, bricklaying, plastering, auto-driving, photography, machine-shop work, dyeing, field work, general farm work, instrumental music and so on. Such common work as waiting on table for two hours, etc., is available during the academic years, which relieves a student from expenses for board. A partially self-supporting student by working during the summer vacation may save up from \$150 to 200. Kansas, N.Y. University, Pittsburg, Union University, Antioch College offer 'co-operative' courses in Industrial Engineering by which a student can earn one year's tuition fees working in industrial plants for which he also receives credit for his practical experience.

The University of Michigan has under consideration the opening of similar co-operative courses in Civil and Electrical Engineering. One year more is required to graduate in engineering by pursuing co-operative courses.

If America has to model her schools and colleges so as to enable students to earn their scholastic expenses, how much more necessary it must be for our schools and colleges? Is it not far better that we find work for poor students than that we pauperize them by providing free-studentships? It is impossible to exaggerate the harm we do to India's youth by filling their minds with the false notion that it is ungentlemanly to labour with one's hands and feet for one's livelihood or schooling. The harm done is both moral and material, indeed much more moral than material. A free scholarship lies and should lie like a load upon a conscientious lad's mind throughout his whole life. No one likes to be reminded in after-life that he had to depend upon charity for his education. Contrarily where is the person who will not recall with pride those days if he had the good fortune to have had them when he worked in a carpentry-shop or the like for the sake of educating himself mind, body and soul?

Young India, 2-8-1928

348. LIMITATIONS OF SATYAGRAHA

Sardar Sardul Singh is an esteemed worker. His open letter advising me to invite sympathetic civil disobedience for Bardoli demands a reply especially because it enables me to clear my own position. If Bardoli Satyagraha were a campaign of lawlessness as the Government paint it, nothing would be more tempting or more natural than sympathetic satyagraha and that too without the limits prescribed in the Sardar's letter. But the Sardar rightly says:

I find in prominent Gujarat workers a tendency to allow Bardoli peasants to be kept isolated. This impression has been created in my mind by the reports of Sjt. Vallabhbhai's speeches and your writings. Friends think that any more scruples on this point go beyond the limits of practical politics.

The Sardar's impression is correct. In order strictly to limit the scope of the struggle to the purely local and economic issue and to keep it non-political Sjt. Vallabhbhai would not let Sjt. Rajagopalachari and other leaders to go to Bardoli. It was only when the Government gave it a political character and made it an all-India issue by their coercive measures that the reins were loosened and Vallabhbhai

could no longer prevent public men from going to Bardoli, though where his advice or permission was sought, he said, "Not yet."

I do not know what Sjt. Vallabhbhai Patel would say to the Sardar's suggestion but I can say, "Not yet." Time has not come even for limited sympathetic satyagraha. Bardoli has still to prove its mettle. If it can stand the last heat and if the Government go to the farthest limit, nothing that I or Sjt. Vallabhbhai can do will stop the spread of satyagraha or limit the issue to a *bona-fide* re-inquiry and its logical consequences. The limit will then be prescribed by the capacity of India as a whole for self-sacrifice and self-suffering. If that manifestation is to come it will be natural and incapable of being stayed by any agency no matter how powerful. But so far as I understand the spirit of satyagraha and its working, it is the duty of Sjt. Vallabhbhai and myself to keep to the original limits in spite of the Government provocations which are strong enough even as they are to warrant the crossing of the original boundary.

The fact is that satyagraha presupposes the living presence and guidance of God. The leader depends not on his own strength but on that of God. He acts as the Voice within guides him. Very often therefore what are practical politics so-called are unrealities to him, though in the end his prove to be the most practical politics. All this may sound foolish and visionary on the eve of what bids fair to become the toughest battle that India has hitherto had to face. But I would be untrue to the nation and myself if I failed to say what I feel to be the deepest truth. If the people of Bardoli are what Vallabhbhai believes them to be, all will be well, in spite of the use of all the weapons that the Government may have at its command. Let us wait and see. Only let the M.L.C.s and others who are interested in compromises not take a single weak step in the hope of saving the people of Bardoli. They are safe in the hands of God.

Young India, 2-8-1928

349. NOTES

FOREIGN PROPAGANDA

I observe that my cablegram¹ to Deenabandhu Andrews has given rise to the opinion that I have changed my views and that I have now begun to pin my faith to foreign propaganda. Let me hasten to clear any such misunderstanding. My views about foreign propaganda remain what they were in 1920 and before. My cablegram to the Deenabandhu was in reply to his. A close friend though he is, I never worried him over the Bardoli affair. But when he sent me a cable asking me to acquaint him from time to time with particulars, I could not resist him. And if this is called foreign propaganda, I should still prosecute it and advise others to do likewise with their friends in England or elsewhere. But when it comes to sending people from here or establishing an agency for such propaganda my soul rebels against it and tells me that we are beating the wind. The foreign public is not eager to listen to our talk or writings however cogent and truthful they may be. They expect and would eagerly learn about our deeds. The field for our propaganda is here and now. And when we have made good our position in our own country, the rest will follow.

INDIAN SHIPPING

The tragic history of the ruin of the national village industry of cotton manufacture in India is also the history of the ruin of Indian shipping. The rise of Lancashire on the ruin of the chief industry of India almost required the destruction of Indian shipping.

It will be remembered that in 1923 the Indian Mercantile Marine Committee was appointed in order to explore among other things the means of encouraging indigenous shipping "by a system of bounties, subsidies, etc." Its timid and overcautious recommendations provide for the reservation of the coastal traffic for Indian shipping. Sit. Sarabhai Haji now seeks through two bills to secure legislative effect for the recommendations of the Committee. One bill aims at the abrogation of unhealthy monopolies and the other aims in five years at the passing of all the tonnage of the coastal traffic into the hands predominantly of Indians. Both the bills are necessary and

¹ *Vide* "Cable to C.F. Andrews", on or after 30-7-1928.

both should pass without delay or difficulty. I am an out-and-out protectionist. I hold that every country, especially a poor country like India, has every right and is indeed bound to protect its interest, when it is threatened, by all lawful protective measures and to regain by such measures what has been wrongfully taken away from it. I have my doubts about anything substantial being done under the existing system through legislative effort. But I take up the same position that I have always maintained regarding organized industries such as mills. I should welcome and support all action that would protect them against foreign aggression or free them from foreign competition especially when the latter is grossly unfair as it is in the case of foreign shipping and foreign piece-goods. I therefore wish Sjt. Sarabhai Haji every success in his very moderate effort. He might quite justly have gone further than he has.

Young India, 2-8-1928

350. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

[August 2, 1928]¹

MY DEAR MIRA,

You will keep your health and never deny yourself what may be needed for it; nor need you attend the kitchen if the noise there gets on your nerves. In every case, never go beyond your capacity. That too is a breach of truth. And of course you are not to worry over my being away from you.

No news from this side yet. Vallabhbhai is well. No summons yet for him to go to Poona.

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

You will look after Dharm Kumar and Satyadevi.

From the original: C.W. 5328. Courtesy: Mirabehn; also G.N. 8218

¹ This letter appears to have been written soon after Gandhiji's arrival at Bardoli on August 2 and before Vallabhbhai Patel reached Poona on August 3 for negotiations regarding Bardoli.

351. LETTER TO VALJI G. DESAI

SWARAJ ASHRAM, BARDOLI,
Thursday [August 2]¹ 1928

BHAISHRI VALJI,

I had believed that what Parnerkar² had written regarding the demand of that cow-protection worker, the one with the books of accounts, was among my papers. But I do not find it among the papers here. Please inquire about it. I do not know if it is lying somewhere in my room. Please look for it and let me know.

Have you drafted the constitution of the Cow Service Society? Please keep it ready when I return there.

I trust you take good care of your health.

BAPU

From the Gajarati original: C.W. 7395. Courtesy: V.G. Desai

352. LETTER TO SANTOK GANDHI

August 2, 1928

CHI. SANTOK,

It is true that I have made you suffer, but you may say that I have done so in the manner of a vaid³. Since I shrank from hurting Manjula, she has again fallen ill. Though I have caused you suffering, I take satisfaction in the thought that I have always wished the good of you all. I would expect hundred per cent satisfaction from you. I should like you both, mother and daughter, to return here with a happy heart. Write to me from time to time. You need not worry about Keshu and Radha.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 8670. Courtesy: Radhabehn Chaudhari

¹ Gandhiji was in Bardoli on this date.

² Y. M. Parnerkar

³ Physician practising Ayurvedic system of medicine

353. LETTER TO KUSUM DESAI

BARDOLI,
August 2, 1928

CHI. KUSUM,

What shall I write to you? Go on working as devotedly as you have been doing. Take care of your health. I shall require a diary of the whole day's work from day to day. Shower love on Dahyabhai. I was extremely pained to see a touch of falsehood in him. I shall look forward to getting regular letters from you. Spread your fragrance in the school and the kitchen. See that Dahibehn does not feel hurt. About things here I can write nothing today.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1755

354. LETTER TO GANGABEHN VAIDYA

August 2, 1928

CHI. GANGABEHN,

I had hoped to meet you, but you could not come. You should lighten your work. I hope you have made convenient arrangement for sleeping at night. Find some time every day and give me an account of the state of your mind. Don't work beyond your capacity and don't make others work beyond theirs. Consult Chi. Chhaganlal about everything you wish to do.

Preserve the utmost peace in the kitchen. Women should cultivate the ability to work without making noise.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro—6: G.S. Gangabehnne, p. 14

355. LETTER TO BANARSIDAS CHATURVEDI

August 2, 1928

BHAI BANARSIDAS,

I have your letter. The reply¹ sent to Bhai Oza is just the right one. There is no need to send a wire as I had sent one already.

Yours,

MOHANDAS

SJT. BANARSIDAS CHATURVEDI

VISHAL BHARAT KARYALAYA

91 UPPER CIRCULAR ROAD, CALCUTTA

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2563

356. DISCUSSION IN BARDOLI

August 2, 1928

On the eve of starting for Bardoli Gandhiji said:

I am going to Bardoli in response to the command of the Sardar. Of Course Vallabhbhai often consults me, but does not a commander consult even a private serving under him? I am going to Bardoli not to take Vallabhbhai's place but to serve under him.

On coming to Bardoli he maintained the same attitude and has emphasized it at several places so as to burn the lesson of discipline deep into the minds of all engaged in public work.

Peasants from various places came wading through water and mire to pay their respects to Gandhiji. "We have surrendered our head to the Sardar, not our honour (literally, nose)," said a group of them.

Gandhiji said:

Then you may be sure that your honour is safe but a great test is still to come. When you have stood the final heat, victory is yours. But tell me one thing. Supposing Vallabhbhai is taken away and others also with him, won't you be cowed down?

"No fear," said one of them with firmness, "Vallabhbhai has done enough to turn our iron into steel, and we know that the only thing we have to do is to be true to

¹ *Vide* "Letter to U. K. Oza", 14-7-1928.

² From Mahadev Desai's "Bardoli Week by Week"

our word, even if the very heavens fall.”

Gandhiji was delighted. Some friend suggested that he should visit some of the villages. “Not unless Vallabhbhai wants me to do so” was the reply. It was only at Vallabhbhai’s desire that Gandhiji visited Sarbhon and Rayam and met there hundreds of peasants from scores of villages in the vicinity.

Young India, 9-8-1928

357. PREFACE TO “*SELF-RESTRAINT* v.*SELF-INDULGENCE*”¹

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,²

August 3, 1928

It is gratifying to note that the third edition of this volume is required by the public. I wish that I had time to add one or more chapters to the volume, but I cannot delay publication so that I might add the chapters. I would have done so if I could be sure of finding the time needed for it.

From what, however, I have discovered from the letters that regularly come to me from inquirers, I would like to issue this definite warning: Those who believe in self-restraint must not become hypochondriacs. The letters that come to me show that many correspondents brood over their ill-success in the exercise of self-restraint. Like everything else that is good, self-restraint too requires an inexhaustible store of patience. There is absolutely no reason to despond, and there must be no brooding. There should be no conscious effort to drive away evil thoughts. That process is itself a kind of indulgence.

The best prescription perhaps is non-resistance, i.e., ignoring the existence of evil thoughts and a continuous pre-occupation with duties that lie in front of one. This presupposes the existence of some kind of all-absorbing service requiring the concentration of mind, soul and body upon it. “Idle hands some mischief still will ever find to do”, is never so applicable as in this case. Evil thoughts, much more, evil deeds, are impossible when we are thus pre-occupied. Strenuous labour in accordance with one’s physical capacity is, therefore,

¹ A draft (S.N. 14063) of this is available at the Sabarmati Sangrahalaya, Ahmedabad.

² Permanent address

absolutely necessary for those who will obey the law of self-restraint which is indispensable for individual as well as universal progress.

M. K. GANDHI

Self-Restraint v. Self-Indulgence

358. *LETTER TO DR. B. C. ROY*¹

August 3, 1928

DEAR DR. BIDHAN,

I see I omitted to reply to your question about the American Consul's letter. Of course, the whole thing is a fabrication. I do not know who Estelle Cooper is or Nazimova.

Vallabhbhai has called me to Bardoli whence I am writing this.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

DR. BIDHAN ROY

36 WELLINGTON STREET, CALCUTTA

From a photostat: C.W. 2787

359. *LETTER TO D. F. MCCLELLAND*²

SWARAJ ASHRAM, BARDOLI,

August 3, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter and the enclosure³. You will excuse me for the delay in replying—I was so busy.

Dr. Gullick's question is very relevant. My own opinion is that

¹ In reply to his letter (S.N. 13651) dated July 26, "enclosing a copy of a communication from the American Consul". For the American Consul General's letter to Gandhiji and the latter's reply, *vide* "Letter to Robert Frazer", 10-8-1928.

² In reply to his letter (S.N. 13485) dated July 23, 1928, requesting Gandhiji to give his opinion on a question received by the addressee from Sydney L. Gullick, Secretary to the Commission on International Justice and Goodwill of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, "asking for a judgement after careful investigation as to whether the sore point lies in the race discrimination feature or in the fact of exclusion. . . ."

³ A printed appeal to the citizens of United States to amend the immigration laws so as to put an end to the Asiatic exclusion.

it is not the 'open door' that is wanted but really courteous treatment, not a mere declaration. And, if it is really courteous treatment that is really to be accorded, it is not difficult to find a legal formula wherewith an "Asiatic Invasion", as unrestricted immigration of the Asiatics is called, can be effectively checked while no Indian, whose competition need never be feared, would be excluded, or, admitted only after undergoing humiliating and discriminative treatment.

I need not now answer the question as to whether hundred Indians a year or more or less will answer the purpose. The number counts for nothing, the manner means everything.

Yours sincerely,

D. F. McCLELLAND, ESQ.

YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION, ESPLANADE, MADRAS

From a microfilm: S.N. 13894

360. LETTER TO SHAUKAT ALI

SWARAJ ASHRAM, BARDOLI,

August 3, 1928

I had your long typed letter¹ which you left at your office when you went to Delhi, the other day. I have carefully read your letter and I like it for its frankness. I do not share the view you have about Motilalji. He may be mistaken but he is sincere and frank.

As for me I can only say that I am what I was in 1920 and 1921. I can only hope that when the occasion arises God will give me the strength to prove the claim I have so often made, namely, that I am friend and brother to every Mussalman.

From a photostat: S.N. 13895

¹ Referring to this in his letter (S.N. 13484) dated July 23, 1928 Shaukat Ali had written: "You will get the typed letter from my office but without my signature. That will give you a reply to your last letter. . . ."

361. LETTER TO JAIRAMDAS DAULATRAM

SWARAJ ASHRAM, BARDOLI,
August 4, 1928

MY DEAR JAIRAMDAS,

I have been too busy to attend to your letter of 2nd June. It is only because Vallabhbbhai has called me to Bardoli that I have got a little breathing time to overtake arrears.

I do find a flaw *in your argument*. *You will* not decrease the consumption of foreign cloth through our mills unless they come under our control, if only for the simple reason that they will, as before, palm off foreign cloth upon you as swadeshi when they find it cheaper than their own cloth or when they run short of their own cloth. There is no shorter way than the straightest way. Has not Euclid taught us that a straight line is the shortest distance between two points? You know that I tried hard to come to terms with the mill-owners but it was of no use.

JAIRAMDAS DAULATRAM
HYDERABAD (SIND)

From a microfilm: S.N. 13910

362. LETTER TO CHIRANJIVALAL MISHRA¹

SWARAJ ASHRAM, BARDOLI,
August 4, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter.

I still write about British rule because it affects us in all departments of life. My condemnation of that rule does not make me blind to the virtues of the British people. If India is ever to gain swaraj,

¹ In reply to his letter (S.N. 13850) dated June 26, 1928, criticizing Gandhiji's denunciation of British rule. Chiranjivalal had also written: "My humble idea is that the more a man is religious, the more he is disqualified as a soldier in the fight for freedom of the country. Religion is an unnecessary evil and a drag on the political side. . ."

she will do so, not by copying other nations, but by finding out a way specially suited to her needs. India's progress towards swaraj would be more rapid if she was more religious.

Yours sincerely,

CHIRANJIVALAL MISHRA, *VAKIL*
HIGH COURT, JAIPUR CITY

From a microfilm: S.N. 13909

363. LETTER TO VISHVANATH SINGH

SWARAJ ASHRAM, BARDOLI,
August 4, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter.

I have no hesitation in saying that, if you propose to remarry you should marry the girl-widow although she lived with her husband for some time. I agree with you that it is inadvisable for a widow who has children to remarry.

Yours sincerely,

VISHVANATH SINGH, ESQ.
12 HORI SARKAR LANE, BARABAZAR, CALCUTTA

From a microfilm: S.N. 13908

364. LETTER TO ABDUL QUYUM¹

SWARAJ ASHRAM, BARDOLI,
August 4, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter.

I do not know any Nature cure specialist in the Punjab. But you do not need any. Sun-bath in the early morning when the rays of the sun are bearable on the naked body and simple unstimulating diet is

¹ In reply to his letter (S.N. 13873) dated July 4, 1928, requesting Gandhiji to suggest a Nature-cure specialist to cure him of his tubercular glands.

all you need. And if this treatment does not cure you nothing else is likely to.

Yours sincerely,

SHEIKH ABDUL QUYUM
BATALA

From a microfilm: S.N. 13906

365. LETTER TO BHUPENDRANATH GHOSH¹

SWARAJ ASHRAM, BARDOLI,
August 4, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter, enclosing suggestions for amending the Ashram Rules published in *Young India*. They will be carefully considered when revision is taken up.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 13907

366. LETTER TO G. RAMACHANDRAN

SWARAJ ASHRAM, BARDOLI,
August 4, 1928

MY DEAR RAMACHANDRAN,

I had your letter dated 8th ultimo. You must give me a regular fortnightly letter. It is only because Vallabhbhai has called me to Bardoli that I am able to overtake arrears.

Devdas is in Delhi. Surendra is now trying to become an expert tanner. The common kitchen has now 150 diners. Ba, Mahadev and Pyarelal are in Bardoli, apart from others.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 13905

¹ In reply to his letter (S.N. 13879) dated July 9, 1928, suggesting that the Satyagraha Ashram should be self-contained and not maintained by contributions from friends

367. LETTER TO CHOWDHARY MUKHTAR SINGH

SWARAJ ASHRAM, BARDOLI,
August, 4 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter¹.

Whist there is an undercurrent of truth in your letter there is, I am afraid, much confusion of thought. If a people will not become industrious and self-supporting by following a useful occupation they will never be able to throw off [the] foreign yoke. Prosperity is totally different from ability to support oneself by dint of labour.

Yours sincerely,

CHOWDHARY MUKHTAR SINGH²

From a microfilm: S.N. 13904

368. LETTER TO D. C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

SWARAJ ASHRAM, BARDOLI,
August 4, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter.

If you have the strength of mind you will certainly wear khadi even if you incur the displeasure of your employers. Our duty is to so act as not to cause injury to others. Duty is a debt and discharge of a debt does not carry any reward with it unless of satisfaction with oneself.

We pray to feel strong and purified.

Yours sincerely,

D.C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

L/78/3 CORAL MERCHANT STREET, MADRAS³

From a microfilm: S.N. 13903

¹ Dated July 10, 1928, which read: "In a country governed by foreigners whose aim is not only power but economic exploitation also, is it not a waste of time to work for economic regeneration of the country? . . ." (S.N. 13880)

² Pleader, Meerut; Member, Legislative Assembly

³ An employee of an English firm

369. LETTER TO GIRWARDHAR¹

SWARAJ ASHRAM, BARDOLI,
August 4, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your booklet². I do not know whether I shall ever get the time to read it.

1. There are no courtyards specially reserved for women in these parts as in Bihar.

2. Though there is no special courtyard or room reserved, males do not have free access to the females.

3. Women at public meetings have special enclosures reserved for them, as a rule.

4. Many educated women do dislike manual labour.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 13902

370. LETTER TO VISH NATH TIKOO

SWARAJ ASHRAM, BARDOLI,
August 4, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter.

It is wrong to say that we cannot produce hand-spun cloth for all the people. The moment the people have the will, they can

¹ *Avakil* of Samastipur (Bihar) who in his letter (S.N. 18872) dated June 30, 1928, had asked Gandhiji the following questions: "(1) Has every Hindu house there a courtyard with rooms reserved for females as in our Province? (2) Has any friend and acquaintance of the males free access to the Zanana Compartment there? (3) In public meetings do the females sit together or promiscuously with males? (4) Have the educated females there a dislike for household manual labour like cooking, etc., or they continue to do the work themselves? (5) Do the females jointly sit with males in the outer apartments amongst their friends, acquaintances and clients, etc., or do they come out on rare occasions when necessity requires it?" It appears that Gandhiji did not answer the fifth question

² In Hindi entitled *Gram Sudhar* for being reviewed in *Young India* and *Navajivan*

manufacture all the cloth they need and that far more economically than any that can be bought in the market.

Yours sincerely,

VISH NATH TIKOO

SHALA KADAL, SHRINAGAR, KASHMIR

From a microfilm: S.N. 13898

371. LETTER TO PYARELAL CHOPRA

SWARAJ ASHRAM, BARDOLI,

August 4, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter.

You should not give up milk. You can use uncooked green vegetables if you take them in very small quantities, not more than 1 oz. per day to start with. You need not give up wheat. It is possible to take wheat uncooked after soaking it in water overnight in order to soften it.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. PYARELAL CHOPRA

HEAD CLERK, IMPERIAL BANK OF INDIA, DARBHANGA

From a microfilm: S.N. 13901

372. LETTER TO MATHURA PRASAD

SWARAJ ASHRAM, BARDOLI,

August 4, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I am sorry not to have been able to reply to your letter earlier.

I am unable to guide you in the matter mentioned by you. It is likely that, if you try, you may get some help from the Government.

MATHURA PRASAD

BHABUA (BIHAR)

From a microfilm: S.N. 13900

373. A LETTER

SWARAJ ASHRAM, BARDOLI,
August 4, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

Only great pressure of business has prevented me from acknowledging the correspondence from Orissa. All my plans having been upset, I was obliged at the eleventh hour to put off sending Chhaganlal Gandhi to you. You may have him as my nominee on your board and carry on all correspondence with him. I do not know when I shall be able to send him to you. I having been called to Bardoli, the uncertainty has become still more uncertain. I can only say that I shall not delay sending him a minute more than I can help.

My suggestion to you is not to take any step about khadi without previous consultation with me through Chhaganlal Gandhi and to consult with him directly, if I am put away by the Government.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 13911

374. LETTER TO T. K. MADHAVAN

SWARAJ ASHRAM, BARDOLI,
August 4, 1928

MY DEAR MADHAVAN,

Your letter of 30th May last has lain with me all these months unanswered; but I have been helpless. It is only because I have been called to Bardoli that I have a little time to attend to arrears.

Please let me know what progress you have made. I have not yet been able to go through the judgment. Why don't you see Rajagopalachari yourself? He will help you in whatever way he can. I hear, however, that at the present moment he is far from well.

Yours sincerely,

T. K. MADHAVAN, ESQ.

ORGANIZING SECRETARY, S.N.D.P. YOGAM¹

From a photostat: S.N. 14054

¹ Sri Narayana Guru Dharma Paripalana Yogam

375. LETTER TO ABBAS TYABJI

August 4, 1928

MY DEAR BHRRR,¹

It is not for me to like or dislike. When all are locked up, things will take their own course. But more when we meet. Please tell Raihana I began Gopi's diary and had to leave it to come to Bardoli.

Yours,

BHRRR

From a photostat: S.N. 9564

376. A LETTER

SWARAJ ASHRAM, BARDOLI,

August 4, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I am sorry, I have been unable to reach your letter before now.

We have evidence enough of the majority of mankind that their ancestors do not show, to our knowledge, any dissatisfaction because the rites that the Hindus perform are not performed for them. The references in the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* do not prove that at one time the rites referred to in them were performed by us. To me, it seems that real reverence to our ancestors and remembrance of them should consist in copying their virtues. Personally I perform no rites in connection with my father, nor do I keep the anniversary, for I endeavour to think of my parents and copy their virtues in my life from day to day.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 13896

¹ This was a form of greeting between Gandhiji and the addressee.

377. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

SWARAJ ASHRAM,
*Saturday [August 4, 1928]*¹

CHI. VASUMATI,

I am alarmed by your letter. It seems you are seriously ill. Please ask the doctor to write to me and tell me what he thinks about the illness and what treatment he is giving. Is it necessary to send anyone from here?

I am at Bardoli just now. Write to me at this address.

Blessings from
BAPU

CHI. VASUMATIBEHN
KANYA GURUKULA

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 489. Courtesy: Vasumati Pandit

378. LETTER TO KUSUM DESAI

SWARAJ ASHRAM, BARDOLI,
August 4, 1928

CHI. KUSUM,

I got your letter. I shall certainly require a well-maintained diary. If you write every day, you will grow used to the practice. You certainly know how to keep a diary. Surely, it does not require any great ability to note down the work done, the thoughts which occurred and the experiences one had!

I have given in the letter to Chhaganlal (Joshi) what news I could about Bardoli. I may say that at present I am practically enjoying rest.

How is Rajkishori?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1756

¹ From the postmark

379. SPEECH AT SARBHON

August 4, 1928

Gandhiji accompanied by some prominent local workers motored to Sarbhon yesterday where, besides the volunteers of Sarbhon and the *patels* and *talatis* who had resigned and the representatives from 25 villages comprising Sarbhon division had gathered together in the Swaraj Ashram to meet him. In explaining the object of his visit Gandhiji said that he had come there only to congratulate them and to learn more about their achievements. . . . Addressing the *talatis* Gandhiji said:

I hold that the *talatis* have shown greater spirit and valour in this fight than any other section. May I express the hope that you will maintain the same fine spirit when peace comes as you have shown in this fight? For I have noticed that *talatis* often tyrannize over the poor villagers and harass them. It is up to you to set them at their ease so that they might learn to regard you as friends and helpers, not as objects of terror. For the rest, the people have understood the secret of unity and combination, and once that lesson is learnt victory becomes an easy matter.

He next had a short talk with the representatives of the 25 villages of Sarbhon division numbering about sixty, in the course of which he said:

Although your leaders would be the last persons to stand in the way of an honourable settlement they are bound to reject any settlement that is abject or humiliating. We are all anxious for peace, but we want peace with honour, a peace that would be worthy of the satyagrahis and the cause which they represent. Some representatives of Bajipura the other day told Vallabhbhai that they had pledged their all to him but not their honour.¹ My advice to you is that you should surrender your honour to nobody in the world. As for Vallabhbhai, he would be the last person to wish you to do so. For he holds his own honour dear and the honour of others is as dear to him as his own. No one can deprive another of his honour if he is determined not to surrender it. A time may shortly come when Dr. Sumant², Abbas Tyabji and all the local workers and volunteers may be snatched away from you and clapped into jail. Then will come your real test. Let each one of you when that hour comes defend the citadel of his honour with his last breath, for that is the meaning of swaraj. The substitution of a brown for a white bureaucracy won't bring us swaraj.

¹ Vide "Discussion in Bardoli", 2-8-1928.

² Sumant Mehta

Swaraj will come to us only when we have developed the capacity to safeguard our honour. And if you make truth and non-violence your shield then I tell you that whatever be the end of this struggle you will come out of it with your honour unscathed. The Government may riddle you with bullets or turn you out of your homes. You must be prepared for both. Only remember what Vallabhbhai told you, that a soldier receives bullets on his chests not on his back.

As for being deprived of your hearth and home what fear can you have so long as you have sound limbs with which to do labour. It is after all not Government that gives you your daily bread but He who watches over all creation. You have already achieved much and if you can stand the last heat unflinchingly the world will ring with fame of your deeds. But if you fail in the crucial test your fall will be as great as your present success. Even so in 1922 you came within an ace of success but you could not maintain that position and the result was that you sank back into the morass till Vallabhbhai by his penance and sacrifice again raised you to the old heights. He has done his part. It now remains for you to do yours.

The Bombay Chronicle, 7-8-1928

380. LETTER TO MANIBEHN PATEL

SWARAJ ASHRAM, BARDOLI,
Saturday, August 4, 1928

CHI. MANI,

Swami¹ is not here, but I read your letter to him. Do not insist on coming here. It is the duty of a soldier to keep fit and obey the commander willingly. We can improve our health soon enough if we apply our mind to it.

Father, Mahadev and Swami have gone to Poona. They must have started from there today. A wire was expected from Poona, but it has not yet arrived. One cannot say yet whether or not there will be a settlement. I feel that the Government is not in a sufficiently strong position now to prolong the fight. Public opinion is against it and

¹ Anandananda

ithas made many mistakes. I visited Sarbhon today. There has been no rain for some days. Most of the people here are leaving for Surat today.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro—4: Manibehn Patelne, pp. 67-8

381. MAGANKAKA

Under this heading, Prabhudas Gandhi has written a good, detailed and yet very brief biographical sketch¹ of the late Maganlal Gandhi. There is truth in it and also a command over the language. Because of the blending of truth and simplicity of expression the account in my opinion can also be said to be outstanding from the point of view of art. All of us have to learn much from the life of the late Maganlal Gandhi because he was a living example of the saying: “Practise as you preach.” This account is given here since it cannot but benefit Gujaratis.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 5-8-1928

382. LACK OF COTTON OR EFFORT?

The Secretary, Children’s Conference of Kasunda, situated in the Manbhoom region of Bihar, writes:²

The writer is a Gujarati and takes interest in the life of the children of Bihar and in khadi. I congratulate him on doing so. But I am grieved by what he says in his letter, that due to want of slivers and cotton, the plying of charkhas has had to be stopped. Those who have the means to procure charkhas can obtain cotton from anywhere and there should be no need to get slivers from elsewhere. I have often written in *Navajivan* that those who do not know how to card and make slivers cannot be said to know spinning. Only those can be said to know how to make the flour *rotis* who know how to knead, make

¹ Not translated here

² The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had stated that the spinning-wheel had ceased to operate in certain parts of Bihar for want of slivers.

rolls and roast *rotis*. Similarly, only those who know how to card cotton, make slivers and spin can be called spinners. In fact, all the three processes constitute a single activity. Perhaps it would not be improper to call slivers the thickest of yarn. The process of carding is easy and beautiful. It does not take much time to learn it. Hence, my reply to the writer of the above letter is that slivers should be available in the village of Kasunda itself. It is not due to want of cotton or slivers that plying of charkhas has had to be stopped but rather due to want of effort, and in this fact I also see the absence of a genuine love for the charkha. I hope that wherever charkhas are plied as *yajna* spinners would immediately learn how to card cotton and make slivers.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 5-8-1928

383. SETTLEMENT OR WAR?

Reports of a settlement are coming in from all quarters, and, behind it, are also heard the echoes of a battle. At one time we hear that the Government is firm and is not prepared to change even one of the points in the talks held at Surat, while at other times we hear that the Government is eager to arrive at a settlement, that it is ready to yield as much as possible and would fight only if it cannot help it.

God alone knows which of these two versions is correct. A satyagrahi remains indifferent towards both, but at the same time should be prepared to face either. He should not let go a single opportunity for a settlement but should always be prepared for a battle. He should never adopt devious ways. He should not have the *chakravyuha*¹ of Abhimanyu, he should have only one golden, straightforward path, which even a child can see. He has nothing to hide, he can have recourse to no underhand dealings; what then has he to think about? It is immaterial for him whether on Monday he gets the news of a settlement or of Shri Vallabhbhai's arrest.

If satyagrahis have fully learnt their lesson under the leadership of Shri Vallabhbhai, they would not be scared at all at his arrest or that of other leaders and, while allowing things to take their own course,

¹ An impregnable phalanx of the Kaurava army which Abhimanyu alone was able to destroy

would remain steadfast in their determination.

Those who are trying to bring about a settlement have a right to do so; it is the dharma of every citizen to take a hand in preventing an unnecessary war. But if they get involved in efforts at a settlement out of misplaced pity for satyagrahis, they will harm the nation and prove that they do not understand the satyagrahis. The latter do not need pity, they do not hanker after it; what they crave for is justice. Hence, it is possible that the efforts of those who seek pity for satyagrahis by regarding them as weak, may be in vain. If the demands of the satyagrahis are just, it is the dharma of the mediators to make a determined effort to see that justice is done to them. In order to do so, it is essential for the former to understand the demands and the struggle of the satyagrahis. A satyagrahi enters the struggle by regarding sorrows as joys. Therefore no one has the right to enter into any negotiations on his behalf out of distress for his sufferings. It is my confirmed belief that those who intervene in such a manner prolong the struggle rather than shorten it.

A satyagrahi always desires to educate public opinion. Therefore he wishes to make his facts fully known. In spite of this, those, who in their ignorance, build tabernacles of truce with imagined facts, would find that these will burn down with a single spark of the match-stick of truth, just like tents made of paper. Those who wish to bring about a compromise need to have the faith that persons prepared for suffering will never be guilty of exaggeration; they have taken to the path of satyagraha only as a last resort, after all the other avenues had been closed to them. The satyagrahis of Bardoli and Valod fall into this category. They have resorted to satyagraha after all other methods had failed.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 5-8-1928

384. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

SWARAJ ASHRAM, BARDOLI,

[August 5, 1928]¹

MY DEAR MIRA,

Your letters. I am using your name freely in order to stop the noise in the kitchen. It does not matter if you incur a little displeasure of some sisters for the time being. You should discuss this question freely with them.

Chhotelalji says you have a violent dislike for the monthly course regulation of which he says you knew nothing. Is this so ? I thought we discussed it² and you agreed that it was necessary to placate those who had scruples. You may discuss this with Chhotelalji and let me know what you have understood.

It is almost certain that a compromise will be announced *tomorrow or on Tuesday*. But I shall be detained for some days longer for the new order of things to settle down.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 5304. Courtesy: Mirabehn; also G.N. 8194

385. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

BARDOLI,

Sunday, August 5, 1928

CHI. VASUMATI,

I have no news today. I intend to send a wire tomorrow to inquire. If you need anyone to help you, you should not at all hesitate to write and tell me so. Your health should not get worse. I did not follow your remark about being confined to bed for a month. I personally do not understand the suggestion about gram soup.

Most probably there will be a settlement of the Bardoli problem.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 490. Courtesy: Vasumati Pandit

¹ From the reference to the announcement of the compromise regarding Bardoli

² *Vide* "Letter to Mirabehn", August 14 and 26, 1927.

386. LETTER TO KUSUM DESAI

BARDOLI,
Sunday, August 5, 1928

CHI. KUSUM,

I got your letter. It is strange that you should have a headache. Take care.

If you have any explanation why . . . bhai¹ does not admit his error, think over it and let me know. Is it possible that you misunderstood at any time what you were told? Personally, I have again written to say that . . . bhai² should be relieved. Write and let me know what arrangements have been made for the Bal Mandir³.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1757

387. LETTER TO ANASUYABEHN SARABHAI

SWARAJ ASHRAM, BARDOLI,
August 5, 1928

CHI. ANASUYABEHN,

I did not write to you till now as there was no news. Today Mahadev has returned from Poona. Valjibhai got off at Surat. A compromise will most probaby be arrived at. All our conditions have been accepted. However, we will know for certain either tomorrow or on Tuesday, so for the time being this is meant only for you find our friends. Mahadev tells me that Vallabhbhai feels that I may have to stay here for about a fortnight should there be a compromise. I have letters from Gulzarilal and Desai. The Provincial Congress Committee is meeting in Surat today. I have written asking Vallabhbhai to finalize things.

I am fine.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : S. N. 32777

¹ The names are omitted in the source.

² Infant school

³ From Mahadev Desai's "Bardoli Week by Week"

388. *SPEECH ON DISCIPLINE, RAYAM*

August 5, 1928

I cannot speak as the order of the Sardar is clear. If he had been here and asked me to speak I should have done so. But today I cannot do anything more than congratulate you on your bravery and on your unity. I was glad to see the spinning demonstration, but I cannot even speak about the charkha. It should be a principle with us implicitly to obey the commands or instructions of one whom we have chosen to be our Sardar. I admit I am Vallabhbhai's elder brother, but in public life no matter whether one is father or elder brother of the man under whom one serves, one must obey his instructions. It is not a new law. It used to be a law even in ancient times. It was that spirit of discipline which made such a mighty personality as Lord Krishna humbly serve as Arjuna's charioteer and serve as the meanest of the menials on the occasion of King Yudhishtira's Rajasuya Sacrifice. I cannot therefore do anything more than congratulate you. It was Vallabhbhai who made you famous throughout India. But it was Government who made you famous throughout the world. May you achieve even greater things in future.

Young India, 9-8-1928

389. *TELEGRAM TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ*

BARDOLI,

August 6, 1928

JAMNALALJI

CARE "PRATAP", CAWNPORE

PRACTICALLY FINISHED. SATISFACTORY. AM STAYING HERE.

BAPU

Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, p. 69

390. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

SWARAJ ASHRAM, BARDOLI,

August 6, 1928

MY DEAR MIRA,

Your letter. Of course I am not going to force you to do anything. But evidently my memory has gone to the dogs. I seem to have the clearest possible recollection that I talked to you and you to have said that for their sakes one had to do as they desired.¹ But either I simply fancy I spoke to you when I did not or something terribly wrong has happened. Whatever the case, you must set yourself at ease. You shall be suited completely.

The settlement is practically finished but I shall have to be some days here to watch.

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

Hope Kusum is all right now.

From the original: C.W. 5305. Courtesy: Mirabehn; also G.N. 8195

391. LETTER TO ASHRAM WOMEN

BARDOLI,

Silence Day, August 6, 1928

SISTERS,

It seems a settlement has been practically reached. So I hope to return early. Vallabhbhai wants to keep me here for a few days. Tomorrow we expect more authentic information about the settlement.

I have been thinking about the kitchen. I have been considering how you can be made to take full interest and work wholeheartedly in it. I feel that for this purpose you must shoulder the entire burden of the kitchen. You should get what help you need. But you can take up the responsibility only when you feel within you enough strength to do so. The noise in the store-room and the kitchen must definitely

¹ Vide "Letter to Mirabehn", 5-8-1928.

cease. If Mirabehn were there, she would find it difficult to work with so much noise; even Chhotelalji would be disturbed. Those who sing the *Gita* verses about being steadfast in wisdom must cultivate the habit of working quietly. While making *chapatis* or cleaning the rice, why can we not get fully absorbed in our work and do it silently ? But when you say that time will not pass unless you are talking, I become helpless. Even then I should say that you need not make quite so much noise. Why can we not, while working, reflect on the significance of some verse we may have learnt that day? Think of all this, and do only what you think best.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3681

392. LETTER TO PRABHASHANKER PATTANI

SWARAJ ASHRAM, BARDOLI,

August 6, 1928

SUJNA BHAISHRI,

I got your letter. Need I thank you?

No one need worry about me at all. God will keep me all right for His own purpose so long as He wants me to work, and when He gets displeased even a thousand physicians will not be able to help me. But now a settlement seems certain.

Nevertheless, Vallabhbhai desires that I should stay here for a few days more.

Vandemataram from

MOHANDAS

[PS.]

Don't worry about coming to the Ashram. If you can find the time to come, you will undoubtedly be welcome.

From the Gujarati original: G.W. 3224. Courtesy: Mahesh Pattani

393. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

Monday [August 6, 1928]¹

CHI. VASUMATI,

I got three postcards together today. They report fairly satisfactory progress. I had already sent a wire earlier. I know that there you should follow the doctor's instructions. May God restore you to health very soon.

A settlement about Bardoli is almost certain. But I shall have to stay on for a few days longer.

Blessings from

BAPU

CHI. VASUMATIBEHN

KANYA GURUKULA

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 491. Courtesy: Vasumati Pandit

394. LETTER TO KUSUM DESAI

BARDOLI,

August 6, 1928

CHI. KUSUM,

Mirabehn writes and tells me that you have still not recovered. There is no letter today from you and that confirms what she says. I hope you are not brooding over things?

A settlement is almost certain. I shall, therefore, return in a few days. Nevertheless, I shall have to stay here a little longer than I had expected. Vallabhbhai desires that I should.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1758

¹ From the postmark

395. LETTER TO RAIHANA TYABJI

August 6, 1928

CHI. RAIHANA,

Your first Gujarati letter was very good indeed. If you write thus often and improve your handwriting, your Gujarati will become really very good. Since there is a settlement now, what work can I give you here?

Vandemataram to everyone.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9608

396. LETTER TO BECHAR PARMAR

August 6, 1928

BHAISHRI BECHAR,

I got your transparently sincere letter. Even though you may be a teacher, why should you not draw water for others? Or work as a barber? You should not mind if the Government dismisses you or people criticize you for that. I want you to remain a teacher simply in order that, though working as one, you should do physical work and give up false shame. There is nothing wrong if, remaining detached, you shoulder the burden of family responsibilities. Never think of running away.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 24749

397. LETTER TO MOOLCHAND AGRAWAL

SWARAJ ASHRAM, BARDOLI,
August 6, 1928

BHAI MOOLCHANDJI,

Please excuse the delay in replying.

If one working in a subordinate position really possesses higher merit than his senior, the latter will recognize his talent. But then there is one condition; the subordinate must have perfect humility and patience.

Yours,
MOHANDAS GANDHI

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 762

398. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

SWARAJ ASHRAM, BARDOLI,
Silence Day [August 6, 1928]

CHI. PRABHAVATI,

I get your nice letters regularly. Your handwriting and expression are both good. Do not fall ill by struggling to reach the kitchen at five. It will do if you go at half past five. I shall now return in a few days. How is Vidyavati's¹ health? How is the Bal Mandir Hindi class getting on? Maintain a regular daily diary.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 3331

¹ Addressee's sister

399. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

SWARAJ ASHRAM, BARDOLI,
August 7, 1928

MY DEAR MIRA,

I did not wire as the papers announce the settlement. I won't worry about the monthly untouchability till my return. I know the defect to which you have drawn my attention. If the chief men are strong the Ashram will settle down to its peace.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 5306. Courtesy: Mirabehn; also G.N. 8196

400. LETTER TO KUSUM DESAI

BARDOLI,
Tuesday, August 7, 1928

CHI. KUSUM,

I got your letter. I find it difficult to understand you. I know that you would not use the language of humility when writing to me. I do not believe that you cannot keep a diary.¹ Your saying that your letter became too long and that you do not know how to make a letter brief is also false humility. All your letters are good. I personally would not be able to shorten them, and I know fairly well the difference between a long and a short letter. If, therefore, you really have a high opinion of yourself, get rid of it and stop self-depreciation if you are making a show of it as a mere formality.

The matter about . . . bhai² seems to have been settled now. It seems that he has admitted his error. His admission has not been conveyed personally to me, but it seems he has admitted his error before Surendra and Chhotelal. Your part in the affair was indeed very good.

The programme for the Bal Mandir seems all right. If you can adhere to it, the project is bound to prosper.

¹ *Vide* "Letter to Kusum Desai", 4-8-1928.

² The name is omitted in the source.

Take care of your health.

I expect to reach there by the end of this week or in the beginning of the next. When do you get up these days?

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1759

401. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

August 7, 1928

CHI. VASUMATI,

I got your letter, as also Vidyavatiji's wire. Please tell her. If, after you have recovered, Ramdevji takes you to Hardwar, there is no harm in going with him and consulting a vaid. It may perhaps do good.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 492. Courtesy: Vasumati Pandit

402. LETTER TO GANGABEHN VAIDYA

SWARAJ ASHRAM, BARDOLI,

August 7, 1928

CHI. GANGABEHN,

I got your letter.

Though a settlement has been reached, I shall remain here a few days longer.

It is good that you attend the prayers regularly. You may work as much as you wish, but you should take rest at intervals and keep yourself calm. Do not work any time in a restless state of mind. Cultivate Mirabehn's company a great deal and ask her to pull you up. She should do it every time she hears you shouting. It will not be many days before you get used to working on silently and with a cheerful mind, and you will also get less tired then.

Make Krishnamaaiyyadevi work regularly. You will be able to win her over through love.

Blessings from

BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro—6: G. S. Gangabehnne, p. 14

403. A LETTER

[Before August 1, 1928]¹

I have both your letters. Why do you ask me for anything? When you went to jail I wrote nothing either to you or for the newspapers. Still you do not forget me. Such is your love. My own love stopped me from writing but I have kept myself posted with news of you. Your way and mine appear to differ in many respects, but what does it matter?

Now the message: The best way to keep the memory of Lokmanya alive is to attain swaraj. Why not let us die in the quest for swaraj? In my opinion the Bardoli way is also the way to swaraj.

I hope you are now fully restored.

Blessings from

MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Hindi: S.N. 16009

¹ The year has been inferred from the reference to the Bardoli Satyagraha. The message in the letter seems to have been sent for B. G. Tilak's death anniversary on August 1.

404. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,¹

August 8, 1928

CHI. MIRA²,

Subbiah arrived here last night. I am therefore going to dictate instead of writing to you.

If the event occurs before I reach there, you should be served in your room. Will that suit? And, if you do not want it even to be guessed by anybody, you may be served even as from now.

There is no question of segregation at any other time or at the prayer meeting. The question has reference only to the kitchen and the dining-room.

I thoroughly appreciate the spirit with which you are conducting this enquiry. Of course I have much to say upon the matter. But I don't want to deal with it through correspondence.

I hope to be there on Sunday or some time early next week.

I have not misunderstood the remark you made about the inmates of the Ashram.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 5307. Courtesy: Mirabehn; also G.N. 8197

405. LETTER TO KUSUM DESAI

SWARAJ ASHRAM, BARDOLI,

Wednesday, August 8, 1928

CHI. KUSUM,

Your reply to Sharada was not only well pointed but it also contained a deep meaning.

My reply is that I do not know—the daughters themselves should know—who is nearest to my heart. I write to any one of them to whom I think I have to and also try to write to those who want me

¹ Permanent address

² The superscription in this and other letters to Mirabehn is in Devanagari script.

to write to them. Show this to Sharada and let me know if she wants me to write to her.

If thefts take place in the women's wing, you should be able to discover the thief. You should have mentioned in your letter the things which had been stolen.

Send me a list of the things stolen and of the owners. Also let me know whom you suspect.

I may arrive there on Sunday. If I do not I shall be there early next week at the latest.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1760

406. ALL'S WELL

It is a matter for sincere joy that the settlement has at last been reached¹ over the Bardoli Satyagraha. All's well that ends well. I tender my congratulations both to the Government of Bombay and the people of Bardoli and Valod and Sjt. Vallabhbhai without whose firmness as well as gentleness the settlement would have been impossible. The reader will note that the satyagrahis have achieved practically all that they had asked for. The terms of reference to the Committee of Enquiry are all that could be desired. True, there is to be no inquiry into the allegations about the coercive measures adopted by the Government to enforce payment. But it, was generous on the part of Sjt. Vallabhbhai to waive the condition, seeing that the lands forfeited including lands sold are to be restored, the *talatis* are to be reinstated and other minor matters are to be attended to. It is well not to rake up old wrongs for which, beyond the reparation made, there can be no other remedy. The inquiry into the assessment question will be carried in a calmer atmosphere for the waiver of the clause about the coercive processes.

Let not the satyagrahis sleep over their well deserved victory. They. have to collect and collate material to prove their allegations about the assessment.

And above all, if they are to consolidate their position, they must

¹ On August 6, 1928 at Poona; for the terms of settlement, *vide* Appendix on "Bardoli Settlement".

proceed with constructive work with redoubled vigour. Their strength lies in their ability and willingness to handle this difficult, slow and unpretentious work of construction. They have to rid themselves of many social abuses. They must better their economic condition by attention to the charkha. It was the charkha that led to the awakening among them. They must remove the reproach of drink from their midst. They must attend to village sanitation and have a properly managed school in every village. The so-called higher classes must befriend the depressed and the suppressed classes. The greater the attention given to these matters, the greater will be their ability to face crises like the one they had just gone through.

The noble band of volunteers who had the privilege of serving under Vallabhbhai deserve the highest praise for their devotion and splendid discipline. The task is not yet finished. Those who can spare the time must help the Sardar in his constructive work.

Young India, 9-8-1928

407. NOTES

LATE JUSTICE AMEER ALI

I tender my respectful condolences to the relatives of the late Justice Ameer Ali who was not the least among the friends and helpers of the cause of the Indian settlers in South Africa in the protracted satyagraha struggle of 1906-14.

SOUTH AFRICAN CONDONATION

Just at the time of going to Press I have before me a copy of *Indian Opinion* containing the supplement giving full particulars regarding the condonation scheme¹. I have time just now only to give below the form of application² to be made so as to reach the Department of Interior (Immigration and Asiatic Affairs) before 1st October next.

Let those who wish to return to South Africa send their applications betimes. I hope to publish other papers and information next week.

¹ *Vide* Appendix on "South African Condonation", before August 9, 1928.

² *ibid*

MAGANLAL MEMORIAL

The reader will be glad to know that Sjt. Mulji Sikka has donated the sum of Rs. 10,000 to the Maganlal Memorial. The love of this family for khadi is well known and has been often enough exhibited in a variety of ways.

A CORRECTION

In *Young India* of 19th July last appears an acknowledgment of Rs. 2,000, sent through Lala Lajpat Rai to the Bardoli Fund. In this the sum of Rs. 500 has been acknowledged as from "other contributors". The amount, however, was a personal contribution from Lalaji himself. I am sorry for the blunder, but when numerous entries have to be made daily and when they pass from hand to hand such omissions often become inevitable in spite of all efforts to avoid errors.

Young India, 9-8-1928

408. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

August 9, 1928

CHI. VASUMATI,

I got your long letter today. You don't seem to have become completely free from your illness. If you want anyone to be sent from here, let me know. It appears that I shall be able to leave Bardoli on Sunday.

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

If you find your hair to be a source of trouble to you, have no hesitation in having it cut off.

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 493. Courtesy: Vasumati Pandit

409. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,¹

August 10, 1928

CHI. MIRA,

I hope to move from Bardoli at the end of the week. I have your letter. For the time being, it is best to have your food served in your room and not to have anything to do with the kitchen. I have much to say about the argument you have advanced. But as I hope to reach the Ashram on Monday morning, I do not wish to argue the position through correspondence. I am not perturbed over the position you feel you have to take up.

We had a death of a very brave young girl at the Swaraj Ashram who was quite all right yesterday and came in order to meet her father who is at the Sabarmati Jail and whose discharge was imminent. She developed violent pain in the abdominal region. Doctors could not diagnose. She died peacefully early in the morning.² And so, though I am mechanically doing today's programme, I am holding silent converse with the God of Death and making the meaning of death more clear for myself.

More when we meet.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 5308. Courtesy: Mirabehn; also G.N. 8198

¹ Permanent address

² Narrating the incident, Mahadev Desai wrote: "She had come all the way from Vankaner on foot . . . At three o'clock in the morning she said: 'Pray call Mahatmaji to my bedside. I want to have his last *darshan*.' Gandhiji soon came. She had lost her eyesight, but as soon as Gandhiji accosted her, she said: 'I cannot see you, but I recognize your voice. Will someone fold up my hands? I want to do my last obeisance to Gandhiji.' Next she asked for Vallabhbhai, and before daybreak she passed away" (*The Story of Bardoli*, pp. 140-1).

410. LETTER TO ROBERT FRAZER

BARDOLI,
August 10, 1928

I have your letter¹. Dr. Bidhan Roy wrote to me about its subject-matter and I trust you have had a reply.

The whole story is a fabrication from start to finish. I know nothing of the parties mentioned therein.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 13487

411. LETTER TO CHARLES FREDERICK WELLER²

August 10, 1928

I do like your emphasis upon appreciation rather than toleration. Whether you are now ready to launch out in Chicago, etc., is more than I can tell. It must be a matter of your own feeling and experience. I can only say generally, in all such matters, try after depths rather than extent of service.

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 14333

¹ Dated August 2, which read: "I beg to inform you that a telegram was lately addressed to the President of the United States of America by Estelle Cooper Gandhi, reading as follows: 'Mahatma Gandhi has informed me to inform you Nazimova has left him no alternative but to declare boycott on all American goods and call general strike on all American plantations which employ darker-skinned people. Boycott lifted only when Nazimova deported and Katherine Mayo presented for criminal libel here.' I would be greatly obliged if you would inform me who Estelle Cooper Gandhi is and whether the above telegram was sent with your knowledge and approval. I would also be pleased to receive any comment that you may care to make in regard to this matter." *Vide* also "Letter to Dr. B. C. Roy", 3-8-1928.

² Executive President, League of Neighbours; associated with Fellowship of Faiths and Union of East and West. In his letter dated June 21, 1928, Weller wrote: "One of my long-time ambitions is to visit India . . . to organize meetings in which Hindus will pay tributes of appreciation to the Mohammedan faith, Mohammedans to Hinduism and Christians to both, . . . 5"

412. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

Friday [August 10, 1928]¹

CHI. VASUMATI,

I got your long letter giving all the details. It is very well written. I know now all that I wanted to know. I wish to make no suggestion. The doctor is a good man; why should I interfere with his treatment? Personally, though, I would not approve of gram soup, and that too spiced.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 494. Courtesy: Vasumati Pandit

413. LETTER TO OLIVE DOKE

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,²

August 11, 1928

MY DEAR OLIVE³,

I was thankful to receive your letter giving me detailed news about yourself and your brave and wonderful work. I was thankful too to hear about Clement⁴ and Comber⁵.

You want to know something about my boys. Harilal, the eldest, has become a rebel. He even drinks and makes himself merry and is honestly of opinion that I have gone astray in all I am doing. Manilal is in Phoenix keeping up *Indian Opinion*. He was married two years

¹ From the postmark

² Permanent address

³ Daughter of Rev. J. J. Doke

⁴ Brothers of the addressee

⁵ From Mahadev Desai's "Bardoli Week by Week"

ago and took his wife with him. They are both happy. Ramdas and Devdas are with me helping me in my work. Ramdas was married a year ago. Devdas is still unmarried. I am conducting here a fairly big institution. The enclosed will give you its constitution and its composition.

When you write to the different members of the family please send my love to them all and accept it for yourself.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

MISS O. C. DOKE

KAFULAFUTA, P.O. NAOLA, N. W. RHODESIA (SOUTH AFRICA)

From a photostat: C.W. 9226. Courtesy: C. M. Doke

414. *SPEECH AT VALOD*¹

[August 11, 1928]²

Even amongst the satyagrahis there were not wanting people who were dissatisfied with the result and addressed notes to Gandhiji and to the Sardar to say that they would have preferred a fight to the finish to a half-hearted compromise.

In reply to these impatient men of Valod Gandhiji said:

You will recognize that I am the *acharya*³ of the science of satyagraha, and as such I tell you that no victory could have been cleaner, straighter and more decisive. What if your Sardar was not taken into confidence by Government? Every one of your conditions has been fulfilled and you want nothing more. You need not care as to how and through whose instrumentality the settlement was brought about. A satyagrahi is satisfied with the substance, he does not fight for the shadow. And why do you talk of a fight to the finish? Because you did not get an opportunity of proving your mettle against the worst odds, against power and shot? Well, it does not behove a satyagrahi to wish that his opponent should stoop to brutishness in order that his own bravery may be proclaimed to the world. A satyagrahi always prays that his opponent's heart may be converted by the grace of God and not that it may be rendered more stony. And

¹ From the Bombay Secret Abstracts, p. 552, paragraph 1353(3)

² *ibid*

³ Preceptor

why are you impatient? The bigger battle is still before us—the battle for freedom of which the campaign was planned in 1921 and which has yet to be fought.

Young India, 16-8-1928

415. 'RAMA, THE STRENGTH OF THE WEAK'

It is an exaggeration to say that the satyagrahis have triumphed, for there is nothing like defeat for a satyagrahi. He gives up only when he is dead. Nevertheless, from a practical point of view it could be claimed that the satyagrahis of Bardoli have won. Everyone will praise those who fight unto death; however, no one will claim that they have, therefore, been victorious. The satyagrahis of Bardoli can be said to have been victorious, since their demands have been conceded.

From the practical point of view, the credit for this victory may be due to anyone. From the standpoint of the satyagrahis and from that of Vallabhbhai, it is due to God alone. Vallabhbhai has indeed tendered it. A satyagrahi offers up his all to God when he enters the battle-field. No credit or discredit, therefore, can be attributed to him. He appears to be weak in the eyes of the world. He has no physical strength inasmuch as he has no weapons. What comparison can there be between the strength of the people of Bardoli and the might of the British Empire? Whereas the people of Bardoli are like ants, the latter is like an elephant; but it is when the satyagrahi becomes like an ant that God saves him, as He saves the ant which is about to be crushed under the elephant's foot. This is what has happened in Bardoli.

Let us proceed after thus expressing our thankfulness to God.

No settlement could have been brought about had His Excellency the Governor not chosen to do so. Having disregarded his own strongly-worded speech, he adopted a conciliatory policy and conceded the demands of the satyagrahis. He deserves to be complimented for this.

However, the settlement would have been impossible had Vallabhbhai Patel not acted in such a large-hearted manner. The game was in his hands. He waived his right to insist upon an inquiry into the high-handed policy that had been adopted at the time of the collection of land revenue. He could have taken up a legalistic attitude on other minor matters, but he refrained from doing so. However, his

greatest sacrifice was the one which involved his ignoring his own position. He completely left himself out of consideration. To this very day, Vallabhbhai has not been officially informed of the settlement that has been arrived at. He has learnt about it only through letters from friends and from the reports in newspapers. However, he is concerned with the essence of the thing and not with how it is done, hence he can be indifferent about prestige. A satyagrahi does not require any personal recognition or, if in certain cases he seems to lay stress on such recognition, it is for the sake of the people's honour. Hence, just as there could have been no struggle without Shri Vallabhbhai Patel, similarly, no solution would have been possible without his consent.

In the third place, the credit certainly goes to the men and women of Bardoli. Without their courage and their fortitude, the struggle would not have gathered momentum and would not have had a happy end.

It is not the case that others do not deserve to be complimented. It is not the purpose of this article to compliment those who deserve to be complimented. Compliments have been offered to all from various quarters. If the principal actors have been mentioned, that has a bearing on my purpose in this article.

That purpose is to consider the future. Victory would be futile if in order to celebrate it we eat sweets and then rest comfortably, and the people would revert to their previous habits. And while considering the future, we must bear in mind the Governor, Vallabhbhai Patel and the people of Bardoli.

The satyagrahis have always claimed that there was no justification for an increase in land revenue, and that the soil of Bardoli could hardly bear even the burden of the old revenue. We asked for a committee to examine this matter and this demand has been conceded after much suffering on our part. The people have now to collect evidence and prove that they cannot bear the burden of any additional revenue, that, on the contrary, it should be reduced. It is also for the people to prove that the reports on which the Government had relied did not deserve to be relied upon.

However, in addition to this, the constructive work which should follow in the wake of the people's awakening is of the greatest importance. Taking advantage of the wonderful awakening that has taken place among the women, the superstitious and harmful customs

that are prevalent among them could be eradicated. The spirit of unity that has been generated among the men should be utilized for uniting them further and for ridding them of the harmful practices prevailing among them. People's behaviour towards the Raniparaj, the Dublas and the *Antyajās* should undergo a change. Attempts should be made to make permanent the boycott of liquor which has come about as part of this struggle. It is necessary to make a determined effort to bring about a total boycott of foreign cloth. In this cotton-growing area, spinning-wheels are not yet being operated in every home; this state of affairs should change. The awakening among the people can be made permanent and the people self-supporting only if these and similar other activities are undertaken.

Boycott has played an important part in this struggle. While peaceful, non-violent boycott has an undoubted place in satyagraha, violent, malicious boycott has no place in it. Hence it will be necessary to withdraw boycott wherever it had been employed. Pure boycott does not spread hatred but, on the contrary, increases love. Those who displayed weakness should not be reproached for their weakness. There should be no anger against those officers who misbehaved, nor should they be flattered. People, while preserving their independence, should behave courteously towards the officials. The *talatis* have demonstrated their courage. They will now resume their offices but the people will hope that, though carrying out their duties faithfully, they will be respectful and loyal to them too.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 12-8-1928

416. MY NOTES

SACRIFICE BY GIRLS

Smt. Vidyavati Devi of Kanya Gurukula, Dehradun, sends the following letter¹:

The draft sent is for more than Rs. 300, of which Rs. 200 represent the sacrifice of the girl students. I thank these young girls. May God preserve their spirit of service.

¹ Not translated here. The letter stated that the girls of the Gurukula had saved the money by going without sweets and fruits for a month.

LARGE DONATION TO THE VIDYAPITH

Shri Nagindas Amulakhrai has always taken interest in national education. He has even donated money to it frequently. He has now contributed one lakh of rupees. He had gifted this large amount in order that it should be utilized, at my discretion, for increase of knowledge. With his consent I have entrusted it to the Vidyapith and nominated five representatives to look after its administration. I compliment Shri Nagindas for this donation. It is my belief that, having regard to the task we wish to accomplish through the Vidyapith, people cannot contribute enough to its funds. We may not be able to see today tangible results of the existence of the Vidyapith. However, a time will certainly come when everyone will take note of the contribution made by the Vidyapith in the cause of national growth for its aim is worthy and selfless workers are engaged in promoting it.

BIG CONTRIBUTION TO THE MAGANLAL GANDHI MEMORIAL

Shri Mulji Sikka, who has a large business in Nipani and Gondia, has contributed a sum of Rs. 10,000 towards this memorial through Shri Manilal Kothari. I compliment him for doing so. This gentleman has often given proof of his love for khadi. Contributions for this memorial are gradually coming in. Naturally, Bardoli attracted the people's attention and their contributions. I did not, therefore, write about this memorial. Now that the first half of the Bardoli chapter is over and Shri Mulji Sikka's generosity has provided me an opportunity, I draw the attention of all who love khadi and appreciate the value of Shri Mulji's services to this memorial.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 12-8-1928

417. OUR CONSERVATISM

A young man writes to say:

There are about a thousand Jains in our town. Amongst these, there are about 150 widows and 250 bachelors. Forty of the latter are between forty and sixty years of age. They cannot marry unless they can spend thousands of rupees. Something between five and twenty thousand rupees has to be spent in order to get a bride. This leads to an increase in immorality. The Jain sadhus take no steps in this matter. If questioned on this subject, they reply by saying that this is a worldly problem and that, by trying to solve it, they would be violating the orders of Mahavira. Could you not write something on this subject?

Another reader writes to say:

A friend of mine is about forty-two years old. Although he is married he has no children. He, therefore, wishes to remarry and ruin the life of a twelve or thirteen-year-old girl. How can he be made to overcome his infatuation?

I deal with these letters together as our conservatism lies at the root of both problems. Some persons believe that things are all right as they are, that it is not necessary for us to think about their propriety or otherwise and that it is sinful to raise doubts about customs that have come down through generations. When to this line of argument is added lust, evil customs become good ones! Our young men require a great deal of strength and moral purity if we are to free ourselves from such a pitiable condition. They can cultivate public opinion through their *tapascharya* and *satyagraha* and put to shame those who are blinded by lust. A small community like that of Jains need not remain small. Jain youths should insist on marrying girls outside their community. The Jains mostly belong to the Vania caste or are Vaishyas. They need not even go outside the Vaishya class. There are crores of Vaishyas in India, and a deserving man should not find it difficult to get a bride from amongst these. Such a person should vow not to give or receive a single pie by way of dowry. Moreover, Jain young men should be ready to marry those among the 150 widows who were widowed in childhood. So long as they can marry such widows, they should not even look for unmarried girls.

I believe that at present it is futile to hope for much from Jain and other sadhus and religious teachers. The question of livelihood

is a big problem for them too, or rather they have made it one. Hence they do not go against public opinion and readily advocate reforms. Some who are exceptions to this rule attempt to introduce reforms, but people are not ready to listen to them. These latter sadhus do not possess the necessary strength of character to have an impact on the people. Others will automatically be saved if the sadhus as a class are reformed, but impostors have entered their fold and many sadhus spread irreligion or superstitions under the guise of religion.

It is a difficult task to reason with that other man of forty-two years who, though he has a wife living, wishes to marry again. Who can convince him that begetting children is not a part of dharma, whereas it is man's dharma to be satisfied with one wife. One should learn to regard as one's sons all boys who are old enough to be so. In a poverty-stricken country like India, innumerable children are without parents and grow up somehow. Under such circumstances, if every person who has no son, brings up and rears one such child as his own, he would be doing a meritorious deed and reap the benefit of having a son without indulging in the sexual act. Adoption is a common and widely acknowledged practice among Hindus.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 12-8-1928

418. UTILITY OF MACHINES

The late Shri Maganlal wrote to me many letters which were of value for the public, but, in accordance with my habit, I used to tear them up. Moreover, I had never expected that he would die before me. About fifteen days before his death, he wrote to me a letter which I still have with me, and I give below a part of it which is of public interest:¹

Both these criticisms deserve consideration. People should not rush to any kind of exhibition. They can reap some benefit from exhibitions only if they have some knowledge about the articles exhibited and if they exercise discrimination regarding their value.

¹ The letter is not translated here. Maganlal had doubted the utility of machines and implements exhibited at agricultural criticized and criticized the Government's discriminatory customs policy which encouraged the imports of steam or oil-driven machines at the cost of machines which could be worked by hand or with the help of bullocks.

Who can calculate the loss we have suffered as a result of our giving up some of our age-old household implements without sufficient knowledge about them? Just as it is absurd to say that all that is old is good, similarly, it is equally absurd to conclude that, just because a thing is old, it is useless. No one is opposed to machinery. Our opposition is to its misuse, or its excessive use. I did not know at all that there is a fifteen per cent duty on machines which are operated by living beings and a five per cent duty on those operated by mechanical power; perhaps, many of the readers too may be ignorant of this fact. However, I am not surprised to know about this discrimination for it was only when I saw such discrimination being practised by the Government in every sphere of its activity that the idea of non-co-operation occurred to me.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 12-8-1928

419. LETTER TO MANILAL AND SUSHILA GANDHI

BARDOLI,

August 12, 1928

CHI. MANILAL AND SUSHILA,

I have your letters. I shall write no more about the dryness of your letters.

This is the reply to Sushila's question about Sudama. We know nothing about whether or not he was a historical character.

I do not remember what the *Bhagavata* says about Sudama. We have what Narasinh Mehta and Premanand have written about him. The stories told by both of them are imaginary. The pictures drawn by the two poets are their own inventions. We cannot, therefore, take every word in the narrative seriously and pronounce judgement on any aspect of the story. To me both the husband and the wife seem beautifully drawn characters. The poems were composed to illustrate the power of *bhakti*¹. In composing them, the poets have shown the wife as a worthy lady who tries to safeguard the interests of her family and worries about it. Sudama, who is under the spell of *bhakti*, lets his affairs manage themselves. The wife wants to protect her children and so she tries to wake up the detached Sudama. He hesitates, because a devotee of God makes no selfish prayer. But his wish, though

¹ Devotion to God

seemingly selfish, is in fact unselfish. Prompted by his wife, he went to Krishna without any expectation and came away as he had gone. We should, therefore, read the poem to enjoy the sentiment of *bhakti*. We cannot draw any conclusions from it about what the relation between a husband and a wife should be. We may use our reason to decide that question, and act in the manner that seems best to us. An attempt to judge old examples in the light of modern reason is not only futile and unnecessary but may be actually harmful sometimes. We should base our conduct in this age on independent moral principles.

I like Manilal's independence in what he thinks about Sastriji¹, but I see an error in his view. There should be a different standard for judging every individual. If we judge a horse by the standard applicable to an elephant, we would be doing injustice to both. Both may be good or bad in their respective spheres. An elephant or a horse may be treated to have failed in the test if it fails when judged by the standard applicable to itself. If we judge Sastriji by the standard of satyagraha, we would do him injustice. If we look to the service which he renders to the nation, though in Government service, we shall see that he has no equal. If, then, he were to plunge into the field of satyagraha, he would probably have no equal there too. It is my belief that no one else would give as much satisfaction, through his uprightness, as Sastriji does. In my view, he sincerely follows his conscience in everything he does.

I learn from him that Sushila now speaks fairly good English. I would expect such information about you from yourselves.

Now that a settlement about Bardoli has been reached, I am returning to the Ashram. Ba and Mahadev are with me. Subbiah joined later. Pyarelal, Ramdas and Rasik have been here from the beginning. It is to be decided now what they are to do. Devdas is in Delhi working in Jamia Millia. Prabhudas is at Almora.

Rule has now been made to have one common kitchen only in the Ashram, and, therefore, very few are left now who have their meals by themselves. They, too, will have stopped doing that before the next year. At present, about 140 persons take their meals in the common kitchen.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4742

¹ V. S. Srinivasa Sastrī

420. LETTER TO VIDYAGAURI R. NILKANTH

Sunday, August 12, 1928

DEAR SISTER,

What you write about Vallabhbhai is indeed true. He has done credit to the whole country. To make a speech on the occasion of the Brahmasamaj centenary celebrations will be a burden as I am very busy in my own activities, yet I dare not say 'no' to you. But if you still insist on a speech from me, I should make it clear that I have no time to write it. And then will there be the time for a speech on the 20th, i.e. Monday ?¹ I shall reach Sabarmati only tomorrow morning. You will receive this only on my reaching there. You may send it on if you like it. I shall come over in case you wish me to. I have shown your letter to Vallabhbhai.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

[From Gujarati]

Vidyabehn Nilkanth Jeevan Jhanki

421. SPEECH TO VOLUNTEERS, BARDOLI

[August 12, 1928]³

We have begun today's proceedings with prayers to God. We have been already warned that one should never feel proud of one's triumphs. But that is not enough. Even to say that the people of Bardoli won honour by their courage is not sufficient. It is true that we have won the victory because of the indefatigable efforts of Sardar Patel, but to say that is also not enough, because we would have never won if he did not have loyal, hardworking and sincere co-workers.

It is a rule of satyagraha that we should not consider anyone our enemy. But there are people who would treat us as their enemy even though we do not regard them as our enemy. We should not wish to destroy such people but should seek to bring about a change of heart in them.

¹ Gandhiji, however, accepted the invitation to speak at the Ahmedabad Prarthana Samaj on the occasion of the Brahmo Samaj centenary celebrations; *vide* "Speech on Brahmo Samaj Centenary Celebration, Ahmedabad", August 20, 1928.

² This appeared under the title "Immortal Words".

³ From *Young India*, 13-9-1928

Many a time the Sardar has told you and the Government that as long as there is no change of heart in the Government officers, a settlement is impossible. Now that a settlement has been arrived at, there must have been a change of heart at some level. A satyagrahi should never pride himself on having achieved anything by his strength. A satyagrahi is a cipher, and his strength is the strength of God. He should have on his lips only the words “Rama, strength of the weak”. God will help him only when he gives up the pride of his strength. If there is any change of heart, we must thank God for that. But even that is not enough.

We must believe that a change of heart took place in the Governor. Had it not occurred, what would have happened? We are not worried about anything that might happen. We had taken a pledge that we would not be intimidated even if guns were brought out against us. If we celebrate our victory and rejoice today, it is pardonable. But, at the same time, I want to tell you that the credit for the happy outcome goes to the Governor. If he had persisted in the same stiff attitude that he had taken up in his speech in the Assembly and had not yielded, if he had desired to shoot down the people of Bardoli, he could have killed us. On the contrary, it was your pledge not to raise a hand against them even if they had tried to kill you. It was your pledge neither to show them your back nor to raise a stick or even a finger against their bullets. So the Governor could have razed Bardoli to the ground if he had so willed. Had he done that, then too Bardoli would have won, but that would have been a different kind of victory. We would not have been alive to celebrate it, but the whole of India and the whole world would have celebrated it. However, we should not wish any of us, even the officers, to have such a stony heart. Let us not forget these things in this mammoth meeting of Bardoli Taluk where the people who took the pledge¹ of 1921 have got together. I have made these introductory remarks in order to drive out any pride that might be hidden in ourselves.

It is from a distance I wished for your success. I was not one of those who came and worked amidst you. Vallabhbhai had me in his pocket and, if he had desired, he could have brought me here at any minute, but I cannot take the credit for the victory. This is your and your Sardar's victory and the Governor has a share in it; and if that is so, his officers and the members of the Assembly also have a share in

¹ Vide “Speech at Congress Session, Ahmedabad - I”, December 28, 1921.

it. We must acknowledge the share of all those who sincerely desired a settlement. We must of course thank God for this victory. But God remains aloof and uses us mortal creatures as instruments to get His work done. We should, therefore, give due credit for the victory to all other people who contributed towards it. If we do so, very little credit will remain for us to claim and it is best that that should be so.

This is the fulfilment of only the first half of your pledge. The latter part has still to be made good. We have got what we demanded from the Government. It has given what it could. Now you have immediately to pay off the revenue dues on the old basis. Do that soon. Moreover, befriend those who had opposed us. Befriend also the officers of those days who are still in your taluk. Otherwise, you will be said to have violated your pledge. For the fulfilment of the first half of our pledge we had to approach the Government; but its latter part we have to fulfil ourselves. Not to have a bad word for anyone, and not to harbour anger towards anyone constitute the fulfilment of the remaining part of our pledge.

Let us go still further. This pledge of ours is a new and a small one—it is only a drop in the ocean. The pledge which was taken in this district in 1922 was a formidable one. That still remains unfulfilled. You have gone through this training to fulfil that pledge. I pray to God and ask of you that you fulfil that pledge.

Fulfil your pledge under the banner of none else but the Sardar, under whose leadership you have fulfilled the first part of the pledge so magnificently. You will never find such a self-sacrificing leader as he. He is like a blood-brother to me, but I do not hesitate to give him this testimonial.

I do not consider it difficult to face a bullet in the chest, but to work daily, to fight the self at every moment and to purify one's soul is a difficult task. Two different sorts of people can face bullets in two different ways. A criminal commits a crime and faces a bullet, but can one achieve swaraj thus? He alone who faces a bullet after self-purification can win swaraj, and this is a difficult thing to do. It is difficult to provide food, drink, clothing and work to those who lack them. Most of you probably do not know how pitiable is the condition of the people of Orissa. I have often talked particularly to the sisters about the skeletons of that Province. If I try to describe their conditions to you, tears will come to your eyes as well as mine. You may think this an exaggeration, but if I take you there you will

see the conditions with your own eyes. It is difficult to put flesh on those skeletons, but that is our pledge.

You are in debt as long as your pledge remains unfulfilled. May God give you and all of us the strength and the good sense to fulfil it.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 19-8-1928

422. SPEECH AT BARDOLI¹

August 12, 1928

I want to remind you that the pledge you took in 1922 after a searching cross-examination² still stands unredeemed. That pledge was not taken only once but has been reaffirmed many times since then. The letter to the Viceroy was withdrawn, but the pledge was not revoked. After consultation with the people, an association was also formed in the taluk to work for the fulfilment of that pledge. That was the origin of the constructive work which is being carried on in Bardoli. It is not that all this has been achieved smoothly, without any hindrance. What kind of difficulties the volunteers have had to face and how Bhai Narahari³ had to undertake a fast are part of history. I do not want to go into it today. No one can be complacent as long as this pledge remains unfulfilled.

Although you have assembled here to celebrate a festival, utilize the occasion for self-examination so that you may not forget your duties. Volunteers should celebrate festivals only in this manner. The victory is only a drop in the ocean. Where there is such leadership and where there are such disciplined volunteers, I do not consider this victory a difficult achievement. We did not wish to seize power from the Government. We only wanted a particular injustice to be redressed. In such circumstances, I believe that in no other way is justice as easily secured as by satyagraha.

The country need not have been amazed at the outcome of the

¹ This was published in *Young India* under the title "Work as You Have Fought". The first five paragraphs and the eighteenth (the second one under the sub-title "Remember Our 'Skeletons' ") are translated from *Navajivan*, 19-8-1928, where they appeared under the title "Immortal Words".

² *Vide* "Speech at Bardoli Taluka Conference", January 29, 1922.

³ Narahari Parikh; he fasted because the people of a village under his charge refused to make amends for their cruel behaviour towards the Dublas.

struggle. If none the less it was, there is an explanation for it. Our faith in satyagraha had been shaken. India did not have before now such an overpowering example of success. It is true that there were the instances of Borsad and Nagpur. I have not stated it anywhere else, but I believe that the victory at Nagpur, too, was complete. Fortunately or unfortunately, we did not then have anyone like the representative of *The Times of India* to publicize our struggle. His vilification has made Bardoli famous not only in India, but in the whole world. Otherwise we have done nothing great. We would be said to have done something great when we make good the unfulfilled pledge of 1921. It is Bardoli's responsibility to do so. I was about to say that the blot on Bardoli would be removed only when we fulfil our pledge, but I restrained myself. We cannot call it a blot because what we could not achieve in Bardoli has not been achieved elsewhere either. But whether you describe the work as a responsibility to be undertaken or a blot to be removed, it still remains to be done. This struggle would be helpful in accomplishing that and that is why I have welcomed it.

How fortunate are we that we got an opportunity for such a struggle in Bardoli itself and that we succeeded completely in it! We got all we had asked for. We could have demanded the fulfilment of more conditions than we actually did. As one of the terms we could have demanded an inquiry into allegations about the coercive measures adopted by the Government while collecting the revenues. But We did not make such a demand and that was Vallabhbhai's generosity. A satyagrahi is satisfied if he gets the essential thing, he is not greedy or obstinate about other things.

What should we do now? We should make this celebration an occasion for self-examination. Those volunteers who had come here only for the struggle and had intended to go back when it was over should do so. But those who are not bound to go and who have impressed Vallabhbhai should stay here and should know that they are fit for doing this work only. This work will test their worth.

FIGHTING NOT THE ONLY WORK

You are labouring under a great delusion if you think that fighting by itself will bring swaraj. Let me tell you that even veteran warriors, men of the sword, do not make fighting the sole concern of their lives. Garibaldi was a great Italian General, but he drove the plough and tilled the soil just like an ordinary peasant whenever could get respite from fighting. Again, what was Botha, the South African

General? A farmer among farmers, like any in Bardoli. A great keeper of sheep as he was is flock numbered forty thousand. As a judge of sheep he could hold his own against any expert and even won a diploma for sheepkeeping. Although he won laurels as a General, fighting occupied a very small part of his life which was mostly devoted to peaceful constructive pursuit. He thus showed constructive talent of; mean order. And General Smuts? He was not merely a distinguished General, but a lawyer by profession, being at one time farmer Attorney-General of South Africa, and an excellent farmer to boot. He has an extensive farm near Pretoria and his fruit orchard is among the finest in South Africa. All these are instances of men who though they made their mark in the world as Generals were none the less keenly alive to the value and importance of steady constructive work.

South Africa was not from the very first the rich, prosperous country that it is today. When the colonists arrived there, they found before them an undeveloped country. They cleared the waste and established a prosperous colony on it. Do you think they did it by mere dint of fighting? No. The development was the result of patient constructive labour. Will you follow Vallabhbhai's lead in his constructive campaign just as you did when he led you against the Government; will you take up the burden of constructive work, or will you hang back? Remember, if you fail in this, all the fruits of your victory will be lost and the peasant's last state will be worse than their first in spite of one lakh of enhanced assessment that they might save as a result of this struggle.

REPAIR AND RECONSTRUCTION

Look at the condition of the roads in your taluk. The local volunteers can clean them up and set them in proper order by a couple of days' effort if they like. And once they are set in order, it should not need more than half an hour's instruction daily to teach the villagers how to keep them in a fit condition. You may doubt, but you may take it from me that there is a very close connection between this sort of work and swaraj. Driving out the English will not by itself establish swaraj in India. Of course we must fight when our liberty is interfered with. But what next? Do we want the swaraj of barbarism, freedom to live like pigs in a pigsty without let or hindrance from anybody? Or do we want the swaraj of orderliness in which every man and everything is in his or its proper place? Only yesterday I had to

motor from Vankaner to Bardoli, the journey well nigh finished me. The road was so wretched. This reminds me of a similar incident that once happened in Champaran. The road was bad, but the volunteers there put their shoulders to the wheel and forthwith made the necessary repairs without waiting for anybody's help. Do not think that I am complaining about roads because of yesterday's experience. We ought to learn to keep our roads in good repair.¹ It is no use saying that this is the duty of the Government and not yours. The Government has no doubt many a grievous sin to answer for. Let us not impute our sins also to the Government or use the latter's lapses to justify ours. Enough unto the day is the evil thereof. Surely the Government cannot prevent us from repairing our roads if we want to.

VILLAGE SANITATION

Then, may I ask you what you have done to popularize the principles of sanitation and hygiene in the villages? It involves no complications as in untouchability. It only puts to the test our sincerity and depth of feeling towards those amongst whom we live. We shall be unfit for swaraj if we are unconcerned about our neighbour's insanitation and are content merely to keep our own surroundings clean. With the wonderful awakening and the spirit of co-operation that has come over the men and women of Bardoli, you should be able to convert it into a model taluk. By a general clean-up of the village surroundings, you should be able completely to eliminate the danger of scorpions and poisonous reptiles that infest this taluk. And I want to burn the lesson deep in your mind that all this will constitute a distinct step towards swaraj.

TEMPERANCE

Not less important is the work in connection with the liquor habit. It has got to be primarily done by us. The utmost that the Government can do or be made to do in this respect is to cease issuing toddy licences, but it can hardly wean the drunkard from his evil habit. That part of the work will still have to be undertaken by Phulchandbhai and his Bhajan Mandali, even if the Government were to screw up its courage and forgo 25 crores of excise revenue by adopting a policy of total prohibition. Are you prepared to shoulder the burden? Are you prepared smilingly to take lathi blows on your

¹ This and the preceding sentence are from *Navajivan*.

bodies should it be necessary in the course of your work? Can you guarantee that your pickets will not disgrace themselves by rowdiness and worse as some of them did in 1921?¹

HINDU-MUSLIM UNITY

Again are you prepared to work for and lay down your life to establish Hindu-Muslim unity? Will you be able to keep your heads cool and offer pure satyagraha when communal passions run high and people lose their heads?

KHADI

Then again, have you an abiding faith in the spinning-wheel? Have you recognized that our present struggle would have been impossible unless the spinning-wheel had paved the way? Do you realize that but for khadi work our 3 workers would not have been able to win the confidence of the Raniparaj people and acquire the influence that they have over them? And if you have, are you prepared to train yourselves as spinning experts, to go on turning the spinning-wheel without fuss or bustle with the name of Rama or Allah on your lips? Today there are hardly half a dozen men in the country who know how to correct a spindle. The problem is as old as the khadi movement. The Mysore Government has made several attempts to produce absolutely true spindles, but has met with little success. Lakshmidasbhai is even at present carrying on correspondence in this behalf with Germany. Yet anyone by application can learn to correct a spindle. Just imagine what an increase it would mean in the output of khadi even with the existing wheels if we could solve this and a few other small questions of a like character. Will Vallabhbhai be able to interest you in this work or do you tell me that these are mere fads of a faddist and that Vallabhbhai knows better than to foist them upon you? You may say so if you like, but again I tell you that there is no other way to swaraj than this.

REMOVAL OF UNTOUCHABILITY

I come next to the problem of untouchability which includes the question of the Dublas. Will you be able to bring together and establish harmonious relations between the Dublas and the Ujali population? Do you realize that unless this is done, you will never be able to found real swaraj? Or dare you hope that you will bring round

¹ In Bombay on November 17, during the visit of the Prince of Wales

the refractory by main force once swaraj is established?

You cannot shirk these and like problems if you want to utilize your victory to win freedom for all India. By all means take up any other constructive work, if you can think of any, if the work that I have suggested does not appeal to you. One cannot go on fighting always. But an outlet must be found for our stored-up energy and that can only be through constructive work. We have a lot of corporate cleaning-up to do yet, a host of social evils to purge out. Miss Mayo's book¹ has been justly condemned as being written with a malicious motive. It is full of deliberate misstatements and palpable falsehoods. But I am not prepared to say that there is no basis in fact for anything she says. Surely, some of the evils mentioned by her do exist in our midst, though the inferences that she has drawn from them are wholly unjustifiable and unwarranted. Child-marriage, the marriage of young girls with aged men, the inhuman treatment often accorded to our widows are painful and grim realities that stare us in the face. How do we propose to deal with these evils?

NOT ENOUGH

The way in which the Hindus, Mussalmans and Parsis of this taluk stood shoulder to shoulder together in the course of the struggle was splendid. All honour to them. But can we lay our hand on our heart and say that a real and abiding heart-unity between the various communities in this taluk has been established? Would you have been able to keep together without the consummate tact of the Sardar and the presence of an Abbas Tyabji or an Imam Saheb in your midst? Are you sure that you will be able to remain unaffected even if the whole country is plunged into an orgy of communal hatred? Well, I doubt.

ORGANIC SWARAJ

An act of Parliament might give you constitutional swaraj. But it will be a mere chimera that will profit us but little if we are unable to solve these internal problems. In fact, ability to solve these problems is the alpha and omega of real swaraj, the swaraj of the masses that we all want.

¹ *Mother India*

REMEMBER OUR 'SKELETONS'

Then I should like to know how your volunteers here have handled funds, like a spendthrift or like a miser. Have they been able to remain free from the but too common weakness of being lax with regard to the use of public funds? I take it that there has been no extravagance or reckless expenditure in your case. But what we need is Spartan simplicity. I shall be only too glad to be told that the strictest standard of economy was observed throughout. Nothing will give me greater satisfaction than to find that you have learnt to do better in this respect than is usual with volunteers in general.

Ours is the poorest country in the world. Moreover, our Government is the most extravagant in the world save that of America. If we observe the working of the hospitals here, we shall find that money is spent in them according to standards prevailing in England. Even the hospitals in Scotland would not spend so much money. Col. Maddock told me that in Scotland they could not afford to throw away the used bandages as we do here, that they were put to use again after they had been washed. England can afford to act in that manner. They have left their country for adventure and they have found in ours a field for exploitation. Our true standard can be ascertained by what the majority of people get to wear and to protect themselves with. We must assess our needs on the basis of that standard and spend money accordingly. If we do not do that, we will lose ultimately.

WORK IN FAITH

All this requires faith and patience and hope. It may not be given to an old man like me, who has almost come to the end of his journey, and is therefore anxious to see swaraj established in India, to live to witness the fulfilment of his hope, but surely you, who are in the prime of your life, should work in the hope of seeing swaraj established in your lifetime. You must turn the searchlight inward. Have you a genuine love and sympathy for the dumb masses whose cause you are out to serve? Have you completely identified yourselves with them and their sufferings? Do you feel like taking up the broom and cleaning their latrines if they are dirty?

BE TRUE SOLDIERS

This is a stupendous task and requires all the volunteers that we can have. But they must first learn the lesson of discipline, of rendering implicit obedience to the orders of the chief, of taking up the meanest task that might be entrusted to them with cheerfulness, alacrity and zeal. If we do all that we shall win the battle of swaraj as easily as this fight.

Young India, 13-9-1928

423. SPEECH AT SURAT¹

[August 12, 1928]²

For a satyagrahi nothing can be truer than to say that no one but God is to be thanked and praised for the triumph of the Bardoli Satyagraha. Indeed we need say nothing more. But I know that that is not going to give us satisfaction, for the conviction has not yet gone home to us that we are but instruments in His hand and He uses us as He wills. We have not yet learnt the virtue of surrender to God. Man is yet part man part beast, indeed more beast than man and so his ego is not satisfied with praising God alone. In fact in remembering Him on occasions like this we feel as though we were obliging Him. Following our animal nature therefore we may congratulate our Sardar, his companions and his volunteers and the men and women of Bardoli. Vallabhbhai alone would not have won the battle without the faithful co-operation of his co-workers. But even so should we thank His Excellency the Governor, the officials, and M.L.Cs for their having helped in bringing about a happy settlement. We should be lacking in humility, we should be so much the less satyagrahis if we failed in our duty to render our thanks to those who were opposed to us.

The vast gathering of the citizens of Surat, seated before me on wet earth, with so much inconvenience to themselves, reminds me of 1921. I still remember the words I addressed to you in 1921 on this very spot.³ Possibly some of you also can recall what I said, and I

¹ This appeared under the title "Remember 1921" with the introductory words: "The following is a condensed summary of Gandhiji's speech at Surat on the occasion of the Bardoli victory celebrations."

² From *The Bombay Chronicle*, 14-8-1928

³ Vide "Speech on Swadeshi, Surat", October 12, 1921.

propose to remind you how we have failed to do the things that we decided to do seven years ago. The lesson of Bardoli will have been lost on us if Bardoli and Surat go to sleep over the Bardoli victory after having had victory celebrations and dinners. Vallabhbhai has been telling the Bardoli people that it is easier to fight Government than to fight our own people, for we naturally make—and should make, if we were men—mountains out of molehills of Government's injustice. But we fight shy as soon as we are face to face with our own drawbacks and shortcomings. I therefore reminded the Bardoli people,¹ who had fulfilled the first half of their pledge, of the second half, viz., of paying up the old assessment. That I know will be done in the course of a few days. But what next? How will you husband the tremendous stores of energy and enthusiasm that you have brought into being during the satyagraha campaign? How will you utilize the unprecedented awakening that has come amongst the women of Bardoli? How will you serve them, how will you identify yourselves with them and help to remove their misery? Satyagraha includes civil disobedience, civil resistance to the tyranny of blind authority, but the capacity of resistance presupposes self-purification and constructive work. If I were to ask you to render account of what you have done since 1921 in the direction of self-purification and constructive work I know you and I would have to shed bitter tears.

I want to tell you that I continue to be what I was in 1921. I have the same inexorable conditions to place before you, conditions which are a *sine qua non* for peace, prosperity, swarajya, *Ramarajya*, or the Kingdom of God that we are hankering after. What right have the Hindus and Mussalmans of ease-loving Surat to talk of swaraj, so long as they run at the another's throat in the name of God, and then run to the courts to seek Justice? If you are truly brave, you may fight one another on equal terms, but you may not seek the protection of courts of justice. The English and the Germans fought on fields of battle, but did not go to law-courts. There is some bravery in free and fair fighting, but none in running to law-courts. Let the Hindus and Mussalmans fight a pitched battle, if they will, let them fight fair and clean and decide their issues. Their names will then go down in history. But this fighting, followed by protracted wrangles in lawcourts, is not bravery. Our present ways are not ways of bravery but of cowardice. True bravery lies in laying down one's life for the

¹ Vide "Speech to Volunteers, Bardoli", 12-8-1928.

sake of religion, in voluntary surrender of non-essentials. That is the lesson of Bardoli, and it will have been lost on us if we lose ourselves in the frenzy of victory celebrations. Until we who have sprung from the same soil and are children of the same motherland, though belonging to different faiths, learn to love one another as blood-brothers, victories like that of Bardoli will be of no avail.

Another item is the purification of Hinduism. Have you purged it of its deepest stain? True swaraj I repeat is impossible without self-purification. I do not know any other way. Call it my limitation, but then it is the limitation of satyagraha. If there is any other way, I do not know it, and anything won by means other than those of self-purification will not be swaraj but something else.

The third and the last thing in our programme is the duty of men of all religions and all races towards the skeletons of the land. The charkha, I may repeat *ad nauseam*, is the only remedy. I have come across a strong justification of the charkha from a strange quarter. Sir Lallubhai Samaldas in his review of the ponderous Agricultural Commission's Report has shown how the Commissioners have shunned like an untouchable even the mention of the word spinning-wheel in the chapter on subsidiary industries. How is it that they have fought shy of a thing which provides the only occupation to the starving millions? I submit that the potency of the spinning-wheel lies in that very fact. They might have at least criticized it and even ridiculed it. But no. They could not contemplate with equanimity its infinite possibilities. (A heavy shower of rain.) Well I have really done, and need say nothing more.

Young India, 16-8-1928

424. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

SWARAJ ASHRAM, BARDOLI,
[Before August 13, 1928]¹

CHI. PRABHAVATI,

Does Vidyavati take a steam [bath]? She should be made to lie wrapped in a sheet soaked in cold water. Soak the sheet in clean, cold water, wring it well and spread it on the bed. Let Vidyavati lie on it,

¹ From the reference to reaching Sabarmati Ashram on Monday, August 13, 1928; *vide* also "Letter to Prabhavati", 6-8-1928.

then wrap the rest of the sheet around her and cover her with a woollen blanket. The face would be left uncovered. She should lie on the sheet naked to the waist. If the body does not warm up in this position and she feels the cold she must leave the bed. I have an idea that Gangabehn knows about this bath because I had instructed her about it. Leave it if you have not understood it. Bathing in water in which neem leaves have been boiled may do some good. I suspect Vidyavati does not stick to her diet.

I am glad to learn that *Ma* is better.

Tell Kamlabehn Gandhi that I am not replying to her letter as I shall reach the Ashram on Monday.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 3326

*425. TELEGRAM TO NANABHAI I. MASHRUWALA*¹

[August 13, 1928]

NANABHAI MASHRUWALA

AKOLA

ASHRAM DEEPLY GRIEVED BALUBHAI'S DEATH.²

BAPU

From a microfilm: S.N. 14757

¹ In reply to a telegram dated August 13, 1928, which read: "Sorry Balubhai died suddenly Bombay morning. Nanabhai, Kishorelal." *Vide* also the two following items.

² *Vide* also "Passing away of a Silent Worker"? 19-8-1928.

426. LETTER TO KISHORELAL MASHRUWALA

Monday [August 13, 1928]¹

CHI. KISHORELAL²,

What shall I say to comfort Nanabhai or you? Both of you look upon death as a friend. Our grief can only be due to our selfishness. Before his death, Balubhai wrote to me a sweet letter. It was about Bardoli. In fact he wished to go there, but, since the doctor did not permit it, he contented himself with a letter. You will do a wrong if you do not ask for any service which the Ashram can render. We can even look after the children.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 2659. Courtesy: Kanubhai Nanalal Mashruwala

427. LETTER TO NILKANTH MASHRUWALA

Monday [August 13, 1928]³

CHI. NILKANTH,

I had no wire from you, but I received one from Akola. Balubhai's soul rests in peace. We may shed tears through selfishness, but you at any rate have learnt the truth about the highest good of human life. Use your wisdom at this juncture and, displaying patience yourself, comfort others. Ask for any service we can render from here.

Write to me from time to time.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 9172. Courtesy: Nilkanth Mashruwala

¹ From the postmark

² Youngest brother of Balubhai Ichchharam Mashruwala

³ From the reference to the death of Balubhai, addressee's father; *vide* also the two preceding items.

428. LETTER TO SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
August 14, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter enclosing the circular about the Exhibition. I see now what you are aiming at and I can appreciate your standpoint. But I am sorry I cannot endorse it. According to the circular you will be free to admit many foreign exhibits and mill-cloth. The only difference between Madras and Calcutta would be that Calcutta will exclude British goods, whereas British machinery was exhibited at the Madras Exhibition. In the circumstances I would personally like to abstain from identifying the All-India Spinners' Association with the Exhibition.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

SJT. SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE
BENGAL PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE
1 WOODBURN PARK, CALCUTTA

From a photostat: G.N. 1595

429. LETTER TO DR. S. C. BANERJEE

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
August 14, 1928

DEAR SURESH BABU,

I got your two letters in Bardoli front where I have just returned. I shall certainly deal with your report in the pages of *Young India*¹

With reference to the Exhibition I am in touch with Sjt. Subhas Babu. I enclose herewith a copy of my latest letter² to him. I must confess that I do not like the idea surrounding the forthcoming Exhibition. If I had my way I should not exhibit not only British goods but also foreign goods unless they are so valuable and yet so

¹ *Vide* "Abhoy Ashram", 27-9-1928.

² *Vide* the preceding item.

unknown as to require a special advertisement through the Congress Exhibition. And I should certainly not exhibit mill-cloth; for, mills neither need nor deserve any advertisement from us.

Yours sincerely,

DR. SURESH C. BANERJEE

COMILLA

From a microfilm: S.N. 13658

430. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

August 14, 1928

DEAR SATIS BABU,

I have your letter.

Here is a copy of my letter¹ to Sjt. Subhas Bose in reply to his letter.

I have just returned from Bardoli.

SJT. SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

KHADI PRATISHTHAN,

SODEPUR

From a photostat: S.N. 13655

431. LETTER TO R. B. GREGG

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

August 14, 1928

MY DEAR GOVIND,

I have your letter. As soon as I receive the manuscript of your Science notes² I shall certainly go through them and then hand them to Kaka for his opinion too.

With reference to the publication, whilst I appreciate your arguments³, somehow or other my inner being dislikes the idea. However I shall be able to judge better after I see the notes.

¹ Dated August 14, 1928

² A booklet entitled "Science for Kiddies"

³ In favour of giving the booklet to Macmillan & Co.

I hope you will not make yourself sick with overwork before you leave for America. I would like you to leave in a perfectly healthy condition.

The index and everything else can wait if you cannot easily find time for them.

I never thought that you did not know that Andrews was in England. He had the intention even whilst he was here of going to America. Of course you will meet him there. He is going there in September.

Yes, Bardoli is a great lesson. It has revived faith in nonviolent methods and in power of the masses.

My love to the Stokes.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 13489

432. TELEGRAM TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

[Before August 15, 1928]¹

RAJAGOPALACHARI

YOU MUST GO WITH SHANKERLAL TO BANGALORE AND
BOTH BE INTERNED TILL YOU ARE RESTORED.

BAPU

From the original: S.N. 32763

433. LETTER TO GIRDHARILAL

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

August 15, 1928

DEAR LALA GIRDHARILAL,

Yes, all you say about Bardoli is true. The praise is well deserved by the satyagrahis and above all Vallabhbhai.

I like the idea of your saving the few annas by resisting the temptation to send a telegram. But it shows also that you have lost

¹ From the addressee's telegram dated August 15, 1928, which read: "Thanks letter, telegrams. Taking all care fixing up Bangalore. No assistance wanted yet."

again. I would so like you not to go in for ambitious schemes and be satisfied with what little God may give you.

Yours sincerely,

LALA GIRDHARILAL
'DIWAN BHAWAN', DELHI

From a photostat: S.N. 13492

434. LETTER TO JETHALAL JOSHI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
August 15, 1928

BHAISHRI JETHALAL,

I have your letter. Think more deeply about *brahmacharya* and strive to observe it. You need not be in a hurry to start eating with others or to take the vow of [non-] possession. Peace is found in ceaseless service. We cannot give the best service without perfect humility. Being without desire is to look forward to nothing and how can one who has renounced expectation be ever disappointed? One should read regularly the Bhagavad Gita and the Ramayana to cultivate such a state of mind.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1345

435. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

Wednesday [August 15, 1928]¹

CHI. VASUMATI,

I got your letters. You now can say that you have recovered. It would be very good indeed if the hakim's treatment restores you to health and cures you permanently of your disease. I have not received Ramdevji's letter.

Blessings from
BAPU

CHI. VASUMATIBEHN

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 496. Courtesy: Vasumati Pandit

¹ From the postmark

436. LETTER TO BECHAR PARMAR

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
August 15, 1928

BHAI BECHAR,

I have your letter. I do not know if you have lost your fitness for barber's work, and, even if you have, I think you ought to learn it again in case you have to turn to it. If you were not a teacher, I would not have asked you to become one; on the contrary, I would have dissuaded you from such an intention. Since, however, you are already a teacher, I have been advising you not to give up that work with this thought in my mind that you would regard its-value as a means of livelihood as secondary and devote yourself entirely to service through it. As a teacher, you have opportunities of service. If you use them properly, you will easily be able to practise self-purification. If while doing service as a teacher you can overcome false shame, learn the value of physical labour yourself and teach it to the children under your charge, you will progress spiritually and also benefit the children.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5575

437. TELEGRAM TO SHANKERLAL BANKER

[August 15, 1928]¹

SHANKARLAL BANKER, MADRAS

DO PLEASE GO WITH RAJAJI TO BANGALORE AND
TAKE REST MEDICAL TREATMENT THERE.

BAPU

From the original: S.N. 32725

¹ From the reference to Rajagopalachari's going to Bangalore; *vide* the preceding item.

438. LETTER TO TULSI MAHER

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

August 15, 1928

CHI. TULSI MAHER,

I have your letter. The beauty of the Himalayan region needs no description. Many changes are coming about in the Ashram. Kishorelal's elder brother Balubhai has passed away. The sample of khaddar is good. How much does it cost?

Blessings from

BAPU

From photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 6535

439. SOUTH AFRICAN CONDONATION

In continuation of what I wrote¹ last week about the condonation scheme I now publish for the information of those who have rights of residence in South Africa the following relevant correspondence² from the supplement to *Indian Opinion*, 13th July last:

The following is the form³ of Condonation Permit to be issued to a condonee under the Regulations published in the Union *Government Gazette* dated 29th June, 1928:

I need not warn the reader that I shall be unable to give individuals any guidance beyond the publication of the relevant papers. I can only refer the parties interested for further information to the Transvaal Indian Congress, Natal Indian Congress, or the Cape Town British Indian Council as the case may be.

Young India, 16-8-1928

¹ *Vide* "Notes", 9-8-1928, sub-title, "South African Condonation".

² *Vide* Appendix "South African Condonation", before August 9, 1928, sub-titles, "I. Form of Application", and "II. Correspondence".

³ *ibid*

440. *A SIGN OF THE TIMES*

Bardoli is a sign of the times. It has a lesson both for the Government and the people—for the Government if they will recognize the power of the people when they have truth on their side and when they can form a non-violent combination to vindicate it. By such recognition a wise Government consolidates its power which is then built upon people's goodwill and co-operation not merely in act enforced by brute power but in speech and thought as well. Non-violent energy properly stored up sets free a force that becomes irresistible. So far as I have been able to see, there is no doubt that the settlement has been wrung from an unwilling Government by the pressure of a public opinion that was ever gathering force in geometrical progression. It is said that His Excellency the Governor was most willing from the commencement to concede the satyagrahis' demands but that his advisers were equally determined in their opposition. If that is so, whilst it reflects credit upon the Governor, it bodes ill for the Government; for the British Government is not individualistic, it is a powerful organization capable of working irrespective of individuals. It has persisted without Gladstone and Disraeli, without Kitchener and Roberts. The organization behind the Government in India is the Civil Service. What the Sardar of Bardoli wanted was a change of heart in the Civil Service. What one is told and observes is that the Civil Service is not satisfied with the settlement. If it was satisfied the persistent campaign of lies carried on about the Sardar and his doings would have stopped. Whilst I was in Bardoli, I constantly heard the complaint through inspired newspaper paragraphs that Vallabhbhai Patel had not carried out his part of the settlement, and I knew that he was carrying it out as fast as he could and had already carried out that part of it about which the complaint was made and before it was made. I can only say that the Government, if it is true that the Civil Service is resisting the settlement, is doomed, assuming of course that the non-violence of Bardoli is an organization capable of being sustained without particular individuals.

Let us therefore turn to the people of Bardoli. The lesson that they have to learn is that so long as they remain united in non-violence they have nothing to fear, not even unwilling officials. But have they learnt that lesson, have they recognized the unseen power of non-violence, have they realized that if they had committed

one single act of violence, they would have lost their cause? If they have, then they will know from day to day that they will not become a non-violent organization unless they undergo a process of what may be called continuous corporate cleansing. This they can only do by engaging in carrying out a well-thoughtout constructive programme requiring combined effort and promoting common good. In other words before they can claim to have become a non-violent organization, they must receive education in non-violence not through speeches or writings, necessary as both may be, but through an unbroken series of corporate acts, each evoking the spirit of non-violence. Sjt. Vallabhbhai Patel knows what he is about. He has set for himself this more difficult task of constructive effort or internal reform. May God grant him therein the same measure of success that has attended the struggle against the Government.

Young India, 16-8-1928

441. THE NEHRU REPORT

Pandit Motilal Nehru and his colleagues¹ deserve the highest congratulations for the very able and practically unanimous report they have been able to bring out on the question that has vexed all parties for the past long months. The report is well got up, accessible in book form and printed in bold type. No public man can afford to be without it. It is signed by Pandit Motilal Nehru, Sir Ali Imam, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Sjt. M. S. Aney, Sardar Mangal Singh, M. Shuaib Qureshi, Sjt. Subhas Chandra Bose, and Sjt. G. R. Pradhan. About M. Shuaib Qureshi's signature however there is the following note at the end of the report:

Mr. Shuaib Qureshi was unfortunately unable to be present at the last meeting of the Committee when the draft report was considered. The draft however was sent to him and he has informed us that in regard to the recommendations contained in Chapter III he is of opinion that one-third seats in the Central Legislature should be reserved for Muslims. Further, he says: "I agree with the resolution adopted at the informal conference of July 7 but do not subscribe to all the figures and arguments produced in its support."

The report covers 133 pages, appendices 19 pages. The report is

¹ Sub-committee appointed by the All-Parties Conference held in Bombay on May 19, 1928 "to determine the principles of a constitution for India" (India in 1928-29, p. 26)

divided into ten chapters, of which four deal with the communal aspect, reservation of seats, re-distribution of provinces and Indian States. The seventh chapter contains the final recommendations of the Committee. I must not attempt to summarize the report, if only because it has come into my hands at the moment of sending the last articles for *Young India*. I have not even the time to study the report in full beyond having a cursory glance through it. But the great merit of it is that the All-Parties Conference Committee has at last been able to produce a unanimous report bearing weighty representative signatures. In the matter of the constitution the main thing was not to present perfect recommendations but to secure unanimity for the recommendations that might in the circumstances be considered the best possible. And if the practical unanimity arrived at after strenuous labours by the Committee is sealed by the Conference about to meet at Lucknow,¹ a tremendous step will have been taken in the direction of constitutional swaraj as distinguished from what might be termed organic swaraj. For if the country arrives at a workable unanimity about the questions that have been agitating it for years, the next thing would be to work for the acceptance of our demands. And we have arrived at such a step in the country's history in our evolution that if we can secure real unanimity about any reasonable proposal, there should be no difficulty in securing acceptance. I hope therefore that the Conference will meet at Lucknow with a fixed determination to see the thing through and that the members who will be there will not engage in a critical examination of the report with a view to tear it to pieces but with the determination of arriving at a proper settlement. And if they will approach the report in that spirit, they will endorse the recommendations, except for valid reasons which would appeal to any sane persons. In thus commending this report to the public, I tender my congratulations to Pandit Motilal Nehru without whose effort there would have been no Committee, there would have been no unanimity and there would have been no report.

Young India, 16-8-1928

¹ On August 28, 1928; vide "After Lucknow", 6-9-1928.

442. NOTES

FOR BARDOLI FUND DONORS

The generous and spontaneous response that has been made to the appeal for funds for Bardoli Satyagraha is a sure index to the India-wide popularity of Bardoli Satyagraha. The settlement of the Bardoli question and the consequent stoppage of satyagraha render it unnecessary to keep the fund open any longer. The public are requested therefore not to send in fresh contributions to the fund. This however does not mean that no more money will now be required. The work in connection with the inquiry has still to be done and will involve some amount of expense. And if the tremendous energy generated during the satyagraha campaign is not to be frittered away, the constructive work must be done with redoubled vigour. The balance left will therefore be utilized first for the expense that might be incurred in connection with the inquiry and secondly and simultaneously for constructive work in the two taluks. There is no doubt that the organization of the campaign became possible only because constructive work had been going on in Bardoli for the last seven years. I am aware that there are places where Congress Committees and individuals have more funds collected for Bardoli but they have chosen to send these amounts in instalments. I need scarcely inform them that they should forward whatever is now in their hands either to the Ashram at Sabarmati, or Swaraj Ashram at Bardoli, or Navajivan Office or Congress Office in Ahmedabad. I understand that Sjt. Vallabhbhai Patel has already arranged to have the accounts to date properly audited and published.

SOUTH AFRICA'S CONTRIBUTION

A friend writes from South Africa:

Reuter cabled from India that the South African Indians are sending every month five lakhs of rupees for the Bardoli no-tax campaign. A mischievous thing, besides being a gross exaggeration. The prejudice caused by the remittance of moneys to India will now be deepened and given a sharp edge. So far as I have been able to ascertain, about £500 have been sent in all for the Bardoli fund.

It has not been without pain that I have followed the campaign of lies that has gathered round the Bardoli struggle. Nothing was

evidently considered too mean or too palpably absurd to damage a cause which had no secrecy about it and which was intended to cause no injury to a single soul and which had no direct political aim. Without verification and probably from malice prepense the falsehood that lakhs of rupees were being received by satyagrahis from South Africa was given currency. Well, the cause of satyagraha was not damaged by the false statement. But the cause of Indians in South Africa can be easily damaged if the white colonists can be persuaded to believe that vast sums of money are being sent from South Africa to Bardoli and that to sustain an agitation which they may dislike. I hope however that not much notice was taken of the statement in South Africa. Anyway I can corroborate what the correspondent says. Anyone can look at the accounts lying at Bardoli of receipts for the Bardoli Fund and he will find that the correspondent's information is much nearer the truth than the inflammatory statement cabled to South Africa.

Young India, 16-8-1928

443. OUR JAILS

In spite of my two years in Indian jails, I see that others who have been in them for much shorter periods than I have more knowledge of their working than I. The satyagrahi prisoners who were recently discharged tell me of the many hardships which can be avoided if there is some consideration shown to the prisoners as human beings. The experiences of a satyagrahi prisoner in the Surat Jail are that the prisoners are all cooped up in a small ill-ventilated and ill-lighted room, the food served is hardly digestible and not much facility given to the prisoners for keeping themselves clean.

The prisoners at the Sabarmati Central Prison give me more details. The flour issued is gritty, the dal is pebbly and often contains animal dirt. The satyagrahis were inclined to excuse the jail authorities for this defect saying it was the fault of the prisoners who had to do the cleaning and the grinding. I am unable to adopt the view. I feel that the authorities are bound to attend to the cleaning of foodstuff either by having it done outside or by effective supervision. It is futile to expect the prisoners especially in the way they are kept to do this or anything well or conscientiously. Instead of taking the most important work of cooking through them, it would be better and more

economical to have the cooking and the preparatory work done through reliable agency and take from the prisoners other tasks of a more remunerative nature and involving no danger to health.

Nor was unclean food indifferently cooked the whole of the complaint on this head. A kind of dry fermented stinking cabbage was rationed as green vegetable. From what the friends described I could gather that this cabbage was a kind of human silage copied from cattle silage, cabbage being re-vitalized by subjecting it to high fermentation. If the information given to me is correct, I can only say that the prison authorities are playing with prisoners' lives entrusted to their care.

Among the prisoners discharged were three in a weak condition; one a student who had completed his full term was discharged in a precarious condition. His condition was so far gone that in spite of all the loving attention being bestowed upon him by the Mahavidyalaya professors and students and skilled medical assistance he is not yet out of danger. I was informed that for several days in spite of his fever he was kept on coarse jowari bread for a time. I should not at all wonder if this indigestible bread caused intestinal inflammation.

I shall be glad to publish any explanation that the authorities may have to give in regard to these allegations.

I know that conditions being as they are prisoners may not expect the comforts of home life. I know too that satyagrahis may not grumble at their lot which in a way is of their own seeking. Nevertheless even a satyagrahi whether he complains or not should receive human treatment and should get food that is suited to his constitution and that is, above all else, clean and cleanly prepared.

Young India, 16-8-1928

444. LETTER TO MOTILAL NEHRU

SATYAGRAHA ASHARM, SABARMATI,
August 16, 1928

DEAR MOTILALJI,

Your report is a great document. I am hoping that the Conference that is to meet at Lucknow will give it all the serious consideration it deserves and not light-heartedly begin to tear it to pieces. The intrinsic merit of the report is so great as to ensure full

attendance at Lucknow.¹

Before I got your warning I began to think out what could be done for the next year. But I must confess that I have not yet been able to hit upon anything to my liking. Lucknow might give me the inspiration.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 13660

445. LETTER TO NANABHAI I. MASHRUWALA

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
August 16, 1928

BHAISHRI NANABHAI,

I got your letter, as also Nilkhanth's. I got Kishorelal's letter too. The more I reflect, the more I feel that Balubhai has not left us at all. Can the fragrance spread by him vanish? Nevertheless, I understand that one may feel grief at his passing away. Please look upon me as sharing in that grief. Tell Nath that I sent a wire to Kishorelal yesterday asking him to stay on in Akola.

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

I dictated this letter at three in the morning. Later I got your letter written from Bombay.

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 2660. Courtesy: Kanubhai Nanalal Mashruwala

¹ *Vide* also "The Nehru Report", 16-8-1928.

446. *SPEECH AT AHMEDABAD*¹

[August 16, 1928]²

For me there should be no need to attend this function or to say a word. When Vallabhbhai is presented with an address and I am there, and am asked to say something, that means that we both of us have got together and with your permission and in your presence have formed a mutual admiration society of which we both have become members. The intelligent citizens of Ahmedabad should never tolerate this.

Vallabhbhai is a Patel by name and by fame. By achieving the victory of Bardoli he has made that fame his for ever. Have you ever heard of anyone presenting an address to a business man who upholds his reputation? How many addresses have you presented to Seth Mangaldas for the bills of exchange which he honours? I do not know what you would do if he did not honour them.

If you really want to congratulate the satyagrahis, I wish you understood the implications of the triumph and digested as much as suited your constitution. You may imitate the experiment, if you can, but I may tell you that imitation is not easy. As every individual has his individuality, events have theirs. Rather, therefore, than imitate an experiment, you should appreciate its inherent meaning and try to translate it in life. Non-co-operation, satyagraha, civil disobedience are constantly on our lips, and as many good things have been done in their name, some undesirable things have also been done. Let those who give these names their liployalty realize their true meaning and implications. The fact that satyagraha is on every lip is an indication of the fact that all parties desire swaraj, but mere repetition of the word satyagraha or empty praise of it means nothing. You have to work for it, if you are to achieve anything.

A thirsty man cannot quench his thirst by his merely shouting that he is thirsty. He should work to construct tanks and sink wells, or fetch water from them. In other words, his thirst can be quenched only by his working to that end. Similarly, it will not help if you feel

¹ From Mahadev Desai's "Meaning of Bardoli"; the first two paragraphs and the fourth one are translated here from *Navajivan*, 19-8-1928, where they appeared under the title "Immortal Words".

² From the Bombay Secret Abstracts, p. 539, paragraph 1314

satisfied merely by hearing at this meeting the praises of satyagraha. I, therefore, request you to understand the meaning of satyagraha.

It is not Sjt. Vallabhbhai Patel who has triumphed in Bardoli, it is truth and non-violence that have triumphed. If you think that they have rightly triumphed, you must adopt them as your weapons in every walk of life. I cannot promise that you will have success every time you try them. God has not made us omniscient so that we may be able to see whether we have achieved ultimate success or not. The poet who realized this truth has left us the legacy of his immortal phrase: "Immortal hope lies hidden in a thousand despairs." All we have to do is to work without hope of fruit or reward. If therefore you follow Sjt. Vallabhbhai's example and pursue truth and non-violence with his devotion, you may be sure that there will not be friends wanting to congratulate you.

Young India, 23-8-1928

447. CABLE TO RAJENDRA PRASAD¹

[On or after *August 16, 1928*]

RAJENDRA PRASAD

JAYAWATI

LONDON

SUCCESS CONFERENCE².

GANDHI

From a microfilm: S.N. 14381

¹ In reply to his cable from London, received on April 16, 1928, which read: "Youth Conference invite your message. Cable."

² The World Youth Congress held at Eerde in Holland

448. LETTER TO C. A. ALEXANDER

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

August 18, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your prompt reply¹. I have now heard from Mr. Saklatwala too.²

Many thanks for your enquiry about my health which I am glad to say is quite good.

I have now returned to Sabarmati.

Yours sincerely,

C. A. ALEXANDER, ESQ.

GENERAL MANAGER, THE TATA IRON AND STEEL CO. LTD.

JAMSHEDPUR (*via* TATANAGAR)

From a microfilm: S.N. 12778

449. LETTER TO URMILA DEVI

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

August 18, 1928

DEAR SISTER,

You must have seen in the papers that I have returned to the Ashram. You may now come whenever you like with Dhiren. I can understand and even appreciate Dhiren's disappointment. Everything however comes to those who wait, and if Dhiren has patience and qualifies himself, he may hope to take part in the final struggle which

¹ Dated August 11, which read: "I . . . wish to say that the reference from your speech was put in a leaflet prepared at our head office in Bombay by Mr. [N.B.] Saklatwala, the Chairman, and others whom you know...." (S.N. 13239)

² In his letter (S.N. 14457) dated August 15, Saklatwala had written: "I should regret it very much if we had improperly used your name in connection with this unfortunate [labour] dispute . . . In the hope of showing the men our position and the importance of keeping the Works in operation . . . and we did not think that we were unjustified in these circumstances in using your name in the hope of creating a peaceful atmosphere. . . ."

must come sooner or later if the time of its advent can be accelerated by those who wish to take part in it. I hope that Sudhir is now thoroughly restored.

Yours sincerely,

SHRIMATI URMILA DEVI

4-A NAFAR KUNDU ROAD, KALIGHAT, CALCUTTA

From a photostat: S.N. 13493

450. LETTER TO BENARSIDAS CHATURVEDI

Margasher Sud 6, [August 18, 1928]¹

BHAI BENARSIDAS,

Your article on Fiji will be published. I would not like to publish an article on the subject of separate managements for the establishments. The publication of such an article would be harmful to our cause.

Kunwar Maharaj Singh is to leave on December 21.

MOHANDAS GANDHI

From a photostat of the Hindi : G. N. 2577

451. ADHARMA IN THE NAME OF DHARMA

A gentleman writes from Mathura:²

As the Hindi is easy to understand I have not translated the letter. To show what the Shastra-knowing Brahmins of the North think of the devoted but misguided Vaishnavas of Gujarat, I have reproduced the above letter in the writer's own words. To spend thousands of rupees in serving sweets and considering it a religious act shows what things have come to at the present

¹ From the reference to Kunwar Maharaj Singh's departure, presumably for South Africa, it is inferred that the letter was written on this date, which corresponds to *Margasher Sud 6*; vide "Letter to M. R. Jayakar", September 21, 1928 and "Letter to Benarsidas Chaturvedi", October 10, 1928, and "Letter to Sir Mahomed Habibullah", November 9, 1928.

² The letter is not translated here. The letter dealt in detail with the waste of money and food in the name of religion, the ill-treatment of cows and scarcity of milk products in Mathura.

time. Feeling the pain of others is the central point of Vaishnava dharma. But simple-minded Vaishnavas have turned it into a means of enjoyment. As in the other parts of the country, in Govardhan¹ too the cattle wealth is being destroyed. The shortage of ghee and milk mentioned in the letter has been experienced by all the pilgrims. The rich Vaishnavas of Gujarat should heed this letter, wake up and save themselves from the adharma being perpetrated in the name of dharma.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 19-8-1928

452. IN CONFORMITY WITH SHASTRAS

We get evidence from all parts of India which proves how untouchability is losing its hold. Bharatbhushan Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya is a pillar of sanatana dharma. He has written the following letter to Shri Jamnalalji in connection with the Lakshminarayana temple in Wardha.²

Jamnalalji has also received similar expressions of opinion from Shri Pramathnath Tarkabhushan Sharma and Shri Anandshankar Dhruva. Will those who claim to follow the sanatana dharma still cling to the practice of untouchability?

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 19-8-1928

453. PASSING AWAY OF A SILENT WORKER

We all know of leaders who sit or stand on platforms—stand up to speak. Although so many of us would like to crowd the platform till it breaks, we would even then look and be like a drop in the ocean. Since, however, those who rise high on platforms have no more value than a drop's as compared to the ocean's, soldiers who never wish to rise high on to platforms but are pleased to remain in the ocean, that is, the common people and render service while remaining obscure are

¹ A town near Mathura

² The letter is not translated here. Malaviya had congratulated Jamnalal Bajaj on throwing open the temple to all Hindu communities and digging a well from which all were permitted to draw water. *Vide* also "Notes" 26-7-1928, sub-title, "A Triumph of Justice".

the only genuine workers. Balubhai Ichchharam Mashruwala who lived in Bombay was one such worker. He had both wealth and intelligence and used them silently in the service of the people. Balubhai's entire family is cultured. He did not rest satisfied with spending all his resources of body, mind and wealth in rendering service wherever he could. He passed on this noble training to his youngest brother Kishorelal, made him a lawyer and dedicated him to the service of the nation. This cultured public servant passed away last week.¹ May God grant peace to his soul and give us innumerable such workers who would render silent service. Before dying, he wrote a letter², which I publish here as an expression of his love for the country, for truth, and for non-violence.

Shri Kishorelal has given a very moving description of him in his letter³ to me, and this too I give here:

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 19-8-1928

454. GOVERNMENT'S POWER v. PEOPLE'S POWER

Bardoli has proved that the power of the people is greater than that of the State as conclusively as that two and two make four. It can further be claimed that such success depends solely upon the people's capacity to remain peaceful and their capacity to offer peaceful resistance.

The power of the State is derived solely from its capacity to punish. Those persons who rid themselves of the fear of this punishment, despise such punishment and, without opposing the power of the State violently, act as if it did not exist, will always triumph. The people of Bardoli could not secure justice so long as they were afraid of being punished by the Government. As soon as they rid themselves of that fear, they realized that the officers were dependent upon the people and not *vice versa*.

The people also saw that, if they opposed the Government's violence by similar violence, the former would always succeed, whereas, if they suffered it, it lost its efficacy. They also found that this punishment was limited to their persons and possessions, and that it left their hearts wholly untouched. They freed themselves from its fear by surrendering their hearts to their Sardar.

¹ *Vide* "Telegram to Nanabhai I. Mashruwala", 13-8-1928.

² Not translated here

³ *ibid*

From this we find that the people require neither physical nor intellectual strength to secure their own freedom; moral courage is all that is needed. This latter is dependent on faith. In this case, they were required to have faith in their Sardar, and such faith cannot be artificially generated. They found in the Sardar a worthy object of such faith and like a magnet he drew the hearts of the people to himself.

We, therefore, find that a satyagraha movement is bound to succeed if it gets a leader who is cultured, self-sacrificing and can feel the pulse of the people, and if the people remain loyal to him.

Truth and non-violence were the principal factors in this struggle. The people's demand was just and for securing it they did not resort to untruthful means. There were many provocations to the people to become violent and resort to violent measures, but they remained completely peaceful. This is not to say that the people had accepted non-violence as a principle or that they did not harbour anger even in their minds. But they understood the practical advantage of non-violence, understood their own interest, controlled their anger and, instead of retaliating in a violent manner, suffered the hardships inflicted on them.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 19-8-1928

455. LETTER TO PADMAJA NAIDU

SABARMATI,
August 20, 1928

MY DEAR LOTUSBORN¹,

You may not fade. You must bloom. Though I never write you are constantly in my mind.

Love.

M. K. GANDHI

SHRIMATI PADMAJA NAIDU
TUBERCULOSIS SANATORIUM
AROGYAVARAM
CHITTOOR DIST.
S. INDIA

From the original: Padmaja Naidu Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

¹ Literal meaning of 'Padmaja'

*456. SPEECH AT BRAHMO SAMAJ CENTENARY
CELEBRATION, AHMEDABAD¹*

August 20, 1928

I do not think I am at all fitted to say anything on this great occasion, but I consented to come because of the great esteem in which I held the late Ramanbhai and because I could not resist Shrimati Vidyagauri. I am unfit to say anything today for many reasons. I have read nothing of or about Raja Ram Mohan Roy. What I know about him is based on what I have heard from his admirers. I do not claim to have studied the history of the Brahmo Samaj either. I made a desperate effort to read something today, something from a brochure on Ram Mohan Roy that we have in our library, but I could not find a moment for it. I therefore contented myself with the prayer that God might give me the right word to acquit myself of the task.

Although, then, I cannot claim to have studied the history of the Brahmo Samaj, I do claim to have a close connection with the members of the Brahmo Samaj extending over several years. It dates as far back as 1896 when I first visited Calcutta. In 1901 I came in contact with several eminent members of the Brahmo Samaj through Gokhale and Dr. P. C. Ray. I used to visit occasionally the Samaj Mandir, and listen to the sermons of the late Pratap Chandra Mozumdar. I also came in touch with the late Pandit Shivrath Shastri.

These experiences were enough to convince me that the Brahmo Samaj has rendered a great service to Hinduism, and that it has rescued the educated classes of India, especially Bengal, from unbelief. I have always regarded it as a movement essentially designed for the educated classes. Though religion in India sometimes takes the form of superstition, wooden formalism and hysterics, I cannot escape the conviction that a man cannot long remain an unbeliever in India. But the faith of the educated class in the early part of the nineteenth century was in danger and it was Ram Mohan Roy who came to their rescue. I have heard that he had come under the influence of Christian missionaries and Kakasaheb told me that he had made a deep study of Persian and Arabic. There can be no question about his scholarship or

¹ This was published under the title "Brahmo Samaj's Contribution to Hinduism" with the following introductory note by Mahadev Desai: "Speaking on the 20th August at the Ahmedabad Prarthana Samaj on the occasion of the celebration of the centenary of the foundation of the Brahmo Samaj, Gandhiji delivered an address of which the following is a condensed translation."

about his catholicity. He made a deep study of Hinduism, especially the religion of the Vedas, and then allowed himself to be influenced by the essential principles of Christianity and Islam. As a result he saw that there was for him no escape from inaugurating a new movement to liberalize the existing Hinduism which had been overgrown with superstitious weeds. Sacrifice of animals and social evils were flourishing in the name of Hinduism. How could the educated class tolerate it? It was open to Ram Mohan Roy to rest content with individual dissociation from the evils. But he was a reformer. He could not afford to hide his light under a bushel, he gave public expression to his views, secured a following and founded the Brahmo Samaj in 1828.

But it would have languished, had not a man of great spiritual gifts like Maharshi Devendranath Tagore joined it. It is for the future historian to estimate the Tagores' contribution to the intellectual and spiritual life of Bengal, India, and even the world. Rabindranath Tagore's contribution in the direction has been stupendous. We cannot adequately estimate it, even as men living in the valleys of the Himalayas cannot adequately visualize their sublimity. And the Tagores received their inspiration from the Brahmo Samaj. The Brahmo Samaj liberated Reason, and left room enough for Faith. There was once a danger of the Brahmo Samaj severing its tie with Hinduism or the religion of the Vedas but the Maharshi's *tapasya*¹ and knowledge rescued the Brahmo Samaj from that catastrophe. It is due to him that the Samaj remained part of Hinduism.

One may not measure the contribution of the Brahmo Samaj from the number of its adherents. The Brahmos are indeed very few but their influence has been great and good. The service of the Brahmo Samaj lies in its liberalizing and rationalizing Hinduism. It has always cultivated a toleration for other faiths and other movements, it has tried to keep the fountain source of religion pure and to hold up the ideal of pure worship of the Supreme Being.

Not that there is nothing for me to criticize in the Samaj, but this is not the occasion for it. My desire is to place before you whatever is best in the Brahmo Samaj. Let this celebration awaken the religious instinct in you. True religion is not narrow dogma. It is not external observance. It is faith in God, and living in the presence of God; it means faith in a future life, in truth and ahimsa. There prevails today a

¹ Spiritual discipline

sort of apathy towards these things of the spirit. Our temples appear today to be meant only for the simple and the ignorant. Few visit real temples of God. Let the educated class take up the work of reform in this direction.

We have rightly honoured Vallabhbhai over the Bardoli victory. But you may not know his greater victory. Vallabhbhai realized his 'Vallabha' (God) in Bardoli. He saw that nothing but faith in God could keep together the thousands of men and women bound to their pledge. It is through religion that he found his approach to the hearts of those simple illiterate men and women.

I am inundated with letters from young men who write frankly about their evil habits and about the void that their unbelief has made in their lives. No mere medical advice can bring them relief. I can only tell them that there is no way but that of surrender to and trust in God and His grace. Let us all utilize this occasion by giving the living religion in our lives the place it deserves. Has not Akho Bhagat said:

Live as you will, but so

As to realize God.

Young India, 30-8-1928

457. LETTER TO MOTILAL NEHRU

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

August 21, 1928

DEAR MOTILALJI,

I have your letter. I have written for this week's *Young India* too on the forthcoming Conference¹. But I thought it was better for me not to deal with the body of the report but rather emphasize the importance of avoiding theoretical criticism and appealing to the Mussalmans and Hindus not to insist upon the pound of flesh. What is the use of my dealing with the recommendations? My mind just now refuses to think of the form except when it is driven to it. For, I feel that we shall make nothing of a constitution be it ever so good, if the men to work it are not good enough. Anything reasonable therefore appears to me to be acceptable if only we have unanimity, because in the matter of the constitution, unanimity seems to be the most

¹ Vide "All Eyes on Lucknow", 23-8-1928. For the earlier article, vide "The Nehru Report", 16-8-1928.

important thing. But I can say in general terms that you have succeeded wonderfully with Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Sir Ali Imam. I was not prepared for the endorsement of the franchise for instance, or of your solution of the Native States. But I see that the Hindu-Muslim question is still to be a thorny question.

With reference to myself I do not at all feel like moving out of Sabarmati just now. Indeed I should like to bury myself in Sabarmati and do whatever I can through writing in *Young India* and *Navajivan* and through correspondence. I have more than enough work for me in the Ashram, I do not know whether you are aware that Bardoli was possible because the Ashram was in existence. The majority of the workers in Bardoli owe their preparation to the Ashram directly or to its indirect influence. If I could but make of the Ashram what I want, I should be ready to give battle on an extensive scale.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 13667

458. LETTER TO BEHRAMJI KHAMBHATTA

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
August 21, 1928

BHAISHRI KHAMBHATTA,

I have your letter, as also the sum of Rs. 100. There was no particular intention in publishing your name in the list of acknowledgments. It is enough for you to know that you do not crave publicity. If the name is published, that will certainly do you no harm. This time we have taken greater care. We should thank God if your ailment is cured. Write to me about it from time to time.

Blessings to you both from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 5017. Courtesy: Tehmina Khambhatta

459. LETTER TO AMBALAL SARABHAI

August 21, 1928

DEAR BROTHER,

I have a calf here that is suffering terrible pain. It has broken a leg. Now it has developed sores all over the body. The veterinary surgeon has given up all hope. I have therefore decided to have it shot. Please send one of your guards with a gun if possible. We have people in the Ashram who can use a gun but we have not kept a gun here.

Vandemataram form

MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original : C.W. 11123. Courtesy : Sarabhai Foundation

460. LETTER TO AMBALAL SARABHAI

August 21, 1928

DEAR BROTHER,

Your letter is beautiful. Your sentiments are even more beautiful. I had been waiting for the doctor and the injections having abandoned the idea of using a gun. Your letter has made me check myself. I will not now make use of your gun. I do not share your fear. The question is deeper than the one you have raised I shall not discuss it here beyond saying that it is not merely one of relieving pain.¹ What is our duty towards animals and other living creatures that are disabled and suffering pain? Where does compassion which underlies Hinduism take us? But to me that is not a matter for discussion. It concerns my deepest feelings. I shall take no step without proper thought. The act of killing has to be postponed at least for today.

Vandemataram form

MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 11124. Courtesy: Sarabhai Foundation

¹ For Gandhiji's arguments for killing the ailing calf, *vide* "Letter to Bhogilal", September 22, 1928 and "The Feary Ordeal", October 4, 1928.

461. 'THE TRUE CAPITAL AND THE FALSE'

Sir Daniel Hamilton is a big proprietor, owns large estates in the Sundarbans, and is a careful student of banking and the cooperative movement. He has written many papers during the past twelve months on Indian banking and has been kind enough to send them to me from time to time. I invited him to write in a popular style on banking for the readers of *Young India*. He readily consented and followed up his tentative promise with speedy performance. The result is a paper entitled "Man or Mammon? Or The True Capital and the False". I have divided the paper in five parts, the first of which appears elsewhere¹ in this issue of *Young India*. I do not pretend to know anything of banking. I am sorry to have to confess that I was never able to make time for studying Indian finance, important though I hold the subject to be. I am therefore unable to pronounce any opinion upon Sir Daniel Hamilton's argument. It is however sufficient for my purpose that Sir Daniel has written apparently without bias and with great sincerity. I commend Sir Daniel Hamilton's articles to the readers of *Young India* for careful study and shall be pleased to publish any criticism that Indian financiers may care to offer.

Young India, 23-8-1928

462. ALL EYES ON LUCKNOW

The Nehru Committee report has rightly attracted universal attention. All the leading Indians who have spoken upon it have blessed it. The critics have been obliged to write about it with marked restraint and often involuntary admiration. It has set everyone thinking.

All eyes are naturally therefore centred on Lucknow where Dr. Ansari has invited the All-Parties Conference to meet. A report that has compelled such attention is bound to draw a large and representative gathering.

What will the Conference do? It will be easy enough to render the proceedings of the conference nugatory and reduce to nothingness the labours of the Nehru committee. Mussalmans may destroy the great edifice built by patient effort on the ground that they have

¹ Not reproduced here. The other four parts appeared weekly in successive issues.

not got all they wanted. Hindus may vow never to yield an inch and thus make an advance impossible. Political theorists may pick big holes in the report. But they will all be wrong if they approach the report from their individual standpoints. We shall not easily get again anything so good as the report bearing the representative signatures it does.

Let all therefore approach the report from only one standpoint, i.e., the national. There is room enough under the constitution devised by the Committee for all to rise to their full height. Every legitimate interest has its protection guaranteed if it has enough vitality in itself for expansion. The franchise is the broadest possible.

Of course the impatient extremist will be dissatisfied. Let him know that the report represents the largest common measure possible for parties often representing opposite views. It will be anti-national to resist to the breaking point what is offered by this representative report.

Apart however from the standpoint of expediency, I venture to suggest that the report satisfies all reasonable aspirations and is quite capable of standing on its own intrinsic merits. All therefore that is needed to put the finishing touch to the work of the Nehru Committee is a little forbearance, a little mutual respect, a little mutual trust, a little give and take and much confidence not in our little selves but in the great nation of which each one of us is but a humble member.

Young India, 23-8-1928

463. NOTES

HINDI-HINDUSTANI

That Sir T. Vijayaraghavachari should deliver a public lecture at the Hindu High School in Triplicane, Madras, on the “Place of Hindi in Indian Education” is a sign of the times and proof of the efficacy of the work done by the Hindi Prachar Office in Madras which has carried on Hindi propaganda for the last seven years. The lecturer had no difficulty in showing that the fact that of the 300 million people of India, 120 million spoke Hindi and 80 million more understood it and that Hindi was the third most widely spoken language in the world “was by itself a strong reason for everyone learning Hindi”. The learned speaker rightly thought that “six months would be a suffi-

cient period for learning the language well.” He contended that “the place of Hindi in Indian education must be compulsory. It ought to be a compulsory language in school, college and university.” He concluded:

We are all eagerly looking forward to the day when we shall all be Indians first and Madrasis or Bangalis next. The day will be hastened if Madrasis, who are the worst offenders in this respect, begin to learn Hindi in larger number.

The people of the South have every facility afforded to them through the Hindi Prachar Office of learning Hindi. Surely if we have real love of India as we have of our respective provinces, we would all learn Hindi without delay and avoid the humiliating spectacle of carrying on our proceedings in the popular assembly, i.e., the All-India Congress Committee, predominantly, if not often wholly, in English. Let me repeat once more what I have often said that I do not contemplate the suppression of provincial languages by Hindi but addition of Hindi to the former so as to enable provinces to establish a living contact with one another. This must result also in enriching both the provincial languages and Hindi.

BARDOLI—A VICTORY OF PEACE

The following poetic bit from a love-letter of Shrimati Sarojini Devi’s bears reproduction:

A pastoral vision of quiet beauty is spread all around me; the sunset has dyed the clouds in the west in the glowing colours of flame, and in the east in the tender colours of flowers; the low hills have taken on every dreamlike shadow steeped in blue and purple, and the undulating valley just below is settling down to rest, gathering the wandering sheep, hushing the wild doves and wild hawks to slumber, collecting the little groups of peasants and labourers to their thatched huts under the boughs of sheltering trees.... Soon all the denizens of the secluded colony set in the heart of such sylvan beauty will be at rest, each in his or her own bed, and soon the nightfall will wrap the hills and valley and woods in a velvet darkness.... But the darkness, alas, does not always bring comfort to the suffering. No sleep . . . What poignant vigils does the night witness, that the world never knows? . . . How many such poignant vigils have the people of Bardoli kept night after night? . . . But I rejoice that tonight the darkness will bring dreams of sweetness to those whose spirit was so unwearied in battle through long and terrible weeks.... The sleep of the satyagrahi when his work is over is indeed a gift of the gods. Do you remember the words of the German philosopher: “Let your work be a battle, let your peace be a victory.” So it has been at Bardoli. The peace has indeed been a victory of peace and peaceful ways.

I have just finished the last page of the English version of your moving and vivid history of the South African Satyagraha when the post brought the papers with the longed for and joyful news of the Bardoli settlement . . ., honourable to both sides. As I wrote to ‘Sardar’ Vallabhbhai a month ago, I have always felt and known that satyagraha in its deep authentic sense is literally “the treasure of the lowly”—Maeterlinck’s beautiful phrase, of those who are content with realities and not seekers after false values and false standards.... Your dream was to make Bardoli the perfect example of satyagraha. Bardoli has fulfilled itself in its own fashion interpreting and perfecting your dream.

Young India, 23-8-1928

464. LETTER TO DR. JOSIAH OLDFIELD

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
August 24, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I was delighted to have your letter. Though I could not visit Europe this year, if all goes well, I expect to do so next year, when I have no doubt we shall meet somewhere. Of course if you anticipate your proposed visit¹ to India, we shall meet here no doubt.

Yours sincerely

DR. JOSIAH OLDFIELD

LADY MARGARET HOSPITAL, DODDINGTON, KENT

From a photostat: S.N. 14366

465. LETTER TO B. DE LIGT

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
August 24, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter enclosing an English translation which you have very kindly made for me of your open letter. I am so busy that I have not had the time to go through the open letter, but I hope to go

¹ The addressee in his letter (S.N. 14365) dated July 30, 1928, had written that he might visit India again on a lecture tour upon the “Relation of Men to Animals”.

through the whole of it and let you have my reply as early as I can. I may find it necessary to give you the reply through the pages of *Young India*.¹ If I do, I take it you will not mind it.

Yours sincerely,

B. DE LIGT,² ESQ.

ONEX (GENEVA), SWITZERLAND

From a microfilm: S.N. 14386

466. LETTER TO C. F. ANDREWS

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

August 24, 1928

MY DEAR CHARLIE,

I have your letter. I expect a longer one later.

Bardoli victory was indeed a victory for Truth and Non-violence. It has almost restored the shattered faith in non-violence on the political field. Vallabhbhai has never shone so brilliantly as in this campaign.

You say you are enclosing an article on Gopabandhu Das, but I have received nothing on him from you. His death is a terrible loss. There is no one in Orissa to equal him in self-sacrifice and self-effacement.

Gregg did not know that you had left for England and that you were about to leave for America. Gregg himself is leaving for America in November.

We are all keeping well at the Ashram. Devdas is in Jamia Millia. Rasik and Navin are going there to help Devdas. I hope you are giving yourself rest and that you will return as fully restored as is possible for one of your temperament.

I note that you do not want me to collect more for your expense

¹ *Vide* "My Attitude towards War", 13-9-1928.

² Author of *The Conquest of Violence*

in America. Sarojini Naidu expects to leave for America in September.

With love,

Yours,

MOHAN

C. F. ANDREWS, ESQ.

C/O AMERICAN EXPRESS CO., 6 HAYMARKET

LONDON

From a photostat: G.N. 2629

467. LETTER TO SIR DANIEL HAMILTON

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

August 24, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I was unprepared to receive your paper so promptly. I have divided it into five chapters,¹ first of which has already appeared. I send you a copy of it herewith.

I lent Sir Purushottamdas Thakurdas your papers and asked him to let me have his criticism on them. He sent me a frank letter. With his permission I am sending you a copy of it. For a layman it is difficult to understand these different viewpoints. It has always appeared to me an enigma, why financiers differ as much as lawyers and doctors even as to fundamentals.

You will be glad to learn that the Bardoli struggle has ended satisfactorily.

Yours sincerely,

ENCLOSURE: 1

Sir Daniel Hamilton

From a photostat: S.N. 13238

¹ *Vide* “ ‘The True Capital and the False’ ”, 23-8-1928.

468. LETTER TO WILLIAM H. DANFORTH

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
August 24, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter as also for the parcel of your food products sent through Mr. B. N. Birla. He sent me also a copy of the book you have written on your Indian experience.

As my menu is limited and as I do not eat things of whose composition I have no knowledge, I have not been able to try any of the delicacies you have kindly sent me. But I have distributed your biscuits amongst the Ashram inmates. If it is not a secret, I would like to know how the corn flakes are prepared and whether anything beyond wheat is used in preparing the flakes. Is it not the same thing as the wheat flakes prepared at Dr. Kellogg's Battle Creek Sanatorium?

Yours sincerely,

W. H. DANFORTH¹, ESQ.

From a photostat: S.N. 14384

469. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
August 25, 1928

CHI. VASUMATI,

I have your letters. You should now recover complete health. If that is at all possible, you ought to make it so. You write *kef*, but the real word is *kaph*. It is an English word and means what we call *galafo*². The word *kaph*, however, has become part of our language and we can freely use it. *Kef* means intoxication, and the word is not taken from English.

Blessings from

BAPU

CHI. VASUMATIBEHN

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 497. Courtesy: Vasumati Pandit

¹ Of the Ralston Purina Company, Missouri, which manufactured food products

² Phlegm; the Gujarati word *kaph* is from Sanskrit.

470. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

August 25, 1928

BHAISHRI CHHAGANLAL,

Chi. Navin is to be sent to Jamia Millia to help Devdas. Therefore, release him for that institution. If more time is required for the purpose, we shall think about it when I return there. Chi. Rasik is already free. He, too, has to go to Delhi. It is necessary for both to get trained in carding, etc., so that they may be proficient in these processes.

BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 14762

471. LIMITS OF SATYAGRAHA¹

A correspondent impatient to stop the marriages of aged men with young girls writes:

This evil requires drastic remedies. Twenty-five young men of character should form themselves into a band of satyagrahis, proceed to the place of the marriage eight or ten days before the event and plead with both the parties, with the heads of the caste organization, and with all concerned. They should parade the streets with suitable placards condemning such marriages and produce an atmosphere of opposition to the proposed marriage. They should persuade the people of the town or village to declare a peaceful boycott against the parties to the marriage, and court arrest or whatever other punishment that comes to them.

Thus the satyagrahi band would soon become a power in the locality, and these marriages would be a thing of the past.

The suggestion looks attractive, but I am afraid it cannot be of use on more than one occasion. Where lust and cupidity join hands the slaughter of the innocents becomes almost impossible to avoid. As soon as lustful old candidates for brides and the greedy parents get scent of the invasion of the satyagrahi band, they will evade the band by performing the wedding secretly, and they will find enough priests and wedding guests to help them in the ceremony. The readers of *Navajivan* may be aware of an incident that happened some time

¹ The Gujarati original of this appeared in *Navajivan*, 26-8-1928. This is a translation by Mahadev Desai.

ago. The old man in that case feigned contrition, and successfully threw dust into the eyes of all by a hollow public apology. The reformers were delighted, but before they had finished congratulating themselves the old man managed to get secretly married. What happened in one case may happen in many cases. We should therefore devise other means to grapple with the evil. I have an idea that it may be easier to reach the greedy father of the bride than the slave of his lust. There is a great necessity for cultivating public opinion in the matter. The parents who readily sell away their girls, out of cupidity, should be sought out and pleaded with, and caste organizations should be persuaded to pass resolutions condemning such marriages. Evidently such reforms cannot be carried out all at once by the same band in large areas. Their field must needs be circumscribed. A satyagrahi band in Cape Comorin will, not be able to prevent a monstrous marriage in Kashmir. The reformers will havetherefore to recognize their limitations. We may not attempt the impossible.

Love and ahimsa are matchless in their effect. But in their play there is no fuss, show, noise or placards. They presuppose self confidence which in its turn presupposes self-purification. Men of stainless character and self-purification will easily inspire confidence and automatically purify the atmosphere around them. I have long believed that social reform is a tougher business than political reform. The atmosphere is ready for the latter, people are interested in it, and there is an impression abroad that it is possible without self-purification. On the other hand people have little interest in social reform, the result of agitation does not appear to be striking, and there is little room for congratulations and addresses. The social reformers will have therefore to plod on for some time, hold themselves in peace, and be satisfied with apparently small results.

I may here throw out a practical suggestion. The most effective means of creating an atmosphere against the marriages of aged persons with young girls is to create public opinion against the actual marriage and to set in motion a peaceful social boycott against the aged bridegroom and the greedy father of the bride.

If a successful boycott can be carried out even in one single instance, parents will hesitate to sell their daughters and old men will hesitate to run after young brides.

It will not be easy to wean lustful old men from their lust. They

may be therefore induced to marry old widows, if they must marry. In Europe old men easily seek out old widows.

In conclusion, we must be clear about our objectives in opposing these marriages. It cannot be our object to wean old men from their lust; if it is we will have first to deal with lustful young men. But that is a tall order. Our objective can be only to save young girls from the clutches of lustful old men and the cupidity of their parents. The reformer must therefore address himself to carrying on a crusade against the sale of brides. It is the bride's parents who have to be reached. Let the satyagrahi therefore chalk out the field of his activities, have a census of all girls of a marriageable age living in that area, let him get into touch with their parents, and awaken them to a sense of their duty towards their daughters.

Let not the reformer go outside these limits if he wants to achieve success. The scheme proposed in the correspondent's letter easily transgresses these limits.

Young India, 6-9-1928

472. MY NOTES

EXPLOSION OF MATRICULATES

A correspondent writes to say:¹

This question is well worth asking. It has often been answered in this paper. The lure of a Government stamp makes slaves of us. Hence I have suggested that it is our duty to leave Government schools. But who will free the students from this infatuation? How can one secure, without a Government stamp, a job where there are chances of getting a bribe? The student will be unable to free himself from this infatuation so long as he does not willingly accept work involving physical labour and value it more than literary education. This is one of the reasons why the spinning wheel has been given such importance. It is a widely accepted symbol of manual labour. In the first issue of *Navajivan* a picture was given which contained figures of the spinning-wheel and the plough. As the status of the spinning-wheel improves, physical labour and honourable poverty will

¹ The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had drawn attention to the increasing number of matriculates in the country and the problem of their employment.

automatically find the place that they deserve. This does not imply that everyone should earn a living by means of the spinning-wheel, but it does imply that everyone should do so by means of productive labour. It is the atmosphere of the schools which is responsible for an increase in the students' love of British ways of life and their love of British goods. Only a handful of students remain unaffected by the atmosphere.

FIRES CAUSED BY THE PRIMUS STOVE

The same correspondent writes as follows about the Primus stove:¹

It is true that the Primus stove has enslaved the minds of Gujarati women. I also believe that this stove is not as necessary as it is generally believed to be. It is undoubtedly true that a Gujarati woman's sari lends grace to her, but it does cause great inconvenience to the working women. It seems to be a fact that the sari is responsible for the accidents through the Primus stove in which Gujarati women have been involved. If I could persuade these women, I would rid them of their fascination for this stove and have them imitate the tucked-up sari worn by the brave women of Bardoli. In my opinion, the sari draped in that manner is no less graceful. It also gives full freedom of movement while working and, looking at the matter more deeply, we see that it affords better protection to women inasmuch as they are more fully clad in this dress. Those who have seen the women of Bardoli at work would testify that they could do no work in the field if they wore the sari with one end of it hanging in front of them.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 26-8-1928

¹ The letter is not translated here.

473. LETTER TO T. PRAKASAM

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
August 26, 1928

MY DEAR PRAKASAM,

I have your letter¹. If you can get Justice Venkatasubba Rao to be the sole arbitrator in the matter between you and the All India Spinners' Association, it will be quite good. You may therefore please try to get his consent and let me know the result.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. T. PRAKASAM
"SWARAJYA", MADRAS

From a microfilm: S.N. 13672

474. LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
August 26, 1928

Keshu is anxious to make up his English as early as possible. He knows a fair amount. My idea is that if he can be kept with the Bjerrums, he should do well. Will you please advise? If you think that my suggestion is good, you may see the Bjerrums yourself. Or, if anything or something else or some other place than Bangalore is better, please let me know.

Do tell me how you and Shankerlal are getting on. You must both get well.

SJT. C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR
C/O KHADI VASTRALAYA, FORT, BANGALORE CITY

From a photostat: S.N. 13496

¹ Dated August 14, 1928, which read: "I suggest the name of Mr. Justice Venkatasubba Rao of the Madras High Court to arbitrate in the matter in his personal capacity . . ." (S.N. 13657). *Vide* also "Letter to T. Prakasam", 20-7-1928.

475. LETTER TO JETHALAL JOSHI

Second Shravan Sud 11 [August 26, 1928]¹

BHAISHRI JETHALAL,

I got your letter.

What you say about children is true.

Your suggestion regarding malaria is worth considering.

Concerning the calf, the issue was not only about non-violence. According to my definition of non-violence, there was certainly no violence in killing it. The question was whether or not it was a duty to kill it. I felt that it was.

You can get slivers for a few days, but you should learn quickly [to make them yourselves].

Blessings from

MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1346

476 LETTER TO PANNALAL JAIN

SABARMATI,

Bhadrapad Shukla 11 [August 26, 1928]²

BHAI PANNALALJI,

I have your letter. Your complaint is just. But there are difficulties in increasing the size of *Hindi Navajivan*. With great difficulty it has only just started paying its way. It attempts to give a summary of all useful articles. This attempt will be redoubled hereafter.

Yours,

MOHANDAS GANDHI

SHRI PANNALAL JAIN

KALYANMAL MILLS, INDORE

[From Hindi]

Madhyapradesh aur Gandhiji, p. 150

¹ The year is determined from the reference to the mercy-killing of a calf at the Ashram.

² From the postmark

477. LETTER TO MANILAL AND SUSHILA GANDHI

August 27, 1928

CHI. MANILAL AND SUSHILA,

I have your letters. You would naturally get all the news about Balubhai, and so I write nothing. If we remember and cultivate in ourselves the virtues of our good relations, they though dead live on and society progresses continuously. Ordinarily we see the opposite of this happening. That is so because of our lethargy. We believe that by selfishly mourning over a death we have done our duty and thus deceive ourselves. If we look upon death in the manner I have indicated, we would never mourn it but turn it into a means of self-purification.

Ramdas returned to Bardoli yesterday. He now wants to settle down there and join in constructive work. After he has settled down he will ask Nimu¹ to join him. Navin² and Rasik will go to Delhi in a few days to help Devdas there.

We are all right, all of us.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4743

478. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

Silence Day [August 27, 1928]³

CHI. VASUMATI,

I have your letter. Pay up the bills of the doctor and the hakim. You should know from time to time the amounts as they *become due*. If your health does not improve there at all, it would be better for you to come away here. Tell Vidyavatiji that, rather than stay there and be a burden on her, you had better return to the Ashram. After your health has completely recovered, you may return there if necessary. Or, they may send a student from there who will learn the work in the Ashram.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9251

¹ Wife of Ramdas Gandhi

² A pupil in the Ashram school

³ From the postmark

479. LETTER TO PERIN CAPTAIN

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
August 28, 1928

DEAR SISTER,¹

I have your letter. I propose to write about your letters in the next issue of *Young India*.²

Narandas must already have sent you the list of the stuff at the Ashram.

Mahadev has been reminded about Rs. 45-13-6. Subbiah will write to you about it. I have not written to Mithuben yet, but I will soon, as also to Fulchand about Rs. 37-4-0. I shall speak to Kakasaheb about the embroidery thread.

If there is any khadi exhibition at Calcutta, you will certainly know in due time.

This exhausts your list. Don't you come again only for two days.

SHRIMATI PERIN CAPTAIN

BOMBAY

From a microfilm: S.N. 13501

480. LETTER TO EMMA HARKER

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
August 28, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I had your letter. You can come and see the Ashram for yourself. But I know that the Ashram life will not suit you in any shape or form. It is really too simple and too hard for one brought up like you. It is hard even for those who have been for a long time here. And it is a life of continuous body labour.

Yours sincerely,

EMMA HARKER

2 BELGRADE TERRACE, KARACHI

From a microfilm: S.N. 13502

¹ The source has this in Gujarati, *Vahalan Behn*

² *Vide* "Notes", 13-9-1928, sub-title, "Rashtriya Stri Sabha and Khadi".

481. LETTER TO N. C. BARDALOI

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

August 28, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I referred your letter¹ to the A.I.S.A. Office and here is the statement² prepared by the Office. I do not wish to judge. But I want you to see the correct position for yourself. There should be no laxity in the handling of public funds. And resentment of discipline, I hold to be a grave fault with us. Without discipline, Bardoli would have been a perfect fiasco. There were over 100 workers under Vallabhbhai and they all acted as one man. I am not aware of a misunderstanding having ever arisen. There were over 1,000 workers at the time of flood relief last year. It was the same thing then as in Bardoli.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. N. C. BARDALOI

SANTI BHAVAN, GAUHATI

From a microfilm: S.N. 13673

482. LETTER TO VARADACHARI

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

August 28, 1928

MY DEAR VARADACHARI,

The enclosed letter and my reply will speak for themselves. Subbiah fortifies the complaint made by the correspondent and says that the Tamil Nadu Khadi Depot gives no encouragement whatsoever to voluntary spinners. This should not be.

Yours sincerely,

Enclosure: 1

From a microfilm: S.N. 13674

¹ Dated June 23, 1928 (S.N. 13628)

² Giving, year-wise the quantity of khadi produced in India from 1925 to 1928

483. LETTER TO R. DORAISWAMY

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

August 28, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I must draw your attention to the fact that my definition of a “spinner” applies to voluntary spinners, not to paid spinners. I know from experience that not much time has to be given to doing one’s own carding and that those who do spinning for the love of it should generally be able to find time for doing their own carding a small quantity. I have done it myself, though in order to save every minute of my time I have given it up, because there are so many to supply me with slivers. But for the sake of accuracy, I propose to do my own carding, even though I am now supposed to be in a very weak state of health, and publish the result in *Young India*. You should certainly be supplied with spindles from the Tamil Nad Branch as also from the Satyagraha Ashram or Bardoli. There is however a great difficulty in having an unlimited supply of true spindles, because straightening taxes the eyes of workers, so much so that one man who used to straighten up 60 spindles per day very nearly lost his eyes. At the Ashram and at Bardoli, therefore, not much encouragement is given to those who want true spindles. Straightening can be learnt by application. Once a person learns it, he can straighten his own spindle in a very short time and straightening once in a way does not tax the eye at all. Attempts were being made by the Association to get a piece of machinery whereby true spindles can be turned out. But in spite of all effort, up to now such a machine has not been found. I am however forwarding your letter to the Tamil Nad Branch in order that whatever is possible might be done in order to help voluntary spinners.

R. DORAISWAMY

KHADI AGENT, KUMBAKONAM

From a microfilm: S.N. 13675

484. LETTER TO B. G. HORNIMAN

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

August 28, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

To get an article from me is like drawing a live tooth. I can only therefore send you a message, and here it is!

The way to constitutional swaraj may lie through Lucknow, the way to organic swaraj, which is synonymous with Ramarajya lies through Bardoli.

Yours sincerely,

B. G. HORNIMAN, ESQ.

“THE INDIAN NATIONAL HERALD”

POST BOX NO. 800, BOMBAY

From a photostat: S.N. 13497

485. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

August 28, 1928

DEAR SATIS BABU,

I have your letter. I don't need to say anything about the Puja Exhibition. You will manage things there as may seem best to you.

I hope the change you have made at Sodepur about food is not too drastic for the men. Let there be no unnecessary haste. What is possible with difficulty in Gujarat may be almost impossible in Bengal.

The little water-works you installed here is working fairly satisfactorily. But the water is soon exhausted. I wonder if the tanks are to be kept open. And should they not be cleaned from time to time? And if they should, is it not a somewhat laborious process? Have you any instructions?

It gives me joy to find that you are getting on so well with Mr. Birla. It must mean a great load off your brain so far as the finances are concerned.

Yes, if you can devise a charkha that will give a greater yield, it would certainly be a gain.

How is Hemprabha Devi keeping?

From a photostat: S.N. 13498

486. LETTER TO K. S. KARANTH

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

August 28, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. The question seems to me to be easy of solution. It is the Brahminical life that is referred to. Brahman there does not refer to a division, but it refers to a state in the same person. Brahman is one who knows God, and it is possible for a Shudra to develop self-realization. He has then reached the Brahminical stage, and the man born in a Brahmin family may be able to do nothing if he has no knowledge of God.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. K. S. KARANTH

VASANTA, P.O. KODAIKAL, MANGALORE

From a photostat: S.N. 13499

487. LETTER TO ROHINI POOVIAH

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

August 28, 1928

MY DEAR ROHINI,

I was delighted to receive your note. I am glad you are now fixed up. I hope that you won't have to leave that place.

The common kitchen is going on merrily though we have still tough problems to solve from day to day. We have nearly 160 diners together. It is something to conduct such a big kitchen without paid labour.

As you must have seen I have not gone to Lucknow, nor am I likely to pass through Allahabad in the near future.

Do write to me from time to time.

Yours sincerely,

SHRIMATI ROHINI POOVIAH

LADY PRINCIPAL, CROSTHWAITE GIRLS' COLLEGE, ALLAHABAD

From a photostat: S.N. 13500

488. *EUROPE-GOERS BEWARE*

Now that so many people have begun to go to Europe and the interest in India and Indians has since the days of Non-co-operation grown, there is a growing demand on their time on the part of European public bodies and political parties. Not one of us was however prepared for what befell Babu Rajendra Prasad. Rajendra Babu went to London some months ago to fulfil an important legal engagement. Having finished his case he did a bit of travelling on the Continent and among other things attended the War Resisters' Conference in Vienna. Prompted by a stranger, he accepted another engagement in the neighbourhood. There was some days ago in *The Bombay Chronicle* a cable to the effect that a meeting at which Babu Rajendra Prasad was speaking on peace was broken up by Fascists and that he was seriously assaulted. In the absence of any cable from Rajendra Babu, I refused to believe in the assault. The same day that I saw the Press cable, I had a cable from Rajendra Babu asking for a message¹ for the Youth Conference in Holland. This removed all suspicion about the assault; but by the last mail I received a letter from Austrian friends, a professor and his wife, containing a graphic description and confirmation of the assault reported in the Press. I reproduce below the relevant portion of the letter which moreover contains a warning important for all who visit the Continent:

Though very rejoiced at your letter of introduction of Mr. Rajendra Prasad I was terrified by a postscript of one—whose name we had never heard before at the backside of your letter. In your kind letter there was no word about any meeting, but at the back, this Mr. . .² wrote: "Comrade Raj. Pr. will

¹ *Vide* "Cable to Rajendra Prasad", On or after 16-8-1928.

² Omissions as in the source

speak at the Steinfelder Sale, and requests you to meet him there.” I was very much astonished and terrified. For, in the “Steinfelder Sale”, which is a beerhouse, there was on the same day a meeting of ‘International Women’s League for Peace and Freedom’. I did not know this League. This letter came into our hands at 9 in the morning of the 1st August, and we tried the whole forenoon to find out whether this meeting guaranteed security, but we could not find in any directory or telephone-book any address or name of the members of this League. So we went to the station to fetch brother Prasad, to take him with us to our home.

Mr. Prasad did not know the circumstances of this meeting and did not know enough of this Mr.... He agreed with this Mr.... to speak at the meeting in which were concentrated from the surroundings and the town the followers of war and violence in order to disturb this women’s meeting. Not knowing anything, . . . and myself went there with Mr. Prasad to satisfy his obligation. Mr.... was not at the meeting, no one was there of the Women’s Committee, the hall was full of smoke, the tables full of beerglasses, men were yelling—there was no one of that Committee though it was already quarter of an hour later. Going to the Women’s Committee table, we were suddenly attacked even before the beginning of the meeting, and though guarding him with our own bodies, we could not prevent brother Prasad from being injured. After our injuries we came to know: (1) that he was taken to be one . . . , the name of whom we had never heard, who had to speak at this meeting; (2) that Mr.... was an anarchist and editor of an anarchistical newspaper! We are very sorry at all this. Not only because of our wounds—fortunately my double-quilted khaddarhat and my hair-knot caught up many of the blows with wooden lathis and chairs and glasses, nevertheless, brother Prasad was slightly hurt on the head, on the forehead and upon one hand, and . . . was injured with a chair-leg on the cheek under one eye. This small wound of . . . and a small wound on the forehead of Mr. Prasad could be dangerous for the eyes, perhaps also a stab with a knife which I caught up with my hand and which was soon healed. I do not know whence I had the strength to hold up so many blows in order to make a way out through perhaps a thousand men beating us three, and insulting me because I was protecting the men, I had only one hand to hold up the blows, with the other hand I held Mr. Prasad whom . . . and myself had between us, . . . trying to save his Gandhi cap which was finally lost. Our hands and feet were covered with blue spots, and for two days I had a slight commotion in the brain. All were crying: “Slay him down,” ... it was dreadful We have kept the good brother in our home and dressed his wounds. On the next day he felt well, and we travelled with him by railway one hour before leaving him. The next day we received a letter from him reporting that he was feeling well, and

that the doctor had examined his small wounds and fortunately found these all right. Today he is staying at Monsieur Romain Rolland's in Villeneuve, to whom I have written an explaining letter. Now I beg you to say to all Indian brothers, who are starting for Europe or staying there, not to be implicated in any strange movement. Your principles of non-violence, etc., are torn from their setting and misused by political parties. The Indian brothers are too good and too credulous; for instance we have heard: when one European says to an Indian brother, that he (the European) is a vegetarian, the Indian brother in his goodness believes that this European is a follower of your principles in the whole, but such a European can be also an anarchist, etc. I entreat you. to warn-the Indian brothers against having intercourse with strange people.

These friends deserve the warmest thanks of the relatives and the numerous friends of Rajendra Babu for their bravely defending his person at peril to their own lives. The incident shows the essential identity of human nature and it shows that gentleness, self-sacrifice and generosity are the exclusive possession of no one race or religion. But it is the warning contained in the letter which is much the most important part of it. There is no doubt that there is a desire on the part of all sorts of Continental parties to exploit for their own purposes Indian visitors, especially if they happen to hold a position in the public life of India. It is therefore a good thing to bear in mind the Shakespearian warning: "Give thine ear to everyone, thy voice to none." There must be on. the part of Indian visitors an estimable desire to advertise the Indian cause by speaking to European audiences. It is as well however to know that exemplary self-restraint in everything will advertise the Indian cause much better than any amount of public speaking. Character is any day more eloquent than speech.

Young India, 30-8-1928

489. NOTES

WANTED A PUBLICITY DEPARTMENT FOR KHADI

A correspondent writes to Sjt. Vithaldas Jerajani of the All India Spinners' Association, Khadi Bhandar, Bombay:

I am thankful for the parcel along with your Bill No. 307 dated 27-7-1928. It has given me full satisfaction and the clothes are admired by friends. I feel that the message? of khadi has reached only a small fraction of the people, and that in the matter of publicity, the movement lags behind even ordinary firms. Those who would like to purchase khadi have got nothing for guidance as there is a very small number of shops in a province and that too does very little work in the way of publicity. I am sure money will not be wasted if you were to enlarge and illustrate your price list. The creation of a publicity department for khadi will not be a superfluous thing. If and when you approve of this idea and action is taken thereon, I shall be glad to remit an amount of Rs. 100 as a contribution towards the fund required for the purpose.

There is much truth in the correspondent's charge. The All-India Spinner's Association has concerned itself more with perfecting the internal organization than with external effort such as advertisement, feeling that perfection of the internal organization will be its own advertisement. The Association has therefore been chary of spending money on publicity work. But, if sufficient response is made by khadi lovers towards the expense of publicity work, I have no doubt that the Council will gladly take it up. Let it however be known that publicity work to be thorough is a costly affair. Generally, the cost of publicity is included in the price of the material advertised. The All-India Spinners' Association has been averse thus to increasing the price of khadi. It is therefore necessary that if the publicity work is to be organized, the cost should come from those who appreciate the virtue of khadi and have the means of defraying it. If therefore there are others like the correspondent who will shoulder the burden of the publicity department, let them send me their contributions earmarked for the purpose. If sufficient response is not made and if the donors so desire, the donations will be refunded.

THE SPINNING-WHEEL IN MYSORE STATE

Sjt. Pujari of the All-India Spinners' Association who is assisting the Mysore State authorities in organizing hand-spinning in that State

sends me a letter from which I extract the following information:

The work was started on the 1st of November 1927. The movement has gained stability. At the end of July last, 1,000 wheels were at work in 60 villages, supplying 52 looms; and the production of July amounted to Rs. 2,000.

Sjt. Pujari says:

I can assert from my experience of nine months

1. that a subsidiary cottage industry in these parts is a felt want;
2. that the tiny wheels supply that want as nothing else can;
3. that it has been possible to do this thing because of State encouragement and because the spinners and weavers are assured of a steady demand for their yarn and khaddar;
4. that given similar conditions in other parts of India, the same results should be obtained;
5. that hand-spinning keeps the village revenue in constant circulation flowing from the *raiya*s' cottages to the State and from the State to the *raiya*s;
6. that it is the best method of utilizing the free energy of the vast agricultural population which is now running to waste in the 6,85,000 villages of India;
7. and lastly, that hand-spinning adds to the daily earnings of the villager three pies per hour that he spends at the wheel, a by no means negligible addition to the earnings of a population whose income per head is estimated at not more than 0-1-7 per day.

Sjt. Pujari adds:

What a blessing it would be if other States of India were to copy the noble example of the Mysore State.

I echo the wish.

TORTURE OF BULLOCKS

An English lady writes:

I am much distressed and perplexed by the habitual torture of bullocks by the inhabitants of this country, chiefly Hindus, who call themselves protectors of the cow! The sight of the dislocated, mutilated tail joints of the overburdened creatures toiling along roads is one never to be forgotten by a visitor to this country. The way the hands of the drivers, made filthy by cruelty, grasp and twitch the very backbone of the shrinking creatures at the tail socket, when the tail itself is a broken twisted abomination, is a sight

which brings shame on the Hindu religion. Can you do nothing through your paper *Young India* on behalf of these creatures, as also on behalf of the tormented fowls carried by the legs head down for miles to their destruction? I enclose a picture of English oxen at work. The Indian has adopted the motor-car for himself, why not the harness for his bullocks?

Whilst it is true that this fair visitor to India has indulged in a hasty generalization by accusing the inhabitants of India of habitual torture of bullocks—for it is not very inhabitant, not even every tenth man who ill uses bullocks—there is no doubt that some drivers in the cities are guilty of the practice referred to in the letter, and there is no doubt also that the passer-by goes his way totally oblivious of the torture and there is truth too in the statement about the inhuman carrying of fowls. It is possible to say of us who talk about ahimsa that we strain at a gnat and easily swallow a camel. We would be agitated if a rabid dog was shot, but we are indifferent, if not willing witnesses to the cruelties such as are mentioned in the letter I have reproduced. We seem to think that we have fully carried out the doctrine of ahimsa so long as we do not actually kill. In my opinion, this is a travesty of ahimsa; every act of injury to a living creature and every endorsement of such act by refraining from non-violent effort wherever possible to prevent it is a breach of ahimsa. Here, there is work for religious organizations that would be faithful to their convictions to conduct a crusade against cruelties to lower animals practised in the cities. The change from the yoke to the harness is undoubtedly desirable.

A KHADDAR-CLAD HIGH SCHOOL

Dr. P. B. Datta of Chittagong sends the following interesting report¹ of a High School in which all boys and teachers have been using khaddar for the last four years.

BERAR IN 1897

Major R. V. Garrett writing in 1897 in his monograph on cotton fabrics in the Hyderabad Assigned Districts says:

Berar is famous for its cotton, but certainly not for its cotton fabrics, which are limited for the most part to common cloths of rough and inferior quality, and used by the poorer classes only. (p. 1)

¹ Not reproduced here; it gave an account of the complete adoption of khaddar by Durgapur High School, Chittagong, and its wholesome influence on surrounding villages. The report also narrated the agricultural activities of the school and its plans to have a goshala and a workshop.

Spinning is carried on all over the provinces and is not confined to any particular castes or localities. (p. 1)

One woman cannot spin more than 1 lb. of country yarn a week, the value of which is eight annas; about half this sum represents the intrinsic value of a week's spinning. The work is, however, undertaken as affording domestic employment for the women during their leisure hours at home. (p. 2.)

What was true of Berar in 1897 is still more true now. For the infatuation for the sale of raw cotton grown in Berar is so great that the women have left the spinning-wheel and there is not much hand-spun yarn woven in Berar. Indeed if Berar could be made truly industrial, not a pound of cotton need leave Berar except in the finished state of khadi manufactured in the cottages of the villagers without in any way interfering with their other occupations.

CO-OPERATIVE KHADI-PURCHASE

G. V. R. writes from Nagpur:¹

AN ACKNOWLEDGMENT

Mr. Diwan A. Mehta brought a collection (Rs. 270) made from among the Indian passengers on board s.s. *Pilsna* to be handed to me on the condition that if the Bardoli struggle was over the money should be utilized for some social work of my choice. I have earmarked the donation for untouchability work, and I thankfully make this acknowledgment here as it could not very well appear in the Bardoli fund collection list that is printed from week to week as supplement to *Young India*.

Young India, 30-8-1928

490. LETTER TO KISHORELAL MASHRUWALA

ASHRAM,
August 30, 1928

CHI. KISHORELAL,

I have read both your letters to Ramniklal². He will send you a copy of the revisions. Your letter has had no effect on me, since you

¹ The letter is not reproduced here; the correspondent had written about the formation of co-operative khadi-purchase clubs by the railwaymen, and their advantages.

² Ramniklal Modi

have assumed that only the name is being changed, whereas I have in mind a change in character along with the change in name¹. I could clearly see that even a regular inmate of the Satyagraha Ashram could not fully observe its vows. To us the name was not merely a word which sounded pleasing to our ears and the world's, it connoted certain qualities. If we cannot show the qualities implied in the name, we must give it up.

What is the use of an institution in which persons like Mahadev, Chhaganlal or Ramniklal cannot stay or can stay only in fear? And how can it be claimed that such an institution is worthy of carrying on activities dedicated to great ideals? If you suggest that the name with its moral significance may be retained but the moral discipline may be tightened in order to accommodate persons like Mahadev and the others, I would ask why we should be so attached to the name. Is it not a violation of truth for somebody practising *vanaprastha* dharma to claim that he is a sannyasi? It would be worthier for a *vanaprastha* to show in addition to the virtues proper to his stage the qualities of a sannyasi. The fact, however, is that all of us, men and women, are barely able to exhibit in ourselves the virtues of the *vanaprastha* dharma.

. . . Kaka has gone on a three-day fast of expiation. The expiation is for a lapse by a worker whom Kaka had trained and believed to be a good man. The fast will end on Tuesday.

From a copy of the Gujarati: Kusumbehn Desai's Diary. S.N. 32577/10

¹ The reference is to the proposed change of name from Satyagraha Ashram to Udyog Mandir. *Vide* also "Satyagraha Ashram", November 4, 1928 and "handicap of Mahatmaship", November 8, 1928.

491. TELEGRAM TO MOTILAL NEHRU¹

[August 31, 1928]

WIRE RECEIVED. GOD BE THANKED. MAY YOU BE
BLESSED TO CARRY THIS BRILLIANT SUCCESS TO
FINAL STAGE OF ACHIEVING OUR GOAL.

GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 13678

492. LETTER TO HARDAYAL NAG

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

August 31, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letters. It is pressure of work that has prevented me from writing to you earlier.

I realize the importance of your suggestion. But I am quite certain that Vallabhbhai would have been a square man in a round box, if he had been elected President of the Congress. And events are proving that Pandit Motilalji is the wisest choice.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. HARDAYAL NAG

CHANDPUR

From a photostat: S.N. 13503

¹ In reply to his telegram dated August 31, 1928, which read: "Hearty congratulations. Complete success. All recommendations adopted. Hindu-Muslim differences about representation settled. Punjab problem solved. Hindus Muslims agreed about Sind. Temper of parties excellent. Returning Allahabad tomorrow, Proceeding Simla third."

493. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

August 31, 1928

CHI. VASUMATI,

I have your letter. I have already written¹ to you concerning the fees of the doctor and the Hakim. I have also told you to come over here if you do not feel comfortable there. If, however, you can conveniently go to Mussoorie and if you feel very much better there, why should you not go and get fine health? After that, if you find it difficult to stay on in Dehradun, you may come away here. This is only a suggestion I am making. If, however, you are no more interested in staying on there and are not in a condition to work, you should return here immediately. You should not think it necessary to ask me again for my permission about this. I suppose it is not necessary for me to write anything to Vidyavati. Whatever happens, you should never get nervous, nor should you, out of false shame, agree to do anything beyond your capacity. If we act with humility and undertake only what is within our capacity, then only will our work shine and bring fruit. This is the meaning of *shreyan swadharma vigunah*².

I got your letter after I had finished dictating so far. Now that you have decided to leave that place, there is no need to change your plan. But there is no harm, either, in going to Mussoorie, if you can and if you wish to. Since you wish to stay for a day in Delhi, you may go and see Devdas if you feel inclined. He is in Jamia Millia, which is in Karol Bagh. Jamia Millia is a Vidyapith of our Muslim friends. Navin and Rasik will leave [for Delhi] on Sunday to help Devdas there. They will reach there on Monday.

I have not revised this letter.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 499. Courtesy: Vasumati Pandit

¹ Vide "Letter to Vasumati Pandit", 27-8-1928.

² *Bhagavad Gita*, XVIII. 47

494. LETTER TO MANILAL AND SUSHILA GANDHI

[After August 31, 1928]¹

CHI. MANILAL AND SUSHILA,

I get your letters regularly. I try to write every fortnight, but maybe occasionally I miss a week.

You will remember Sastriji more after he has left. You will not get any other person as straightforward as he to serve as Agent there. I go over possible names again and again but none appeals to me. If we start looking for weaknesses, shall we find anyone free from them? Hinduism has ascribed shortcomings even to Siva. Tulsidas says however:

Everything in the world, animate and inanimate, has its virtues and defects;

The saints who are like the swan, accept the good that is milk and ignore the evil that is water.

Devdas is in Delhi, and now Navin and Rasik have gone to help him. Both are doing well.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4730

495. LETTER TO JUGALKISHORE

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

September 1, 1928

MY DEAR JUGALKISHORE²,

I have your letter. It is a most difficult thing to suit you. We have not yet been able to produce the type of teacher you want. Those who have received education are not eager to learn spinning and weaving. The few who have given themselves that training are so engaged that it is difficult to remove them. If you have any person in mind, please tell me. All the same, I shall bear what you have said in mind and if I can come upon the teacher you want, I shall let you

¹ From the reference in the last paragraph to Navin and Rasik going to Delhi; *vide* the preceding item.

² Principal of Prem Mahavidyalaya, Vrindavan

know.

I take it that you are flourishing there. When you next come to the Ashram, you will find it somewhat transformed. We have now practically only one huge kitchen, where over 150 men, women, children take their meals.

Yours sincerely,

BAPU

[PS.]

Upon inquiry I find that one name has been already sent to you through Jamnalalji.

From a microfilm: S.N. 13679

496. LETTER TO B. W. TUCKER¹

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

September 1, 1928

MY DEAR BOYD,

Your letter has been on my file for some days.

I think you have stated my position fairly correctly except that the way in which you have put it may cause a misunderstanding. I did not say that I would not desire that others should accept my viewpoint. But I did say that I would not desire that others should accept my religion. Evidently you have used the word viewpoint as synonymous with religion. I do not. Whilst I would not press my religion upon others, I would press my viewpoint upon others, as every one of us must. Religion is a matter of feeling or the heart and, therefore, not a matter for argument, and I would hold everybody's feeling as dear as my own, because I expect him to do so with reference to my feeling. Viewpoint is a matter of reasoning, the mind, the intellect. It may shift from time to time without touching the heart. Change of religion is a change of status. Change of viewpoint is an accident often due to external causes. My feeling about the existence of God cannot be easily altered. My viewpoint regarding the connotation of the term may vary from time to time and expand with the expansion of my

¹ In reply to his letter (S.N. 13491) of August 15, 1928, which read: "There is one question that was raised at the Council of the International Fellowship held at Sabarmati last January, about which I would appreciate some further explanation

reason. Religion is beyond explanation and it seems to me to be impertinent for anyone to touch another's religion. A viewpoint must always be capable of explanation. I have entered upon this distinction because it enables me to explain my position about religion more clearly than by any other means. I do not want you to become a Hindu. But I do want you to become a better Christian by assimilating all that may be good in Hinduism and that you may not find in same measure or at all in the Christian teaching. I can't explain why I delight in calling myself and remaining a Hindu, but my remaining does not prevent me from assimilating all that is good and noble in Christianity, Islam and other faiths of the world.

I wonder if I have explained my position to your satisfaction. If not please ask.

All you say about Bardoli is quite true.

Yours sincerely,

REV. B. W. TUCKER

PRINCIPAL, COLLINS HIGH SCHOOL

140 DHARMTALA, STREET, CALCUTTA

From a photostat: S.N. 13505

497. AHIMSA IN EDUCATION¹

For some time past Gandhiji has been following the practice of giving weekly talks to the students of the Gujarat Vidyapith. He used on these occasions to invite questions from students and teachers which he would answer. Before their interrogatories could be exhausted, however, he had to take up the reading of *Hind Swaraj* with them at their request. But as some of the questions received by him are of general interest he proposes to deal with them in the pages of *Navajivan*. The substance of one is given below.

—MAHADEV DESAI

One of the questions put to me was as follows:

The moment one begins to talk of ahimsa, a series of trifling questions are mooted, e.g., whether it is permissible to kill dogs, tigers and wolves, snakes, lice, etc.. and whether one may eat brinjals or potatoes or else the questioner engages in a disputation over the question of maintaining an army or of offering armed resistance. Nobody seems to trouble to inquire how the principle of ahimsa should be worked out as part of education. Will you kindly

¹ The Gujarati original of this appeared in *Navajivan*, 2-9-1928.

shed some light on this question?

This is not a new problem. It has been discussed threadbare in these columns off and on in one shape or another. But I know that I have not succeeded in making it absolutely clear to my readers. The task, I am afraid, is beyond my capacity. But I should be thankful if I could succeed in contributing somewhat to its solution.

The introductory part of the question shows that questions betraying a narrow outlook are often put. By unnecessarily exercising ourselves over conundrums about the justifiability of man's killing creatures and animals of a lower order, we often seem to forget our primary duties. Every one of us is not faced every day with the question of killing obnoxious animals. Most of us have not developed courage and love enough to practise ahimsa with regard to dangerous reptiles. We do not destroy the vipers of ill-will and anger in our own bosom, but we dare to raise futile discussions about the propriety of killing obnoxious creatures and we thus move in a vicious circle. We fail in the primary duty and lay the unction to our souls that we are refraining from killing obnoxious life. One who desires to practise ahimsa must for the time being forget all about snakes, etc. Let him not worry if he cannot avoid killing them, but try for all he is worth to overcome the anger and ill-will of men by his patient endeavour as a first step toward cultivating universal love.

Abjure brinjals or potatoes by all means, if you will, but do not for heaven's sake begin to feel yourself self-righteous or flatter yourself that you are practising ahimsa on that account. The very idea is enough to make one blush. Ahimsa is not a mere matter of dietetics, it transcends it. What a man eats or drinks matters little; it is the self-denial, the self-restraint behind it that matters. By all means practise as much restraint in the choice of the articles of your diet as you like. The restraint is commendable, even necessary, but it touches only the fringe of ahimsa. A man may allow himself a wide latitude in the matter of diet and yet may be a personification of ahimsa and compel our homage, if his heart overflows with love and melts at another's woe, and has been purged of all passions. On the other hand a man always overscrupulous in diet is an utter stranger to ahimsa and a pitiful wretch, if he is a slave to selfishness and passions and is hard of heart.

Whether India should have an army or not, whether or not one may offer armed resistance to Government, these are momentous

questions that we shall have to solve one day. The Congress has in its creed already furnished an answer to them in part. But important as these questions are, they do not much concern the man in the street, they do not touch the aspect of ahimsa with which an educationist or a student is concerned. Ahimsa in relation to the life of a student stands quite apart from these questions of high politics. Ahimsa in education must have an obvious bearing of the mutual relations of the students. Where the whole atmosphere is redolent with the pure fragrance of ahimsa, boys and girls studying together will live like brothers and sisters, in freedom and yet in self-imposed restraints; the students will be bound to the teachers in ties of filial love, mutual respect and mutual trust. This pure atmosphere will of itself be a continual object lesson in ahimsa. The students brought up in such an atmosphere will always distinguish themselves by their charity and breadth of view, and a special talent for service. Social evils will cease to present any difficulty to them, the very intensity of their love being enough to burn out those evils. For instance, the very idea of child-marriage will appear repugnant to them. They will not even think of penalizing the parents of brides by demanding dowries from them. And how dare they after marriages regard their wives as chattel or simply a means of gratifying their lust? How will a young man brought up in such an environment of ahimsa ever think of fighting a brother of his own or a different faith? At any rate no one will think of calling himself a votary of ahimsa and do all or any of these things.

To sum up: Ahimsa is a weapon of matchless potency. It is the *summum bonum* of life. It is an attribute of the brave, in fact it is their all. It does not come within reach of the coward. It is no wooden or lifeless dogma, but a living and a life-giving force. It is the special attribute of the soul. That is why it has been described as the highest dharma (law). In the hands of the educationist therefore it ought to take the form of the purest love ever fresh, an ever gushing spring of life expressing itself in every act. Ill-will cannot stand in its presence. The sun of ahimsa carries all the hosts of darkness such as hatred, anger and malice before himself. Ahimsa in education shines clear and far and can no more be hidden, even as the sun cannot be hidden by any means. One may be sure that when the Vidyapith is filled with the atmosphere of this ahimsa, its students will no more be troubled by puzzling conundrums.

Young India, 6-9-1928

498. MY NOTES

PRICE OF A BRIDEGROOM

A correspondent writes as follows about the cruel hardship of finding a husband:¹

It is indeed an evil custom for the father to sell his daughter, but the very limit of depravity is reached when the bridegroom accepts money from the bride's father as a price for the favour of marrying her. The father of a daughter should vow not to pay this penalty, the daughter should be permitted to grow up and a grown-up girl should not even look at a mercenary young man. Marriage is not one's supreme duty in life. Marriages which have been contracted with a mercenary motive are not marriages but base deals. Young men in this age should shun such deals. They should realize that enjoying the good things of life or receiving education by fleecing the father-in-law is a sin.

TYRANNY OF SADHUS

One of the questions asked by the correspondent is as follows:²

Those who tyrannize people in this way do not deserve to be called sadhus. In this country where people are deceived by garments, those who wear the saffron robe or wear only a *langoti* are worshipped as sadhus. No one can become a sadhu by virtue of his dress alone. Thousands of persons who are the very opposite of sadhus dress themselves like sadhus and roam around this country. Villagers need not be afraid of persons who pose as sadhus or have been proved to be the very opposite. They should know how to recognize genuine sadhus and rid themselves of the fear of the wicked. They should cultivate the strength to oppose them. It is necessary for educated persons to go into the villages in order to rid them of the two enemies of fear and superstition. Sardar Vallabhbhai has pointed out to the whole of India the royal road for entering the villages. A good many such activities will now be carried on as in Bardoli as part of the constructive programme and the people will be taught new object lessons.

¹ The letter is not translated here.

² *ibid*

IN WHAT DOES DHARMA CONSIST?

The following is the last question¹ asked by this correspondent: I have known from childhood the aversion of the Jains to eating tubers and bulbs. However, I have been unable to understand why they are forbidden by religion. One can understand the idea that there is a larger number of living creatures clinging to such roots, but I do not see non-violence in making such subtle distinctions. The Jain who, although he has never eaten potatoes, etc., deceives people every day, is far more guilty of violence than the honest business man who eats potatoes regularly. The violence committed by the latter proceeds from his intellectual attitude and does not touch his heart whereas he who deceives others kills his own soul. Self-control as such is good. It is commendable for mankind, steeped in violence though it is, to practise some non-violence in its eating habits. It is proper that we should deliberately cultivate compassion even for plant-life. It is necessary to give up pampering the palate in order to acquire control over one's senses. Though admitting all this, though I am accustomed to a life of self-denial and though I have happy and close associations with jains, my heart positively refuses to see any great religious merit in avoiding the use of potatoes, etc. Not eating them seems to have no connection at all with one's character. I feel that our ancestors must have started making subtle distinctions between what should be eaten and what should not be eaten at a time when the religious spirit was at a low ebb. Those who wish to give up potatoes, etc., in deference to common practice may do so. But such practice cannot be made the basis of one's religion and the matter should not become a subject of dispute between a husband and wife.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 2-9-1928

499. *RURAL EDUCATION SCHEME*

Following the announcement of Shri Nagindas's gift of rupees one lakh, he has been receiving letters concerning the gift and making suggestions. He has passed these on to me, and I, in turn, have handed them over to Kakasaheb Kalelkar. The reader will find published in

¹ Not translated here. The correspondent had asked Gandhiji to comment on the belief prevalent among Jains that it was sinful to eat potatoes, onions, etc.

this issue that part of Kakasaheb's letter to Shri Nagindas which deals with the scheme itself and explains it, so that Gujaratis may not remain in the dark about how and in what manner that gift is going to be utilized. From this the reader will see that the scheme is divided into three parts.

1. In the first place, it consists in training some students to become teachers or workers who will be able to serve the people, or rather, educate them. It is obvious that such service, if it is to benefit the people, should necessarily be rural service.

2. Secondly, establishment through these teachers of rural schools, which would be mobile in the first instance and become permanent later on.

3. Thirdly, preparing suitable literature and getting it prepared by others.

Readers will see that the scope of this scheme is both ambitious and large. Shri Nagindas's philanthropy will have borne fruit if it is implemented.

This task cannot be accomplished in a hurry. The scheme seeks to break new ground. Till now education has served the needs of city-life, if it has served any purpose at all. I deliberately say "if it has served any purpose at all". I fear, or rather I hold, that since education so far has not been of a national character, it is found not to have served even the needs of city life. It was planned to support foreign rule, and that is what we find it has done, This character of our education has resulted in preparing a bureaucratic class of servants and copy-writing clerks. The scheme described above has to make its way through this atmosphere. Hence its implementation will necessarily take some time.

Kakasaheb has estimated that its implementation will take ten years and that is not too long a time. It may conceivably happen that during this period, the public comes to be fired with widespread enthusiasm similar to that of 1921 which would also be of a permanent nature, and the required number of students and persons fit to impart education are immediately available. If that happens, we may safely hope that the task will be completed within a shorter period. The programme should be framed in conformity with present circumstances. Kakasaheb is determined not to take up anything in haste without due deliberation. He wishes to proceed gradually but on a sure foundation, as an educationist should do.

Not only is Shri Nagindas's gift large in itself, but I also find from his letter that he has handed over all his savings to be used for educational purposes. This increases further the value of his contribution and adds to my responsibility as well as Kakasaheb's. Both of us were already conscious of it. We indeed expect to get a great deal for the nation from the Vidyapith. However, after having learnt of the history of Shri Nagindas's gift, we are all the more anxious to put it to the best possible use. We certainly pray for God's help in doing so. We expect help from the people of Gujarat as well. If this Vidyapith succeeds as expected, that would naturally have an effect on other Vidyapiths and on the whole country. I do not imply by this that other national Vidyapiths aim at anything less, but it does certainly imply that they have not had the same resources which the Gujarat Vidyapith has enjoyed, and hence the public has a right to expect greater results from the latter.

Those who are interested in national education and approve of the aims of the scheme described above may rest assured that due attention will be given to any suggestions which they address to the head of the Gujarat Vidyapith at Ahmedabad. I would request everyone to refrain from troubling Shri Nagindas. The reader will see that he has retained no control over the manner in which his gift may be spent.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 2-9-1928

500. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
September 2, 1928

CHI. MATHURADAS,

I have your letter. The plague in Panchgani is a matter of shame for us as human beings. By our way of living we have turned a beautiful health resort into a dirty place and we have neither strength nor courage left to make it plague-free. You have plenty of time. You can find out its cause. I like your idea of living in places such as Matheran. Shankar will have completely recovered. He seems to have gone into silence.

Blessings from

BAPU

501. LETTER TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA

September 2, 1928

CHI. BRAJKISAN,

I did get your letters but there is hardly any time for letter writing although I get up at three o'clock these days. We may eat anywhere but we must not break our rules; we may eat what is permissible for us when we go to a friend's place, so as not to put him to trouble. At least rice or *chapati* is always there. We can eat it with salt and be thankful to the friend.

I shall write to Lala Shankerlal regarding the Bardoli Fund. How are you?

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2358

502. LETTER TO VIJAYA

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

September 5, [1928]¹

CHI. VIJAYA,

I have your letter after a very long time. How nice it would be if Dr. Prabhudas fully recovered. What a coincidence that you all went there and also Mathuradas and Shankar. Ramdas is staying in Bardoli, Devdas is in Delhi. Navin² and Rasik³ have also gone to Delhi.

Blessings from

BAPU

MRS. VIJAYABEHN

LILAVATI SANATORIUM

BLOCK NO. 2

DEVLALI

From a copy of the Gujarati: Chhaganlal Gandhi Papers. Courtesy: Sabarmati Sangrahalaya

¹ The source has "1925". However, from the contents the letter appears to belong to "1928".

² Navin Gandhi

³ Son of Harilal Gandhi

503. *HELP UTKAL*

Sjt. Niranjan Patnaik who represents the All-India Spinners' Association in Utkal writes a letter from which I take the following:

For some months past the selling work of the Utkal Branch of the All-India Spinners' Association has not been quite satisfactory. Production work is going on quite well, the present rate of production being about Rs.1,000 a month. At your suggestion we have started two new centres in the more distressed areas,—at Aul in Cuttack District and Tihidi in the Balasore District—these two centres have now on their rolls nearly 300 spinners and their yarn production up to date has come to nearly nine maunds (1 maund = 80 lb.) most of which is 12s to 15s and some even 20s. The sales, however, are low. Last year we sold on an average Rs. 2,741 per month; during the current year, though we sold nearly Rs. 20,000 worth a few weeks before and during your visit to the province, there was a fall subsequent to that. That is, though the current year's average monthly sale would be nearly Rs. 3,500, the sale during the last few months went down even below Rs. 2,000 per month. The result is that our khadi stock is now nearly Rs. 40,000. Last year our gross profit was 10.3 per cent, and our prices this year also are fixed on that basis. I take a typical variety of production and show below what relation the cost of production bears to sale price:

Shirting piece 10 yds. x 45 inches: This weighs 4 lb. 28 tolas and contains about 26 threads per inch of 8s and 9s.

1. Cost of cotton 5 lb.	Rs. 2-8-0
2. Spinning wages (allowing reduction of 2 _ tolas per lb.)	" 1-4-0
3. Weaving wages @ 3 as. per yd.	" 2-0-6
4. Washing	" 0-3-0
5. Freights, from spinning centre up to sale depot	
(last year's basis)	" 0-4-8
Primary cost of production	" 6-4-2
Sale price @ Re. 0-10-9 per yd.	" 6-11-6
	<u>Difference Re. 0-7-4</u>

This hardly allows an anna in the rupee for establishment charges of production centre, sale or for supervision. During your last visit to Utkal you asked us not to worry over the question of sales but to put our energies solely in production work. I have requested the Secretary of the All-India Spinners' Association to help us to sell our stock. If you consider that the matter might usefully be mentioned in the columns of *Young India*, kindly help us.

Having faith in khadi and faith in the people I did tell Niranjan

Babu during my Utkal tour last year that he should concentrate on production. It was not possible to see those blank eyes of skeletons and stand still when one had work for them. The reader will be surprised to learn that Utkal khadi is not cheaper than khadi from the other provinces except perhaps Gujarat. The reason is that the people being more helpless than elsewhere, every new introduction carries more cost than it would in ordinary circumstances. The tendency however is to bring down the prices as efficiency and production grow. Meanwhile, appeal must be made to the philanthropy and patriotism of the people to take up this khadi and thus help the paupers of Orissa. The analysis of cost given in the letter shows that the bulk of the money goes directly into the pockets of the poor people. Only Rs. 0-7-4 out of Rs. 6-11-6 go towards part payment of overhead charges which too after all, pay the middle-class workers who man the khadi service. Thus in khadi production there is no overlapping. It means pure addition, be it ever so slight, to the wealth of the country, and a fresh avenue of honourable employment for honest middle-class young men without the necessity of their having to pass through English schools and produce at least matriculation certificates if not higher. There are two ways of helping to clear the surplus stock, either by buying the khadi for personal use or by paying a bounty towards reduction of the price of the khadi so that it could be sold at cheaper rates to poor local people. I hope those who understand the condition of Orissa and appreciate the value of khadi in national economics will adopt one of the two courses suggested by me. The address of the head office of the Utkal Branch of the All-India Spinners' Association is Swaraj Ashram, Berhampur, B. N. Rly.

Young India, 6-9-1928

504. AFTER LUCKNOW

The most brilliant victory achieved at Lucknow¹ following as it does closely on the heels of Bardoli makes a happy conjunction of events. Pandit Motilalji is today the proudest man in India and has every reason to be so. But even he could have done nothing if

¹ Where the All-Parties Conference met from August 28 to 30 and unanimously endorsed the Nehru Committee Report in favour of Dominion self-government for India

everyone had not conspired to make the proceedings a success. It would have been easy for the Hindus or the Mussalmans to block the way. The Sikhs could have done likewise. But no one had the heart to destroy the patient labours of the Nehru Committee. Little wonder that Pandit Malaviyaji the irrepressible optimist said that swaraj would be attained in 1930.

The honours for the happy result must however be shared with Pandit Nehru by Dr. Ansari. His invisible help was much greater than his visible and tactful guidance of the proceedings at Lucknow. He was ever at the beck should call of the Nehru Committee. He used all his unrivalled influence with the Mussalmans in disarming their opposition. Hindus could not resist his transparent honesty and equally transparent nationalism. The Liberals led by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru lent a weight to the Conference which it would otherwise have lacked. I join Dr. Besant in her wish that they would re-enter the national organization. They need not lose their identity even as the Hindu and Mussalman organizations do not lose theirs.

The mention of the Liberals brings us to the future work. There is still much diplomatic work to be done. But more than the diplomatic work is that of forging the sanction. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru truly observed that whether it was Dominion Status or Independence, a proper sanction would be necessary if the national demand was to be enforced. Bardoli has shown the way, if the sanction has to be non-violent. The Congress creed has non-violence as its integral part. There is no denying the fact that non-violence had receded in the background before Bardoli. But even as the Nehru report has made unanimous demand possible, Bardoli has brought back the vanishing faith in non-violence.

If then we are sure of the sanction, we need not worry whether swaraj is otherwise spelt Dominion Status or Independence. Dominion Status can easily become more than Independence, if we have sanction to back it. Independence can easily become at farce, if it lacks sanction. What is in a name if we have the reality? A rose smells just as sweet whether you know it by that name or any other. Let us therefore make up our minds as to whether it is to be non-violence or violence and let the rank and file work for the sanction in real earnest even as the diplomats must work at constitution-making .

Young India, 6-9-1928

505. OUR POVERTY

It is to be hoped that the reader has followed the carefully and ably written articles of Prof. C. N. Vakil which he recently contributed to this journal on the problem of India's poverty. Prof. Sam Higginbottom sent me a circular letter propounding the following four questions:

1. What are the tests of poverty?
2. Whether India is richer or poorer today than 25 years ago or a longer period.
3. Is poverty in India general or confined to particular groups?
4. Causes and remedies.

As a layman I could but give my evidence on the questions without carrying conviction to a critic. I therefore had the important and pertinent questions circulated among economist friends with a request to answer them in some detail if they could make time for the purpose. Prof. Vakil promptly responded with the articles to which I have drawn attention. The series is really not concluded. When I came upon the last chapter dealing with the remedies, I observed that it admitted of re-writing with a view to fuller and more accurate treatment. I am now trying to induce Prof. Vakil to re-write the chapter if he can possibly find the time and has the inclination. If he does send me anything the reader may expect a further instalment¹. Meanwhile, he may regard the series as concluded.

The articles show clearly and I venture to think conclusively that India is poorer today than 25 years or a longer period ago and that the poverty is general and not confined to groups. Prof. Vakil has applied two tests for approving his proposition. He has shown that though during the past 40 years our average income has increased in the ratio of 1 to 2.74 (and he has accepted top figures in every case) the cost of living has increased in the ratio of 1 to 3.78; in other words we are poorer today to the extent of 2/7 than we were 40 years ago. He then examines the population figures and arrives at the same conclusion by showing that, whilst the population has increased, the capacity for coping with the increase has not only not kept pace with the increase but has probably deteriorated.

¹ C. N. Vakil's new series of articles under the title "Remedies of Poverty" appeared in *Young India* dated September 27, October 4, 11 and 18, 1928.

Prof. Vakil has enumerated the following six causes for this growing poverty:

1. Not enough work for the vast mass of the agricultural population during the off season.
2. The social system which imposes the burden upon one person of supporting a large family.
3. The presence of a large number of able-bodied beggars miscalled sadhus.
4. Enervating climate.
5. Resignation to fate and consequent want of determination to fight against poverty.
6. Faulty educational system.

Whilst these are contributory causes or more or less value, With the exception of the first none seems to me to go to the root of the matter. There is no doubt enough in the chapters to show that foreign exploitation of India is a cause of poverty. But in collecting the causes the Professor has evidently felt some delicacy about mentioning what is obviously a primary cause. This exploitation is a hydra-headed monster taking a variety of shapes to suit given occasions. The marine, the military, the currency, the railway and the revenue policy of the foreign Government is directed deliberately to promote an exploitation such as the world has never before witnessed. Poverty of India will never be removed so long as the exploitation continues unabated. Even the spinning wheel or any other subsidiary occupation that may be provided for the millions of peasantry will bring only partial relief, if the terrible drain, as Dadabhai Naoroji called it, is not stopped. He, therefore, who would explore the remedies for removing poverty has to tackle first the question of stopping the continuous drain.

Young India, 6-9-1928

506. LETTER TO JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
September 7, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

Mr. Andrews is abridging "My Experiments with Truth" for an English firm. I have not interfered with his work thinking that it does not in any way affect the Macmillan Company. But on rereading the agreement between the Macmillan Company and me, I find there is

just a possibility that the Company may think that any publication of an abridgement will interfere with the contract. If so, please let me know. Personally I feel that the contract is of no value to the Macmillan Company seeing that the chapters are still running on and are likely so to do for many more months. If the Company desires it, I am quite willing to cancel the agreement. I am not at all anxious to make money from the publication of the chapters in book form. But I would like not to interfere with interim abridgements, etc., being published. If the Macmillan Company will at once publish the chapters in several volumes, they may then control abridgements or selections; but if they will not publish them in volumes, nor cancel the agreement, they should not mind abridgements being published in England or elsewhere outside India till the whole thing is ready for delivery into their hands.

Yours sincerely,

REV. JOHN HAYNES HOLMES
12 PARK AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY (U.S.A.)

From a photostat: S.N. 14769

507. LETTER TO C.F. ANDREWS

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
September 7, 1928

Subbiah just reminds me that the abridgement that you are preparing of the autobiographical chapters might possibly be an infringement of the contract with the Macmillan Company of New York. I do not think it is any infringement until I have reached the end of the chapters and delivered a copy of the Macmillan Company. However, I enclose for the sake of precaution a copy of my letter to Rev. Holmes for your guidance.¹

I agree with you that nothing is to be expected from the Simon Commission.

Sarojini is soon to leave for America. She is coming here tonight. Gregg is most anxious that when you go to America, you should see his people. If I can trace their address, it will go with this letter.

¹ *Vide* the preceding item.

I am trying to send you copies of *Young India* from the time the autobiography volume¹ ceased.

You will insist on overworking yourself and then keeping unwell. I told you in Cape Town in 1914 that you needed a curator; I still maintain that opinion.

Mahadev is gone to Simla with Vallabhbhai who needed a change and whom Vithalbhai wanted to be with him for a few days.

C.F. ANDREWS, ESQ.

112 GOWER STREET, LONDON, W. 1.

From a photostat: S.N. 12780

508. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

September 7, 1928

DEAR SATIS BABU,

Having read in the papers that beriberi has again broken out in Calcutta, I got nervous and telegraphed to you this morning suggesting a change for yourself and Hemprabha Devi. Of course you could always come here, and your time will not be wasted. As a matter of fact a spinner's time is nowhere wasted. I want you therefore to consider my suggestion seriously.

About the Exhibition, I am advising all khadi organizations that so far the decision is that khadi is not to be represented at the Congress Exhibition.

The hand-pump you installed is causing trouble. It seems to me that without a proper mechanic at your disposal, it is not safe to have these mechanical contrivances. The hand-pump suddenly refused to work the other day and we were without water and unprepared for the emergency. Today the lift bucket broke down and there was again water famine, and men having once wound themselves up that there is to be no water-drawing, there is always a disinclination to revert to it. I know that these difficulties will not occur where there is a mechanical atmosphere. I give you this information so that you may give me what

¹ The reference is to Parts I, II & III of *An Autobiography* comprising Vol. I which was published in August 1927. The last instalment of this had appeared in *Young India*, 12-5-1927. Chapter I of Part IV appeared in the subsequent issue.

guidance you like in the matter. Having got the pump I won't easily give in.

For the more ambitious scheme¹ you have mapped out, I shall wait till I feel safe over the hand-pump.

SJT. SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

KHADI PRATISHTHAN, SODEPUR

From a photostat: S.N. 13510

509. LETTER TO K. SADASHIVA RAO

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

September 7, 1928

MY DEAR SADASHIVA RAO,

I have your letter. If we will serve the country and not think of ourselves, we will rejoice even when the world pelts us or ill-treats us. And I am sure that you will feel all the better and stronger if you will take the shock in good grace and really feel that a load is off your back.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. SADASHIVA RAO KARNAD

KODAIBAIL, MANGALORE

From a microfilm: S.N. 13511

510. LETTER TO DHAN GOPAL MUKERJEE

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

September 7, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter.² I have never quoted Tolstoy or any other author without acknowledgment in any of my writings. And I do not remember having often quoted authors in my writings; not because I would not, but because my reading is so poor and capacity for

¹ For tube-well water-supply for Sabarmati Ashram

² The correspondent, in his letter of August 14, had *inter alia* requested Gandhiji to write in *Young India* giving an account of the latter's relationship with Tolstoy. For Gandhiji's speech touching on this point, *vide* "Speech on Birth Centenary of Tolstoy", 10-9-1928.

reproducing what I have read is still less.

The vow of celibacy was undoubtedly taken after I had acquired considerable acquaintance with Tolstoy's teachings. And, whilst it is as a general statement quite true that my life is based upon the teachings of the *Gita*, I would not be able to swear that Tolstoy's writings and teachings did not influence my decision about celibacy.

So much for your satisfaction. I hope at some date to deal with your vital question in the pages of Young India.

Yours sincerely,

DHAN GOPAL MUKERJEE

From a photostat: S.N. 14378

511. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

September 7, 1928

I have your letter as also Millie's¹. I was glad to hear from her directly after a long long time, and I was so glad that you were able to meet Kallenbach. I must not even try to write to her a separate love-letter. Life with me is becoming more and more strenuous and exacting. But I seem to be flourishing in spite of it all.

Devdas is in Delhi teaching carding, spinning and Hindi to the boys of the National Muslim University. Ramdas is in Bardoli and was [there] when satyagraha was going on, He is now taking part in the constructive work such as temperance, spinning, social reform, etc.

The Welsh model spinning-wheel² did not come last week. It may come tomorrow.

I wonder if Leon remembers me at all.

Yours sincerely,

H. S. L. POLAK

265 STRAND, LONDON, W.C.2

From a photostat: S.N. 14380

¹ Mrs. Polak

² For spinning wool

512. LETTER TO RAMDAS GANDHI

September 7, 1928

CHI. RAMDAS,

I have your letter. Please do not be tardy in writing to me. We have left behind us expressions like Devdas's sister-in-law. There is nothing improper in referring to Nimu by her name. Here, I have no time even to write letters.

Vasumati has arrived.

Blessings from

BAPU

RAMDAS GANDHI

SWARAJ ASHRAM

BARDOLI

From Gujarati original : Mrs. Sumitra Kulkarni Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

513. SPEECH AT DEAF AND DUMB SCHOOL, AHMEDABAD

September 7, 1928

My association with this school dates back to the year 1915. Despite numerous engagements, I have come here at the request of Seth Mangaldas and Pranshankar. This is a small school for the deaf and dumb, but I have undertaken the task of running a school for thousands of the deaf and dumb and of removing the privation caused by ignorance. A person like Seth Mangaldas cannot get away with it by merely donating a small sum. One business man of Ahmedabad alone can run such a school. Ahmedabad has the capacity to run many such schools. We can show our gratitude to God for gifts of speech and sight by rendering some service to such deaf and dumb persons. Shri Pranshankar gave you a report of the school but did not tell you how it came into existence. One of his own sons was deaf and dumb and because he was convinced that he should receive an education, he began teaching him; later on because he combined the welfare of others with self-interest, this school came into existence. It should be a common thing to combine social service with self-interest. But it is difficult to persuade people in Ahmedabad where everyone has started accumulating wealth, to do welfare work while pursuing

their own interest. Shri Pranshankar has given figures to show there are only three schools for the 70,000 deaf and dumb in the province and out of two lakhs of deaf mutes in India only 500 are looked after. From this we see that their education has been neglected. We enable them to fill their stomachs by giving them alms but neglect the important task of educating them. There is a saying that an idle man rides on the shoulders of two. We should not make these deaf mutes mere idlers but should train them to make a living. Ahmedabad should not look elsewhere for help for such schools but on the contrary it should give generous donations to deserving outsiders. Talking of Ahmedabad, I will draw your attention to one more matter. I have just come across a book written by Dr. Hariprasad¹ for the Gujarat Vernacular Society. He says in it that of all Indian cities Ahmedabad has the highest death rate. Since among countries India has the highest death rate, it follows that death rate in Ahmedabad is the highest in the world. I receive visitors from America, England and different parts of the world and I have to bow down in shame when they talk of the dirty lanes and streets of Ahmedabad. We should improve this state of affairs. We can make Ahmedabad a beautiful city if we use our intelligence and physical strength. Finally, I thank you for giving me the opportunity to lay the foundation-stone of this school and hope that the school would prosper from day to day. Let the educated class make money, but instead of amassing wealth for themselves they should give its benefit generously to others—this is my humble prayer.

[From Gujarati]

Prajabandhu, 9-9-1928

514. LETTER TO M. ZAFARULMULK

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

September 8, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I hope that your propaganda will succeed in making your scheme popular. When you do come, you shall certainly discuss it with me to your heart's content.

With reference to the constitution I agree that it is entirely

¹ President of the Youth Association, Ahmedabad

Western. But I have not bothered about its being Western or Eastern. If we have a true awakening in us, we shall be able to turn it as we will and make it serve our purpose instead of becoming slaves to it. The constitution is the logical outcome of the institutions we have at present. An Assembly man could not give any other constitution than what has been produced, and, if we succeed in getting the logical result of the present mode of Government of India and if it does not suit the genius of the people, you may depend upon it that they will destroy it and raise another into being. What is necessary is to remove the force that is weighing us down. And seeing that we have a tolerable agreement upon a passable constitution, it would be folly in my opinion to reject that constitution. Such is my justification for whole-heartedly recommending it to the country.

Yours sincerely,

M. ZAFARULMULK
LUCKNOW

From a photostat: S.N. 13512

515. LETTER TO S. C. BRAHMACHARI

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
September 8, 1928

DEAR FRIENDS,

I am sorry that it is not possible for me to send you *Young India* or *Young India* literature free. The management does not encourage such applications if only because of the number received daily. Of Course you know that *Young India* is not a business concern. It is a Concern just as philanthropic as the Ramakrishna Mission. *Young India* therefore carries a very limited Complimentary list.

Yours sincerely,

SRI SHRADDHA CHAITANYA BRAHMACHARI
SRI RAMAKRISHNA MATH, GARRISON ROAD, DELHI

From a microfilm: S.N. 13513

516. LETTER TO R. D. PRABHU

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

September 8, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. If bath Conciliates the Inamdar, you will take it, not because you believe in the necessity of it but for the sake of the Inamdar, and therefore for the sake of the untouchable brethren whom you want to serve.

If the Mahratta boys leave the school because the Manar boys are also learning there, you Will not mind the former leaving the school, but you Will persist in teaching the Mahar boys at any cost.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. R. D. PRABHU

VINZANE, P.O. HALKARNI, MAHAL CHANDGAD, DT. BELGAUM

From a microfilm: S.N. 13514

517. LETTER TO P. A. WADIA

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

September 8, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have seen your letter to Mahadev who has gone to Simla with Vallabhbhai Patel. I should love to join the Retreat¹ if it is at all possible. But so far as I can see at present, there is no chance of my being able to do so. However you do not need a positive reply so far in advance. I would like you not to build anything on the hope of my coming. Take me as a chance visitor if I can at all come, and therefore I would like you to remind me when the time draws near.

I have read with interest your remarks about the proposal to divide India into provinces on a linguistic basis. My feeling is that we will not be able to foster the national instinct by any superim position from without. I therefore feel that we shall lose nothing by

¹ Proposed to be organized by International Fellowship at Bombay

recognizing the natural linguistic divisions unless the desire is to replace the different languages by one language, both for the classes and the masses.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 13515

518. MESSAGE TO “KHADI VIJAY”¹

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

September 8, 1928

“Khadi Vijay” means victory of khadi. It is good that there should be a monthly devoted to khadi, but it will be better if people especially the mercantile class will devote themselves to khadi. Then victory for khadi is assured.

From a microfilm: S.N. 13516

519. LETTER TO GANGADHAR RAO

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

September 8, 1928

MY DEAR GANGADHAR RAO,

Here is the message² for Sjt. Nanjappa which Kaka tells me you want for him.

I hope you have got over your dejection as also your illness and that you are now looking twenty years younger for your victories in Poona. I hope that this new khadi spirit will last.

Your sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 13517

¹ This was an enclosure to the following item.

² *Vide* the preceding item.

520. LETTER TO CHINTAMANI B. KHADILKAR

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

September 8, 1928

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. Yours is essentially a case for satyagraha. You are a member of a club whose other members have committed a breach of their own pledge. If, therefore, you have the courage, you will offer satyagraha without being in any way irritated against them. But before you do so, you should reason with them and use every effort to persuade them to redeem their promise. If they do not respond, you will then carefully consider what form your satyagraha can possibly take.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. CHINTAMANI BALWANT KHADILKAR
FERGUSSON COLLEGE, HOSTEL ROOM NO. 332
DECCAN GYMKHANA, POONA CITY

From a photostat: S.N. 13518

521. 'WHAT DO CHILDREN UNDERSTAND?'

A student of the Gujarat Vidyapith writes to say:¹

I have been unable to go through the articles from which extracts have been given in this letter. It is not always possible to interpret rightly a passage taken from an article without reference to the context. Nevertheless, it is not difficult for me to reply to the question without reading the original article, as the idea in the passages quoted above is based on my own experience. In this context, the reader should understand a child to mean not a child of two but a child of the age at which he or she is normally admitted to school.

From the fact that children fall asleep when I read the *Gita*, it cannot be concluded that their understanding is deficient. It may be said that I am unable to create interest in my reading the *Gita*, it may even be the case that the child is tired at that time. I have often seen children asleep while they are being taught arithmetic, told amusing

¹ Renunciation

stories or when taken to see a play. I have also seen adults dozing while the *Gita* or other scriptures are being read. Hence, when considering the question posed above, we should leave out of account the fact of children falling asleep or displaying lack of interest.

These doubts should not arise in the mind of anyone to whom it is as clear as daylight that the child's soul existed before he or she was born, that the soul has no beginning and knows no such states as childhood, youth and old age. It is because of our connection with the physical form, because of the current trends of thought and because of our disinclination to go deep into the matter that we conclude that the child knows only how to play or, at the most can write the alphabet and, going further, can memorize the tongue-twisting names of the rivers, etc., of Europe and America and understand the history and learn the names, although difficult to pronounce, of the kings, plunderers and killers of various countries.

My own experience is the very opposite of this. The ideal of soul, truth and love can easily be put before children in language which they can understand. I have heard not one but many children, who have no knowledge of the world, ask about a dead person:

This letter is not translated here. The correspondent had stated that Gandhiji's writings showed that he expected too much from children.

"Where has this man's soul gone?" A child who asks this question can easily be taught about the soul. Crores of illiterate Indian children realize the distinction between truth and falsehood, between love and hate, from the very age that they begin to understand things. Is there a child who would not recognize the nectar-like stream of love or, the embers of wrath glowing or blazing from his parents' eyes? The student who has put the question seems to have forgotten his own childhood. I therefore wish to remind him of the fact that he had experience of parental love before he acquired a knowledge of the alphabet. Love, truth and the soul would have been forgotten long ago had these required language in order to reveal themselves.

The passages quoted by the correspondent do not advise putting abstract truth before children. but explain that we should exhibit before them immortal virtues like truth and prove to them that they, too, have them. In brief, formation of character should have priority over knowledge of the alphabet. If this order is reversed, the attempt would be like putting the cart before the horse and making it push the cart with its nose, and would meet with the same success as the latter

course. It is because he realized the truth of this that Darwin's contemporary, the scientist Wallace, said at the age of ninety that in basic moral standards he saw in the so-called educated and reformed nations no progress over the Negroes who are regarded as uncivilized. If we were not under the spell of the various external temptations that exist today, we would realize the truth of Wallace's statement and plan and frame our educational curriculum in a different manner.

I will ask a counter-question in reply to the question regarding the ten-headed Ravana. Which of the two ideas can be more readily explained to a child? Is it easier to convince him that a ten-headed creature which could never have been created existed in the form of Ravana, or is it easier to make him aware of the ten-headed Ravana who lives secretly like a thief in the heart of each one of us? In believing that the child is devoid of imagination and intellectual powers, we do him grave injustice and belittle ourselves. To say that a child does understand does not imply that he understands things without our explaining them to him. Despite every effort to convince a child to that effect, he will not accept the idea that a human being with ten heads can actually exist, whereas he will understand the idea of the ten headed Ravana who has entered our hearts as soon as it is explained to him.

I hope now that the student will not ask me why I do not feel ashamed to read Tulsidas's *Ramayana* and Vyasa's *Gita* before children. I do not wish to teach the children the philosophical implications of the idea of karma, *tyaga* or *sthitaprajna*¹ I do not believe that I myself have acquired such knowledge or rather I know I have not. Perhaps I would not understand books which are full of philosophical discussions about karma, etc., and, even if I do understand them with difficulty, I would certainly be bored. And when one is bored one may even fall asleep. However, when I think of spinning or doing work as sacrifice for the benefit of the millions and giving up self-indulgence so that I might do that, sweet slumber would seem like poison to me and I would wake up. It is my unshakable faith, based on experience, that if the *Gita* and such other works are explained in a simple manner to children, the effort will certainly benefit them in later years.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 9-9-1928

¹ Of steadfast intellect

522. LUCKNOW

If the Bardoli victory is part of history, so will be the victory at Lucknow. Bardoli has shown the way to organic swaraj—to *Ramarajya*, while Lucknow has opened the gates of constitutional swaraj. Both things were essential. Whereas learned and politically astute leaders were required for the Lucknow swaraj, the ordinary, illiterate masses served the purpose for the Bardoli swaraj. While the intellect played the chief role in the one case, faith did that in the other. The fact that the meeting at Lucknow was held immediately after the victory at Bardoli was not deliberately contrived. Hence those who have faith in God would look upon it as an indication of His will. Pandit Motilal deserves to be complimented for the people's victory in Lucknow. Were it not for his single-minded devotion to the cause, his ability, his hard work and his faith, the task would not have been accomplished. The success consists not in the leaders having devised the best constitution, but in their achieving unity over a constitution which preserves everyone's self-respect and safeguards the rights of all. Meetings of various parties were being held for many months. But it was only in Lucknow that they bore visible fruit. This success must be attributed to Pandit Motilalji.

Dr. Ansari's name must be added to his. Everyone could see that by means of his tact and patience he kept the followers of various parties together. However, it is only a few who know of the work that he had been doing behind the scenes for the past few months. Success would not have been possible if Dr. Ansari had not stood by the Nehru Committee whenever that was necessary. He took full advantage of his love for the Muslims. It was impossible for any Hindu to question his ardent patriotism. He could thus win the confidence of all.

The presence of the members of the Liberal Party and that of Sir Ali Imam and Dr. Besant added to the distinction and importance of the gathering.

However, just as the Sardar cannot go to sleep after the victory at Bardoli, similarly Panditji and the other members cannot rest after the Lucknow triumph. Bharatbhushan Madan Mohan Malaviya's happy prophecy about swaraj being established in 1930 will not come true if the remaining tasks are not completed without delay. God helps only those who are awake, not those who slumber. There is of course the task of mobilizing public opinion behind the Nehru constitution. But

the more important task is that of developing the strength to get that constitution accepted. Pandit Jawaharlal had reminded the meeting of this fact even at Lucknow. Whether you are in favour of Dominion Status or of Independence, it will be necessary to cultivate the strength to secure either. Without this strength neither can be won. Swaraj is not going to descend on us from the heavens. It will not be received as a gift from the British Empire either. It can only be the reward of our own efforts. The very word swaraj means effort by the nation. What does a goat know of swaraj? Can she taste its sweetness merely because lions and other beasts of prey let it alone? If not the lion, his cousins will be there to eat her up. We are in the same position. No one will be able to stand in our way when we have developed the strength to win swaraj. Everyone's freedom is within his own grasp.

There are two alternatives before us. The one is that of violence, the other of non-violence; the one of physical strength, the other of soul-force; the one of hatred, the other of love; the one of disorder, the other of peace; one that is demoniac, the other that is godly. Bardoli has taught us an object-lesson in peace. The path of peace is the one mentioned in the Congress pledge. But, before the victory of Bardoli, the nation seemed to have lost faith in peaceful methods. After that victory, it seems to have recovered it. If we want swaraj, we shall have to strive hard and follow one of these two courses. As they are incompatible with each other, the fruit, the swaraj that would be secured by following the one would necessarily be different from that which would be secured by following the other. In either case the result will be known as swaraj, but its contents would be different in the two cases. We shall reap as we sow.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 9-9-1928

523. TEMPERANCE WORK IN SURAT DISTRICT

Shrimati Mithubehn Petit, by whose initiative a temperance league has been set up for the Surat district, has sent the following note¹:

Sardar Vallabhbhai has very often said that he had received strong support from Mithubehn. This Parsi lady, who had never before suffered any hardships, lived in peasant homes as one of them. She was content with their simple food and, despite her frail constitution and despite the absence of the comforts she was accustomed to, she managed to keep physically fit and work ceaselessly day and night. Through her own bravery she has taught the lesson of courage to the men and women of Bardoli; her untiring efforts have put young men to shame. Being in love with khadi she went from door to door hawking khadi and created interest in the people for it. As she cannot remain idle for a single moment, Vallabhbhai has given her the name 'Chanchalbehn'². This lady discovered that liquor was consumed in large quantities in the Surat District. She also saw that most of the owners of liquor booths were Parsis. She, therefore, decided to take up temperance work in the entire Surat District, and now, through her initiative, the league referred to above has been established. From the names of the members of the executive committee I could see that Mithubehn intends to exact hard work from them. I hope that they will not spare themselves. Mithubehn will not let them easily. If this league succeeds in its aim, its success will be a very valuable contribution to the constructive work undertaken in Bardoli, and it will not only save lakhs of rupees in the Surat District, but will also have an effect throughout the country. Not only are twenty crores of rupees thrown away every year through the consumption of liquor, but it also destroys the moral character of millions of people and ruins innumerable families. Anyone who has really developed interest in khadi immediately sees this. Mithubehn has seen it and her heroic spirit has now inspired her to take up this gigantic task. May God grant her good health and strength.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 9-9-1928

¹ Not translated here. It gave the names of the members of the league.

² Literally, 'the restless one'

524. CASTE-DISTINCTIONS AT MEALS IN NATIONAL HOSTELS

One of the letters in Kakasaheb's increasingly large mail dealt with the subject of caste-distinct or at meals. He has sent me a copy of his reply to it. I give below his ideas in his own words, as they will be of value in guiding the hostels:¹

Kakasaheb wishes to tread the ground carefully. As far as possible, he does not wish to hurt the feelings of either the students or their parents; hence he says: "Only Brahmin cooks prepare meals in the hostel. As our rules of purity demand that meals should be prepared in a particular manner, these are observed by the employment of Brahmin cooks." In my opinion, it will not be possible to insist upon having Brahmin cooks for long. It is not true that only Brahmins—in the sense in which the word is used here—are capable of observing the rules of purity. Moreover, it is also not a fact that Brahmins will necessarily abide by these rules. I have seen many Brahmin cooks who are dirty and who violate the laws of hygiene. Everyone who keeps his eyes open will see them. I have also come across many Non-Brahmin cooks who know and observe the rules of cleanliness and hygiene. Hence if we bear in mind the original meaning of the word Brahmin and regard anyone who abides by the laws of purity as a Brahmin, all national hostels will readily be able to follow the rule laid down by Kakasaheb. If, only those who are Brahmins by birth are regarded as such, we shall not get many Brahmin cooks who will abide by the rules of purity and those who are available will demand such high salaries and act in such a headstrong manner that it will become impossible to keep them in employment. As the Vidyapith worships truth and non-violence, it should declare the position as it really is in our hostels. It cannot close its eyes to facts either within itself or in the outside world. Hence Kakasaheb has stated that caste-distinctions at meals have no place in the hostels of the Vidyapith. Such distinctions imply distinctions of high and low. The varna system, on the other hand, has nothing to do with distinctions of high and low. The Brahmin who claims to be high falls and becomes low. The world raises high those who regard themselves as low and lead a common man's life. Where is the room for high and low when *moksha* is the ideal, when non-violence is the

¹ Kalelkar's reply is not translated here. He had stated that the hostels of the Vidyapith did not approve of or encourage such distinctions.

supreme dharma and we believe in the oneness of the *atman* in all? Hence, I think all that we can say in regard to national hostels is that every effort will be made to observe in them all the rules of cleanliness, which means that the true Brahmana dharma will remain their ideal. We cannot have as our ideal the practice of Brahmana dharma which concerns itself with outward forms and lacks the true essence, for it is an evil and, therefore, to be shunned.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 9-9-1928

525. MY NOTES

DISREGARD FOR THE LIVING QUERN

A volunteer who works in Bardoli writes to say:¹

The complaint which this volunteer makes can be made about many other classes of people. The teeth are an important gift of nature. They are a living quern. Anyone who ignores it, shortens his life. Grain that has been once ripened by the rays of the sun needs no other form of cooking. However, ever since man learnt to enjoy tasty food with his palate, he started cooking again what had already been cooked once, with the result that his life-span was shortened. It may well be that we cannot all at once give up a bad practice which has come down to us from ancient times and cannot altogether dispense with the oven, however, we could save a great deal of time and money if we make minimum use of it. We can never eat sun-ripened grain in the same quantities as we eat it in cooked form. We cannot eat as much of dry food as we can eat food which is soaked and crushed. Nature has provided us with nectar in our palate in order to moisten dry food, and with teeth for the purpose of grinding it to paste. We ignore both these gifts by becoming slaves of our palate, and thereby we not only commit a crime but also needlessly burden our intestines and shorten our lives, and even during this short life-span we fall a prey to many diseases. Hence, although we may not be ready to eat uncooked, sun-ripened grain and be satisfied with it, we should form the practice of carefully chewing cooked food when eating it. Even

¹ The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had drawn attention to the common practice of villagers eating wheat or bajri cakes soaked in milk, without chewing them properly.

rice can be chewed, and green vegetables can certainly be eaten uncooked. Doctors recommend the latter. We get from uncooked vegetables the nutrients that we require. They are known as ‘vitamins’ in English, and doctors claim that these vitamins are destroyed as a result of cooking, and that their destruction leads to ill-health.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 9-9-1928

526. RELIGIOUS EDUCATION¹

A student of the Gujarat Vidyapith writes:

What concrete form ought religious instruction to take in the Vidyapith?

To me religion means truth and ahimsa or rather truth alone, because truth includes ahimsa, ahimsa being the necessary and indispensable means for its discovery. Therefore anything that promotes the practice of these virtues is a means for imparting religious education and the best way to do this, in my opinion, is for the teachers rigorously to practise these virtues in their own person. Their very association with the boys, whether on the playground or in the class-room, will then give the pupils a fine training in these fundamental virtues.

So much for instruction in the universal essentials of religion. A curriculum of religious instruction should include a study of the tenets of faiths other than one's own. For this purpose the students should be trained to cultivate the habit of understanding and appreciating the doctrines of various great religions of the world in a spirit of reverence and broad-minded tolerance. This, if properly, done, would help to give them a spiritual assurance and a better appreciation of their own religion. There is one rule, however, which should always be kept in mind while studying all great religions and that is that one should study them only through the writings of known votaries of the respective religions. For instance, if one wants to study the *Bhagavata* one should do so not through a translation of it made by a hostile critic but through one prepared by a lover of the *Bhagavata*. Similarly to study the Bible one should study it through

¹ The Gujarati original of this appeared in *Navajivan*, 9-9-1928. This is a translation by Pyarelals.

the commentaries of devoted Christians. This study of other religions besides one's own will give one a grasp of the rock-bottom unity of all religions and afford a glimpse also of that universal and absolute truth which lies beyond the "dust of creeds and faiths".

Let no one even for a moment entertain the fear that a reverent study of other religions is likely to weaken or shake one's faith in one's own. The Hindu system of philosophy regards all religions as containing the elements of truth in them and enjoins an attitude of respect and reverence towards them all. This of course presupposes regard for one's own religion. Study and appreciation of other religions need not cause a weakening of that regard; it should mean extension of that regard to other religions.

In this respect religion stands on the same footing as culture. Just as preservation of one's own culture does not mean contempt for that of others, but requires assimilation of the best that there may be in all the other cultures, even so should be the case with religion. Our present fears and apprehensions are a result of the poisonous atmosphere that has been generated in the country, the atmosphere of mutual hatred, ill-will and distrust. We are constantly labouring under a nightmare of fear lest someone should stealthily undermine our faith or the faith of those who are dear and near to us. But this unnatural state will cease when we have learnt to cultivate respect and tolerance towards other religions and their votaries.

Young India, 6-12-1928

527. LETTER TO JAIRAMDAS DAULATRAM

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
September 9, 1928

MY DEAR JAIRAMDAS,

I have your letter. I have glanced at the speech of which you have sent me a copy. Personally, I do not mind Devanagari and Urdu being optionally used. For, ultimately that script will survive whose users have greater vitality. The fact however is that I do not trouble myself about these things. I believe in subscribing to any solution that the leaders may evolve, so long as it does not commit me to a breach of any fundamental conviction.

Of course I admired your yielding on the Sind question. But I was curious to know what made you yield, because I knew that you had very strong conviction about it.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 13519

528. LETTER TO G. RAMACHANDRAN

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

September 9, 1928

MY DEAR RAMACHANDRAN,

I have your letter. My decision is this. Do not accept your own certificate about your completion of apprenticeship. Let Rajaji judge. If he says you can start in Kerala, do so by all means; but if he does not, wait till he is convinced. I am sure that it is the best thing for your work. If your own conclusion is sound, you should have confidence in your ability to carry conviction to Rajaji. Personally, I have no misgivings about success of khadi in Kerala, if the right stamp of men concentrate their energy upon khadi. Of course I like the idea of your becoming a member of the Gandhi Seva Sangh.

Mahadev is in Simla, Vallabhbhai having taken him there to write the history of Bardoli Satyagraha. Rasik and Navin Gandhi have gone to Delhi to help Devdas in his work in the Jamia.

From a microfilm: S.N. 13520

529. *LETTER TO HUGO BUCHSER*¹

September 9, 1928

I have no ability to write articles to order, nor have I any ambition in that direction.

M. K. G.

From a microfilm: S.N. 14382

530. *A LETTER*

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

September 9, 1928

CHI. BHAI,

What you write about the children is perfectly correct. They may forget what we tell them or what they read, but they will consciously or unconsciously remember what we do and act accordingly. That is especially true for the Ashram since we always stress that only what we practise counts.

To a woman her home and kitchen are all-important. She rules through her kitchen. She therefore behaves like a millionaire who works all through the day to preserve and increase his millions. When she loses the subtle power she enjoys through the kitchen, she will be reconciled to the common kitchen and be satisfied with whatever is cooked in it. But now I have given up pressing any of my views on others.

From a copy of the Gujarati: Kusumbehn Desai's Diary. S.N. 32577/1

¹ In reply to his letter from Geneva, as "representative of most important European daily papers", requesting Gandhiji to send him from time to time articles for publication abroad, and guaranteeing a very high recompense

APPENDIX I

WHAT IS THE BARDOLI CASE?

BY MAHADEV DESAI

In the matter of revision settlements there has been calculated flouting of public opinion and of resolutions of the Legislative Council during recent years. In pursuance of the advice of the Joint Parliamentary Committee, "that the process of revising the land revenue assessments ought to be brought under closed regulation by a Statute", the Bombay Legislative Council passed by a large majority in March 1924 a resolution to the effect that a committee be appointed to consider the question of regulating revision of assessment by legislation, and that "no revision be proceeded with and no new rates under any revised settlement be introduced till the said legislation is brought into effect". The first part of the resolution was carried out by Government appointing the Land Revenue Assessment Committee, but the second part was ignored, and revision settlement of one taluk after another was proceeded with in the teeth of the resolution. In the mean time the Land Revenue Committee had set and published its report, and the Bombay Legislative Council in March 1927 passed by a very large majority another resolution recommending to the Governor in Council to give immediate effect to the resolution of March 1924 by effecting necessary legislation after taking into consideration the Report of the Land Revenue Assessment Committee, and "pending such legislation to issue orders to the revenue authorities concerned not to collect the assessment enhanced in revision after the 15th March 1924". The legislation suggested by the Land Revenue Assessment Committee is at present before the Legislative Council, but revision settlements have gone on, almost with the deliberate intention of frustrating the very object of the legislation when it should ultimately come to pass. Bardoli is only one of several taluks where there should have been no revision and no levying of new rates in the terms of these resolutions. This is a fundamental preliminary objection to the revision settlement in Bardoli, apart from the merits of the case.

I shall briefly discuss the merits. The new Bardoli revision settlement was prepared by Mr. Jayakar who submitted his recommendations in November 1925. He recommended 30 per cent enhancement. The Settlement Commissioner Mr. Anderson disagreed with the basis on which Mr. Jayakar had made his recommendation, adopted a new basis, and recommended 29 per cent. Government disagreed with the recommendations of both and fixed 22 per cent. The original assessment of the taluk which was Rs. 5,14,762 is under the new revision something over Rs. 6,20,000.

As against this the agriculturists of Bardoli contend that the taluk is assessed right up to the full limit and that there is absolutely no case for enhancement. The occupants in the taluk are divided as under according to the size of their holdings :

1 to	5 acres	10,379
6 to	25 acres	5,936
26 to	100 acres	829
101 to	500 acres	40

It may be safely assumed that all the occupants having not more than 25 acres cultivate their own land and that those with larger holdings lease their land to the agriculturists. This means that 16,315 occupants actually cultivate 1,27,045 acres which is the total occupied area, i.e., each occupant cultivate on an average something like 8 acres of land. It is inequitable to go on the strength of rents—economic or uneconomic—enjoyed by a very small fraction, i.e., 869 large landholders. The land revenue assessment ought to be fixed having regard to the value of the land held by the 16,315 agriculturists and to the profits of agriculture enjoyed by them under Sec. 107 of the Land Revenue Code. The agriculturists of Bardoli contend that assuming the average yield per acre and assuming the very high standard of prices adopted by the Settlement Officer as accurate (though the prices have considerably gone down since the report), an agriculturist cultivating 8 acres of land (the average) does not earn profits entitling the Government to make any increase in the existing rate of assessment. They are prepared to prove this statement and they maintain that even if the basis of 50 per cent of the profits be accepted, no increase is warranted, and if the basis of 25 per cent of the profits be accepted, a considerable reduction in the existing rates would be necessary.

They thus rely for their contention on the actual conditions obtaining in the taluk, but they also rely on attacking the value and accuracy of the Government reports. They contend, *inter alia*, that Mr. Jayakar, the Settlement Officer, made no enquiry worth the name, visited few villages, afforded no opportunities to villagers of making representations pertaining to the question of increasing the assessment, and prepared a perfunctory survey. He prepared the most essential statistics in his office, without exercising the slightest scrutiny and relied for his recommendations of 30 per cent on the sole basis of rise in the value of gross produce. The perfunctory nature of Mr. Jayakar's inquiry, if inquiry it could be called, is enough to render it valueless. But Mr. Anderson seriously questioned the value of Mr. Jayakar's report on another and very substantial ground which was pointed out be the people's representatives also. He rejected the most vital part of Mr. Jayakar's report—viz., where he bases his recommendations on the value of gross pro-duce—as “irrelevant” and “positively dangerous as affording no justification for his pro-posals and suggesting arguments against them”. In the circumstances Mr. Anderson's obvious duty was to suggest to

Government a fresh inquiry. But he overshot the mark and proceeded to make his own recommendations on the basis of rental statistics—a basis of which the equity has been seriously challenged by several high-placed Government officials, and the statistics themselves have in the present case been seriously challenged as lacking scrutiny. If Mr. Jayakar drove a coach and four through the Settlement Manual, in making no real inquiry, Mr. Anderson went one better in contravening the Settlement Manual which lays down that rents should be only one of the factors to be considered and that even when they are taken into account, “they cannot be used as the basis for definite conclusions. . . unless they exist in considerable volume and unless their reliability has been carefully tested”. Mr. Anderson grossly erred (1) in exclusively relying on the rental statistics and (2) in assuming that the two essential conditions for their being of any value and been satisfied. In one place, Mr. Anderson charges Mr. Jayakar with having made “no attempt to compile statistics showing the area rented and the area cultivated by its owners,” and yet proceeds on Appendix H and wrongly arrives at the conclusion that “*at least half* the total area is held by landlords who do not cultivate it”. The error is based on his hastily assuming seven years’ statistics—42,923 acres—as one years’ statistics and on his utter disregard of Mr. Jayakar’s own estimate of land held by non-agriculturists, which is 23,995 acres, i.e., about 18 per cent of the total area—a more plausible, though not a strictly accurate estimate, because not based on inquiries on the spot.

For these reason both Mr. Jayakar’s and Mr. Anderson’s reports are worthless and the rate of 22 per cent fixed by Government is absolutely arbitrary as it is based on no fresh or accurate data.

The satyagrahis of Bardoli have therefore pledged themselves to pay no assessment until either

1. the enhancement is cancelled; or
2. an independent impartial tribunal is appointed to examine the whole case.

Young India, 14-6-1928

APPENDIX II

BARDOLI REPORT

In their report, absolutely pruned of epithets and adjectives, and as closely reasoned and concise as it could be, they addressed themselves to the consideration of four questions: "As the enhancement is based on rents which land-owners demand from their tenants it is of utmost importance to determine whether the table relating to the rents paid by the tenants has been prepared with due care so as to exhibit economic rents only. If it is found to be seriously defective, all conclusions drawn from it must be regarded as valueless. Again, it seems reasonable that before competitive rents are accepted as the foundation of the settlement policy, it should be determined what proportion of the cultivated area is in the hands of tenants paying cash rents. The third question which demands consideration is whether abnormal periods have been excluded in inquiring into the course followed by rents during the currency of the old settlement. Lastly, we have to consider to what extent the Land Revenue Code and the Settlement Manual justify almost exclusive reliance on rental value for the purpose of determining new assessment rates." And after a study of the Code and the Settlement Manual and after personal investigation and inquiries made in several villages from the people concerned, they found

1. That the table was seriously defective inasmuch as mortgage transactions, or rents not realized in full, or conditional sales had not been excluded, and no allowance was made for rents, charged in consequence of improvements made at the cost of the occupant according to Section 107 of the Land Revenue Code.
2. That the cash-rented area may be taken to be in the neighbourhood of 20 per cent and that looking to the fact that "94 per cent of the occupants and owners cultivate themselves" in 1895, even a proportion of 30 per cent as the land cultivated by tenants appears surprisingly large today.
3. That the boom period covering the years from 1918-19 to 1924-25 should have been excluded according to the statement made by the Revenue Member himself.
4. That the Settlement Commissioner relied on insufficient and unscrutinized rental statistics as his "one true guide", not to check the results of the indirect inquiry, but to avoid having to consider and allow for an increase in the cost of cultivation, and that he used them not "to prevent the enhancement-from going too high" (in the words of Settlement Manual) but to enhance the assessment rates.

In view of the foregoing findings Sjs. Kunzru, Vaze and Thakkar came to the conclusion that “the demand for a fresh inquiry is fully justified” and that “recent announcement that revision settlement of the Viramgam taluk will be reconsidered makes the case for the reconsideration of the settlement of the Bardoli taluk unanswerable.”

Sjt. Vaze issued an additional statement in which he laid special emphasis on the fact that “the present struggle in Bardoli is a purely economic one; it is no part of a general scheme of mass civil disobedience.... My observation satisfies me that the leaders of the movement are actuated by no other motive in carrying on the campaign than to undo, by using their best endeavours, what they genuinely believe to be a cruel wrong to the peasantry of Bardoli. It would be both inexpedient and unjust for Government to invest the movement with a wider political significance which it does not bear.”

The report appealed to leaders of all schools of political thinking, ranged the sympathy of the few remaining waverers among Indian newspapers definitely on the side of the satyagrahis, and was instrumental more than anything else in bringing about a consensus of opinion among all circles including the Liberals about the justice of the people’s demands and the minimum that was due to them.

The Story of Bardoli, pp. 148-9

APPENDIX III
BARDOLI SETTLEMENT

THE SETTLEMENT DOCUMENTS

The Letters Exchanged between the Surat M.L.C.s and the
Government Regarding the Terms of Settlement

1

The following letter was addressed by the members of the Legislative Council
representing Bardoli taluk and Surat district to the Hon'ble the Revenue Member:

POONA

August 6, 1928

TO

THE HONOURABLE THE REVENUE MEMBER

SIR,

With reference to your letter dated August 3, 1928, we are glad to be able
to say that we are in a position to inform Government that the conditions laid down
by His Excellency the Governor in his opening speech to the Council dated 23rd of
July will be fulfilled.

Yours sincerely,

A. M. K. DEHLAVI

BHASAHEB (Thakore of Kerwada)

DAUDKHAN SALEBHAI TYEBJEE

J. B. DESAI

B. R. NAIK

H. B. SHIVDASANI

M. K. DIXIT

2

Announcement of the Enquiry

Government thereafter announced the following enquiry:

The enquiry will be entrusted to a Revenue Officer and a Judicial Officer, the
decision of the Judicial Officer to prevail in all matters of difference between the two,
with the following terms of reference:

To enquire into and report upon the complaint of the people of Bardoli and Valod

(a) that the enhancement of revenue recently made is not warranted in terms of the Land Revenue Code;

(b) that the reports accessible to the public do not contain sufficient data warranting the enhancement and that some of the data given are wrong; and to find that, if the people's complaint is held to be justified what enhancement or reduction, if any, there should be upon the old assessment.

As the enquiry is to be full, open and independent, the people will be free to lead as well as test evidence before it with the help of their representatives including legal advisers.

3

The following further letters were exchanged between the members of the Legislative Council representing the Bardoli taluk and the Surat district and the Hon'ble the Revenue Member:

POONA,
August 7, 1928

TO

THE HONOURABLE THE REVENUE MEMBER

SIR,

Now that the principal point about the Bardoli question is settled satisfactorily we hope and trust that Government will

- (a) release all satyagrahi prisoners,
- (b) restore all lands forfeited,
- (c) Reinstatement all *talatis* and *patels* who resigned their offices.

Yours sincerely,

A. M. K. DEHLAVI
DAUDKHAN SALEBHAI TYEBJEE
BHASAHEB (THAKORE OF KERWADA)
BHIMBHAI R. NAIK
H. B. SHIVDASANI
J. B. DESAI
M. K. DIXIT

The following letter dated 7th August 1928 was addressed by the Hon'ble the Revenue Member to the above members of the Legislative Council:

GENTLEMEN,

With reference to your letter dated the 7th instant, Government, in exercise of their prerogative, will release all satyagrahi prisoners and will be pleased to issue orders granting your second request.

The *talatis* and *patels* will be pardoned if they apply in the proper form.

Yours sincerely,

J. L. RIEU

N.B.—The price paid for the lands which were sold by Government and were transferred to R. B. Naik as stated in para 86 of the Report was about Rs. 11,000 or double the assessment in respect thereof. The excess of assessment thus received was also remitted by Government to the individual cultivators with the result that the land was restored to them without their being out of pocket to any extent.

The story of Bardoli, pp. 230-2

APPENDIX IV

SOUTH AFRICAN CONDONATION

[I. FORM OF APPLICATION]

(Name).....known in India as
.....of(address in Union)
(Occupation)

1. Registration Certificate, Domicile Certificate, or other certificate No. of applicant.....
2. Village and country of birth of applicant.....
3. Name of father of applicant
4. Date and place of first entry of applicant into the Union.....
5. Name of wife (if any) and present whereabouts.....
6. Children (if any)

Mother	Name	of	child	Sex	Where	born	Age	Present	whereabouts
--------	------	----	-------	-----	-------	------	-----	---------	-------------

I,.....
having been duly cautioned, hereby solemnly and sincerely declare that the above
questions have been interpreted to me in
.....which questions I
hereby declare to understand and that I have answered them truthfully.

Signature (in Roman characters or thumb print)
of applicant.....
Address in full.....

Interpreted by me,.....

Signature.....

Declared before me at.....this
.....day of.....

Thumb impression of applicant

Left.....Right.....

MAGISTRATE, OR IMMIGRATION OFFICER WHO IS
COMMISSIONER OF OATHS

[II. CORRESPONDENCE]¹

LETTER FROM C. S. SCHMIDT TO P. K. DESAI

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA,
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
CAPE TOWN,
February 24, 1928

SIR,

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letter dated 6th January, 1928, in which you convey to the Honourable the Minister of the Interior the following resolution passed at the eighth session of the South African Indian Congress, held at Kimberley in January, 1928:

That this eighth session of the South African Indian Congress in conference assembled, as representing the Indian community of South Africa, hereby assures the Union Government, on its own behalf and also on behalf of its constituent bodies, viz., the Transvaal Indian Congress as representing the Indian community of the Transvaal, the Cape British Indian Council as representing the Indian community of the Cape Province, and the Natal Indian Congress as representing the Indian community of Natal, that it will stand by

¹ What follows is from *Young India*, 16-8-1928.

and will generally honour the Agreement arrived at between the Indian and Union Governments at Cape Town, and in the spirit in which it has been conceived, and declares as it has always done that it will not tolerate any illicit entry of Indians into the Union.

In view of this assurance, and as an act of grace to mark the appointment of the Right Honourable V. S. S. Sastri, P.C., as the first Agent of the Government of India in the Union, the Union Government has been pleased to refrain from the full enforcement of Section 10 of Act 22 of 1913 as amended by Section 5 of Act 37 of 1927, in the case of an Indian who proves to the satisfaction of the Minister of the Interior that he entered a Province of the Union other than the Orange Free State prior to the 5th July, 1924, subject to the following provisions:

(a) Every Indian who has illicitly entered the Union must apply, on his own behalf or through the South African Indian Congress or a body affiliated thereto, in the Transvaal to the Commission for Immigration and Asiatic Affairs, Pretoria, and in the Cape and Natal Provinces to the Principal Immigration Officers at Cape Town and Durban respectively and shall furnish such particulars as may be required by these officers. Such application must reach the officers mentioned on or before the 1st of October, 1928. Indians who are in possession of registration certificates or certificates of domicile or other documents authorizing them to enter, reside or remain in the Union or any Province thereof, obtained by fraudulent representations made by them or on their behalf, must apply for the Protection Certificate or authorization to retain the documents in their possession referred to in paragraph (b) hereof.

(b) If the Minister is satisfied that an applicant comes within the terms of this concession he will direct that a Protection Certificate be issued to the applicant in the prescribed form or authorize him to retain the documents illegally obtained. No application will be entertained from any individual whose case does not fall within the terms of this concession.

(c) The Protection Certificate or the documents he has been authorized to retain under paragraph (b) above will preserve to the holder all the rights enjoyed by him at the date of the commencement of Act 37 of 1927, viz., 5th July, 1927, and the holder will be regarded as having entered the Province concerned in terms of Section 25 of Act No. 22 of 1913, but if he has not already brought his wife and/or children to the Union, such wife and/or children will not be admitted.

(d) An Indian whose entry into the Union or any Province thereof was illegally made, and who, after the 1st November, 1928, is not in possession of a Protection Certificate or who has not been authorized to retain his documents in terms of paragraph (b) above will be dealt with in accordance with the law irrespective of the date of his entry.

(e) The Minister reserves the right to apply the provisions of the Immigration

Law in the case of an Indian who illicitly entered the Union prior to the 5th July, 1924, and who has after that date been convicted of a deport. able offence.

You are authorized to publish this letter if you so desire.

I have the honour to be

Sir,

Your obedient servant,

C. S. SCHMIDT

SECRETARY FOR THE INTERIOR

P. K. DESAI, ESQ.

HONORARY GENERAL SECRETARY, SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN CONGRESS

P.O. BOX 5339, JOHANNESBURG

LETTER FROM V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI TO D. F. MALAN

MOUNT NELSON HOTEL,

CAPE TOWN,

May 14, 1928

DEAR DR. MALAN,

At my interview with you the day before yesterday I brought to your notice the strong desire on the part of the Transvaal Indian community that the 1914 Line should be drawn in the operation of the Condonation Scheme. I ask leave again to commend the idea to you and to remind you that it has the support besides of two such persons as Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Patrick Duncan.

In addition, my countrymen would like to be assured on three subsidiary points. I trust if it be not inconvenient to you, you will enable me in your reply to say that I have your authority in giving them the assurances:

1. No Indian who has once been condoned in the past for fraudulent or illegal entry will be required to apply on this occasion for condonation. His right to introduce his family will not be in jeopardy.

2. The minor sons of the men now to be condoned will be allowed to obtain registration certificates in the ordinary way.

3. In case the Protection Certificate is found in future defective in law or inadequate to preserve the rights of the holder you or your Successor will take such steps as may be necessary, legislative or other, to make it fully efficacious.

In your reply I beg you will not be guided in the least by the loose language which I have used, but will pay attention to the substance of my request.

Yours sincerely,

V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI

THE HONOURABLE DR. D. F. MALAN, M.L.A.

MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR, CAPE TOWN

LETTER FROM D. F. MALAN TO V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA, DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,

CAPE TOWN,

May 16, 1928

DEAR MR. SASTRI,

With reference to your letter of the 14th instant on the subject of the Condonation Scheme, I have given careful consideration to the points you have raised and have to advise you as follows:

1. 1914 Line—I regret that I am unable to accede to the wish of the Indian community. There is nothing in the Smuts-Gandhi Agreement to suggest that all illegal and fraudulent entries to the date of that Agreement were condoned, and there is no justification for the proposed “1914 Line.”

2. Previous Condonations—I agree that an Indian whose illegal or fraudulent entry has been condoned under any earlier condonation scheme need not apply for condonation under the new scheme provided he is the rightful holder of a document attesting to such condonation.

3. Registration of Minor Sons of Condonees.—Such minor sons who have been permitted to enter the Transvaal will be allowed to obtain registration certificates in the ordinary way.

4. Amending Legislation—My advice is to the effect that the proposed form of Condonation Permit will protect the rights of the holders in terms of the Condonation Scheme but should it be found that the permit does not safeguard the rights of the holder, I am quite prepared to introduce amending legislation to make the permit efficacious.

Yours sincerely,

D. F. MALAN

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI

AGENT TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, PRETORIA

[III. FORM OF CONDONATION PERMIT]

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA, IMMIGRATION AND ASIATIC AFFAIRS DEPARTMENT

**Immigrants Regulation Act No. 22 of 1913 as amended by Act
No. 37 of 1927**

Subject to the conditions and requirements stated hereunder, the illegal entry of.....into the Province of..... is condoned and he is permitted to remain in the said Province.

CONDITIONS AND REQUIREMENTS

This permit is issued subject to the following conditions and requirements and to the provisions of the Immigrants Regulation Act No. 22 of 1913, as amended by Act No. 37 of 1927, and the Regulations thereunder.

(a) This permit is valid until it is cancelled by the Minister.

(b) This permit preserves to the holder all the rights and privileges enjoyed at the date of commencement of Act 37 of 1927, viz., 5th July, 1927, and the holder is regarded as having entered the Province of in terms of Section 25 of Act 22 of 1913 except that he will not be permitted to claim the rights and privileges conferred by Section 5(f) and (g) of the said Act, that is to say that if his wife and/or children have not been admitted at date hereof he will not be permitted subsequently to introduce any of such persons.

(c) This permit entitles the holder to retain any registration certificate, certificate of domicile or other document authorizing him to enter, reside or remain in the Union or any Province thereof; provided that if this permit is cancelled by the Minister such document or documents shall be dealt with under the provisions of Section 10 of Act 22 of 1913 as amended by Section 5 of Act 37 of 1927. The documents referred to in this paragraph are as described below, viz.¹

(d) The Minister undertakes not to cancel this document unless the holder is subsequent to the 5th July, 1924, convicted of an offence as specified in Section 22 of Act 22 of 1913 as amended by Act 37 of 1927 and the holder shall forthwith be

¹ Not given in the source

dealt with in terms of Section 10 of Act 22 of 1913, as amended by Section 5 of Act 37 of 1927.

.....
COMMISSIONER FOR IMMIGRATION AND ASIATIC AFFAIRS

(Date Stamp)

I..... agree to the
above con conditions.

Holder'ssignature.....

Witness.....

Place.....Date.....

The conditions of this permit have been interpreted/read over by me to the
holderin.....

.....Signature of interpreter.....

Left thumb impression.....Right thumb
impression.....

Young India, 9-8-1928 and 16-8-1928