

1. LETTER TO SHAH JAMIL ALAM

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

April 2, 1926

I have your letter. A pure heart enable[s] one to find and see truth. Every one of us therefore must aim after purity of heart. All else follows as a matter of course.

From a photostat : S.N. 11057

2. LETTER TO A. JOSEPH

April 2, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter enclosing copies of your letters to *The Hindu* and to Mr. Satyamurti. I have also copies of *The Hindu* containing the advertisements referred to by you. I am entirely of opinion that advertisements about things injurious to the nation should not be taken by public journals at all but it is very difficult for me to interfere in such matters. I can only express my own opinion through the columns of *Young India* which I do from time to time. As you might have noticed, I had occasion to refer to this matter of immoral advertisements¹ only recently.

Yours sincerely,

A. JOSEPH, ESQ.
519, SILVER STREET
ST. THOMAS MOUNT
MADRAS

From a photostat : S.N. 12162

3. LETTER TO DIRENDRANATH DAS GUPTA

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

April 2, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter with a report of khadi work. Satis Babu was

¹ Vide "Exercise the Copyright", 25-3-1926.

here recently, and I had a talk about you with him. He told me that he was anxious to help you all he could. I have really no money apart from the Charkha Sangh fund that I can send you and the Charkha Sangh fund can only be utilized in the ordinary manner. I do hope therefore that you will write to Satis Babu and secure help you want through him.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. DIRENDRANATH DAS GUPTA
VIDYASHRAM
BEAMIBAZAR P. O.
SYLHET

From a microfilm : S.N. 19409

4. LETTER TO C. V. KRISHNA

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 2, 1926

MY DEAR KRISHNA,

I hope you received my letter¹ about Hanumantharao which was written immediately after your telegram was received. I hope also that you received my telegram. Together with your letter, I sent a letter for Mrs. Hanumantharao and another for his brother. I am anxious to know whether they have been received. I now send you a letter which was addressed to Hanumantharao and which has been returned undelivered. I send it to you as it contains a reference to the Ashram. I am anxiously waiting for a letter from you.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. KRISHNA
NELLORE

From a microfilm : S.N. 19410

¹ Dated March 21, 1926

5. *LETTER TO N. S. VARADACHARI*
AND S. V. PUNTAMBEKAR

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 2, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

Your joint production¹ is now being revised and I am sorry to observe that there are too many defects in it. You have expected the proof-reader to find out books and the references you want quoted. How can the books be found? Where you have not given pages, how is one to find the quotations? Do you not think that the quotations should have been neatly copied out by yourself and references given? Nor have you supported all your statements with references in footnotes. Proper names have been written as if they were ordinary words. It is very difficult to trace all the names so written. The collection too seems to have been hastily done. The printing is almost held up on account of these defects. I do not know how I can cope with the difficulty that stares in the face. Where can I find the references? Can you suggest a way out of the difficulty? If one of you come here and fill in the gaps, it would expedite matters. Or if you wish, I could send a copy to one of you. The letter is posted to both of you at your respective addresses.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. N. S. VARADACHARI
ERODE
SJT. PUNTAMBEKAR
HINDU UNIVERSITY
BANARAS

From a microfilm : S.N. 19411

¹ *Hand Spinning and Hand Weaving—An Essay* by S. V. Puntambekar and N. S. Varadachari

6. LETTER TO DEVCHAND PAREKH

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
*Friday [April 2, 1926]*¹

BHAI DEVCHANDBHAI,

I have your letter. I note that the committee² meets here on the 13th at 2 o'clock. I shall be ready.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 5711

7. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
*Friday [April 2, 1926]*³

CHI. MATHURADAS,

I have your telegram. Surely it does not mean that your health has taken a turn for the worse?

Blessings from

BAPU
SJT. MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI
WINDY HALL
NASIK ROAD
DEOLALI (G.I.P.)

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

8. LETTER TO PRABHUDAS GANDHI

SABARMATI ASHRAM,
*Friday [April 2, 1926]*⁴

CHI. PRABHUDAS,

I have just received a wire from Mathuradas saying that

¹ From the postmark

² Working Committee of the Kathiawar Political Conference

³ From the postmark

⁴ From the postmark. Also April 2 was a Friday.

Devdas cannot be spared from Deolali. Mahadev tells me that Swami himself will be going there in a day or two. I will know more today. If he goes, he himself will bring you along with him. If he does not go, Pritamlal will go and bring you back with him. If neither of them is likely to go, I will send somebody from here.

Blessings from

BAPU

SHRI PRABHUDAS GANDHI
PATTANI'S BUNGALOW
LONAVALA
(G.I.P)

From the Gujarati original : S.N. 33038

9. LETTER TO HERBERT ANDERSON¹

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 3, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I am enquiring about *Young India*. It is true that subscriptions are all reckoned from quarter to quarter or year to year. Otherwise, book-keeping becomes a most difficult thing. The proper way therefore is to subscribe from the 1st of March and to get the previous numbers commencing with the biographical chapters. I am sending herewith either a copy of my criticism on the Prohibition Convention or a copy of *Young India* containing the criticism if the latter is possible.

With reference to the last paragraph of your letter : In the prohibition campaign you refer to, picketing was the essence of that campaign. It was done under the most adverse circumstances including opposition, both silent and open, as you will have seen from the report of enquiry conducted in Assam by Mr. Andrews. The only lasting remedy is total prohibition because, the drunkard is a diseased man quite unable to help himself. Many of them would gladly welcome outside help in the shape of total prohibition. The two

¹ In reply to his letter dated 30-3-1926. Herein the addressee had request for a message for the first issue of his quarterly, *Prohibition*

things, therefore, have, in my opinion, to go side by side.

Yours sincerely,

Encl.

REV. HERBERT ANDERSON

59, KING'S ROAD

HOWRAH

From a photostat : S.N. 12166

10. LETTER TO L. GIBARTI ¹

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

April 3, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter for which I thank you. I appreciate the sentiment underlying your proposal. But I consider myself wholly unfit to shoulder the burden. My methods too of serving the oppressed people are so different from those generally accepted by Socialists and they are yet in the nature of an experiment. I therefore fight shy of belonging to any organization that I do not know thoroughly and that I cannot serve usefully.

Yours sincerely,

L. GIBARTI, ESQ.

SECRETARY

INDIAN DEPT.

LIGAGEGEN KOLONIALGREUEL UND

UNTERDRUCKUNG

BAMBERGER STR. 60

BERLIN, W, 50

From a photostat : S.N. 12458

11. LETTER TO HELENE HAUSSDING

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

April 3, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I am glad that your persistence has been

¹ In reply to the request on behalf of the League against Cruelties and Suppression in the Colonies to include Gandhiji's name as the International Chairman for India. This League had its branches in many countries.

rewarded and that you will be soon in our midst. I am not going to discourage you any longer now, nor give you any warning. I am hoping that you will be able to retain your health here and that you will have no cause for disappointment. I shall try my best to make you comfortable and to keep you employed.

The specimen of wool of your own spinning that you have sent is quite good.

Yes, the name of the bank is "Bank of Baroda, Ahmedabad".

Do please bring your sewing machine as also your music and all the books of your library. You shall have all the necessary assistance for learning Hindustani.

Yours sincerely,

FRAULEIN HELENE HAUSSDING
26, LINDENBERGSTRASSE
WERNIG ROAD, a.HARZ

From a photostat : S.N. 12459

12. LETTER TO D. V. RAMASWAMI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 3, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I note that you have not yet received the letters¹ I sent to you and the widow through Krishna². I have no doubt, that for the time being, at any rate, you must continue to earn and simplify as much as possible the lives of those who are dependent on you.

In the letter to the widow I have said that if she would come to the Ashram to be here, she will be welcome and the Ashram people will give her all the attention that is possible. Please understand that this is not a formal proposal. There should be therefore no hesitation about accepting it if it is at all possible.

¹ *Vide* "Letter to Mrs. Hanumantharao", 21-3-1926, and "Letter to D. V. Ramaswami", 21-3-1926.

² *Vide* "Letter to C. V. Krishna", 21-3-1926.

You do not want me to write the preface before seeing your book.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. D. V. RAMASWAMI
VIZAGAPATAM

From a microfilm : S.N. 19412

13. LETTER TO R. D. SUBRAMANIAM

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 3, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter as also the packet of yarn sent by you. The yarn is now being tested. I shall await further supply.

I hope my previous letter does not bear the interpretation that the count may not be above 20. The idea was not to have the count below 20. If what you have sent is uniformly 55, it would be all the more welcome on that account.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. R. D. SUBRAMANIAM
WEST SREERANGAPALAYAM ROAD EXTENSION
SALEM

From a microfilm : S.N. 19413

14. LETTER TO G. P. NAIR

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 3, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. You leave me more confused than I was before as to the meaning of the word "Republic". I notice that there is the widest possible difference between your views and mine. How can I then send you any note of encouragement?

I do not for one moment believe that the N.C.O.¹ movement has lost its charm nor am I at all convinced that the Bardoli decision was a blunder. And, I am more than ever convinced that those who care for

¹ Non-co-operation

the poor and who understand them cannot do better than concentrate the whole of their energy on the spread of the charkha and khaddar and boycott of foreign cloth.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. G. P. NAIR
EDITOR, "REPUBLIC"
MALL ROAD, CAWNPORE
From a microfilm : S.N. 19414

15. LETTER TO P. GOVINDAN KUTTI MENON

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 3, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. Here are my answers :

1. I wish to see God face to face not as I would like to see Him but exactly as He is.
2. If the whole world becomes celibate in my sense, it will be transfigured into something infinitely superior to what it is today but there is not much chance, I fear, of the whole world taking to a life of complete self-restraint all of a sudden. Therefore we thus talk of *grahasthashrama*, the stage next to that of complete celibacy.
3. There is not much hope of my visiting Kerala in the near future. You are misinformed in thinking that purity amongst the untouchables and unapproachables is not preached. Not only is it preached but it is practised.
4. I do not desire total abolition of English but if you will think in terms of the millions of each province, you will find that for them English can never be the medium of instruction. Hindi should be the language of intercommunication between provinces and English should be the language of intercommunication between India and the World. It therefore comes third in point of time as also importance.
5. I do not think that there ever will be one religion in India or elsewhere. But there will be and should be sincere respect and toleration for one another's religion.
6. If everybody spins regularly there need be no surplus self-spun yarn but there will be enough for all and that with the least

possible trouble and expenditure that the world has ever conceived. And if there was a surplus, we could automatically reduce the time spent by each on spinning.

7. I have put nothing before the people which the most ordinary man cannot do. For instance, what is the difficulty in everyone handling a spinning-wheel, or giving up foreign cloth, or giving up drink, or in believing and in promoting Hindu-Muslim unity, or in regarding an untouchable as his own brother, or in learning Hindi in addition to his own language?

8. One's food should consist of grains, fruit, milk and the fewest condiments, if any at all. Much fat should be avoided. The quantity and quality should be regulated by actual and careful experiments.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. P. GOVINDAN KUTTI MENON
PANDARATHIL HOUSE
PUDUCODE
VIA OTTAPALAM
S. MALABAR

From a photostat : S.N. 19415

16. LETTER TO DHARMA VIR

ASHRAM,
April 3, 1926

BHAI DHARMAVIRJI,

Your letter. Concentration of mind can be attained only by constant practice.

1. Concentration can be practised by devoting ourselves to noble and desirable activities; for instance, some people busy themselves with nursing the sick, some in service of the *Antyajas*, some in plying the charkha and propagating khadi.

2. Some attain concentration by repetition of *Ramanama* with sincere faith, and some by yogic and the other methods.

Yours,

MOHANDAS GANDHI

SHRI DHARMAVIR
VAIDIK PUSTAKALAYA
LAHORE ROAD, LAHORE

From a microfilm of the Hindi : S.N. 19894

17. LETTER TO RAMRISH THAKUR

ASHRAM,
April 3, 1926

SIR,

I have your letter. Maulana Shaukat Ali has sent in his yarn for a few months and we expect to have the arrears. Those who do not send in their yarn, whoever they may be, will not be eligible for membership. Maulana Mohamed Ali has sent no yarn, so he is obviously not a member.

Yours,
MOHANDAS GANDHI

SHRI RAMRISH THAKUR
NO. 22, GOENKA LANE
BORA BAZAR, CALCUTTA

From a microfilm of the Hindi : S.N. 19895

18. LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI

April 3, 1926

CHI. MANILAL,

I read your letter to Ramdas; also Fatima's. And of course I had anticipated this; Jalbhai did give a hint. You are a free man; so I cannot force you to do anything. But I write to you as a friend.

What you desire is contrary to dharma. If you stick to Hinduism and Fatima follows Islam it will be like putting two swords in one sheath; or you both may lose your faith. And then what should be your children's faith? Whose influence are they to grow under? It is not dharma, but, only *adharma* if Fatima agrees to conversion just for marrying you. Faith is not a thing like a garment which can be changed to suit our convenience. For the sake of dharma a person shall forgo matrimony, forsake his home, why, even lay down his life; but for nothing may faith be given up. May not Fatima have meat at her father's? If she does not, she has as good as changed her religion.

Nor is it in the interests of our society to form this relationship. Your marriage will have a powerful impact on the Hindu-Muslim question. Intercommunal marriages are no solution to this problem. You cannot forget nor will society forget that you are my son.

If you enter into this relationship, you may not be able to render any service. I fear you may no more be the right person to run *Indian Opinion*.

It will be impossible for you, I think, after this to come and settle in India.

I cannot ask for Ba's permission. She will not give it. Her life will be embittered for ever.

In proposing this marriage you have thought only of momentary pleasure. You have not at all considered your ultimate happiness.

Pure love is as between brother and sister. Whereas here the main urge is carnal pleasure.

I want you to get out of your infatuation. As far as I understand, Ramdas and Devdas also have arrived independently at the same conclusion, as mine.

I could not embolden myself to discuss this with Ba.

May God show you the right path.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : C.W. 1118. Courtesy : Sushilabehn Gandhi

19. LETTER TO MANSINGH JASRAJ

ASHRAM,

April 3, 1926

BHAISHRI MANSINGH,

Your letter. Your guess is correct. I have no daughter. And that woman has been playing the hoax everywhere. This has appeared

once in *Navajivan*; but I shall write again.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS GANDHI

SHRI MANSINGH JASRAJ
C/O SGT. SHAMALBHAI BABARBHAI
ADEN CAMP

From a microfilm of the Gujarati : S.N. 19890

20. *LETTER TO NARBHERAM P. MEHTA*

ASHRAM,
April 3, 1926

BHAI NARBHERAM POPATLAL,

I do not wish to write anything more than what I have already done about Swami Dayanand Sarasvati's book.

2. Menstruation is a monthly sickness demanding utmost peace and quiet for the woman, and a contact with a passionate man is horrible for her.

3. The same reason applies to a nursing mother and I believe it is a very good convention to have her confined for at least twenty days. But it is the other extreme to say that even kinswomen may not touch her.

4. To practise what we believe is what seems to me the correct meaning of *achara*.

5. It is not true that anyone in the Amreli centre is given more pay than he deserves, or that they are given more funds than their produce is worth.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS GANDHI

SHRI NARBHERAM POPATLAL MEHTA, RANSIKI
P.O. KUMBHAJINI DERDI (KATHIAWAR)

From a microfilm of the Gujarati : S.N. 19891

21. LETTER TO CHIMANLAL B. PATEL

ASHRAM,
April 3, 1926

BHAISHRI CHIMANLAL,

The best instruction can be imparted when one identifies oneself with the students. For this the teacher has to get fully conversant with the subject he teaches.

2. Out of the *Gita* and the *Ramayana*, read carefully, one can get everything.

3. As regards diet, wheat, milk and green vegetables should be enough for the most part. Spices and oil should be given up.

4. If you feel very hungry in the evening you may take a little milk and, if you find it heavy, you may have an orange, or some grapes or some such juicy fruit. You should take, as far as possible, long walks in the open air.

5. For purifying the heart and concentration of mind, reading of the above mentioned books and meditation on them, as also repetition of *Ramanama* while not busy with benevolent activities, are very helpful.

6. We should keep on trying and have faith that our efforts shall not go unrewarded.

7. The only means of self-realization is total annihilation of the sixfold passion.

Virtuous deeds will certainly bring you great peace.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS GANDHI

SHRI CHIMANLAL BHOGILAL PATEL
MAKANJI'S CHAWL
GHATKOPAR, BOMBAY

From a microfilm of the Gujarati : S.N. 19892

22. LETTER TO DAHYABHAI M. PATEL

ASHRAM,
April 3, 1926

BHAI DAHYABHAI,

. . .¹ You have searched your heart pretty well. You can devote yourself to the charkha; this can be a great social service. You will

¹ As in the source

attain contentment, I am sure, if you have this faith, and ultimately you will also see the good results. But perhaps you will set a limit to your patience. It is no patience which has an end. May you succeed in your resolve.

Blessings from

BAPU

SHRI DAHYABHAI MANORDAS PATEL

DHOLKA

From a microfilm of the Gujarati : S.N. 19893

23. LETTER TO A SISTER

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

Saturday, Chaitra Vad [5]¹ [April 3, 1926]

DEAR SISTER,

I have your letter. I share your grief. You may come here with your husband, or if you send your husband, I shall surely talk to him, try to bring him peace. He cannot stay here for long; within a few days I myself have to go to Mussoorie. So if both of you come here or your husband does, it should be immediately. Do not lose your faith and forbearance. Seek happiness in the midst of misery. You should not start from the wrong premise that you can never attain the strength of Savitri².

From a microfilm of the Gujarati : S.N. 19416

24. LETTER TO DEVDAS GANDHI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

Saturday, Chaitra Vad [5]³ [April 3, 1926]

CHI. DEVDAS,

I have your letter. Ramdas also showed [his] letter which he will reply himself. It is right that you decided to stay back. Siddaiya is

¹ The source has *Chaitra Vad* 6 which, however, was neither a Saturday nor the 3rd of April.

² A heroine in the *Mahabharata* who successfully strove with Death to regain her husband Satyawana

³ The source has *Chaitra Vad* 6 which, however, was neither a Saturday nor the 3rd of April.

with Kaka; he has to return soon. Swami is therefore writing to him today. He shall get the letter on Monday so that by Tuesday or Wednesday Prabhudas should be here. What we can do about him will be discussed after Prabhudas's arrival. There is nothing seriously wrong with his health. A healthy person has only himself to blame if he is not fit there, and you cannot be included among the unhealthy. It is good that you started taking *neem* juice. One must not have the least mental worry. Helene Haussding, the German lady, wanted to come here. She has got her visa, so it seems she will be here in about a month or so. It looks as if she is Mirabai's double. Arrangements for accommodation at Panchgani are under way. I am not writing separately to Mathuradas.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati : S.N. 19417

25. LETTER TO THAKORELAL

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

Saturday, Chaitra Vad [5]¹2 [April 3, 1926]

BHAI THAKORELAL,

I have your letter. I find it impossible to guide or advise you through letters. I certainly do not want you to stay here, giving up your studies. If you come here during your vacation, we can talk about this and, may be, you will get some consolation. Owing to certain difficulties we had to withdraw all stocks of silk from the Khadi Bhandars.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati : S.N. 19418

26. THE NATIONAL WEEK

[April 4, 1926]²

Let us not fritter away the precious time at our disposal. The week that will soon close upon us should be a week of deep heartsearching no matter to what faith we may belong. Let everyone ask himself or herself what he or she has done for the land of his or her birth. Swaraj is not to be had merely by making speeches or merely by entering Councils or writing essays on swaraj or even by

¹ The source has *Chaitra Vad* 6 which, however, was neither a Saturday nor the 3rd of April.

² *Vide* "Partial Fast During the Satyagraha Week", 4-4-1926.

editing newspapers, though all these things may help and some of them may be considered even necessary; but what is that which everyone can do without much effort and which would increase the wealth of India, which increases the powers of combination and organization and makes us feel akin to one another? The answer unhesitatingly is the spinning-wheel. Hence it is that I have recommended an intensive khaddar propaganda during the week. If therefore you have not already taken up some khaddar work, it is not yet too late. Every little thing helps. There is unsold khaddar everywhere in the chief centres, as for instance, Tamilnadu, Bihar, the Punjab, Gujarat and Bengal, etc. You need not think of any particular province. Wherever you are if you are not wearing khaddar invest in some now and you help to reduce the stock all over India. If you have enough khaddar and do not need to buy any more, but if you have money to spare send your donation to the All-India Spinners' Association and it will be used for khaddar production. If you have any minutes to spare, (and who has not?) give them to the spinning-wheel yourself and send the yarn to the Association. If you have any friends whom you can influence, ask them to do all or any of the things I have just mentioned. Remember that by contributing to khaddar work you associate yourself with the poor people, you assist the cause of swaraj and you take part in perpetuating Deshbandhu's memory.

Young India, 8-4-1926

27. ON "BRAHMACHARYA"¹

I am being inundated with letters on *brahmacharya* and means to its attainment. Let me repeat in different language what I have already said or written on previous occasions. *Brahmacharya* is not mere mechanical celibacy, it means complete control over all the senses and freedom from lust in thought, word and deed. As such it is the royal road to self-realization or attainment of *Brahman*.

The ideal *brahmachari* had not to struggle with sensual desire or desire for procreation; it never troubles him at all. The whole world will be to him one vast family, he will centre all his ambition in relieving the misery of mankind and the desire for procreation will be

¹ The original Gujarati article appeared in *Navajivan*, 4-4-1926. The is a translation by Mahadev Desai.

to him as gall and wormwood. He who has realized the misery of mankind in all its magnitude will never be stirred by passion. He will instinctively know the fountain of strength in him, and he will ever persevere to keep it undefiled. His humble strength will command respect of the world, and he will wield an influence greater than that of the sceptred monarch.

But I am told that this is an impossible ideal, that I do not take count of the natural attraction between man and women. I refuse to believe that the sensual affinity referred to here can be at all regarded as natural; in that case the deluge would soon be over us. The natural affinity between man and woman is the attraction between brother and sister, mother and son, or father and daughter. It is that natural attraction that sustains the world. I should find it impossible to live, much less carry on my work, if I did not regard the whole of womankind as sisters, daughters or mothers. If I looked at them with lustful eyes, it would be the surest way to perdition.

Procreation is a natural phenomenon indeed, but within specific limits. A transgression of those limits imperils womankind, emasculates the race, induces disease, puts a premium on vice, and makes the world ungodly. A man in the grip of the sensual desire is a man without moorings. If such a one were to guide society, to flood it with his writings and men were to be swayed by them, where would society be? And yet we have the very thing happening today. Supposing a moth whirling round a light were to record the moments of its fleeting joy and we were to imitate it, regarding it as an exemplar, where would we be? No, I must declare with all the power I can command that sensual attraction even between husband and wife is unnatural. Marriage is meant to cleanse the hearts of the couple of sordid passions and take them nearer to God. Lustless love between husband and wife is not impossible. Man is not a brute. He has risen to a higher state after countless births in brute creation. He is born to stand, not to walk on all fours or crawl. Bestiality is as far removed from manhood, as matter from spirit.

In conclusion I shall summarize the means to its attainment.

The first step is the realization of its necessity.

The next is gradual control of the senses. A *brahmachari* must needs control his palate. He must eat to live, and not for enjoyment. He must see only clean things and close his eyes before anything unclean. It is thus a sign of polite breeding to walk with one's eyes

towards the ground and not wandering about from object to object. A *brahmachari* will likewise hear nothing obscene or unclean, smell no strong, stimulating, things. The smell of clean earth is far sweeter than the fragrance of artificial scents and essences. Let the aspirant to *brahmacharya* also keep his hands and feet engaged in all waking hours in healthful activity. Let him also fast occasionally.

The third step is to have clean companions—clean friends and clean books.

The last and not the least is prayer. Let him repeat *Ramanama* with all his heart regularly every day, and ask for divine grace.

None of these things are difficult for an average man or woman. They are simplicity itself. But their very simplicity is embarrassing. Where there is a will, the way is simple enough. Men have not the will for it and hence vainly grope. The fact that the world rests on the observance, more or less, of *brahmacharya* or restraint, means that it is necessary and practicable.

Young India, 29-4-1926

28. SATYAGRAHA WEEK

This week is drawing near. I suggest the best way, according to my lights, of observing it. Satyagraha is a great religious principle, and a universal one. It is to be found in all religions. No religion can live long without it. Satyagraha is the very basis of religion. It can never be employed without a well developed religious consciousness. Countless people now accept that we cannot get swaraj except through satyagraha, and also that we shall never win it with the help of the sword. But only a handful know how it can be employed.

I am firmly of the view that till we have imbibed the spirit of peace exemplified by the spinning-wheel, have placed our relations with the poor on a pure basis and given a place of honour to khadi we shall not be fit to employ satyagraha.

I, therefore, suggest that those who have any faith in khadi should observe the week by spending it in promoting the spread of khadi. There are several ways to do this.

1. One may spin, and also persuade others to spin, more yarn than at other times.
2. One may wear khadi and persuade others to do so.
3. Wherever stocks of khadi have accumulated, one may go

round selling it.

4. One may help, and persuade others to help, in the production of khadi.

5. One may contribute money, according to one's means, for khadi work.

This week should see all the accumulated stocks of khadi cleared.

If the people cannot do even this, what else can they achieve? Khadi work does not come in the way of other activities of public welfare, but supplements them; for the spread of khadi increases national wealth and the benefit of the increase naturally goes to the poor.

I, therefore, suggest that even those who wish to give something as charity should make a gift of khadi. And for those who have not yet given up using foreign cloth, can we hope that during this week they will take the pledge and start wearing khadi, and thereby contribute their share in the *swaraj-yajna*?

Those who have any doubts about khadi may put this question to themselves : "If not through khadi, through what other means can we win swaraj, and can I myself join in such activity?" I have put this question to myself time and again but have been able to think of no other activity. To those who think that khadi by itself will not bring swaraj, I may say that the question does not arise at all. There can be no swaraj without khadi, and in any case we shall lose nothing through it. Hence, whether we do other work or not, we should certainly help in promoting the spread of khadi.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 4-4-1926

29. PARTIAL FAST DURING THE SATYAGRAHA WEEK

I cannot summon the courage to suggest a partial fast on the 6th and the 13th during the Satyagraha Week. I did not, therefore, touch upon this point when I wrote the *Young India* article on this subject.¹ But those who aspire to swaraj of the spirit, wish to win swaraj through self-purification, will certainly observe partial fasts on these two days,

¹ Vide "The National Week", 4-4-1926.

search deep within themselves for their shortcomings and try to remove them.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 4-4-1926

30. HILL TRIBES

Shri Amritlal Thakkar is adding glory to his *sannyasa*. Though he has not donned the ochre robe nor does he profess to be a sannyasi, the work he is doing, being entirely philanthropic, is such as would become a true sannyasi. He has grown old, but takes no rest nor gives any to others round him. When a wildfire of misery is raging, who can rest in peace? Only an idler can. Shri Amritlal has been a friend of the *Antyajias*, and now he is working hard to become a friend of the hill tribes. I hope that everyone will read and ponder over his touching articles¹. Those who have not yet read the article which appeared last week should read it forthwith. This week's article, too, should be read and thought over. We shall discuss later what contribution we can make to the programme of work suggested by Shri Amritlal, and how.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 4-4-1926

31. ALL-INDIA DESHBANDHU MEMORIAL

The following friends from Standerton, Transvaal, have sent their contribution to the fund for the Deshbandhu Memorial through Shri Dayal Naran.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Shri Dayal Naran	10	0	0	Shri Vallabh Bhula	5	11	3
Shri Devchand				Shri Nagin			
Durlabh	2	2	0	Narasingh	5	0	0
Shri Dayaram				Shri Vallabh			
Bhagwan	0	10	6	Bhagawan	0	15	0
Shri Uka Naran	1	1	0	Shri Parbhu Harkha	1	1	0

¹ "Our Ancient Tribes", *Navajivan*, 28-3-1926, and "Proselytization among Hill Tribes", *Navajivan*, 4-4-1926.

Shri Bhula Hira	3- 3-0	Shri Vashan Dahya	5- 5-0
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	16-16-6		17-12-3
		Total	£ 34- 8-9

I hope that others too, will send their contributions for this cause.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 4-4-1926

32. MEMORIES OF SAINTS' LIVES

While thinking about how the Satyagraha Week should be celebrated, I came upon the following paragraph in Shri Kaka Kalelkar's article written for students. I reproduce it here for the benefit of readers of *Navajivan* : ¹

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 4-4-1926

33. LETTER TO LAJPAT RAI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 4, 1926

DEAR LALAJI,

I have dealt with the matter I referred to in the enclosed cutting in the pages of *Young India*. Have you studied the question of total prohibition? What is at the back of this criminal apathy in the Punjab?

Yours sincerely,

LALA LAJPAT RAI
LAHORE

From a photostat : S.N. 19420

¹ The passage is not translated here. It describes how Eknath, a celebrated saint of Maharashtra, fed *Antyajas* with *shraddha* offerings and once saved a donkey's life by fetching water for it from a river.

34. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

AHRAM, SABARMATI,
Sunday, April 4, 1926

CHI. JAMNALAL,

Your letter. I sent you a telegram saying I can start on the 22nd. It is not convenient to leave earlier, and it is now cool rather than warm here. This time again I have gained half a pound; i.e., now it has gone up to 104 lbs. I am having plenty of rest. I have gone through your draft letter to Hakim Saheb; it is all right. Herewith I return it. Most probably I shall be accompanied by Pyarelal, Mahadev, Subbaiya, Pyar Ali, Noorbanobehn and their attendant. Pyar Ali intends to rent separate quarters and have his meals cooked for him. If it is not necessary for you at present to stay in Bombay, I would certainly like to have you with me in Mussoorie. If you are there we can certainly attend to some jobs. I do not wish to detain you, however, if your work requires you to go to Bombay or Calcutta. So it is for you to make the final decision after considering your convenience.

It seems you have been quite successful with the Gurukul. Rajagopalachari has enough worries regarding his own ashram, so he will have to return soon. Abbas Tyabji can be persuaded to undertake touring. Manilal has since returned from Rangoon but it seems he will not be ready to run around so soon. He will now have to give some time for railway workers which means he cannot tour for the present. He will leave this place on Tuesday.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 2458

35. LETTER TO MILTON NEWBERRY FRANTZ

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 6, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I am afraid it is not possible for me to subscribe to the creed you have sent me. The subscriber is made to believe that the highest manifestation of the unseen reality was Jesus Christ. In spite of all my efforts, I have not been able to feel the truth

of that statement. I have not been able to move beyond the belief that Jesus was one of the great teachers of mankind. Do you not think that religious unity is to be had not by a mechanical subscription and a common creed but by all respecting the creed of each other? In my opinion difference in creed there must be so long as there are different brains. But what does it matter if all these are. . .¹ upon the common path of love and mutual judgment.

I return the stamp kindly sent by you. It cannot be used in India.

Yours sincerely,

MILTON NEWBERRY FRANTZ, ESQ.
COLLEGEVILLE

From a photostat : S.N. 12461

36. LETTER TO G. K. DEVADHAR

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 6, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I am glad you like my notes in *Young India*² about the work of the Seva Sadan. I shall certainly be delighted to visit the institution at Sholapur and make the acquaintance of your workers.

I hope to go away for a month to Mussoorie in the expectation of ridding myself of the weakness still left in me owing to the last attack of malaria.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. G. K. DEVADHAR
HON. ORGANIZER AND GENERAL SECRETARY
THE POONA SEVA SADAN SOCIETY
789-790, SADASHIV PETH
POONA CITY

From a microfilm : S.N. 19421

¹ The source has a blank here.

² *Vide* "Mission to the Women of India", 4-3-1926.

37. *LETTER TO GREAVES COTTON AND COMPANY*

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 6, 1926

GENTLEMEN,

A correspondent writes¹ to me to say that upon his applying for the post of a stenographer in your office, he was asked to present himself but as soon as he appeared before the Manager, he was told that he could not be employed unless he put away his khaddar clothes. These are the very words quoted by the correspondent : “Our principle is not to allow it in any of our offices and if you want to serve in European firms, this khaddar dress will not do.”

MESSRS GREAVES COTTON & COMPANY

FORT

BOMBAY

As I have had chats with the Chairman of the European Association and several European merchants on this very point and as they repudiated the suggestion that they would not allow their employees to wear khaddar dress, I hesitated to believe the information sent to me by my correspondent. I shall be obliged if you will kindly let me know whether there is any truth in the information sent to me by my correspondent.

Yours faithfully,

From a microfilm : S.N. 19422

38. *LETTER TO VICE-CHAIRMAN,
DISTRICT BOARD, PURI*

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 6, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I was interested in your letter to the Secretary, All-India Spinners' Association, regarding spinning in the girls' schools of your district. I feel tempted to suggest to you that you can save much of the money voted for spinning if instead of the charkhas you will have *taklis*. The Spinners' Association has now published an authorized *Takli Teacher* prepared by two experts. It gives fairly exhaustive information and hints on *takli*. The experience of the Association is that *takli* spinning is the best and the most efficient for

¹ *Vide* “For and against Khadi”, 22-4-1926.

schools because in the schools the boys and girls can naturally give only a short time. The collective output is therefore greater through *takli* spinning than through the spinning-wheel for the simple reason that the *takli* spinning could be done by hundreds of children at the same time without requiring any extra space whatsoever. Moreover, the cost of a *takli* would be [a] few annas as against a few rupees for the spinning-wheel and the *takli* rarely goes out of order. It may be advisable for you to spend a little of the grant made by the Board for sending your teachers to Ahmedabad to watch the *takli* spinning that is being done in the schools here.

Yours sincerely,

THE VICE CHAIRMAN
THE DISTRICT BOARD
PURI

From a microfilm : S.N. 19423

39. *LETTER TO P. S. S. RAMA IYER*

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 6, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I am sorry I have not been able to reach your letter earlier. You cannot find satisfaction from the spinning-wheel unless you associate the spinning-wheel with the poor people and believe it to be an instrument for alleviating their economic distress. Is there no satisfaction in helping the poor by labouring for them? There is a Latin proverb which means to labour is to pray, i.e., when you labour for others.

You ask me to whom to pray. The only Being to pray to is the Supreme Deity. We must have faith that He exists, if we are not satisfied with the ocular demonstration of the awe-inspiring phenomenon that goes on about us the whole of the 24 hours. There is undoubtedly an intelligence beyond it, that is God. But if the phenomenon is not convincing we must have faith based upon the experience of all the greatest teachers of mankind. It is that intelligence which hears our prayers and answers. Contemplate on that All-pervading essence when you are at the spinning-wheel and

then tell me whether it does not give you satisfaction.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. P. S. S. RAMA IYER
S. I. RY. AGENCY
COCHIN

From a microfilm : S.N. 19424

40. LETTER TO RAJENDRA PRASAD

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 6, 1926

DEAR RAJENDRA BABU,

Please go through the portion marked about untouchability in the enclosed letter¹ and let me know what the truth is.

Yours sincerely,

Encl. 1 : That of Sjt. Rakhal Chandra Maity, Sadakat Ashram, Dighaghat P.O., Patna

BABU RAJENDRA PRASAD
MURAD PUR
PATNA

From a microfilm : S.N. 19425

41. LETTER TO RAKHAL CHANDRA MAITY

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 6, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. What you say about the classification as to dining at the Sadakat Ashram surprises me. I am sending your letter to Sjt. Rajendra Babu asking him to reply to it.

I agree with you that the prayer should be short, intelligible and that it should proceed from the heart. It should be addressed to the Supreme God and in a college or any such institution, it should be a

¹ Enclosure not in the source

prayer common to all.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. RAKHAL CHANDRA MAITY
SADAKAT ASHRAM
DIGHAGHAT P.O.
PATNA

From a microfilm : S.N. 19426

42. LETTER TO JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 6, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter of the 16th February last. I did not understand from your cable that you intended it to be exclusively for *Unity*. This idea of exclusion regarding one's writings is new ill my life. Your cable about Macmillan Company's offer set me athinking and I felt that it might be as well to let them have the exclusive right of publishing the *Autobiography* in book form if the terms were satisfactory. I should simply put the whole of the proceeds for the development of khaddar.

When the time comes for publishing the chapters in book form, it may be syndicated as you suggest but before they are published in book form, the chapters will have to undergo a slight revision which is already being done and if the negotiations with Macmillan Company bear fruit, you will have the revised copy.

Yours sincerely,

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES, ESQ.
12 PARK AVENUE
34TH STREET, NEW YORK CITY

From a copy : S.N. 32319

43. LETTER TO V. L. PHADKE

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Tuesday, April 6, 1926

BHAI MURABBI MAMA,

I have your letter. You can come over if you can do so without

any difficulty. By the 10th Nanabhai too will return from Singhagarh. Bring with you the letter I wrote on what was talked over with Nana-bhai. Swami is here. I shall ask him about Chhagan when I see him.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 3813

44. LETTER TO LALLU MORAR

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Tuesday, April 6, 1926

BAHI LALLU MORAR,

I have your letter. I am sorry to learn about your disunity. If only one of you will humble himself, follow the path of truth and engage in the service of others, the rest will readily gather round him. At the moment we are in no position to send anyone. However, if you wish to consult me please do so. Do you subscribe to *Navajivan*? If not, it is desirable that you become a subscriber. The subscription is sh. 10 a year.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati ; S.N. 19427

45. LETTER TO KHANDERIA

ASHRAM,
April 6, 1926

BHAI KHANDERIA,

. . .¹ Inmates of the Ashram or other persons eating at odd places should not take offence if you serve them in a separate row. And even if they take offence I do not think you are wrong in serving them apart. We should treat the *Antyajashala* irrespective of their food habits just as we treat other communities, without inquiring what they eat or drink.

ANTYAJASHALA

LAKHTAR

From a microfilm of the Gujarati : S.N. 19896

¹ As in the source

46. LETTER TO G.G. JOG

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 7, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. The interesting cutting you have sent me appears to me to be perfectly hysterical. There were at that time 33 vegetarian restaurants. I do not know how many there [are] at the present moment. And so far as I am aware, people used to take the dishes the writer describes with great relish and profit to themselves. But then these are all matters of the mind. The sausages he describes with gusto create in me a nausea.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. G. G. JOG
MOTIMAHAL
CAWNPORE

From a microfilm : S.N. 19432

47. A LETTER

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 7, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I had your welcome letter. I am at the Ashram in Sabarmati up to the 21st instant. Generally I am always available at 4 p.m. except on Mondays but I could give you an appointment for any other hour on those days. After 22nd, I shall be available in Mussoorie. Do please therefore make your choice.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm : S.N. 19433

48. LETTER TO AMRITLAL NANAVATI AND OTHERS

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Wednesday, April 7, 1926

BHAISHRI AMRITLAL AND OTHERS,

I have your letter. I never take up an activity of my own accord, nor do I think it proper to concern myself with any odd activity.

Regarding the Palitana affair I know the Sangh leaders are making some move; how can I interfere with it? In my opinion if you too have anything to say you had better say it through the leaders. This is not a movement wherein any *shravak* may start on a satyagraha on his own. Even if you think it has reached the stage for satyagraha, you should start it through the Sangh. Some time back some people had come to consult me about it. I explained all this to them.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati : S.N. 10871

49. *LETTER TO SOMNATH PANCHAL*

ASHRAM,
April 7, 1926

BHAI SOMNATH,

Your letter. I certainly think it right to render financial assistance to persons whose predicament is like that of the old persons you describe. It is society's duty to support invalids. It is, I think, irreligious to support the able-bodied without getting some work from them.

If abstention is not possible under the same roof, it is necessary to live separately. It is certainly not your duty to stay in the same house even if abstention is not possible.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati : S.N. 10872

50. *LETTER TO PRANJIVAN K. DESAI*

ASHRAM, SABARAMTI,
April 7, 1926

BHAISHRI PRANJIVAN,

A couple who, as you say, have given themselves up to indulgence do not observe the conjugal law. I have no hesitation in saying that they are worse than beasts. A girl of twelve or thirteen is absolutely unsuited to lead a conjugal life. It is a grievous sin to cohabit with her. I cannot imagine what you have written regarding a woman in menses. I cannot accept that the husband has a duty to sleep with her after the expiry of four days. I should think the husband is forbidden to touch her as long as the discharge continues. After the discharge stops, I see nothing wrong in their coming together if both of them desire progeny.

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the Gujarati : S.N. 12184

51. LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI

ASHRAM, SABARAMTI,
April 7, 1926

CHI. MANILAL,

I got the two letters sent direct by you. I got your contribution towards the Deshbandhu Memorial after I had written to you. I am surprised that you did not get a receipt. I hope to collect the receipt and post it along with this. I would then know the amount received.

Mr. Andrews should have come here by now. However, I have no telegram about his departure. There is no limit to the strain he is putting himself to. I have sent you another letter through Ramdas also. I expect a reply to it. Send a telegram if possible. Ask Shanti to write to me. I have written him a letter to which he has not replied. Is there no means of curing his asthma? What happened to the employees' demand for higher pay? Ramdas went recently to Amreli after a few days' stay here. Devdas is at Deolali looking after Mathuradas. But he is himself not quite well. There is no cause for anxiety.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati : S.N. 19428

52. LETTER TO MATHURDAS TRIKUMJI

ASHRAM, SABARAMTI,
Wednesday, April 7, 1926

CHI. MATHURADAS,

I have your letter. In his letter Devdas particularly asks for Pyarelal or Surendra. Therefore, I am sending Pyarelal today. Personally, however, I would suggest that Devdas should come over here after Rajagopalachari goes there and Pyarelal should for the present stay with you. You alone can say whether or not you find Pyarelal agreeable. A letter has been sent to Sir Prabhashanker regarding Panchagani; A reply is expected in a day or two.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati : S.N. 19429

53. LETTER TO MANEKLAL

ASHRAM, SABARAMTI,
Wednesday, April 7, 1926

CHI. MANEKLAL,

Herewith Anandlal's reply to my letter regarding Vrajlal's share of the rent of the house at Rajkot.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati : S.N. 19430

54. LETTER TO DEVDAS GANDHI

ASHRAM, SABARAMTI,
Wednesday, April 7, 1926

CHI. DEVDAS,

I have your letter. Since you had such an illness, how well it would have been if you had informed me of it immediately. There was no need to hide it from me. I have often found that by this sort of false kindness people have been unkind to me. Jaundice can be cured very easily. For this there is no remedy like fasting. It soon subsides with fasting and flushing by drinking plenty of water, and the appetite is restored. I have never believed in the theory that a patient grows weaker by withstanding hunger or by fasting. If you must take buttermilk, all butter should be removed from it. Curds cannot be taken in any case. Rice is an un-necessary burden. I remember in the year 1896 I had a severe attack of jaundice. At that time I had trust in the prescriptions only of Manishankar Vaid. He had administered to me some mixture with sodium. . . .¹ the main treatment was, however, a fast. For about ten days I was allowed to have neither milk, nor buttermilk nor rice. These ten days I was allowed only some fresh fruits, i.e., oranges, grapes and sugarcane. No sugar. I did not have to lie down for a single day, and all the while I went about my business. At that time I used to move about quite a lot for the South African cause. I suggest you should come over here; you can soon recover with treatment. You may stay as long as Rajagopalachari is there. You may spend a day or two in talking to Pyarelal and introducing him to the job. I did not tell ba about this. But she came to know about it and now asks to send for you immediately. It seems Rajagopalachari has spoken to her to the same effect. Let me know your decision immediately.

From a photostat of the Gujarati : S.N. 19431

55. LETTER TO RUSTOMJI D. BATLIWALA

ASHRAM,
April 7, 1926

BHAISHRI RUSTOMJI,

Your letter. If your report is correct, you had a right to mention any faults you found there. Smoking at the club cannot be

¹ The source has a blank here.

regarded a personal matter. From what you say I see no reason to apologize.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS GANDHI

SHRI RUSTOMJI D. BATLIWALA
HILL ROAD
BANDRA, BOMBAY

From a microfilm of the Gujarati : S.N. 19897

56. *LETTER TO BECHAR BHANJI*

April 7, 1926

BHAISHRI BECHAR BHANJI,

I have your letter. I do not think I have any previous letters. I am surprised that you did not get a reply. Herewith my answer to the questions you have raised in your latest letter.

The examples of Harishchandra and Shrigalsha Sheth are meant to emphasize that for preserving our dharma we should be prepared to sacrifice the dearest of our belongings. We must never let dharma perish. We are not obliged to believe in the historicity of either story; they are, however, quite plausible. The entire story should be read only in the context of the maxim that passion and godliness do not go together. We should reject a legend which does not fit into our code of conduct. We cannot compromise morality merely to support a legend.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS GANDHI

From a microfilm of the Gujarati : S.N. 19898

57. *LETTER TO A STUDENT*

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Wednesday, April 7, 1926

BHAI...¹,

I have your letter from which I learn that you have not at all lived with your wife. You were never intimate with her and yet, you

¹ Name dropped

are afraid, she is pregnant. And this worries you. But I see no cause for worry. If your wife is pregnant, you can put her aside not in hatred but with pity. She may, if she can, live with the man with whom she misbehaved and if that man is already married she may stay with her parents. To them you should convey the news gently but firmly.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati : S.N. 10853-A

58. *OBJECTIONS CONSIDERED*

You say that swaraj can only come to us as the result of a bloody battle in the bad old way or through spinning away for all we are worth in our village homes in the good new way of the Mahatma. This is only another instance of hypnosis by a catchword. What steps have been taken, by you or the others concerned, beyond mere repetition of the doctrine, to convince people that this spinning away (1) is possible, (2) is desirable, (3) will be effective? I have yet to see a plain, intelligible, fairly well-reasoned-out statement, answering doubts and questions as to (1) whether it is possible, in view of the rent and revenue laws, to retain and detain the needed cotton within the country, and in the hands of the right persons; (2) whether and how far it is desirable to do so, in view of the effects of such a step, upon the other industries which have grown up; (3) whether it will be effectual, and if so directly requiring other steps, and, if so, what steps, to bring about swaraj (whatever that might mean!). I have repeatedly tried to get leading exponents of the cult to thrash out the thing, pro and con in public print, or even private discussion, but have failed so far. Only once I had an opportunity of questioning the fountain-head of the doctrine himself, viz., Mahatmaji, and the opportunity was limited to putting only the question as to the possibility. He contented himself with simply saying, "Yes, it is possible." There were many other persons, and more important matters, to deal with; so my doubts and fears remained unallayed.

The preceding quotation is from an informing letter by Babu Bhagwandas to Maulana Mahomed Ali and published by him in the *Comrade*. Though it is to be found in an old issue (18th December last), I regret to say I saw it only during the current week. I may say at the outset that I do not remember the conversation referred to by Babu Bhagwandas. For me nothing in the political world is more important than the spinning-wheel. I can recall many occasions when I have postponed other matters to make room for a discussion on the spinning-wheel as central part of our economics or politics. But whatever fate overtook Babu Bhagwandas's question put to me when I

had the privilege of being his guest, the root questions raised by him must be answered. That the spinning-wheel is possible is being daily demonstrated with increasing force. Amid the many seeming impossibilities, e.g., Hindu-Muslim unity, the spinning-wheel alone is being demonstrated as a possibility, as witness the growing organizations in Tamilnad, Andhra, Karnatak, the Punjab, Bihar and Bengal, etc. If the organizations are not more numerous, it is because the workers are too few. There is no inherent impossibility in the wheel. It has been worked before with the greatest success. There are millions who can work it, who have the required leisure for it and who are in need of a cottage occupation.

That it is desirable may be proved from the mere fact that it is the best adapted for this vast country of seven hundred thousand villages.

No one can say with certainty whether it will be effective. If it is permissible to infer the experience being gained in the several provinces, it can be safely asserted that it is highly probable that it will be effective. It can even be boldly asserted that no other industry has as yet been proved to be as effective as the spinning-wheel for the purpose intended.

Babu Bhagwandas mentions the adverse effect of rent and revenue laws. He thereby draws attention to the difficulty, not the impossibility, of revival of the one national industry that gave the peasantry its staying power one century ago. Revenue and rent laws are not immutable. In so far as they interfere with the growth of the spinning industry, they must be altered. "But" it will be said, "they cannot be altered without swaraj". The answer is that swaraj cannot be obtained without organizing spinning in spite of the laws. For the fight for swaraj means fighting difficulties however great they may be. Violence is the accepted, though barbarous, method of fighting. Organizing the spinning-wheel is the moral method of fighting for swaraj. Organizing the spinning-wheel is the easiest and the cheapest method of peacefully organizing the masses. Surely, if cotton can be exported thousands of miles away, there spun, brought back in the shape of yarn for sale to the very exporters, there should be no difficulty about shifting it, in India itself, a few miles away from the seat of its cultivation. There is no difficulty about a non-rice-growing province importing rice from the rice-growing province. Why should there be any in so handling cotton? The process is going on today.

Bihar has to import from Wardha or Cawnpore.

But, says Babu Bhagwandas, it may be undesirable “in view of the effects of such a step upon the other industries which have grown up”. What other industries? And if they are adversely affected, should that interfere with the prosecution of an industry which is as necessary to the national life as either lung is to the body? Should we be afraid to promote total prohibition because it must interfere with the established distilleries? Or must a reformer be deterred from advocating abstention from the opium habit for fear of harming the opium growers? Babu Bhagwandas cited the Champaran ryot who could not keep enough food grains for sustenance. That was because he had not enough for all his wants. If he had spun or if the taxation was light, he could have kept enough for his wants. He got partial relief by the removal of the burden of growing indigo compulsorily. He could still further better his condition if he would utilize his idle hours (he has many) by spinning unless he found a more profitable industry. But he will not spin, unless the educated class set the fashion and assure him that the wheel is not to be a nine days’ wonder.

Babu Bhagwandas however exclaims :

If to spin away is so easily possible, so desirable, so effective, there must after all be some reason why the three-hundred millions do not take to it at once, why the Congress membership has dwindled down to nine thousand odd.

Surely he knows many things “possible, desirable, and effective,” not happening for want of will or effort. Universal education is “possible, desirable and effective” but people do not resort to it readily. And, it will require the energy of an army of trained workers to instil into the minds of the people the necessity of taking the trouble to be educated. Sanitary precautions are “possible, desirable and effective”. But why do the villagers not take to them as soon as they are brought to their notice? The answer seems to be simple. Progress is slow. It is lame. It requires effort, organization, time and expense in exact proportion to its importance. The greatest stumbling block in the way of the more rapid progress of spinning, great as it is, is the disinclination or the inability of the cultured classes, the natural leaders of the people, to recognize the supreme place the spinning-wheel has in any scheme of national regeneration. The very simplicity of it seems to bewilder them.

Young India, 8-4-1926

59. NEED FOR CHARTS

A correspondent writes to say that instead of giving figures, in order to impress facts on the minds of the readers, charts should be given showing fluctuations in the production and sale of khadi. He rejects the forebodings of people who say that khadi is dying out but says that though they can be refuted by those who have read the annual report of the All-India Spinners' Association, but few have the patience to go through it. He says :

People think that the more the khadi-cap-wearers, the greater the production and sale of khaddar. . . .¹

The remarks of the correspondent are very true. Arrangements are being made to prepare a chart such as the correspondent suggests. Mean-while the figures given this week in C. R.'s note on Tamilnadu are eloquent enough to demonstrate the progress of khadi.

Young India, 8-4-1926

60. DOES INDIA WANT PROHIBITION?

Much has been made by the opponents of total prohibition in India of the speech of Mr. King, Financial Commissioner in the Punjab, who was reported to have said that the Local Option Act which was passed over a year ago in the Punjab has been a perfect failure. The Commissioner quotes in support of his statement the following facts:

That out of nearly 200 municipalities, district boards, etc., only 19 have asked to be empowered under the Act. Of the 19, only six took further steps. And in the six the referendum that was held had precious little support. At Rawalpindi for instance out of 7,000 voters, only six registered their votes. At Ludhiana out of 12,500 voters at the first referendum not one turned up. Of the other four only in one small town, that of Tohana, out of 1,052 voters, 802 voted for total prohibition.

Mr. King argued, as he would be entitled to argue if he was a stranger to India and Indian conditions, that there was no demand for total prohibition in the Punjab. Unfortunately for India the conditions are that people are apathetic even about things that concern them as a society. The methods adopted for referendum are new to them.

¹ The rest of the letter is not reproduced here.

Probably, the voters knew nothing of the fact that there was a referendum being taken about total prohibition. Mr. King must have known the fact which everyone knows who knows anything of India that the vast majority of the people of India do not drink and that drinking intoxicants is contrary to Islam and Hinduism. The inference therefore to be drawn from the so-called failure referred to by Mr. King is not that the Punjab is against total prohibition but that the Punjabis being themselves as a class teetotallers do not bother their heads about those who are ruining themselves through the drink curse. He is also entitled to draw the inference that the Municipal commissioners and the members of the local boards have been criminally negligent of their duties to the voters in this matter of great social importance. But to argue from the facts cited that Punjab is opposed to total prohibition is to throw dust in the eyes of strangers or ignorant people. That unfortunately is the way of the officials. Instead of looking at things impartially or from the popular stand-point, they constitute themselves pleaders for what the Government stands or for methods which the Government may wish to defend at any cost. It is a well-known fact that the Hindus are against the slaughter of the cow and her progeny. Supposing there was a referendum taken precisely in the manner in which it was taken in the Punjab regarding drink and the millions of Hindus fail to register their vote, will anyone who knows Indian conditions argue therefrom, for one moment, that Hindus want slaughter houses where the sacred cow is done to death? The fact is that there is not that consciousness created amongst the people that is impatient of social wrong. It is no doubt a deplorable thing. It is being gradually mended. But it is a wicked thing to suppress facts which would warrant an inference totally different from the one that may, in the absence of those facts, be drawn from another set of facts. As the *Manchester Guardian* has mildly put it, the case against total prohibition in India is much weaker than the case against it in America or England where respectable people see nothing wrong or harmful in moderate drinking.

Young India, 8-4-1926

*61. MESSAGE TO MYSORE LAWYERS'
CONFERENCE, TUMKUR'*

ASRAM, SABARMATI,
April 8, 1926

PRISIDENT
RECEPTION COMMITTEE
FOURTH MYSORE LAWYERS' CONFERENCE
TUMKUR

(I) HOPE (THE) LAWYERS IN CONFERENCE WILL APPRECIATE (THE) MESSAGE OF (THE) SPINNING- WHEEL AND ADOPT KHADDAR AND MAKE SOME RETURN TO THE POOR BY DEVOTING SOME TIME RELIGIOUSLY TO SPINNING AND PAY A PORTION OF THEIR INCOME TO (THE) DESH- BANDHU MEMORIAL FUND WHOSE OBJECT IS UNIVERSALIZATION OF KHADDAR.

GANDHI

From a microfilm: S. N. 19435

62. LETTER TO G. K. DEVADHAR

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 8, 1926

MY DEAR DEVADHAR,

I have your letter. Manorama talked to me about your letter last night and I told her that she was not only free to go but that Seva Sadan being an institution specially designed for women would probably more suit her requirements than the Ashram. She told me she would make her final decision in a day or two and let me know. I shall hand your letter to her and talk to her again. I knew that she was before, at the Seva Sadan. I was not really prepared to take her in if only because the Ashram is at present overcrowded and it is so difficult to look after young girls. But as she was insistent, I put her with Mrs. Gandhi. Her ambition to remain a maiden and lead a life of service attracted me.

You shall hear from me again after I have had a chat with her.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S. N. 19434

¹ This message is typed on a telegraphic form and the words in brackets were encircled for deletion.

63. FOREWORD

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 8, 1926

Hemendra Babu has asked me to write a foreward to his *Life of Deshbandhu*. Unfortunately I do not know Bengali. I had hoped to be able to have portions read to me but I have not been able to find the time to do so. Hemendra Babu was one of the devotees of Deshbandhu. I know his love and veneration for the departed leader. I have therefore no doubt that whatever he has said about Deshbandhu will be readable. Time cannot efface the memory of a man so great and good as Deshbandhu. It can only make it more hallowed. At this time of trial for the nation there is no Indian who does not feel the void created by his death. May Hemendra Babu's pages help us to realize our duty to the country for which Deshbandhu lived and died.

From a photostat: S. N. 19436

64. LETTER TO NAGJIBHAI

ASHRAM,
April 8, 1926

BHAI NAGJIBHAI,

I have your letter. If you regard Vishwamitra, Vasishtha and others as historical figures, it will be difficult to answer your questions. If you can look upon the *Ramayana* as a religious work and the legends of Vishwamitra, Parashurama and others as allegorical, you will be able yourself to understand their significance.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S. N. 19899

65. LETTER TO HARNARAYAN

[On or After April 8, 1926]¹

Your letter. If the friend you refer to really means to be saved, he must leave his present position, and should look for some job which will involve far less, if any, contact with women. Again his work should be such as would keep him physically occupied for the whole day. And privacy is of course out of the question.

In the case of the other friend, what the couple need is courage. Whenever they are referred to as barren, they should take it for a compliment. He who has a vow to observe and wants to know the *Brahman* does not care what the world says.

Vandemataram from

MOHANDAS

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S. N. 12095

66. TELEGRAM TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

SABARMATI,

April 9, 1926

MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

WINDY HALL

DEVLALI

DEVIDAS SHOULD SEE DALAL ON WAY HERE.

BAPU

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

67. LETTER TO KATHERINE MAYO

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

April 9, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I hope you received my previous letter² in reply to your enquiry

¹ This is written on a sheet from the addressee's letter dated *Adhik Cheitra Vad* 11, 82, to which this is the reply.

² *Vide* "Letter to Katherine Mayo", 26-3-1926.

about the sources of my information on poverty of India.

I have now your second letter¹ enclosing copy of your notes². I have tried to fill in the gaps left by you. I have been obliged to do the same somewhat hurriedly but I hope it will answer the purpose.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S. N. 12462

68. *LETTER TO SARAT CHANDRA BOSE*³

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 9, 1926

DEAR SARAT BABU,

Manilal Kothari has given your message. I wish I could send you something stirring, something decisive and rapid in reply but I have no such thing in the present state of the country. Meetings and resolution of protests in the Councils have been overdone. We must do something tangible so that we can feel our power. I can think of nothing else therefore but boycott of foreign cloth which in its turn is impossible without khaddar and therefore for the ills including these wretched imprisonments, I have nothing but the charkha. But how can I convince the people that it is a sovereign remedy. My faith however in it remains undiminished. Day by day it increases. And therefore during the National Week we have some spinning-wheels going on the whole of the week, night and day at the Ashram. We are doing it with the implicit faith that some day through it will rise a power that will enable us to realize our cherished desire.

I know that there is an alternative to the charkha and that is rowdyism. But I am useless at it and what is more, I have no faith in it. And as a practical man I know that our rowdyism is nothing compared to the rowdyism of the Government. I have therefore burnt my boats and staked my all on the charkha. I invite all who are troubled by this knowledge of the many woes of the nation to join me in the effort. Believe me it requires all the skill, all the discipline, all the organizing power that we can summon to its aid.

¹ Dated 24-3-1926.

² *Vide* "Interview to Katherine Mayo", 17-3-1926.

³ This was reproduced in *Young India*, 22-4-1926.

I hope the *Forward* and the Memorial Hospital are doing well.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. SARAT BOSE
CALCUTTA

From a microfilm : S. N. 19437

69. LETTER TO V. N. S. CHARY

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 9, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I too have seen many a lizard going for cockroaches and have watched cockroaches going for lasser forms but I have not felt called upon to prevent the operation of the law of the larger living on the smaller. I do not claim to penetrate into the awful mystery but from watching these very oprations, I learn that the law of the beast is not the law of the Man; that Man has by painful striving to surmount and survive the animal in him and from the tragedy of the *himsa* which is being acted around him he has to learn the supreme lesson of ahimsa for himself. Man must, therefore, if he is to realize his dignity and his own mission, cease to take part in the destruction and refuse to prey upon his weaker fellow creatures. He can only keep that as an ideal for himself and endeavour day after day to reach it. Complete success is possible only when he has attained *moksha*, a state in which the spirit becomes and remains independent of physical existence.

Yours sincerely,

SH. V. N. S. CHARY
7, HIGH ROAD
EGMORE

From a microfilm: S. N. 19438

70. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Friday [April 9, 1926]¹

CHI. MATHURADAS,

I notice that the illness of Devdas has made you anxious. But

¹ From the postmark

that is how life is. I have only today sent a telegram saying that Devdas should come here after consulting Dr. Dalal. I am convinced that he should return here. That is what Ba wants. Nevertheless, I sense from the letters of Devdas that he would rather that I did not send for him. I have explained to Pyarelal and Rajagopalachari what my own opinion is. Now you may do what you all think proper. The Panchgani matter will not be settled soon. The bungalow had been let out before Sir Prabhashankar Pattani received my letter. After June he will be willing and eager to give it for as long as we may want it. It can be arranged for you to be at Sinhgadh till June. Have you consulted Dr. Metha about that place?

Blessings from
BAPU

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

71. LETTER TO S. GOVINDASWAMI IYER

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 10, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I should be sorry if the information you give me is found to be correct. I do not know the addresses of the gentlemen whose names you have given me, namely Messers K. S. Nambudripad and Velu Pillay, if the latter also was guilty of making speeches like the one attributed to Mr. Nambudripad. If you will give me their addresses, I shall certainly enquire.

I note what you say about your name not being disclosed.

Your sincerely,

SJT. S. GOVINDASWAMI IYER, B.A.B.L.
GOPIVILAS
PULIMUD
TRIVANDRUM

From a microfilm: S. N. 19439

72. LETTER TO HAKIM AJMAL KHAN

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 10, 1926

DEAR HAKIMJI SAHEB,

I had your letter. I must not delay replying to it for the pleasure of enabling me to write in Urdu. Your letter makes painful reading. You are despondent. But you cannot afford to be. You and I want to see Hindus and Mussalmans shed the insanity and live together in peace and friendship. We must attend also the ceremony of establishing swaraj.

You should rejoice to think that I shall see you so often in Mussoorie. Will you not precede me and give yourself rest now. I wish I could compel you to take a vow not to leave Mussoorie for two months, even to go to Rangpur.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S. N. 19440

73. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 10, 1926

DEAR SATIS BABU,

There is a letter from Mr. Chatterjee enclosing a cutting from *Welfare*. Do please answer the criticism in the Bengal Press and let me have a copy of your reply so as to enable me to make use of it for the columns of *Young India*. When you send me copy of your reply, please return the cuttings.

Yours sincerely,

Enc. 1 (to be returned)

From a microfilm: S. N. 19441

74. LETTER TO J. CHATTERJEE

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 10, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter for which I thank you. I have sent your letter and the cutting to Satis Babu, Dr. Ray's expert who is in charge of the relief depot. I know the working of the depot myself and I may inform you that there is no difficulty about answering the criticism even from the figures used in the *Welfare*. But I agree that it would be

more satisfactory to have an official refutation from those who are working the depot.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. J. CHATTERJEE
1, JOHNSTONGANJ
ALLAHABAD

From a microfilm: S. N. 19442

75. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 10, 1926

DEAR SATIS BABU,

I have your letter about Niranjana Babu. My letter¹ was not written to cast any reflection upon you at all. It was based purely on the last month's figures that were put before me. If I had the time to confer with Shankarlal and to look into all the papers, I would have found all the information that you say exists in the papers sent by you. But you know the difficult position I find myself in at present. I have no time for anything over and above every day's routine work and so I hastily dictated the letter asking for the information from Niranjana Babu as he could supply the information without having to refer to many papers. And I wrote to you because Niranjana Babu was at that time with you and thought would be with you till you received the letter or if he had gone you will forward the letter to him. I know nothing about how much you were to look after and how much you were not to look after. I think you got all the packets.

Niranjana Babu has now telegraphed that he is sending me all the information. I shall therefore wait for his letter. Meanwhile do I understand that if we pay Utkal Rs. 250 per month up to September, it will be self-supporting—that is the meaning I gather from your letter. And if such is the meaning, it is simple and Utkal will certainly have done wonderfully well.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S. N. 19443

¹ Vide "Letter to Satis Chandra Das Gupta", 29-3-1926.

76. LETTER TO JAGJIVANDAS

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

Saturday, Chaitra Vad 1 [3]¹ [April 10, 1926]

BHAISHRI JAGJIVANDAS,

The delay was deliberate because I know you would still be on your pilgrimage and would not reach Amereli for some time. Today I am sending a *hundi* for Rs. 500 to the adress given by you.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S. N. 10865

77. LETTER TO GULABDAS

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

Saturday, Chaitra Vad 1 [3]² April [10, 1926]²

BHAI GULABADAS,

I have your letter. *Brahmacharya* can be observed by keeping good company, reading good books and repeating *Ramanama*. The mind and the body should not be idle for a single moment. You can certainly stick to the spinning-wheel if you want to. Your father can be persuaded by your humility. There is in Calcutta a college of indigenous medicine that has connection with the Government, but it is quite expensive. Likewise there is Tibbia College in Delhi, also equally expensive.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S. N. 10869

78. A RAY OF HOPE

Shri Dahyabhai writes from Dholka:³

This example is worthy of notice. Those who, though not poor, take up spinning and other connected work either through sympathy or patriotism deserve to be complimented on their spirit. I very much hope that Shri Dahyabhai will keep up his faith and continue his efforts for the progress of the spinning-wheel, and that the people of Rampar will go on doing the work which they have started and will not give any grounds to others to say of them, "Brave in the beginning, faint-hearted by and by." I find it necessary to utter this

¹ The source has *Chaitra Vad* 12 but Saturday was *Chaitra Vad* 13.

² Addressee's letter is dated 6-4-1926.

³ The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had described how the farmers of Rampar had taken up khadi work and were doing it with enthusiasm.

caution because, in the very letter in which Dahyabhai has described the awakening in Rampar, he also writes:

A friend had, of his own free will, taken the pledge of spinning regularly. He knows spinning, and has time for it too, but he has given it up through sheer lethargy.

We come across such instance all over the country. It is a matter for no little pain that people do not pause and reflect before taking a pledge and then fail to keep it. Such weaknesses of ours have sapped the foundation of dhrama and reduced the country to a state of slavery.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 11-4-1926

79. GURUKUL AND KHADI

Shri Jamnalalji writes from Hardwar:¹

His list² contains contains forty names. I need not give all the names here, but an analysis of the list will be found interesting. The first name it is that of the Principal of the Gurukul; there are five teachers, seven fresh graduates, holding the degrees of *Snataka* or *Vedalankar* or *Vidyalankar*. There are five students from the fourteenth grade, seven from the thirteenth, four from the twelfth and five from the eleventh. The list contains the names of two women members of the Gurukul and three other women from Delhi—Shrimati Vidyavati Sethi (B.A.), Principal, Kanya Gurukul, and two teachers, Shrimati Sitadevi and Shrimati Chandravati.

The Khadi Inspector in the Punjab writes:³

I compliment these bodies.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 11-4-1926

80. “NIRAMISHAHAR” MEANS “ANNAHAR”

I have invited readers of *Navajivan* to suggest a simpler word for *niramishahar*⁴. Some readers do not like this word. In its place, they suggest *nirmansahar* or *amasahar*. But neither word seems acceptable. People who have never eaten meat in their lives do not like

¹ The extract is not translated here. The correspondent had described the keen interest which members of the Gurukul were taking in khadi activities.

² Of new members of the Spinners' Association enrolled by him.

³ The extract is not translated here. The correspondent had reported that the Gurukul in Multan Cantonment and a Destitutes' Home in another place run by the Arya Samaj had started buying khadi for all their needs.

⁴ Non-meat diet

to hear the word *mans*¹. To such persons, an unfamiliar word would be more acceptable. As people shrink from uttering the very name of a thing which repels them, so they shrink from the word *mans* and, therefore, use the word *paramati*² instead. The phrase *zade javin*³ sounds indecent, whereas *jungle javun*⁴ sounds a little less offensive. Recently, the word *shauch*⁵ has come into use in place of either. Following this principle, I have been using the word *niramishahar*. A friend has suggested *vanaspatyahar*⁶ in preference to it. But this word does not seem simpler than the other one. Trying to find an alternative expression, I felt that *annahar*⁷ would serve the purpose all right. This word does not cover milk. Strictly speaking, it does not cover even fruits. From another point of view, however, food includes milk and fruits. In the last resort, if we define the meaning which we attach to a word and, after a little use, can get that meaning accepted by others, we become entitled to use the word in the sense we have attached to it. Exercising that right, *Navajivan* will henceforth use the word *annahar* in place of *niramishahar* and to convey the meaning that that word does.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 11-4-1926

81. MISUNDERSTANDING

I observe that the misunderstanding occasioned by my visit to Kutch⁸ still persists, and that Shri Manasingh Kachrabhai and Shri Manilal Kothari are being blamed. I, therefore, wish to state once again that, far from regretting my tour of Kutch, I look upon it as one of the precious experiences of my life. The Reception Committee did not commit and should not be blamed for the slight fault of omission. I found in Kutch the same love and enjoyed the same comforts which I have found and enjoyed in the other places. The Reception Committee had spared no pains to look after my convenience so that I

¹ Meat

² Literally, another's dust or clay; euphemistically meat

³ To go for evacuation of bowels

⁴ To go behind a bush

⁵ Washing

⁶ A diet of herbs

⁷ A diet of boiled cereals; Gandhiji suggested that this word should be made to signify vegetarian diet; another word, *shakahar*, has however, gained wider currency.

⁸ In 1925 vide "Reminiscences of Kutch (-I)", 2-11-1925 and "Reminiscences of Kutch (-II)".

could rest. They left nothing undone so that I might get as much rest as possible. It was not Shri Manasingh who had originally extended the invitation to me. I also know that Shri Manilal was obliged at a later stage to join the others. In going to Kutch, I did nothing but follow my own nature. It was in my soul that I suffered during the tour. How does the Reception Committee deserve to be blamed if superstitions have struck deep roots among the people? The hypocrisy and insincerity which I found in some villages were not a new experience to me. It is contrary to my nature to run away from a place where I find fanaticism among the Hindus. I regard it as my dharma to try to win over even fanatics with love. I have, therefore, no other feeling but that of satisfaction for my Kutch tour. I do not regard it as a failure at all. I came across selfless workers in Kutch as in other parts of the country. It was also a great pleasure to me to visit the places of their activities. It cannot be a ground of complaint that the contributions did not come up to my expectations. I have received in the past generous help from residents of Kutch for my activities. Why should one feel disappointed if one's expectations are occasionally not fulfilled? My only disappointment is at the thought that Hindus still regard the sin of untouchability as a virtuous practice. It was not a part of the work of the Reception Committee to try to soften the hard hearts of the people. It was my work. Workers invite me to their respective places for this purpose. If people's hearts have not softened, I must quarrel with myself. I am the cause of my disappointment on that score. But I am not such a simpleton that I would quarrel with myself. I quarrel with God. Why did he create me weak or deny power to my word so that I do not always succeed in softening people's hearts? Whom should I blame if Hindus do not give up the practice of untouchability, if Hindus and Muslims quarrel with each other and if all the Indians do not wear khadi? Hinduism shows only one remedy for this.

Every time the gods were in distress, they called
on the Dweller in the hearts of all;
And He who is the support of the Earth, the
Lord of Narasinh, rescued them from danger.

Vishwamitra performed *tapascharya*¹ so that he might become a *bramarshi*², and Parvati in order to win Siva as husband. Likewise,

¹ Penance

² A *rishi* attaining *Brahman*

those who wish to serve their country or their dharma should do *tapascharya* for the purposes and not point to the weaknesses of the people. Not only was I not disappointed by my visit to Kutch but, as I promised at the time of leaving it, if the workers there continue their work and desire my presence, and if I can find the time, I will certainly go there again, will visit the areas which, not being easily accessible, were left out this time and call for an account from the residents of the places which I visited.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 11-4-1926

82. LETTER TO S. NAGASUNDARAM ¹

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

April 11, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I must not deal with the matter referred to you in the pages of *Young India*. I said all that had to be said on the incident in 1921. I am never in an uncompromising mood. Viceroy never made a single offer that could be accepted by any self-respecting person. When I advised the Ali Brothers to sign that famous document called apology, I went nearest the edge of weakness. But I do not regret it. That 'apology' did the Brothers and the nation much good. When their trial came it was an issue that was as honourable to

¹ This was Gandhiji's reply to the addressee who had written to him about an article "The Change of Viceroys" in the *Indian Social Reformer* of April 3, which had stated; "Lord Reading hands over charge of the Viceroyalty to Lord Irwin today. The political situation today is quite calm, whereas when Lord Reading arrived in the country, it was highly charged with disturbance. The Non-co-operation movement was moving rapidly towards its zenith. Lord Reading, for several months after assuming charge of his high office, tried to come to an understanding with Mahatma Gandhi, but the latter was in an uncompromising mood. The prosecution of the Ali Brothers made conciliation impossible. The Prince of Wales was due to visit the country in a few months and the Viceroy strained every nerve to reach at least a temporary settlement in order to allow His Royal Highness' visit to pass off quietly. He offered a Round Table Conference to discuss the next step in political advance and, although the late Mr. C. R. Das, who was undergoing imprisonment for breach of the notification declaring the Congress volunteers to be unlawful body, counselled acceptance of the offer, Mr. Gandhi refused and great opportunity was lost. This seems to have convinced Lord Reading that the method of conciliation was not likely to succeed, and soon after the Prince left these shores, the Mahatma himself was prosecuted and sent to jail."

them as it was dishonourable for the Government.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. S. NAGASUNDARAM

FIRST FLOOR

LAKSHMINIVAS BUILDING

NEAR KING'S CIRCLE

MATUNGA, BOMBAY

From a microfilm : S. N. 19444

83. *LETTER TO RICHARD B. GREGG*

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

April 11, 1926

MY DEAR GOVIND,

How funny I received your letter just after I had dictated my notes on your article on Machinery. Do not bother about the German book. You may return it. I shall get it translated if need be by someone else. The work you mention is far more important than translating those letters in the midst of difficulties that surround you.

I am glad you are doing gardening and cooking your own meals. When you get a little bit of leisure do give me an idea of the school there. The attendance, capacity of the boys, subjects being taught, etc., and tell me what we should adopt from that school.

I leave for Mussoorie on the 22nd instant. Mira is doing wonderfully well. Have you heard that during the Satyagraha Week there are five wheels going all day and night. It is a stirring sight. The daily output has at least quintupled I think. We shall have the accurate figures next week. Hence during the week Kanti did 4444 turns (equals 5925 yards) that means at least 14 hours work for the boy.

Yours,

RICHARD B. GREGG, ESQ.

From a photostat : S. N. 19445

84. LETTER TO SHAUKAT ALI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 11, 1926

MY DEAR FRIEND AND BROTHER,

Our thoughts have certainly crossed one another. I was thinking of dictating a letter to you taking you to task for such a small quantity of so indifferently spun yarn. But by anticipating my letter, you have deprived my rebuke of its sharpness.

I heard about Mahomad Ali's difficulties. My heart is with him. My head rebels against him. He is so improvident and for want of method, of all the public workers, he, perhaps, takes the first rank.

Do please give a silent hour to the spinning-wheel, concentrating all your attention upon it. You cannot afford to neglect it. A correspondent wrote to me the other day taking me to task for the absence of any yarn contribution from you and Mahomad Ali. I wrote to the latter nearly a fortnight ago.

I shall look forward to meeting you on the 16th. I expect to see you hale and hearty.

I had recently a despondent letter from Hakim Saheb. When you reach Delhi, you must cheer him up. Where is Shwaib? Love to everybody in the office including yourself.

Yours,

From a photostat: S. N. 19446

85. LETTER TO PYARELAL NAYYAR

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 11, 1926

MY DEAR PYARELAL,

You should continue to write in Hindi. For saving time, I must dictate in English, at least today. I was never troubled about Devdas's illness. I am troubled about his suppression of it till it had gone too far. I am glad Mathuradas is so much better now. You must take good care of yourself, keep regular hours for your meals and for everything consistently with nursing the patient, if Mathuradas may be still described as a patient. Give me your day's routine. Give me also

the condition of Gomati Ben especially while Kishorelal is away.

Yours,

SJT. PYARELAL NAYYAR
C/O MATHURADAS TRIKUMJEE, ESQ.
WINDY HALL
DEOLALI
NASIK ROAD

From a photostat : S. N. 19447

86. LETTER TO A. IRBE

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 11, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter. I hardly think I shall have to go to Finland. But if I do, and if I have to pass through Latvia, I would certainly like to make the acquaintance of your father. You will watch the papers and if I do go, you will perhaps send me the necessary letter.

Yours sincerely,

MRS. A. IRBE
WEAVING SCHOOL
C. S. M.
MAYAVARAM

From a photostat : S. N. 19448

87. LETTER TO BAGALA PRASANNA GUHA ROY

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 11, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. Please tell me why Prakash Babu was forced to resign the Secretaryship and where he is?

I understand your difficulty about the Tippera khadi. The only way to overcome that difficulty is to become weavers yourselves and to induce the middle-class people to spin for love. The yarn we may thus get can be added to the yarn that we may have to pay for. You

can then sell your khadi as cheap as Tippera khadi. I am aware that this is more easily said than done. But there is no short cut to solve these difficult problems. You may also try to find out tracts where cotton can be easily grown.

Lastly khadi cannot be worked in a district where there are no poor people having idle hours at their disposal. The whole scheme of khadi rests upon the supposition that there are millions of poor people in India who have no work during at least 4 months in the year. If your part of India has no such people, you need not worry about production of khaddar. You have then merely to sell khaddar that may be produced in less happy districts.

You should go to Satis Babu, confer with him, discuss everything and follow his advice.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. BAGALA PRASANNA GUHA ROY
SECRETARY, JATIYA SHIKSHAMUTH
LAKSHMIPUR, UPASHI P. O.
FARIDPUR (BENGAL)

88. MESSAGE ON JALLIANWALA BAGH¹

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 11, 1926

Your Secretary has asked for a message for the 13th about Jallianwala Bagh. Here is the message:

The wanton massacre in Jallianwala Bagh that took place on the 13th day of April, 1919, is a perpetual reminder to us that it will recur as often as we attempt to lift up our heads and desire no longer to live in bondage. British rule is imposed on India not for India's service but for her exploitation. It is indeed to protect the commerce that is imposed upon India. The central item of that commerce is Manchester piece-goods. If we will avenge the humiliation of Jallianwala and the crawling² lane we must at least cease to wear foreign cloth and pledge ourselves to wear hand-spun khaddar. The former sterilizes British commerce, the latter binds us to the poor whom we have neglected all these long years. Though [we have] not been exploiters of the outside world, we have exploited the peasantry in order to have ease and comfort. If we refuse to discard foreign cloth, if we find khaddar too

¹ Read out by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, who was presiding over a public meeting in Marwadi Vidyalaya compound on 13th April under the auspices of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee

² Vide "Congress Report on the Punjab Disorders", 25-3-1920.

uncomfortable, so far as I can see we must accommodate ourselves to perpetual slavery. All the reform that we may get will be turned [to] dust if we are afraid to sacrifice ease, comfort, and much more for the sake of the country.

Yours,

SRIMATI SAROJINI NAIDU
TAJMAHAL HOTEL
BOMBAY

From a photostat: S. N. 19450

89. LETTER TO G. K. DEVADHAR

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 11, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have now seen Manorama. She is writing to you. She speaks broken Gujarati and Hindustani and so far as I can gather from her, before she proceeds to Poona, she wants to be sure of her readmission to the Seva Sadan. She didn't seem to relish the charge that she was unstable before.

Here, for the time being, she is learning weaving. She gives 4 hours to it. If she continues to weave for about a year and likes that work, she would be able to support herself without the slightest difficulty. But if she proves unsteady, she is not likely to learn weaving because it requires constant effort and much plodding.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. G. K. DEVADHAR
BOMBAY

From a photostat: S. N. 19451

90. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Sunday, April 11, 1926

BHAI GHANSHYAMDASJI,

I have your letter, which explains quite a few things. I used to read newspaper reports of the riot. I am convinced that I at any rate cannot stop the two communities from quarrelling. I was therefore not upset by the Calcutta incident. But then I have also let it be known that

if the Hindus want to retaliate they should no more look upon ruthlessness as a vice; they should rather cultivate it, regarding it a virtue. And this seems to have happened in Calcutta. That you were impartial in offering protection to members of both the communities and that the Marwaries saved the life of some three hundred Muslims is a matter of pride for the Hindu community.

I congratulate you on your khadi vow and also those who persuaded you to take it. You will personally gain by this, and the public too will benefit by it. I shall leave for Mussoorie on the 22nd. I am keeping very fine health. Since we are observing the Satyagraha Week, I spin for two hours daily and we have in the Ashram five charkhas plying round the clock. I was very glad that you declined the title. For this you do not have to regard the Government an enemy nor condemn the title. As for me, I certainly look upon titles as bad in our present condition.

From the Hindi original: C. W. 6124. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

91. LETTER TO MOTIBEHN CHOKSI ¹

ASHRAM,

Sunday, Chaitra Vad 14 [April 11, 1926]

CHI. MOTI,

I have your letter, but I may say it is rather late this time. The handwriting is not as good as in your previous letter.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S. N. 12124

92. LETTER TO MOTIBEHN CHOKSI

Sunday, April 11, 1926

CHI. MOTI,

Now at last a letter from you. I always knew your ways and I had also spoken to Lakshmindas about my fears. There is a couplet in Sanskrit which says: A man of honour prefers death to dishonour². A man of honour is one who cherishes self-respect. It is our appointed task to overcome temptation. How could you eat coal with the same

¹ In place of the subscription, the letter carries the note: Written by Mani on behalf of Poojya Bapuji."

² *Bhagavad Gita*, II, 34

mouth which had chewed betel? You should remember that your lapse will severely affect others. Think how it will pain your elders and know that you will have nothing left by way of self-respect. I believe the craze for jewels is only a cover for the desire for sensual pleasures. At the moment you may not see it but the snake is under the carpet. If it were not, the desire for jewels would never have arisen. Man devotes himself to learning and other activities lest he should fall into such temptations. Do you not want to serve the *Antyajas*? To wash the feet of the poor? Can these tasks be done with jewels on your person? I have only this advice. Cast off your temptation looking upon it as so much dirt. I have shown your letter to no one. I do not propose to read it even to Lakshmidas and have therefore destroyed it. I shall wait for your serious resolution. But if you cannot resolve do not at all deceive yourself. May God help you.

BAPU

[PS.]

Bhai Najuklal,

This covers everything. Time is running out, so I do not write separately to you.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S. N. 12125

93. *LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA*

April 12, 1926

DEAR SATIS BABU,

I have your letter about Assam. I see you and Shankerlal are not [at] one. The appointment of Rajendra Babu was my suggestion. I knew that the Assam workers were prejudiced against you, nothing could be spent there without some responsible party taking charge. I therefore suggested that Rajen Babu should report. I knew nothing of the previous day's conversation. I shall inquire when I see Shankerlal. I am just not writing this to tell you of the hand I had in appointing Rajen Babu. And I write so that to the extent that it is possible you may revise your view about Shankerlal. I am anxious that the Council should act as one man. I am aware of Shankerlal's limitations. He is

hasty, emotional, nervous, forgetful. But he has a heart of gold. He is an able organizer. He loves khadi. We must bear one another's burdens. I write this during the week of purification and on Monday. I want you to be perfect. But we cannot be anything mechanically. This must therefore be taken for what it is worth.

Yours,

BAPU

From a photostat: G. N. 1558

94. LETTER TO K. T. PAUL¹

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

April 13, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. When Mr. Buchman met me my inclination was all towards not attending the Convention; but I left it then an open question because of his insistence. Since then, I have not made much advance. But a few friends with whom I have discussed the thing favour the idea of my accepting the invitation. The motive is mixed. Probably, the stronger reason with them is that the voyage and outing may benefit me physically. With me the only determining factor should be whether I can render any service, in other words whether God wants me to go. I have no clear light. I propose therefore to leave it to you as a friend to decide. And in advising me or coming to a decision on my behalf you will naturally bear in mind all I am about to say.

You know my strange dress. It is not possible for me to alter it materially. I can make such alterations as would be required by the weather conditions. I do not know how far this consideration is likely to weigh with you but I felt that you should know this.

If I am wanted for making speeches, I shall be useless. The only way I might be of service would be heart-to-heart conversations with the students. My real work consists in these conversations. Speech making I regard as the least important of my activities. I made this quite clear to Mr. Buchman.

¹ In reply to his letter dated 6-4-1926 requesting Gandhiji "to consider an invitation to the World Conference of the Young Men's Christian Association . . . to be held this coming August in Helsingfors, Finland," (S. N. 11341)

My food is also a bother. I am not merely a vegetarian but my dietary is restricted. The principal article of food is goat's milk. And if you have to arrange for the passage and so on, this very inconvenient detail has to be looked to.

If I am to go, there will be one companion, possibly two.

If you come to the conclusion that I should accept the invitation, please let me know when one has to start, how long will the Convention last, who is to arrange for the passports? Are there to be any conditions attached to the passports?

I am here up to the 22nd instant. I leave for Mussoorie on the 22nd. Please tell me who is this Central Committee that sends the invitation. Who is the President and who is the Secretary? Needless to say I shall make no statement to the Press about your letter. As a matter of fact I was disturbed even when I saw the first reference in the papers. I avoided the pressmen for some time. And I made the guarded statement that I did when I saw no escape from some statement.

From a photostat : S. N. 11342

95. LETTER TO MAHASUKH

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Tuesday, April 13, 1926

BHAISHRI MAHASUKH,

Your letter. I congratulate you on stating some of your doubts. But you should not resent the answers which you have asked for from the addressee; and never doubt his sincerity. Otherwise, we had better not write to a person whose word we doubt. Why do you say that what I wrote to you was so much jugglery of words? How do you say that I was on the look-out for swaraj or some such movement? Let me repeat to you that I gave you a well-considered answer and I believe every word of it. And I ask you to accept my word as the truth.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati : S. N. 10884

96. LETTER TO BHAGAWANDAS BRAHMACHARI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Tuesday, April 13, 1926

BHAI BHAGAWANDAS BRAHMACHARI,

I have your letter. I follow [what you say] regarding Sanskrit. I can think of nothing to say in the matter. "Vegetarian" is an imperfect expression because the ordinary Western vegetarians take milk and eggs; they do not take fish. They have therefore already coined a neologism, viz., VEM diet, i.e., vegetables, eggs and milk. Ordinary vegetarians do not take fish; they take onion. They do not make it a point to give up garlic. The expression "*sattvik*"¹ will not do. Because those who take chillies cannot be regarded as *sattvik* eaters and many meat-eaters will take meat claiming it as *sattvik*. I have selected the expression *annahar* keeping in mind the special meaning of the word *anna*, which includes all that we eat barring meat, etc. Of course this definition too is rather wide, but I have found *annahar* better than all expressions I have come across till now.

From a photostat of the Gujarati : S. N. 10885-A

97. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Tuesday, April 13, 1926

BHAISHRI CHHAGANLAL,

I have your letter. Bhai Bhansali told me that you had fever. Be careful. I see that the illness was not there before or during the holidays. I did guess you would need more money; if the need is not urgent we may discuss it when you come here. In the meanwhile I shall certainly talk to Kishorelal and others. Do not hesitate to write to me if there is any urgency.

I must continue to be silent about Shivjibhai of Madhada. I continue to get indignant letters from which I can imagine what must be going on. How can my silence be exploited? If I am not upset by their attempts at exploitation they, not I, will stand to lose. If you must

¹ Pure, clear

think of 'transmigration', try to think of it as blissful. We grieve only because of our ignorance and weakness.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati : S. N. 19452

98. LETTER TO NARGIS CAPTAIN

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

April 14, 1926

I was thankful to receive your letter and to hear that Perin was better and more cheerful. I wish she could have stayed longer with you. I am sure that fasting would be good for your headache. It is a superstition to think that lean people cannot fast.

I do not want you in Mussoorie. If you will only go to Kashmir even for two months, I am sure you will benefit by the visit. I am not likely to stay in Mussoorie beyond the middle of June if so much. Is Dr. Bahadurji still spinning ? When they do come please remember me to him and to Manekbai.

Yours,

MRS. NARGIS CAPTAIN

PUNCHGANI

From a microfilm : S. N. 19458

99. LETTER TO MOTILAL

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

Wednesday, April 14, 1926

BHAI MOTILAL,

I have your letter and Rs. 101 for khadi work. Thank you.

From a copy of the Gujarati : S. N. 19453-R

100. LETTER TO LABHSHANKAR MEHTA

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

Wednesday, April 14, 1926

BHAISHRI LABHSHANKAR,

1. The English maxim you quote applies generally in the case of ailments. One learns mostly from experience where to apply such maxims.

2. Never have I seen or heard of one becoming rich by sweating. There is however a saying that everyone should sweat to earn his livelihood.

3. I do not think it is right to say that the principles propounded in *Hind Swaraj* are not workable just because I cannot practise them perfectly. The maxim that you quote can certainly not apply to me, because not only do I refuse to excuse myself, but positively confess my shortcoming.

4. If you must make a distinction between a vow and a resolve, the vow is certainly worthier. It is a resolve that cannot be given up. A resolve that can be is worthless.

5. I do not understand your fifth question. Is there really any principle behind the Latin proverb you quote? What could it mean?

6. I cannot appreciate the relationship that you describe.

7. I regard the study of astronomy as essential.

From a photostat of the Gujarati : S. N. 10883

101. LETTER TO RAMDAS GANDHI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Wednesday, April 14, 1926

CHI. RAMDAS,

No letter from you after your last postcard. I may be said to have some leisure today because the Week is over. I have been, however, busy with the Committee meetings as soon as the Week was over. The Parishad Committee met yesterday; and again today. Now the Vidyapith Committee.

Devdas has arrived today; he had quite an attack of jaundice. He has gone very weak. One cannot bear to look at him, but the jaundice is now subsiding. His bowels are cleared; so he will get well in a short time. Pyarelal has been sent to Deolali. I intend to take Devdas to Mussoorie. I am eager to know what could be accomplished there during this Week. They have done a good job here. Kanti, Keshu, Krishnadas, the *Antyaja* student Keshavlal, Somabhai, Jaisimha and others spun for about ten hours daily and some of them for 22 hours, which means they slept hardly for an hour. In 22.5 hours Keshu spun 9119 *tars*, i.e., 12024 yards. This is very good speed. Keshu's yarn was 17 counts. Ba also spun quite a lot. One day Manu spun more

than a thousand [*tars*].

I hope you are well. Devchandbhai and others will most probably leave today.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati : S. N. 19454

102. LETTER TO PRATAPSIMHA

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
*Wednesday, Second Chaitra Sud 2 [April 14, 1926]*¹

KUMARSHRI PRATAPSIMHAJI,

The [Working] Committee of the Kathiawar Political Conference met today. I hoped to have the reply to my letter before this. But since I did not, I could not give satisfactory answers to the members of the Committee. I have to leave for Mussoorie on the 22nd. I shall be obliged if I can have your reply before I leave.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati : S. N. 19455

103. LETTER TO JAISUKHLAL

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Wednesday, April 14, 1926

CHI. JAISUKHLAL,

The Parishad's [Working] Committee have resolved to take over the Amreli Centre, and they have further resolved to convert it into a trust. There was much discussion. Credit to the account of the Conference whatever commission falls due to Gariyadhar and panch Talawadi. Do not clear any dues in cash.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati : S. N. 19456

¹ From the reference to the meeting of the Kathiawar Political Conference and Gandhiji's proposed trip to Mussoorie

104. LETTER TO ADAMSALEH A. PATEL

ASHRAM,
April 14, 1926

BHAI ADAMSALEH ALIBHAI,

You have left me far behind. I have undertaken to reform a single person, and that is my own self. And I realize how difficult it is to reform him. Now, need I answer your questions?

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS GANDHI

SJT. A. A. PATEL
PANOLI
DISTRICT BROACH

From a microfilm of the Gujarati : S. N. 19901

105. LETTER TO QUAYAM ALI M. SALEMWALA

ASHRAM,
April 14, 1926

BHAISHRI QUAYAM ALI,

I have your letter. The site of the Jallianwala Bagh was purchased with the help of the funds raised for the purpose. The site was cleared to make room for the park. No memorial has been raised because the circumstances in the country are not favourable.

How can we raise the edifice of freedom while we undermine its foundations? The trustees, I believe, fight shy of a memorial because they have this fear.

SHRI QUAYAM ALI MOHAMAD ALI SALEMWALA
C/O MOHAMAD ALI & SONS
SOMERSET STREET, CAMP
KARACHI

From a microfilm of the Gujarati : S. N. 19902

106. "THE TAKLI TEACHER"

This is the title of a booklet covering 80 pages issued by the All-India Spinners' Association, Ahmedabad, and prepared at its instance by Messrs Richard B. Gregg and Maganlal K. Gandhi. It contains 23 clear, well-thought-out illustrations showing the different forms of *takli* and the various positions in handling this simple little instrument of household use and national importance. It gives accurate hints on spinning by the *takli*, so that anybody who will read the booklet carefully can master the art of spinning by the *takli*. It also dwells upon the different uses to which the *takli* can be put and compares the advantages of the *takli* over the charkha in some instances. It also teaches how to make a *takli* and winds up with historical information about this instrument which enabled the spinners of Dacca to spin the finest yarn, the like of which no machine has yet been able to produce. There are valuable hints which are useful to the spinner both on the *takli* and on the charkha.

Of the educational value of the *takli*, the writers explain that it develops in the spinner patience, persistence, concentration, self-control, calmness, realization of importance and value of detail, ability to do more than one thing at a time, making one of them so habitual that its control and operation are almost unconscious, sensitiveness, sureness and delicacy of touch and of muscular control and co-ordination, realization of value of cumulative and sustained individual effort even though separate efforts be of short duration; thus a realization of the value of co-operative work, self-respect and self-reliance arising from recognition of one's ability to create something of economic value useful to oneself, to one's family, to the school and to the village, province or nation. There are several other values mentioned in this short chapter which the reader interested in the national spinning movement may see for himself in the book.

The publishers invite criticism of the book from those who are versed in the art of spinning on the *takli*, and they would welcome any suggestion, advice or information that may be sent to them so as to enable them to incorporate them in a future edition.

The book is being simultaneously published in Hindi with the same illustrations and the same get up. Whether in Hindi or English, the book can be had at the Ashram, Sabarmati, on payment of Rs. 7 including postage.

I hope that every *takli* teacher in municipal and national schools

where *takli* has been introduced will procure the book for his own guidance and that of his pupils.

Young India, 15-4-1926

107. PANDIT NEHRU AND KHADDAR

Pandit Motilalji has never been *persona grata* with *The Times of India*. The latest offence committed by him is that of hawking khaddar in Allahabad where only a few years ago he could hardly be seen going anywhere except in his grand motor car. But in the elegant language of the writer: "Even in India it must be recognized that Pandit Nehru is mak-ing an ass of himself." It is to be wished that many leaders will follow Panditji and earn the title that has been so courteously bestowed upon Panditji by *The Times of India*. It is generally time to rejoice when one receives a curse from opponents. Their praises should make one cautious. The Romans feared the Greeks especially when they brought gifts.

The *Times'* writer has out-done himself in showing his contempt for the Congress, khaddar and Congressmen. I must let the reader judge for himself. The writer says :

The completeness of the Congress collapse, the utter futility of the so-called Congress creed, and the total absence among Congress supporters of a single reasonable political idea are illustrated by a telegram despatched in all earnestness from Allahabad.

The Writer then proceeds :

If the British public learnt that Lord Birkenhead, wearing a Union Jack waistcoat, had been selling true blue Tory rosettes beneath the lions in Trafalgar Square, that Mr. Baldwin had been promoting Empire industries by hawking trays of British toys in Piccadilly, that Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, attired in corduroys and a muffler, had been disposing of red flags among the workers in Limehouse, or that the Clydeside Bolsheviks had set up a stall on Clydeside for the sale of miniature sickles and hammers, the unanimous conclusion of all classes would be that their leaders had gone mad.

The inference naturally is that the distinguished hawkers of khaddar such as Pandit Nehru and Mr. Rangaswami Iyengar who accompanied him in his hawking have gone mad. The language used by the writer is not only insulting but it is also highly misleading. What possible comparison can there be between "true blue Tory rosettes" hawked by a British Tory and khaddar which, rightly or

wrongly, represents to thousands of Indians an emblem of a real bond between the classes and the masses? For only by khaddar the classes, through whom the British Government holds sway over the toiling dumb millions, could make some little return to the masses, for the bleeding process which the latter have to undergo in order to feed the British Government. The insult has been possible only because the fashion has been set by the Liberal politicians to belittle khadi and all it means. Who does not remember that at the time the War broke out, young and old, men and women, great and small, in fact all who were not enlisted or could not be enlisted as soldiers, were expected to sew, as a matter of fact did sew, garments for the wounded soldiers who were received in the various hospitals? People at that time vied with one another in doing this little service and those who did not know how to stitch were thankful if they received preliminary training from their neighbours. All distinctions were erased in the face of the awful calamity that had overtaken the British people. I make bold to say that if it was patriotic and necessary for everyone to do the sewing and hundreds of other odd jobs which in ordinary life they never did, it is a thousand times necessary and patriotic for every Indian to wear khaddar to the exclusion of all foreign cloth and thus find the only occupation, that is, of hand-spinning, which is possible for the millions of India to undertake.

We read in English books that when a movement is ridiculed by its opponents, it may be said to be making headway and when it excites the anger of their opponents, it is said to be producing the desired effect. If *The Times of India* at all represents British public opinion, khaddar is evidently producing the desired effect.

The writer of the article in question assures the readers that “the Allahabad public does not want the Congress grave-clothes”, as he has called khaddar, “any more than they are wanted in any other part of India”. If so it is difficult to understand all the contempt poured upon khaddar. But it is for the Congress leaders to prove that khaddar is not the “grave-clothes” of the Congress but that it establishes an unbreakable link between the Congress and the masses and thus makes the former more representative than it ever has been.

In fairness, however, to Europeans, let me say that in the venomous abuse of khaddar, *The Times of India* writer by no means represents the general European opinion. I know several Europeans in India who believe in the message of khaddar and some who use it themselves. Its message has even reached Europe. Here is a letter from

a professor from far-off Poland regarding khaddar :

Do you not think it would be a good thing if an attempt were made to sell Indian tissues in Europe to friends of India? I might try on a small scale here if you send me tissues of your cloth with indication of prices in English currency and an English address to which the money could be sent. I think that even if the amount of sales would not be very great, it would be useful for propaganda and I hope that many people at least in Poland would be proud and happy to wear Indian cloth in order to show their sympathy with your work. . . This is perhaps the most efficient way to gain universal sympathy for the emancipation of India. I could not easily undertake to spin myself but I can undertake to go from house to house and encourage the buying of Indian cloth even if it is more expensive than our own products.

Young India, 15-4-1926

108. WHAT IS IT LIKE?

An Englishman writing to his relatives in London thus gives vent to his feelings after having been in New York for 48 hours:

It is all quite true—skyscrapers, iced water, elevators express to the 25th floor, subways, Negroes; I never quite believed it before. But that's all I know. I have been here 48 hours—never such a 48 hours before—I can't last much longer. I've been walked about, talked at, dined, lunched, theatred; I'm so tired, I can hardly see. Incredible, inconceivable. My timetable is arranged to the minute—I am telephoned to wherever I am to see that I am moving on the next engagement. By a subterfuge I have escaped. I am to go out to dinner in an hour or so. You must not expect anything more than postcards. It's very cold out-freezing-while it boils within. My head goes into solution in these temperatures.

Englishmen will sympathize with me when I say that I felt about as uncomfortable reaching London for the first time as the writer of the foregoing did on reaching New York. And I know that a villager going to Bombay feels similarly bewildered and lost in finding himself in the midst of the hubbub and bustle of Bombay.

Young India, 15-4-1926

109. NOTES

‘THE MORALS OF MACHINERY’¹

The Current Thought for February has reproduced Mr. Richard B. Gregg’s letter to a friend on the “Morals of Machinery” Mr. Gregg is an ex-American lawyer with a wide experience of his own country. He has lived in the midst of the very things he describes in his letter and has at one time in his life contributed to their growth. He therefore writes with authority. He says :

Most people accept mechanism for its immediate results and are quite blind to the secondary results of slower growth. But these latter are the most important.

He then recounts in detail the evils of multiplication of machinery. He puts ‘enormous concentration of material power and wealth in the hands of the few’ first in the list. Mr. Gregg truly says :

Machinery and modern industry have taken the money of millions of people and concentrated its management and control into relatively few hands and modern developments of banking and credit have concentrated the control of all the materials and factories and mills into still fewer hands.

Do we not see this process going on even in our own country at the cost of the millions who are being bled white in order to support huge industries thousands of miles away from their cottages? Mr. Gregg says :

Probably the real, ultimate control of industry in Europe, America and most of Asia and Africa is concentrated in the hands of not over 1,500 men, perhaps fewer still.

Such tremendous power is a temptation which human nature cannot withstand. It involves tyranny, vanity, pride, greed, selfishness, ruthless competition on the one side, loss of liberty, insecurity, fears, loss of self-reliance and of independence, degradation, poverty, loss of dignity and self-respect on the other.

Deaths, maiming and crippling by industrial accidents far exceed corresponding injuries by war. Diseases and physical deterioration caused directly and indirectly by modern industry are appalling. For, it is industry that has caused the development of large cities with their smoke, dirt, noise, bad air, lack of sunshine and out-door life, slums, disease, prostitution, and

¹ Dictated on 11-4-1926; *vide* “Letter to Richard B. Gregg”, 11-4-1926.

unnatural living.

The waste in advertisements is truly “appalling”.

The President of the British Incorporated Society of Advertisement Consultants recently estimated that the annual expenditure on advertisements for the British Isles alone is £ 175, 000, 000. ! ! !

Another striking feature is “parasitism”

Man is made to obey the machine. The wealthy and middle classes become helpless and parasitic upon the working classes. And the latter become so specialized that they also become helpless. The ordinary city dweller cannot make his own clothing or produce or prepare his own food. The cities become parasitic upon the country. Industrial nations upon agricultural nations. Those who live in temperate climates are increasingly parasitic upon tropical peoples. Governments upon the peoples they govern. Armies upon civilians. People even become parasitic and passive in regard to their recreation and amusements. They want to *be* amused, instead of amusing themselves. They throng the cinemas and theatres and music halls. They watch others play cricket, etc.

Along with this parasitism has come widespread irresponsibility. The industrial “magnate” or banker issues an order in Europe which affects vitally the lives of Negroes in Central Africa.

The consumers, too, fare no better. They too cease to feel the responsibility. Mr. Gregg exclaims :

When I, seated in a restaurant in France, put some pepper in my soup, do I stop to think what poor coolie in Java, perchance, endured the hard-ship of gathering it, while subject to a fever, and perhaps to the indignities and brutality of harsh plantation supervision?

I must however resist the temptation to quote more from this instructive letter. I must ask the reader to see the original if the samples I have put before him have whetted his appetite for more. The reader must not think that Mr. Gregg is against all machinery. He is against its uncontrolled multiplication. He would regulate and restrain its use as we regulate or ought to regulate and curb our passions. That use of machinery is lawful which subserves the interests of all.

HOW TO HELP?

An Indian correspondent living in London writes :

Every person asks me how people who live in America, Germany, France, Italy, as well as England can help the Indian cause? What can they do

to help us in our fight for swaraj? They ask further what can India teach the world? Has she any message to the people who are fighting? And, if so, what can she contribute towards creating world peace?

The first question is easily answered. If even God only helps those who help themselves, how would people, imperfect as they are, help one another unless they are prepared to help themselves? But after all there is something in creating a sane world opinion. There is no doubt that that opinion is daily growing in influence. The chapters, which I am reproducing¹ in a somewhat condensed form from Mr. Page's pamphlet, show clearly how people were led into error by mis-education. They were fed during the War on diabolical lies by their respective governments. I have therefore suggested to every European friend who has been good enough to visit the Ashram to study our movement, not from newspaper reports, which are ill-informed where they are not interested, but from original writings. It grieves me to have to say that the British Government agency, both public and secret, is spreading a wholly incorrect view of the situation. No Indian patriotic agency can possibly overtake the lies spread by this highly organized and lavishly paid secret service from whose attention even the great Poet² of Asia, indeed of the world, has not been free. It is only impartial and sober representatives of the respective European countries and America who can, if at all, controvert the statements that are being broadcast on behalf of the British Government.

The second question is more difficult to answer.

If the question had been, what has India taught to the world, I could have referred the questioner to Max Muller's book *What Can India Teach Us?*. But the question here put is not in terms of the past of India but in terms of her present. I must then frankly confess that at the present moment India can teach the world little. She is trying to develop ability to vindicate her liberty by means strictly non-violent and truthful. Some of us who are in movement have an undying faith in those means, but it is not possible in an instant to transmit that faith to people outside India. It is not possible to say that that faith is even the common property of educated India. But there is no doubt that if India succeeds in regaining her liberty through non-violent means, she would have delivered her message to the others who are fighting

¹ Vide "Notes", 26-11-1925.

² Rabindranath Tagore

for it, and what is perhaps more, she would have made the largest contribution yet known to world peace.

MONTHLY KHADI RETURNS

The following¹ are the figures for production and sale, so far as available, of khadi during the month of January. I do hope that the other provinces or institutions which have not yet sent in their returns will do so without delay, so as to make the figures up to date.

The figures of Andhra are incomplete, only 25 out of 61 organizations having sent their reports to the provincial office. Bombay figures include only the sales of the Princess Street Khadi Bhandar, and the Charkha Sangh Bhandar, 14, Dadi Seth Agyari Lane, Kalba- devi Road, and of the Rashtriya Stree Sabha. The figures for the Sandhurst Road Khadi Bhandar are not available. The Bengal figures include those of the Khadi Pratishthan and of the Abhoy Ashram. The Tamilnad figures are complete and the sale figures have been corrected so as to avoid duplication due to sales to branch depots and the like. U.P. figures represent only those of the Gandhi Ashram, Banaras, and Cawnpore Bhandar. The Allahabad Bhandar figures are not available but its average sales amount to about Rs. 700 per month. In Delhi only the figures of Sjt. Chiranjilal Pyarelal, Hapur, are given, the figures of the Swaraj Ashram and the Khadi Bhandar of Sjt. Bishambhar Dayal being not yet available.

Young India, 15-4-1926

110. LETTER TO K. VENKATESAN

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 15, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. Sorry, it is not possible to let you have *Young India* free of charge. But if you will send half the subscription, i.e., Rs. $2\frac{1}{2}$, I shall ask the Manager to send your Society a copy.

I am afraid none of my books has been printed in English at the Navajivan Press. They have all been published by different publishers.

¹ Not reproduced here

I shall therefore suggest your writing to them for free copies or at advantageous rates.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. K. VENKATESAN
HONORARY SECRETARY
ANDHRA DRAMATIC AND LITERARY SOCIETY
QUARTER NO. 9 M. ROAD
P. O. JAMSHEDPUR
(VIA) TATANAGAR, B. N. RY.

From a microfilm : S. N. 19457

111. LETTER TO S. NAGASUNDARAM

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 15, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. You may make what use you like of my previous letter¹ to you.

M. K. GANDHI

SJT. S. NAGASUNDARAM
LAKSHMINIVAS BUILDING
MATUNGA

From the original : S. Nagasundaram Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

112. LETTER TO DHAN GOPAL MUKERJEE²

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 16, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I wrote to you at the address that was given by you. You are right in surmising that I do not encourage your coming

¹ Dated April 11, 1926 *vide* "Letter to S. Nagasundaram", 11-4-1926.

² In reply to the addressee's letter in which he wrote : "About three weeks ago I got your cablegram saying 'Await Letter'. I have not had any word from you since . . . I am afraid it brings me the word that I am not to see you—at least not yet. . . why have they stopped sending me the paper ? . . . Will you kindly ask the manager to write me regarding my subscription? Let him send me your memoir from the first issue." (S. N. 12465)

specially for the purpose of gathering materials for writing the proposed biography.

I am writing to the Manager, *Young India*, to give him your instructions. Thank you. I am quite well. And the rest from constant travelling that I am giving myself is doing me a great deal of good.

Yours sincerely,

DHAN G. MUKERJEE
1904, TIMES BUILDING
TIMES SQUARE
NEW YORK CITY

From a photostat : S. N. 12465

113. LETTER TO GIR RAJ KISHORE

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 16, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I congratulate you on your decision not to re-marry.

I do not know that you will be happy here. This is a place where hard toil is required of every inmate. One has to commence with cleaning night-soil buckets, agricultural labour, etc., and end with becoming an expert carder, spinner and weaver. Of my own personal guidance you can have but little. If such life would suit you, it will be possible to take you as soon as the pressure which is great here at present is removed.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. GIR RAJ KISHORE
C/O SJT. ANANDILALJI
STATION MASTER
MORAK, B. B. AND C. I. RY.

From a microfilm : S. N. 19459

114. LETTER TO G. K. DEVADHAR

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 16, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your two letters. I explained the contents to Manorama. She says she will wait for a reply from Mrs. Devadhar to whom at your instance she has written. She seems to be somewhat unwilling to move out. But if you or Mrs. Devadhar write to her probably she

would go to the Seva Sadan.

I know that she will never be able by remaining here to earn as much as she can by finishing the course there and I have told her so too. But probably being just now comfortable here she does not want to move out unless she has something definite from you for as soon as I mentioned your letters to her, she said she had not heard anything from you directly and that she was waiting for a reply from Mrs. Devadhar, who I hope is quite all right and who, you should tell her, is free to come to the Ashram as her own home whenever she feels inclined.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm : S. N. 19460

115. LETTER TO DR. SURESH CHANDRA BANNERJEE

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

April 16, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

The notice of the Abhoy Ashram prices had led to correspondence like the enclosed. Do you want to cater for orders from outside? If so, please correspond with the writer and let me know so that others who have written may be informed accordingly.

I hope that you were able to get the money in Bombay without any difficulty.

Yours sincerely,

DR. SURESH CHANDRA BANNERJEE

ABHOY ASHRAM

COMILLA

From a microfilm : S. N. 19461

116. LETTER TO PYARELAL NAYYAR

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

April 16, 1926

MY DEAR PYARELAL,

I have your letter. All things considered, unless Dr. Mehta sends peremptory instructions perhaps it will be as well for Mathuradas to remain in Deolali. But if he himself has the wish and the energy, I know that Sinharh is an ideal place during May. He can have

absolutely separate accommodation there. He need not see anybody. There is perfect quiet, no dust and it is very cool there. The water is soft. Kaka has gained much by his having gone there. But the matter is purely for Mathuradas to decide.

Devdas is here now. He is quite alright. He has been taking milk. He looks very pale and weak but now that he is taking milk, he should be soon strong and fit. Motilalji will probably be here next week. I have gained one pound in weight during the week.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm : S. N. 19462

117. LETTER TO M. R. JAYAKAR

SABARMATI,
April 16, 1926

DEAR MR. JAYAKAR,

I have your telegram in reply to mine. I have accordingly telegraphed to Messrs Kelkar, Moonje and Aney. I add that I know nothing more of this proposed conference beyond a telegram received yesterday from Motilalji saying that he wanted this conference, that I should choose the dates and wire them to you which I did. Assuming that you knew all about it except for the dates. In accordance with your telegrams I have sent wires to the three friends giving Tuesday and Wednesday next. I am supposed to leave for Mussoorie on the 22nd. If these dates are not suitable and my presence is regarded necessary at the conference seeing that there will be but a few invited, perhaps it can take place at Mussoorie.

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat : S. N. 19463

118. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Friday, April 16, 1926

BHAISHRI GHANSHYAMDAS,

I have your letter and the cheque for Rs. 26,000. I shall answer your questions regarding the Hindu-Muslim riots, but the replies are not for the Press. I have told you that I have no influence at all now

over the Hindus, at any rate over that class among them which interests itself in these disturbances. My views, therefore, are misunderstood. Hence I believe that it is best for me to say nothing.

If the Government has banned processions and it is necessary to take out one on some religious occasion, I would think it right to do so despite the Government ban. But before starting the procession, I would apologize to the Muslims. If they do not respond even to such a courteous gesture, I should go ahead with the procession and submit to any violence on their part. If I do not have the strength for such non-violence, I should provide myself with means for fighting before taking out the procession.

I would not dismiss grooms and other Muslim servants merely because they are Muslims. But I would not retain a Muslim who was not sincere in his work or behaved rudely to me. I do not believe that the Muslims are more markedly ungrateful than members of any other community, but I have observed that they lose temper more quickly. It seems to me altogether wrong not to have a Muslim simply because he is a Muslim.

Those Hindus who do not approve of the non-violent way or are not equipped to follow it should acquire the strength to fight it out physically.

If the Government takes sides with the Muslims, Hindus need not worry on that account. They should not care for the Government. They should fend for themselves, relying on their own strength without seeking its favour. When the Hindus have cultivated sufficient courage for this, the Government will on its own maintain an impartial attitude, and the Muslims will not then look for its support. In seeking the Government's help, we neither serve our dharma nor give evidence of manhood. I would advise you to look at the matter dispassionately and go on with your work. That is in the best interests of the Hindus, the only way of serving Hinduism, as I can say from my long experience of not less than thirty-five years. I was very pleased with your calm and brave attitude during the riots. You should keep up that attitude and do what you think the situation calls for. If there is anything in my reply which is not clear to you, please do write to me again.

I propose to accept a part of the loan you have promised for the All-India Spinners' Association against the stocks in Bombay. The Association has two godowns in Bombay. If you wish, you may take possession of one of them and acquire sufficient stocks to cover the loan to be kept there. If you agree, we should like you to keep even

more so that we may be saved rent on one godown. In that case, it should be so arranged that we can draw from those stocks whenever we want to. There will be frequent additions to or withdrawal from the stocks which the Spinners' Association will maintain besides what is required by way of security, so that you will have to permit easy access to them.

Yours,
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original : C. W. 6125. Courtesy : G. D. Birla

119. LETTER TO MANILAL DOCTOR

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Friday, April 16, 1926

BHAISHRI MANILAL,

I have your letter. I had certainly thought that I would succeed in persuading Jeki to give over custody of the children, but I realized later that I had over-estimated my influence. I can carry out only that arrangement on which both of you agree. My present effort, therefore, is limited to getting some help. I do not agree with your analysis at all. My experience is just to the contrary. Human failings and weaknesses are to be found everywhere. Some of the weaknesses of our people which you point out are the result of our slavery. And this slavery has not been our lot for only a generation or so. However, we need not enter into a discussion about that. You hold strong views on the subject and I know it is beyond me to change them. I only want that you should recover your equanimity and live in peace. I know that you have suffered much in your life.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati : S. N. 10888-A

120. LETTER TO JAYAKUNWAR

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Friday, April 16, 1926

CHI. JEKI,

I have your letter. I think I did what was necessary as soon as I received the letter from the Ceylonese friends. I did send the papers to Doctor, but I have not yet received his reply. I am writing again. I will

not fail to do my best. I am keeping well.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati : S. N. 10888-B

121. LETTER TO PRANJIVAN MEHTA

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Friday, April 16, 1926

BHAISHRI PRANJIVAN,

I hope you got my earlier letter regarding Jeki. Herewith another. I have also had a letter from Shri Manilal to the same effect. Please decide soon about this matter. I have been awaiting your letter for a long time. I got detailed reports about your health. I will most probably leave for Mussoorie on the 22nd.

From a photostat of the Gujarati : S. N. 19464

122. LETTER TO DAYALJI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Friday, April 16, 1926

BHAISHRI DAYALJI,

I see from your letter that a meeting is soon to be held of all those who contribute funds for the Vinay Mandir at Surat. Kindly give them the following message on my behalf.

The Mandir's [Managing] Committee has resolved to entrust its administration to me for its better working and for the implementation of the principles on which it was intended to run. I too, have agreed to take over the administration, and am making arrangements to get a special committee formed for the purpose in consultation with Vallabhbbhai. Everyone knows that I am not in a position personally to look after the running of the Mandir. It is, therefore, necessary to have some such agency as a committee. I have written to Shri Narahari to accept its principalship till some other arrangement can be made. I am discussing with the President, Shri Nrisimhaprasad what to do next. I hope that our friends will continue to pay the contributions as resolved by them in the year [19]20. I need not say that arrangements will be made to maintain full accounts of the administration of the school.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati : S. N. 19465

123. LETTER TO R. S. IYER

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 17, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter as also the yarn packet. The manager of the Weaving Department tells me that it will take about one month before the yarn can be woven. This department always remains crowded and orders received from outside have to take their turn.

The charge of weaving cloth of 50" width is annas $6\frac{1}{2}$ per yard. After receipt of your reply the order will be put in turn.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. R. S. IYER
C/O "THE TIMES OF INDIA"
BOMBAY

From a microfilm : S. N. 19471

124. LETTER TO KRISHNADAS

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 17, 1926

MY DEAR KRISHNADAS,

I was wondering why you were silent all these days. Now I know. Nothing exciting to report from here. Devdas was suffering from jaundice; therefore, he has come here and Pyarelal has gone to take his place at Deolali. Prabhudas has returned from Lonavala. He still needs careful attention. Devdas is much better now but he is very much pulled down. Jamna Behn has just come in today with Eshwant Prasad. Mira is getting on quite well. She is doing her Hindi regularly with Surendra. I hope you are getting *Young India* and *Navajivan* regularly.

Yours,

SJT. KRISHNADAS
DARBHANGA

From a microfilm : S. N. 19472

125. LETTER TO N. C. KELKAR

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 17, 1926

DEAR MR. KELKAR,

I have your wire in reply to which I have sent the following:

“Do come. Man proposes God disposes.”

I had no idea of this informal conference. Panditji telegraphed to me saying I should fix dates convenient for me before leaving for Mussoorie and inform him and Mr. Jayakar of the dates. I wired accordingly to both of them and Mr. Jayakar of the dates. I wired accordingly to both of them and Mr. Jayakar wired to me saying he would come but that I should send my own wires to you, Dr. Moonje, and Mr. Aney which I did. Whether the conference will be fruitful or not will depend on the mode that guides us all when we meet. I have not heard from Panditji as to what he proposes to do or what he expects, or on what basis he has decided this informal conference.

I have just now received wires from Dr. Moonje and Mr. Aney that they will attend. Mr. Aney's says that friends in Bengal and elsewhere should also be invited. But I presume Panditji has issued invitations himself.

Hoping to have the pleasure of meeting you on Tuesday.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. N. C. KELKAR

“KESARI” OFFICE

POONA

From a photostat : S. N. 19474

126. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA MUKERJI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 17, 1926

DEAR SATIS BABU,

I was so delighted to receive your long letter and another from Krishna. I shall read the pamphlet you have sent me and let you have my opinion on it.

I hope that this visit to Darbhanga will restore you completely. Yes, the Hindu-Muslim question has to solve itself. God's ways are

inscrutable and I believe in complete non-interference where there is no definite light from within.

I expect to leave for Mussoorie on the 22nd instant.

Yours sincerely,

From microfilm : S. N. 19475

127. LETTER TO GOVINDJI PITAMBER

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Saturday, April 17, 1926

BHAI GOVINDJI PITAMBER,

I have your letter. All the steps in the ceremony besides *Saptapadi*, from the installation of Ganesh to the Vedic sacrifice, were performed in the Ashram precincts, in fact on the Ashram lawns. I think it will be difficult to send Shastriji from here. See if you can make arrangements at Morvi. If you don't succeed, you may write to me. I shall then try my best. I do not have with me a printed copy of all the ritual [verses] which formed part of the ceremony performed here. I propose to get them printed. But that will take some time. Please explain this patiently to the visitors from Maliya. I shall be able to send you the verses used in the ceremony here, in case any Brahmin there comes forward to officiate.

From a photostat of the Gujarati : S. N. 10889

128. LETTER TO NAJUKLAL N. CHOKSI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Saturday, April 17, 1926

BHAI NAJUKLAL,

Please treat this letter as meant for you both. I was, and am still, so busy that I am surprised I could dictate even a couple of lines.¹ But I remembered the saying "Rather than have no uncle at all, it is better to have someone whom one may call uncle." I contented myself with two lines. That apart, when I think of Moti's nature and the line and a half she has written, surely I must regard my two lines more than sufficient ! And you gave her a new name, more pompous than the

¹ Vide "Letter to Motibehn Choksi", 11-4-1926.

one she boasted. When Sukanya¹ wrote letters, even grown-up and experienced men and women must have found something to learn from them. When may I expect similar letters from this Sukanya ? Well, you two may think over this and let me know. Does your recovery mean you are restored to perfect health? See that you always remain as fit as you are now. It seems we shall be leaving for Mussoorie on the 22nd. Lakshmidas is touring Kathiawar. He will be here on the 20th and most probably will accompany me. Moti seems to be doing rather well at her English. I guess this from her handwriting. But tell her that her Gujarati handwriting is still far from being as neat as well-strung pearls².

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : S. N. 12126

129. LETTER TO JAISUKHLAL

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

Saturday, April 17, 1926

CHI. JAISUKHLAL,

Read the enclosed letter. If you need any hand there, take up Vallabhji. I have known him a little and perhaps you also know him. I think Ramdas knows him. You need not take him up just to employ him. You may engage him only if you need a hand and find Vallabhji suitable. If you decide to appoint him, please write to him directly and also drop a line to me.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati : S. N. 19466

130. LETTER TO MANU

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

Saturday, April 17, 1926

CHI. MANU³,

I learnt that you were very ill. Since then I have been keeping

¹ A young princess who volunteered to marry the old and infirm *rishi* Chyavan

² Literally, "Moti" means a pearl.

³ Son of Prof. Trivedi; *vide* "Its Meaning", 27-5-1926

myself informed about your health through visitors. I was recently told by Swami Anand that you are now almost normal, and have learnt it again today from Shri Chandrakant's letter. I have not forgotten your many services to me when I was in hospital nor your majestic gait, nor your ever-smiling face. May God restore you to complete health and grant you a long life dedicated to the service of the country.

From the microfilm of the Gujarati : S. N. 19468

131. LETTER TO CHANDRAKANT

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Saturday, April 17, 1926

BHAISHRI CHANDRAKANT,

I got your letter, as also the cheque for Rs. 500. I was glad to hear that my argument had appealed to mother. I shall utilize the amount only to help victims of famine who can do a little work. I had learnt that Chi. Manu was better now. I inquire after him every time I have visitors from that side. Since you have specially written about him, I enclose a letter for him. Please pass it on to him.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati : S. N. 19467

132. LETTER TO PRABHALAKSHMI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Saturday, April 17, 1926

CHI. PRABHALAKSHMI,

I got your letter giving the story of your life. I could read it to the end only yesterday. I got your second letter today. Your story is distressing. I shall use the information on suitable occasions, leaving out the names of places and persons. I think we should keep ourselves within the limits of the four *varnas*, except when there are reasons to the contrary. There will be no possibility of love springing up between a man and a woman if from the very beginning their emotions are so trained that they learn to regard such love as forbidden, as, for instance, brother and sister. We may think of God as either a Being or as Formless Essence. I think we may meditate upon the Formless

Essence as *satchidanand*¹. *Phalannahar*² would be a rather difficult and pretentious phrase. The best way is to take cooked grain to include fruit. I should like you to be perfectly self-composed.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati : S.N. 19469

133. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

Saturday, April 17, 1926

CHI. MATHURADAS,

I have your letter. You will need time to recover enough strength. It will be some time before you are able to lift Dilip and yet feel no strain. We have decided to go to Mussoorie by the metregauge line. I think I must resist for the time being my desire to see you. Not only will it take more time to go *via* Bombay, but there would be other difficulties too. If I stay with you, I would not leave in a day. On my way back, I am thinking of returning to the Ashram *via* Deolali, if you are there then. After my talk with Devdas, I have concluded that you will stay on at Deolali. I would certainly be happy if you took courage and came to Mussoorie. I know it would be rather difficult to have Taramati with you there. But I will write to you again after I reach Mussoorie and see how things there are. If, however, you can consider going to Mussoorie independently of me, you will be very welcome, and in that case it is not at all necessary for you to wait for my decision. Jamnalalji comes here tomorrow. I intend to discuss this matter with him too. In case you decide to come, there is no need for you to bring along your cook and other servants. You need not be scared of the hospital at Juhu. The decision to leave this place on the 22nd stands for the present. Motilalji, Jayakar and others are holding their discussions here on Tuesday and Wednesday. I cannot tell if this will delay my departure.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S. N. 19470

¹ Absolute existence, consciousness and bliss

² Diet of fruit and grain

134. MY "KAMADHENU"¹

I know that I have been ridiculed by some people for calling the spinning-wheel a gateway to my salvation. But even so may, a person who makes himself a little ball of clay, gives to it the imposing name of Parthiweshwar Chintamani and concentrates on it all the faculties of his being in the hope of "seeing God face to face" by that means, be sneered at those who do not share his faith in the life-giving power of his image. But would he, madly bent as he is on attaining self-realization, give up his worship on this account? No. On the contrary he will strive on without flagging till success crowns his efforts, as in the end it must, while his detractors will only be the worse off for their gibes. Similarly, if my conception of the spinning-wheel comes from a pure heart, it will become to me the means of my salvation. A faithful Hindu's ears will automatically turn to the direction where *Ramanama* is being repeated, and for the time being all the evil passions will subside in him. What does it matter if the repetition of that divine name fails to produce any impression on others? A Hindu may not be in the least affected by the cry of *Allah-o-Akbar*, but a Mussalman is roused by it. Similarly, a pious Englishman, the moment he is reminded of the presence within him of God, will be able to restrain his passions and compose himself for the time being. As is the spirit behind worship, so is the fruit thereof.

It follows then that even if the spinning-wheel be in itself nothing, and the virtues that I have attributed to it exist only in my imagination, it will still prove at least to me my *Kamadhenu*, i.e., Cow of Plenty. I think of the poor of India every time that I draw a thread on the wheel. The poor of India today have lost faith in God, more so in the middle classes or the rich. For a person suffering from the pangs of hunger, and desiring nothing but to fill his belly, his belly is his God. To him anyone who gives him bread is his Master. Through him he may even see God. To give alms to such persons, who are sound in all their limbs, is to debase oneself and them. What they need is some kind of occupation, and the occupation that will give employment to millions can only be hand-spinning. But I can instill my faith in the potency of hand-spinning in the minds of the toilers of India not by making speeches but only by spinning myself. Therefore, I have described my spinning as a penance or sacrament.

¹ The Gujarati original of this appeared in *Navajivan*, 18-4-1926. This is an translation by Mahadev Desai.

And, since I believe that where there is pure and active love for the poor there is God also, I see God in every thread that I draw on the spinning-wheel.

WHY SHOULD YOU SPIN?

So much for *my* conception of the spinning-wheel. If you can accept my viewpoint, then nothing more remains to be desired. But it is likely that it may not be acceptable to you. Even then there is a host of reasons why you should spin. I give below only a few of them :

1. You can make others spin only if you spin yourself.
2. You can, by yourself spinning and giving your yarn to the All-India Spinners' Association, in the end help to make possible a reduction in the prices of khadi.
3. By learning to spin, you can now or at any future time, whenever you may wish, help the propaganda of spinning. Experience has shown that those who are ignorant even of the alpha and omega of the art of spinning are of no use for such work.
4. If you will yourself spin, the quality of spinning will improve. Those who spin for wages must naturally be impatient. They will continue to spin the count that they are accustomed to. The task of improving the count of yarn essentially belongs to the research worker, the lover of spinning. This has been proved by experience. If there had not arisen a class of spinners, including both men and women, who spin purely out of a spirit of service the amazing progress that has been achieved in the quality of yarn would not have been possible.
5. If you spin, your talents can be utilized in effecting improvements in the mechanism of the spinning-wheel. All the improvements that have been made in the mechanism of the spinning-wheel and the speed of spinning up till now are solely due to the efforts of those devoted workers who spin for sacrifice.
6. The ancient art of India is today gradually suffering extinction. Its revival to a very large extent depends on the revival of hand-spinning. That there is art in spinning, those who have practised it as a sacrament know well enough. During the Satyagraha Week, the spinners would not tire of spinning at all. Of course, one of the reasons why they did not feel any weariness was certainly the spirit in which they had undertaken it. But, if there were no art in spinning, if there were no music in it, it would have become impossible for those young men who spin for twenty-two and a half hours out of twenty-

four. It should be borne in mind in this connection that these spinners were not induced to the effort by hope of gaining any prize. The spinning was its own reward.

7. In our country manual labour is regarded as a low occupation. Our poets have gone so far as to describe the happy rich as never having to touch mother earth at all, so much so that hair begins to grow on the soles of their feet! Thus the highest function (body labour) to which a man is born and with which, the sages tell us, Brahma created him, we have in fact looked down upon as something mean and degrading. We should spin therefore if only to guard against the pernicious tendency of regarding the toilers as being low in the social scale. Spinning is therefore as obligatory on the prince as on the peasant.

TO THE JUVENILES

All the foregoing reasons apply to you irrespective of the sex to which you belong. But there are some additional reasons why you in particular should spin. It is to these that I now want to draw your attention :

1. How nice it would be for you to labour for the poor from your childhood : spinning will nourish your sense of philanthropy in the right way.

2. If you do your spinning at a fixed time every day you will develop in you the sense of regularity. For, if you are regular in spinning, you will try to be regular in other things also, and it is the universal experience that a boy with regular habits does twice the amount of work that a boy does who works irregularly.

3. It will develop your sense of tidiness; for, without tidiness, good yarn cannot be spun at all. You will have to keep your slivers clean, your hands likewise clean and free from perspiration. You will have to see also that the place around you is free from dust, etc. After spinning you will have to wind your yarn tidily on the winding frame, then carefully spray it and finally make it into a neat fine hank.

4. It will enable you to learn how to effect repairs in a simple machine. Ordinarily boys and girls of India are not given this training. If you are lazy and get your servant or some older relative to clean your wheel for you, you will miss this training; but I have taken it for granted that every child who sends or will send his yarn to the All-India Spinners' Association is fond of his wheel. Besides, a boy who does his spinning with interest will master all the details about the

various parts of his spinning-wheel. A carpenter always cleans his own tools. And, just as a carpenter who does not know how to clean his own tools can hardly be ranked as a carpenter, similarly, a boy who cannot prepare his own *mal* (winding string), make his own *sari* (composition applied to the spindle where the *mal* touches it) or prepare his spindle-holders, can hardly be called a spinner; he is only the travesty of a spinner.

Young India, 20-5-1926

135. NOTES

“PRANA-PRATISHTHA” INTO THE BHILS

Shri Amritlal proposes once again to hold a fair for the Bhils¹ on the forthcoming Rama-navami² day. On that occasion a temple to Ramachandra is to be declared open, that is, there will be *prana-pratishtha*³ into the idol of Rama. Why may we not call it *prana-pratishtha* into the Bhils? Shri Amritlal has shown us our duty towards them. We hardly ever accept them as human beings. The Government has also classified them as a scheduled tribe. Thus neither society nor the Government takes interest in them. These so-called uncivilized communities are bound to attract the attention of the missionaries, for it is the latter's duty to get recruits for the Christian Army. I do not regard such proselytization as a real service to dharma. But how can we blame the missionaries, if the Hindus take no interest in the Bhils? For to them anyone who is brought into the Christian fold, no matter how, has become a Christian, has entered a new life and become civilized. If, as a result of such conversion, the converts rise spiritually or morally, I personally would have nothing to say against their conversion. But I do not think that this is what happens. I, therefore, say that the *prana-pratishtha* into the idol in this temple will in fact be *prana-pratishtha* into the Bhils themselves, for I suppose that they will from that time onwards understand the holy power of the name Rama, will feel God's presence and resolve to give up eating meat and drinking and be filled with new life. The building of the temple, however, is but the beginning of our service to them, not its end. There are many things we can do to serve them; but workers are few,

¹ A tribe in Western and Central India

² Birth-anniversary of Rama

³ Invocation of life

and that is our misfortune.

HARDSHIP SUFFERED BY A WORKER SERVING “ANTYAJAS”

A worker serving *Antyajjas* writes :¹

This is no ordinary problem for him. We cannot compliment the young man enough for his determination. If he remains firm in his decision and exercises self-control, God Himself will help him in his difficulty. Only if we emerge successful from such ordeals do we prove our sincerity in practising dharma and preserving it.

The correspondent seems to belong to the Vaisya class. It is our good fortune that workers serving the cause of *Antyajjas* come mostly from the higher castes. *Varnashrama* is a part of dharma, but not so the hundreds of sub-divisions of communities which exist today. They are merely a matter of custom, and the custom has proved harmful in many ways. Custom can be, ought to be, reformed. If the correspondent does in fact belong to the Vaisya class, and if he shows courage enough to look for a partner outside the particular sub-caste to which he belongs, he will have a large field to choose from. It is very necessary that people should follow a new custom and enter into marriage alliances among the sub-divisions of the major castes of Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas and Sudras. That is, marriages should be permitted in circles among which, under the rules of *Varnashrama* inter-dining is permitted. This worker should acquaint the *mahajan*² his sub-caste with his story and his abilities. If he receives no help from that quarter, he should not give way to despair or get angry but should narrate the same facts to the *mahajan* of all Vaisya communities in Gujarat and seek their help. If he has any worth in him, I am confident that he will not be forced to violate any reasonable social restriction but will get the help he needs.

This and all other public workers in a similar predicament should be very careful that, if they are engaged in the service of *Antyajjas* or in any other service in a purely religious spirit, no matter what they have to put up with, they should never resort to untruth or get angry, that is, commit violence. If they adhere to truth and observe such limited non-violence, they will win credit for themselves and bring glory to their dharma and their country, and will be able to

¹ The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had described his difficulty in finding a life partner for him because he was working among *Antyajjas*.

² Traditional representative body looking after the affairs of a community or a professional or business group.

solve the problem at the cost of minimum of suffering. This worker, therefore, should publish the facts of his case without any exaggeration.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 18-4-1926

136. ASSORTED QUESTIONS[—I]¹

MAY A VOW BE VIOLATED?

A gentleman writes :²

A vow can always be taken in regard to a good thing. There can never be a pledge to do an evil act. If anyone takes such a vow through ignorance, it becomes his duty to break it. For example, if a man takes a vow to act immorally, his awakening and his purification lie in his renouncing such a pledge. It is a sin to observe it.

TO REMARRY OR PARTICIPATE IN NATIONAL SERVICE

A perplexed gentleman writes :³

There are some ailments for which time itself provides remedies. In the meantime, we should be at peace with ourselves. If your decision is unalterable and if you are determined not to marry until you have chosen your field of work and made arrangements for earning your living, you should politely and firmly inform your elders of your decision. They will be pleased. If your mind is not made up to that extent and deep within you there is a desire to get married, it is good to listen to your elders. There is no doubt that it is difficult for a widower of a wealthy family to avoid remarriage. He alone can avoid it to whom remarriage is like a blow on the head.

Hence my advice is that you should sit in a solitary place and

¹ These appeared in five instalments in *Navajivan* on March 21 and 28 and April 4, 11 and 18, and have been placed together under the date of the last instalment. In his introductory note, Mahadev Desai writes : “The questions have been taken from Gandhiji’s mail. The gist of the questions is given in my words, the replies in Gandhiji’s own words.”

² The correspondent had asked whether it would be proper to violate a pledge which one had taken in a moment of mental weakness or if he discovered after a few days of observing it that he had committed a mistake in taking it.

³ The correspondent had asked for advice whether he should remarry in accordance with the wishes of his elders or engage himself in national service.

think with a calm mind, and thereafter act in accordance with the response you get from your heart. I can merely point out the way. When taking a decision, you should fearlessly follow the dictates of your conscience regardless of the advice given by me or by others.

SHOULD THE NOSE AND EARS BE PIERCED?

I regard it as barbarous to pierce any part of a young girl's body.

WHO SHOULD BE GIVEN A REPLY?

A gentleman writes:¹

I have gone through the handbill. There is no doubt that it is highly obnoxious. However, my advice is that no thought whatever should be given to it. Such matters receive some importance if they are replied to. And such statements are made merely in order to gain publicity. If I consider it proper to clarify anything, I shall do so when an occasion arises.

TO A LAWYER²

I have received your letter. Many remedies can be suggested to you if only you forget the fact that you have become a lawyer. But can you be asked to undertake manual labour? You yourself can spin, make others spin, card and make others earn; will you be interested in such activities? Will you be satisfied with earning a living in the same way as a labourer? All my remedies are as simple as they are difficult. However, write to me if you can live the life of a labourer.

TO A PATIENT³

It is difficult to advise you without seeing you. But I can, at any rate, make the following suggestions, many of which you will be able to put into practice :

As far as possible, try to remain in fresh air. Take the lightest possible diet, just enough to keep the body functioning but not enough to stuff your stomach. Give up all spices. If you do have to take any dal, eat a very small quantity of it. Give up altogether all

¹ The correspondent had sent a handbill in which certain statements made by Gandhiji had been misinterpreted and had said that someone would be considerably harmed if Gandhiji did not reply to it.

² A qualified lawyer had become ill, could not earn his living, felt helpless and asked Gandhiji to guide him.

³ The correspondent, a student, had ruined his health through bad habits, and asked for Gandhiji's advice.

fatty, fried and indigestible food. Take a little regular light exercise every morning and evening.

Keep good company only. By good company I mean the company of noble men and good books and by good books I mean clean books.

If you have not become physically very weak, you should bathe in cold water every day.

Keep your mind and body engaged in good work during all waking hours.

Go to bed early and leave your bed at four o'clock every morning. At this hour, read and reflect upon the *Bhagavad Gita* or the *Ramayana* or any such book in which you have unwavering faith.

Do this much and completely give up the idea of marriage. It is totally erroneous to believe that marriage is essential for the purpose of leading a pure life.

YARN BY WAY OF SUBSCRIPTION

Your suggestion that yarn spun by you should be accepted as subscription for *Young India* is indeed novel. No rule has been laid down in this matter and there are no arrangements in the office of *Young India* to receive yarn by way of subscription. However, if you send me 50,000 yards of well-twisted yarn of twenty counts, I shall request the manager of *Young India* to accept it in place of subscription, that is, the Ashram will purchase it and remit the amount to the office of *Young India*. The rate of 50,000 yards is more than the price and not less, but it is not possible to decide upon taking yarn worth exactly five rupees.

The yarn has to be examined and tested, only then can it be accepted. If you decide to send yarn, please send it in hanks of 500 yards each, because if there is any difficulty in counting and testing it, it will not be accepted in lieu of subscription, but if you so desire, it will be returned to you at your own expense.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 21-3-1926

137. ASSORTED QUESTIONS[—II]

USE QUININE REGULARLY!¹

I do not take quinine now. Have you had it proved that a man has got rid of malaria permanently through quinine or do you know of any such instance? During fever, I had taken quinine in small doses for three or four days. Now of course the fever has left me. The doctor gave a few injections too. I did not know to what extent they would benefit me. But instead of having a long argument, I took them.

WHY DID I TAKE QUININE?²

The bad effects of quinine that you have enumerated result from large doses taken over a long time. As a matter of fact, I had taken it only in doses of five grains each and never more than ten grains a day. This too I took dissolved in lemon juice, soda and water. I certainly did not take more than thirty grains in the course of five days. On four days I took only five grains a day. After taking this much of quinine, I experienced no bad effects and, what is more, I was able to please many friends and doctors who urged me to take doses of fifteen grains.

Moreover, one should not thus blindly oppose quinine, as its usefulness as a means of saving oneself from malaria even for a short spell is obvious. If the people save themselves for the time being from the terrible effects of malaria they do not bother about the evil effects which may make their appearance later. Hence the attack must be direct and it must be established that there is no benefit at all from quinine.

I took quinine for the same reasons for which I had undergone an operation³ while I was in jail. I had to undergo the operation under pressure of the jail authorities. Then imagine what must have been the extent of the pressure exerted by friends' love while taking quinine. But this much is true that had I not been convinced that my consenting to the operation was the result of my weakness, I would not have had even the operation. But that weakness has resulted from an

¹ A friend had advised Gandhiji to keep on taking quinine regularly even after his illness was over as the germs of malaria could be killed that way alone.

² Another friend, a champion of nature cure, felt deeply hurt that Gandhiji had taken quinine.

³ *Vide* "Interview to V. S. Srinivasa Sastri", 12-1-1924.

imperfect faith in what you call nature cure. Moreover, the method of that treatment has certainly not been perfected. If you have anything in mind besides nature cure, it is faith in God and hence the feeling that whatever happens should be witnessed and borne. I have not yet reached that state. One can go in that direction only through effort. We cannot attain this thing like clothes which we can put on when we wish, nor can we have the assurance through argument that the Protector of the world always protects us. It can only be had through *darshan*.

ANOTHER CLARIFICATION¹

Please tell the friend from Burma that though I had taken injections of iron and arsenic, I still wish to stick to my views indicated in my article on medicines and doctors. It is one thing to have an ideal and another to be able to observe it. Today my friends say that I have no authority over my body at all, that it belongs to the nation, that they and the others have as much right as I have to take interest in its well-being, and convince me by their beautiful argument that I am merely a trustee for the protection of my body, and that I have a right to cherish it. Therefore, if friends like the one from Burma see a contradiction between my ideal and my conduct, you should tell them that until they become mahatmas like me, they should firmly stick to the resolve not to touch medicines and to call in doctors. And if they stick to that straight and difficult path, they will ensure their welfare. Tell them in private even this that though I have acceded to my friends' plea, I have taken only thirty grains of quinine in five days and only five injections in five weeks.

YOU LIKE A BLOUSE BUT NOT A SARI²

Your letter to hand. Since you like blouses made of khadi, will you not now pass on to saris? Why do native people develop a fascination for foreign clothes? If our country is dear to us, we ought to like its products. Can one who does not like cloth woven and spun by the hands of the poor people of India be regarded as the offspring of India?

¹ This was in reply to yet another friend.

² A young lady had written that she liked wearing a blouse made of khadi, but not a sari of the same material.

WHERE SHOULD A KHADI BHAVAN BE BUILT?¹

Your letter to hand as also the appeal. You say that no work is being done in your district, that the workers regard themselves as all-knowing and act foolishly. What is the use of constructing a building in these circumstances? How can I consent to it? Will people be less foolish after the construction of a building? Or will they acquire the urge for service? A Bhavan must be constructed where the number of workers is increasing, all the rules are being observed, all the workers enjoy the confidence of the people, there is mutual trust among all, and all live unitedly. My clear advice to you is that until efficient workers join together, you do not even think of having a Bhavan.

GOING TO PURI FOR A CHANGE OF AIR²

If it is only going to the seaside for a change of air, why should I go to Puri? Shall I not go to a small hamlet which is near my birth-place? In Puri the bungalows frown on the one hand and, on the other hand, the famine-stricken people swarm the temple for a handful of dirty rice from the pilgrims. How can Puri give me the peace and the benefit of rural life which I get nearer home? It is not only that Puri reminds me of our terrible degradation today as well as sacred events of former times, but it has now become the health resort of soldiers who are paid by us to suppress our freedom. All these thoughts make me sad. When I was there, though my friends had placed me in an attractive spot on the seashore and had overwhelmed me with love, I was not at home there. How could they devise a remedy for the mental affliction which I suffered from thoughts of the soldiers' barracks there, and of those Oriyas dying of hunger amid the hard-hearted rich of that place?

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 28-3-1926

138. ASSORTED QUESTIONS[—III]

A LAWYER'S DILEMMA

There is nothing wrong in living happily by taking the name of Rama. If one cannot earn wealth, it is nothing to grieve over. You alone can know whether you are able to practise your dharma or not. What you have said about the camel forcing its way in while you are

¹ While complaining of the slow progress of khadi, the secretary of a district committee had asked Gandhiji to get Rs. 5,000 from the Khadi Board for a Khadi Bhavan building for his district.

² This is in reply to a sister who had invited Gandhiji to Jagannathpuri for a change of air.

trying to drive away the goat is not applicable here. It is a grave error to suppose that nocturnal discharges are more enfeebling than the sexual act. Both of these lead to loss of vigour; very often the sexual act causes greater debility. But through force of tradition we are not able to recognize the enjoyment of sex and nocturnal discharge gives us a mental shock. Hence we believe that we have become more enfeebled than we actually have been. Perhaps it has not escaped your attention that such involuntary discharges can take place even while one continues to indulge in the sexual act. Therefore, if you accept the value of celibacy and cherish the desire to practise it, you should continue its practice without worrying about the discharges which take place despite continuous effort to check them. It is difficult to say when you will gain control over your mind after putting *brahmacharya* into actual practice for a length of time, as there is no uniform time limit for all persons. A longer or shorter period of time must elapse according to the capacity of each individual. Some persons cannot gain this control throughout their lives; nevertheless they certainly reap the invaluable fruit of *brahmacharya* which they have practised in their conduct and they become masters in future of bodies which are able to control their minds.

In my opinion, it is not necessary for a husband to seek his wife's consent for the practice of *brahmacharya*, nor is it *vice versa*. It is desirable that the two should assist each other in this matter. It is proper to attempt to get this co-operation. But regardless of whether this consent is obtained or not, the one who desires it should practise it and both would reap its benefits. Consent may not be necessary for eschewing union, but consent of both is necessary for union. The man who indulges in the sexual act without his wife's consent is guilty of the sin of using force. He violates the laws of both God and the world.

PIERCING NOSE AND EARS A RITE ENJOINED BY SHASTRAS!

I have not heard of the Vedic ritual of having the nose and the ears pierced. But even if it is proved that it is a Vedic rite, I would say that this should not be done, just as human sacrifices cannot be offered today. I know of many men who suffered from hydrocele although their ears had been pierced. Innumerable men who had [not] had their noses or ears pierced have remained free from this complaint. This is a well-known fact. Further I also know that hydrocele has been cured without resorting to the piercing of ears. The sentence that you have quoted from a doctor states that it seems that this practice had been recently introduced. When we have faith in three individuals, and when they differ in their views, we should either

exercise our own judgment or follow the one in whom we have the greatest faith.

BIRTH IN LOWER SPECIES

It is indeed my belief that the soul after having been born in the human form can so degrade itself as to be born even in the form of an animal or plant.

LOVE OR DHARMA?¹

You alone can resolve the dilemma which faces you. If you feel that renouncing a meat diet is the dharma for you, you should firmly refuse to yield to your mother's love. If doing so is merely a kind of experiment, hurting your mother's feelings will be regarded as a sin.

LOVERS' PROBLEM²

Where there is pure love, there is no room for impatience. Such love cannot be physical but only spiritual. Physical love is nothing but lust. Restrictions of caste are more important than this. Spiritual love will brook no barriers. But that love involves *tapascharya* and so great is the patience required, that it does not matter even if the separation lasts until death. Your first task is to put your problem before your elders and listen to them and think over what they say. Finally, your dharma is to listen to the dictates of your own conscience after purifying it through the observance of self-control.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 4-4-1926

139. ASSORTED QUESTIONS[—IV]

"SHRADDHA" AND LIBERATION

I maintain an attitude of neutrality towards *shraddha*. If it does have any spiritual utility, I do not know it. I do not understand too how a departed person is benefited through *shraddha*. A sort of religious sentiment may grow by immersing the ashes of the dead in the Ganga, but if there is any other advantage in doing so, I am ignorant of that too.

In my opinion, the story of king Sagar is an allegory, it is not a

¹ The correspondent, a Muslim youth, abhorred meat but did not wish to displease his mother who wanted him to take it.

² The correspondents—a young man and a woman belonging to different castes—were in love and wished to get married, but without displeasing their elders.

historical tale. What I said in regard to repeating the name of Narayana is said with the intention of increasing one's faith. I cannot be convinced of the truth of the story that a person who repeats that *mantra* without understanding its meaning, simply because his son's name happens to be Narayana, would attain liberation; but if anyone in whose heart Narayana dwells repeats this *mantra*, he will certainly attain *moksha* because of it.

DHARMA OF MARRIED PEOPLE¹

The couple who you say overindulge in the gratification of their desires do not practise the dharma of husband and wife. I have not the slightest hesitation in saying that such persons are even worse than animals. A girl of twelve or thirteen is incapable of observing the dharma of a wife. He who maintains sexual intercourse with her is guilty of a grave sin.

I did not know the fact that you have mentioned about a woman who is in her menses. I cannot accept the dharma that after four days she must have intercourse with a man. So long as the menstrual flow continues, I regard her touch as something that a husband must renounce. After it has ceased, I do not see any harm in their union if both of them desire to have children.

A WOMAN DURING HER MENSTRUAL PERIOD AND ONE WHO HAS JUST DELIVERED A CHILD

The menstrual period is a monthly ailment for women. During this, the patient requires a great deal of peace, and association with a lustful man is dangerous to her.

The same rule applies to a woman who has just delivered a child and she is given rest for at least twenty days. I believe that this is a very good practice. But it is going too far when even female relatives are not allowed to come into physical contact with her.

A TEACHER'S QUESTIONS²

1. You can teach best by identifying yourself with your

¹ The correspondent had written about the absence of self-control among married people and asked Gandhiji to remove the false belief that the sexual act was a duty.

² Briefly, they were: 1. How to teach in the best possible manner? 2. What should be read for one's ultimate good? 3. What is the best diet? 4. Tea used to give me headache, so I gave it up and started missing one meal. Why is it that whereas I feel hungry in the evening, I feel heavy in the morning? 5. What are the ways of attaining concentration? 6. If you have not been able to hear the inner voice, how then can I hear it? 7. How does one get a glimpse of God? 8. Can one find peace through activity?

students. In order to do so, the teacher must prepare himself fully in the subject he has to teach.

2. If you read the *Gita* and the *Ramayana* and reflect on them, you will get all you need.

3. Wheat, milk and green vegetables should suffice mostly as diet. It is essential to give up spices and oil.

4. You should drink a little milk in the evening if you feel very hungry and, in case you cannot digest it, take an orange, grapes or some such raw fruit. You should vigorously walk as much as possible in the open air, morning and evening.

5. In order to purify one's heart and attain concentration, it is very helpful to read and reflect upon the above books and to repeat the name of Rama when one is not engaged in any good work.

6. We should continue to make efforts and have faith that these efforts must produce results.

7. The total destruction of passions and emotions is the only way to catch a glimpse of the Self.

8. The highest degree of peace can certainly be attained through noble activity.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 11-4-1926

140. ASSORTED QUESTIONS[–V]

WHAT THEN SHALL WE DO?¹

Shri Manilal Kothari gave me your message. How nice it would be if I could give something inspiring and definite and working at lightning speed! But in the conditions of today I have nothing of that kind to offer. There have been many meetings, resolutions and motions opposing such imprisonments in the Legislative Assembly. Now we must do something in which we can feel our strength. Therefore nothing else than boycott of foreign cloth occurs to me and

¹ Sarat Chandra Bose, brother of Subhas Chandra Bose, who was held in Mandalay Prison, though innocent, had asked whether they could do nothing to get him released, as all constitutional methods had failed to secure freedom for such prisoners. Gandhiji sent him this message.

that boycott is impossible of achievement without khadi.

In effect, nothing but the spinning-wheel strikes me as a remedy against all our ills like imprisonment, etc. But how can I convince the people that it is an unfailing remedy? I must say that my faith in it is immutable, it increases with every passing day. Hence we plied the spinning-wheel day and night for seven days during the National Week and did so with the confidence that some day we shall derive such strength from the spinning-wheel that through it we shall be able some day to realize our heart's desire.

Of course, apart from the spinning-wheel, there is another way and that is the way of violence. But I am not capable of it and, what is more, I have no faith in it. Moreover, since I am a man of practical sense, I know that our violence will be nothing compared to the violence of the Government. Hence I have given up all other remedies and have put out to sea trusting to the boat of my spinning-wheel. I invite all those who like you feel confused to come and sit with me in my boat. Have firm faith in my assurance that this boat will definitely take us to the other shore, but it will need all our strength, organizational power and discipline to row it across.

JALLIANWALA BAGH¹

The site was purchased out of the money collected for the Jallianwala Bagh. The ground has been cleared. A garden has been laid out. No temple has been built as conditions in India are unfavourable at present. When we are destroying the foundation for our freedom, how can we erect a grand temple upon it? I believe the trustees hesitate to build any temple at all because of thoughts like these.

A careful account is maintained of the money left after the purchase of the land and the details of the account are being regularly sent to the trustees from time to time through the secretary and are also published.

NON-VIOLENCE²

Have I not seen such violence being committed? Very often I

¹ A correspondent had asked Gandhiji what had been done with the funds collected for the Jallianwala Bagh Memorial.

² A correspondent observed that he often saw small creatures swallowing one another, a lizard catching insects and a cat catching birds, and had asked whether he could be just a passive witness or kill the potential killer and prevent violence.

have seen a lizard hunting a cockroach and the latter hunting other insects. But I have never considered it my duty to oppose the law of the animal world—"An insect sustains an insect's life"¹. I do not profess to unravel the dark mysteries of God, but seeing such violence often, I feel that the law of animals and of the lower orders of creation is not the law of man. Man has to make a determined effort to conquer and kill the animal within him and thus keep alive his soul. We have to learn the great magical formula of non-violence out of the conflagration of violence raging around us. Therefore, if man realizes his own dignity and understands his life-work, he should himself refrain from participating in violence and prevent inferior creatures as also animals under his control from tormenting one another. He can maintain that ideal only as far as he himself is concerned and if nothing else is possible, he can at any rate refrain from tormenting his brethren who are weaker than himself. And even to maintain that ideal fully, he will certainly have to keep up his endeavours day and night unceasingly. Then will he be able some day to reach it. Full success will only come when man attains *moksha* and wins release from all the limitations to which the body is heir.

PRINCIPLES AND VOWS²

Even if I am not able fully to implement the ideas expressed in *Hind Swaraj*, I think there is nothing wrong in claiming that those ideas are correct. The maxim you quote can certainly not be applied to me because I do not excuse myself but wholly acknowledge my fault.

Where a distinction is made between making a resolve and taking a vow, only taking a vow is worth while. A resolve which can be broken cannot be regarded as a resolve. It has no value at all.

CONCENTRATION³

Concentration of mind can be brought about by practice. One can practise concentration by losing oneself in good and desirable activity. As for example, with single-minded devotion, someone serves

¹ A Sanskrit saying

² A correspondent had asked that since Gandhiji himself was not able to observe the principles laid down by him in his book, *Hind Swaraj*, in regard to railways, milk and medicines, why he should insist on sticking to them. Further, he had also asked if it was not enough if one made a resolve to do something; was it necessary to take a vow?

³ A correspondent had asked for some ways of achieving concentration of mind.

a patient, someone serves the *Antyajās*, another plies the spinning-wheel and yet another propagates khadi. One can achieve cocentration of mind by repeating *Ramanama* with faith.

MONOPOLY OF REFORM¹

You have of course floored me. I have undertaken the monopoly only of improving one person and that is myself. And I know how difficult it is to improve that person. Now need I answer your questions?

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 18-4-1926

141. STATEMENT ON POSTPONEMENT OF MUSSOORIE VISIT

AHMEDABAD,
April 18, 1926

Jamnalalji and friends who were interested in sending me to a hill station, having observed the progress I have made in regaining my old strength since my last illness and knowing also my own intentions, have decided not to press me to go to Mussoorie as has been announced already, unless there is any danger of a relapse.

The Bombay Chronicle, 19-4-1926

142. LETTER TO GANDHI ASHRAM, BANARAS

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 19, 1926

DEAR FRIENDS,

I had hoped to be able to disengage Kripalaniji from the Vidyapith work and restore him wholly to you. But we have all felt helpless. It is not possible to spare him for the time being. It may be impossible to free him for two years. In our national life, two years is a long time whilst we are all impatient, quite naturally, to regain our

¹ A Muslim had argued that since Gandhiji had said somewhere that a man's soul might go into an animal's womb; would they not be worshipping a sinner by worshipping a cow since his soul might have gone into her womb? He had requested Gandhiji for a reply as in his opinion the latter had taken up the monopoly of improving the universe.

freedom. I give you my assurance that if an opportunity occurs to free Kripalaniji earlier, I shall do so with all my heart, for, I know how valuable your work is and how necessary it is for him to be continually in your midst if your labours are to bear much ampler fruit than hitherto. I hope therefore you will make the path far smooth for Kripalaniji in order to enable him to organize the work here.

Yours sincerely,

GANDHI ASHRAM

BENARES

From a photostat : S.N. 19476

143. LETTER TO WILLIAM DOULL

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

April 19, 1926

DEAR MR. DOULL,

Sorabji has seen me regarding his difficulties. As you know he is heavily in debt. He wants assistance from his father's estates by way of loan without interest but with full security. The security he will describe himself. Sorabji tells me and I believe him that his father would have discharged his debt if he was alive and if Sorabji had decided to marry. He tells me that Mr. Rustomjee actually made that promise some time before his death, so anxious he was for him to be married. Sorabji has been now engaged and he has wisely deferred the marriage till he is free from his debts.

I observe that under a section of the trust deed, the trustees are empowered to remit to me such sums as they may deem necessary to be utilized by me as I choose. I have not studied the deed carefully nor do I regard myself competent to judge whether I can legally make use of the funds placed at my disposal under the trust and as proposed. But if in your opinion I can legally do so and majority of the trustees would approve of it, I would not only be prepared but would like to accommodate Sorabji, for I know his father would like me to do so if he was alive.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm : S.N. 19477

144. LETTER TO A TRUSTEE FOR PARSİ RUSTOMJEE

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 19, 1926

You rarely write to me but as I also do likewise I suppose I must not complain. I was happy to hear personally from Sorabji all the good news about you and your business.

This is written to tell you that I would like to help Sorabji in the manner proposed by him if it is at all possible. You will see from a copy of my letter to Mr. Doull what is proposed. Please see if the thing can be at all done.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm : S.N. 19477

145. LETTER TO DEVCHAND PAREKH

*[April 19, 1926]*¹

SHRI DEVCHANDBHAI,

I hear from Shri Fulchand that your elder² brother passed away. Need I offer condolences? We naturally desire our near and dear ones to be with us for ever. But are our wishes ever fulfilled? Besides, if only we can leave off being selfish we would see that we have no reason to grieve over death, which is inevitable and also life-giving. I know you do not need to be taught this truth. But I think I may remind you of it at this hour.

There has been no reply from Porbandar.

I have given up the idea of going to Mussoorie.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 5709

¹ From a postmark

² Not the elder but the younger brother, Hemchand

146. LETTER TO SIR HENRY LAWRENCE¹

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
AHMEDABAD,
April 20, 1926

DEAR SIR HENRY LAWRENCE,

I am much obliged to you for your letter of the 16th instant. If there is no hurry about our meeting, I would wait on you when the season is over and you have normally returned to Poona or Bombay. But in no case could I think of troubling you to come down to Poona, especially for a talk. If therefore you think that we should meet early, I should leave here on the 6th May and reach there as early as the railway and the motor service will bring me. Having never been to Mahabaleshwar, I do not know the time-table.

I need hardly add that I could not in any way be identified with the Royal Commission on Agriculture. Apart from my strong views about the system of Government, I lost my faith in Commissions long ago.

I remain,
Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

Halifax Papers. Courtesy : India Office Records

147. LETTER TO D. V. RAMASWAMI

ASHRAM SABARMATI,
April 20, 1926

MY DEAR RAMASWAMI,

I have your notes on Hanumantharao's life. They are interesting but they must not be published and in no case can I write a preface to a thing which contains a criticism of or an attack against the Servants of India Society. My advice to you is not to publish anything at all unless you can bring out something readable about Hanumantharao without introducing any controversial matters. It would be better not

¹ This is an enclosure to a letter, dated 22-4-1926, from Sir Henry Lawrence, Governor of Bombay, to the Viceroy, Lord Irwin. Sir Henry had invited Royal Commission on Agriculture, and offered to come to Poona if this suited Gandhiji better.

to publish anything at all or be satisfied with a newspaper article. If you wish the copy you have sent me to be returned, you shall kindly ask for it and I shall kindly return the same.

Yours sincerely

SJT. D. V. RAMASWAMI

VIZAGAPATAM

From a microfilm : S.N. 19478

148. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

April 20, 1926

DEAR SATIS BABU,

I have your two letters. I note what you say about Utkal. I am now going through the papers Niranjana Babu has sent me.

Your Patna visit I regard as quite a success. Even from the point of view of collections, it is the small collections which will be our mainstay in the long run. Hundred rupees therefore is a good beginning.

I never mentioned to you that I got your impromptu bow made in the train with which you carded your cotton for the *takli*. It is a good contrivance. The beauty of hand-spinning lies in our ability to use trifles as our instruments. That is more suited to the genius of our nation. The art in them is in the brain and in the hand, never in the instrument.

How is Hemaprabhadevi? Is she keeping well? Does she ever think of the Ashram? My visit to Mussoorie is cancelled. Jamnalalji was not sure that he was quite right in taking me away. I myself never [felt] the need. On the contrary [I] felt that my running to Mussoorie was not in keeping with my life-view. And as nobody could say profitably what was the correct thing, toss was decided upon. The result was against Mussoorie. So it stands finally cancelled, unless a crisis overtakes me, though my view would still remain unchanged that I must mend my body in Sabarmati or if God wills otherwise then end it here.

Yours,

From a photostat : S.N. 19479

149. LETTER TO S. V. PHADNIS

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

April 20, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I shall do what I can in connection with your letter. Though I do not wish to enter into any newspaper controversy, I do not at all subscribe to the charge that I have stood in the way of compromise. Regarding khadi my own personal opinion is that the khadi obligation should on no account be waived but there too mine is only one vote.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. S. V. PHADNIS

423, WALKESHWAR ROAD

BOMBAY-6

From a microfilm : S.N. 19480

150. LETTER TO MITHUBEHN PETIT

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

Tuesday, Chaitra Sud 8 [April 20, 1926]¹

DEAR SISTER,

I have your letter. I had offered to send you khadi at a loss, if necessary. If, therefore, you felt that Bombay khadi was rather costly I would have paid part of the bill. Enclosed is another bill for the khadi sent to you from the Ashram. Have you any complaint against that khadi? You may always take it that if any article received from the Ashram does not answer to your requirement or is costly, it can most certainly be returned. Even if you have accepted it, you should let me know in case you notice any defect in it.

You must have seen in the papers that my trip to Mussoorie has been cancelled. The National Council of Women must obtain a first class testimonial. Neither you nor I can be satisfied with a second class. Please send no money for the present. Perhaps I myself may have to go to Mahabaleshwar for two or three days. I shall let you know if this is decided. Kindly mention it to no one now. Yes, you are right, strawberries cannot arrive here safely all this distance. You should improve your health to very much better than it is now.

From a photostat of the Gujarati : S.N. 10890

¹ The year is inferred from the mention of cancellation of trip to Mussoorie.

151. LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

Tuesday, Chaitra Sud 8 [April 20, 1926]

BHAISHRI KAKA,

I got one-half of your letter, that is the one giving news of your health; the other half, I believe, is to follow. Since I have not written to you for quite a few days, I think I should dictate something just now.

If the doctor has specially recommended olive oil I do not wish to argue against it; otherwise I think it would be best to give it up. The olive oil which I get locally did not agree with me at all. I don't mean olive oil produced in India; the country does not produce any. That which we get here is imported from Italy or Spain and it is rarely fresh. Besides, it is also found that oil and ghee do not require the same length of time for digestion and also that the processes through which they are digested are different from each other. It may, therefore, be better to discontinue olive oil. Indeed, what you say about a *vaid's* drugs is true. It is a kind of quick remedy. It seems you use the language of Sidney Smith when you say that Dr. Talwalkar has not received respect "from us". By "us" you mean both the writer and the person addressed, don't you? Or do you mean "you"? If all you mean is that he has not received due respect from me, you have needlessly dragged in Sidney Smith. Well, I plead guilty to the charge, my reason being that I have great respect for Dr. Talwalkar himself, but not for his knowledge. I have, therefore, called Kanuga every time. Between the two I would place my life in Kanuga's hands. Dr. Talwalkar has gone crazy over "tubercle", as I have over the spinning-wheel. He sees tuberculosis in everyone. And I do not know why, but I simply cannot put faith in his injections. He has read extensively in medical science but I always felt that he has not digested what he has read. What should I do in these circumstances? He was here about ten days ago, when I expressed to him my lack of faith in his approach. He promises to convert me if I give him sufficient time. But how can I spare all that time? So maybe, I ought to give up my scepticism. But the truth is that I have little faith in doctors as such, i.e., in the medical profession itself, and my distrust is daily increasing. They fail to discover the right remedies because they hunt for the laws of the body without any reference to the soul.

My trip to Mussoorie had to be cancelled. We drew lots the day before yesterday. Jamnalalji was not enthusiastic about taking me

there. So we had to draw lots. Personally, I never believed that it was necessary for me to go to Mussoorie. How would I, then, decide on my own to go? And Jamnalalji was not prepared to take the responsibility. And I have always welcomed the idea that, in matters which do not involve a question of principle and when we cannot decide one way or the other, we may throw lots to know God's will.

Nanabhai has decided that Shankar should leave for Bhavnagar, latest on June 1. Swami is thinking about Bal. Chandrashankar just spoke to me about your letter to Bal. We can, therefore, decide only after discussing the matter with Swami.

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

As regards cow's milk, I want to write not a letter but a book for you.

From a photostat of the Gujarati : S.N. 19481

152. LETTER TO DEVCHAND PAREKH

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

Tuesday, April 20, 1926

BHAISHRI DEVCHANDBHAI,

Here is the letter from Diwan Saheb. It is now for him to decide when he will come. I suggest that you should yourself go over to Porbandar. You may tell him that you have read the accompanying letter. And since you will see him personally, I do not write to acknowledge the enclosed letter. Your going there in person will be as good as my doing so.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati : S.N. 19482

153. LETTER TO PROFULLA CHANDRA MITRA

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

April 21, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. It is a fact that in Dacca against a foreign mosquito-net I have no knowledge that a khaddar mosquito-net was rejected by any of my companions. I personally do not object to a

foreign mosquito-net because I do not regard it as an article of clothing even as I do not object to a foreign umbrella though I should try to dispense with both and procure home-made articles. But the discarding of anything but foreign cloth is not a matter of religion with me. And I regard discarding of foreign cloth as a matter of religion because in my opinion foreign cloth is the supreme sign of our bondage. It is totally wrong to suggest that my companions do not allow poor people to see me, because I know myself that I was constantly surrounded by poor people all the time I was in Dacca.

I still believe as firmly as ever in all the boycotts of 1920 and 1921. The Congress has relaxed them as the Congress has a perfect right to do. Everyone who non-co-operated did so because he believed in its utility. Sacrifice is an indispensable condition of non-co-operation.

I am aware that many students, many lawyers and many others have suffered. That suffering has done them and the nation much good. Every non-co-operating student has plenty of scope for national service if he will but do it. A right use of charkha will certainly give him all his wants but he who does not believe in charkha may take up any other national service that commends itself to him.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. PROFULLA CHANDRA MITRA
NATIONAL MEDICAL INSTITUTE
Dacca

From a photostat : SN. 19483

154. LETTER TO S. MEHTAH

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 21, 1926

DEAR SIR,

You have enquired of me whether your brother Sheikh Amir Khan was a fellow passenger with me in 1896 on board s. s. *Courland* when I returned from India to Natal during that year. I have to state in

reply that your said brother was a fellow passenger with me during that year.

Yours truly,

S. MEHTAH, ESQ.
222, GREY STREET
DURBAN

From a microfilm : S.N. 19484

155. LETTER TO B. SUBBA RAO

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 21, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. Will you please answer the following questions? Are you married? If so, have you children? Do you want to live here alone? Can you do bodily labour? Are you keeping good health? Apart from your medical diploma, do you regard yourself as an all-round good physician? What is the meaning of describing yourself as 'Ophthalmic Surgeon'? Have you special qualifications in that direction?

Yours sincerely,

SJT. B. SUBBA RAO
OPHTHALMIC SURGEON
86, PILLAYER KOIL ST
TRIPLICANE, MADRAS

From a microfilm : S.N. 19485

156. WARNING TO YARN COLLECTORS

Much of the yarn that is delivered to the All-India Spinners' Association as subscription is collected by local volunteer collectors. Thereby much time, energy and expense are saved. But the collectors should be good spinners themselves. They must be able to distinguish good yarn from bad and know the different counts. For the value of the yarn can be immediately increased if the collectors know how to judge yarn and take the trouble of examining it before accepting it from subscribers. They have to take only such yarn as is evenly spun and made into standard strands, i.e., 4 ft. in length. The greater the

attention paid to these details, the greater the chance of producing stronger khadi at cheaper rates. The spinners should bear in mind that the better they spin, the larger is their subscription to the Association. That is the beauty of having subscriptions in yarn. If collectors and subscribing spinners do their work carefully, they can double the value of subscription whilst it will mean no more work for the collectors or the spinners and certainly no more expense. Whereas, if the yarn is spun anyhow or packed anyhow, it throws a useless burden upon the Spinners' Association and means avoidable waste of national energy and capital.

Young India, 22-4-1926

157. WHAT TO DO

Sjt. Sarat Chandra Bose sent me a message through Sjt. Manilal Kothari asking me to give some guidance as to what should be done or what Bengal in particular should do to secure the freedom of those who, without trial, without even being informed of the wrong they are supposed to have done, are kept under detention and treated as felons. It is not the freedom of our countrymen that Sjt. Bose wants, so much as a tangible and effective demonstration of the nation's sympathy for them. To him, rightly, the honour of Bengal, if not of India, is at stake so long as these brave patriots are kept under duress. I had no better reply to send him than the following.¹ I publish it because Sjt. Bose desired its publication.

Young India, 22-4-1926

158. DRUGS, DRINK AND DEVIL

Drugs and drink are the two arms of the devil with which he strikes his helpless slaves into stupefaction and intoxication. And according to an illuminating article² in *The Survey* on the two Opium Conferences at Geneva, opium, the chief among the drugs, "won". The writer says :

Out of all the marching and counter-marching, the drawing of swords and putting up them again, the rumours of defeats and famous victories, the traffic

¹ Vide "Letter to Sarat Chandra Bose", 9-4-1926 and "Assorted Questions [—V]", 18-4-1926, sub-title, "What then Shall We Do?".

² Of which only excerpts are reproduced here

in opium and other narcotic drugs has gained a new lease of life.

In the midst of confusion and chaos caused by the bewildering reports on behalf of the different nations, the writer says :

The only people concerned who knew precisely what they wanted and did not want, and who were quite clear about and content with what they got, were those who in one way or another make profit out of the traffic in narcotics.

The writer adds :

Especially during the World War, the campaign has been going almost by default. . . . Indeed, the War itself materially aggravated the evil. The widespread use of morphine and cocaine in the armies as anodynes against human agony, and to some extent as a means of mental relief from the deadly despairs and fears, disgusts and monotonies of war, turned loose at the end in many countries a considerable army of uncured and more or less incurable addicts to continue and spread their addiction. For, one of the awful concomitants of this vice is a kind of perverted missionary impulse to propagate itself by making new addicts.

This is one of the most deadly by-products of the late War. If it has destroyed millions of lives, it has also hastened the soul-deadening process. But Mr. Gavit, the writer, shows that during the thirteen years since the international agreement was registered in the Hague Convention “the character of the problem has changed greatly”. Mr. Gavit can only speak from the European standpoint. Therefore, he says :

The evil is no longer an exotic affair of the Far East, of the eating, drinking and smoking of the raw and prepared opium after the time-entrenched fashions of India, China and other oriental regions.

It has now resolved itself into the use

of the more concentrated and far more injurious forms in the *highpower drugs*, manufactured in the expensively-equipped and scientifically-operated pharmaceutical laboratories of the lands which call themselves “civilized”. Whereas in the former time the opium and the opium-habits of the Far East were creeping out into the West, now the flow is the other way. And that is not all : These drugs are equally deadly, and spreading ominously, in the countries where they are made, and across their borders to their neighbours. . . . The threat is against the welfare of all mankind. To this devil a white addict is as useful as a black or yellow; . . . His is a domain upon which the sun never sets.

The writer then touches “the heart of the evil” which is in “the *excess of production*” beyond the very legitimate needs of medicine and science. . . .

Thus the world's production of narcotics is more than ten times the most extravagant estimate of the world's legitimate needs.

The writer shows that none of the great powers including America and Great Britain has seriously tackled the problem. He charges them with having broken the promise made under Article 9 of the Hague Convention—"to limit the manufacture of these substances to the *bona fide* needs of medicine and science." He deplores that these civilized nations have failed not merely to check the over-production of raw and prepared opium but have failed to check even the manufacture of the deadly drugs in the huge laboratories which are subject to licence and inspection and whose control is the easiest thing possible if there is only the will.

The readers who have studied the Assam Opium Report prepared at the instance of the Congress by Mr. Andrews' labours know the evil wrought by the opium-habit. They also know how the Government has failed egregiously to deal with the growing evil and how they have thwarted the efforts of reformers who tried to deal with it. It therefore did one's soul good to find that during the National Week, speakers at public meetings insisted upon the total prohibition of intoxicating drinks and drugs. It is a reform that is overdue. And, if it is at all worth going to the Councils, this total prohibition must be made a prominent plank in the electoral campaign. Every member must be pledged not merely to support but to initiate and pursue the total prohibition campaign, the only way to bring about total prohibition being to cut out from the military expenditure a portion equivalent to the revenue derived from this immoral source. The demand therefore for total prohibition must go hand in hand with the demand for reduction in the military expenditure. Nor must the solution be delayed by plans of taking referendums. In India there can be no reason for any referendum because drink and drug-habits are universally recognized as a vice. Drink is not a fashion in India as it is in the West. To talk therefore of a referendum in India is to trifle with the problem.

Young India, 22-4-1926

159. NOTES

JALLIANWALA BAGH

A Karachi correspondent writes :

You collected lacs for Jallianwala Bagh Memorial years ago. I was told that there would be a school building erected there. Can you now tell me what has happened to the fund? Has that site been bought at all? When will the temple of freedom be built there?

I was not prepared for the exhibition of ignorance which the foregoing questions betray. The writer should have known that the site where the massacre of the 13th April, 1919 took place was bought immediately after sufficient funds were collected. The site has been cleaned of all the rubbish heaps, levelled and there is to be seen a beautiful lawn there. A care-taker is in charge of it. The balance is deposited in trustworthy banks and interest accumulates year by year. It has not been possible to build anything upon it for the simple reason that there can be no temple of freedom built of bricks and mortar whilst we, Hindus and Mussalmans, are trying to cut each others' throats and undermining the very foundations of freedom. Monument, when it is erected, has to be a monument to commemorate the unity of all races and religions represented in India. It will be, when it comes, a demonstration of the people of India to vindicate their liberty and honour in the face of all odds. At the present moment if an attempt was made to erect a building, I doubt not that it will be an additional ground for cleavage instead of being used by all for binding us firmer together.

FEBRUARY RETURNS

The returns of production and sale of khadi for the month of February in several provinces are as follows :¹

The figures of Andhra are as usual incomplete, only 16 organizations having sent their report to the Provincial Office. The Bengal figures are those of the Pratishthan only, the figures of the Abhoy Ashram not having been received. Bombay is complete except for the Sandhurst Road Bhandar. In Delhi only the Hapur figures are given. Punjab and Tamil Nadu are complete and their sale figures have been corrected so as to avoid duplication. In Northern Maharashtra only the figures of the Jalgaon and Wardha Bhandar are given; and in Central Maharashtra only that of the Poona Bhandar.

The position in Februray is very much the same both, as regards production and sale as in the previous month except in the case of Bombay which shows a large decrease in sales from Rs. 41,448 to Rs. 26,029. As compared with the figure for the corresponding month of

¹ Not reproduced here

the previous year, this year shows a notable increase especially in production. The production figures of some of the important provinces are as under:¹

In sales, while Punjab and Utkal figures are very nearly the same as in the previous year, Bombay shows a decrease; but in Bengal, Bihar and Tamil Nadu the figures disclose remarkable progress. The figures are given below :²

I reiterate the hope that those centres that have not yet begun to send their returns regularly will do so without delay so as to enable the All-India Spinners' Association to publish as accurate returns as possible.

The growing decrease in the sales in Bombay compared to the increase in the other provinces requires careful study. There was a time when Bombay was the largest feeder for all khadi produced in India. It still retains an honourable position and second only to Tamil Nadu. The figures for Bombay are nothing compared to previous years—Rs. 44,220 against Rs. 26,029 during the February of this year, whereas Tamil Nadu shows Rs. 53,512 this year against Rs. 34,825 last year.

ORGANIZING KHADDAR SALES

It is astonishing the way the khaddar propaganda is evoking the faculties of the workers in all directions. Merely production is not enough. The quality must progressively increase. The cost of production has to be regulated and the sales must keep pace with production. Khadi Pratishthan is showing the way. I have already remarked³ upon the manner in which Bengal is trying to use up its own production locally. From January to 17th March, the Pratishthan workers sold by hawking Rs. 25,000 worth of khadi in 41 places in 14 districts. The workers have mapped out an all-Bengal tour which they hope to be able to finish within a few months. There will, therefore, be presently no over-production but an under-production. And, it will be possible to say that if more capital can be invested, more khaddar can be produced and sold. It will be an ideal condition when not only our sales are effected locally but financial help too is likewise raised. And it is bound to come, for sales must familiarize a large number of middleclass people with khadi; and when they begin to take a lively

¹ Not reproduced here

² *ibid*

³ *Vide* "Notes", 1-4-1926, sub-title, "Bengal's Worthy Example".

interest in it, they will naturally find the necessary capital without any difficulty.

Young India, 22-4-1926

160. FOR AND AGAINST KHADI

AGAINST KHADI

A correspondent writes a Gujarati letter of which the following is a free rendering :

I am a stenographer. I applied in reply to an advertisement by a well-known European firm for the post of a stenographer at its office and I received a reply asking me to report myself at their office. As soon as I was ushered into the presence of the manager, he scanned my dress and seeing that it was all pure khadi said, 'You are no use. Don't you know that those who wear khadi dress need not expect any employment in European firms?' And with this he dismissed me leaving me to wonder what connection my dress had with my ability to take down correct notes. I returned home feeling thankful that I had the courage to withstand the temptation of giving up my khadi dress for the sake of a comfortable employment. I hope that God will sustain that courage and that even when I am sorely tried, I shall not give up khadi which I know binds me to the poor of the land. I send you this information in order that it may serve as a warning to others against relying upon getting employment in European firms except on humiliating terms.

I congratulate the young stenographer upon his self-sacrifice and join my hope with his that God will sustain his courage even though he might have a series of disappointments when he tries to get employed as a stenographer.

FOR KHADI

But all European employers are not cast in the same mould. When I was in Calcutta last year, I came in touch with many European merchants and some of the leading ones amongst them not only had no objection to their employees wearing khadi dress but they avowed sympathy with the khadi movement and appreciated the sentiment that requires Indians and, indeed, those who make fortunes in India, to use cloth spun and woven by the toiling millions. Here is a letter from an Indian employee which the readers of *Young India* will read with

pleasure :¹

I congratulate the European firm upon their breadth of vision for it was no doubt something for them not to be carried away by prejudice when Non-co-operation was at its height and when khadi dress was mixed up by so many Europeans with violent intentions.

Young India, 22-4-1926

161. LETTER TO NAJUKLAL N. CHOKSI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

Thursday, Second Chaitra Sud 10 [April 22, 1926]²

BHAISHRI NAJUKLAL,

I have your letter. I will not let Moti disappoint me. I will shake her lethargy out of her. If she does not respond to my persuasion, I will leave her to you, a teacher, to do what you can, I shall then have to put a cane in your hand. If it does not work, I know of the spiked goads they use in your own district when driving bullocks. I will present some of these to you. Moti must be made to shake off her slackness and improve her handwriting. Her handwriting in her letter to Lakshmi looked very much like the crawling of a fly. Is this the example an elder sister should set to her younger one? How can we let her do that? Well, I close that chapter here.

Now that I am not going to Mussoorie, Velanbehn has for the time being discontinued her frequent tours. Anandi, too, has fallen ill. That is another reason why I cannot leave. Lakshmidas arrived only the day before yesterday. If possible, therefore, you should both come here; alternatively, if you can do without Moti, send her just now and you may come later. Or you may come when you are free. Do what suits you best. It was welcome news to me that you had recovered. So much for the present. This letter is for both of you.

With blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of Gujarati : S.N. 12127

¹ Not reproduced here. The correspondent, a stenographer, stated that despite his wearing khadi, his European employers had not only not objected to his dress but had given him increments and promotions.

² Year inferred from the reference to the cancellation of Mussoorie visit

162. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
*Chaitra Sud 10 [April 22, 1926]*¹

CHI. MATHURADAS,

There has been no letter from you recently. I had instructed Mahadev to inform you that my visit to Mussoorie had been cancelled. In case I go to Mahabaleshwar, I hope to spend a couple of days with you.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

163. INTERVIEW ON AGRICULTURAL COMMISSION

AHMEDABAD,
April 22, 1926

Interviewed by a Press representative in connection with the invitation sent to him to meet His Excellency the Governor, Mr. Gandhi said :

I have not much to say, because I have not studied the scope of the Royal Commission, nor have I interested myself in it. Being a confirmed Non-co-operator, I naturally take little or no interest in the doings of the many Commissions and Committees appointed by the Government. In agriculture itself, I am certainly interested, so much so that I delight in calling myself a farmer without knowing much of farming; and, if His Excellency the Acting Governor invites me to an informal discussion on matters agricultural, I shall certainly place my views before him.

The Hindu, 23-4-1926

¹ The postmark bears the date April 24, 1926. *Chaitra Sud 10* (intercalated) corresponds to April 22.

164. LETTER TO FRED CAMPBELL

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

April 23, 1926

MY DEAR YOUNG FRIEND,

I have your letter. Much as I would like to accommodate you, you have asked me to do almost the impossible. I cannot get a sixteen year lad to write to you in English for the simple reason that his mother tongue would be an Indian language. Spanish is out of question. No doubt there are some Anglicized Indian families where English is taught from infancy. But in order to get one such boy I shall have to hawk your letter about from place to place which I am sure you would not want or expect me to do. But if you want to open correspondence with a grown-up person who can write with the freshness of youth, I might succeed.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,

FRED CAMPBELL, ESQ.

7701 MAIN ST.

KANSAS CITY, MO., U.S.A.

From a photostat : S.N. 12444

165. LETTER TO ROMAIN ROLLAND

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

April 23, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

This is to introduce to you one of my dearest co-workers and friends Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru who has gone there with his wife. She is suffering from tuberculosis. Naturally my friend would like to make your acquaintance and pay his respects to you. I know that you will befriend him and his wife.

Mirabai, as we call Miss Slade here, is getting on very well and is quite happy. We often think of you and talk about you and the possibility of your visiting India at the end of the year. I wonder if

your health can bear the strain of the visit.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

MONSIEUR ROMAIN ROLLAND

VILLA OLGA

VILLENUEVE

(VAND)

SWITZERLAND

From a photostat : S.N. 12467

166. LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

April 23, 1926

MY DEAR JAWAHARLAL,

I have been thinking of writing to you every week and every week I have failed. I must not let this week, however, pass by. I have had the latest news about you from Father while he was here with the Responsivists. You will have seen the agreement¹ that has been arrived at.

Hindus and Muslims are going more and more away from each other. But this thing does not disturb me. Somehow or other, I feel that the separation is growing in order only to bring them all closer later on.

I do hope Kamala is benefiting.

Yours,

BAPU

A Bunch of Old Letters, p. 46

167. CIRCULAR LETTER

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

April 23, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

Time has arrived to work the Hindi Prachar Office in the Southern presidency as a matter of trust and, after consulting with

¹ *Vide* Appendix "The Sabarmati Pact", April and May, 1926.

Pandit Harihara Sharma, I have come to the conclusion that the trustees should include some lovers of Hindi in that Presidency also. The following are the names I propose :

Sjt. S. Srinivasa Iyengar
„ Konda Venkatappayya Garu
„ C. Rajagopalachariar
Seth Jamnalal Bajaj
Sjt. Harihara Sharma
„ Hrishiksha Sharma
„ Satyanarayana

and a nominee of the Sahitya Sammelan if they desire a name to be added. I hope that you have no objection to your name being included in the trust.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm : S.N. 19490

*168. LETTER TO GENERAL SECRETARY, HINDI SAHITYA
SAMMELAN*

SABARMATI,
April 23, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I did get your telegram, and had also sent a reply. I had hoped that someone would come over on behalf of the Sammelan. Pandit Harihara Sharma is here since a couple of days ago. After discussing the matter with him I have come to the conclusion that we should form a trust for propagating Hindi in the South and hand over the organizational control of the work entirely to it. This will end the present state of indecision and inspire the workers to more energetic effort. I have addressed a letter¹ proposing this, a copy of which is enclosed for you. I want your opinion on what I have proposed. If it is necessary to discuss the matter with me, either come over yourself or send somebody. My trip to Mussoorie has been abandoned.

Yours,

GENERAL SECRETARY
HINDI SAHITYA SAMMELAN
PRAYAG

From a microfilm of the Hindi : S.N. 19492

¹ *Vide* the preceding item.

169. LETTER TO G. A. NATESAN

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

April 23, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

Here is an article by Miss Rasengren. She has sent it to me for *Young India*. I am disinclined to publish it and rake up an old controversy¹ about which almost every Indian has made up his mind. The writer says that if I would not take it, I should send it to you for publication in *Indian Review*. Probably you know the writer.

I had a typed copy made of it which I am sending you.

Yours sincerely,

Encl. 3 sheets

SJT. G. A. NATESAN

EDITOR

“INDIAN REVIEW”

G. T. MADRAS

From a microfilm : S.N. 19486

170. LETTER TO ADA RASENGREN

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

April 23, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I must not publish the article you have sent me. Almost every Indian believes that England was in the wrong and responsible for the calamitous War. I do not now wish to rake up an old controversy without any occasion for it.

As desired I have sent a copy of your essay to Mr. Natesan, Madras. I have given your card to the Manager of *Young India*.

Yours sincerely,

MISS ADA RASENGREN

RO, LIDINGO VILLASTAD

From a photostat : S.N. 12466

¹ *Vide* the succeeding item.

171. LETTER TO MAULANA SHAUKAT ALI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

April 23, 1926

DEAR FRIEND AND BROTHER,

I do hope you will forgive me for not having come to Delhi. But I felt and both Panditji and Mrs. Naidu agreed that I should not be made to leave Ahmedabad contrary to the resolution of Cawnpore.

You have seen my letter to Hakimji. That was the best advice I could give. I hope everything has gone well.

Your charkha was repaired. It went yesterday with Yeshwant Prasad to Bombay and will be delivered to you.

Yours,

MAULANA SHAUKAT ALI

DELHI

From a photostat : S.N. 19488

172. LETTER TO N. S. VARADACHARI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

April 23, 1926

MY DEAR VARADACHARI,

I had your letter. I enclose herewith a copy of a letter written to Ganesan. You may apply your mind separately to the proposal. Of course the proposal is useless if you cannot be in Madras. I have made the proposal so as to enable you to be nearest to your centre of activity. I do not want to drag you all the way here if it is at all possible.

Yours sincerely,

Encl. 1

SJT. N. S. VARADACHARI

ERODE

From a microfilm : S.N. 19489

173. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

SABARMATI,
April 23, 1926

CHI. MATHURADAS,

I have your letter. We know of course that your lungs will mend only gradually. In one way this enforced rest is welcome. You are making good use of it. No programme has been fixed for Devdas. But I do not wish to send him there till he is fully restored to health. I hope Pyarelal is suitable company for you. Let me know if there is any inconvenience. I was planning to visit Deolali if I had to go to Mahabaleshwar. But now that cannot be because I am not going to Mahabaleshwar. The Governor has written to say that it will be all right if I meet him when he comes down in June.

You would be seeing the telegram about Finland in the newspapers.¹ I have not received any letter so far. I do not at all feel inclined to go. I do not like to leave the Ashram even for an hour. For the last three or four days I have been wanting to go to Ambalalbai's place to inquire about Saralabehn's health. But the important question is where to find the time outside of what is reserved for walks. I shall be going there no doubt, but only as a matter of duty.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

174. LETTER TO JACOB HIEBLE

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 23, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. If it is a question of publication of *My Experiments with Truth* in a magazine, there is no difficulty. But if it is a matter of publication in book form, Mr. Roniger² is already in

¹ It had been mooted that Gandhiji should visit Finland to attend the World Conference of the Young Men's Christian Association which was to be held in August, 1926 in Helsingfors; *vide* "Letter to Lajpat Rai", 20-3-1926 and "Letter to K. T. Paul", 13-4-1926.

² Emil Roniger

correspondence with me in the matter. And in any case it will take some time before the story is completed.

I am deeply interested in the German youth movement for I expect a great deal from the enterprising, brave and self-sacrificing young men and young women of Germany.

Yours sincerely,

JACOB HIEBLE, ESQ.
549 W. NORTH AVE.
AP, F, CHICAGO
U.S.A.

From a copy : S.N. 32248

175. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

SABARMATI,
April 23, 1926

CHI. JAMNALAL,

Anna¹ has come here, and is leaving again today. The dispute with the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan is going on. I have now decided that we should have a trust for this purpose too. I have addressed a letter² about this, a copy of which will be handed over to you by Anna. You can make any suggestions about trustees which you may like to. I have proposed that the trustees will include, besides others, three workers actively engaged in propagating Hindi; I think that will be necessary. They will be persons who have dedicated their lives to the cause, and it will be proper, therefore, to include them among the trustees. Please decide in consultation with Anna in what instalments you will pay the sum which you assured him that you would pay. That will make things easy for him, and you, too, will have the matter off your mind. He will get the amounts regularly on the dates fixed. You may ask him about the accounts if you wish to. I will not myself be looking into them. Anna will place before you his scheme for getting the accounts audited. I am still thinking about the bigger trust. I also think it absolutely necessary that we should regularly publish the accounts of all funds being managed by us. Till now I did not insist on this being done out of my anxiety to

¹ Harihara Sharma

² Vide "Circular letter", 23-4-1926

economize expenses. I know that, in spite of the practice of publishing accounts, there can be malpractices and, therefore, we place our trust entirely on the integrity of our workers. All the same, we should avail ourselves of the advantage of safety which the practice of publishing accounts offers. There are a number of small trusts, the names of all of which I, too, do not remember. I always feel that it would have been very much better if all these things had been published at the right time. But now at any rate we shall publish them.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati : S.N. 19491

176. STATEMENT ON SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN PROBLEM

AHMEDABAD,
April 24, 1926

Mr. Gandhi has issued the following statement to the Associated Press on the latest announcement regarding acceptance by the Union Government of the offer of the Government of India for a conference to arrive at an amicable solution of the Indian Problem :

The news from South Africa is certainly welcome. It enables Indian settlers to have a breathing time and upon this happy result all parties, the Union Government, the Government of India and the settlers, may congratulate themselves. In my opinion the real credit belongs to Mr. C.F. Andrews without whose incessant energy, prayerful watchfulness and detailed study of the situation, combined with rare faith in the cause he was espousing, this happy result could not have been obtained.

If the Union Government's proviso is honestly meant, its acceptance by the Government of India does not much matter. The Union Government is undoubtedly entitled to safeguard what they call Western standard of life by just and legitimate means and the only just and legitimate means that can be accepted are sanitary and economic laws. Thus, for instance, Indian lawyers must compete with European lawyers on equal terms and so far as I am aware no Indian lawyer does otherwise. But I have discovered that there is discrimination used even against them. I believe the Paddison Deputation, which, in spite of my non-co-operation I am free to confess, has deserved well, made the discovery that even in the Supreme Court clerks who appear before the Registrar on business must not be wearers of any but white skin. If

that is called safeguarding Western standards of life by just and legitimate means the proviso is dangerous. But I am an optimist. I shall take the proviso at its face value and if the Government of India will insist upon its being strictly interpreted all will be well. I hope that neither the Government of India nor the public will relax their watchfulness if a final and honourable settlement is to be secured.

Now that there is to be a conference, India has the right to hope that all questions that arise out of the Bill will be examined and dealt with in a just manner. The Indian settlers have nothing to fear from a most searching enquiry into the question and I make bold to say that at the end of the enquiry it will be found that the only crime that can be proved against them is that they are Asiatics and have a skin which has all shades of colour.

The economic question was laid at rest when in 1914 all fear of unrestricted emigration from India to South Africa was absolutely laid at rest. The figures produced before the Select Committee have conclusively proved that the numerical strength of Indian settlers is on the decrease whereas that of the white settlers is on the increase. There is no comparison between the insignificant value of Indian holdings and the extraordinary increase in the value of European holdings. Indian trade licences every-where are also dwindling.

If only South African statesmen will face facts squarely it will be found that there is no case against the Indian settlers. But at the present moment I want neither to anticipate nor to criticize. I have nothing but a feeling of relief and thankfulness. I tender my congratulations to General Hertzog and Dr. Malan upon their having risen to the occasion.

Forward, 25-4-1926

177. LETTER TO ABBAS TYABJI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

April 24, 1926

MY DEAR BHRRR¹,

I have your letter. Though life there seems to be dead, you have gone with the soul of a youth to resurrect the dead, and your optimism will infect Ramdas. I do not care how much you sell. I

¹ This was a form of greeting used by Gandhiji and the addressee for each other.

simply marvel at the manner in which you have responded and in which you are toiling there in midsummer. May God bless you and your effort. The proposed visit to Mussoorie was cancelled in answer to the chit that was drawn. When there is no principle at stake and when it is difficult to decide, I find God's answer through drawing chits and it has proved for me a most valuable time and trouble-saver.

Yours,

M. K. GANDHI

ABBAS TYABJI, ESQ.

RASHTRIYA SHALA

WADHWAN CITY

From a photostat : S.N. 9553

178. LETTER TO AKSEL F. KNUDSEN

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

April 24, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I remember your visit. If you want to translate *The Story of My Experiments with Truth* for a magazine, you may do so without any difficulty but if you wish to bring out the same in book-form it is a matter somewhat difficult because the MacMillan Company is negotiating for the full copyright and, in any case, there is no hurry about it for it will take some time before the story can be finished.

Yours sincerely,

AKSEL F. KNUDSEN, ESQ.

SHANTI GEHA

KODAIKANAL

MADRAS DISTRICT

From a microfilm : S.N. 19495

179. LETTER TO C. V. KRISHNA

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

April 24, 1926

MY DEAR KRISHNA,

I had your previous letters. And as you told me in one of them that you would write again, I did not acknowledge them.

I had the letter in answer to my letter to the late Hanumantharao regarding the tuberculosis patient. As he was not ready to go, I did not consider it necessary to write to you merely to tell you that much.

I understand your programme. In my opinion, you are too few workers to warrant the ambitious programme you have drawn up. I therefore advice you to move cautiously. How many workers are you there now? What about the Rs. 3,000 you say you have from Rustomjee's funds? Can you not use them? In any case, I would like you to put yourself in communication with the agent of the All-India Spinners' Association. Let him visit your place and you may send your application through the agent if he will back it. It will be then perhaps easy for me to get the money you require.

Give in that application the fullest details, your requirements, your prospects and the number of workers you have, etc. Meanwhile push further your collection of ten thousand, for, if you make progress in that direction, it would enable me the better to get the extra help you want. Am I now clear?

You tell me, the diet of the inmates cost Rs. 6 per month. Please send me the diet scale with the ruling prices. By the scale, I mean how much and what is allowed to each inmate.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. C. V. KRISHNA
NELLORE

From a microfilm : S.N. 19496

180. LETTER TO G. STANLEY JONES

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 24, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter and one copy, not two, of your paper.

Is it a weekly or a monthly? I do not find the information in the copy before me. I shall send you something as soon as I have a little leisure but after I have heard from you in reply to this.

I was going to Mussoorie but the friends who were interested in sending me there have relaxed the pressure and let me stay at the Ashram. I shall await your arrival at the Ashram and look forward to your stay in our midst be it ever so short. Did you not tell me you had lived at the Ashram before for a day or two? If, for any reason

whatesover, I am away from the Ashram in July, I hope you will still come. There is just a slight probability of my going to Finland for the World Students' Conference. I say only a slight probability because the matter has not progressed beyond the conversation stage.

Yours sincerely,

G. STANLEY JONES, ESQ.

SITAPUR, U.P.

From a microfilm : S.N. 19497

181. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA MUKERJI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

April 24, 1926

DEAR SATIS BABU,

I have now read the pamphlet signed by Miss Edger and other friends. It is quite unexceptionable. But I doubt the utility of an organization for the education of public opinion by various kinds of propaganda "for eradicating war". That propaganda has really no meaning in our country at the present moment.

I have had repeated letters from America from the Fellowship of Reconciliation. I am in correspondence with them still but I have not joined them as it seems to me to be a mockery for me to join. May a mouse with any propriety join the organization run by cats for the purpose of stopping war on mice? It is therefore enough for us to realize our status and "pray in secret" for peace on earth.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm : S.N. 19498

182. LETTER TO K. T. MATHEW

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

April 24, 1926

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I have your interesting letter. I am quite sure that you cannot amend your resolution in the manner suggested by the president because it is the Devaswom roads which you want to throw open to all castes and creeds without let or hindrance. Can you not move a resolution for removing or amending the prohibitory rule itself? If the

resolution cannot be moved and if you can get other supporters you may resign in a body by way of protest and seek re-election educating public opinion all the while. You should promote also a petition to the Government for throwing open the roads. And, if you have some brave and self-sacrificing men who do not belong to the so-called untouchable group, they should escort the latter through the roads and face the consequence. That you should do only if the opinion of caste Hindus is overwhelmingly in your favour. If it is not in your favour, and if you have men who will delight in endless suffering, you may still offer satyagraha. If that measure of self-sacrifice is not possible or if non-violence on the part of reformers cannot be ensured, you should be satisfied with quiet work amongst the untouchables and raising their status by helping to raise the level of character amongst them.

Yours sincerely,

K. T. MATHEW, ESQ.
MEMBER, LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL
COCHIN STATE
COCHIN

From a microfilm : S.N. 19499

183. LETTER TO SHANKARAN NAMBUDRIPAD

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 24, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

There is a serious complaint against you that at a meeting the other day regarding the removal of untouchability, you made a speech at Trivandrum where you incited to violence and said that nothing but violence would teach the opponents of reforms. I have in my possession extracts from your speech which I understand has been taken down verbatim. I shall thank you to let me know whether there is any truth in this report.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. SHANKARAN NAMBUDRIPAD
KOPRATTU ILLAM
KOTTAYAM
NORTH TRAVANCORE

From a microfilm : S.N. 19500

184. LETTER TO SHANKERLAL

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

April 24, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter about Prem Maha Vidyalaya. I had a chat with Prof. A. T. Gidwani whom I suppose you know well. He will require Rs. 250 per month. If you want him, of course, details will have to be fixed. You will let me know at an early date whether Professor Gidwani will suit.

Yours sincerely,

LALA SHANKERLAL

DELHI

From a microfilm : S.N. 19501

185. LETTER TO RAM DATTA CHOPRA

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

April 24, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I am myself totally against vaccination. But this is a matter in which everybody must decide for himself and not merely copy the views of others; for, after all it may sometimes become a question of life and death. It is impossible to assert positively that no one has been saved from an attack of small pox or worse by being vaccinated. He, therefore, who refrains from vanningation, does so with the full knowledge that he runs the risk of himself and his children being disfigured by small pox and even meeting death. At the same time, this is true that vaccination does not afford an absolute gurantee against small pox. Therefore those only will not be vaccinated who hold the body subservient to the soul and have an inner conviction that vaccination is hurtful for the soul.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. RAM DATTA CHOPRA

HEAD MASTER

D. B. SCHOOL, JANAURI

DT. HOSHIARPUR (PUNJAB)

From a photostat : S.N. 19502

186. LETTER TO ZAFARULMULK

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 24, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your lucid letter. The question you have put is really difficult to answer. But this is one of those questions which everyone must answer for himself. So far as the Congress is concerned you have absolute liberty of action. But with those with whom non-cooperation has almost become a creed, there is no guidance but that of the inner voice. If you ask me what I would do myself, I can only say that I could not work in a body in which the Governor is ex-officio patron and in which the Chairman and the Secretary are also officials as such.

Yours sincerely,

ZAFARULMULK, ESQ.
LUCKNOW

From a photostat: S. N. 19503

187. LETTER TO AMULYA CHANDRA SEN

ASHRAM SABARMATI,
April 24, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter and thank you for your good wishes.

The way you have put my position very nearly takes my breath away. For, you say, "it is quite clear you have never changed from untruth to truth." The statement is both true and untrue. There was no occasion for me to make a conscious effort to speak the truth or to be able to appreciate truth. But interpreting truth in its broadest sense, I must confess that I am still filled with untruth and am ever striving to rid myself of it. Therefore, I can fully endorse the latter portion of the sentence from which I have quoted; for, I see truth every day clearer and clearer. The process through which the soul has been passing is an effort of the heart. The intellect has been hooked to its service by prayer, meditation and constant watchfulness which are essentially matters of the heart and which have been the predominant factors that have contributed to the growing revelation of truth. I have never felt that whatever knowledge has been gained was imposed from without

but that it has come from within. It has been an unfolding, drawing out or perhaps better still removing the hard and ugly crusts that overlay the truth that is within us. In other words, the process has been one of self-purification.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. AMULYA CHANDRA SEN
LANGUAGE SCHOOL
QUEEN'S HILL
DARJEELING

From a photostat: S. N. 19504

188. LETTER TO SOMNATH

ASHRAM,
April 24, 1926

BHAI SOMNATH,

I have your letter. You have asked enough questions. May I now request you to restrain yourself? Questions relating to the *Ramayana*, the *Mahabharata*, idolatry, etc., are occasionally discussed in *Navajivan*. If you read those articles carefully, you will find your questions answered.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S. N. 19903

189. LETTER TO PURUSHOTTAM M. SHETH

April 24, 1926

BHAISHRI PURUSHOTTAM,

The present state of Hindu society makes one feel sad, but, being an optimist, I have hopes for the future. The easiest way to effect a reform in this matter is that the parents of a child-widow should themselves arrange her remarriage. Meanwhile, social reformers should carry on necessary propaganda through speeches, writings and such other means, observing certain limits. I do not look upon the second marriage of a child-widow as remarriage. Child-marriage could not be sanctioned by scriptures, and a marriage not so sanctioned cannot be regarded as a duly solemnized marriage. I have no doubt that marriage would improve the condition of child-widows. It certainly cannot lead to immorality. Immorality is increasing

because such girls are forced to remain widows. In order to encourage ideal marriages, we should refuse to associate ourselves with uncivilized marriages and offer our help whenever marriages of the former kind are celebrated. If the bride and the groom are both 20 years old or the groom is 30, I would not regard it as an ill-matched union. The ideal education for a woman would be that which, besides giving her a knowledge of the letters, made her a better wife and in case she became a widow, would enable her to support herself. I do not approve of marriages outside *varnashrama*. There can be only four castes. I would not encourage the remarriage of a woman who becomes a widow after she has grown up in years.

Vandemataram from

MOHANDAS

SHRI PURUSHOTTAM MULJI SHETH

VOKALA PHALIYA, BHUJ

From a microfilm of the Gujarati : S.N. 19904

190. LETTER TO AMRITLAL BAHECHARDAS

April 24, 1926

BHAISHRI AMRITLAL,

I had got my life insured in the year 1902, I let it lapse in the year 1903 or 1904, forfeiting the premia already paid up.

(2) It is my belief that getting one's life insured betrays a measure of lack of faith in God.

MOHANDAS GANDHI

SHRI AMRITLAL BAHECHARDAS

KELAPEETH BAZAAR

BROACH

From a microfilm of the Gujarati : S.N. 19905

191. LETTER TO DUNGARSEY KACHARA

ASHRAM,

April 24, 1926

BHAISHRI DUNGARSEY KACHARA,

I have your letter.

I think you should not mind if your parents suffer, nor should

you give up your resolve or forsake your dharma while trying to win them over through persuasion. Your parents' grief which is due solely to ignorance will subside in course of time but the guilt of betraying one's pledge can never be undone. You should make your life pure day by day to bring peace to your parents, and serve them in all possible ways. They will soon realize then that you do the work which you have undertaken because you regard it as your dharma.

(2) Borodada's assertion may be true. There is no reason why we cannot win liberation from the body during this very existence. If there were, it would prove that the power of the *atman* had limits to it. At the most we can say that liberation while yet alive and in this body is so difficult as to be almost impossible.

(3) It is altogether wrong that cattle should be allowed to consume night-soil. The milk of a cow which consumes excreta cannot be good. If people think and follow dharma, they would stop easing themselves in the streets. All night-soil must be used for preparing manure.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

SHRIDUNGARSEY KACHARA
BAMBHDAL, P.O. KUTCH BADA

From a microfilm of the Gujarati : S.N. 19906

192. LETTER TO AMRITLAL THAKKAR

ASHRAM,
April 24, 1926

BHAISHRI AMRITLAL,

Since you spoke to me I have been thinking over the subject. The more I think, the more I feel convinced that you should not take up that work. I see in the idea excessive attachment to work on your part. I should not like you to take it up even if you are thinking of doing it in the manner suggested by me. Even if you have the energy to apply your mind to new problems, and you are bound to have it since you regard yourself as a young man, you should utilize it in giving more thought to the two missions of your life, the service of *Antyajas* and *Bhils*; you will even then be short of time. These two tasks can do with the life-long services not of yourself alone but of

many like you. There is and I think there ought to be, a limit to the desire to do good. If we go looking for suffering in the world, we shall find that there is no end to it. We shall discover something to reform at every step. But surely God has not laid on us the burden of ending all that suffering. If he has, then he has also taught us the secret of carrying it; and it is that from out of the great heap of suffering we should pick up one clod of earth. If we resolve to do all we can to end that suffering and firmly refuse to take up any other task, we shall have carried the load of the entire hill. If I have succeeded in impressing this very simple truth upon your mind, I would ask you to promise me that you will not take up any other work besides your two missions even for the kingdom of the earth. And then if you ever feel that those two tasks do not absorb all your time, please come to me. I promise to show to you then that there was in those very fields much that you had omitted to do.

Vandemataram from

MOHANDAS GANDHI

BHIL SEVA MANDAL,

DOHAD

From a microfilm of the Gujarati : S.N. 19907

193. LETTER TO RAMU THAKKAR

ASHRAM,

April 24, 1926

BHAISHRI RAMU,

I have your letter. You have described me as the creator of a new age and asked my advice. But after describing me thus you have immediately proceeded to demolish that image; while seeking my advice, you yourself have given me some. A person who goes to a medical man who has but one remedy for all diseases, and asks for one other than that, can only be said to be pulling his leg. Don't you think you have done something like that? Moreover, this is your estimate of the achievement of the creator of an age : "In your unfruitful effort to win swaraj, you have wasted many years and much money and energy." Tell me now, what sort of peace of mind do you hope to learn from a creator of an age such as this? You may dislike the charkha, but why malign *Ramanama*? If you only keep repeating that name, all the girls and women who haunt your imagination will

win their freedom. You seem to think that *Ramanama* is for the passionless; what has such a person to do with *Ramanama*? It was a person troubled by lustful thoughts who discovered the power of that name, and it was because I used it to quench the fire of passion in me and found it effective that I have been recommending it to men and women who are troubled in the same way.

There are not as many unhappy women and girls as you think there are. The unhappy ones can, if they choose, take the help of the law. Yes, it is certainly true that these women are not conscious of their rights, and those who are do not have the strength to assert them. The remedy is simply the spread of true education. True education means building of character, and that is not possible without *Ramanama*. Moreover, such unhappy women are generally without any means and, if they wish to preserve their virtue, the charkha is the only means for them. These are some of the reasons why for me learning begins with these two, [*Ramanama* and charkha]. But how can I expect you to approve of my ideas? So you will have to look elsewhere for a remedy for the suffering which you think exists. If you fail in your search, you may come to me. My faith and patience are inexhaustible, and I will, therefore, wait for you quietly.

Vandemataram from

MOHANDAS GANDHI

SHRI RAMU PARMANAND THAKKAR

SHAMALDAS COLLEGE

BHAVNAGAR

From a microfilm of the Gujarati : S.N. 19908

194. PREJUDICE AGAINST KHADI

I compliment this patriotic youth¹ on his determination and sacrifice, and hope that he will keep up his attitude, will not, in future too, be tempted by higher salary or go back on his pledge or change his dress. If even at this hour khadi can be insulted, more than the British, we are to blame. British firms get any number of young men

¹ His letter, not translated here, describes how he had sacrificed his education for the national cause and always wore khadi. He was afterwards selected for appointment as shorthand typist in a British firm but, on his presenting himself for duty, was turned away because of his khadi dress. *Vide* "For and against Khadi", 22-4-1926.

who are ready to serve them on their terms, and those people are not worried and can afford to behave as they like. If everyone understood the value of khadi and was ready to make some little sacrifice for the sake of the country, the prejudice against khadi would disappear immediately.

HOW A “SANTANI” MAY ACT

A learned and orthodox Hindu, who subscribes himself as “A Santani Hindu”, writes :¹

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 25-4-1926

195. ABOLISH MARRIAGE !²

A correspondent, whom I know well, raises an issue, I take it, for purely academic interest, because I know the views he has set out are not his. ‘Is not our present-day morality unnatural?’ he asks. If it was natural it should have been the same everywhere in all ages, but every race and community seems to have its own peculiar marriage laws and in enforcing them men have made themselves worse than beasts. For diseases which are unknown amongst animals are quite common amongst men; infanticide, abortions, child-marriages, which are impossible in the brute creation, are the curse of the society that holds up marriage as a sacrament, and no end of evil results have sprung from what we uphold as laws of morality. And the miserable condition of Hindu widows—what is it due to, but to the existing marriage laws? Why not go back to nature, and take a leaf out of the book of the brute creation?

I do not know whether the advocates of free love in the West resort to the argument summarized above or have any stronger reasons to put forth, but I am sure that the tendency to regard the marriage bond as barbarous is distinctly Western. If the argument is also borrowed from the West, there is no difficulty about meeting it.

¹ The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had quoted, in connection with the temple-entry movement in the South, a Sanskrit stanza which said that one need not take a bath after touching a Chandala waiting outside a temple to have a glimpse of the deity’s image.

² The Gujarati original of this appeared in *Navajivan*, 25-4-1926. This is a condensed translation by Mahadev Desai.

It is a mistake to institute a comparison between man and the brute and it is this comparison that vitiates the whole argument. For man is higher than the brute in his moral instincts and moral institutions. The law of nature as applied to the one is different from the law of nature as applied to the other. Man has reason, discrimination, and free will such as it is. The brute has no such thing. It is not a free agent, and knows no distinction between virtue and vice, good and evil. Man, being a free agent, knows these distinctions, and when he follows his higher nature shows himself far superior to the brute, but when he follows his baser nature, can show himself lower than the brute. Even the races regarded as the most uncivilized on earth accept some restriction on sexual relations. If it be said that the restriction is itself barbarous, then freedom from all restraints should be the law of man. If all men were to act according to this lawless law, there would be perfect chaos within twenty-four hours. Man being by nature more passionate than the brute, the moment all restraint is withdrawn, the lava of unbridled passion would overspread the whole earth and destroy mankind. Man is superior to the brute inasmuch as he is capable of self-restraint and sacrifice, of which the brute is incapable.

Some of the diseases that are so common at the present day are the result of infringement of marriage laws. I should like to know a single instance of a man strictly observing the restraint of the marriage bond having suffered from the diseases the correspondent has in mind. Infanticide, child-marriage and the like are also the result of the breach of marriage laws. For the law lays down that a man or woman shall choose a mate only when he or she has come of age, is healthy, and capable of restraint, and desires to have progeny. Those who strictly obey this law, and regard the marriage bond as a sacrament, have never an occasion to be unhappy or miserable. Where marriage is a sacrament, the union is not the union of bodies but the union of souls indissoluble even by the death of either party. Where there is a true union of souls, the remarriage of a widow or widower is unthinkable, improper and wrong. Marriages, where the true law of marriage is ignored, do not deserve the name. If we have very few true marriages nowadays, it is not the institution of marriage that is to blame, but the prevailing form of it, which should be reformed.

The correspondent contends that marriage is no moral or religious bond but a custom, and a custom which is opposed to religion and morality, and hence deserves to be abolished. I submit

that marriage is a fence that protects religion. If the fence were to be destroyed religion would go to pieces. The foundation of religion is restraint and marriage is nothing but restraint. The man who knows no restraint has no hope of self-realization. I confess it may be difficult to prove the necessity of restraint to an atheist or a materialist. But he who knows the perishable nature of flesh from the imperishable nature of the spirit instinctively knows that self-realization is impossible without self-discipline and self-restraint. The body may either be a play-ground of passion or a temple of self-realization. If it is the latter, there is no room there for libertinism. The spirit needs must curb the flesh every moment.

Woman will be the apple of discord where the marriage bond is loose, where there is no observance of the law of restraint. If men were as unrestrained as the brutes they would straightway take the road to destruction. I am firmly of opinion that all the evils that the correspondent complains of can be eradicated not by abolishing marriage but by a systematic understanding and observance of the law of marriage.

I agree that whereas amongst some communities marriage is permitted amongst very near relations, it is prohibited among other communities, that whereas some communities forbid polygamy some permit it. Whilst one would wish that there was a uniform moral law accepted by all communities, the diversity does not point to the necessity of abolishing all restraint. As we grow wise in experience our morality will gain in uniformity. Even today the moral sense of the world holds up monogamy as the highest ideal and no religion makes polygamy obligatory. The ideal remains unaffected by the relaxation of practice according to time and place.

I need not reiterate my views regarding remarriage of widows, as I consider remarriage of virgin widows not only desirable but the bounden duty of all parents who happen to have such widowed daughters.

Young India, 3-6-1926

196. LETTER TO AHMED MIYAN

April 25, 1926

BHAI AHMED MIYAN,

I have your letter.

1-2. In my opinion, my efforts for Hindu-Muslim unity have not been fruitless. However much the two communities may be estranged at present, I think ultimately they will have to [come together]¹.

3. Unity is certainly essential for the solution of the country's problems.

4. Money can be spent only for the cause for which it was collected.

5. I have not been able to discover the reasons for the painful incidents at Calcutta. I put little trust in newspaper reports. The Arya Samaj, I believe, used to take out processions formerly too.

6. I think it would be betraying lack of faith in God even to speculate whether or not the results would have been better if I had adopted some other way.

7. It is, I know, for God to worry who will take my place, why then should I worry about it?

Vandemataram from

MOHANDAS GANDHI

From a microfilm of the Gujarati : S.N. 19909

197. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

ASHRAM,

April 25, 1926

CHI. JAMNALAL,

I have your letter. The Governor has replied that it is not necessary for me to go there at present. It will do if I see him in June after he comes down; so we are free from the bother of having to go to Mahabaleshwar.

I did make some mention to Lalaji about his grievance but he refused to admit to me that he had any. Since we know the trouble, we will certainly apply the remedy when he is here.

I will speak to Motilalji when there is an opportunity to do so. I am sure there will be no difficulty in regard to that matter.

I do not feel like sending away Devdas from here just now. It would be better if he leaves only after he has completely recovered his health. Moreover, if I am required to go to Europe I shall have to

¹ 'Fight it out' in the source

think what I should do and whom I should take with me. My present intention is that Mahadev and Devdas should accompany me. For this reason, too, it is better that Devdas should stay here for the present. If at all we decide to go, we shall be leaving at the beginning of July. I have received no reply as yet.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 2861

198. LETTER TO NAGINDAS

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Sunday, April 25, 1926

BHAISHRI NAGINDAS,

Read the enclosed postcard and let me know what you wrote to him. If this gentleman had ordered books as per the announcement in *Navajivan*, I think you should have sent them. . . . Let me also know how many orders you have received to date on cash payment.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati : S.N. 19506

199. LETTER TO GULABDAS LALJI¹

ASHRAM,
April 25, 1926

BHAISHRI GULABDAS,

1. There cannot be any difficulty in studying at home any of the subjects² you have mentioned.

2. It is for the person concerned to see that his work in the profession does not kill his better feelings. I certainly rate these professions³ inferior to agriculture and other manual work.

3. For the practice of *brahmacharya*, one's diet should be simple and light; spices and stimulating foods should be avoided.

4. There is certainly some meaning in the distinction which is made, from the point of view of non-violence, between greens and pulses. At the present time, however, dharma is restricted to making

¹ This was in response to two sets of questions by the addressee.

² Engineering, medicine and homoeopathy

³ *ibid.*

such distinctions and, therefore, this one has become unprofitable.

5. So long as women are, and believe that they are, dependent, people see nothing wrong in their having to submit to more restrictions than men.

1. I do not think that dharma requires a wife to do everything her husband does.

2. A husband may not force his wife to wear khadi, but may persuade her to do so only with the power of his love.

3. Both the son and his wife should insist on wearing khadi, but so long as the father requires their services they should not leave his house.

4. To me it seems altogether wrong that a man should take a second wife, with or without the first wife's consent. In my opinion, a man may not marry again even if his wife has borne him no children.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati : S.N. 19910

200. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

April 26, 1926

I do not feel like going there at all. I do not like to leave the Ashram even for an hour.

[From Gujarati]

Bapuni Prasadi p. 87

201. LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR

ASHRAM,

Monday, April 26, 1926

BHAISHRI KAKA,

I have your letters. I shall certainly answer your question about cow's milk, but not today.

When asked about the new almanac Swami said that he did not understand the problem. I at any rate do not. Explain it to us after you get well and revise the almanac. Can we, however, introduce any changes without first discussing them at length in *Navajivan*? I have not yet been able to understand the significance of the proposed changes. Shri Harihar is expected here in a few days; I shall try to

understand it from him¹

My Mussoorie trip is off for ever. The meeting with the Governor will also take place either in Poona or Bombay, in June. At present the air is thick with talk about a trip to Finland. I have not yet received the final reply. I still think that they will not agree to my condition regarding my dress. If the journey is finally decided upon, I shall be away for not less than three months.

More in my next.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S. N. 19911

202. LETTER TO CHANDRASHANKAR PANDYA

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

Monday, April 26, 1926

BHAISHRI CHANDRASHANKAR,

I was glad to have your letter.

Who gave you the right to fall ill again? How if you return it to the person who gave it to you? Or is it that, in this age of freedom, we may not give up any rights which we have once secured?

Believe me I am making my humble efforts as you desire. I believe in every word of the last line in the verse quoted by you. "Though outwardly following different paths, may we be one in heart."

Motilalji is also working towards the same end, but how can we have unity when the hearts are divided? Difference in ideology may also keep the hearts divided. It would be good to have only two parties, the Government and the people; but I do not think this possible at present. When our hearts feel in that way, nothing more remains to be done. It should be our ceaseless efforts to bring about what is lacking now.

If you come to Ahmedabad and stay here for a couple of days,

¹ As in the source

we shall discuss this at length.

Vandemataran from
MOHANDAS GANDHI

SHRI CHANDRASHANKAR PANDYA
HIGH COURT PLEADER
CHINA BAGH, GIRGAON
BOMBAY

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S. N. 19912

203. LETTER TO S. GANESAN

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 27, 1926

MY DEAR GANESAN,

I have your telegram. I send you a copy of the essay¹ so far as it has been typed. It will cover in all 100 pages. This ought to enable you to give me your exact quotation. The original intention was to publish through the *Navajivan* office. As Varadachari is in Madras and as I learn that probably the essay can be printed cheaper in Madras, I thought I would first have the quotation from you before deciding to give it to *Navajivan*.

The required paper has already been bought for the book. If therefore you are to print the essay the paper will have to be transferred to you. So you may give me your quotation without the cost of the paper for 2,000 copies. And you will give me the exact date of delivery of copies after the thing is put into your hands.

It will be necessary for me to consult also Varadachari whether he can stay in Madras and do it on his own responsibility. In order to expedite matters you will perhaps see or correspond with Varadachari also.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm : S.N. 19507

¹ *Hand-spinning and Hand-weaving—An Essay* by S. V. Puntambekar and N. S. Varadachari

204. LETTER TO S. SRINIVASA IYENGAR

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 27, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I had your telegram. I saw your interview only yesterday. I expect you in Sabarmati at the time of the A.I.C.C. meeting.

I fully appreciate your position and difficulty. The only part that I played then and should play now is to act as a peacemaker. I am not interested in the Councils at all. I may be regarded as a disinterested party. That is about all that can be said of myself.

The more I study the Councils' work, the effect of entry into the Councils upon public life, its repercussion upon the Hindu-Muslim question, the more convinced I become not only of the futility but of the inadvisability of Council-entry. I would welcome the day when at least a few of the comrades of 1920 leave the Councils to their fate and work if they like at the charkha programme or any other thing they wish. I have not a shadow of doubt that they will be the reserve force ready for mobilization when the time for battle comes. However, that is my view. For the present, I bottle it up and keep it to myself except when I share it with friends like you. The time for its public ventilation is not yet come. I should simply add one more to the already existing disturbing factors without doing the slightest good. This, therefore, is only for your eyes. More when we meet.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. S. SRINIVASA IYENGAR
AMJAD BAGH
MYLAPORE, MADRAS

From a photostat: S. N. 19508

205. LETTER TO DR. MANEKBAI BAHADURAJI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 27, 1926

DEAR MANEKBAI,

I have your welcome letter. I was delighted to receive it. I would certainly have stayed with you had I gone to Mahabaleshwar, even if it was for only a day but I am not called upon now to go to

Mahabaleshwar. I had asked the Governor to postpone the interview till he came down from the hills after the season and he has agreed. It means for me a saving of a few days though at the same time a deprivation of the pleasure of meeting you and Mr. Bahadurji.

I had a reminder from him that he was not a doctor but as I knew you before I knew him, evidently in the hurry of dictating I forgot the distinction. I do not tender my apologies, for, I see no harm in the husband of a doctress also being called a doctor by way of courtesy.

Do you remember the singlets you sent me? And, do you also remember that you owe me more? I shan't call upon you to fulfil the promise as I cannot need them in this boiling heat. But I send the reminder so that I can fall back upon your promise whenever I need them.

With regards to you all,

Yours sincerely,

DR. MANEKBAI BAHADURJI
COMRA HALL
PANCHGANI

From a photostat : S.N. 19509

206. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Chaitra Poornima [April 27, 1926]

BHAI GHANSHYAMDAS,

I have your letter. I enclose for your knowledge the receipt received from Jamnalalji's office for that part of the amount of your cheque which was intended as your contribution to the All-India Deshbandhu Memorial Fund. I learn for the first time that receipts are issued after deducting draft charges.

What more may I say about the Hindu-Muslim fighting? I fully understand what is best for us, but I also know that anything I say at present will just be a cry in the wilderness. Who can drive away a fly sitting on honey? Who can stop the moth from circling round the flame?

I have been reaping a great many benefits from the decision not to go to Mussoorie. Why did you send a telegram from Delhi asking

me to go when you had already given your opinion here? But who can destroy him whom God protects?

I do not know my own mind in regard to the visit to Finland. I have sound reasons both for and against going there, and because I could not decide either way, I told those who had invited me that I would accept their invitation on certain conditions; if they agree to have me on those conditions, I would conclude that it was necessary that I should go.

We shall see what happens at the All-India Congress Committee meeting.

I want Shri Jugalkishore's consent in regard to the Chinese student, since he takes special interest in such matters. I wrote to him remembering what he had said to me. In matters which lie outside my own sphere, I act only if I get the help of friends who would know. I do not want to add unnecessarily to the burdens you shoulder for my sake. As long as you brothers have separate accounts, I too shall deal with each of you individually. Kindly therefore, let me know what Shri Jugalkishore would like me to do.

Yours,

MOHANDAS

From the Hindi original : C.W. 6125a. Courtesy : G. D. Birla

207. LETTER TO JUGALKISHORE BIRLA

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

Wednesday, April 28, 1926

BHAI JUGALKISHOREJI,

I got your letter today. I will send the money for the girl. At present the Chinese student seems to possess all fine qualities of character. At his own request, he has been given an Indian name. We call him Shanti.

Though the present strife between Hindus and Muslims is painful, I see a ray of peace shining through it. I always pray to God that we may not forget our dharma.

Yours,

MOHANDAS

From the Hindi original : C.W. 6126. Courtesy : G. D. Birla

208. *LETTER TO DEVCHAND PAREKH*

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
*Wednesday [April 28, 1926]*¹

BHAISHRI DEVCHANDBHAI,

I have your letter. What you have written to the Dewan Saheb² is all right. I shall let you know if [it] does not arrive in about eight days.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 5706

209. *LETTER TO NAJUKLAL N. CHOKSI*

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Wednesday, April 28, 1926

BHAISHRI NAJUKLAL,

This letter too, though addressed to you, is meant for both of you. Husband and wife both have the right to use, if necessary, a goad or a stick against the other partner; only, the goad should be of the satyagrahi type, like that satyagrahi abuse. As for Moti, I warn her that I will use nothing but the goad to drive out her laziness and improve her handwriting. She is welcome to leave the Ashram in fear at the prospect. And when she leaves where else but to you will she go? There is certainly some resemblance between the jealous and the godfearing. The actions of either are amusing, and both pin their faith in the unknown. He must be a proud man or a fool who wastes the divine gift of time in thinking over matters on which no one can come to a definite conclusion or which do not involve any issue of principle. I am not a fool nor a proud man; I am godfearing, so I saved time by drawing lots to avoid argument among friends. What difference would it make if I went to Mussoorie? Or, if I did not go? To live in India and to hanker after cool places all the year round is as silly as to live in a river and make the crocodile your enemy.

Blessings from
BAPU

SJT. NAJUKLAL NANDLAL CHOKSI
RASHTRIYA KELAVANI MANDAL
BROACH

From a photostat of the Gujarati : S.N. 12127-A

¹ From the postmark

² *ibid*

210. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Wednesday [April 28, 1926]¹

CHI. MATHURADAS,

I have your letter. Now you have got to leave Deolali. Since so many doctors have given the same advice, it is best to leave. Sinhghadh is far better than Matheran. It is best for you to go there. You can stay there till the first week of June. In June even Deolali will be cool. But by then, there will be no difficulty about getting the bungalow at Panchgani. So you will be able to stay wherever you wish. But the best thing is to decide quickly and go to Sinhghadh. Pyarelal is silent for the present.

Blessings from
BAPU

MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI
WINDY HALL
NASIK ROAD
DEOLALI (G.I.P)

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

211. SOUTH AFRICA

The Government of India has every reason to congratulate itself upon the diplomatic victory it has gained in South Africa. I have shown elsewhere² that nothing could have been done in South Africa but for the extraordinary faith and labours of C. F. Andrews. Nevertheless had the Government of India been at all remiss in its prosecution of the Indian claim, the Areas Reservation Bill would certainly have been passed by the Union Parliament. It is a great gain that the Bill has been postponed and a conference agreed upon.

But there is a fly in the ointment. The Union Government's condition and its acceptance by the Government of India that the resolution must "safeguard Western standards of life by just and legitimate means" may make an equitable solution impossible. What

¹ From the postmark

² *Vide* "Statement on South African Indian Problem", 24-4-1926.

is the meaning of “safeguarding Western standards of life” or of “just and legitimate means”? The safeguard may mean, for instance, that the indentured Indian working on the plantations and getting perhaps 30 shillings per month should live like the European artisan in a five-roomed brick-built cottage and wear the European costume from top to toe and eat European food; and “just and legitimate means” may be compulsory deportation of those indentured Indians who do not conform to the impossible safeguard; or “safeguarding by just and legitimate means” may mean reasonable sanitary and economic laws of common applicability ensuring on the part of all a standard of life in keeping with sanitary and hygienic requirements and regulation of all business in conformity to the European standard. Indians would have and should have no objection to the latter interpretation. Never have objections been raised to general sanitary or economic requirements.

But the correspondence just published enables me to understand what the Union Government will want. That Government wants repatriation, not reformation. It would not be party to the holding of a conference if the Government of India would not consent to that question being favourably considered at the Conference. Lord Reading cleverly got out of the difficulty by saying he had no objection to voluntary repatriation as limited by the Indian Relief Act being discussed. The Union Government could not very well insist upon the precise terms of repatriation being previously accepted. They therefore discovered the new formula of conformity to “Western standards of life”. On the face of it, the condition is harmless enough. But it can be made to cover, as I have shown, impossibilities. Much will therefore depend upon what mentalities both parties bring to the Conference and what strength the Government of India shows. Hitherto it has surrendered the Indian claim every time there has been a tussle and has claimed it as a virtue that it has not yielded all the Union Government has aimed at. This is as much as to say that the judge in a cause did not permit the thief to retain all he had stolen. It must never be forgotten that every time the South African Government has admittedly without just cause sought to deprive the Indian settler of his just rights as a peaceful citizen of South Africa. The Government of India to be true to its trust should therefore have been able to show a record at each tussle of recovery of lost ground. The fact however is that had not the settlers in 1907 taken the law, as it were, into their own hands, they would have lost all, the

Government of India being privy to it. For the Indian and the Imperial Governments had already consented in 1907 to the brutal Asiatic Act—the same that was in 1906 vetoed by Lord Elgin, the then Secretary of State for the Colonies. Though, therefore, the postponement of the Bill and the Conference is a tremendous step gained in the present campaign, if the Government of India weaken in the final heat, the present advantage will be counted as a wasted effort.

The public has thus as great need to be watchful as ever if the advantage is not to be lost. The breathing time must be fully utilized for a close study of the problem and for elucidating the fact that the only crime provable against the Indian settler is his Asiatic birth and the possession of a coloured pigment. It is statutory crime. For, the South African constitution in effect says : “There shall be no equality between whites on the one hand, and coloured and asiatic races on the other.” South Africa believes as much in hereditary caste as we do in India.

Lastly, I must not omit to reiterate the opinion given in these columns that the salvation of the settlers lies finally in their own hands. The Government of India, public opinion, and even the Union Government and the white people of South Africa will help them if they will help themselves. Let them remove the slightest cause of complaint against them whether on grounds of hygiene or economics. In all things not immoral let them do “in Rome as Romans do”. Let them be and remain absolutely united. And above all let them be resolute in suffering for the common good.

Young India, 29-4-1926

212. MARCH FIGURES

The returns of production and sale of khadi for the month of March in several provinces are as follows :¹

The figures of Karnatak are incomplete. There is no noticeable change in the position from February except in the sales of S. Maharashtra, Bombay and Utkal which show an increase over the February figures. The comparatively large sales in S. Maharashtra are due to the fact that the figure includes the sales effected in the khadi exhibitions that are being organized by Mr. Patwardhan.

¹ Not reproduced here

As compared with the figures for the corresponding month last year wherever figures for comparison are available there is a general increase both in production and sales. The comparative figures are given below :¹

The Tamilnad sale figure for the month of March 1925 is exceptional, owing to Mr. Bharucha's hawking tour.

Young India, 29-4-1926

213. NOT QUANTITY BUT QUALITY

Times without number have I been asked : "What can be done if we are so few. See how few spinners we have in the Spinners' Association? how few civil resisters? How few pukka non-co-operators? How few prohibitionists?" All this is, alas, too true. But when we come to think of it, what is there in numbers? The more relevant question is, how many true spinners, true civil resisters, true non-co-operators, true prohibitionists are there in the country? It is character, determination, and courage that will count in the end. And I wish I could say that we have 4,000 true spinners. What is a true spinner? A true spinner is not one who merely spins. In that case we have not four thousand but probably four hundred thousand spinners. It is not enough to spin. It is necessary to spin even a strong yarn regularly for the sake of India's paupers. Spinning, therefore, must not be a task but it must be a pleasure. It is not enough to belong to the Association but it is necessary to invite others to do likewise. And a true spinner revolutionizes his life. He therefore understands the gospel of simplicity, appreciates the dignity of body-labour, recognizes that the greatest need of India is self-reliance and therefore work for the millions in their own homes which they can do with the simplest tools.

One is told that the revolution in Japan was brought about not through thousands of men but at the head of it were only 12 men who fired the zeal of fifty-five. And, probably, amongst these 12 was only one man who was the author of the whole plan. If a true beginning is made the rest is simple. We therefore arrive at the astonishing conclusion, which is none the less true, that one true man is enough for any reform no matter how impossible it may appear in the beginning. Ridicule, contempt and death may be and often is the

¹ Not reproduced here

reward of such a man. But though he may die, the reforms survive and prosper. He ensures their stability with his blood. I wish, therefore, that workers will think less of numbers irrespective of strength but more of the strength of the few. It is depth more than the width that is wanted. If we lay a stable foundation, posterity will be able to erect a solid structure upon it, whereas, if the foundation is built of sand, there will be no work for posterity except to dig out the sand to lay the foundation anew.

Young India, 29-4-1926

214. NOTES

THE GOOD SAMARITAN

I received the following cablegram from the Secretary, South African Indian Congress, Durban, before the decision of the South African Government was known :

Congress meeting assembled tender you grateful thanks for sending Mr. Andrews to South Africa, who nobly and strenuously worked bringing great change feeling both communities. May he enjoy long life, continue his noble work cause of humanity.

I have withheld from the public similar cablegrams received during Mr. Andrews' strenuous tour in South Africa but I felt I could no longer withhold the foregoing especially in view of the results attained. I am aware that the services of this selfless Englishman have not been always properly understood. He is no diplomat and therefore he sends cablegrams faithfully recording opinion and feelings from day to day. He is therefore at times despondent, at times optimistic, but if one were patiently to collect all the cablegrams that he has been sending during the past few months, one would trace in them all a never-to-be-missed ring of hope when to the sceptic there was no ground for hope. His last cable to me on the eve of his departure from South Africa told me not to lose hope because he was hopeful. If he had faith in the righteousness of the Indian cause, he had faith also in the South African statesmen. Andrews is a humanitarian, pure and simple, and therefore he trusts everybody. The whole world is free to deceive him and he would still say "Humanity! With all thy faults I love thee still". And this love of his enables him to surmount all barriers and cut his way straight to the hearts of people. He made himself heard in South Africa where, perhaps, others would have been hissed. He paved the way for the Paddison deputation.

The mention of the Paddison deputation enables me to add the testimony I have received from South Africa to the one that Sjt. C Rajagopalachariar gave in favour of Mr. Paddison when the deputation left. This is what a correspondent has written from South Africa :

He is an Englishman by birth and an Indian in outlook. In fact, I see no difference between him and Mr. Andrews. It is a surprise that man of his talents should have risen no higher than the Labour Commissionership of Madras. Whether his strong Indian sympathies are responsible for this is more than I know at present.

All accounts received by me show that the members of the deputation discharged their trust faithfully and well. But even this deputation could not have done half as well as they did, without the spade work that was done by Andrews and the incessant toil put by him into it.

IN THE GRIP OF UNTOUCHABILITY

We have heard much about untouchability and unapproachability of Travancore because there was satyagraha there. The lamp of suffering brought the Travancore dirt to light but it seems that there is much more of it in Cochin than in Travancore. There the repeated attempts to bring even a resolution before the Cochin Legislative Assembly asking the Cochin state to remove the ban on the use of public roads by untouchables was disallowed.

An assiduous member enquired in the Cochin Legislative Assembly : “How many tanks and wells maintained by Government or Municipal funds were closed to untouchables?” The reply was that 61 tanks and 123 wells were so closed. It would have been interesting if a supplementary question had been asked to elicit how many wells and tanks were accessible to untouchables.

Another question asked was : “On what ground was the use of certain roads constructed and maintained by the Public Works Department prohibited to untouchables,” euphemistically called by the questioner “non-Hindus”? Reasons given without any sense of shame on behalf of the Cochin Government were : “The roads are in close proximity to temples and palace. There cannot be a sudden break with the past. Long-standing customs have to be respected”. The reader must note the word “palace”. One may suppose, therefore, that the *Panchama* has no right of personal petition, for, he cannot traverse roads near the palace, much less can he enter them. The officials who gave the heartless answer are able, educated and

cultured men, in other walks of life even liberal minded; but they justify a cruel, heartless and irreligious custom on the grounds of antiquity.

One learns in law books that crimes and immoralities do not enjoy the benefit of prescription. Their antiquity cannot make them respectable. But it is evidently otherwise in the Cochin State. Who can deny that the custom of untouchability is immoral, barbarous and cruel? Thus the laws of Chohin State are in a way much worse than those of South Africa. The common law of South Africa refuses to admit equality between white and Coloured races. The common law of Cochin bases inequality on birth in a particular group. But the incidence of inequality in Cochin is infinitely more inhuman than in South Africa for, an untouchable in Cochin is deprived of more human rights than the Coloured man in South Africa. There is no such thing as unapproachability or invisibility in South Africa. I have no desire to single out Cochin for its disgraceful treatment of untouchables; for, it is still unfortunately common to Hindus all over India more or less. But, in Cochin, besides the so-called sanction of religion, untouchability has the sanction of the State. Mere levelling up of public opinion, therefore, can be of no avail in Cochin unless it becomes so strong as to compel the state to abolish the barbarous custom.

ROOM FOR IMPROVEMENT

The Manager of the Technical Department of the All-India Spinners' Association has handed me the following names¹ of spinners who have sent in their yarn regularly, whose counts are over 25 and whose strands are well and neatly made :

It will be observed that in this list the first place is given to the spinner who has spun 46 counts. The highest count comes last but one. Aparna Devi who at a time occupied the first place stands 19th on the list in spite of her 113 counts. This is the note that accompanies the list :

These yarns have been singled out for neatness and evenness. But even the best does not come up to the mill yarn standard.

It is therefore not without difficulty that these fine counts can be woven. The foregoing list therefore has been published more for the encouragement of these very spinners than as an example for others

¹ Not reproduced here

to copy. As these spinners have been sending in their quota more regularly and have shown considerable industry they are urged to put greater art into their work so that they may draw stronger threads than they have done hitherto.

Experiments are now being made by Sjt. Laxmidas Purshottam to demonstrate that given good cotton and good carding, it is possible to draw fine thread that would beat the strongest mill yarn of the same count. I hope to publish the results of his experiments at an early date. Meanwhile let the 27 spinners make their own experiments and send stronger yarn than they have been sending. I hope they realize that the twist should be given as they draw the yarn and not at the end of every draw and that the yarn should be sprayed and allowed to absorb the moisture before it is taken off the winder.

TOTAL PROHIBITION

A correspondent writes :¹

I congratulate the villagers on the closing of their liquor shops. But if there had been a referendum probably very few, as in the Punjab, would have taken the trouble of registering their votes unless there had been personal canvassing.

Young India, 29-4-1926

215. THE BENGAL RELIEF COMMITTEE

A correspondent sends me a cutting from *Welfare* commenting upon the operations of the Bengal Relief Committee. The article reviews the report of the Committee. The correspondent says :

As it seriously questions the utility of khaddar organizations as relief measures, I would beg you to request Sir P. C. Ray or the Khadi Pratishthan to offer their explanation with facts and figures. I might add that I am a habitual wearer of khadi though I am sorry I am not a self-spinner; some of the ladies of my family are. I mention this to assure you that I am not prejudiced against khaddar.

But the explanation was unnecessary. Anything mentioned in Sjt. Ramananda Chatterjee's magazine would naturally command weight and deserve attention. I therefore immediately passed the cutting and the letter on to Sjt. Satis Chandra Das Gupta and he has

¹ The letter, not reproduced here, stated that the closure of drink shops in villages—Illur Kallamadi, Tarimela—had led to rejoicings by the villagers.

promptly sent the following¹ signed by Dr. Ray and himself. I need not reproduce the *Welfare* article as the crux of the *Welfare* objections is summarized in Dr. Ray's reply.

Young India, 29-4-1926

216. LETTER TO ABBAS TYABJI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

April 30, 1926

MY DEAR YOUNG FRIEND BHRRR,

I have your letter full of youthful zeal. Some people grow older with years. You are reversing the process. I envy you and I shall now have to tell the people the whiter your beard the younger you are becoming. May the process continue for a long time to come.

By way of change and in order to compare notes, if you feel like it by all means come for the All-India Congress Committee seeing that you are so near. You may suspend your tour for two or three days.

I hope what you say about Ramdas is really true. I know that he is a fine nurse and has a faculty for serving elderly, I beg your pardon, in your case, young people like yourself.

The hot weather has now commenced here in right earnest.

Yours,

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat : S. N. 9554

217. LETTER TO PYARELAL NAYYAR

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

April 30, 1926

MY DEAR PYARELAL,

I have not heard from you at all. You must not keep me in suspense. How is your health and how do you pass your time?

Regarding the spinning essay, I am in correspondence with Varadachari and Ganesan. Hence I have not sent the thing to you. But I will, after the fully copy is made. Subbiah is now at it.

¹ Not reproduced here

I have heard from Mathuradas. Between Sinhgarh and Matheran, I prefer Sinhgarh. In any case, Mr. Ambalal is not here. If necessary I could certainly find out his address and telegraph to see whether his bungalow is available. If, therefore, Dr. Mehta advises Matheran and if Mr. Ambalal's bungalow is required you will consult Mathuradas and telegraph to me.

Yours,

From a microfilm : S. N. 19510

218. LETTER TO URMILA DEVI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

April 30, 1926

MY DEAR SISTER,

I have your letter. You need not worry about my health. I gained one pound during the last week. The heat does not trouble me though at the present moment we are certainly boiling.

I am delighted with your description of your hospital. I was a little uneasy over the delay. When you meet Dr. Bidhan¹ do please give him my regards and congratulations. I am glad you are taking so much interest in it. It would be a fine thing if you can attach yourself to the hospital. It is worth doing. When many things will have been forgotten this memorial will be remembered. The memory of him will grow if the institution becomes a living force in the life of Calcutta.

I would not tempt you to come to Sabarmati for the A.I.C.C. meeting. I hardly think you could bear the dry heat of this place but it will be perfect during the Puja holidays when the rains will be in full swing; you could then stay as long as you like and if your presence is not required there you could stay till it is time to go to Assam.

Yours,

From a photostat : S. N. 19511

219. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

April 30, 1926

DEAR SATIS BABU,

I have your letter as also the book on Buddhism with the pages marked with exceptional care and neatness which are all your own. I

¹ Dr. B. C. Roy

read these pages through the very day I received the book, if only in appreciation of the exact manner in which you had tied the pages for me.

You have not yet told me anything about Hemaprabhadevi. I wonder.

Yours,

From a microfilm : S. N. 19512

220. LETTER TO ESTHER MENON

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

April 30, 1926

MY DEAR CHILD,

I have your letter. I do feel disturbed about your health. You must regain your original freshness and strength. When do you expect your sickness ?

I am sorry to hear about the disorganization of Miss Peterson's school. I have not received any yarn yet from the girls referred to by you. You can have as much khaddar rags as you want and soft used khaddar.¹ If you tell me what length you require I shall see to it being sent. It is difficult to fix any price for used khaddar. You will therefore either send what you can or not at all. You will not stint yourself in anything for the sake of paying for the khaddar that you may order nor will you on this account hesitate to ask for the exact quantity you want.

I am glad that Menon is helping poor patients in the way he is doing. What does it matter so long as you make both ends meet and it need not matter even if one cannot make both ends meet in acts of service.

Andrews reaches Bombay tomorrow.

Yours,

BAPU

From a photostat : Courtesy : National Archives of India; also *My Dear Child*, p. 80

¹ For nappies for the baby

221. LETTER TO G. K. DEVADHAR

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

April 30, 1926

MY DEAR DEVADHAR,

I hope Manorama reached the Seva Sadan in safety. She left here on Sunday last. She was given Rs. 10 for her fare by the Manager who did not know that she has received already her fare up to Bombay from Jamnalalji. You will please therefore find out from her what she did with the Rs. 6 odd she received from Seth Jamnalalji for her fare up to Bombay when she contemplated returning there. The money should be recovered from her if she still has the amount and may be kept by you for the Seva Sadan.

I would certainly love to discuss with you the co-operative movement and understand its real usefulness. I discussed it with the Registrar or Assistant Registrar in Bihar and with several other friends connected with the co-operative movement but find its usefulness up to a certain limit. Beyond that they have not been able to convince me of its national value as it is being conducted today.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat : S. N. 19513

222. LETTER TO BHUKANSHARAN

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

Friday, April 30, 1926

BHAI BHUKANSHARANJI,

I have your letter and the hundred rupee currency note sent with it. I intend to utilize the amount on charkha and khadi work, for by that means we can serve the largest number of the poor.

From a microfilm of the Hindi : S. N. 19515

223. LETTER TO NAGARDAS LALLUBHAI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

April 30, 1926

BHAISHRI NAGARDAS,

I had your letter. In Wadhwan we offer far higher rates than those prevailing in Kathiawar and Gariyadhar. This makes the khadi expensive. From your report and from my talk with Fulchand, I see that the women who have been spinning are not without any means of living or without occupation. Perhaps they spin in response to our appeal and because they realize that it is for the good of the country. The charkha movement was not conceived with such people in view. The assumption underlying it was that in India millions of men and women are half-starved and, though able-bodied, are idle for want of work. The central idea of the spinning movement is to get such people to spin and then sell the khadi made from the yarn produced by them. The khadi produced in Wadhwan does not serve this aim. That is what I feel. If I am right, I think we should stop our work in Wadhwan. In case we have to do this the khadi that is stocked there can be disposed of. We may continue it provided we get women who will spin for a little amount at the end of the day, carders who will do the carding at the rate of two and a half rupees and weavers who will accept wages at rates prevailing elsewhere. Otherwise we should stop it. Discuss this suggestion with other workers and let me know what you think.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati : S. N. 10879

224. LETTER TO HASAM HIRJI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

Friday, April 30, 1926

BHAISHRI HASAM HIRJI,

Now I have another letter from you before I could reply to your first. I will answer the main question in your first letter through *Navajivan* when I get time. I will reply to your second letter here.

Aparigraha is an ideal condition. It can be said that an ideal is never realized perfectly. But we should not lower our ideal on this account. No one has ever been able to draw the ideal straight line of geometry but we may not, for that reason, change its definition. If we draw a straight line, keeping the ideal one in our view, we shall

succeed in drawing a line which will serve our purpose. But if we modify the definition, we will be like a boat without the rudder. There is nothing wrong with money as a piece of metal; evil comes through its use. Keeping this in mind, we should sincerely try to realize the ideal of *aparigraha* as best as we can. Let us now examine the instances which you have imagined. The world will lose nothing if the rich give up their wealth voluntarily; on the contrary, it will benefit by their action, because a new and powerful force is generated as a result of a sincere act of *aparigraha*. No one can act in such matters mechanically. He alone who feels a spontaneous urge in his heart will act, and will deserve credit for his action. There is no danger or possibility of the entire world acting upon the ideal of *aparigraha*. But assuming that it does, I have no doubt that it will find no difficulty in maintaining itself. There are people in this world who do not stock anything to meet their needs even for one day. You need not believe that such persons would starve if there were not in the world other people who stored things.

Just as in the law enforced by governments a crime does not cease to be a crime for being committed unintentionally, so also a violation of divine law committed in ignorance does not cease to be a violation. Adultery committed under the influence of alcohol is none the less the same. "To ask for forgiveness" and "to receive forgiveness" are beautiful ideas. I act on both the principles. But I have always believed that forgiveness in this sense does not mean what is commonly understood by it. A sincere desire to be forgiven increases our humility; we are able to see our weakness, and this knowledge gives us the strength to be good. Hindus, Muslims, Christians, and others have employed innumerable epithets to describe God but they are all products of our own imagination. God is without attributes and beyond all qualification. But again I am speaking about the ideal; if, however, we do not understand the ideal and seriously believe that God is subject to all the epithets with which we describe Him, He would be like us, an embodiment of errors. We should, therefore, know Him as stainless and without form, and then we may heap on Him as many epithets as we choose, for that is the only language which He has given us. Apart from this, we cannot escape the fruits of our action. This is the universal law and therein lies His mercy. This world would not endure even for one moment if He were to keep amending His laws and commandments, as we do either to favour some or correct an error which might have been noticed. The

Reality which we call God is a mysterious, indescribable and unique power. If we cannot comprehend Him with our mind, how can our poor speech describe Him ?

From a photostat of the Gujarati : S. N. 10902

225. *LETTER TO JAISUKHLAL*

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Friday, April 30, 1926

CHI. JAISUKHLAL,

I have your letter. I am sending Chi. Maganlal's criticism for your information. I see that Abbas Saheb is doing fine work. What shall I write to Ramjibhai about the car? I understand from what you say in your letter that for the present you want him to keep the car as it is.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati : S. N. 19516

226. *LETTER TO NAGINDAS*

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Friday, April 30, 1926

BHAISHRI NAGINDAS,

I had sent your letter to Bhai Darshansingh. I am sending his reply for your information along with the stamps received with it. I have advised him that, if he thinks the books are useful, he should order them and remit the money for them.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati : S. N. 19517

227. *LETTER TO NIRMALA*

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Friday, April 30, 1926

CHI. NIRMALA,

I have your letter. I am keeping well. I dictate my letters to save time and because my handwriting is bad. I have been gaining weight. Yesterday was the day for taking my weight. It was 105. Aunt has no reason at all to feel embarrassed. Since you desire, I will not read this letter to Kaku, though I would very much love to. I have put a limit for rent, at Rs. 10.

I am writing to Jamnadas about *takli* and charkha. He will send you slivers and you should return to him the yarn produced, as he has to keep an account of all the cotton. You need not dispose of the mount for your machine because it is broken; it can be repaired at a little cost. Rami, Kanti and others are all doing very well. Rasik has gone to Abu. Mathuradas is all right, more or less. Devdas is here at present.

From a copy of the Gujarati : S. N. 19518

228. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
*Friday, [April 30, 1926]*¹

CHI. VASUMATI,

I have curtailed even the little writing I used to do with my own hand and, as far as possible, I dictate. So this, too, I am dictating. I see from Jaisukhlal's² letter that both you and Kusum were laid down with illness. I suggest that both of you now come here. I have written to Jaisukhlal too, suggesting this. I am well.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original : C. W. 599. Courtest : Vasumati Pandit

229. MESSAGE FOR "FREEDOM"

May 1, 1926

'Freedom' is an attractive name to give to a newspaper. But it is a much abused term. When a slave-holder talks of freedom, we know that it means freedom to use his slave as he chooses without let or hindrance. A drunkard's freedom means ability to drink on till he is bereft of his sense and a long time after. Whose and what freedom will this paper stand for is a relevant question. The fact that it is Pandit Motilalji's creation itself is one assurance that freedom means the freedom of the masses. And freedom of the masses means their ability to cope and do away with the condition of semi-starvation in which millions of them are living. This aspect of freedom appeals to me the most at the present moment; because freedom of the masses

¹ From the contents; *vide* "Letter to Vasumati Pandit", 9-5-1926.

² Jaisukhlal Gandhi

automatically involves freedom of the untouchables and freedom of people belonging to different religions to follow out their religious convictions without let or hindrance from anybody. And, freedom of the masses in the manner I have explained is an utter impossibility without the revival of hand-spinning and therefore intensive khaddar propaganda as a central fact.

Let me hope that *Freedom* will in season and out of season impress upon its readers the national importance of this central fact of the life of the masses with whom, if we want swaraj, we must identify ourselves.

M. K. GANDHI

From a microfilm : S.N. 19523

230. LETTER TO SRI PRAKASA

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
May 1, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have not been able to reach your letter till now. Here is my article¹ if it may be so called for *Freedom*.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. SRI PRAKASA
SEVASHRAMA
BENARES CANTT.

From a microfilm : S.N. 19523

231. MESSAGE ON ANDREWS'S RETURN FROM SOUTH AFRICA

[May 1, 1926]²

The best welcome that we can give to Mr. Andrews and the one he will appreciate most is to make a fixed determination to vindicate India's honour by insisting on and securing the just rights of the settlers. This can only be done if we emulate Mr. Andrews's immense

¹ *Vide* the preceding item.

² C. F. Andrews arrived in Bombay on this date.

energy, studiousness, indomitable courage, unfaltering hope and living faith in God and his humanity.

M. K. GANDHI

The Bombay Chronicle, 1-5-1926

232. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

May 1, 1926

DEAR SATIS BABU,

Chhotalalji is coming to you. His nerves are high strung through excessive work and he has made drastic experiments in reducing food to its simplest and most economic terms. The result is that his health is much impaired. He is in love with you. He wants to study your organization and wants to do some easy work which can almost be termed recreation. He has an idea that he will be more useful for my personal service if he learns shorthand and typewriting. I have told him I do not think so especially now that I have Subbiah with me. I would not think of using Chhotalalji as a shorthand reporter and typist when I know that he is a khadi expert in many of its branches. But he is an absolutely free agent. To learn shorthand is no sin and if he wants to learn it and typing, he shall do so.

You will therefore discuss with him freely the manner in which he should pass two or three months there and do the needful. You know that he is a silent bird. Therefore you will have to draw him out and cheer him up. The act of cheering him up will have its reaction upon you which I would like.

Give me your impressions of this horrible rioting in Calcutta.

Yours,

From a microfilm : S.N. 19521

**233. DRAFT AGREEMENT FOR LOANS FROM ALL-INDIA
SPINNERS' ASSOCIATION**

*[May 1, 1926]*¹

I, in my capacity as the sole proprietor of the Pravartak Sangh in Chandranagar and elsewhere in accordance with the schedule hereto

¹ *Vide* the succeeding two items.

annexed, hereby acknowledge having received from the All-India Spinners' Association, Ahmedabad, the sum of Rs. 6000/- (Rupees six thousand only) in cash as a loan payable in five years after the date hereof at the office of the Khadi Pratishthan, 170, Bow Bazaar Road, Calcutta, or any other place that may be appointed by you from time to time.

The loan shall bear interest at one per cent per annum payable quarterly at the above office or any other office that may be appointed by you from time to time.

The receipt of the principal or the interest by your agent, Sjt. Satis Chandra Das Gupta of the said Khadi Pratishthan, or any other person appointed by you in writing from time to time shall be sufficient proof of payment of principal or interest.

The conditions of the said loan are :

(1) That the money received shall be used for the production of hand-spun and hand-woven khaddar in Bengal.

(2) The selling prices of khaddar shall be not more than the cost price up to weaving plus $6\frac{1}{2}$ % for the expenses of management.

(3) The Pravartak Sangh shall not directly or indirectly deal in what is known as half-khadi, that is, cloth in which mill spun yarn has been used or which is machine-woven or cloth manufactured in Indian or foreign mills.

(4) The Pravartak Sangh shall not raise any other loan on mortgage of the scheduled property without the previous written consent of the Association.

(5) The Pravartak Sangh shall keep a proper account of all the hand-spinning and khaddar transactions and its central and branch depots in connection with khaddar production shall be open to inspection by the nominee or nominees of the Association during office hours and the Pravartak Sangh shall render to the Secretary, All-India Spinners' Association, Ahmedabad, quarterly accounts of all its khaddar transactions.

(6) In the event of a breach by the Pravartak Sangh of any of the foregoing conditions, it shall be open to the All-India Association to declare the loan payable on demand. The Association shall be the sole judge of the breach of the said conditions.

From a microfilm : S.N. 11174

234. LETTER TO MOTILAL ROY

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
May 1, 1926

DEAR MOTIBABU,

I have your letter. There has been some delay as Mr. Banker is not in Sabarmati.

Here is a document¹ to be signed by you. The document should be signed by you in the presence of two witnesses and it should be witnessed also by a Magistrate in Chandranagar. If you will kindly send the document duly executed so Sjt. Satis Chandra Das Gupta, he has instructions to pay you Rs. 6,000/- against delivery of the document. Instructions are being sent to the Treasurer to send him the money by the same post that will carry this letter.

I need hardly tell you that the conditions that have been incorporated in the accompanying document are the conditons to be found in all the documents held by the Association. What is more, some definite security has also been taken from the other organizations to which loans have been given. The last condition has been waived in your case because yours is a big organization and the loan is comparatively small.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm : S.N. 11173

235. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
May 1, 1926

DEAR SATIS BABU,

Shankerlal is not here at the present moment. Pravartak Sangh's affair has been hanging fire for some time and they are naturally pressing for the loan. I have therefore concocted a document of which I send you a copy herewith as also a copy of my letter to Moti Babu².

Rs. 6,000/- is being sent to you. Please pay the amount upon delivery of the document duly signed by Moti Babu.

Encs. 2

Yours,

From a microfilm : S.N. 11174

¹ *Vide* the preceding item.

² Motilal Roy

236. LETTER TO KONDA VENKATAPPAYYA GARU

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
May 1, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I had your letters including the one under reply with reference to the complaint from the ladies of Bombay regarding the prices of fine Andhra khaddar. I forwarded the whole of the correspondence to these sisters. They now understand the position. I wanted to give them an authoritative information from you so as to enable them to take such action as they may choose.

I share your misgivings about the compromise and the present situation generally. But I have full faith that sooner or later things will right themselves. In the compromise I have simply acted as peace-maker. I cannot reconcile myself to Council-entry. As time passes I feel more and more convinced that some of our troubles are due to the Council-entry. So long as non-co-operators refrained from going to the Councils it was possible to keep the mass from that pernicious influence but now that non-co-operators have tasted the forbidden fruit, they are naturally taking a portion of the mass within the zone of that influence. We may not grumble at all these things. They are a result of the process of purification. It would be enough if the few who are still out remain so not out of fashion but out of conviction.

I hope you are keeping good health. Are you taking any active part in the constructive portion of the Congress programme?

Yours sincerely,

SJT. KONDA VENKATAPPAYYA GARU
SESHAMMA'S CHOULTRY
BENGALORE CITY

From a microfilm : S.N. 19524

237. LETTER TO RAMESHWARDAS PODDAR

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Saturday [May 1, 1926]¹

BHAI RAMESHWARJI,

I have your letter. I will get the Rs. 50. It is difficult to cure your

¹ From the postmark

physical ailment till your mental illness is cured. You might possibly benefit by living in a quiet place for some time. And of course there is *Ramanama*.

Yours,
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 163

238. *LETTER TO DEVCHAND PAREKH*

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
*Saturday [May 1, 1926]*¹

BHAISHRI DEVCHANDBHAI,

I have your letter. Do get a plan of the building² prepared and write to Thakore Saheb³. If we get his permission we can at least have the foundation laid. May we not use on this the funds collected for the Mansukhlal memorial?

BAPU

[PS.]

There is no news yet from Porbandar. It would be good if you make a trip there.⁴

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 5707

239. *LETTER TO PRABHASHANKER PATTANI*

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Saturday, May 1, 1926

LEARNED FRIEND,

I was very happy to read your letter. I had not thought that your hand had become steady and that you could write. Yesterday I had the telegram as requested by me and today I get a letter in your own hand. I hope I shall continue to get a letter or a postcard daily for some days. The diet is excellent. I hope the milk is not boiled thick; after a fast, one should never take such milk. The use of soda helps. I am eager to see you when you are well enough to move about to hear

¹ From the postmark

² Of a National School

³ Lakhajiraj, Prince of Rajkot

⁴ The postscript is in Gandhiji's hand.

from you this story of atonement.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati : S.N. 19519

240. LETTER TO KISHORELAL MASHRUWALA

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

*Saturday, Chaitra Vad 4 [May 1, 1926]*¹

CHI. KISHORELAL,

I have your letter. You unnecessarily reproach yourself. I do not give my reasons, but tell you my decision that you should not go elsewhere, but come straight here along with Shri . . .²’s daughter and all the children. It is all right if Gomati is responding to the *vaid*’s treatment there; otherwise my own wish is that you should give up the idea of going for a change of air, stop even the *vaid*’s treatment and live here, whatever the climate. I had given up all thought of medicine for Gomati when we tried fasting. We have tried the best remedy. Now we should, I feel, leave the matter entirely to God. However, if you feel inclined to stay for a month in Dumas, you may certainly go. In your present circumstances, I think it would be best for you to accept Balubhai as your cook for whatever he is worth. But he should be given to understand that after entrusting the children to you he must not disturb the arrangement. A “curator bonis” will have to be appointed for the two brothers. I think we may appoint Jamnalalji. You must have heard in detail why the trip to Mussoorie was cancelled. I knew that the decision would please Nath. This is the position about Finland : There students from the whole world. . . .³

From a copy of the Gujarati : S.N. 19520

241. LETTER TO NARGIS CAPTAIN

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

May 1, 1926

I have your letter. You have learnt now all about my cancellation of the Mussoorie visit and not going to Mahab[a]leshwar. I wrote to the Governor that it will be more convenient for me to meet

¹ From the reference to the cancellation of Gandhiji’s trip to Mussoorie and the talk about one to Finland

² Omission as in the source

³ As in the source

him at Poona or Bomaby. He has therefore postponed the meeting till he comes down from the hills. I am glad of the saving of time and trouble, but I am certainly sorry that I shall not see you and Mithubehn for some time now. I would also [have] loved to have met Manekbai and Mr. Bahadurji. I beg his pardon for calling him doctor which I did absent-mindedly.

Mithubehn tells me you are not still looking as well as you should. I wish you could still go to Kashmir.

Up to very recently the weather here has been delightfully cool and we were all getting anxious because such cool weather was no preparation for the rains. We are now having real hot weather and therefore everybody is glad. For, if this hot spell continues, one may look forward to early rains in June.

PS.

The foregoing was dictated yesterday. Today I have a letter from Mathuradas, who is you are aware in Deolali, saying that Dr. Mehta wants him to go to Panchgani. He thinks Deolali too hot in May and part of June till the rains set in. He rejects the idea of Matheran or Sinhgarh. I tried to get for him Sir Prabhashanker Pattani's house but it is not available till June. Can you yourself or through your friend find out whether it is possible to secure something for Mathuradas for a month or five or six weeks? He must shift to Panchgani if it is possible at the earliest opportunity. Of course, Mathuradas will pay the rent. If you have anything in view, please telegraph to Mathuradas, Windy Hall, Deolali, and write to me.

Yours,

From a microfilm : S.N. 19522

242. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

Saturday [May 1, 1926]¹

CHI. MATHURADAS,

I have your letter. You must now go only to Panchgani. I am having the matter arranged through Nargisbehn.² You must stay there for a month even if you have to pay rent. Later you can shift to

¹ From the postmark

² Nargis Captain; *vide* "Letter to Nargis Captain", 1-5-1926.

Pattani Saheb's bungalow. The bungalow will definitely be available in June. As your substitute Devdas left for Bombay last night to receive Andrews.¹ He will be back on Monday. He asked my permission to pay you a flying visit but I refused. He is still physically very weak. His eyes are not clear. It is better that he moves about after he has regained strength.

Blessings from

BAPU

SJT. MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI
WINDY HALL
NASIK ROAD
DEOLALI (G.I.P.)

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

243. LETTER TO RAMKRISHNA CHANDIWALA

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
*Saturday [May 1, 1926]*²

BHAI RAMKRISHNAJI³,

Brijkrishna gave me news of the passing of your elder daughter. I was grieved. May God grant you and your mother peace.

Yours,

MOHANDAS

SHRI RAMKRISHNAJI
C/O SHRI BRIJKRISHNA
KATRA KHUSHALRAI
SHRI NIVAS
DELHI

From the Hindi original: Brijkrishna Chandiwalla Papers. Courtesy: Gandhi National Museum and Library

¹ For Gandhiji's message on C. F. Andrew's return from South Africa on May 1, 1926, *vide* "Message on Andrews' Return from South Africa", 1-5-1926.

² From the postmark

³ Brother of Brijkrishna Chandiwalla

ONCE BITTEN TWICE SHY

The public have had such bitter experience of the bureaucracy that if they hear of anyone, who has shown a spirit of independence till now, calling on any member of the bureaucracy, they fear the worst or feel suspicious about him. Ever since it appeared in the papers that the Governor of Bombay intended to invite me for a discussion about the Agriculture Commission which has been appointed, I have been flooded with letters of all kinds, including letters of warning. One correspondent asks what I hoped to gain by meeting the Governor, and cautions me saying that the latter would try to throw dust into my eyes, would lay a trap for me and deceive me. If, however, we aspire to win swaraj, it will not help to be afraid or be suspicious in this manner. We are perfectly right in refusing to accept any favours from an official, to be obliged by any of them or to accept service under them. That is part of non-co-operation. But it would not be right to be afraid of meeting any of them. Why should a man who knows his duty be afraid of anything? Again, what reason for fear has one who seeks no personal gain, who has, in other words, unshakable faith in non-co-operation? Moreover, anyone who wishes to achieve his end through non-violence would never miss any opportunity of meeting an official in an open and proper manner. My non-co-operation is not with individuals, it is with their actions. The way of non-violence means the way of love. If I wish to follow it, I should welcome every opportunity of meeting my opponent, for it is my duty to change his manner of acting, and that too not through force but by persuasion, by pleading with him or by self-suffering, that is, by resorting to satyagraha. Should, therefore, His Excellency invite me, I would regard it as my duty to meet him and, being quite clear about my principles and knowing my duty, I would have no fear of yielding to any temptation or walking into a trap. Even at the time when I met Lord Reading, some friends had expressed the same fear that my correspondent has done on this occasion. But I believe that I did right to meet him, and that my meeting did no harm to the national cause. To me, personally, it brought nothing but gain since I could form a correct estimate of him, and can now say that I let go no real opportunity, through pride or weakness, of arriving at a settlement. On this occasion, too, I expect nothing but gain from a meeting with the Governor. I shall be able to place my views before

him, will see and correct any error there may be in my line of reasoning and will know his views about agriculture. His Excellency certainly knows that I am a non-co-operator, that I have no faith in commissions and can take no part in their work. All this is public knowledge. If, therefore, I am invited to meet the Governor, no one need have any fears on my account.

TO WORKERS IN THE CAUSE OF COW-PROTECTION

As there are some who entertain fears about the possible consequences of my meeting the Governor, there are others, too, who hanker after some gain from it. I have received a letter and a telegram suggesting that I should tell the Governor about the loss to agriculture through the export and slaughter of cattle. I wish to tell those workers in the cause of cow-protection that, even if I had an opportunity to discuss this subject with the Governor, I would most certainly not do what they wish me to do. I see one great weakness in these workers, namely, that they do not make a patient and scientific study of this problem. Shri Valji Desai has undertaken a careful study of the reasons for the destruction of the cattle-wealth of the country. His articles on the subject have been appearing regularly in *Young India* and *Navajivan*. One will understand the causes of the miserable condition of the cattle even from these articles. Though I believe that the Government can do a great deal in this field, there is much which the people, too, can do. And so long as the people have not become alive to their responsibility in this matter and public opinion has not been educated, the cattle-wealth cannot be saved from destruction, no matter what laws the Government makes. The problem involves difficult economic and ethical issues. But one would think that we could spare no time to reflect even for a moment on what economics and ethics have to tell us about cattle, such is our pathetic condition. Thanks to fanaticism, we have lost the true sense of dharma and we are too lethargic to study economics. Merely telling beads to the name of Mother Cow will help us to serve neither her nor Mother India. We can serve her and her progeny and, by protecting her, serve ourselves only by understanding the meaning of cow-worship and taking measures accordingly. I suggest to my correspondents to reflect over the articles on this subject which appear in this paper from time to time. They may point out any error of logic or facts, which they may see; if they see none, they should follow the suggestions made in them.

SURAT VINAY MANDIR

A friend has written to me making some complaints against the Rashtriya Vinay Mandir¹, at Surat, the reason for writing to me being that he has heard a rumour to the effect that the control and management of the Mandir are to be handed over to me. Instead of discussing the complaints, let me state the existing position. I have known Shri Dayalji and Shri Kalyanji for the past ten years. When they told me on behalf of the Committee that the only way to bring order in the affairs of the Mandir was to hand over control to me, I thought it necessary that I should accept the responsibility. My correspondent suggests that control has been handed over to me at a time when the Mandir is on its last legs, so that the responsibility for its death may be mine. Even if that be so, how can I refuse to share, wherever I can, the responsibility of co-workers? When agreeing to take over control of the Mandir, I made it plain that I shall do nothing without Vallabhbhai's advice and take no step which would not be subject to the general supervision of the Vidyapith. This condition was accepted by the two friends, Dayalji and Kalyanji. I now intend to discuss with Vallabhbhai the question of setting up a Trust for the Mandir. Meanwhile, with the consent of Shri Nrisinhprasad, *Kulanayaka* of the Mandir, I have provisionally appointed Shri Narahari Parikh as its *Acharya*, and given him the authority to introduce any changes in the running of the institution which he may find necessary and increase or reduce the teaching staff. The Mandir which was run in the Patidar Ashram has been merged with the school in Gopipura. This step, it is hoped, will enable the authorities to retrench six posts of teachers. Any changes in the curriculum which are found necessary will also be introduced. When the Mandir reopens after the holidays, Shri Nrisinhprasad intends to visit it and observe the conditions. Moreover, though it is true that control has been handed over to me, this does not mean that Shri Dayalji and Shri Kalyanji will cease to take further interest in the Mandir. Not only will they not do this, but on the contrary they will be my hands and feet in the task entrusted to me. I, therefore, hope that the merchants who have been contributing towards the expenses of the school will continue their

¹ National Primary School

contributions according to their promise. The accounts of the school will be published regularly with the necessary audit reports.

TO N. A. P.

To me your question itself seems to spring from morbidity. The instances from British life which I mentioned had no connection with the point whether or not the people there live a luxurious life; it is all a matter of custom. When a person living in a hot country goes to a cold country, he has to exercise greater care to protect himself against the cold than the residents of the country need do; in the same way I believe it very necessary for Indian youths to exercise special care [when they go to England]. It was not my intention to suggest that all or most young men in England remain perfectly pure; all that I wished to suggest was that some of the freedom which people take in England may be harmless. If we take that freedom, we would sully our purity. The moral laxity which we find among the young in England is the effect, not of the limited freedom which I have described, but of other factors which are easy to appreciate. A person who keeps away from drinks because he understands the evil of drinking is not a coward but a wise man, that is, a man of discrimination. Evil desires spring from inner darkness, from lack of discrimination and ignorance of the true end of human life. The suggestions which I have made for being able to observe *brahmacharya* are not copy-book maxims or the result of ingenious guesswork; they represent my own experience, and that of others too, over a long period of time. I would, therefore, advise you not to dismiss Chapter XIX of *An Autobiography* without trying to understand it properly. I know lustful persons who are vegetarians on principle, who wear only a khadi shirt and cap and live an outwardly simple life but dwell in their minds on pleasures and luxuries, and I also know real *brahmacharis* who, following the practice in their country, eat meat and have always dressed themselves in coat and trousers. The main thing is to be simple in one's thoughts. If a man harbours the violence of meat-eating in his thoughts and his mind dwells on the pleasures of a grand palace, do not believe, merely because his body lives on fruits and is covered merely with a bit of blanket, that he lives or can live a blameless life. Anyone who wants to live a life untroubled by impure desires or to acquire such purity must always remain vigilant.

You seem to confuse the caution of a vigilant person with cowardice. If so, you are in the grip of a terrible error. Please wake up.

A CAUTION

A newspaper correspondent informs me from Aden that a woman known by the name of Benibai has arrived there and has been cheating credulous people by posing as my daughter. A similar thing had happened in Rangoon and Mombasa, and it seems this same woman had gone to those places. I cautioned people some time ago that I have no daughter, and that I have not authorized anyone to collect money in my name.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 2-5-1926

245. KHADI IN KATHIAWAR

The reader will find in this issue nearly the whole of the Report sent in by Shri Lakshmidas after inspecting the work of the three khadi centres in Kathiawar.

The Khadi Karyalaya in Amreli has been taken over by the Kathiawar Political Conference. I intend to publish its accounts shortly in *Navajivan*. Just now I only wish to draw attention to Shri Lakshmidas's Report.

The reader will observe that it is only in place where famine conditions prevail that khadi is produced by paying spinners. We shall not discuss at the moment whether the khadi so produced turns out to be cheaper or dearer [than that manufactured from yarn spun by amateurs]. It will suffice to admit at present that, though the quality of khadi is very much better than what it used to be, it will not prove as strong as mill khadi of the same count. Even so, no one should feel any doubt, after reading this Report that residents of Kathiawar should always prefer khadi produced in Kathiawar. If what is stated in the Report is true, people who wear such khadi are helping victims of famine. It is very much better to make them self-supporting than to help them with free doles. There can be no argument about this. Moreover, everyone cannot afford to contribute money for free doles, but certainly every person of ordinary means can afford to help by purchasing khadi, which costs more than other cloth, and making up for the loss by economizing in other matters.

I, therefore, hope that the people of Kathiawar will welcome the present sale-tour of Abbas Saheb among them. From a report which I have received from Wadhwan, I see that he was enthusiastically welcomed by the residents of the place, and that there was no one who did not show him due respect. I hope that, as his tour progresses, he

will get more and more encouragement.

The suggestion to khadi workers in Lakshmidas's Report deserves attention. Water flows into the public trough only in proportion to the quantity in the well. Workers will be able to inspire faith in others only in the measure that they themselves have it, and the strength which they lack in themselves they will not be able to draw from others. If the women who spin also learn carding, they will earn twice as much and the public will get better yarn. They can earn money by carding, which they do not at present. As long as the workers themselves are not proficient in carding, they cannot inspire enthusiasm for carding among the women who spin, let alone being able to teach them the art.

The suggestion about testing the strength of yarn deserves the same attention as that about carding. This is necessary to ensure the strength of the yarn. If the quality of yarn is carefully maintained, khadi will become cheaper. That is, with the same rates of payment as at present, there will be improvement in regard to quality and price. In big factories, they are able to increase the profits, without raising the prices of the products, merely by skilful management. In our innumerable factories—for every hut is a spinning-mill—let the workers increase their earnings through improved efficiency and also reduce the burden on the people. In those big factories, what with the innumerable financial manipulations and changes in the exchange-rate which they resort to and which result in crores of rupees changing hands, the workers are always exploited. In our factories, improved efficiency will not mean large sums changing hands in this manner but will generate, rather, a spirit of equality and promote the welfare of the workers in corresponding measure. These happy results depend on the spirit of self-sacrifice, efficiency, perseverance, humility and energy which khadi workers may be able to display.

Let nobody draw the conclusion from my observations or Shri Lakshmidas's Report that the work done so far has been wasted or that it was not done properly. What we both mean is that our work is so well organized now that we are in a position to take a step forward. It is our duty to see that, with experience, our work goes on improving. There is no doubt that, relatively speaking, khadi has made excellent progress. Now the consumers need to satisfy themselves only whether

- 1 khadi workers are honest and hard-working;
- 2 the money which they pay for khadi goes into the pockets

- of the poor;
- 3 the women who spin are really helped;
- 4 it is a fact that they would not be able to make both ends meet if they did not get spinning-work; and
- 5 it is a fact that they have no other more remunerative work.

If the replies to these questions are in the affirmative, the people of Kathiawar should, without considering whether khadi is cheap or costly, see that the khadi produced in Kathiawar does not remain unsold.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 2-5-1926

246. ABOUT MILL-WORKERS

The movement among the mill-workers in Ahmedabad against the drink-evil is proceeding very well at present. All people may not know that in America, where only a few years ago every worker used to drink, they have stopped drinking for some years now. Their paper has published the following information.

Millions of rail-road workers have, in their Union meetings, welcomed prohibition and recounted their experience that drinking turns good citizens and workers into bad ones and good husbands into cruel ones. They have also declared that, had the workers continued to drink, the hundreds of workers' banks which have been formed and in which millions of their dollars are deposited would never have come into existence. The Secretary of their Union has stated that during the last four years Labour Unions in America have been rapidly throwing up honest and able leaders.

If the mill-workers in Ahmedabad also realize the sin of drinking and understand that liquor is a poison and give it up, one can easily imagine the improvement in their condition which will follow.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 2-5-1926

247. LETTER TO ROMAIN ROLLAND

May 22, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have before me a translation by Mira of your kind and

touching letter of 17th February last. I have been anticipating your permission to make cautious use of portions of that letter without mentioning your name.

I am glad you think with me that the proper course for me was not to come to Europe this year.

With reference to India being heard in Europe, I hold the view that India will not be heard in Europe or the West Until she has suffered more, and on a more extensive scale than hitherto. Hers will be a voice in the wilderness at the present moment. And I feel even the hired, and in some cases bribed, journalists of Europe will shudder to take as gospel truth all the manifest and one-sided exaggerations and falsehoods circulated by the B.G.¹ if India is not represented. I feel too that this non-violent battle does not need the same kind of propaganda that a battle based on violence would. Thirdly there is the practical difficulty that you mention of finding one who can be at all heard. The only person I have in view for the moment is Andrews, since the Poet² is unavailable. Andrews will certainly be heard in the quarters that matter.

I hope you are keeping well and that God will permit you to hold out till the battle is fairly over in India.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

Gleanings, pp. 6-7

248. A LETTER

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
May 3, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have had your letter for a long time with me. But I have not been able to reach your letter earlier.

Your letter of the 29th ultimo puts me in mind that I must now hasten to reply to you. I am afraid that the Ashram life will not suit you. It is all hard work commencing with cleaning closet buckets and ending with agriculture, cooking, etc. There is little time left for literary pursuits. From all I can understand of your life, it appears to

¹ British Government

² Rabindranath Tagore

me that you would hardly be able to stand the life and atmosphere at the Ashram. I therefore suggest to you that if you still feel that you should come and stay at the Ashram, you may pay a preliminary visit to see things for yourself and then decide.

There is another difficulty also. At the present moment the Ashram is over-crowded. I have no room, therefore, to spare. I could not therefore give you even the privacy that you perhaps want and I would like to provide. If in spite of. . . .¹

From a microfilm : S.N. 19525

249. LETTER TO D. VENKATA RAO

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
May 3, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter as also Krishnabai's. I understand the position and appreciate it. I quite agree with you and Krishnabai that her talent for painting should be developed. I therefore quite understand her desire to stay with you and go on with her painting work. I would like to have some photographic specimens of her work.

I am not writing to her separately. Do please keep me informed of her progress from time to time.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. D. VENKATA RAO
DAMERLA HOUSE
RAJAHMUNDY

From a microfilm : S.N. 19526

250. LETTER TO S. SADANAND

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
May 3, 1926

MY DEAR SADANAND,

So you have got your agency after all. Let your correspondent come like the Associated Press Correspondent and pick up what information he can. As there is so little for me to communicate, what can poor Mahadev or Subbiah or Pyarelal give you? I could certainly send you wires about khaddar from day to day but that will be just the

¹ Incomplete in the source

thing to kill your agency and you will soon ask me to stop sending those wires. Happily the khaddar movement does not depend so much on dissemination of news about it as on organized distribution of spinning-wheels and collection of yarn and manufacture and sale of khaddar.

I do not know what difficulties there are in the way of your correspondent receiving copies of *Young India* on Wednesday evening. There should be no difficulty. However, I shall see Swami and let you know.

I hope that in your office everybody is clad in khaddar.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. S. SADANAND

From a microfilm : S.N. 19527

251. LETTER TO R. D. SUBRAMANIAM

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

May 3, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your postcard. It is not the quantity of time that you will give to the spinning that counts. It is the feeling behind that you would get your *Young India* by your labour that appealed to me. I therefore propose to send you *Young India* as soon as you have furnished 50,000 yards.

The yarn would still be national property because it was my intention to give the yarn to the Spinners' Association or the Satyagraha Ashram and take from them subscription on your behalf for *Young India*. There is no occasion for you, therefore, to feel conscience pricks because you will be getting after so many hours of labour *Young India* for one year.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. R. D. SUBRAMANIAM

WEST SRIRANGAPATANAM ROAD

EXTENSION, SALEM

From a microfilm : S.N. 19528

252. LETTER TO UDIT MISHRA

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Tuesday, May 4, 1926

BHAI UDIT MISHRAJI,

I got your letter several months ago, but I could not reply to it immediately. We may not despise in our heart persons whom we regard as bad men, but we need not seek their acquaintance either, unless there is some reason. That is, we may have contact with them only if we get an opportunity to do them good. It is more difficult to become a guardian of children than of grown-up students. When a father leaves his children to our care, we assume a great responsibility. It is, therefore, necessary that we love the children as much as their father does. But a father's love is apt to be unthinking attachment, whereas a guardian's should be completely unselfish and pure. Moreover, since children are quick to imitate what others do, we should show in our conduct all those virtues which we want them to cultivate. From this point of view, a guardian should particularly observe *brahmacharya*, follow truth and non-violence and display fearlessness, courage, magnanimity, humility and so on.

From a microfilm of the Hindi : S.N. 19529

253. THE CONGRESS RESOLUTION ON SOUTH AFRICA

May 5, 1926

The All-India Congress Committee met at Ahmedabad on 5th May and passed the following resolution prepared by Mr. Gandhi on the South African situation :

The All-India Congress Committee congratulates the Government of India and the Union Government upon the postponement of the Class Areas Reservation Bill pending the deliberations of a Conference between the two Governments.

The All-India Congress Committee further congratulates the South African Indian Deputation and the Indian settlers on the happy result of their efforts.

The All-India Congress Committee tenders its respectful thanks to Mr. C. F. Andrews for his great sacrifices and for his energy and undying hope and faith, without which the result, so far achieved, would have been impossible.

The All-India Congress Committee, while noting the results of

the Government of India's negotiations so far, warns the public against slackening the efforts on behalf of the Indian settlers of South Africa, and hope that they will not rest until the position of the settlers is placed on an honourable and satisfactory basis.

The President is authorized to send the message of congratulation to the Union Government.

The Indian Review, May 1926, p. 340

254. LETTER TO PARAMANAND K. KAPADIA

Wednesday [May 5, 1926]¹

BHAISHREE PARAMANAND,

I have read all your letters carefully. I shall try to deal with some of your questions in *Navajivan*. I want to write much more but I have to control myself.

Vandemataram from

MOHANDAS GANDHI

BHAISHREE PARAMANAND KUNVERJI

BHAVNAGAR

From the Gujarati original: G.N. 11586

255. NOTES

PROHIBITION AND MADRAS GOVERNMENT

Sjt. C. Rajagopalachari has unearthed a Government order which is simplicity itself but which conveys a world of meaning. In a note accompanying a copy of the order Sjt. Rajagopalachari writes to the press :

Among the many post-Reform additions to our recurring charges are the new Health Officers and their staff. They are expected to educate the people about cholera, malaria, etc.

Some of the members of the staff seem to have enquired whether they should carry on propaganda against the drink habit also and the laconic reply received was :

The Government consider that the Public Health staff should not carry on anti-drink propaganda.

¹ From the postmark

It is to be noted here that there is no reason assigned for the ban on anti-drink propaganda. On the contrary, one would expect explicit instructions to these conservators of health to instruct the people about the evil effects of drink on the body under a popular Government. They would be required to tell the people how deadly the effect of alcohol is upon the human body and show by magic lantern slides in a graphic manner the ruin that alcohol brings wherever it finds a place. But it is madness to expect the existing Government to do any such thing. One may as well expect the keeper of a public house to warn its visitors against running into the death-trap. Is not the Government the keeper of all the public houses of India? It is the 25 crores revenue that enables us to give University education to our children. It enables the Government to impose *pax Britannica* upon us. Not till the people realize their duty and develop strength to resist the Government in its pro-drink policy will it be possible to have a dry India.

PROHIBITION IN AMERICA

One hears so much about prohibition being a failure in America that it is refreshing to find references which prove the contrary. The cuttings that a correspondent has sent show that delegates to the Middle-West Students' Conference representing 1,23,000 college students in the South-East and Middle-West of America passed resolutions opposing liquor drinking by students.

The February issue of the journal of the Locomotive Engineers contains the following :¹

The railroad brotherhoods as well as hundreds of thousands of sober, industrious working men in the American Federation of Labour are opposed to drink because they know it never made any man a better citizen, a better worker, or a better husband or father. We do not believe the remarkable growth of labour co-operative banks in this country would have been possible if the working men were still putting their savings over the bar. We are further convinced that the progress of the American labour movement depends upon leaders with clear, cool heads and not upon those whose brains are addled by alcohol. Perhaps it is worth noting that the leaders of British labour, who have made much substantial progress economically, and politically, since the War, are overwhelmingly dry. . . .

It is not my purpose to make the reader believe that

¹ Only excerpts are reproduced here.

prohibition in America has been wholly successful. I have read enough literature on the gigantic experiment to know that there is another side to the picture. But allowing for all the exaggerations on either side, there is little doubt that prohibition has been a great boon to that wonderful people. It is yet too early to state results with certainty. The problem is much simpler in India, if only we have all the bars and distilleries closed.

CHARKHA IN ANDHRA SCHOOLS

Here is an extract¹ from the report prepared by the Bhumavaram Taluk Board, West Godavari District :

A report² from Tirupati Municipal Council shows figures of spinning in its schools.

I would like to draw the attention of the teachers and organizers of spinning in schools that it is in every way better to introduce *taklis* instead of the spinning-wheels. For co-operative spinning in schools *takli* will be found to be more efficacious, more economical and more productive in the end.

Young India, 6-5-1926

256. FROM FAR-OFF AMERICA

Some time ago I answered some questions³ put by a correspondent in America. He now returns to the charge and puts several further questions, the first being :

What good is that brave and fearless mentality when it cannot save the things you love? You may not be afraid to die, but what is it that will keep a band of robbers from taking away from you what you cherish if you are going to remain non-violent to the end. If the victims of a robber do not offer violent resistance it is so much easie for the robber to loot them. Robbery has been going on and it will go on in the world till the victims are easy. The strong will rob the weak, resistance or no resistance. To be weak is a sin. Not to prepare by all means to get rid of this wekness is a crime.

The writer forgets that retaliation does not always succeed. The robber is likely, if stronger, to defeat the protector and vent his wrath, kindled by the resistance received, on the unfortunate victim whose

¹ Not reproduced here

² *ibid.*

³ Vide "A Student's Questions", 25-2-1926.

plight would therefore be the worse for the resistance offered on her behalf. It is true that the protector will have the satisfaction of having done his best for his charge. But the same satisfaction will be available to the non-violent protector. For, he too will die in the attempt to rescue the victim. What is more, he will have the additional satisfaction of having tried to soften the heart of the robber by his pleading. The writer's difficulty arises from the fact of his having assumed that the non-violent protector is to be a mere passive helpless spectator of the robbery. As a matter of fact, however, in my scheme, love is presumed to be a more active and potent force than brute force. He who has not the love and remains passive is a coward. He is neither man nor brute. He has proved himself unfit to protect.

The writer obviously cannot realize, as I have done, the tremendous power that non-violent resistance has over one's adversary. Non-violent resistance is the resistance of one will against another. That resistance is possible only when it is freed from reliance on brute force. Reliance on brute force as a rule presupposes surrender when that force is exhausted. Does the writer know that a woman with a determined will can successfully resist her ravisher however powerful he may be?

I admit that the strong will rob the weak and that it is sin to be weak. But this is said of the soul in man, not of the body. If it be said of the body, we could never be free from the sin of weakness. But the strength of soul can defy a whole world in arms against it. This strength is open to the weakest in body. A weak-willed Zulu, though strong as a giant in body, surrenders to a little white child. Who has not seen strong-bodied bullies surrendering helplessly to their frail mothers? Love conquers the brute in the son. The law that subsists between mother and son is universal in its application. Nor need love be reciprocal. It is its own reward. Many a mother has tamed by her love her erring defiant children. Let us all prepare to get rid of the weakness of love. There is chance of success there. For rivalry in loving is conducive to health. The world has been trying all these ages to become strong in the wielding of brute force and it has miserably failed. Rivalry in generating brute force is race suicide.

The writer adds :

The British rulers seem to have as much soul-force as you have, but they have military force and practical knowledge of human nature besides. The result is obvious.

Military force is inconsistent with soul-force. Frightfulness, exploitation of the weak, immoral gains, insatiable pursuit after enjoyments of the flesh are utterly inconsistent with soul-force. The soul-force that the British rulers have is therefore subservient to the brute force if it is not asleep altogether.

The writer then puts the eternal conundrum:

There are certain greedy persons in the world and they are doing mischief. They have power in their hands. They may be mad, but they are doing harm nevertheless. It will not do for us to stand by with folded hands and let them go on with their devilish work. We must take the power away from them even at the cost of non-violence, so that they may not do any more harm.

History teaches one that those who have, no doubt with honest motives, ousted the greedy by using brute force against them have in their turn become a prey to the disease of the conquered. If it be better to be slaves than slave-drivers, if this is no mere copybook maxim, we can easily afford to let the slave-drivers do their worst, whilst, being weary of the brutal tug of war, so unbefitting our human nature, we try to explore the possibilities of matching the brute force of the greedy exploiters and the like with soul-force.

But the writer is met with this difficulty at the threshold of the experiment :

Mahatmaji, you admit that the people of India have not followed your creed. You do not seem to realize the cause of it. The truth is that the average person is not a Mahatma. History proves this fact beyond doubt. There have been a few Mahatmas in India and elsewhere. These are exceptions. And the exceptions only prove the rule. You must not base your actions on the exceptions.

It is curious how we delude ourselves. We fancy that one can make the perishable body impregnable and we think it impossible to evoke the hidden powers of the soul. Well, I am engaged in trying to show, if I have any of these powers, that I am as frail a mortal as any of us and that I never had anything extraordinary about me nor have any now. I claim to be a simple individual liable to err like any other fellow mortal. I own, however, that I have humility enough in me to confess my efforts and to retrace my steps. I own that I have an immovable faith in God and His goodness and unconsumable passion for truth and love. But is that not what every person has latent in him? If we are to make progress, we must not repeat history but make new history. We must add to the inheritance left by our ancestors. If we

may make new discoveries and inventions in phenomenal world, must we declare out Bankruptcy in the spiritual domain? Is it impossible to multiply the exceptions so as to make them the rule? Must man always be brute first and man after, if at all?

Young India, 6-5-1926

257. LETTER TO RADHAKRISHNA BAJAJ

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Thursday, May 6, 1926

CHI. RADHAKRISHNA,

I read your letter to me and the one to Shankarrao. I am sure your rule about eating salt-free food is not for all time. Its significance lies in that it reduces the keenness of the palate. This is the main point to bear in mind, and, therefore, as a guest at someone's place you may accept whatever simple food is offered. You may leave aside any item on the menu, with or without salt, which is not acceptable to you. But the three items—milk, boiled rice and chapatties—can be had anywhere. You may leave aside curry or vegetables which contain chillies and spices. Where hand-ground flour is not available, you may use mill-ground flour without any hesitation. When the road surface is very hot and in a place strewn with thorns, you should certainly use shoes, which in fact are called *kantarakhan*¹ or *pagarakhan*². You should not hesitate to write to me whenever you are faced with such conflicts of duties. Take very good care of your health.

From a photostat of the Gujarati : S.N. 19532

258. LETTER TO CHHOTALAL

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Thursday, May 6, 1926

CHI. CHHOTALAL,

I got your letter written from Jaipur. I had earlier letter too. I intended to write to you after you had reached Calcutta, but your letter from Jaipur impels me to write today. I do not at all like your

¹ Protection against thorns

² Protection for feet

manner of counting the cost of the thing. We must be very careful but we should not overdo it. If you go to some place for a cure of your mental or physical illness, you can certainly charge the expense to the Ashram's account. Why do you at all keep any money as yours? Which is better, that you should surrender your all or that you should retain a little of "I" and "mine"? And just as the Ashram should bear the expenses when you go out elsewhere, similarly it should pay for the lessons you take in shorthand. Satis Babu will certainly pay you for any work you do, but it is better that you should work without expecting payment and also learn shorthand without paying. Rather than raise such fine issues, it is more necessary that you learn to determine with the utmost care what your duty is and then have no doubts and hesitations about it in your mind. Anyone who goes too deep into things, as you do, gets lost in mazes and is unable to see his plain duty which stands before him as unmistakable as a hill. Write to me regularly. You left for Prayag, and Bhuvarji came here.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati : S.N. 19533

259. *LETTER TO MADANMOHAN SHARMA*

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

Friday, May 7, 1926

DEAR SIR,

Your letter. The Tilak Fund came to about a crore of rupees. Its accounts appeared in all the papers. Its report has also been published in book form and is available at the Congress office. A major portion of the sum has already been spent, chiefly on national schools, removal of untouchability and khadi work.

(2) In my opinion, a leader should not travel first or second class if his health can stand the strain of third class travel.

(3) I certainly believe that Hindu-Muslim unity is possible, for unity is in human nature. Even if neither Hindus nor Muslims make efforts to bring it about, time does its work.

(4) Those whose economic condition is not good may adopt still greater simplicity in their lives and consume less khadi; in this manner a non-co-operator should, in the present circumstances, put up with hardships but be faithful to his chosen dharma.

From a photostat of the Hindi : S.N. 10899

260. *LETTER TO FULCHAND*

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

Friday, May 7, 1926

BHAISHRI FULCHAND,

I got your postcard. I don't think it was a virtue in Bhai Shivilal that he should be suffering from piles and yet not give so much as a hint to anyone. I would rather blame him for not doing so. He cannot now carry on his work of service. No one can say how long he will be in bed; besides, the illness will mean expenditure which could have been avoided. But who can make Shivilal see reason? You should now immediately take whatever measures are necessary to get him cured.

I follow what you say regarding the Wadhwan Udyogalaya¹. Your letter seems to suggest that I have been unfair in forming my opinion about Wadhwan and that I am partial to the Amreli Centre in supporting it, and that too is a form of injustice. How can I convince you that I am neither partial towards the one nor hostile to the other? I am partial only to khadi. After inspecting the Amreli Centre personally and also through others' eyes I came to the conclusion that it did not deserve to be closed. I had not examined the Wadhwan centre, nor did I think it necessary to look into its working, as I had confidence in your ability and used to get regular reports about it from Devchandbhai. I thought about the Centre only when the problem of selling khadi arose. And when you showed me the accounts in the course of my inquiry, I was startled. If it is a fact that in Wadhwan you offer higher rates for spinning, weaving and carding, is it [worthwhile] to continue to run the Centre?

I apply one criterion to khadi activity at all places. Are the women who will be spinning starving for want of employment? If so, and if, to our good fortune, they agree to spin, we may start khadi work in that place. Provided workers were available in sufficient number, I

¹ Industrial Centre

would try to maintain all those centres in Kathiawar which satisfied this principle. Write to me if you have anything to say after this explanation, and try to convince me. I yearn for testimonials from my co-workers certifying to my impartiality. I regard you as one such co-worker. I, too, will not give up the effort to convince you.

From a photostat of the Gujarati : S.N. 19534

261. LETTER TO RAM DATTA CHOPRA

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
May 8, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I do not think that the vaccine is obtained by killing cows. But I believe that it requires torturing them.

The rules of the Ashram¹ are appended to Mr. Natesan's publication. All the copies have been distributed. A new edition is contemplated but it would be some time before it is published.

I am afraid I would not be able to take charge of your daughter as I have no arrangements for receiving girls who are not accompanied by their parents. And your son is in any event too young to be admitted.

With reference to the construction of cobbler's huts I would ask you to approach the President of the Provincial Congress Committee.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm : S.N. 19540

262. LETTER TO MAULANA ABUL KALAM AZAD

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
May 8, 1926

DEAR MAULANA SAHEB,

I have your telegram. It was received after the All-India Congress Committee session was over. But do you think that any purpose can be served by calling a special session of the Congress? It can be of use only when there is a policy or programme that requires confirmation by it. But unfortunately we have neither policy nor programme. On the

¹ *Vide* "Draft Constitution for the Ashram", before 20-5-1915.

contrary, the tallest among us distrust one another and even where there is no distrust there is no agreement as to facts or opinion.

In the circumstances a Congress session can only accentuate the existing depression. It seems to me that time alone can solve the difficulty which seems to baffle us.

I wish that it was possible for us at least to devise means of ascertaining the causes and of defining the results of each riot. But it seems that we have become incapacitated even for this very simple work.

Yours sincerely,

MAULANA ABUL KALAM AZAD

CALCUTTA

From a photostat : S.N. 19541

263. LETTER TO KUSUM AND DHIRU

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

May 8, 1926

CHI. KUSUM AND DHIRU,

I have your letter. I do not want to apportion blame for what has happened. I only wish that you should now take full advantage of the free time you will get there, and in this manner you should make your influence felt in the neighbourhood by being more regular in your daily work of spinning, etc., and strengthen your resolves. Keep writing to me. I see your handwriting still needs much improvement. Dhiru's especially is extremely poor. I shall forget my grief over Dhiru's going away to Bombay if he religiously follows there all his vows. Tell Bhanumati that, if she starts spinning regularly and forms the habit of getting up at four, I will think that letting both of you go to Bombay has been of great value. Devdas is there; he is to be operated upon, and is along with Ba and Mahadev. You must have heard about all this.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati : S.N. 19535

264. LETTER TO JAYA

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

Saturday, May 8, 1926

CHI. JAYA,

One benefit has certainly followed from Kusum and Dhiru going

there; I have had a letter from you. I did not know that your handwriting was so laboured; it can certainly be improved. Please see that the children keep all the rules. I shall then forget my grief over their going from here. Please let me know how Dr. Prabhudas is keeping. You will know the rest from the letter to Kusum and Dhuru.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati : S.N. 19536

265. *LETTER TO MITHUBEHN PETIT*

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Saturday, May 8, 1926

DEAR SISTER,

I have your letter; also the honey. It looks that after all I shall have to go to Mahabaleshwar. There is a letter today from Sir Chunilal Mehta. It seems to have been written at the instance of the Governor himself. He has invited me in his letter to stay with him. I think I should accept the invitation. Most probably I shall start from here as early as next Thursday. Personally, I would have liked to stay either with you or with Nargisbehn, but every time we must consider what our duty requires of us.

MITHUBEHN
FOUNTAIN HOUSE
MAHABALESHWAR

From a photostat of the Gujarati : S.N. 19537

266. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
*Saturday [May 8, 1926]*¹

CHI. JAMNALAL,

It seems at last that I shall have to go to Mahabaleshwar. There is a letter today from Sir Chunilal Mehta. He has written it at the instance of the Governor himself, and suggests that I should meet the Governor in Mahabaleshwar itself. He has also invited me to stay with him while there, and pressed me to accept the invitation. I intend, therefore, to start from here on Thursday. Devdas's operation will have been over by then. I expect a telegram today. Now we shall not have to arrange for a bunga-low for our stay in Mahabaleshwar. Think over and decide what arrangements we should make for a car and whether you will accompany me.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 2862

267. LETTER TO JAISUKHLAL

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Saturday, Chaitra Vad 11, May 8, 1926

CHI. JAISUKHLAL,

One of your questions remains to be answered. You wanted to know whether you could spend anything for helping the poor women who spin. You can spend about Rs. 100 for the purpose. Please let me know how you intend to utilize the amount. Within this limit, write to the Ashram for the amount which you spend.

I send with this the results of the tests carried out by Shri Lakshmidas as to the quality of the yarn. You will see from them that it is very necessary to pay attention to improving it. In Shri Lakshmidas's view, the strength ought not to be below 50%. Why could they not supply moistened yarn if they keep it with them for eight days? In this weather, moistened yarn dries up within two or three hours.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati : S.N. 19538

¹ *Vide* the preceding item.

268. LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Saturday, May 8, 1926

BHAI KAKA,

I have to further postpone the writing of the book for you, because, if I do not write a letter to you under the excuse that I am to write a book for you, I am afraid I may write neither. I had thought that I would write out the book soon so that I need not write the letter. But the Congress Committee took up practically my three full days, with the result that the Girnar of work has now become the Himalayas. On top of this, I see from today's mail that I shall have to go to Mahabaleshwar. Nothing is likely to come out of the visit, but courtesy requires that I should go; let the outcome be what it will.

I have never felt that the inmates of the Ashram are indifferent to Dr. Talwalkar, but it may be that my indifference, if it can be called so, has been reflected in their attitude.

If you have been using olive oil as a substitute for cod-liver oil, [by all means] go on with it. Some regard it as superior to cod-liver oil. Shri Bhansali had used this same thing in jail.

My habit of drawing lots has absolutely no relation with your "examination as of a bride's qualities". The poor little piece of paper cannot bear all that burden. There is no attempt in it to win over the gods; on the contrary, there is a sort of indifference about lots. In cases in which we need not tax our reason, in which we are indifferent to either of the alternative courses and yet must adopt one of them, and none of our good friends is prepared to take a decision for us, I think it is an excellent practice to seek the good offices our friend, the lot. This saves time and also spares us the burden on our mind. In matters of principle, drawing lots is an immoral solution.

You cannot draw lots whether or not you should steal. But is it not better to draw lots rather than go on debating whether or not to go out for a walk with A, citing reasons from Vedas and other holy books for and against? If we try to consult the inner voice in such matters, the latter would lose all its value; a child like Rasik might excuse himself from doing any work by pleading his inner voice! Have we not known instances of such abuse of the plea of inner voice during the non-co-operation movement? Suppose *tandaljo* and *methi* are both permissible items of diet, both are easily available but only one of them

is to be purchased, and suppose further that we cannot make up our mind immediately, would it not, in such circumstances, be better to draw lots and be indifferent to the result, rather than make it a matter of conscience?

I shall see about Shri Harihar when he comes here. Shri Narahari had thought of getting Harihar to open a nursery school in Surat. If the people of Surat are ready to have such a school and collect a big amount they are certainly welcome to start it, but we cannot try the experiment on behalf of the Vidyapith. I remember having been told by Shri. . .¹ as early as when I was in jail that Shri . . .² had gone romantic. He had shown me an indecent poem signed . . .³, when I asked who this . . .⁴ was, I think he said it was . . .⁵ of the Ashram. But may be, I am mistaken. It may not have been . . .⁶ but someone else who told me this. We shall have to think about the matter when . . .⁷ is here.

Nothing has yet been decided about [my visit to] Europe. Yes, Swami too had expressed to me his disagreement. The American tour would have only meant addressing thousands of people; going to Finland means attending a convention of student-delegates from all over the world. There is a great difference between the two propositions. Moreover, in America I was supposed to give to the people India's message; though there was no message to give. In this case the idea is that I should establish a spiritual bond with students. There is no question of delivering a message. These are the reasons why the idea of going to Finland is tempting me, though, of course, there are some misgivings in my mind. That is why I have thrown on K. T. Paul the responsibility of arranging my visit after telling them of my conditions. He, too, instead of accepting the responsibility, has passed on my letter to Geneva. If they will keep the invitation open, can we say it is God's wish that I should go? Personally I will certainly believe so.

I am convinced that Uttamchand will have nowhere else the facilities which he enjoys here. And now we have started a course of injections by Dr. Talwalkar. He is keeping well enough.

From a photostat of the Gujarati : S.N. 19539

¹ to names omitted

269. SERVICE OF THE CITY

To everyone who wishes to serve his city I would recommend a perusal of Dr. Hariprasad's account¹ of the seven-month-long efforts to keep the city of Ahmedabad clean and bright. Those who do not know how to serve their own city can never serve their country. The good work done in these seven months by people who believed that selfless service is its own reward could not have been done by the municipality of the city even at a cost of thousands of rupees. This effort to keep the city clean is an example of co-operation between a municipality and the citizens, and if the rich do not co-operate, what has been already achieved is likely to be wasted. It is possible to raise the necessary funds to make Ahmedabad a model of cleanliness. Most of the suggestions made by Dr. Hariprasad cannot be carried out without the help of the wealthy citizens. The money given for this work will bring a handsome return, for if the city has a sufficient number of open grounds with trees in them, if the old ruins and dirty sights are removed and stinking lavatories are seen no more, the health of the citizens will improve considerably and the price of the land will also appreciate. The citizens can insist that the expenditure should be incurred under their own supervision. Hence the money given for this work will not be a gift but will be an instance of economic foresight.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 9-5-1926

270. NOTES

REFORMS AMONG "PATANWADIAS"²

The reforms introduced among *Patanwadias* show how much work can be done if we cultivate close contacts with the countless people in the country who are looked upon as poor and backward, and they also make clear to us what kind of preparation is necessary to enable us to do such solid service. We can see from the work done by Bhai Ravishankar that for this purpose a love for the people, a well trained body and fearlessness are far more necessary than knowledge of

¹ An article, 'Cleaning the City', by Hariprasad Vrajraj Desai in *Navajivan*, 9-5-1926

² This note is a comment on a report by Mohanlal Pandya of work among *Patanwadias*, a backward community in Gujarat.

letters, proficiency in English or a university degree.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 9-5-1926

271. *LETTER TO A. A. PAUL*¹

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
May 9, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. It is a most difficult thing for me to make fixed appointments one year in advance. I can only therefore say that I would be prepared tentatively to accept the invitation. It may be necessary to shorten the programme and it may be also that I may be so absorbed in Indian affairs at the time that I might not be able to move out of India. I wonder if with the uncertainty attaching to my acceptance the associations concerned will care to send me the invitation.

Please also tell the friends that if I go out at all, I shall be accompanied by two companions.

Your colleague Mr. Maccune will be welcome at the Ashram in the beginning of June.

Yours sincerely,

A. A. PAUL, ESQ.²
7, MILLER ROAD
KILPAUK, MADRAS

From a photostat : S.N. 11370

¹ In reply to his letter dated 4-5-1926 wherein he wrote : “. . . I have got a reply from Mr. T. Z. Koo of China describing the purpose, programme, dates and scope of the visit that they are anxious to have from you”

² General Secretary', Students' Christian Association of India, Burma and Ceylon (S.N. 11369)

272. LETTER TO MOTILAL ROY

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
May 9, 1926

DEAR MOTIBABU,

I hope you received my letter with reference to the loan. Please make the following corrections in the agreement¹ to be signed by you :

The interest should not be one per cent per annum but one per thousand per annum.

The interest is intended to be purely nominal. And, where the following sentence occurs—"the selling price of khadi . . . up to weaving plus $6\frac{1}{4}$ % for the expenses of management"—please say "the sale price of khaddar shall not be above the rates fixed by the Association from time to time".

This improvement is intended to make the position of the khadi organizations more elastic than it² otherwise would be. These are the conditions embodied in the loan agreements. When I prepared the draft for you Mr. Banker was away and I had not the Association model before me. On his return he drew my attention to these discrepancies. Kindly excuse me.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm : S.N. 19542

273. LETTER TO RAMESHWARDAS PODDAR

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Sunday [May 9, 1926]³

BHAI RAMESHWARJI,

I have your letter. When I advise you to live in "solitude" I mean that you should live away from your wife. It would do you good to go to Nasik and retire to a secluded spot. After winter sets in,

¹ Vide "Draft Agreement for Loans from All-India Spinners' Association", 1-5-1926.

² The source has "they".

³ From the postmark

you can stay even in the Ashram.

Yours,
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 163-A

274. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
*Sunday [May 9, 1926]*¹

CHI. VASUMATI,

I have your letter. This time your handwriting can be described as good. When you are here, I will certainly put you up, if not in your old room, in the room adjoining Mirabai's. I shall have to go to Mahabaleshwar for two or three days. Devdas is suffering from appendicitis, and so I have sent him to Bombay for an operation. It must have been over today. Ba and Mahadev have gone with him. The report in the Press which you read, that I was to leave for Mahabaleshwar on the 6th, was not correct. Ramdas must be in Mahuva just now.

Blessings from
BAPU

SMT. VASUMATIBEHN DHIMATRAI NAVALRAM
KELAPEETH

From the Gujarati original : C.W. 470. Courtesy : Vasumati Pandit

275. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Sunday, May 9, 1926

CHI. JAMNALAL,

I have your letter. I expect a telegram from you this evening. I am not at all worried. Tell Ba that Rami's daughter is quite all right. I had got Ba's message. Manibehn and the younger Kashi do the cooking. Kumibehn, Rami's aunt, arrived here today. Kanti and Manu had been to the station to receive her. Ba should not worry on our account.

¹ From the reference to Devdas's illness and Gandhiji's trip to Mussoorie

Rameshwarprasad, his mother and others arrived yesterday, and are leaving for that side today. You must have got my letter in which I told you about my going to Mahabaleshwar. I take it that Mahadev will remain there for the time being. He should write to me if he wants me to fetch anything for him from here. I think we shall have to take with us some extra covering for nights. It seems that we shall have to stay in Mahabaleshwar for three days, viz., Saturday, Sunday and Monday. I have also been thinking that, leaving there on Tuesday morning, we should look up Kaka in Sinhgargh and, if possible, make a trip to Deolali as well. This may take up two more days. If we start on Tuesday morning we can reach Sinhgargh at about 10 or 11, and I am thinking that we may then go to Deolali if we can come down the same evening. But I may even drop the visit to Deolali if Mahadev thinks that it is not very necessary to go, because I also feel there is no point in going to Deolali unless we can stay there for a couple of days. Just now I shall write nothing about this to Mathuradas. I have decided to be guided by Mahadev's advice. Will you yourself arrange for a car from Poona? A train for Poona leaves [Bombay] at 10-30 a.m. If that is so, I think it will be best to catch that train, after seeing Devdas, and reach Mahabaleshwar the same night. I think it would be better to arrange for two cars from Poona.

I had just now a trunk-call from Vallabhbbhai about the operation. God be praised for His mercy!

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 2683

276. LETTER TO DEVDAS GANDHI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

Sunday, May 9, 1926

CHI. DEVDAS,

I got today all your letters, all the three. I do not understand how this has happened. By the time you get this letter it will be more than twenty-four hours since the operation, and you will be chatting happily with friends. I do not now feel worried at any time. I have never felt frightened by an operation, though I once witnessed an operation which resulted in the patient's death. But I could see that it was all due to the doctor's absolute incompetence. This happened in

Johannesburg. Kumi has come here today. She was certain that Ba would be here. Panditji has arrived today, and so the Ashram is again becoming full. I am not giving other news in this letter to you; I am writing about it to Jamnalalji. I advise you to employ this enforced leisure for looking within. I shall see him most probably on Friday.

From a photostat of the Gujarati : S.N. 19543

277. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

Monday, May 10, 1926

CHI. JAMNALAL,

I have your letter and Mahadev's. I am not at all worried, nor was I before. There is always some risk in chloroform, but then such risk is present in every operation. Tell Devdas not to be nervous if the pain continues; some patients feel it, but only for a couple of days. By the time you get this letter, the pain must have disappeared completely.

I got the translation sent by Mahadev. With this and with the translation from Valji, I have by now (half past two) matter for seventeen columns ready. So I have sat down to write this letter. I do not think you need postpone your Indore visit. Nothing will be accomplished at Mahabaleshwar, whereas there is much to do at Indore. I have not decided whom I should ask here to accompany me. There will be one person, and most probably it will be Subbiah.

I shall arrive there in the first train. Take me to Revashankarbhai's. If Devdas is better, I shall go to see him after I have had my bath and lunch; otherwise I will go directly from the station. We must leave for Poona the same day. That will be no trouble to me. I intend to reach Mahabaleshwar the same evening, i.e., at nine on Friday. Please inform Revashankarbhai.

It is all right that you know Mehta, but it would have been better if you had not written to him for a car. It will not look well if he makes any arrangements on behalf of the Government. But please do not alter the arrangements.

You will see that, if we reach Mahabaleshwar on Friday, we shall have only two days to meet the Governor. We must leave the place on Tuesday morning.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 2864

278. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

[May 10, 1926]¹

CHI. MATHURADAS,

I have your letter. Mahadev also wrote after meeting you. My programme of going to Mahabaleshwar stands. Most probably I shall start from here on Thursday. As for paying or not paying you a visit, I propose to go by what Mahadev says. It takes a day to reach there. Now that Mahadev has seen you, I do not have to visit you merely for the sake of courtesy. Let me know your own inmost desire. I shall get the reply only at Bombay. Write at Jamnalalji's address. Of course I shall be putting up at Revashankarbhai's house. Ask Pyarelal to write to me. At Mahabaleshwar address letters to Sir Chunilal Mehta's place. As for Devdas, I shall send him where the doctor advises.

Blessings from

BAPU

SJT. MATHURADAS

WINDY HALL

NASIK ROAD

DEOLALI

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

279. LETTER TO ANASUYABEHN SARABHAI

Silence Day [May 10, 1926]²

CHI. ANASUABEHN,

I have your letter. You worry about me needlessly. Were it necessary for me to go I would never have posted the letter. There is nothing wrong with my health. I rest a great deal and do not like to leave the Ashram. So the Ashram appears to suit me very well. You should not worry on my account. It was necessary for you to go. You will surely admit that your health is more delicate than mine. So do not brood over why I did not go and you went instead.

I am leaving for Mahabaleshwar on Thursday as the Governor

¹ From the postmark

² From the reference to Devdas who was operated upon for appendicitis on May 9, 1926

has again asked that I should go there. I shall stay for three days. While returning I may perhaps spend a day calling on Kaka and Mathuradas. I have not decided yet. Dalal diagnosed that Devdas had appendicitis and advised operation for which I gave my consent. The operation was successfully performed yesterday. Ba and Mahadev have gone there. Jamnalal was already there.

It is quite hot here. Nothing has been decided about Finland so far.¹ I will let you know as soon as I receive confirmed intimation. There is certainly no likelihood of my going before July.

Is sister-in-law fully recovered?

Did you have a *darshan* of Dhaulagiri?

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original: S.N. 32784

280. LETTER TO K. SANTANAM

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

May 11, 1926

MY DEAR SANTANAM,

Rajagopalachari discussed with me your difficulties when he was at the Ashram. I sympathize with you. But it is difficult to conform to an absolute rule of conduct. Whilst it is proper to exact the uttermost from oneself, to refuse to serve till one had attained the ideal height would be to cut off the possibility of reaching that height. We rise only by actual service and by taking the risk of making mistakes whilst we are serving. Not one of us is perfect. Not one of us is able to realize the whole of our spiritual ambition. All the same, in the humblest manner possible we have to continue to serve and hope that through that service we may some day realize that ambition. If we all refuse to serve, until we attain perfection, there will be no service. The fact is that perfection is attained through service. If you were to say we must not take or accept power till we are perfect, I should entirely agree with you. And, therefore, it is best never to take any power, and, when it is thrust upon us to use it for service only. I hope therefore that, in spite of the weaknesses that you may detect in yourself, you will not refuse to render khadi service so long as the weaknesses do not interfere with that

¹ Gandhiji finally declined the invitation.

service. Thus a man who has the weakness of dishonesty or drunknesses or the like is naturally unfit for that service. But a man who in spite of strenuous effort is unable (say) to regulate himself with his wife as if he was her brother is not unfit for service. I hope I have made myself quite clear and that you will return to the khadi work you love and do so well.

Yours sincerely

SJT. K. SANTANAM

KUMMUTTI THIDAL

TANJORE DT.

From a microfilm : S.N. 19545

281. LETTER TO SARADINDU B. BANERJI

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

May 11, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. It is not clear to me what you really desire. Do you want to stay with me for a little time? And, if so, what do you want to do? Mine as you know is an extremely busy life. I have hardly time to talk to people. And I rarely do so except for purposes of my own. If, therefore, one comes to me he is immediately put upon some useful work and he commences with the cleansing of water-closets, etc., and spinning as a matter of course.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. SARADINDU B. BANERJI

13, EDMONSTONE ROAD

ALLAHABAD

From a microfilm : S.N. 19546

282. LETTER TO C. V. KRISHNA

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

May 11, 1926

MY DEAR KRISHNA,

I have your letter. Even for the Rustomjee Bhavan, let the recommendation come through the agency of A.I.S.A.

Your diet scale is good if you get sufficient butter-milk during the month. Who gives it to you free? Is it customary in Andhra Desh for butter-milk to be given freely? Do you have to beg for it? Or is it sent to you? Please describe to me more fully the fruits you get for one rupee per month. Your scale should be scientifically drawn. And a scientific scale gives both the weight and price of all the foodstuffs taken. You cannot be always taking one rupee and four annas worth of rice even when the price of rice has doubled, as it sometimes is. Of the staples you have to take the same quantity irrespective of price. Therefore, I would like you to give me the exact quantity taken including those things which come to you free of charge and you should put down the prices of such things also as you get free.

I want to publish the scale of diet taken in the various institutions so as to guide workers. And let there be no *et ceteras*. You have “salt, etc.”. Instead of that you should say salt, turmeric, ginger or whatever spices, if any, you are taking.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm : S.N. 19547

283. *LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR*

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
May 11, 1926

I have your two letters. I enclose herewith Kelappan's letter. What you have done is quite right. He must render an account of his work to you from time to time.

I am writing to Santanam. Herewith a copy of my letter¹ to him. About Ramanathan, I shall discuss with Shankerlal. I do not apprehend any difficulty.

Can't very well draw lots about Finland. And, even if I do, it is too late now. But I share your misgivings. I have prescribed my terms and if they have me in spite of them there may be something in the visit.

You will be ready in June, won't you, for touring even if you have to have somebody from here temporarily. How would Chhotalal suit you? He cannot be there for a long time. But it would be possible to induce him to come there willingly for two or three months if he can be of any assistance and give you some relief.

¹ *Vide* “Letter to K. Santanam”, 11-5-1926.

I have now seen Shankerlal. He thinks that if Ramanathan's salary is raised to Rs. 150 there is bound to be pressure from others for raising their salary. It is a risky thing for a public and universal body like the Charkha Sangh to depart from fixed rules. At the same time, I see your or rather Ramanathan's difficulty. My suggestion, therefore, is that so long as it is absolutely necessary, you should pay Ramanathan from the Seva Sangh. For this, perhaps, Jamnalalji will have to be consulted which you should do or if you want me to I will. If the thing can be postponed you should come here at the time of commencing your tour and discuss with Shankerlal. I take it that Ramanathan will not insist upon the increase coming from the A.I.S.A.

Yours,

SJT. C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR
GANDHI ASHRAM
TIRUCHENGODU

From a photostat : S.N. 19548

284. LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Tuesday, May 11, 1926

BHAISHRI KAKA,

I got your second letter about mother goat. If, now, I myself come to Sinhgarh, instead of sending you a book there, I will make nothing but speeches. We need not now leave this place on Thursday and reach Mahabaleshwar on Friday, because the next week suits the Governor better. When I shall be able to leave, I can say only after some time. Even apart from the visit to Mahabaleshwar, Devdas has been operated upon and I must see him. Since Bombay is on the way, I may even start earlier for his sake. That will depend upon Devdas's wishes.

I agree with every word of what you say about books worth translating. My inquiry was only in connection with Jamnadas Memorial Series. Neither Shankerlal nor Swami has the list which you prepared. Of course we should get the translation done only by competent men. The books too should be such as would meet some immediate needs of the people and should be easy to follow. In your letter you have

explored a whole ocean of books. But all we have to consider at present is what books we should select for this series. Please, therefore, think about that.

From a photostat of the Gujarati : S.N. 19531

285. *LETTER TO HORACE GREEN*

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
May 12, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter of the 13th April last. I believe I had a prepaid cable from Paris to which I sent a reply. I cannot recall any prepaid cable from you from New York.

I would have gladly lent you a copy of my autobiography if I had it. But chapters are written from week to week. What has been written has already been published. If you do not subscribe to *Young India* you can get a loan of it from Dr. Holmes.

What should be done when the whole of the *Autobiography* is written for its publication in book form has not yet been decided. Dr. Holmes, I understand, is in correspondence with the Macmillans.

Yours sincerely,

HORACE GREEN, ESQ.
PRESIDENT
DUFFIELD & COMPANY
211 EAST 19TH STREET
NEW YORK

From a copy: S.N. 32239

286. *LETTER TO HELENE ALPERS HAHN*

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
May 12, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter of the 19th April last¹. I have not yet

¹ In which the addressee had sought Gandhiji's permission for translating his *Autobiography* into German and to have it printed in Germany

decided what is to be done to the *Autobiography* for its publication in book form in European languages after its completion. At the present moment it is being published in several magazines for which I have given free permission. But beyond that I am unable to go at present.

Yours sincerely,

HELENE ALPERS HAHN
HEILBRONN AM NECKAR
GERMANY

From a copy: S.N. 32250

287. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

ASHRAM,
Wednesday [May 12, 1926]¹

CHI. MAHADEV,

I have your letter. I also got a telegram from Jamnalalji. A telegram from Sir Chunilal has just been received. The Governor will see us on Tuesday. I am, therefore, sending a wire that I shall start tomorrow. I will take the first train. We shall fix up the rest of the programme after I reach there. I would prefer that we leave for Deolali on Friday itself in the evening and return to Bombay on Sunday morning. We may then spend Sunday and Monday in Bombay and finish the work for *Young India* and *Navajivan* till the usual period of my vow of silence on Monday is over. I should break my silence on Monday evening and leave for Poona, from where I can immediately take the train to Mahabaleshwar. We can have our wash and lunch in Mahabaleshwar itself. This will impose the least strain on us. But you should, all of you, consult among yourselves about any changes which may seem necessary in this programme; we will alter it accordingly after I arrive there. We should stay in Mahabaleshwar on Tuesday and Wednesday and leave there on Thursday morning. On our way we should cover Sinhgarh; we should start descending immediately after sunset and take the train from Poona so as to reach Bombay the following morning, and Ahmedabad on Saturday morning. As far as I can see, we cannot save a single day from this programme. We must reserve two days for Mahabaleshwar. We can, if we wish, spend Monday in Mahabaleshwar. But it seems best that we should

¹ From the reference to Gandhiji's visit to Mahabaleshwar and to Devdas

spend Sunday and Monday with Devdas. Or, we can spare one day more for Mathuradas. In any case, we should spend Monday in Bombay.

I think I have nothing to add. Oh yes, I forgot one thing. I have yielded to Kumi's repeated requests and Kanti, Rasik and Minu are leaving for Rajkot tomorrow. My condition is that they too should be sent back on Friday. On asking the children, I could see that they wished to go and so I thought it best to let them go.

Ramniklal has started a ten-day fast from today, the reason merely being his own several years old, strong wish to do so. So now Bhansali has a companion during the last days of his fast. The latter is going on very well with his fast. Today is the twelfth day, but he does not show in any way that he has been fasting. There is no observable effect even on his face. He sleeps quite soundly. He takes enemas, and that ensures bowel movement. Drinks plenty of water. He himself reads for an hour every day, and also gets others to read a little from religious books.

Since Devdas is all right, . . .¹ can now come away. Rami, being alone, is likely to feel a little, though of course Mani, Radha and others look after her with great care. I propose to bring Subbiah along with me.

From a photostat of the Gujarati : S.N. 19494

288. *LETTER TO THE SECRETARY, A.I.S.A.*

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
May 12, 1926

THE SECRETARY
A.I.S.A.
AHMEDABAD

DEAR SIR,

Ref. Your No. 2743 of the 8th instant

With reference to the application of the Abhoy Ashram authorities for permission to borrow on personal security up to Rs. 20,000/- I am of opinion that this permission should be granted provided that the money is to be used for advancing the object of the Ashram.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm : S.N. 11177

¹ As in the source

289. *LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA*

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
May 12, 1926

DEAR SATIS BABU,

I want an accurate reading of the Calcutta riots from your pen. I wonder if Chhotalal gave you my letter and how he is doing? Any way, I am delighted that you have changed your food and are taking more nourishing things. Do please continue. It will be criminal if you weaken your body or become ill. A few rupees spent in getting proper nourishment will be well spent. I know that you are not the man to eat for pleasure, but when things are required to sustain life they must be procured.

Hemaprabha Devi wrote to me a laconic letter from which I could understand nothing. Tell her it will not do. She must tell me fully about all her mental struggles, hopes and fears, likes and dislikes.

Yours,
BAPU

From a microfilm : S.N. 19550

290. *LETTER TO LUCIEN JACQUIN*¹

May 12 [1926]

I would suggest to you to make a careful study of my writings before you take any step whatsoever.

From a photostat : S.N. 12416

291. *LETTER TO J. LYLE TELFORD*²

May 12 [1926]

If you will kindly send me your magazine I shall see whether I can send you anything to fit in with it.

From a photostat : S.N. 12432

¹ This is handwritten draft on a letter dated 6-4-1926 from the addressee in French. (S.N. 12416)

² In reply to the addressee's letter dated 25-2-1926 requesting for an article for *The International Forum*, a monthly magazine for the promotion of social progress

292. LETTER TO E. H. JAMES

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
May 12, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. It is difficult for me at the present moment to find time to read literature with which friends overwhelm me.

You ask me to differentiate between *Advaitism* and *Dwaitism*. The former derived evidence from God who alone exists and therefore, contemplates identity between God and His creation. The latter attempts to show that the two can be never one.

Yours sincerely,

E. H. JAMES, ESQ.

CONCORD MASS, U.S.A.

From a photostat : S.N. 12434

293. LETTER TO KRISHNADAS

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
May 12, 1926

MY DEAR KRISHNADAS,

I had your telegram. Till it was received, we did not know that it was on father's account that Hardayal Babu had started fasting. He had written to me and asked me for blessing. I had not the heart to refuse it. But after receipt of your telegram, I was watchful. I have now received a telegram saying that the fast is broken, some people of Chandpur having guaranteed the expenses of the school building.

I have been waiting for your letter which has not yet arrived. How is Guruji getting on and how are you faring? Did I tell you that Pyarelal was with Mathuradas? Devdas is suffering from jaundice. Having been brought back, he underwent an operation on Sunday for appendicitis. Ba and Mahadev are there in Bombay. Devdas is doing quite all right. I am likely to see him on my way to Mahabaleshwar where I am going to meet the Governor to discuss agricultural matters at his instance.

Yours,

From a microfilm : S.N. 19549

294. LETTER TO SEWA RAM

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
May 12, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

Fearlessness comes out of a living faith in the existence of the soul apart from the body and its persistence after the dissolution of the body. And this is attained by a continuous realization of the futility of all worldly ambition.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. SEWA RAM
22, JAIL ROAD
LAHORE

From a photostat : S. N. 19551

295. LETTER TO CHHOTELAL

ASHRAM,
Wednesday, May 12, 1926

CHI. CHHOTELAL,

I have your letter. Remember your promise to me, that during your retirement into the country you will build up very good health, and you cannot do that unless you cheer up. You must unhesitatingly and in good quantity take milk, curds or any other articles which agree with you. For the present, you should pay attention to building up fine health, and may at the same time do what work you can. I know that you would have felt happier if Vinoba could have been with you at this time. But now you should carry on Vinoba's work "as well as you can". How much happier I would be if I did not have to qualify the statement with "as well as you can"! It is up to you to make that possible. I am writing to Rajaji. He will certainly have you. He is certain to come here by the 15th of June. It is not so very far off from now, and so I believe he will decide only after he arrives here. Just the same I shall see what he says. You should always let me have a complete picture of the state of your mind.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati : S.N. 19553

296. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Wednesday [May 12, 1926]¹

CHI. MATHURADAS,

I have your letter. There is no need at all to send Pyarelal to Bombay. Devdas is much better now. Even otherwise, such changes cannot be allowed. I am leaving here tomorrow, that is, on Thursday. On Friday I shall spend the day in Bombay and board the night train for Nasik, arriving at Deolali in the morning. I shall let you know if there is any change in the programme after going to Bombay. I shall spend the whole day at Deolali and return to Bombay by train the same night. After spending Sunday and Monday in Bombay I shall leave for Mahabaleshwar on Monday night and reach there on Tuesday morning. The rest at Mahabaleshwar.

Blessings from

BAPU

SJT. MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI
WINDY HALL
NASIK ROAD
DEOLALI (G.I.P.)

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

297. A DIEHARD

Prejudices die hard. Though the atrocious injustice done by the Hindus to the suppressed classes is admitted generally by even the orthodox Hindu society, there are men, otherwise liberal-minded, so blinded by prejudice that they see no injustice in the treatment meted out to our suppressed countrymen. Thus a correspondent writes :²

. . . I do not agree with people who say that the untouchables are oppressed and suppressed. . . . I am afraid that your mission to elevate them, to place them on an equal footing with other communities of the country, is doomed to failure. Personally, though I feel that much should be done to elevate them

¹ From the postmark

² Only excerpts are reproduced here.

socially, it cannot be done as if by magic in a single day. Millions of money will have to be spent to educate them, to free them from economic distress, to persuade them to abandon the vices of drinking and killing cows and eating dead animals. . . .

Degradation lies in not touching the “untouchable”. What though a man drinks, kills cows and eats carrion? He is no doubt an evil-doer, though no greater than the one who commits secret and more deadly sins. But he is not to be treated as an untouchable even as society does not treat the secret sinner as one. Sinners are not to be despised, but pitied and helped to rid themselves of their sinfulness. The existence of untouchability among Hindus is a denial of the doctrine of ahimsa on which we pride ourselves. We are responsible for the evils among the “untouchables”, of which the writer complains. What have we done to wean them from their ways? Do we not spend a fortune to reform members of our own families? Are the untouchables not members of the great Hindu family ? Indeed, Hinduism teaches us to regard the whole of humanity as one indivisible and undivided family and holds each one of us responsible for the misdeeds of all. But if it is not possible to act up to the grand doctrine for its vastness, let us at least understand the unity of the “untouchables” with us since we regard them as Hindus.

And what is worse, eating carrion or thinking carrion? We daily create, harbour and nourish millions of untouchable thoughts. Let us shed them, for they are the true untouchables deserving to be hated and cast out. And let us do penance for our past injustice towards the “untouchable” brothers by lovingly embracing them. The correspondent does not question the duty of serving the untouchables. How are we to serve them if their very sight offends and pollutes us?

Young India, 13-5-1926

298. FURTHER MARCH FIGURES

Here are the figures¹ of production and sale of khadi for the month of March from some centres. I hope that all those who are not yet regularly sending their returns would begin to do so.

The Andhra figures are as usual incomplete. Bengal figures included those of the Khadi Pratishthan, Abhoy Ashram, and Arambagh

¹ Not reproduced here

Khadi Kendra.

COMPARATIVE FIGURES

The Abhoy Ashram authorities have sent the following comparative figures¹ of khadi production and sales under its aegis :

Thus it will be seen that in 1925-26, the quarterly production in the Abhoy Ashram was 25 times as much as during the corresponding period in 1923-24. This is a remarkable rise. I would ask all the chief khadi organizations in India to favour me with similar comparative statistics. If they show a rise at all like the Abhoy Ashram, they will be a complete answer to those who tell us that khadi has progressively gone down instead of rising during the past five years. Progressive figures like those of the Abhoy Ashram should hearten khadi workers for greater effort. For the work before them is not to manufacture khadi worth lacs. They have to manufacture crores of rupees worth of khadi.

Young India, 13-5-1926

299. THE CATTLE PROBLEM

Some months ago the Collector of Ganjam Mr. A. Galletti sent me a sheet, being a reprint of his notes contributed to *The Statesman*, in which he gave his opinion based on his Italian experiences, (1) that the agriculture of India depended upon good cattle, (2) that the cattle of India were ill-kept and therefore worse than elsewhere, (3) that they could be improved only by India *growing cattle crop instead of merely depending on common pastures*, and (4) that by the system of rotation cattle crop could be grown side by side with food grains without diminishing the returns of the latter.

I had difficulty in applying the Italian conditions to the Indian inasmuch as we have small holdings even as little as two acres and sometimes even less. To my objection which I conveyed to him, Mr. Galletti sent me the following reply² :

Many thanks for yours of the 26th February, received today in my camp in my Agency hills. I will reply³ to your objection from experience.

The appeal of the crores of India's cattle lies not to me alone, but to every Indian who can think for himself, more especially perhaps to

¹ Not reproduced here

² Only an extract is reproduced here.

³ Not reproduced here

every Hindu who prides himself on being the special protector of the cow. I hope that the readers have been perusing the carefully prepared notes by Sjt. V. G. Desai on the slaughter of India's cattle. They give a graphic description of the condition of the cattle in the cities of India. Mr. Galletti paints the condition of farm cattle and prescribes in detail the remedy for improving them. The question of improving the breed of cattle and preserving them is a question as well of first rate economics as of religion. How far Mr. Galletti's remedy is applicable to Indian conditions, I do not know. Practical farmers alone can give an authoritative opinion. But one difficulty is obvious. Millions of farmers are too ignorant to adopt new and revolutionary methods. Assuming the truth of Mr. Galletti's prescription, its application depends upon the agricultural education of the large mass of Indian humanity. But those who know anything of agriculture and who have a patch of land under cultivation should try Mr. Galletti's remedy and publish results. For such, I give below the relevant extracts¹ from the sheet sent by Mr. Galletti :

Young India, 13-5-1926

300. NOTES

KHADI DURING NATIONAL WEEK

The All-India Spinners' Association has received certain reports of khadi work during the National Week according to which in Banaras Babu Shiva Prasad Gupta who organized volunteers for the sale of khadi, in Banaras sold merely Rs. 2,000 worth of khadi : at Allahabad, over Rs. 1,200; at Ghazipur, over Rs. 160; and at Banda nearly Rs. 1,000 worth of khadi was sold. The result was that there was hardly any local khadi left in the U.P. In the Punjab, great enthusiasm was shown. Rs. 11,000 worth of khadi was disposed of. Many leaders went about hawking khadi. In Tamilnad, the sales in all depots amounted to Rs. 18,622-11-11.

I wish that the other khadi centres throughout India would send their reports. There is nothing startling about these figures, but they show that if only leading men and women will work in their own centres steadily, all the khadi that can be produced can be disposed of without the slightest difficulty in the province of production and that

¹ Not reproduced here

there need be no check put upon the manufacture of good khadi for want of custom. Manufacture requires skill and sustained effort. Sale requires prestige and pushfulness. Sales therefore can be best effected by volunteers of recognized status giving a portion of their time during certain months in the year.

TO S. L. R.

I wish, instead of filling eight sides of a thin notepaper, you had written on one side of your notepaper so as to make your writing legible. You could have condensed your statement to a fourth of its size.

I suggest to you that remembrance of a bad deed does not mean hatred of the evil-doer. I do not forget “the atrocities” committed by many of my friends and relatives, but I am not aware of the slightest hatred against them. On the contrary, I love them in spite of their “atrocities”. But it would be wrong for me to support evil-doing friends or relatives. Similarly would it be wrong for the nation to support a servant who has been guilty of atrocities such as General Dyer was. Absence of hatred does not and must not mean the screening of the guilty. You infer without any authority that my severe condemnation of the sin of Jallianwala includes condemnation of the whole of the British race. I must ask you to search the file of *Young India* and you will discover that I have done the opposite of what you attribute to me.

Young India, 13-5-1926

301. I. L. P. AND INDIA

The report of the Indian Advisory Committee of the Independent Labour Party on the condition of India is an ably written document. It is a severe condemnation of the British Administration. It has among others paragraphs on the so-called reforms, on the power of the Civil Service, on communal favouritism, on the judiciary and the so-called Indian navy.

The paragraph on education bears reproduction :¹

Of the general poverty the report says :²

From the paragraphs on the agricultural conditions, I cull the

¹ Not reproduced here

² *ibid.*

following:¹

There are interesting paragraphs in the section devoted to industrial conditions. But I must refer the reader for the rest of the interesting information to the report itself which is issued by the I.L.P. for 6d. at 14, Great George Street, London, S.W.

Young India, 13-5-1926

302. LETTER TO CHHOTALAL

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Thursday, May 13, 1926

CHI. CHHOTALAL,

I have your letter. You too must have received my telegram. It is best that at present you stay there and study everything carefully; in any case, now that you are there I think you should spend some time acquainting yourself with the position. . . .² of affairs there. The ideas which have recently occurred to you will also mature while you are there. The Ashram needs everyone but is dependent on none. That should be the attitude of the inmates, too, towards the Ashram. They must feel the need to remain in the Ashram, but at the same time they ought to be fearless. The inmates must certainly want to remain in the Ashram as long as it encourages the spirit of self-confidence in them, but should leave it the moment they feel that it obstructs their spiritual development. Thus, in retaining you in the Ashram I think I am serving both you and the Ashram. So you need not at all think that I want to keep you in the Ashram solely for your good, irrespective of whether your presence serves or harms the Ashram. I request you once again to stop thinking too much. I hope you got my last letter. Reflect over it and stop worrying.

You must have learnt that Devdas has been operated upon for appendicitis. The operation was performed on Sunday. I learn from his letter today that he is quite well. He will soon be discharged from the hospital. Ba, Mahadev and Jamnalalji are with him. I am leaving for Mahabaleshwar today to see the Governor there. I shall certainly see Devdas on my way.

From a photostat of the Gujarati : S. N. 19505

¹ Not reproduced here

² As in the source

303. LETTER TO JAISUKHLAL

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

*Thursday, Vaishakh Sud 2 [May 13, 1926]*¹

CHI. JAISUKHLAL,

I have written an article² on the Centre for the next issue of *Navajivan*; please go through it and let me know if I have omitted anything. These days I find in your letters a mixture of sadness, impatience and despair. I also see that you did not like Shri Lakshmidas's criticism. But there is no reason for you to feel sad or give way to despair. And one must not be impatient of criticism. It is not always that a critic can do well what he criticizes in others. It is your duty to accept and use as much from the criticism as you can. You should let Lakshmidas know and have a discussion with him about what you cannot. If you do this, you may learn something. The present widespread demand for khadi is the result of a sentiment. It is your duty to nurse and strengthen this sentiment. If you work from there in a spirit of self-sacrifice, you will be able to get more work done and also improve the quality of yarn and khadi. It is only by improving their quality that you can nurse and strengthen the love for khadi. You ask for some person to examine the quality of khadi produced by families which had kept back some cotton from their crop. Where can I find such a person? I explained to you, when you were here, that you should cut out a strip three to four inches wide, from every piece woven and send the strips here, so that every roll can be examined. Both the rolls and the strips should be numbered, so that whenever a strip is rejected the corresponding roll can be promptly identified. This will consume some time; but I think that is inevitable. If people get a return for their money, why should they lose faith in khadi? If you cannot do this, I can only tell you that you may pay only for such khadi about the quality of which you feel sure. There should be no difficulty in doing this if the payment is to be made at one place. When payments are to be made at several places, inspection of the material should be carried out at one place; otherwise this arrangement will not work. You may do

¹ From the reference to Gandhiji's trip to Mahabaleshwar and Devdas' hospitalization

² Vide "My Notes", 16-5-1926

whatever you think best in the circumstances there. I am leaving for Mahabaleshwar today. I expect to return here on Saturday the 22nd. I shall receive lettes in Bombay up to Monday. Perhaps you know that Devdas is in a hospital. Kusum and Dhiru, too, are in Bombay. They wanted to be with Jaya during the time [that Devdas was in hospital].

From a microfilm of the Gujarati : S. N. 19554

304. STATEMENT ON COLOUR BAR BILL

May 14, 1926

Mahatma Gandhi who arrived in Bombay on Friday morning was met on the train by an Associated Press representative who showed him a message from Cape Town that the Colour Bar Bill has been passed. Gandhiji received the news with pain [and said]:

I am sorry to learn the news that the Bill has been passed by the joint session of the two Houses of the Union Parliament. I had hoped with Mr. Andrews that better counsels would prevail and that the Bill would be rejected. Theoretically speaking, this Colour Bar Bill is worse than the Class Areas Reservation Bill over which there is to be a round table conference. One had wished that the spirrit of justice that actuated the Union Government to postpone the passing of one bill would induce them not to force the passage of the other. The acrimonious debate that took place over the passage of the Colour Bar Bill makes one suspicious as to the fate of Class Areas Reservation Bill. The duty of the Governor General of South Africa, in my opinion, is quite clear. His assent to this cruel Bill should be refused especially in view of the fact that General Smuts backed, as he was, by many other South African leaders put up such a strong opposition against it. The Colour Bar Bill, if it becomes a law of the Union, will set up the whole of the native population of South Africa against the white settlers. I regard it as an act of suicide on their part.

The Bombay Chronicle, 15-5-1926

305. MESSAGE TO BHAVNAGAR STATE PEOPLE'S CONFERENCE

[Before *May 15, 1926*]¹

The Conference has honoured itself in getting Mr. Amritlal

¹ Read at the Conference on May 15

Thakkar, the champion of the Bhils and the *Antyajas*, as its president. I hope that khaddar will have its proper place in such a conference, khaddar whereby thousands of untouchables earn their honest livelihood and by which innumerable hungry sisters earn an honest anna protecting their womanhood. I also hope that the curse of untouchability which has crept into Hindu society would be removed.

The Bombay Chronicle, 17-5-1926

306. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

Saturday [May 15, 1926]¹

I am writing this at Deolali. The programme is materially altered. I hope Krishnadas told you.

Mahabaleshwar—Sunday, Monday and Tuesday. Hope to leave M. Wednesday, reach Bombay on Thursday and Ashram on Friday. But may not reach till Saturday. Hope you are at peace with yourself. The weather at Deolali is quite good.

With love,

BAPU

[PS.]

Krishnadas will tell you where to address letters.

BAPU

From the original : C. W. 5184. Courtesy : Mirabehn

307. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

DEOLALI,

May 15, 1926

CHI. MIRA,

I wrote a p.c. today in time for the post. This I am writing to post at Bombay for which I am leaving presently.

Your Hindi letter is very well written. Not *hasptal*² *se*³ *chhodega*⁴ but *chhutega*⁵. *Chhodega* is transitive and so you drop the

¹ From the postmark

² Hospital

³ From

⁴ Will leave

⁵ Will be discharged

case ending “se” but keep it before *chhutege* which is intransitive.

I knew you were feeling the separation. You will get over it because it has got to be got over. The few days’ separation is a preparation for the longer that death brings. In fact the separation is only superficial. Death brings us nearer. Is not the body a bar—if it is also an introduction?

Devdas was quite well and cheerful. Mathuradas too is much better. I am to try to find out a place for him at Panchagani.

With love,

Yours,
BAPU

[PS.]

The chapter of *Autobiography* will be posted at the same time as this. You will correct it as you like and give to Swami. The typed copy contains my corrections. I shall try to send you the original too.

BAPU

From the original : C. W. 5185. Courtesy : Mirabehn

308. LETTER TO MANIBEHN PATEL

DEOLALI,
May 15, 1926

CHI. MANI,

I could persuade Ba [to go]. However, she refuses to go there before Tuesday and will reach there on Wednesday. Tell Surajbehn about it. I hope your wards give you satisfaction. Learn to be a good mixer. Do try to bring Nandubehn to the Ashram. Krishnadas must have told you about the change in the programme.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro—4 : Manibehn Patelne, p. 37

309. LETTER TO PRABHASHANKER PATTANI

*Saturday [May 15, 1926]*¹

DEAR FRIEND,

I got your letter at Deolali. I am here to see Chi. Mathuradas on my way to Mahabaleshwar. It seems to me that you are not gaining strength fast enough. I am anxious to know your weight. You can have only cow's or goat's milk, and that again after heating it with half an ounce of water. It must not be boiled for any length of time. I hope to return to the Ashram from Mahabaleshwar on Saturday. I shall reach there tomorrow.

Vandemataram from

MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original : C. W. 3199. Courtesy : Mahesh A. Pattani

310. COBWEBS OF IGNORANCE²

An English writer has observed that in vindicating truth there is far more labour in disentangling the knots of ignorance than in propounding the truth itself. Truth is by nature self-evident. As soon as you remove the cobwebs of ignorance that surround it, it shines clear. That is just the sort of handicap under which the simple and straight movement of the spinning-wheel is labouring today. It is expected to fulfil conditions which no one ever claimed it to fulfil, and when it fails to do so, the blame is laid at its door rather than at the critic's! A capital illustration of this is afforded by some paragraphs sent by a lover of khadi, the substance of which is :

(1) Now that you have begun to claim the spinning-wheel as a universal provider, it has simply filled us with disgust. And, so, today, we, the intelligentsia, repudiate you and your spinning-wheel alike.

(2) It may be possible to introduce hand-spinning in small villages and if you confined yourself simply to that, nobody would criticize you and you might even get some sympathy.

(3) But when you try to make out that even spiritual salvation

¹ From the reference to Gandhiji's visit to Mahabaleshwar

² The Gujarati original of this appeared in *Navajivan*, 16-5-1926. This is a translation by Pyarelal.

can come through the spinning-wheel you make yourself ridiculous. But you being a 'great' man, it is just possible that some simple-minded people may swallow whatever you say. The educated are not going to stand your nonsense any more; because you have now cast all moderation to the winds, and particularly since your voluntary retirement, you have not hesitated to prescribe the spinning-wheel to everybody and for every conceivable object under heaven. Does one want to observe *brahmacharya* ? Let him take to the spinning-wheel. Do you want to secure the release of the innocent Bengal patriots who are in jail ?—Ply the wheel. Do you want to ameliorate the economic condition of India? Why then,—the wheel again ! Not only this, you have even offered the spinning-wheel to veteran soldiers fit to wield the sword and the spear. The wonder is that you do not perceive the utter madness of all this.

(4) What would it matter to Britain if India ceased to purchase sixty crore rupees worth of cloth from her? Do you suppose that would make her abdicate her political power in India? See, how woefully mistaken you are in declaring that there is no political programme more valuable than hand-spinning.

(5) You have yet to prove that the spinning-wheel can solve even the bread problem for the masses. The harm that has resulted from it, on the other hand, is quite apparent. Just think of the khadi shops that have come to grief already!

(6) You even seem to suggest that other industrial activities should be dropped for the sake of hand-spinning.

I have condensed the objections in my own words. I do not think that I have thereby done the writer any injustice. On the contrary, I have erred, if at all, in removing or toning down the bitterness of his writing. An embittered patriot has a right to employ harsh language towards a person who has come to be dubbed a 'Mahatma'. For it enables him to mollify, to some extent at least, his rising anger over the spectacle of destitution that his country presents on the one hand and its utter helplessness to remedy it on the other. My duty is not to advertise his anger but to try, if it is at all possible, to remove the confusion engendered by that anger.

To proceed now to the examination of the six points of the correspondent :

(1) A UNIVERSAL PROVIDER ?—I have never tried to make anyone regard the spinning-wheel as his *kamadhenu*¹ or universal provider; I have certainly regarded it as my *kamadhenu* and in this I have done nothing more than what crores of Hindus in India are today doing, when they take up a little bit of clay, mould it into a small oval ball, mentally invest it with the Divine presenece and make it their *kamadhenu* by offering up their entire being to it. They do not ask their neigh- bours to worship it; on the contrary after their worship is over, they consign that sacred ball of clay to the waters. Why should then the intelligentsia feel disgusted if, with crores of my fellows, I lose my head and make the spinning-wheel my *kamadhenu* ? May I not expect a measure of toleration from them ? But as a matter of fact the intelligentsia as a body have not given me the go-by yet. To believe or give others to believe, therefore, that all the intelligentsia are disgusted because a few are, is hardly proper. But supposing, for the time being, that all of them do actually abandon me altogether, then, if my faith is inviolate, as all true faith must be, it will simply blaze forth and burn all the brighter for that reason. When in 1908², on board the *Kildonan Castle*, I declared my faith in the spinning-wheel in the pages of the *Hind Swaraj (Indian Home Rule)*, I stood absolutely alone. Will, then, my God who guided my pen into making that declaration of faith at that time, abandon me, when it is put on its trial?

(2) SPIN FOR SACRIFICE—It is in the villages only that the spinning-wheel is largely meant to be introduced, and it is just there that it is at present going on. And if today I beg for sympathy and support, it is for its revival in our villages. Again it is just for this that I have to canvass the sympathy of the educated class. For, just as if we want to teach our villagers who are ignorant how to protect themselves against the ravages of malaria and such other diseases, some people from the educated and middle class will first have to become adepts in the knowledge of the sanitary measures necessary to extirpate these diseases and to observe the rules themselves, similarly it is only when some of us learn spinning and practise it ceaselessly ourselves that we shall be able to teach it to our villagers and overcome their apathy by our personal example. And it goes without saying that unless we use the khadi that they produce the spinning-wheel cannot live. My appeal to the people who live in the cities, therefore, is to spin for sacrifice, while their

¹ A mythical cow that gave whatever one asked for

² Actually 1909; Vide “Hind Swaraj”, after 25-12-1909.

brethren in the villages do it for reward. The thing is simplicity itself. If only we get at the heart of it, we will find that it hardly affords any room for criticism.

(3) I SPEAK FROM EXPERIENCE—I do regard the spinning-wheel as a gateway to *my* spiritual salvation, but I recommend it to others only as a powerful weapon for the attainment of swaraj and the amelioration of the economic condition of the country. To those also who aspire to observe *brahmacharya*, I do present the spinning-wheel. It is not a thing to be despised, for it is experience here that speaks. A person who wants to subdue his passions has need to be calm. All commotion within him ought to cease; and so quiet and gentle is the motion of the spinning-wheel, that it has been known to still the passions of those who have turned it in the fulness of faith. I have been able to compose my anger by turning it, and I can adduce similar testimony of several other *brahmacharis*. Of course it would be quite easy to laugh down all such persons as fools and nincompoops, but it would not be found to be cheap in the end. For the scoffer in a fit of anger loses a beautiful means wherewith to compose his passions and attain vigour and strength. I therefore particularly recommend to every young man and young woman who reads these lines to give the spinning-wheel a trial. They will find that shortly after they sit down to spin, their passions begin to subside. I do not mean to say that they would remain calm for all the rest of the day even after the spinning is discontinued; for, human passions are fleeter even than the wind and to subdue them completely requires no end of patience. All that I claim is that in the spinning-wheel they will find a powerful means of cultivating steadiness. But then, someone will ask, why do not I recommend the far more poetical rosary, if that is the purpose which it is intended to subserve? My reply to this is that the spinning-wheel possesses some virtues in addition to those it has in common with the rosary. I have not prescribed it for a recluse living in a state of nature in a cave of the Himalayas and subsisting on the herbs and roots of the forest. I have placed it only before such countless persons like myself who, while living in the work-a-day world, are anxious to serve the country and to practise *brahmacharya* simultaneously.

And as for ridiculing my suggestion to ply the spinning-wheel for securing the release of the Bengal prisoners, it only comes to this

that we are not prepared to stir ourselves a single inch to secure their release. For the spinning-wheel here means the boycott of all foreign cloth. And what a compelling force that has and how we are at present unable to develop any other kind of force, we shall presently see as we proceed with our examination of the other points that follow. My presenting the spinning-wheel even to veteran soldiers fit to wield the lance and the sword, therefore, is not a sign of madness but a hall-mark of knowledge—a knowledge not derived merely from book-learning but from the plenitude of experience.

(4) WHY IT IS THE ONLY POLITICAL PROGRAMME—The question as to what loss would the British suffer if India stopped purchasing her sixty crore rupees worth of cloth from them is quite out of place. Our duty is simply to see whether and if so, how far it would profit us. The stopping of the purchase of sixty crores worth of foreign cloth would, in the first place, mean the saving of so much money to the crores of Indian homes. In other words it would mean so much addition to their income. Then, it would spell the creation of so much fresh industry, the organization of crores into a joint co-operative effort, the conservation and utilization of the energy of the millions and the dedication of crores of lives to the service of the motherland. The carrying out of such a gigantic task would, further, give us a realization of our own strength. It would mean our acquiring a thorough mastery of the details and innumerable knotty problems which it presents, e.g., learning to keep account of every pie, learning to live in the villages in sanitary and healthy conditions, removing the difficulties that block the way and so on. For, unless we learn all this, we would not be able to accomplish this task. The spinning-wheel, then, provides us with a means for generating this capacity in us. So long, therefore, as one has not grasped the inner meaning of the wheel, one may ridicule it, but when once the grand meaning is understood it would become simply impossible to tear oneself away from it.

Again, the British are an intelligent people. The officials are a wise and shrewd lot. I know this. That is why I present the spinning-wheel to my people. We cannot overreach the British by the glibness of our tongue or by the power of our pen. Our threats they have grown quite accustomed to, while as for our physical prowess it can avail us but little against their bombs rained down from the aeroplanes. But these people understand and respect patience, perseverance, determination and capacity for organization. Cloth represents the biggest item of their trade. The accomplishment of its boycott by us would awaken them to

a sense of our strength. They are not holding India merely to feed their pride; nor is it by mere force of arms, but it is by tact and cunning that their rule over us is maintained. When their trade is made to rest on our untrammelled free will, their rule also will undergo a similar transformation. Today both are being imposed on us against our will. If we succeed in shaping one of them according to our will, the other will automatically follow suit. But it is easy enough to understand that while their trade relations with us remain unchanged, no change in the political relationship is possible.

I may repeat that I would today discard the spinning-wheel if someone shows a better and more universal political programme than hand-spinning. But up to this time I have found none, I have been shown none. I am anxious to know if there is any.

(5) HOW IT SOLVES THE BREAD PROBLEM—That the spinning-wheel can solve our bread problem hardly needs to be proved to a reader of the *Navajivan*. The figures published about various khadi organizations would show that thousands of poor women are today eking out their living by spinning. Nobody has yet denied that the spinning-wheel can bring the spinner at least an anna a day. And there are crores of people in India who hardly earn even a pice a day. So long as things stand thus, it is hardly necessary to point out the close relation that exists between the spinning-wheel and the bread problem.

As for the charge that the spinning-wheel has done harm to the country it is up to those who level it to prove it. This activity is by its very nature such that there can be no waste of effort in it. Nothing can interrupt its continuity and even a little exercise of it saves one from mighty evils. What does it matter if some khadi shops came to an end? That phenomenon is common to every trade. The money invested in them has at least remained in the country, while the experience gained through it has enabled us to make further progress. Besides, if some of the shops had to close down, instances can be cited of many more, better organized shops that have grown up in their place.

(6) SUPPLEMENTS, DOES NOT REPLACE—I have not contemplated, much less advised, the abandonment of a single healthy, life-giving industrial activity for the sake of hand-spinning. The entire foundation of the spinning-wheel rests on the fact that there are crores of semi-unemployed people in India. And I should admit that if there were none such there would be no room for the spinning-wheel. But as a matter of fact everybody who has been to our villages knows that

they have months of idleness which may prove their ruin. Even my appeal to the middle class people to spin for sacrifice is with reference to their spare hours. The spinning-wheel movement is destructive of no enterprise whatever. It is a life-giving activity. And that is why I have called it *Annapurna* ¹ or *the butter for bread* or the replenisher.

Young India, 27-5-1926

311. MY NOTES

AMRELI KHADI CENTRE

This Centre was started by Shri Chitalia at the very beginning of the khadi movement. Thereafter Shri Amritlal Thakkar took it over and expanded its work considerably. As everyone was inexperienced at that time, loss was inevitable. The results, however, were beneficial on the whole for, besides our gaining experience, some poor women got a little help. Shri Jivanlal and Ramji Hansraj also came to take interest in its activities. The former invested some money in it, and Ramjibhai took over as its Manager. He engaged Shri Jaisukhlal's services. They made a hand-press for yarn and started preserving it in the form of bales. They then established branches around Amreli in places where poverty was rampant and good workers were available, and brought about improvement in the quality of the yarn and the khadi. Previously, yarn of three counts was used for weaving, whereas now yarn of eight counts is used and this yarn is stronger than three-count yarn. With the beginning of this year the Centre entered the fourth stage in its growth, that is, Shri Jivanlal and Shri Ramji asked me to relieve them of the responsibility of running this Centre and expressed their wish that some institution should take over its management. Shri Ramji pleaded his failing health and Shri Jivanlal wished to be free so that he might be able to help in his own business. The management of this Centre, therefore has been taken over on my advice by the Kathiawar Political Conference, and it will shortly be handed over to trustees appointed by the Conference so that the Centre may be run properly. The amount of ten thousand rupees invested by Shri Jivanlal in this Centre remains with it. Besides this, the amount of five thousand rupees contributed by him to the purse is also invested in the Centre in accordance with his wishes. He is also giving a grant of two thousand rupees annually, and this he will continue for three years. The following

¹ Provider of food—consort of Siva—worshipped as the giver of plenty

plan has been drawn up for the present year.

There was a stock of old cotton and yarn weighing approximately 430 maunds. Cotton weighing 850 maunds has been purchased at the new, that is, cheaper rate. All the cotton will be spun, but at the end of the year 350 maunds of yarn will remain on hand, unwoven. For this programme to be fulfilled the following amounts of money will have to reach homes of the poor by the end of the year.

Rs. 2,000 for carders

Rs. 1,000 for women preparing slivers

Rs. 8,000 for spinning (distributed among 1,000 women)

Rs. 14,000 for weaving and bleaching

The Centre has four branches : at Chalala, Bagasara, Chittal and Babara. At the last place, work is done on a commission basis. In all, 17 persons work there, including a cook and a peon. The highest salary paid is Rs. 70 and next in order are Rs. 50 and Rs. 35. Five persons get Rs. 30 each. Then there is one man getting Rs. 25, two getting Rs. 20 each, two others getting Rs. 18 each, one getting Rs. 15, two others Rs. 12 each, and one more person getting Rs. 10. The monthly salary-bill comes to Rs. 455. Add to this Rs. 70 as rent, Rs. 55 travelling expenses and Rs. 10 postage, making a total of Rs. 590. The expenses incurred at the villages of Babara, Gariyadhar and Panch Talavada, where work is done on commission basis, come to about Rs. 50 a month.

We shall now examine the costs. The old stock of cotton weighing 430 maunds was purchased at the rate of Rs. 22 per maund and the 850 maunds of new cotton at the rate of Rs. 13 per maund. The cost of cotton, therefore, comes to about Rs. 16 per maund. Hence :

40 seers of cotton	Cost	Rs. 16
Less $\frac{6}{34}$ seers loss in carding	Cost of carding it . .	Rs. $\frac{3}{19}$
$\frac{1}{33}$ seers of slivers	Cost	Rs. $\frac{7\frac{1}{2}}{26\frac{1}{2}}$
Less $\frac{1}{33}$ seers lost in spinning	Cost of spinning . .	Rs. $\frac{10}{36\frac{1}{2}}$
$\frac{2}{31}$ seers of yarn	Cost	
Less $\frac{2}{31}$ seers lost while weaving	Cost of weaving . .	
$\frac{1}{31}$ seers, balance; cloth	from it, 88 yeds.	

This comes to $6\frac{1}{2}$ annas per yard (of unbleached khadi; width 28 inches).

Expenses on management have not been counted in working out this figure. The payment for carding is not always Rs. 3. It varies bet-

ween Rs. $2\frac{1}{2}$ and Rs. 3. Payment is at the rate of Rs. 3 only if the carding is of the highest quality. The rate of payment for spinning is 2 paise per count, and the Rs. $7\frac{1}{2}$ counted here is for yarn of seven counts. These rates, therefore, should be considered as approximate. The price at which the khadi is sold includes half an anna per yard added to the cost as worked out above, but that is not sufficient to defray the expenses on management. Shri Jivanlal's grant will be utilized to meet this loss and any other loss which may occur will be met from the general collections made. But the aim is to see that management expenses do not exceed one anna per rupee. This ideal, however, has not been realized anywhere in the country. But, as we gain experience, the workers become more efficient and the quality of spinning improves, the expenses on management will come down. The position today is not what it was four years ago. The point which anyone who buys khadi should note is this, that deducting the half anna per yard for management expenses, the rest of the price they pay for khadi, i.e., $6\frac{1}{2}$ annas per yard, goes into the pockets of the cultivators and the persons engaged in carding, spinning and weaving. If, even from this, we deduct the cost of cotton, the wages paid for carding, spinning and weaving come to one and a quarter times the cost of cotton. The reason for calling attention to all this is to tell the consumer who buys khadi that, if indigenous cotton is used in manufacturing all the cloth we require, not only will the cost of cotton be paid to our cultivators but the balance of the price paid by him will also go into the pockets of our workers. On the other hand, those who purchase foreign cloth send the money outside, and those who purchase mill cloth help to make the rich richer. The worker gets at the most one pice for every yard.

The reader will now appreciate Abbas Sahib's motive in undertaking a sale-tour of Kathiawar in such a hot season, and the reason why people should buy all the khadi he has. The women who are engaged in spinning have no other work or source of income, and the few pice they earn daily go a long way to help them. The purchaser of this khadi, therefore, helps these sisters and, along with them, those poor people who are engaged in weaving and carding, by providing them work.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 16-5-1926

312. LETTER TO MOTILAL NEHRU

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 16, 1926

DEAR MOTILALJI,

I had your telegram about Devdas. Dr. Dalal suspected appendicitis and advised operation. I had no hesitation in agreeing and so the operation was performed in the presence of Jamnalalji and Mahadev. I was not present but I saw him on Thursday on my way to Mahabaleshwar and Deolali where I went to see Mathuradas who is ailing. Devdas is doing quite well and expects to be discharged about the 25th instant. There is no cause for the slightest anxiety. I am dictating this at Mahabaleshwar which I reached this afternoon at about 5 o'clock. I am to see the Governor on Tuesday¹.

Here is a copy of the letter² from Vithalbhaji. He came to the Ashram after writing the letter. I told him about the conversation we had about the Speaker's salary. He told me that he knew nothing of any arrangement for giving half or any portion of the salary to the party funds. I thereupon told him that I must consult you before accepting the cheque. Will you please tell me what is to be done?

Sir Chunilal Mehta³ told me as we were walking that you had decided not to go to England but to take rest at a hill-side station leaving the leadership of the party to Mr. Iyengar⁴. Are you not going to England?

Yours sincerely,

PANDIT MOTILALJI NEHRU
ANAND BHAVAN
ALLAHABAD

From a photostat : S. N. 11312

313. LETTER TO HARIBHAU G. PHATAK

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 17, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I hope to be in Poona Wednesday morning and drive straight to

¹ May 18, 1926; another meeting was fixed for the 19th.

² Vide Appendix "Vithalbhaji Patel's Letter to Gandhiji", 10-5-1926.

³ Member, Executive Council of Bombay; Gandhiji stayed with him at Mahabaleshwar.

⁴ S. Srinivasa Iyengar

Sinhgarh to see Kaka. I return in the evening and we should meet at Professor Trivedi's house where I want to go to see his son. I leave the same night for Bombay.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SJT. HARIBHAU GANESH PHATAK
341, SADASHIV PETH
POONA CITY

From the original : C. W. 2800. Courtesy : Haribhau Phatak

314. LETTER TO SHANKERLAL

MAHABALESHWAR,
May 17, 1926

DEAR LALA SHANKERLAL

I had your letter. I am glad Sjt. Gidwani¹ has been appointed Principal of the Prem Maha Vidyalaya. He has given me a copy of your letter to him. I shall gladly go through your rules² and make such suggestions as I think necessary.

I shall write to Dr. Ray after I know what is really required. It will be perhaps, better to postpone the matter of writing to Dr. Ray till after Acharya Gidwani is there and has considered what should be done.

Yours sincerely,

LALA SHANKERLAL
DELHI

[ENCLOSURE]

1. Spinning-wheel may have as many spindles as can be worked by one person with or without the help of the feet.
2. It should yield per hour at least 3,000 yards of even well-twisted yarn of not less than 10 counts from hand-carded slivers.
3. It should cost not more than £4, i.e., Rs. 60.
4. It should be portable.
5. Broken parts should be capable of being easily mended or at least easily procurable.
6. In careful hands it should work smoothly at the rate of 8 hours per day for full one year without requiring repairs.

¹ A. T. Gidwani

² Presumably the enclosure found in the source

7. The operator should do with his hands and feet what an ordinary man or woman may be expected to learn to do inside of a week.
8. No more energy should be required to work the machine than is needed for working a sewing machine.

From a microfilm : S. N. 19556

315. LETTER TO RAMDAS GANDHI

MAHABALESHWAR,
Monday [May 17, 1926]¹

CHI. RAMDAS,

I got your letter here. I read your letter to Devdas in Bombay. When will you get over your sense of despondency? Devdas is quite well. Today is Monday. I think I will be able to return by Wednesday. Have you received all the amount in cash? Let me know how much the total amount came to. I think the money received on account of khadi should be credited to the Ashram. The account will be kept more strictly.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

316. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

May 18, 1926

CHI. MIRA,

I had your letter. Not *Main yeh (iss)*² *vakt ka aisa upayog kareng* but *Main iss vakt ka aisa upayog karungi*.³ The verbal ending must be feminine.

I am writing this at night just before retiring. Therefore I must be brief. Nargis was here. She is looking better. The place is no doubt

¹ Inferred from 'Mahabaleshwar' and 'Monday' in the date-line; Gandhiji was at Mahabaleshwar from May 16 to 20 in the year 1926 and Monday was on 17. He had gone there at the request of the Governor of Bombay to discuss with him the question of the Agricultural Commission appointed by the British Government on March 31 of that year.

² Gandhiji corrected "*yeh*" into "*iss*".

³ This is in Devanagiri script. It meant : "I shall use this time in this way."

cool but not cold.

With love,

BAPU

[PS.]

Please give the accompanying to Manibehn.

From the original : C. W. 5186. Courtesy : Mirabehn

317. PUNJAB COMPARATIVE FIGURES

I am enabled this week to give the following comparative tables¹ of production and sale of khadi in the Punjab :

Though the figures do not show the rise as in the Abhoy Ashram, the figures are nearly twice as much as in 1923-24 or 1924-25 during the corresponding period. This is no sign of khadi losing ground in the Punjab.

Young India, 20-5-1926

318. WAR OR PEACE

It was not without purpose that I reproduced the main parts of Mr. Page's very able pamphlet on the World War.² I hope that the reader followed them with the care and attention the chapters deserved. Mr. Page has proved conclusively that both the parties were equally to blame and that both resorted to barbarous and inhuman practices. We did not need Mr. Page's help to learn that no war of which history has any record took so many lives as this did. Moral loss was greater still. Poisonous forces destructive of the soul (lying and deception) were brought to perfection as much as the forces destructive of the body. The moral results have been as terrible as the physical. It is yet too early to measure the effect on mankind of the collapse of the sexual morality brought about by the War. Vice has usurped the throne of virtue. The brute in man has for the time being gained supremacy.

The after-effects are, perhaps, more terrible than the actual and immediate effects. There is no stability about the government of any single State of Europe. No class is satisfied with its own condition.

¹ Not reproduced here. These were for 1922-23 to 1925-26.

² *Vide* "Notes", 26-11-1925.

Each wants to better it at the expense of the rest. War between the States has now become a war within each State.

India has to make her choice. She may try, if she wishes, the way of war and sink lower than she has. In the Hindu-Muslim quarrel, she seems to be taking her first lesson in the art of war. If India can possibly gain her freedom by war, her state will be no better and will be, probably, much worse than that of France or England. Past examples have become obsolete. Not even Japan's comparative progress can be any guide. For, "the science" of war has made much greater "progress" since the Russo-Japanese war. Its result can only be studied in the present condition of Europe. We can safely say that if India throws off the British yoke by the way of war, she must go through the state Mr. Page has graphically described.

But the way of peace is open to her. Her freedom is assured if she has patience. That way will be found to be the shortest even though it may appear to be the longest to our impatient nature. The way of peace insures internal growth and stability. We reject it because we fancy that it involves submission to the will of the ruler who has imposed himself upon us. But the moment we realize that the imposition is only so-called and that through our unwillingness to suffer loss of life or property, we are party to the imposition, all we need do is to change that negative attitude of passive endorsement. The suffering to be undergone by the change will be nothing compared to the physical suffering and the moral loss we must incur in trying the way of war. And the sufferings of war harm both the parties. The sufferings in following the way of peace must benefit both. They will be like the pleasurable travail of a new birth.

Let us not be misled by a hasty generalization of the events of 1920-21. Great as the achievement of that brilliant period was, it was nothing compared to what it might have been, had we been true and had faith. Violence was in the breasts of many of us whilst with our lips we paid homage to non-violence. And, though we were thus false to our creed, so far as we had accepted it, we blamed it and lost faith instead of blaming and correcting ourselves. Chauri Chaura was a symptom of the disease that was poisoning us. Ours was claimed to be a peaceful, non-violent way. We could not sustain the claim in its fulness. The 'enemy's' taunts we need not mind. They saw violence within.

The way of peace is the way of truth. Truthfulness is even more

important than peacefulness. Indeed, lying is the mother of violence. A truthful man cannot long remain violent. He will perceive in the course of his search that he has no need to be violent and he will further discover that so long as there is the slightest trace of violence in him, he will fail to find the truth he is searching.

There is no half way between truth and non-violence on the one hand and untruth and violence on the other. We may never be strong enough to be entirely non-violent in thought, word and deed. But we must keep non-violence as our goal and make steady progress towards it. The attainment of freedom, whether for a man, a nation or the world, must be in exact proportion to the attainment of non-violence as the only method of achieving real freedom, keep the lamp of non-violence burning bright in the midst of the present impenetrable gloom. The truth of a few will count, the untruth of millions will vanish even like chaff before a whiff of wind.

Young India, 20-5-1926

319. A GOOD EXAMPLE

The Secretary, A.I.S.A.¹, has received the information that the Allahabad Municipal Board has adopted a resolution removing octroi duty on hand-spun yarn and khadi. I congratulate the Board on its patriotic decision which I hope other Municipalities will copy.

Young India, 20-5-1926

320. NOTES

INDIANS IN AUSTRALIA

An Indian settler of Australia says in the course of a letter²:

The correspondent sends too the original letter received by him in reply to his mining application from the Registrar, Mines Department, which I copy below:

With reference to your letter of the 31st ultimo, I would advise you that we are unable to issue Miners' Rights to persons of Indian race.

¹ All-India Spinners' Association

² Not reproduced here; the correspondent said that a coloured person could get no employment in Australia, even if he were a very good engineer and could hold a piece of land, if at all, only in the name of a white trustee.

This letter is an eye-opener. It was thought that in Australia there was no racial discrimination against those Asiatics who had settled there. But the correspondent's letter, fortified as it is with an original letter from the Mines Department, leaves no room for doubt.

TWO ANGLES OF VISION

The deciding reason why with all the will in the world Europeans and Indians do not have hearty communion as a class is because we have different angles of vision. We say that reforms are inadequate, that the educated classes can best represent the masses and that we are one nation though differing in language and religion. It is not to the purpose just now to prove the assertions. It is enough to state that educated India honestly holds the views set forth above.

But the European view honestly held is set forth in the briefest and the boldest manner in manifesto¹ addressed by the European Association to every European in India:

How is it possible for the two to meet for common action in frank and free fellowship when the two stand as poles asunder in thought and aspirations as the manifesto clearly shows? A mere make-believe association or co-operation can only debase both, for they meet with mental reservations and mutual distrust. The situation is tragic; but true. To end the tragedy, the first essential is to realize the truth of it. Union is desirable, it must come, but it will come only when we have begun to think the same thing. And that will come when we Indians show our earnestness and prove our belief in a common nationality and capacity for representing the masses by acting as one nation and suffering for the masses.

Young India, 20-5-1926

321. KHADI GRAPHS

The following graphs² showing the comparative progress of khadi during 1924-25 and 1925-26 during the months October to March in Tamil Nadu cannot fail to interest the reader.

Young India., 20-5-1926

¹ Not reproduced here; it said that the Europeans opposed the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms because the Indians were not a nation and the intelligentsia did not represent the masses which had never demanded representative government.

² Not reproduced here

322. LETTER TO JAISUKHLAL

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Saturday, May 22, 1926

CHI. JAISUKHLAL,

I had been to Mahabaleshwar to see the Governor, from where I have returned today. I got your letter before I had left Mahabale-shwar. The Governor and I practically talked about nothing but the spinning-wheel movements. Devdas is quite well; he will leave the hospital in a few days. Kusum and Dhuru are still with Jaya. I met them too. They will leave Bombay on the 25th. I had also been to Deolali to see Mathuradas. His health may be described as fairly good. I met there Prabhudas and Vijaya, too. Prabhudas seems to have improved. He is under the treatment of some *vaid*.

Is the fine yarn which you have with you also strong enough? If it is, can you arrange to get it woven by Wanjias? At Bagasra these people weave khadi out of very fine yarn. Formerly, they would not touch mill-yarn at all. Do you know that in the year 1915 we made special arrangements with them and had khadi woven out of such fine yarn? The Marwari teacher's father in Amreli may also weave khadi out of fine yarn. The first thing to ascertain, therefore, is whether or not the yarn is strong. I shall think about this matter, whether the weaving can be done here. I do not know what happened about the strips of khadi from Gariyadhar. In any case, I think it will be better if you can collect such strips. If people hesitate to give them, cannot you convince them that it is very necessary to have all the samples tested by one expert to ascertain whether both the warp and the woof in every sample are hand-spun, and therefore, strips have to be sent [to Ahmedabad]? If, however, sending strips is impossible, you may get the samples tested there with the help of any person selected by you and pay everyone as soon as his material is tested.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati : S. N. 19555

323. LETTER TO CHANDULAL

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

Saturday, Vaisakh Sud 10¹, May 22, 1926

BHAISHRI CHANDULAL,

I got your letter. I congratulate you on your decision to marry Chi. Kamla outside the circle prescribed by your community even in opposition to the wishes of the latter. I pray that the wedding celebration may be successful, that the husband and the wife live long and always lead an ideal life which others might emulate.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati : S. N. 19557

324. MY NOTES

“VEGETABLE GHEE”

Nowadays misuse of names has been on the increase. Only cloth woven by hand from hand-spun yarn can be called khadi, but the mills give to the thick cloth produced by them the name of khadi. Again, some cheat the people by giving the name partial khadi to cloth woven by hand from mill-spun yarn. The same practice is followed in regard to ghee. Ghee is in fact a product made from milk; still there is now a new product called “vegetable ghee”. Coconut oil does not become ghee by merely calling it “vegetable ghee”, nor can it have the properties of ghee. Nowadays such synthetic ghee is being imported in large quantities. It is well packed and appears just like ghee; hence simple-minded people buy it. Moreover, since fat is sold under the name of ghee or because it is mixed with ghee, many people use “vegetable ghee”, being afraid of using ghee.

I shall not only use but even propagate vegetable ghee if a vegetable produce possessing the same properties as ghee is available. I find fault with the use of ghee. But I cannot disregard its good properties. It has not so far been possible to extract a product from vegetables which will serve as a substitute for ghee. Therefore, the product which is being sold as vegetable ghee has to be rejected on two counts : one, it is not ghee and two, it does not contain the properties of ghee. Thirdly, the harm done is that today we use many foreign products and we have now unwillingly started using one more foreign product, much to our detriment. Therefore, everyone using “vegetable

¹ The source has 11 which, however, was a Sunday.

ghee” should beware and give up its use.

HIGH OR LOW?

A newspaper correspondent writes :¹

This is a difficult question. But from the point of ahimsa, there can be only one reply and that is that one who inflicts pain on small creatures for a selfish purpose also becomes low himself. Man is a mixture of humility and greatness. His greatness lies in his ability to be humble. If he does not have the capacity to be humble, he cannot be considered to be great. Then there will be no scope whatever for rising high. Therefore it is said that one who does not harm other creatures for achieving his own ends and is ready to suffer pain for the sake of all living beings is alone fit to attain the vision of the self.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 23-5-1926

325. SOCIETIES FOR COW-PROTECTION

Bhai Jivraj Nenshi writes as follows :²

This is not a new suggestion. The All-India Goraksha Mandal has been established just for this purpose. But as I get more experience I realize the difficulties in the way of bringing all such societies together under one body and a common set of rules. I have asked for full details from as many societies as have sent their names and addresses. But very few of them have supplied the information asked for. It is not that they do not wish to send particulars, but probably lethargy or indifference or a feeling of shame prevents them from replying. The shame is on the score of lack of proper management, for I have seen institutions which were not properly managed and did not maintain proper accounts. At many places the people who run these institutions are so ill-educated that they simply cannot furnish the information asked for. It is said that

¹ The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had asked how man who tormented other creatures to achieve his selfish ends could be considered higher than other creatures.

² The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had suggested that the various bodies in the country for the protection of weak and infirm cattle should unite to form an all-India body and formulate a plan whereby they would maintain healthy cattle, supply pure milk to the people and from the income so derived look after weak and infirm cattle.

there are some 1,500 *goshalas* in India. If they are all properly managed and turned into dairies, there is no doubt at all that the problem of protecting the cows will be then very easy to solve. But what is the way to bring this about? Who will bell the cat? I will only say this, that it is necessary to infuse life into all these institutions. It is difficult to frame rules for them unless they work as model dairies and leather work-shops. The All-India Goraksha Mandal has not been indifferent to this task. Efforts are being made to plan a dairy with Sir Harold Mann's help; and similarly plans for a leather work-shop are also being drawn up. Such experiments for the purpose of cow-protection being new, plans for them cannot be prepared immediately. The articles written by Shri Valji Desai¹ and Mr. Galletti show that India stands lowest in regard to treatment of cattle. How can we, then, get experts in dairy science and leather work so easily?

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 23-5-1926

326. TELEGRAM TO K. T. PAUL

May 23, 1926

YOUR WIRE. WROTE FULLY SATURDAY. VIEW DIFFICULTIES FINANCIAL OTHERS MENTIONED YOUR LETTER SUGGEST CANCELLATION INVITATION.

GANDHI

From a photostat : S.N. 11347

327. LETTER TO K. T. PAUL

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

May 23, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I have not telegraphed to you because your letter do [es] not lend itself to a brief telegram. From your letter I gather that this proposed visit of mine is causing you a great deal of trouble and worry. Please do not worry over this thing. Do not in any way consider that because you have been the vehicle for

¹ Published in *Young India* from 14-1-1926 to 8-7-1926

conveying the invitation to me you must make it a certainty. You and I must look at this thing with complete detachment and undertake the mission only if the hand of God appears to be in it in the clearest manner possible. If then there is any question of forcing the pace you may retrace your step and dismiss the invitation from your mind as if it had never been sent.

You mention the finance. That must be a consideration for the Central Council, not for you and me unless you are supposed to find the wherewithal. I would have gladly begged the necessary funds from a friend if it was thought necessary. But I hold it to be wrong on principle, for those who invite me should bear the cost.

Again, as far as I am concerned I could go with just as much comfort in 3rd class as I would in 1st class. Given cleanliness and sufficient privacy and protection against bad weather, I would prefer deck to saloon passage. On my return from South Africa I took a 3rd class ticket from Cape Town to London and was none the worse for it. There was no deck passage available. But in the present case I suppose nothing but the saloon is to be thought of as a matter of show. But if the Central Committee undertook to carry me as a 3rd class passenger I should not regard it as an insult in any shape or form but the whole thing must be done by the Central Council or by those who are responsible for the invitation without any interference or prompting on my part.

So far as goat's milk is concerned I would not think of you or any of my companions being responsible for milking or keeping goats. It must be left to the steamship company. The managers must make what arrangements they choose. It is no easy matter for passengers to control such things on steamer. What would one do when there is a storm or if the goats die. Such things are always best left to the steamship owners. They know how to manage them.

My companions would be two—Mahadev Desai and Devdas Gandhi, my youngest son. At first I had intended to take only one but I feel that in the present state of my physical condition and public engagements which I must carry out whether I am stationary or not these two assistants are necessary. I should consider it a privilege to have you also as a helper but I am afraid you could not take the place of either Mahadev Desai or Devdas. What class they should travel is not a matter of any moment but if they are to travel by a class lower to mine there must be an arrangement with steamship owners so as to enable me

to have access to them all the time I want them for my assistance. Needless to say both are vegetarians.

I suppose you remember what I stated in my first letter to you that passports and everything else will have to be managed by the inviting party.

I now conclude as I began and repeat that all things considered it would be better for you to drop the idea of my visit to Finland.

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat : S.N. 11346

328. MESSAGE TO NON-BRAHMINS

SABARMATI,
May 23, 1926

If non-Brahmins will only think more of the poorest people of the land and therefore of the charkha and khadi rather than of political progress through the instrumentality of the existing Government, they will better their condition and that of the whole of India to that extent.

From a microfilm : S.N. 19569

329. LETTER TO ABBAS TYABJI

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
May 23, 1926

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I knew that you would take the blow—for such it is from a worldly standpoint—bravely. I do believe that truly speaking we can say that God had no more work for Shums Tyabji in the body that is now lying peacefully in the grave and fast being reduced to dust. If you had no faith in God and no faith in the persistence of the soul after the dissolution of the body and you refused to shed tears, you would be considered callous. But as I know that you have faith in the persistence of the soul and in the Divinity that permeates the universe your refusal to give way to grief is a sign of resignation to the will of God and an appreciation of the true nature of death.

Jamnallalji is still in Bombay and you can see him yourself. I shall write to him. Do you know that Devdas is in Sir Harikisendas Hospital?

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

ABBAS TYABJI, ESQ.

C/O M. B. TYABJI

FRENCH ROAD, CHAUPATTI

BOMBAY

From a photostat : S.N. 9555

330. LETTER TO A. T. GIDWANI

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

May 23, 1926

MY DEAR GIDWANI,

I had hour postcard. I cannot understand why you did not receive my letter sent to you to Abu. It was. . .¹ who took the letter. However it does not matter much now. I shall be interested to know what you saw at Kanodar. I know that there is a great deal of weaving going on there. But it is all from machine-spun yarn whether foreign or swadeshi.

I arrived from Mahabaleshwar yesterday. I had no talk with Governor except about the charkha.

Herewith the letter from Lala Shankarlal. There seems to be enormous scope for improvement and expansion of the Vidyalaya. When the papers come you and I must put our heads together before you go away and frame something. I knew that the institution had a large income. But I never knew that it was so large as is mentioned by Lala Shankarlal. I shall look to you to make this old institution a thorough success.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. A. T. GIDWANI

From a microfilm : S. N. 11263

¹ Blank as in the source

331. LETTER TO EDWIN M. STANDING

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

May 23, 1926

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I have your second letter. I do not say anything about your first because I had not yet had the time to study it which I propose to find time to do in a few days. You may depend upon my giving it the attention the efforts you have made in writing do [wn] your thought for me deserve.

I thank you for the book and the beautiful photograph you have sent me. About photographs from me I do not possess any and I have to hunt for them. I have now even forgotten what photographs you asked for. May I trouble you to tell me again?

Yes. Motah Bahen is as faithful in her work as ever and her work is prospering. She puts all her life into it and it is like the leaven that raises it all and works into [*sic*]. She is at present at Darjeeling with Mr. and Mrs. Ambalal. She was disinclined to go but it was necessary for her.

I am almost inclined to think that I am not going to Finland but I shall know definitely during the next fortnight. If I do go I shall be leaving in the beginning of July.

Yours sincerely,

EDWIN M. STANDING, ESQ.

SEFTON PLACE

ARUNDEL, SUSSEX

ENGLAND

From a photostat : S. N. 12474

332. LETTER TO R. B. GREGG

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

May 23, 1926

MY DEAR GOVIND,

I have your deeply interesting letter for which I am thankful. I now understand the school and its purpose. Is it Sunderam of

Coimbatore? If so, please congratulate him and also ascertain from him how he managed to gravitate there. He must be there with his wife. If so, what is she doing?

I know that Stokes is doing great and good work and gives his all to it. How I should love to convince him that he does not need Government recognition for his school. There must be some method of enabling the boys to earn their own living without the Government patronage. The path is not easy but it is the only one that he or shall I say we must tread. However I must not criticize. He must work by the light of his own conscience even though to an outsider he may seem to be erring.

If I go to Finland at all, I shall bear in mind all your caution and take with me a wardrobe full of warm clothing and I promise, if I feel the cold so much, to wrap myself out of recognition. If I go to Finland I shall see that all the notes that are taken you receive a copy of. Meanwhile send me all the questions that arose in your mind.

The path of ahimsa, I know, is thorny. At every step the thorns prick and sometimes bleed one.

I was out for nearly a week passing a few hours with the Governor at Mahabaleshwar trying to persuade him that the only recommendation that the Royal Commission on Agriculture can make is to popularize the charkha and assure the masses that all the yarn that they can spin will be taken up by the Government and woven for the people.

With love to you all including the baby with kiss added for it.

I do not know whether it is he or she.

Yours sincerely.

R. B. GREGG, ESQ.

C/O S. E. STOKES, ESQ.

KOTAGARH, SIMLA HILLS

From a photostat: S. N. 19561

333. *LETTER TO P. N. RAJAMANICKAM CHETTIYAR*

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

May 23, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter and the parcel of khadi for which I thank you.

If you persist long enough you will find that you have all the assistance you need. Your yarn is not as even as it might be nor as strong. You must attempt to spin better.

Your weaving is also not close enough but all these things are merely a matter of practice and practice will make you perfect.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. R. N. RAJAMANICKAM CHETTIYAR

BHARATHA KHADDAR PRACHAR SALA

TIYAGADURGAN (S. A. DIST.)

From a microfilm: S. N. 19562

334. LETTER TO G. K. DEVADHAR

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

May 23, 1926

MY DEAR DEVADHAR,

I have your letter. It will be pleasure to meet you whenever you can come. And when you do come of course you will stay at the Ashram. I know that you are not likely to come here before the rains have probably set in. At the present moment we are boiling here. I don't want you to find yourself in the oven with us.

I hope Mrs. Devadhar is better now. She must come next winter to the Ashram and pass a few days here.

When you return you will send me a report about Manorama.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. G. K. DEVADHAR

SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY

BOMBAY

From a microfilm: S. N. 19563

335. LETTER TO S. G. VAZE

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

May 23, 1926

DEAR VAZE,

I have your letter. I am glad you have been chosen to be the bearer of Dr. Norman Ley's beautiful letter to me. There was

certainly no occasion for any apology whatsoever. Where there is frankness and honesty resentment is impossible. I hope to send a reply to Dr. Ley by the next mail.

Yours sincerely

From a microfilm: S. N. 19564

336. LETTER TO A. L. NAIR

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
May 23, 1926

DEAR DR. NAIR,

I thank you for your letter of the 19th instant. For the reasons explained to you I am unable to stay in Bombay up to the 26th instant for the ceremony. I hope the function will be successful and that the original intention of the founders will be realized.

Yours sincerely

DR. A. L. NAIR
MESSRS N. POWELL & CO.
BOMBAY

From a microfilm: S. N. 19565

337. LETTER TO M. R. HAVELIVALLA

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
May 23, 1926

MY DEAR FREIND,

I have your letter. I send you my autograph in your album. But I would like to tell you that as a rule I do not give my autograph where my young friends do not promise to wear khaddar and spin for at least half an hour per day in the name and for the sake of the poor people of India. I understand your difficulty about wearing khaddar. Have you the same difficulty about spinning also?

I am glad that Mr. Morris is the brother to the Secretary to Dr. Rabindranath Tagore. I congratulate you upon your vegetarianism and upon your reverence for Dr. Besant. She has worked for India as very few born Indians have done.

Yours sincerely,

M. R. HAVELIVALLA
GOPIPURA
SURAT

From a photostat: S. N. 19566

338. LETTER TO INDRA VIDYALANKAR

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
May 23, 1926

MY DEAR INDRA,

I have your letter. I am replying to you in English as you have chosen to write to me in English. But why in English? My promise of swaraj in 1921 was conditional.¹ The condition was absolute acceptance of non-violent non-co-operation by the people at large. At Viramgam, Bombay² and Chauri Chaura³ these conditions were broken not by the masses but by live Congressmen. If I am silent about what is called the political aspect of the situation I am silent because through my silence I am preaching non-violence. I cannot say anything useful on the many controversial questions that are troubling the country today. And If I am harping upon the charkha in season and out of season again it is because the charkha to me represents non-violence in a concrete shape, for, non-violence is action in the correct sense of the term whereas violence is bad action or inaction.⁴ If people want swaraj through non-violence means they can attain it by complete exclusion of foreign cloth and through the charkha and all it means. During the year of grace 1921, I had the hope that we should achieve boycott of foreign cloth by a sudden and simultaneous manifestation of the charkha spirit on the part of the people. That was not to be. And now we have to build the charkha atmosphere among the people. I do not think it will be so long as you imagine before the charkha becomes universal. But even if it does, thinking non-violence I cannot think of any other instrument or activity.

I see you expect a public reply to your question. Do you really want a public reply? I am more anxious to convince you of the soundness of my position than to discuss with others or in *Young India* the question raised by you.

Yours sincerely

SJT. INDRA VIDYALANKAR,
SARGODA

From a photostat: S. N. 19567

¹ Vide "Swaraj in One Year", 22-9-1920.

² Vide "A Deep Stain", 18-11-1921.

³ Vide "Letters to Members of Working Committee", 8-2-1922.

⁴ The source has: "violence is or bad action inaction".

339. LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

May 23, 1926

Here is a letter from Santanam in reply to mine. I shall no longer strive with him but wish him every success in his struggle. His is a very good letter.

I saw your letter to Jamnalalji yesterday in Bombay. I hope you have already got rid of pleurisy. With proper care this is a complaint that can be brought under subjection without difficulty. Where do you think your tour should commence? If it is to be in the Southern Presidency and if you do not propose to come to Ahmedabad before commencing the tour, Jamnalalji told me he would join you wherever you want him to. If, however, you consider that the Southern Presidency should for the time being be left alone, some other province can be selected. The selection will then be made here. If it will be too late for your letter to reach here you will telegraph your intentions. In no case will you think of commencing the tour, if you have not got rid of your pleurisy entirely, because more travelling is likely to do some good. Travelling in the monsoon has its danger for a pleurisy patient.

I need not entertain you with a description of my talks with the Governor. You may know in one sentence that I began the talk and ended it with the charkha. And for the 2nd interview, like the good advertising agent I am, I took with me Mithubai's khaddar saris to demonstrate to the Governor and his wife the possibilities of Andhra khadi. The Governor listened to all I had to say about the spinning-wheel with great attention but, if you ask me how much he was impressed I cannot say.

I saw Mathuradas, Kaka, Devdas and Behram Khambhatta. My rapid wandering was worth while if only to see these precious patients. Devdas is all right and much healthier looking than he was while he was admitted to the Hospital. Kaka has made splendid progress but he must cover still more ground. Mathuradas is better than he was but he cannot be said to be out of wood entirely. Not that there is any danger imminent but he has to take extraordinary care of himself. Behram Khambhatta has some intestinal growth. You may not know him. He is one of the devoted, selfless and silent workers always deliberately putting himself in the background. And his wife is equally good, an incarnation of Sita.

If it will serve as any stimulation for you to become stronger I present you with the information that ten to one I shall not be going to Finland, for, Paul seems to have put his foot into it. Any way he is at sea and does not know how to manage me or my travelling. He offers to milk the she-goat, evidently thinking that it would be the business of my attendants to perform the ceremony from day to day. However the thing will be finally decided within the next fortnight at the most.

Yours,

From a photostat: S. N. 19568

340. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

May 23, 1926

DEAR SATIS BABU,

I have your letter. I have a long letter at last from Hema Prabha Devi. It seems to me that she is living at Sodepur under most trying circumstances. She must not do it at the sacrifice of her health. If the climate there is malarial you must find out some other way of building the workshop than by putting Hema Prabha Devi there and making her the first victim. Your own body should also be kept up to the mark which Hema Prabha Devi thinks is not being done.

Nirmal Kumar has done well. I am writing to him. If you can get something from Lalgola it will be good help. I am told that Chhotalal has now left you. I do not think he will stop there long.

Yours,

From a microfilm: S. N. 19570

341. LETTER TO KONDIPARTY PANNIAH

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
May 23, 1926

DEAR PANNIAH,

I have your letter. You should not have sent your applications to me directly. It means a great deal of delay. However now that you have sent it, it will be dealt with in due course.

Where are you staying yourself? Are you now any longer connected with the Pinakini Ashram? If not, what are you doing? Who is to take charge of the weaving school? And how do you propose to teach in one year? What will you do after one year?

Yours sincerely

SJT. KONDIPARTY PANNIAH
C/O MADUM VENKALAH CHETTY GARU
KURNOOL

From a microfilm: S. N. 19571

342. LETTER TO G. M. NALAVADE

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
May 23, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

Here is my message in reply to your circular letter.

Yours sincerely,

Encl. 1

SJT. G. M. NALAVADE
“SANGRAM” OFFICE
SHANIWAR PETH
POONA CITY

From a copy : S. N. 19573-R

343. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Sunday, May 23, 1926

BHAI GHANSHYAMDAS,

I got your letter. I have sent to Jamnalal a copy of your letter about the loan for khadi work promised by you. I was shocked by the Sabarmati agreement; I have still not been able to make anything of it. I fully understand the issue involved in the problem of Hindu-Muslim unity, but I am helpless. I do not yield to despair because I cannot give up my faith. Of one thing I am sure, that Hinduism cannot be saved in the way in which it is sought to save it today. But I have full faith in the truth of “*Nirbalke bal Ram*”¹, and so live in complete peace of mind.

Yours

MOHANDAS

From the Hindi original: C. W. 6126. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

344. LETTER TO HEMA PRABHA DAS GUPTA

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Sunday, May 23, 1926

DEAR SISTER,

Your letter this time made me very happy. You do not say anything about your pleasant or unpleasant experiences at the Ashram. I know that there is hard work at Sodepur, and I have written to Satis about that. On no account, however, should you stay there at the cost of your health. You should not draw a single pice from the amount kept in the bank. I do know that khadi work cannot be done without hardship voluntarily suffered, but such hardship should be within one's capacity. May God grant both of you peace and strength.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindu: G. N. 1647

¹ “Rama is the strength of the helpless”, the first line of a Hindi devotional song by Surdas.

345. LETTER TO BEHRAMJI KHAMBHATTA

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Sunday [May 23, 1926]¹

BHAISHRI BEHRAMJI,

I have your letter. It was my duty to have gone to you. I have started reading Mrs. Eddy's book. I will certainly write to you after I have finished it. But meanwhile I would suggest to you that you should consult a doctor or a *vaid* for general advice and use ordinary medicines, and take the utmost care of your health. There is no sin in taking proper care of one's health, but it is a great sin to forsake one's dharma for the sake of one's body. We should treat the body as the field in which the *atman* strives and wins its liberation, and take every innocent measure to preserve it. Please write to me from time to time and keep me informed about your health. Convey my blessings to Tehminabehn.

Blessings from
BAPU

SJT. BEHRAMJI KHAMBHATTA
275 HORNBY ROAD
FORT, BOMBAY

From the Gujarati original: C. W. 4363. Courtesy: Tehmina Khambhata

346. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Sunday, May 23, 1926

CHI. JAMNALAL,

Abbas Tyabji writes to me to remind you lest you forget about his accommodation when you go to Mussoorie. If you are still in Bombay, please call on him to offer your condolences². His address is as follows:

C/o M. B. Tyabji
French Road, Chowpatti.

¹ From the postmark

² Vide "Letter to Abbas Tyabji", 23-5-1926.

He has the light of knowledge in him. In reply to my telegram, he tells me that he was not at all shocked by the death.

The operation on Lalji took very little time, and seems to have been quit successful. Plesse get the final figure for the Deshbandhu Fund determined.

Yours

MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G. N. 2865

347. LETTER TO DEVDAS GANDHI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

Sunday, May 23, 1926

CHI. DEVEDAS,

I have your letter, as also Girdhari's. I was really very happy that the operation on Lalji was over in a very short time. I shall expect a letter tomorrow giving more news about him. I am very glad that he is in the room next to yours. For one thing, we shall occupy less space in the hospital; there will be, moreover, less trouble for those people and the two of you feel cheered by being near each other. All this should please you. I have returned without anxiety on your account, but I have realized that, even after having completely recovered, you will have to take good care of yourself. There will beno danger for you provided you take the necessary precautions. I am sure I shall hear from you regularly. Send away Keshu to accompany Kusum and Dhiru on the 25th. But you may detain him if you still need him. Kusum and Dhiru may leave if they get some other escort or may stay on up to 31st. The school reopens on the 1st, at 7 a.m.; it will do if they are present at that time. Kanti and Rasik have arrived today.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati : S.N. 19558

348. *LETTER TO MOTILAL NEHRU*

May 24, 1926

DEAR MOTILALJI,

I could never guess the reason you give me for cancelling your passage. But having known the reason, I don't regret the cancellation. Krishna having gone to Jawahar relieves you of all anxiety. I know that you will get from your chamber practice all you need and more.

I have not yet had your dictated letter. I can wait for it. All I can report to you about Mahabaleshwar is that I had pleasant three hours with the Governor. We talked mostly about the spinning-wheel and somewhat about the cattle of India. If there was anything more behind this interview, I did not fathom it. Nor did I try to.

Devdas expects to be discharged in a week's time and is likely to go to Mussoorie for convalescence.

There is nothing yet decided about Finland. The odds are that I am not going. I should know in a week's time.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat : S.N. 19574

349. *LETTER TO C. VIJAYARAGHAVACHARIAR*

SABARMATI,

May 24, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your second letter. Thank you. Devdas is quite all right. He had his father's fashionable disease—appendicitis. He expects to be discharged in a few days.

Do please give me your suggestions for a solution of the H.M. problem. I must own I have despaired for the time being. Hakimji¹ never came here.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

¹ *Vide* also "Letter to Hakim Ajmal Khan", 10-4-1926.

[PS.]

Nothing of importance at Mahabaleshwar. Spinning-wheel of course.

From the original: C. Vijayaraghavachariar Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

350. LETTER TO DEVDAS GANDHI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
*Tuesday [May 25, 1926]*¹

CHI. DEVDAS,

I got your two letter together today. Your second letter is rather disturbing, but such ups and down are nothing unusual and I am not worried. It seems now that Shri Lalji and you will be discharged at the same time. Whatever that be, I should continue to get detailed news, shouldn't I? There was a telegram today about Finland, saying that the Geneva Committee have accepted my terms. Even then, pending a reply to my letter, I will not proceed on the assumption that I am going though now it does seem to me that I shall be going. Even if I go, it is best that you spend a few days with Jamnalalji in Mussoorie. I have already written about Keshu yesterday. [He] should bring along Kusum and Dhuru too. Ramdas is in Morvi today; and will reach Rajkot tomorrow. Bhansali's fast ended today at half past ten. He is so fit no one would believe that has been fasting for twenty-five days. He has lost sixteen pounds in weight which I think is not much.

From a photostat of the Gujarati : S.N. 19493

351. LETTER TO MOOSHANKAR

ASHRAM,
May 26, 1926

BHAISHRI MOOLSHANKAR,

I have your letter.

Would you have anything further to say if the facts are as reported by the A.I.S.A. in their reply to you?

I shall write to Bhai Kotak, if necessary, after I have your

¹ The 12th day of Bhansali's fast fell on May 12, 1926; *vide* "Letter to Mahadev Desai", 12-5-1926.

reply.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati : S.N. 19575

352. *LETTER TO DEVDAS GANDHI*

ASHRAM,

Wednesday, May 26, 1926

CHI. DEVDAS,

I got your letter, and also Lalji's. Yesterday I dictated my letter in a hurry, and so one thing was left out. The faintness that you felt when you tried to stand up was not weakness, it was the result of your not having had the practice of standing and walking for some time. Perhaps you may not remember that, when Colonel Maddock permitted me to walk to the lavatory during daytime, he warned me that my legs might tremble and I might feel giddy, but told me not to be alarmed on that account. After you have walked once or twice with some support, you will get back the ability to walk. Hence I am not in the least worried because of your having felt giddy when you tried to stand up. But I also see that your wound has not completely healed; this is a common enough experience in such operations. No doctor can understand all the facts about the condition of the patient's body, and, therefore, some complication always develops after an operation, but it can be easily cured. The only thing is that the period of your convalescence is becoming a little too long. I have now concluded that Lalji and you will be discharged at about the same time. This, I think, would please you, though what you wanted was that you should get well but should have the privilege of staying on for Lalji's sake. It seems that you will not have that privilege. If, however, all our wishes were granted, would not the world perish? As against one good wish, based on regard for truth, entertained by one person, how many wicked wishes, based on disregard for truth, would there be entertained by others?

Yesterday I got a telegram from Paul, and there was second one today. He informs that he has collected Rs. 6,000 and hopes that I will not think it necessary to cancel the trip. I will wait for a reply to my letter, but it seems to me that we shall have to go. By not going, we may perhaps put Mr. Paul in an embarrassing position.

I was glad to read all that you write about Dr. Dalal's kindness. I was glad that Abbas Saheb went and saw you; the man's courage is

boundless. Keshu has stayed back, and is bound to be of some help to you.

It will do if he arrives here on the 29th.

From a photostat of the Gujarati : S.N. 19552

353. *QUARTERLY FIGURES*

The All-India Spinners' Association has received from most provinces quarterly returns of production and sale of khadi between January and March 1926. I give the figures¹ below :

The Andhra figures give no indication of the extent of the work that is being done. In spite of several reminders full reports from that province are not available. The Karnatak figures also are largely incomplete. The figures² for comparison with the corresponding quarter of the last year are available in the case of the following provinces and it will be seen that all the provinces except Bombay show larger figures this year.

The higher figure for the Punjab sales last year is only apparent because the sales this year are given net while the figure of last year includes inter-sales between branches. Burma and Utkal sales show a slight decrease.

The figures are an under-statement for every province, more especially for Andhra Desha. I once more urge the workers in every province to be prompt in their returns. If the All-India Spinners' Association is to become an efficient organization covering every village of India, it must have the disciplined and intelligent co-operation of all its workers.

Young India, 27-5-1926

354. *ITS MEANING*

On my return from Mahabaleshwar I was waylaid, though by previous appointment, by fellow non-co-operators. I had limited myself strictly to visiting patients during this unexpected visit to His Excellency the Acting Governor at Mahabaleshwar. And so before reaching Poona station I had arranged just to go to Prof. Trivedi's house to see my young friend Manu who among others had been to

¹ Not reproduced here

² *ibid.*

me at the Sassoon Hospital in Poona in 1924 an angel of mercy. It was during this visit that I had to divide my time between Manu and the non-co-operators. The latter had the lion's share of it. Manu disengaged me in a few minutes. I envied him as a patient. For though he has been laid up in bed for over six months, I found him quite cheerful and resigned. I had therefore no compunction about leaving him for a chat with the non-co-operating friends.

"How can you go to the Governor and call yourself a non-co-operator?" was the question with which I was greeted.

"I knew what your ailment was," said I. "I shall answer all your questions fully, but on condition that nothing of what I say is to be published by you. If I find it advisable I shall deal with the matter in the pages of *Young India*."

"Yes, we won't publish anything and shall be satisfied if you will answer our questions in *Young India*. Not that I have any doubt about the propriety of your action," added the questioner, "but I represent a large number of non-co-operators whom you often confound by your unexpected acts."

Well, then, let me have all your question and I shall endeavour to answer them though I confess that it will be all a waste of time. For I feel that time is past for explanations and persuasion. Non-co-operators must instinctively know that I am not likely to do anything contrary to our code. And if I do,—for I admit I am liable to err,—they must disown me and remain firm in their own convictions. They may have derived their non-co-operation from me but if they have assimilated it, their convictions must not depend upon mine. It must be independent of me and my weaknesses and errors. If I turn traitor, or to put it mildly, if I alter my opinion, they must be ready to denounce me and still abide by their own convictions. That is why I say that our conversation will be a waste of national time.

Convinced non-co-operators know their task. Let them fulfil it. But let me have your questions. "

It has been suggested in Bombay that you went to the Governor uninvited, in fact you forced yourself upon his attention. If so, was it not co-operation even without response? What could you have to do with the Governor, I wonder?"

My answer is that I am quite capable even of forcing myself upon the attention of my opponent when I have strength. I did so in South Africa. I sought interviews after interviews with General Smuts

when I knew that I was ready for battle. I pleaded with him to avoid the untold hardships that the Indian settlers must suffer, if the great historic march¹ had to be undertaken. It is true that he in his haughtiness turned a deaf ear; but I lost nothing. I gained added strength by my humility. So would I do in India when we are strong enough to put up a real fight for freedom. Remember that ours is a non-violent struggle. It presupposes humility. It is a truthful struggle and consciousness of truth should give us firmness. We are not out to destroy men. We own no enemy. We have no ill-will against a single soul on earth. We mean to convert by our suffering. I do not despair of converting the hardest-hearted or the most selfish Englishman. Every opportunity of meeting him is therefore welcome to me.

Let me distinguish. Non-violent non-co-operation means renunciation of the benefits of a system with which we non-co-operate. We therefore renounce the benefits of schools, courts, titles, legislatures and offices set up under the system. The most extensive and permanent part of our non-co-operation consists in the renunciation of foreign cloth which is the foundation for the vicious system that is crushing us to dust. It is possible to think of other items of non-co-operation. But owing to our weakness or want of ability, we have restricted ourselves to these items only. If then I go to any official for the purpose of seeking the benefits above-named, I co-operate. Whereas if I go to the meanest official for the purpose of converting him, say to khaddar, or weaning him from his service or persuading him to withdraw his children from Government schools, I fulfil my duty as a non-co-operator. I should fail if I did not go to him with that definite and direct purpose.

Now for the case in point. I went to the Acting Governor at his instance. He wrote to me not as Governor nor for any purpose connected with his office as Governor. He invited me to go to Mahabaleshwar to discuss with him agricultural matters. As I explained some time ago in the pages of *Navajivan*, I told him that I could not be identified with the Royal Commission in any way, that I was still confirmed in my views on non-co-operation and generally had no faith in Commissions. I added further that it would suit me to see him when he descended to the plains. His Excellency therefore wrote saying it would suit him to meet me in June. But subsequently he changed his

¹ On November 6, 1913, against the £3 tax; *vide* "Telegram to Minister of Interior", 7-11-1913.

mind and sent a message that it would suit him better if I could go to Mahabaleshwar. I had no hesitation in going there. We had two very pleasant and long talks. And you are entitled to guess (and that correctly) that our talk revolved round the charkha. That was the central theme. And I could not discuss agriculture without discussing the terrific cattle problem!

I have given but a brief summary of the pleasant conversation I had with the No-change friend. In parts I have amplified my answer in order to make it more intelligible to the general reader.

There were many other points discussed, of which I must mention one or two. I was asked to give my opinion on the Sabarmati pact. I refused to say anything for publication. I must not add to the existing bitterness into the controversy. I can say nothing that would bring the parties together. They are all my co-workers. They are all patriots. The quarrel is purely domestic. It behoves me as a humble servant of the country to be silent where speech is useless. I prefer therefore to wait and pray. I was told that I was misrepresented. I must own that I have studiously avoided reading the literature about the pact. I am used to misrepresentation all my life. It is the lot of every public worker. He has to have a tough hide. Life would be burdensome if every misrepresentation had to be answered and cleared. It is a rule of life with me never to explain misrepresentations except when the cause requires correction. This rule has saved much time and worry.

“But what should we do when all accept offices and what should we do at the forthcoming elections?” was the last question. My answer was:

When the acceptance of office by all parties becomes a settled fact I presume those who have conscientious scruples will refrain from voting altogether. At the forthcoming elections, too, those who have conscientious objections will refrain. The others will naturally follow the Congress lead and vote as the Congress directs. I have given my definition of a Congressman already in these pages. Not every man who says, “I am a Congressman” is such, but only he who does the will of the Congress.

Young India, 27-5-1926

355. SPINNING AN ART

A Madras Inspectress of Education has pronounced sentence

against the spinning-wheel for Brahmin girls. This judgment of hers has given rise to criticism against the lady. If the charkha is good enough for non-Brahmin girls why not, it is argued, for Brahmin girls? The question is apposite when caste arrogance is being levelled to the ground. Moreover the Inspectress evidently does not know that the finest yarn is spun by Brahmin girls and that in many Brahmin families the tradition of spinning for the sacred thread is still kept up.

But a side question has arisen out of the criticism of the Inspectress. Is spinning an art? Is it not a humdrum monotonous process likely to weary the children? Well all the evidence hitherto collected goes to show that spinning is an elegant art and the process itself is extremely pleasant. No mechanical pull is enough to draw the various counts. And those who do spinning as an art know the pleasure they derive when the fingers and the eyes infallibly guide the required count. Art to be art must soothe. I reproduced over a year ago the testimony of Sir Prabhashankar Pattani to show how after the day's trying work he went to the charkha for soothing his nerves and giving him undisturbed sleep. I extract the following passage from the letter of a friend who found solace for her shattered nerves in spinning:

When . . . I hastened to my room and then in the dark struggled with an anguish which rent me from top to toe, I prayed and strove for some time and then turned to the spinning-wheel and found in it a magical comfort. The quiet regular motion of its rhythm immediately steadied me and the thought of its service brought me nearer to God.

This is not the solitary experience of one or two but many spinners. It is however no use saying that spinning will be pleasurable to all because it has been the joy of many. Painting is acknowledged to be an exquisite art. But it is not everybody who takes to it.

Young India, 27-5-1926

356. LETTER TO DEVDAS GANDHI¹

Thursday [May 27, 1926]

CHI. DEVDAS,

Once again I have been acting as a tyrant to you as if I could not tolerate anybody being healthy. I cannot write long letters to you because I do not get a single minute free.

I have been thinking whom I can send over to you. We may certainly like that that person should accompany you to the Himalayas, but have we any right to spend money in that manner? You should certainly go. I shall send someone to help you there. Leave the choice to me.

I see that Surendra cannot leave now. You may take Brijkishan with you if he agrees. You will certainly get some company during the journey when you start from there.

Your long letters seem too short to me.

I have not yet been able to decide about the trip to Europe. At present I am waiting for a letter or telegram from Rolland. Raja is of the view that if I go, I must take you with me. Would you like to go?

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G. N. 2043

357. LETTER TO RAJARAM

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

Thursday, May 27, 1926

BHAI RAJARAM,

I have your letter. Your son will require two years for the training which you want him to have, provided he is hard-working. In less time than that, one can learn the elementary principles of spinning and weaving, but experience has shown that this is not enough. If persons with inadequate practice settle in villages, they may come to feel disappointed. The monthly expenses will probably come to Rs. 15. If you wish to send Surendrarai, write either to me or the Manager so that we may arrange about his board and lodging before asking him

¹ This forms one of a series of letters to Devdas during his illness.

to come over. At present the Ashram is pretty full and it may, therefore, take some time before he can be admitted.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati : S. N. 12186

358. LETTER TO DEVA PRASAD SARVADHIKARY

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
May, 28, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I was delighted to receive your letter. The deputation certainly did its part well and it now remains for us here to continue the good work done by you and your colleagues.

Yes, without Mr. Andrews' incessant work and undying faith nothing could have been done. At the present moment I am doing little more than watching and keeping in touch with all that is going on here and in South Africa.

My son wrote to me saying that he had the privilege of meeting you and he expressed his sorrow that you were unable to visit the the settlement¹ at Phoenix.

Yours sincerely,

SIR DEVA PRASAD SARVADHIKARY
20, SURI LANE,
CALCUTTA

From a photostat: S. N. 11958 (a)

359. LETTER TO SYED RAZA ALI

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
May 28, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I write this to thank you for the letter that you wrote to me from South Africa enclosing a copy of the Memorandum of your evidence. I congratulate you and your deputation upon the success that attained your efforts.

Without mentioning your name I made use of your tribute to Mr.

¹ Founded by Gandhiji in South Africa in 1904.

Paddison in my weekly notes in *Young India*.¹

I hope you enjoyed your South African visit.

Yours sincerely,

HON. SYED RAZA ALI

AT INVERARM

SIMLA

From a microfilm: S. N. 11959

360. LETTER TO DR. NORMAN LEYS

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

May 28, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter of the 26th ultimo forwarded through Mr. Vaze.² I thank you for that latter. I appreciate it for I know that it is only by a frank exchange of views that we come nearer one another. For me the word 'political' is inclusive. I do not divide different activities—political, social, religious, economical—into water-tight compartments. I look upon them all as one indivisible whole each running into the rest and affected by the rest. I also believe with you that our political freedom properly so called will depend upon our ability to solve many of our domestic problems such as the communal trouble. In other words, it will depend upon internal reforms. The outward will be merely therefore a symptom of the inward. I do not at all hold that this communal problem is insoluble. It seems to defy human effort for the time being. But I have the fullest faith in our ability finally to solve it. It may be of course that before we reach a solution there will be bloody fights between the two. In spite of all efforts sometimes they become as it were unavoidable.

I would however like to add a word of caution against thinking, if you did think, that these communal troubles are not due to our dependence upon the British rule. It is my conviction that rule is based upon the policy of 'divide and rule' which policy sometimes English officials have been frank enough to admit. If the Government chose, it can certainly contribute much to a speedy and permanent solution.

¹ *Vide* "Notes", 29-4-1926, sub-title, "The Good Samaritan".

² *Vide* "Letter to S. G. Vaze", 23-5-1926.

But if I mention this I do so not to excuse our inability to solve the problem without the help of the rulers, but I mention it to explain our difficulty.

Yours second point is too difficult for me to pronounce an opinion upon. I am not an attentive student of European politics or European history to be able to draw the distinction that you do between the European States where Roman Catholicism is predominant and where Protestantism is predominant. And, for the reason I would prefer to hold silence upon the third point which is equally interesting as the second. There is no doubt that mankind is affected largely by the way it looks upon God. So far as India is concerned the vast majority think of God as the Monitor within each one of us. Even the illiterate masses know that God is only one, that He is all-pervading, and, therefore, is the witness of all our actions.

If you wish to elucidate further the two points of your letter which at present I understand but partially and if you can find time, I shall read your elucidation with all the attention I am able to give to it. And I know that I shall profit by it.

Yours sincerely,

DR. NORMAN LEYS
BRAILSFORD
NEAR DERBY
ENGLAND

From a photostat: S. N. 12468

361. LETTER TO S. ARUNACHALAM

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
May 28, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. It is good that you are sending a small contribution to the All-India Spinners' Association. Since you are so weak there is certainly no occasion for you to spin.

The rules of the Satyagraha Ashram are published as appendix to Mr. Nateson's book of my speeches and writings.¹ A new edition will be prepared shortly.

¹ *Vide* "Draft Constitution for the Ashram", before 20-5-1915.

I think that unless you are a man of invincible faith in God and his healing mercy, you should not hesitate to receive the advice of physicians or take mild treatment.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. S. ARUNACHALAM
951, WEAVER STREET
ALANTHUR, ST. THOMAS MOUNT
MADRAS

From a microfilm: S. N. 19576

362. LETTER TO DR. MANEKBAI BAHADURJI

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
May 28, 1926

I was pleased to receive your letter. I shall ask the Khadi Pratishthan to send you a charkha like mine. Where do you want it sent, Panchgani or Bombay? I shall write to the Pratishthan after hearing from you. And if you are in a hurry you will write yourself. The address of the Khadi Pratishthan is 170, Bow Bazar Street, Calcutta.

When you mention the fruit that will grow in your ground at Panchgani you make my mouth water. Of course during this visit of mine I was not able to contemplate all the beautiful views around Mahabaleshwar and Panchgani. That one can see only when one has leisure.

With love to you all,

Yours,

DR. MRS. BAHADURJI
OMRA HALL
PANCHGANI

From a microfilm: S. N. 19577

363. LETTER TO G. R. S. RAO

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
May 28, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

This is my message for your paper:

“I hope that this paper stands for the Spinning Wheel and all the two things¹ imply.”

As the exchange list of *Young India* has grown out of all proportion and as it has only a limited circulation nowadays, it is difficult to send you *Young India* in exchange for your paper. Will you not secure a copy a *Young India* from some friends in Bangalore so that I may be saved so much expense.

You need not send your paper if only because the editing of *Young India* does not depend upon exchanges, for it is hardly a newspaper.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. G. R. S. RAO
EDITOR IN CHIEF
“PRAJA MITRA”
KAMALA VILAS
COTTONPET
BANGALORE

From a microfilm: S. N. 19578

364. LETTER TO KRISHNADAS

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
May 28, 1926

MY DEAR KRISHNADAS,

I have your two letters. The long statements about Hardayal Babu followed me to Mahabaleshwar. It was then put among my jacket which I was not able even to look at in Mahabaleshwar. I reached these papers only yesterday but I have not yet been able to go through the statement which I shall do in a day or two. But I think I have told

¹ “Two things” stand for *Praja Mitra* (‘friend of the people’) and the Spinning Wheel (also ‘friend of the people’).

you that had I known that the complaint was about your father, I would not have sent the telegram without first referring the matter to you. I suppose you want my opinion for your satisfaction which I shall give gladly. You have sent me two copies of the same letter about yourself.

I am sending you Rs. 100 by insured post today. You will tell me if you need more. Mahadev was asking me only the other day whether you were likely to return in the early future. And I told him I thought that from all the accounts you had sent me about Guruji your place was more near him than me. And even now you will not leave him unless you yourself feel absolutely sure that he could be safely left. If, however, you can come it will be quite handy because at the present moment both Pyarelal and Devdas are away. But there is another question to be considered. What if I go at all it will be on the 1st of July that is the day the last steamer that can enable me to reach Finland in time leaves Bombay docks. The matter will be decided probably by the end of this week, certainly by the end of next. If I must go I propose to take Mahadev and Devdas with me. There will be a lot of work left behind to be done. But whether you would come down for that work and leave Guruji is a question I feel for separate consideration. In every case Guruji's health should have the paramount consideration with you.

Devdas is going on all right though he is still in the hospital. He is likely to be discharged inside of a week. Lalji has undergone an operation and occupies the same room as Devdas. These two patients are in Sir Harikisendas Hospital. Yeshwant Prasad also has been ailing. Several minor operations have been performed on him. He had guinea-worms.

I am sorry to hear that your sister has become widowed. Do please convey my sympathies to her. I am carefully going through all the cuttings that Guruji sends me. Some of them are valuable. I had never seen "Muhammed's treaty" before. I knew that his successors had entered into a treaty of that character with the Cristians and the Jews.

Yours sincerely

From a photostat : S. N. 19579

365. LETTER TO JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
May 28, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your kind letter of the 14th April last. I am surprised at

your not receiving my cable which I sent you on the 16th February last giving you an affirmative reply. I have not assigned copyright to anybody as yet because I have been in correspondence with you and because you cabled to me that you were in correspondence with the Macmillans. If the English-speaking public outside India is sufficiently interested in these chapters I do not mind selling the copyright though I have never done it before. The idea of making anything out of my writings has been always repugnant to me. But your cable tempted me and I felt that there might be no harm in my getting money for the copyright and using it for the charkha propaganda or the uplift of the suppressed classes. And I felt that if the chapters were published by a house of known standing the message contained in the chapters might reach a wider public. You may please therefore continue your negotiations whether for copyright in America or for both America and Europe. I have several letters from German and other friends for copyright in their respective states but to all I have sent a reply saying that they should wait.

Meanwhile as I am receiving repeated applications for back numbers of *Young India* containing the chapters, I am arranging to issue the first part in book form so as to satisfy this demand.

Yours sincerely,

DR. JOHN HAYNES HOLMES
THE COMMUNITY CHURCH
12 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK CITY
(U.S.A.)

From a copy: S.N. 32220

366. *LETTER TO SARDUL SINGH CAVEESAR*

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
May 29, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have a small sum (Rs. 51) lying with me for some time for the Akalis. Will you please make what use you like for helping some deserving Akali?

Yours sincerely,

SIRDAR SARDUL SINGH CAVESSAR
LODGE LIBERTY
RAMGALI
LAHORE

From a microfilm: S. N. 19582

367. *LETTER TO D. V. RAMA RAO*

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
May 29, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I think that you should try to persuade your parents to let you go to Shantiniketan. But till you have obtained their permission it will be better for you to remain where you are and retain your peace. There should be satisfaction in your agreeing to the wishes of your parents however unpleasant that may be. Disobedience of parents' wishes is justified when obedience will be a moral breach. The same things applies to swimming. You should reason with your parents and get their permission to learn swimming. If they supervised your swimming probably they would not be afraid.

It is necessary to declare one's deceptions to those whom one has deceived. It is a cleansing process. The shock received by the parents by confession would be a momentary one. The reason for confession of sin is precisely the reason that requires us to rub and clean a dirty surface. What scrubbing and washing is for removing

dirt on a material body, confession is for removing dirt on the spiritual plane.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. D. V. RAMA RAO
DIGAMARTI HOUSE
BERHAMPORE
GANJAM DT.

From a microfilm: S. N. 19580

368. LETTER TO KRISHNADAS

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
May 29, 1926

MY DEAR KRISHNADAS,

I have now carefully read your long letter. According to the facts stated by you, father cannot be held blamed in any shape or form. Do you want me to write to Hardayal Babu anything about this unfortunate matter? If you do, I shall gladly write to him.

It appears to me now that the Finland invitation will be cancelled. I have suggested so to Mr. K. T. Paul because of his own difficulties.¹ I shall hear from him next week.

Yours sincerely

SJT. KRISHNADAS
C/O S. C. GUHA
DARBHANGA

From a photostat: S. N. 19581

369. LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
May 29, 1926

I am so delighted that you are in "excellent health". Shankerlal must have written to you. But, in any case, I expect you to report yourself at the Ashram on the 15th June. Whilst you are touring certainly leave Lakshmi here.

Chhotalal is just now travelling here, there and everywhere. He

¹ *Vide* "Letter to K. T. Paul", 23-5-1926.

has got the blues. He went to Khadi Pratishthan and passed a few days with Satis Babu. He is now in Wardha. I suggested that he should stay with you for some months and help you in your work. He was not inclined to do so because he said he would gladly render personal service if you need it but otherwise he did not know that he will feel comfortable. Now, however, he writes asking me if you will have him. He still harps on personal services. But whatever he does, whether he helps you in the khadi work or whether he becomes your cook, waiter and sanitary attendant or whether he weaves your khadi, I suggest your having him on his terms. And if you find him moody you may ask me to withdraw him. If he wishes to tour with you let him do that. But you know him best. Are you prepared to have him? Or will you rather discuss the thing when you are here?

Your curse on the Finland visit is likely to bear fruit; for, a letter I have written to K. T. Paul seems to have put him in a fix. I have told him that he must look upon this proposed visit with complete detachment.¹ But it appears to me that he has prompted the invitation and that the World Committee of the Y. M. C. A. is a passive instrument in his hands. However, I shall know my fate inside of a week now.

We are boiling here at the present moment but I hope you will send us rain before you come.

Yours,

From a photostat: S. N. 19586

370. DRAFT HOUSING SCHEME FOR MILL-WORKERS²

The additional sums that may be received, if the demand for increase in wages is conceded, should be utilized for one year to implement a housing scheme for workers. Under this scheme, it is intended to build houses for workers, which would meet the health requirements of the workers, and provide them necessary amenities and yet not be beyond the means of the ordinary working man.

In every locality with houses built under this scheme, every provision will be made to meet the common needs of the workers living

¹ Vide "Letter to K. T. Paul", 23-5-1926.

² The scheme was formulated to suggest the right manner of utilizing the additional wages which the workers of Ahmedabad might get if the 15 percent cut effected in 1923 was restored. Only the chief clauses of the scheme were reproduced in the source.

there and provide them other facilities. These will include, funds permitting, schools, gardens, halls with facilities for playing games, libraries, shops and dispensaries.

A committee consisting of representative of the Labour Union and the the Millowners' Association—the former being in a majority—will implement this scheme in accordance with the conditions of the Trust, will look after the properties and manage the fund. The management of the properties will be with the Labour Union. All workers employed in the mills during the current year and entitled to an increase in their wages will be regarded as joint owners of the funds of the Trust and the property purchased with that money. The share of each worker in the property will be in proportion to his contribution to the fund. Each such worker who is a joint owner of the property will be given a share certificate. Shareholders will not be permitted to sell or mortgage their shares to any person or body other than the Trust except in accordance with the conditions to be laid down by the Trust. Houses will be allotted to workers on the results of lots drawn for the purpose. The claims of shareholders will receive priority. The decision to implement this scheme will be taken after obtaining in writing the votes of workers in every department and ascertaining whether there is a two-thirds majority in favour of it.

If it is decided to utilize the increased quantum of wages in this manner, no demand for a further increase in wages will be made for a period of one year thereafter, and if, in violation of this condition, any workers go on strike for increase in wages, such workers will not be entitled to take benefit of this scheme for a period to be decided by the Trustees.

[From Gujarati]

Gujarati, 30-5-1926

371. NOTES

PRAGJI DESAI

Shri Pragati Khandubhai Desai, who was sentenced to two years' imprisonment for his articles in *Navayuga*, was released from Sabarmati Jail on the 22nd of this month. Though in the beginning

he was much harassed by the authorities, he passed the later part of his term, specially after he had been transferred to Karachi, in great peace and comfort, with the result that he is now in excellent health. While in jail, he also got plenty of time to read and think quietly. At present, he has gone to Surat to meet his wife, and also Shri Kalyanji and other co-workers to consult them on what work he should take up now.

REQUEST FROM EAST AFRICA

A young man from Nairobi writes:¹

I congratulate this team of young men. If their monthly is being started for the sole purpose of public service, I wish it all success. I welcome his remark about people who wear khadi. The correspondent understands my love for khadi, but not the reasoning which inspires this love. I, therefore, welcome this opportunity to explain that reasoning. He may be surprised to learn that I do not recommend khadi for improving the conditions of Indians in East Africa; even if I did, out of blind attachment for khadi, I would have to use the word 'khadi' in an absolutely different and a much wider sense. But I have no such attachment and, therefore, I can safely say that khadi is almost useless in fighting the hardships of our people in East Africa. I would not advise people living near the North Pole to use the spinning wheel. If our countrymen in East Africa occasionally used khadi, that would certainly be a good thing, for they would show thereby their appreciation of the circumstances in India. But there is no doubt that, for improving their own lot, what they need to do is to become united. That would be only the first step; and it would not be enough. Indians there are accused of being dirty, and there is a good measure of truth in the charge. They must give up their dirty habits. There is some truth in the other charge too, that they are miserly. Miserliness here means excessive economy in our way of living. In a foreign country we cannot afford to have the same room to serve us as a shop, as living room and as kitchen. There we earn more and it is necessary, therefore, to adopt a higher standard of living. If we do not, we may be justly charged with unfair competition. The other tradesmen will certainly not like one who, in disregard of accepted business standards, lives in extreme want and brings down the market prices. We should not give any such cause for complaint and jealousy.

¹ The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had requested Gandhiji for a message for a monthly which the association of Indian youths there wished to start.

The Indians in East Africa should also take suitable measures to spread education in their midst. It is beyond doubt that, if their children grow up without education, they would not be able to compete with the British population there. If, moreover, there is any truth in what I have heard, that the Indians in East Africa, instead of emulating the virtues of the British, have freely taken to their vices, such as drinking and immorality, they would do well to keep aloof from these. Finally, in order to live there with self-respect they should cultivate strength for satyagraha, that is, for the utmost suffering in the cause of public welfare. Provided they do this, they would deserve little blame for not wearing khadi. Without wearing khadi, they will have done their duty of preserving their self-respect.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 30-5-1926

372. *NON-CO-OPERATION AND EDUCATION*¹

A reader of *Navajivan* writes as follows:²

Personally, I have not become lukewarm in the slightest degree about any aspect of non-co-operation. My views about education remain what they were in 1920-21, and could I but persuade the students or their guardians, not a single student would remain in the Government schools. If I do not discuss this matter in the *Navajivan* as frequently as I used to do, it is because the time is past for delivering speeches or writing articles in order to get the schools vacated. What we have to do now is to strengthen the schools which have held on unflinchingly to the principles of non-co-operation. It pains me to have to admit that, unlike the khadi movement, that of national education is not showing progress. Indeed, as far as the number of schools and that of students are concerned, the movement is on the ebb. I do not hesitate to comment on this fact when the

¹ *Vide* also "National Education", 3-6-1926

² The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had asked Gandhiji what truth there was in the general impression that he had become less rigid in his views about non-co-operation in the field of education, and whether, in view of the slackening of public interest in national education, it would not be wise to give up policy of non-co-operation in this field and make the best use of academic talent in Gujarat by co-operating with the Government in the new university which it proposed to establish.

occasion demands, but I see no need to do that every day. The fact of the ebb does not make me lose heart about the future. If we do not give up faith, this ebb is bound to be followed by a full tide. I am quite confident that, if the schools which have held fast to non-co-operation continue to do so sincerely and do not compromise in regard to any of the basic principles of non-co-operation, the results will be good. I know that the Proprietary High School is in serious difficulty. Some of the teachers and a good many students have left it. But why should that matter? We have to carry on the work of non-co-operation neither in a spirit of impulsive imitation nor as a “policy” or useful expedient. Those who have remained faithful to non-co-operation rely on their own strength and have confidence in themselves. Quite possibly they may yet have to pass through trying times. If they have to, I hope that like gold which, when heated, shines brighter still, the non-co-operators will come out brighter from the test. Those alone will be true non-co-operators who hold out till the end. Whether there is only one such non-co-operator or there are many, it is he or they who will win swaraj for the country. What Sardar Sardul Singh said recently in a speech in the Punjab is true. There can be no co-operation between a tiger and a lamb. There can be real co-operation only between equals. In the existing circumstances, to describe any association between the Government and the people as co-operation is a misuse of the word “co-operation” When we are strong enough to get our terms accepted, co-operation will follow as a matter of course and that will be real co-operation.

But the fact that misunderstandings about non-co-operation continue to prevail indicates that we still do not know the real nature of the movement. Our non-co-operation is not satanic or violent, uncivil or malicious. In peaceful non-co-operation, there is no room for contempt for anyone. Non-co-operation will in no way be discredited if Shri Anandashanker’s¹ knowledge and ability are utilized for the benefit of the Vidyapith. We have not co-operated with the Government in any way by making him Chairman of the Commission for the Vidyapith. On the contrary, the latter has not only honoured itself by inviting him to be the Chairman, but has demonstrated the true nature of non-co-operation, for non-violent non-co-operation bears no ill-will towards individuals. We may certainly take advantage of the virtue even of a Viceroy as a human being, provided that in doing so

¹ A. B. Dhruva, Pro-Vice-Chancellor of Benares Hindu University

we do not avail ourselves of his official position; if we refuse to take such advantage, we would show ourselves stupid non-co-operators.

In running an institution like the Vidyapith, we are not wasting public money but are putting it to quite good use. We are not here looking at the matter from the point of view of those who look upon non-co-operation as sin. Those who contributed money for the Vidyapith believe in the principles of non-co-operation. Their money is not wasted if it is used for carrying on this great experiment in the field of education; it is true, of course, that as the numbers diminish, the organizers, the teachers and the students should show correspondingly greater strength of character. Only then will public money have been well used. If the university to be established by the Government draws away our teachers, I would conclude that they did not have sincere faith in non-co-operation. The establishment of that university should have the effect of increasing our devotion to duty. It may well be attractive from the point of view of money and prestige, but I know it will not lead us to swaraj. Here, on the other hand, the teachers may have to put up with poverty and ridicule, but I cannot give up my faith that through it we are advancing step by step towards our goal of swaraj.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 30-5-1926

373. *THE SPINNING-WHEEL IN GUJARAT*

The reader will find elsewhere in this issue some information collected by Shri Lakshmidas concerning the progress of spinning in Gujarat. We can see from it that even in big cities like Ahmedabad and Nadiad spinning has been adopted only by a few isolated individuals. We must admit that it has a very limited field, but we can see that for those women who do spinning it is the only work they can take up. No effort is made to induce a woman to take up spinning if she can earn more through some other work. The spinning-wheel has a place in our life which nothing else can fill. It has been conceived only for those people who have no other honest means of livelihood, but in a vast and thickly populated country like India spinning is the only work which crores can take up. If people can be found to ply it for money even in cities like Ahmedabad and Nadiad, we can easily imagine how useful it can prove in the villages. If we do not hear the sweet music of

this *annapurna*, the spinning-wheel, in the homes of the poor, it is for lack of sufficient number of dedicated, self-sacrificing and intelligent workers.

There is, of course, the other equally strong reason for this state of affairs, namely, that very little khadi is used in Gujarat. It will come to be universally used, like wheat and ghee, and all the khadi produced will be sold out, when national consciousness has fully developed in us. We have not yet entered the homes of the poor in Gujarat, have not qualified ourselves nor do we feel the desire to do so. When we really feel a new life in us, large numbers of young men will come forward to go into villages and serve the people, and they will take pride in living on the modest return they will get from such service.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 30-5-1926

374. LETTER TO S. G. VAZE

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

May 30, 1926

MY DEAR VAZE,

I have your circular letter about the Society's publications. I have just heard that Sastri is there. But as the matter contained in my letter to him is urgent lest he might not be there I send you herewith a copy. And if my offer is at all considered possible of acceptance you will be at liberty yourself to come and take up your abode in the Ashram and bring with you as many as you like and edit the paper from the Ashram till the press is re-established in Poona.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat : S. N. 10912

375. LETTER TO V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
May 30, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

As I did not know your whereabouts, being still unrepentant in spite of your rebuke about my neglect of newspaper reading, I wrote to Devadhar expressing my distress over the terrible fire which has reduced to ashes the press owned by the Socety. I have therein offered to render such service as I am capable of in connection with your publications. I have now before me a circular letter from Vaze asking me to announce the fact that, till new arrangements are made, *The Servant of India* and the *Dnyan Prakash* cannot be published.

I understand you are already in Poona. Though I have not consulted Swami, I feel certain that we could print for you *The Servant of India* here without much difficulty. Do please make use of this humble offer if it is practicable. Its acceptance, I need hardly assure you, will give me the greatest pleasure. For, though technically I am not one of you, I have ever regarded myself as one of you in spirit and that in spite of fundamental difference between you and myself on many matters of importance to the country.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat : S. N. 10913

376. LETTER TO K. T. PAUL¹

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
May 30, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. Mr. Andrews has been with me for the last three days. He has read the whole of the correspondence between us and we have both come to the conclusion that the invitation should be finally accepted which I do hereby though not without a great deal of hesitation and reluctance. The hesitation and reluctance proceed from my diffidence. I did not know that it is worth while undergoing all the

¹ This letter was dictaed at 3 p.m. but not sent. According to the secretary's note, Gandhiji "revised his decision after praying in solitude" For Gandhiji's final reply, *vide* "Telegram to K. T. Paul", 31-5-1926.

expense of taking me and my companions to Finland. But it is not given to man to know God's purpose. And I simply derive satisfaction from the knowledge that I have in no way forced the pace or even wanted to go to Finland. You will now make what arrangements you like.

I see you will be taking return passages, and you contemplate the same between London and Helsingfors. I must, however, say that if I receive invitations to go to other places in Europe, I want to hold myself free to accept them. In that event, it might not be advisable to take a return passage from London to Helsingfors. I am bound in any case to go to Geneva to see M. Romain Rolland. My return therefore may not be absolutely by the same route in Europe.

So far as the passport is concerned you will please bear this in mind and not accept any conditions as to the time or places I might visit.

You will keep me informed from time to time as to what progress you are making. Of course, I should be delighted if you could, instead of going by the 15th June, go with me by the boat that leaves on the 1st of July.

I do not think that there can be any difficulty about procuring goat's milk in Europe. Moreover it can be condensed, evaporated or sterilized. Evaporated milk is undoubtedly the best to keep. It is absolutely reduced to powder.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat : S. N. 11352

377. LETTER TO K. T. PAUL¹

May 30, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. Mr. Andrews has been here for the last three days. He also has read your letter and the rest of the correspondence between us. After deep and prayerful consideration we have both come to the conclusion that the invitation should be cancelled or that I should decide not to go to Finland. It seems to me that the invitation is in substance from you and from the World's Committee only in form.

¹ This letter, dictated at 4 p.m., bears the entry, "Not send/held over."

And yet if I went, I will be said to be going in response not to your invitation but to that of the World Committee. I feel that it would be a wrong thing for both you *and* me or at any rate for me. I feel that if it is the World Committee that invites me then, it is that Committee which should bear the financial burden. Whereas in this case the financial burden has to be borne by you. It therefore appears to amount to a forcing of the position. I therefore strongly advise you to forget the invitation, and drop the matter altogether. I would ask you therefore to treat this matter as closed unless you find that by my not going you will be in any way compromised or embarrassed. If you are in any way embarrassed or compromised I shall gladly reconsider the position. But if it has to be reconsidered and if it is possible for you to move out will it not be better for you to come down to the Ashram so that we might thrash out the whole matter.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat : S. N. 11353

378. *LETTER TO A. A. PAUL*

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
May 30, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter enclosing copy of a letter from China. I think I have already told you that if no local circumstances prevent me, I would be prepared to visit China next year in accordance with the desire of the Chinese friends.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat : S. N. 11372

379. *LETTER TO A. I. KAJEE*

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
May 30, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter of the 24th April last with all the enclosures mentioned therein. I have also your cable just received. I have had long talks with Mr. Andrews who is, even as I am writing this here at the Ashram, living with me. The victory is great but much work still

remains to be done, in fact more than has been done already, because, the work hitherto done was one of necessary destruction; the work of construction must now begin.

You have raised three points in your cable. So far as I can see there will be no direct participation by the Congress in the Round Table Conference. But the Congress must have a hearing. The Conference itself, I imagine, will be between the representatives of the two Governments. But Mr. Andrews and others are watching carefully and whatever can be done will certainly be done. If any step has to be taken on your side, you will be duly advised.

It is a very good idea to hold the annual Congress in Johannesburg. Your resolutions must concentrate on fundamental points to be dealt with by the Conference and should be plain. Your resolutions should be moderate, firm, brief, telling and to the point.

After the Colour Bar Bill I have expressed myself in the strongest terms. All parties have also taken action. Mr. Andrews has seen the Viceroy but I very much fear that the Bill itself will receive the Royal assent. What will happen is that at least for the time being it will not be applied to Indian settlers and may never be applied at any time if we are strong, united and moderate.

Yours sincerely,

A. I. KAJEE, ESQ.
HON. GENERAL SECRETARY
SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN CONGRESS
175, GREY STREET
DURBAN, SOUTH AFRICA

From a microfilm : S. N. 11960

380. LETTER TO MAHADEO V. PANDLORKAR

May 30, 1926

So far as I know *Jiwatma* is to *Paramatma* what a drop is to the ocean. And even as the properties of a drop are identical with those of the ocean, the properties of *Jiwatma* are identical with those of *Paramatma*.

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat : S. N. 19584

381. *LETTER TO C. LAKSHMI NARASIMHAN*

[May 30, 1926]¹

In my opinion eggs cannot be classed as a vegetarian diet. But there is certainly not the same *himsa* in taking eggs as in taking meat.

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat : S. N. 19585

382. *LETTER TO V. M. TARKUNDE*

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
May 30, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I quite agree with you there would be always parties so long as there are differences in viewpoints and I also agree with you that [there should be] no jealousies and no mutual recrimination but that each should tolerate the rest.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. V. M. TARKUNDE

SASVAD

POONA DT.

From a microfilm : S. N. 19583

383. *LETTER TO TEHMINA KHAMBHATTA*

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Sunday, [May 30, 1926]²

DEAR SISTERS,

I have your letter. You are making too much of my having climbed three flights of stairs to see you. If we do not do this for one another, we might as well have not lived. I should very much like to bring peace of mind to Behramji, if any words of mine can give it. Happiness and suffering are inescapable in this life. We prove our

¹ The date is noted on the letter (S. N. 19585) dated 9-5-1926 from the addressee.

² Date inferred from the reference to Mrs. Eddy's book and to the illness of the addressee's husband. *Vide* "Letter to Behramji Khambhatta", 23-5-1926.

humanity only by enduring our lot in patience. I shall certainly write and give my opinion after I have read Mrs. Eddy's book. But I strongly urge Behramji not to stop using needful medicines meanwhile.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : C. W. 4364. Courtesy : Tehmina Khambhatta

384. *LETTER TO HARILAL*

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

Sunday, May 30, 1926

BHAI HARILAL,

It is certainly not possible to reply to your letter through *Navajivan*. I am sure that the educational and other reforms which you advocate will not come about at the present time. All of them may be indications of an attitude of tolerance, but they cannot create such an attitude. At present it will be more than enough if though going our separate ways, we live in peace with each other. I cannot think just now how inter-marriages will ever become possible. How can we have a family in which one member is a vegetarian and another a non-vegetarian? In which tradition will the children of such a couple be brought up? Problem alliances of this kind will raise many other issues besides these. Any attempt at this time to persuade people to act upon your suggestions will furnish one more ground for opposition or make the achievement of political unity impossible. How unwise it is to imagine a connection between political unity and other issues where none exists!

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S. N. 19588

385. *TELEGRAM TO K. T. PAUL*

May 31, 1926

PAUL

THOTTAM

SALEM

YOUR LETTER MAKES CLEAR INVITATION THOUGH FORMALLY FROM

COMMITTEE REALLY FROM YOU. THINK IT WRONG LET
WORLD KNOW INVITATION FROM COMMITTEE. STRONGLY
SUGGEST DROPPING VISIT. AM PREPARED RECONSIDER DECISION IF
LIKELY EMBARRASS OR COMPROMISE YOU. IF RECONSIDERATION
DESIRED SUGGEST YOUR COMING SABARMATI IF AT ALL
POSSIBLE FOR FULL DISCUSSION.

GANDHI

From a photostat: S. N. 11354

386. LETTER TO WILHELM WARTENBERG

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
May 31, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I fully appreciate your struggle. But I have no doubt that if the humiliations you may be suffering purify you, they may to that extent and only to that extent benefit your fellows. My non-resistance is activated resistance in a different plane. Non-resistance to evil does not mean absence of any resistance whatsoever but it means not resisting¹ evil with evil but with good. Resistance, therefore, is transferred to a higher and absolutely effective plane.

Capitalism, therefore, is to be resisted not with the ways open² to capitalism but with absolutely new weapons. If only employees will realize the power within them, they will not, as they do today, merely change the form but they will radically change the substance. And for this desirable reform the power comes from within. One does not need to wait till the rest have made the commencement. One person making the beginning will in the end be enough to destroy the system. But I am free to confess that in the intervening period, one may have to put up with estrangement and much worse, which, however, is the lot of almost every reformer.

Yours sincerely,

WILHELM WARTENBERG, ESQ.
HAMBURG 23
BITTERSTR 134 II
GERMANY

From a photostat: S. N. 12471

¹ The source has "resistance".

² The source has "opened".

387. LETTER TO RAMDAS GANDHI

SABARMATI ASHRAM,
*Thursday [Before June 1, 1926]*¹

CHI. RAMDAS,

I have your postcard. I never got Manilal's letter. I do not know to what address you forwarded it. Do come over here when your khadi work there is over. Since you have given your address as C/o Post-Office I have addressed the letter accordingly. It is likely that I may go to Finland. If I go, I will have to start on July 1. I am thinking of taking Mahadev and Devdas with me.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

388. LETTER TO DINSHA MANCHERJI MUNSHI

ASHRAM,
June 1, 1926

BHAISHRI MUNSHI,

It is not as easy as you suppose to come across a right guru². I am on the look out for such a perfect being. I would not find him without undertaking rigorous penance and without myself getting nearer to perfection. A person in search of a guru is vigilant and in the process acquires merit. So I go along unperturbed. It is by God's grace that one is blessed with a guru. Therefore, I shall get a guru at the time and place that I come to deserve one. In the meanwhile I always pay my obeisance to the guru I am yet to see.

Vandemataran from

MOHANDAS GANDHI

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S. N. 19913

¹ From the reference to the proposed visit to Finland; *vide* footnote to the following item. Gandhiji was invited in this year to address the Young Men's Christian Association at Finland.

² Preceptor

389. LETTER TO JAISUKHLAL A. GANDHI

ASHRAM,
June 1, 1926

CHI. JAISUKHLAL,

I have your letter. It reached me late because Krishnalal is ill. Noted about the weaving school. Where do you propose to start it? How much will it cost? I shall think about a programme for the next year. In connection with the temple do you presume that the *Antyajias* can never refuse to serve Brahmins or the [other] higher castes, i.e., cannot go on a strike? In the present case you gave them the right advice. They have not yet acquired the strength to strike work; they are not yet pure enough to offer satyagraha. But, may be, some day they will have to do it. Please keep in touch with the temple and take interest in its progress.

What happened to Umiya¹ ? Where is she? It looks as if Devdas and his companion Lalji would go only to Mussoorie.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S. N. 19914

¹ Addressee's daughter

390. LETTER TO RAMDAS GANDHI

SABARMATI ASHRAM,
*Tuesday [June 1, 1926]*¹

CHI. RAMDAS,

Manilal has given me all the information about you. It is his impression that you have been doing excellent work. I hope you are keeping quite fit. Do not be lazy and do not forget to write to me. The visit to Finland may be taken to be as good as cancelled. When do you intend to come over here?

Blessings from
BAPU

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

391. LETTER TO M. R. JAYAKAR

THE ASHRAM, SABARATI
June 2, 1926

DEAR MR. JAYAKAR,

I have your letter². I am disinclined even to write as much as I have about the Pact³. You won't find me writing or doing anything further. I have no desire whatsoever to intrevene except to bring about

¹ From the reference to Gandhiji's Finland tour being "as good as cancelled", letters written by Gandhiji on June 3, 1926, state that his chances of going to Finland are "99 to 1". The tour was finally cancelled on June 6. The letter was obviously written on a Tuesday prior to this date, i.e., on June 1.

² Dated 28-5-1926, wherein he wrote: "...What makes me write this letter to you is a remark which you are reported to have made in your interview, asking people to support Congress candidates, presumably as against their rivals. This, you will allow me to say, is unjust and unfair to many Responsivists. You know that we Responsivists have been all along Congressmen... Any word proceeding from your lips, calculated to influence the voter, are likely to cause grave harm and deflect the natural course of the next elections.

"... If the two wings in the Congress must fight, as seems to be in evitable... let us decide to make that fight as clean and decent as we can. Don't you think that, from this point of view, any remarks of yours of the nature reported in today's papers, and calculated to influence the opinion of the voter, are undesirable?... If you must step into the contest at all, please do so only as a peacemaker and not as a partisan..." (S. N. 11314)

³ The Sabarmati Pact between the Swarajists and the Responsive Co-operationists; *vide* Appendix "The Sabarmati Pact", April and May, 1926.

peace. The whole of this quarrel is so painful to me.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S. N. 11317

392. LETTER TO C. VIJAYARAGHAVACHARIAR

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

June 2, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter and wire¹. I have now discovered the “Nortan Conversation”. Devdas not being here there was some delay. I am now sending it by registered post.

I am also asking the manager, *Young India* Office, to do the needful. Back numbers are difficult to supply. Because of the autobiography they are almost exhausted but I am having the first part published in book-form. If, therefore, back numbers are missing, I am afraid you will have to wait for some time. I don't know what the real position is at the press.

The Pact² and the dissolution are things of the past. Let the dead past bury itself. In any event, I do not worry myself about it.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. C. VIJAYARAGHAVACHARIAR

FAIRY FALLS VIEW

KODAIKANAL OBSERVATORY

From a photostat: S. N. 12051

393. LETTER TO NAJUKLAL N. CHOKSI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

Wednesday, June 2, 1926

BHAISHRI NAJUKLAL,

I have your letter. As soon as I came out after my bath I learnt that you had come and gone. You did well in not waiting for long. I am glad that Moti likes to stay with you only and neither this place nor

¹ Dated 11-5-1926

² *Vide* Appendix “The Sabarmati Pact”, April and May, 1926.

any other would suit her. But that is only on one condition, namely, since Moti has ceased to be Moti and become Sukanya, she should become industrious and write letters like pearls. She has already consented to do this. Have you again started on a course of injections? You should completely recoup your health; that is my constant prayer.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S. N. 12128

394. ALL-INDIA COW-PROTECTION ASSOCIATION

The Secretary acknowledges further receipt of yarn as under:

MEMBERS' SUBSCRIPTIONS¹

Nos.4, 6, 8, 9, 32, and 33 have advanced their totals to 22,000, 24,000, 12,400, 11,000, 24,000, and 24,000 yards respectively.

DONATIONS²

Cash subscriptions and donations amount to Rs. 6, 100-15-0 whereas proceeds of the sale of yarn subscriptions and donations amount to Rs. 26-6-6. Those who send in hand-spun yarn as their donations will please not that if they will put more attention and skill into their work for the same amount of labour spent they will perhaps double the value of their subscriptions. The yarn received is very indifferently spun. Some of it is really not capable of bearing any price in the market because it cannot be woven into khadi. It can only be used for ropes or at best for carpets. And yarn so indifferently spun fetches only a nominal price. Therefore those who have been sending their donations or subscriptions in yarn for the All-India Cow Protection Association will please bear in mind that any indifference in spinning means so much less for the cow.

Young India, 3-6-1926

¹ not reproduced here

² *ibid.*

395. *THE BAR SINISTER*

Lord Birkenhead has spoken on the Colour Bar Bill of South Africa and he has blessed it. I hold to my opinion that as a piece of racial legis-lation it is worse than the Class Areas Reservation Bill which awaits discussion at the forthcoming Conference. It may not be put into operati-on against Asiatics for the time being or at all. It may not be enforced ha-rshly against the Native population. But the objection against that mea-sure is based upon a fundamental principle and upon the vast possibilities of mischief it contains. It is no wonder, therefore, that the Indian settlers are agitated and that Mr. Andrews has spoken strongly upon it. The settlers must continue their agitation against the Bill with vigour and prepare their case for presentation to the Conference. No presentation can avoid reference to the Colour Bar Bill. For the one reflects the policy of the other. The Colour Bar Bill is an indication of the designs of the Union Government in respect of Natives and Indian settlers. And the Class Areas Reservation Bill must be examined in the light of the Government policy on the Colour Bar Bill. The postponement of the former does not mean any change of policy. It may well mean only postponement of the agony. It is therefore necessary for all who are interested in this thorny question not to relax vigilance. What has been done hitherto was work of destruction. The more difficult work of construction has now begun. Much will depend upon the attitude of the Government of India. They control the situation if the settlers are weak. When the latter are strong they can mould their own destiny.

But I am sorry to note that the Hon. Syed Raza Ali considers that there should be no protest in India against the Colour Bar Bill. Though he commences his statement by saying that it is not a legislative measure against Indians, 'he is forced to admit that the Union Government will under the Bill have the power to extend such prohibition to our people if it deems it necessary'. Why is he then surprised at Mr. Andrews' opposition? The Syed Saheb should also know that the Indian settlers in South Africa are much agitated over the Bill. In a cable just received, the Secretary of the South African Indian Congress says: 'Trust strong action taken by you on Colour Bar Bill which has not yet received the Royal assent.' Mr. Andrews is bound to

object to this inhuman legislation which is principally aimed at Natives of South Africa, if he may be expected to raise his voice on behalf of us Indians. He has merged himself in us as a citizen of the world, not for any special virtues of our own. But the reason for his intervention is not the point at issue. The point at issue raised by the Syed Saheb is whether we here should oppose the Bill or not. Well, we have always opposed it. The settlers have always opposed it. And there is no burden on us, now that the Conference is agreed upon not to oppose the Bill. There was—could be—no tacit understanding not to oppose it. We may distinguish as we have distinguished between the two measures. The Colour Bar Bill is not so deadly in its *effect* against us as the Class Areas Reservation Bill. And therefore it was that greater stress was put upon the latter by the Indian deputation and the public. But the opposition to the former cannot be abated because the latter has been postponed.

Nor are the honesty and good intentions of General Hertzok relevant to the discussion. General Hertzog is not the autocrat of South Africa. He is no permanent head. He may find himself tomorrow in the same place¹ that General Smuts occupies today. It is only the written undertaking of the Government that can be taken into account, though we have found to our cost that even written undertakings may be thrown on the scrapheap when occasion requires the performance. The coming Conference cannot be endangered because we oppose a measure which it is our duty to oppose. In order to ensure a peaceful atmosphere at the Conference all that is necessary is for us not to impute motives, not to exaggerate and not to use harsh language in discussing subjects, however painful they may be. To go beyond is to surrender the right of free and just criticism and judgment. To do so would be to pay a price out of all proportion to the result sought to be achieved.

Young India, 3-6-1926

396. NATIONAL EDUCATION²

A Gujarati correspondent has raised certain questions about

¹ Among the opposition

² *Vide* also “Non-co-operation and Education”, 30-5-1926.

national education. Some of them are summarized below:

Since some of the staunchest supporters of non-co-operation have lost faith in it and since the numbers attending national institutions are dwindling, what is the use of holding on to these tottering schools and colleges and wasting good money after bad institutions?

My believing eye detects a flaw in this argument. My faith in non-co-operation remaining as staunch as ever, I can find it possible to reconcile myself to the existing national institutions even though the attendance may be reduced to half a dozen. For the half a dozen will be the makers of swaraj whenever it comes. When virgins are required to perform certain sacred ceremonies, others are not accepted as substitute if no virgin is found. And even one virgin if found is enough to save the situation. So will it be with the planting of the swaraj flag-post. The flags will be unfurled with the unsullied hands of those, be they ever so few, who have remained true to their creed.

I do not therefore regard it as waste of money to continue the national institutions. They are so many oases in the desert. They give the water of life to the souls thirsting for freedom. In writing this I cast no reflection upon those who attend or otherwise support Government schools. They are entitled to hold the view if they choose that theirs is the only way or also a way to freedom. National institutions are meant for those whose thirst for freedom is not satisfied by the ones managed or patronized by the Government. Few as they are, insignificant though they may appear, they supply a felt want and contain in them the seeds, as it appears to non-co-operators, of true and lasting freedom.

The final success of these institutions depends upon the worth of the teachers. "But they are deserting the national schools and colleges," says the critic. So some of them are. It tries the faith of the survivors. Have they the courage to stand alone? Are there enough monied men to support the surviving national institutions? On the correct answer to these questions depends the future of the national institutions and with them the freedom of the country, and so far as I can judge, there are teachers enough to stand the severest test and there are monied men enough to support them. I know no organization that has died for want of funds. Organizations die always for want of men, i. e., honesty, efficiency and selfsacrifice. And it is my certain knowledge that where there are teachers, pupils are not wanting.

But the pupils have perhaps the largest share of responsibility on

their shoulders. The future depends upon their ability, integrity, application, and patriotism. The teachers cannot give what the pupils have not. The teachers can help to 'draw out' in the pupils what they have. If it were otherwise, if the teachers were capable of putting something into their pupils, all the latter receiving instruction under them will be alike, whereas we know as a matter of fact that no two pupils have been yet known to be alike. The pupils must therefore have initiative. They must cease to be mere imitators. They must learn to think and act for themselves and yet be thoroughly obedient and disciplined. The highest form of freedom carries with it the greatest measure of discipline and humility. Freedom that comes from discipline and humility cannot be denied; unbridled licence is a sign of vulgarity injurious alike to self and one's neighbours.

Young India, 3-6-1926

397. NOTES

SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY'S LOSS

I have received the following¹ from the Servants of India Society for publication :

I have not the slightest doubt that not only will the subscribers excuse the unavoidable interruption in the publication of the two journals, but that the Society will have the fullest sympathy of the subscribers and numerous other friends like myself in the great loss that the Society, or rather the public, have suffered by the destruction of the two presses. I hope that the publication of the *Servant of India* and the *Dnyan Prakash* will be soon resumed.

PATRIOTISM v. CAPITALISM

These two "isms" are no doubt contradictory or have been so hitherto. But capital is totally different from capitalism and the capitalist from both. Capital is necessary for all enterprise. Labour itself may be described as a kind of capital. But even in the narrower sense of money, some capital, be it ever so little, is necessary even for labour's enterprise. Therefore there is no contradiction between capital and patriotism. A capitalist may or may not be patriotic. Khan Bahadur Mohiuddin Ahmed, Registrar of Co-operative Societies in Bihar, has pointed out a patriotic way to the capitalist. *The Times of India* says :

On the occasion of the opening ceremony of the new building of the Motihari Central Co-operative Bank, the Khan Bahadur, in his speech, distinguished harmful from useful capitalism. He suggested that industrial activities should be divided into two classes, one to be taken up by the capitalists and the other to be taken up on

¹ Statement on the fire which had destroyed the two presses where the Society's journals were being printed

co-operative lines for the benefit of 90 per cent of the population in India. Any industry based on agricultural produce such as cotton, sugar, oil-seeds, wheat, etc., should be on a co-operative basis so that the producers could secure the best value for their outturn. All sorts of mining and iron works, leather and other large-scale industries, which do not exploit the agriculturists, should be left to the capitalists so that they may also use their capital for more production of wealth in the country rather than foreexploiting the farmers and thereby sapping the very source of wealth in India.

If the capitalists would follow the Khan Bahadur's advice and restrict the use of their capital for purposes beneficial alike to the masses as also themselves, India's poverty would soon be a thing of the past. In the Khan Bahadur's opinion :

Jute mills, sugar mills, cotton mills are all meant to exploit the agriculturists and these exploited men are driven into the factories to work like slaves. The jute millowners of Bengal did not show the least concern for the Bengal jute-growers during the War when foreign export was closed. . . . The result of this exploitation was that the jute-growers were reduced to poverty and jute millowners realized cent per cent dividends.

RESOURCEFULNESS

The manager of the Satyagraha Ashram tells me that he has more orders than he can cope with for *taklis*. It is a healthy sign that so many people want *taklis*. But if spinning is, and it is, an art, it must evoke one's resourcefulness. It is not possible to supply millions of *taklis* in one centre. The virtue of spinning lies in its capacity to be independent of central help. The aim of the All-India Spinners' Association is to de-centralize everything at the earliest possible moment. *Taklis* are being manufactured at the Ashram for those who need inducement to make the effort. But it is an instrument that can be and should be made by every-one for himself. A simple piece of dried bamboo, a piece of broken slate, a knife, a little hammer, a small file, and if possible a compass, is all that is necessary to make first class *taklis* at one pice each. A bamboo *takli* can be made inside of half an hour and gives just as good work as the steel instrument. Those who will master the art must be resourceful. Let us remember that spinning is the poor man's art. It is his solace. The tools also of that art must be within easy reach of the poorest. Let each boy and girl be therefore taught to make the *takli* himself or herself. They will take pleasure in making their own *taklis* and greater pleasure than hitherto in spinning with *taklis* made by themselves.

GOOD AND BAD

The Vice-Chairman of the Berhampur Municipal Council says in his letter to the All-India Spinners' Association :

Only boys' schools have been supplied with 54 charkhas. Ten *tolas* of yarn is being spun per month. Rs. 15 a month is paid to the spinning instructor. One period of 40 minutes is allotted for spinning in each school per day.

This is good in so far that the wheel has found a place in the boys' schools under the Berhampur Municipal Council. But it is bad in that the output of yarn is too poor for the number of the wheels. A boy can easily spin half a *tola* of 10 counts per half-hour. That means 27 *tolas* per day from 54 wheels. And that would be 675 *tolas* per month of twenty-five working days. A spinning instructor who is satisfied with only 10 *tolas* per month out of 54 wheels does not deserve to draw Rs. 15 per month of national money. I hope that there is some mistake in the figures sent. For ten *tolas* per month would be too little even for one wheel. The wheels are not ornamental furniture. They are wealth-producing machines. And it is up to the keepers to see that they are not left idle. Every spinning instructor should deem it a point of honour to earn his wages by ensuring production enough to pay them. And this he can do easily when he has a large class and he does not mind himself carding and making slivers for the boys. It is the best way of interesting and instructing his pupils in the art of spinning. Let it be remembered that spinning includes carding and ginning. And carding and ginning are processes that fetch more money per day than spinning.

APRIL FIGURES

The following are the figures¹ for production and sale of khadi during the month of April :

The Andhra figures are incomplete and to some extent even the Karnatak figures. The Bombay figure includes only those of All-India Khadi Bhandar, Charkhasangh Bhandar and the Sandhurst Road Khadi Shop. I do wish we could make the figures complete for all the provinces.

Young India, 3-6-1926

¹ Not reproduced here

398. *LETTER TO MOTILAL NEHRU*¹

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
June 3, 1926

DEAR MOTILALJI,

Here is a copy of Vithalbhair's reply² to a copy of your letter which I sent him.

I hope you are gaining by your stay in Mussoorie.

Yours sincerely,

Encl. 1

PANDIT MOTILALJI NEHRU

MUSSOORIE

From a photostat : S.N. 11318

399. *LETTER TO V. J. PATEL*

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
June 3, 1926

DEAR VITTHALBHAI,

I have your letter³. I am again sending a copy of your letter to Motilalji. I want to be quite clear as to the course to be adopted before I announce your gift in the press.

I have told Devdas that he is a free agent. I think that he will be discharged from the Hospital today and is likely to go to Mussoorie to join Jamnalalji. I suppose Simla atmosphere is too strong for him.

99 chances to one I am not going to Finland.

More later.

Yours sincerely,

HON. V. J. PATEL

SUKHDALE

SIMLA

From a photostat : S.N. 11319

¹ In reply to the addressee's letter dated 22-5-1926 (S.N. 11313)

² Dated 1-6-1926 (S.N. 11316)

³ Dated 1-6-1926 (S.N. 11316)

400. LETTER TO URMILA DEVI

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
June 3, 1926

MY DEAR SISTER,

You have sent me a doleful letter. I am glad however that ailing sister has passed away. She must have suffered tortures during her last months. But you shock me by the news you give me about the rest of the family. I do wish that Mr. Das will go to England and have prolonged rest. I am writing to Basanti Devi as also to Mr. Das. What is the matter with Bhaskar? How is Bhombol getting on? May God give you the peace of mind that you need so much at this time of toil and anxiety. Do keep me informed from time to time.

99 chances to one I am not going to Finland. Perhaps you know that Devdas underwent an operation for appendicitis. He is quite all right now. Probably, he is being discharged today. He will go to Mussoorie for convalescence. Jamnalalji is staying in Mussoorie. He will join him there. How is the Hospital getting on?

SRIMATI URMILA DEVI

From a photostat : S.N. 19591

401. LETTER TO JUSTICE P. R. DAS

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
June 3, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I was shocked to hear from Urmila Devi that you had very serious heart trouble. I hope however that the worst is over and that you are quite yourself again. Urmila Devi tells me you have been strongly advised to go to England and take some rest there. Whether you go to England or not, or elsewhere, I do hope you will take rest for a long time and avoid all anxiety and strain.

Yours sincerely,

JUSTICE P. R. DAS

PATNA

From a photostat : S.N. 19587

402. LETTER TO BASANTI DEVI

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
June 3, 1926

MY DEAR SISTER,

Urmila Devi gives me a chapter of sorrows. She tells me that Justice Das had serious heart trouble, that Mony is ailing and losing strength and that Bhaskar is dangerously ill. You know that my sympathies are all with you. What is the matter with Bhaskar? Do please let me have a line.

How are you yourself keeping? Do tell me everything about Bhombol. I take it Baby is there and I hope that she is preserving her philosophic firmness.

From a photostat : S.N. 19589

403. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
June 3, 1926

DEAR SATIS BABU,

Mr. Muhen Hasan Chaman of Kaira, Kutch, tells me that he has applied to you for some time now for the Pratishtan travelling charkha to be sent to him by value payable post. He has not received the same yet. Will you please attend? If you cannot trace his letter you may regard this as the letter of application and send. No further address beyond what I have given is necessary.

You will tell me in due course what was the final result of your effort with Mr. Birla.

Yours,

From a microfilm : S.N. 19590

404. LETTER TO ANAND T. HINGORANI

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
June 3, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I could not trace your previous letter. If you will kindly write to me again putting the questions that you did in your previous letters, I shall try to answer your questions.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SJT. ANAND T. HINGORANI
C/O SJT. GOBINDSING A. ISRANI
NEAR GHAR CANAL
LARKANA
SIND

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

405. LETTER TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Thursday, June 3, 1926

BHAI BRIJKRISHNA,

I have your letter today. I am sorry and surprised. There was a letter and a telegram from you regarding Devdas. The telegram was replied to by wire, and I asked Mahadev to inform [you] about Devdas's condition. I do not remember any other correspondence nor am I displeased with anything you did. Surely there ought to be some reason for displeasure and you have given me none. I have told you and I repeat that you may come to the Ashram whenever you please.

Devdas will be discharged from the hospital by tomorrow, and will straightway proceed to Mussoorie. If you are still there you can see him on his way to Mussoorie, as he will certainly inform you. You need not delay coming here just in order to see Devdas. My visit to Finland is 99 per cent cancelled.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 2352

406. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
*Thursday [June 3, 1926]*¹

CHI. MATHURADAS,

I have not been able to write to you at all of late. But I have been doing what needs to be done. Your health will of course improve there gradually. But it would be best to go to Panchgani. Pattani has written me a very kind letter saying that I should have no hesitation at all in using his bungalow in July. Still I feel that we should not use his bungalow for too long. Hence, I have declined his offer. I have decided not to go to Finland. I have kept only one option open, that is, I will go if by my not going Mr. Paul², who sent the invitation, is embarrassed in any way. But I see no reason why he should be. Therefore, you call take it that I shall not be going. I do wish this to be my last letter to you at Deolali. Swami is a fast worker and so I do not think the matter will take too long.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

407. LETTER TO JAYANTILAL

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Thursday, June 3, 1926

BHAISHRI JAYANTILAL,

I have your letter. I do not know if you interpret a love-marriage in a way contrary to mine. But I would regard as desirable a marriage between a man and woman who have maintained pure relations and wish to be united in wedlock, when the union does not involve a breach of propriety. I cannot understand how in the case of a true love-marriage one partner can after the other's death ever think at all of remarriage. But I do believe that we should not oppose a virgin widow desiring to marry. I would regard the intermingling of

¹ From the postmark

² K. T. Paul; vide "Letter to K. T. Paul", 30-5-1926.

the four *varnas* as needless and undesirable as also marriages within the *gotra*, the principle being that there cannot be too much circumscription in regard to marriage.

From a photostat of the Gujarati : S.N. 19592

408. LETTER TO V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

June 4, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. It was certainly very good and generous on the part of Mr. Kelkar to offer the use of the Kesari and the Mahratta presses. You will please ask someone to pass on to me any appeal that you may make for funds and I shall try to do what I can as a matter of simple duty.

Yours sincerely,

RT. HON. V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI

SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY

POONA CITY

From a photostat : S.N. 12052

409. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

June 4, 1926

MY DEAR HENRY,

I have your two letters. You have given me a full budget of family news which I appreciate although the news is all about illnesses. Of Maud's illness, I knew all from her own letter and also Matar's. I hope they are both now well and strong. With Millie it is her courage which keeps her up and I know that it will stand her in good stead for many a year to come. Please tell Waldo not to keep me in suspense for a long time but make some time if he cannot find it for giving me a long letter. He must write to me as to an old friend and bed-fellow, not a stranger whom he knows only by name. The intricacies of his examinations, I do not understand. But I know that he can give a good account of himself being your son.

Devdas evidently got jealous of Maud. He too therefore developed appendicitis, underwent an operation on the other day and was discharged as cured yesterday. Miss Slade, otherwise Mirabai, is standing this hot season exceedingly well. She has become a very good spinner. She cards her own cotton. Andrews has been with us for the last five or six days. He will probably leave tomorrow for Kotgarh where he is going to see Stokes. Ramdas is hawking khadi and seems to like it well.

I was delighted to receive to your copy of the *Bhagavad Gita* translations. I note your careful instructions. I am keeping it under lock and key. You will have the book back sent duly insured as soon as I have made a copy.

99 to one I am not going to Finland. But if I do go and if I come to London naturally I shall stay with you unless you wanted me to stay elsewhere for public or other reasons.

Yours sincerely,

HENRY S. L. POLAK, ESQ.
42. 47 & 48, DANES INN HOUSE
265, STRAND, LONDON, W. C. 2.

From a photostat: S. N. 19593

410. LETTER TO S. SHANKER

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
June 4, 1926,

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. You can simplify your life by reducing your wants consistently with the retention of your health. You can simplify your dress. You can cultivate the habit of going to bed earlier, getting up at four o'clock in the morning, offering prayers just before retiring to bed and after rising from it. You can spin regularly for at least half an hour a day. Study Hindi and Sanskrit and read clean literature. Spinning includes carding and ginning. You can

befriend the so-called untouchables.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. S. SHANKER
NO. 3 TOP FLOOR
NARAYAN BUILDING
NIAGAM ROAD
DADAR, BOMBAY NO. 14

From a microfilm: S. N. 19594

411. LETTER TO NAMUDURY VENKATRAO

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
June 4, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I am sorry to hear of your loss. I am quite clear in my mind that you should not think of remarrying in any circumstance whatsoever. And, if you remain firm in your resolve, God will give you strength to resist any temptation that might come in your way to remarry.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. NAMUDURY VENKATRAO
BHATNAVILLE
AMALAPURAM TALUQ
GODAVARI DT.

From a microfilm: S. N. 19595

412. LETTER TO A MUSLIM LEADER

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
June 4, 1926

BHAISAHEB,

For many days now I have been thinking of writing to you. I had no intention of writing in English, and have none now. I wanted to write at length, and it is hard for me to write such a long letter in the Urdu script. This I am getting written in the Urdu Script by a brother of an Ashram inmate. I have your message from Brother Andrews. I wanted to write to you even before I got the message, in

fact since the time Alibhai went to Mecca. Regarding the Hindu-Muslim question I have deliberately refrained from saying anything. What can I write? To whom can I tell the tale of my woe? I know very well that I have no influence whatsoever over the quarrelling elements. Bhai Shaukat Ali and Manzur Ali spoke to me at length about your grief, and I have also been given to understand that you were rather pained at my silence. Since I am unable to bring about a compromise what is the good of my writing? I cannot bring myself to believe the various Press reports. I am asked to make a public statement that Malaviyaji and others are enemies of the Muslims, the Hindus ask me to make a similar statement regarding the Muslim leaders. How can I write something which I do not believe? I cannot accept that Malaviyaji and others are enemies of the Muslims; this does not however mean I approve of everything they do. Nor can I agree to calling Mahomed Ali an enemy of the Hindus. In his case, too, I do not approve of all he does. I am asked to state my opinion regarding the Calcutta affair.¹ What opinion can I give out? I have no occult power by which to know who started the trouble in Calcutta and whose crime was heavier. But I do know that the parties are both prejudiced against each other, they look only for each other's faults and have lost mutual trust. In the circumstances there is no other way for a person like me but to keep my peace. I cannot tolerate the killing of even a single Muslim or Hindu or for that matter of any human being. Nor can I tolerate the destruction of a mosque or a temple or a church. It is my belief that the same God that dwells in the heart of a Hindu is enshrined in the heart of every other person. And I also believe that a temple belongs to God as much as a mosque. I can never agree to the rule of blood for blood and temple for a mosque. But who listens to me? It is my firm belief, however, that God does not approve of this rule of blood and temple for a mosque. A day will come when Hindus and Muslims will own their guilt, feel sorry for their behaviour and unite with each other. This is the culmination that I wish to witness in my life-time. And I always pray to God to recall me from this world if I am not to see the light of that day. My desire to live springs solely from this hope. And I want you

¹ here were two outbursts of communal rioting in Calcutta during April and May 1926.

too to cherish this hope with me and never despair.

Brother Andrews tells me about your proposal that Brother Stokes and he should invite, on their own, a few Hindus and Muslims and attempt a reconciliation. I am afraid their efforts cannot achieve this task. Nor is the time ripe to bring the Hindus and Muslims together in this way. You alone can bring them together when the time comes. Those Muslims who are regarded as enemies of the Hindus as well as those Hindus that are supposed to be Muslim-haters must also be invited to this conference. What good can mere discussions bring when there is mutual mistrust and when people speak one thing and think another in their hearts?

I hope you are in Mussoorie and keeping well.

From a photostat of the Urdu (Devanagari script): S. N. 11069

413. LETTER TO A. S. DAVID

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

June 5, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I am not going to Finland. You may come to see me any time you like. But your letter under reply frightens me a bit. Your desire to accompany me to Finland and to have letters of introduction do not show an attitude of satisfaction with mere bread-labour. And what I want this Ashram to stand for is bread-labour. However, you may come whenever you like to see things for yourself. I would only ask you not to make any final disposals so that you might not feel depressed if the Ashram proves disappointing for you because the very first thing you will commence with here would be the scavenging work and processes connected with cotton.

Yours sincerely,

A. S. DAVID, ESQ.

CIVIL LINES

SITAPUR, OUDH¹

From a photostat: S. N. 10917

¹ Now a part of Uttar Pradesh

414. LETTER TO PERIN CAPTAIN

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

June 5, 1926

I have neglected your letter for a few days. Please give me some more particulars about the Him..¹ School, Matunga. What is the attendance? How did it come under the protection of the Stree Sabha? Who is on the committee that is looking after the School? How many teachers are there? Who is the headmaster? Are there any girls in the school? And are the children doing any spinning? If so, what is the monthly output? Do they have the *takli* or the wheel? And please Add such other information as you may think necessary.

You may treat the Finland visit as off. Mr. Andrews will be leaving probably today for Delhi.

Yours.

MRS. PERIN CAPTAIN
ISLAM CLUB BUILDING
CHAUPATI
[BOMBAY]

From a microfilm: S. N. 19596

415. LETTER TO PRANJIVANDAS J. MEHTA

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

June 5, 1926

BHAISHRI PRANJIVAN,

Chi. Jeki's² letter is sent with this. I do not understand all she writes. Whatever may be her faults you must not keep her without a letter. That is what I feel.

My trip to Finland is as good as cancelled. Write to me about your health. I am in excellent health. I had a letter from Ratilal³ today, which is also sent herewith. I fear that he might not come

¹ The source has a blank here.

² Addressee's daughter

³ Addressee's son

here. He would feel some kind of restraint here. As he would not come here, so would he not go to Manilal either. Even then I would keep on writing to him.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S. N. 19597

416. LETTER TO JAYAKUNWAR MANILAL DOCTOR

ASHRAM,
June 5, 1926,

CHI. JEKI,

Received your letter. I am sending it to Doctor¹. I shall write to you on hearing from him. The money which I have asked to be sent to you has nothing to do with the school work. I will send that letter to you, if I have not torn it up. I shall look for it and, if it is there, shall send it to you. Even now Doctor's health can't be considered good. He stammers a little and can hardly sign his name. A mere look at his face does not reveal any illness. These are the news. It is pointless, in my view, for Bhai Manilal to strive to get into the Council. Nor do I see any gain in going out of India. I consider it right to settle down here and bear all the hardships that come his way. Why suppose that hardships will be his lot for ever?

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S. N. 19598

417. LETTER TO AMRITLAL

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
June 5, 1926,

BHAISHRI AMRITLAL,

Your letter. You should write to your sister's husband and her father-in-law saying that you could not send her to them and infrom them of all the hardships faced by her. Before you do this, you have to ascertain from her what she really wishes to do, because she may have run away impulsively and might repent it later or she might become a victim of passion and do some thing wrong. It would perhaps be better if she realizes all this and returns to her husband and submits to all hardships that may befall her. Thus no definite answer can be given to your question because you alone can take a right

¹ Addressee's father

decision since you know the temperament of your sister, her husband and his parents. I can only say that if your sister does not want to go to her husband's people you must stand by her. You may not compel her to return there.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S. N. 19599

418. LETTER TO LAKSHMIDAS PURUSHOTTAM ASAR

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

June 5, 1926,

CHI. LAKSHMIDAS,

It is good that you left immediately. This time you looked so weak that I could not bear the sight. True economy consists in resting for a month or two, recouping your health and then plunging into work. Write to me regularly about your health. Walk as much as your physique will permit. Only yesterday I heard that M. . . does not play fair with Gokibehn and has fallen into stealing. I had strongly disapproved of her staying there. So I advised Velabehn to go to Bombay at the earliest and bring the girl back. Gokibehn is willing to send her back.

From a photostat of the Gujarati : S.N. 19600

419. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

June 5, 1926

CHI. JAMNALAL,

You must have got the telegram I sent you yesterday. Lakshmidas must have settled down there. His health would not rally here. He cannot do without work. I have therefore decided to send him to you so that he may rest along with Devdas. I have come to the conclusion that there is no point in keeping Lakshmidas here no matter how long Devdas stays there. There must be plenty of doctors in Mussoorie. If you feel that Lakshmidas must consult one, let him do so.

You must have learnt that Girdhari has been operated on for fistula. I believe he will get much relief. It is good that he was operated on in time.

The visit to Finland has almost been called off. It is a different matter if I have to reconsider this because of the embarrassment it may cause to Mr. Paul. But the chances of such reconsideration are one in a hundred. I believe you will arrive by the 22nd at the latest. If no one there is put to any inconvenience it is good that Lakshmidas stays there for quite some time. It is absolutely necessary that he recovers completely.

420. LOSS SUFFERED BY SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY

A terrible fire broke out last week in the historic Kibewada area in Poona and two printing presses, Dnyan Prakash and Aryabhooshan, owned by the Servants of India Society, were completely destroyed. This is a loss to the people as much as to the Society. Dnyan Prakash was a press as old as eighty years and the names of leaders like Chiplunkar, Agarkar and Lokmanya Tilak were associated with the Aryabhooshan Press, through which they had all started their public work. We may, therefore, say that the fire has destroyed two priceless memorials. Among other things, many valuable books, manuscripts of books and some considerable literature collected for a biography of the late Gokhale were lost in this fire.

The immediate effect of this loss will be that two journals, *Servant of India* and *Dnyan Prakash* will not come out for some time. We may hope that readers will not mind this, and will also show their full sympathy for the Society by offering as much help as they can. We are glad to note in this connection that workers of both the presses have forgone their claim to bonus amounting to as much as eight thousand rupees, and that many other presses have come forward to offer immediate help to the Society.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 6-6-1926

421. PROBLEM OF NON-VIOLENCE

A gentleman writes as follows :¹

Such questions are frequently raised. They cannot be brushed aside, either, as being trivial. These problems have been discussed both in the West and the East in books dealing with the deeper meaning of life. In my humble view, there is only one solution to these problems, since they all arise from the same cause. The actions mentioned above certainly involve violence, for every motion or action involves it and, therefore, no action is altogether innocent. The difference between one action and another lies only in the degree of violence involved in either. The very association of the *atman* with the body rests on violence. Every sin is a form of violence, and complete freedom from sin is possible only with the deliverance of the *atman* from the body. A human being, therefore, may keep perfect non-violence as his or her ideal and strive to follow it as completely as possible. But no matter how near it he reaches, he will find some degree of violence unavoidable, in breathing or eating, for instance. There is life in each grain which we consume. When, therefore, we adopt a vegetarian diet and abstain from non-vegetarian food we cannot claim that we completely avoid violence. But we prefer the former and regard the violence involved in it as inescapable. This is why eating for pleasure must never be indulged in. We should eat only in order that we may live, and should live only to realize the self. If our living for this purpose involves any violence, we may be a party to it as being unable to escape it. We can now see that if, in spite of all our precautions, there are germs in the water and bugs [in the furniture], we may do whatever we find necessary to get rid of them. I do not believe that it is a divine law that everyone should act in the same way at certain times and in certain circumstances. Non-violence is a quality of the heart. Whether there is violence or non-violence in our actions can be judged only by reference to the spirit behind them. Everyone, therefore, who regards the observance of non-violence as a moral duty should guide his actions by the principle stated above. I know that there is a flaw in this reply. One may commit violence as much as one chooses and then, deceiving oneself and the world, justify one's actions with the plea of their being unavoidable. This

¹ The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had asked for Gandhiji's views about the impossibility of observing perfect non-violence in practical life, since destruction of insects could never be completely avoided.

article is not meant for such persons. It is addressed only to those who believe in the principle of non-violence and are assailed by moral doubts from time to time. Such persons will commit even unavoidable violence most hesitatingly, and limit, not expand, the scope of their activities, so much so that they will not use any of their powers for self-fish ends. They will use all their energies for public service, dedicating to God everything they do. All the gifts and abilities of a good man, that is, a non-violent, compassionate man, are for service to others. There is violence always in the attachment to one's ego. When doing anything, one must ask oneself this question : "Is my action inspired by egoistic attachment?" If there is no such attachment, then there is no violence.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 6-6-1926

422. NOTES

A COMPLAINT

A gentleman writes as follows :¹

If the friend who makes this complaint had been reading his *Navajivan* carefully, he would not have found it necessary to complain as he has done. He has requested a reply in the columns of *Navajivan*. *Young India* acknowledges the subscription or contribution from every member by name, and a summary is published in *Navajivan* from time to time. From that everyone can know the number of members in the Spinners' Association. Detailed information about its working is also published occasionally in *Navajivan*. Still, I think it necessary to explain some points here. The Association's office has not yet received yarn in such quantity that it can directly help to reduce the price of khadi; but indirectly the yarn received has had so great an effect that throughout the country the quality of yarn which the Association gets people to spin for payment of has improved. The yarn which is received as voluntary gift from members has proved extremely useful as a means of testing the other yarn received. The yarn which is received as voluntary gift from members has proved extremely useful as a means of testing the

¹ The letter is not translated here. The correspondent wanted to know full particulars of the financial position of the Spinners' Association.

other yarn received and keeping a check on its quality. But the quantity of such yarn received as gift by the Spinners' Association is so little, relatively speaking, that the khadi made from it will reach a very small number. That is why the khadi made from it has had to be mixed with that made from other yarn; not a single piece of it has been given away to any member of the office staff. The members pay for the khadi which they require, and some of them get it woven from yarn spun by themselves. If those who spin voluntarily keep with themselves the yarn which they have spun, get it woven and gift the cloth to someone without giving publicity to their act, then the purpose which can be served by an organized action will suffer or be defeated altogether, and the effort being made to improve the quality of yarn will have to be given up. The office expenses of the Association do not exceed its income. When they do, I myself would dissolve it or leave it. I must admit, though, that the expenses cannot be met from the quantity of yarn it receives as gift. The balance is met from other contributions in cash. If, however, the membership of the Association increases from the present number of four thousand to four crores, the expenses of the office can be met from the yarn contributed by them. Hundreds of young men would then earn their livelihood by working in the office and the increase in the number would also have considerable and direct effect on the price of khadi.

IS THIS THE RIGHT METHOD OF COW-PROTECTION?

A worker in the cause of cow-protection writes as follows :¹

This is a sorry state of affairs. Probably similar conditions prevail in many other *goshals*. One thousand five hundred *goshalas* is not a small number. If all of them are run well and there is one common organization for them, they can maintain thousands of cattle-heads and increase the national wealth to the tune of crores of rupees, and we would discover the best method of cow-protection. There ought not to be a loss of Rs. 11,000 in the *goshala* referred to by the correspondent. Not a single calf ought to be given away as a gift. If this same *goshala* were turned into a model dairy, the people of the village would get milk and ghee at a low price, and if, at the

¹ The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had visited *goshala* and described the uneconomic way in which it was run.

same time, a tannery were also started side by side, the people would get shoes and other needed articles of leather. As things are, in spite of good money being spent, not a single cow is saved from the slaughter-house. In this way, the work of *goshalas* is becoming very limited in its scope. Running a *goshala* has come to mean looking after infirm cattle in a perfunctory manner.

If we wish to start a business, we would engage efficient workers and pay them. If the business was running at a loss, we would try to find out the reasons, would effect some improvement every day and not rest till we had succeeded in stopping the loss. The aim in running a *goshala* is not merely to provide a small shed for cattle; it is to discharge the sacred duty of cow-protection. But we get this work done mostly through inexperienced men who do it in their spare time. Such persons deceive themselves and believe that they are doing some service; those who give the money deceive themselves by believing that the cause of cow-protection is served, and in this way hundreds of thousands of rupees are thrown away in the name of religion. If my correspondent had furnished the following particulars, I would have made further inquiries concerning the *goshala*.

- (1) The number of infirm cattle.
- (2) The number of milch cows and buffaloes.
- (3) The daily yield of milk.
- (4) The number of calves—male and female.
- (5) The number of bullocks and he-buffaloes.
- (6) The area of land.
- (7) Is the *goshala* located in the village or away from it?
- (8) The number of deaths among the cattle.
- (9) Arrangements for disposal of cattle which die.

PERPETRATING “ADHARMA” IN THE NAME OF DHARMA

Shri Rameshwardas Birla donated Rs. 2,500 for a temple for *Antyajas* at Amreli and a beautiful temple was erected. An image of Lord Lakshminarayana was installed in the temple and it was duly opened to the public. The report of this event which I have received contains the following information.

The Brahmins cruelly harassed the priest who officiated at the

cere-mony, though the gentleman on whose behalf they performed it did not belong to the untouchable class. At the time of this ceremony for the opening of a temple for *Antyajas*, the latter were made to sit in a separate enclosure. Even the gifts offered to the priest did not come from *Antyajas* nor the money with which the temple was erected. The only reason, therefore, for punishing the priest was that the temple was for the use of *Antyajas*. For this offence, he had to get his moustaches shaved off and to perform atonement.

I cannot compliment the priest for thus forgetting his self-respect. If the ceremony of invoking the presence of God in the image was sacred act, the subsequent atonement was not atonement, but an act of sin. Even if the priest was afterwards boycotted by his community, what would he have lost in consequence? No one need be afraid now of the bogey of expulsion from one's community. Those who have courageously let themselves be boycotted have not only suffered nothing thereby but have actually found themselves free from unnecessary bonds. Says Brahmanand¹ :

Embark not on a venture without knowing;
Having gone to the field of battle, yield not to fear;
He who rushes to the field, courage on his face,
And then flees from battle,
What good his living, carrying his lustreless face among men?

How true are these words in the present case? I had not expected that the Brahmins of a progressive town like Amreli would display so much ignorance, such fanaticism.

If some Brahmins of Amreli disgraced Hinduism in this manner, there were also some who brought credit to it, for at the time of the installation of the image Hindus from all communities had attended the function. There were Brahmins, Vantias, Luhars, Sutars, Kanbis and others. There were some officials too. Other people, besides *Antyajas*, are also seen benefiting from this temple built specially for the latter. Some Brahmins have even agreed to read the *Bhagavata* and other holy books in the temple. It remains to be seen what effect that boycott has on these other Brahmins.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 6-6-1926

¹ A Gujarati poet

423. LETTER TO K. T. PAUL

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

June 6, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter and the original letters from the Committee of arrangements. The letters make it clear to me that the idea of invitation was prompted by you out of your great goodwill towards me and your exaggerated notion of my influence over people especially the young mind. But I feel more than ever convinced that the time is not yet for me to leave India on such pretext as is furnished by the correspondence before me. The call to go out of India for service has got to be pressing and overwhelming. The correspondence is really a response to your desire for my presence at the deliberations at Helsingfors. But I know my own limitations and recognize the difficulties in the way of my message going straight home. If there is any power in my message it would be felt without the physical contact.

I know that my decision will disappoint you but it has been my lot in life to disappoint loving friends. But I know that these disappointments have done good rather than harm. You will please forgive me for all the trouble that you have been put to on my account and ask for forgiveness from friends at Helsingfors who might have expected my presence there. Needless to say my prayers will attend your deliberations and my best wishes accompany you on your voyage.

I return the original letters.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat : S.N. 11357

424. LETTER TO V. SUNDARAM

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
June 6, 1926

MY DEAR SUNDARAM,

It was a joy to receive your letter, for, I have often thought of you and a greater joy still to find that you were helping Mr. Stokes. What about the hereditary village wardenship? Who is taking your place? I hope that your eyes will be completely cured by your stay on the hills.

Your Hindi writing is very good. It is better than my Tamil speech but it admits of much improvement. Your own name is not correctly spelt. The words of the hymn you have copied are beautiful. I am not writing separately to Savitri. Hers also is a good effort. But she must do much better.

Devdas is quite all right. He was discharged three days ago from the Hospital.

Yours,

SJT. V. SUNDARAM
C/O S. E. STOKES, ESQ.
KOTGARH
SIMLA HILLS

From a microfilm : S.N. 19602

425. LETTER TO MOTIBEHN CHOKSI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
*Sunday [June 6, 1926]*¹

CHI. MOTI,

I have your letter. The handwriting can this time be said to be good. If you make it a habit to write something regularly, however little it may be, your handwriting will improve. To a question similar to the one you have asked a reply is given in the current issue of *Navajivan*. Is there no middle way between killing of bugs and breeding them? We are not bound to do the latter, but we have no right to kill them. So we may pick them up and leave them at a

¹ From the postmark

distance. I shall hand over your letter itself to Manibehn. I have sent Laxmidas to Mussoorie as soon as he arrived here. In order to fetch Mani, Velabehn left for Bombay with Ramdas who was also going there. On her way back she will stay for a day with you. Manibehn says that the book sent for her has not reached her yet.

Blessings from

BAPU

SUKANYA NAJUKLAL CHOKSI
RASHTRIYA KELAVANI MANDAL
BROACH

From a photostat of the Gujarati : S.N. 12128-A

426. TELEGRAM TO K. T. PAUL

June 7, 1926

K. T. PAUL
THOTTAM
SALEM

THANKS LETTER. AFTER CAREFUL PRAYERFUL CONSIDERATION MY
FINAL CONCLUSION IS NOT TO GO FINLAND

GANDHI

From a photostat : S.N. 11358

427. LETTER TO DR. B. S. MOONJE

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
June 7, 1926

DEAR DR. MOONJE,

I have your letter. You have certainly given me a common ground for action. But the whole conception being yours, how shall I get it executed by others? If you write something to make the learning of grammar easy and do not preach there through your philosophy, and the text is passed by other Sanskritists, I shall undertake to get it printed and circulated at cost price. Or if you know anyone who has understood your ideas and will write the grammar but will require financial assistance, I shall apply to him and try to secure his services. In any case what little is possible is being done through the Gujarat Vidyapith. But I own that it is nothing compared to what

can be accomplished if Sanskrit study can be made demonstrably easy. Personally I consider it to be easy enough. It would not increase the tremendous strain put upon our poor nerves by the unnatural English study. I call the present English study unnatural because it displaces the vernacular.

Yours sincerely

From a photostat: S. N. 19603

428. INTERVIEW ON COLOUR BAR BILL

AHMEDABAD,

[On or before *June 8, 1926*]¹

Interviewed regarding the recent *communique*² of the Government of India on the Colour Bar Bill, Mahatma Gandhi said:

The assurance given in the *communique* in my opinion takes us no further than we were before it. The Union Government have indeed repeatedly said that they have no present intention of extending the scope of the Bill beyond the position that existed prior to the judgment in *Rex v. Hildick Smith*. Opponents of the Bill, however, attack it on the principle that the enabling powers under it go much beyond the position anterior to the judgment and that it can be made applicable not merely to the natives of the soil but to Indians also. Nor is it possible to derive any comfort from the fact that when the scope of the Regulations to be framed thereunder is extended, all parties in the Union will be enabled to make representations. The Bill does not take away the right of petition, and one knows by this time the fact of the representations by parties without power to enforce their will. I wonder if this assurance means that the party without the Union, namely the Government of India, will have no right of representation.

The Bombay Chronicle, 9-6-1926

¹ From the correspondent's date line

² *Vide* "Valueless Assurance", 10-6-1926.

429. LETTER TO JANAKDHARI PRASAD

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
June 8, 1926

DEAR JANAKDHARI BABU,

I was delighted to receive your letter after such a prolonged interval. I note the difficulties the school is going through. Faith has no limitation of time. That which is limited by time is not faith at all. If therefore you have bondless faith in your mission, I have not a shadow of doubt that it will succeed, the cause being right.

With reference to the two difficulties my prescription is the same. At the present moment, the atmosphere has become so impure that I cannot advise the formation of any new party or group. Those of us who do not believe in aggressiveness with regard to Hindu-Muslim unity, and do not believe in Council-entry in any shape or form must each one remain true to our ideal. We do not need any organization to keep up our spirits. Those who need that outward help are wanting in deep conviction and I am anxious that only those who have deep and abiding conviction should remain out. For, it may be that there are still greater trials in store for us. Those, therefore, who have weak faith will then succumb. It will be the indomitable remnant that will carry the day in the end, because, I see no freedom except through non-co-operation. My faith in it is growing with time.

I hope you are keeping excellent health.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SJT. JANAKDHARI PRASAD
SHRI GANDHI VIDYALAYA
P. O. HAJIPUR
DT. MUZAFFARPUR

From a photostat: G. N. 50; also S. N. 19604

430. LETTER TO ABBAS TYABJI

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
June 8, 1926

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. Certainly write for *The Bombay Chronicle*. I share your view for the most part. But education may not be the only remedy. If it is the only remedy unity must wait for a long time.

What is needed is the education of the heart. After all, in my opinion, the hands that fight may be the hands of the goondas but the brains behind them are the brains of educated Hindus and Mussalmans. If that education is to be multiplied, heaven help Hindusthan. But there can be no harm whatsoever in your writing for the paper. And, there certainly will be no harm if you do not write at all. You may let things simmer down a bit. There is no room for the time being for any solution except that of the cock fight.

Ramdas was here for a day. He went over to Bombay to see Devdas and threatens to get down at Baroda on his return to see you and pay his respects.

He says, but for you, he could have done nothing for the sale of his khadi. A white beard has its charm all its own.

Yours,

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: S. N. 9556

431. LETTER TO RUTH S. ALEXANDER

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

June 8, 1926

DEAR SISTER,

Mr. Andrews has brought me your precious letter. It revives old and sacred memories. Kallenbach¹ has not yet come to me though he is threatening always. I dare say one fine morning I shall find a cable from him saying he has started.

Do you ever see *Young India*? I call it my weekly letter to friends. Please remember me to Mr. Alexander. Mr. Andrews has told me how helpful he was in his mission.

Yours sincerely,

MRS. RUTH S. ALEXANDER

HEILBRON

LEIGHTON ROAD

ST. JAMES, C.P.

From a photostat : S.N. 10766

¹ A German architect, devoted friend and co-worker of Gandhiji in South Africa

432. LETTER TO PYARELAL NAYYAR

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

June 8, 1926

MY DEAR PYARELAL,

You have been silent of late. I am sending by registered post one copy of the spinning essay and the notes you have left here. I want you to go through the copy as quickly as you can, making your corrections in the body of the essay.

It is finally settled that I am not going to Finland. I hope you are keeping good health and daily improving as you must. Chhotalal has returned after his wanderings. He is not yet quite himself.

Yours,

From a microfilm : S.N. 19605

433. LETTER TO H. K. VEERANNA GOWDH

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

June 8, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

No permission is necessary for dedicating your work to me. But if you do dedicate it to me please do not say that you have obtained my permission. I cannot give it without reading the book and if you send it to me, I should have no time to read it.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. H. K. VEERANNA GOWDH

CHANNAPATNA

From a microfilm : S.N. 19606

434. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

Tuesday, June 8, 1926

BHAI GHANSHYAMDASJI,

I have your letter. So far Khadi Pratishthan has been given not less than Rs. 70,000 through the Charkha Sangh. As far as I

remember Rs. 25,000 have been given to Abhoy Ashram and Rs. 6,000 to the Pravartak Sangh. Many small sums have also been paid. All that would approximately amount to Rupees one and a quarter lakh. Even more would be granted to Bengal. I know the need of Khadi Pratishtan is great. Satis Babu wants to enlarge his activities considerably and I would like him to. But there is very little money with the Charkha Sangh today. So whatever is possible through the Charkha Sangh will be done, but do give to Satis Babu as much as you can.

What shall I say about the Councils? There are fundamental differences between me and Malaviyaji on this subject. I can only say that if you believe that your entering the Council would benefit the people you should definitely do so. Opposition to the Swaraj Party and the temptation of gaining political education are both irrelevant from the moral angle. If you have a feeling that you have vowed in my presence not to enter the Council get rid of that impression. No such restraint was accepted categorically. You should feel free from any obligation and decide your stand about going to the Council from a moral standpoint, that is, with public service in view.

Yours,

MOHANDAS

From the Hindi original : C.W. 6128. Courtesy : G. D. Birla

435. LETTER TO SHANTIKUMAR MORARJI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

Tuesday, June 8, 1926

BHAI SHANTIKUMAR,

I have read your letter to Mahadev. When you sent me mangoes on your birthday, you should have asked for blessings, at any rate, though as a matter of fact you have them always. Do tell me why you have given up mangoes for the last seven years. May God grant you a long life.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : C.W. 4702. Courtesy : Shantikumar Morarji

436. LETTER TO RAI PRABHUDAS BHIKHABHAI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Tuesday, June 8, 1926

BHAI PRABHUDAS,

I have your detailed letter. You did well to write. Your argument is perfect, but it is my experience and also that of persons who have tried *pranayam* and other methods that *brahmacharya* cannot be observed merely with the help of *pranayam*. But I believe *pranayam*, etc., help those who have acquired control over their mind. We come across very few people who have made a deep study of the yoga from this point of view and have tried yogic methods. If one takes only one meal a day, I have nothing to say. But if one consumes at one sitting a quantity of food equal to three meals, that will not help him in *brahmacharya*. This is a violation of it and it damages one's health. There are two opinions and I have my own doubts regarding the need of nutritious diet for the observance of *brahmacharya*. But I do not want you to change your method if it greatly helps you in the observance of *brahmacharya*, if it keeps up your spiritual progress and all your senses are brought under control. You should try your own method and effect such changes as your experience may dictate. And if you succeed so that even your mind is not disturbed by passions the world will stand to gain by your experiment. Remember that *brahmacharya* implies control of all the senses in respect of thought, speech and action. According to this definition if you have a lustful eye or an evil thought or there is a discharge even in dream *brahmacharya* would be violated.

From a photostat of the Gujarati : S.N. 12187

437. LETTER TO PERIN CAPTAIN

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
June 9, 1926

I take it that you will be in Bombay during the whole of this month. I think I told you that a German sister was coming to me. Her name is Helene Haussding. She is expected on the 25th instant by the *Razmak*. Will you please meet her and take her home and send her the same day to Sabarmati, and wire to me by what train she leaves. You will please tell me if you are not likely to be in Bombay on that date or if it will be impossible for you to go and meet her on board.

Have Nurgisbehn and Mithubehn returned? And, if they have, how are they doing?

Yours,

From a microfilm : S.N. 19610

438. NOTES

SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY

In the note issued by the Society upon the loss suffered by it owing to the recent fire nothing so much stirs one as the offer of the employees of the press. It is evidence of the scrupulous care with which the Society has dealt by its employees. Unless the latter felt the loss to be personal, they would not make the self-sacrificing and handsome offer that they have made of forgoing half the bonus and offering to work without extra pay for ten instead of eight hours a day and the printer himself offering to work for six months without any pay whatsoever. Both the Society and the employees deserve heartiest congratulations for this spirit of comradeship existing between what may be called Capital and Labour. This expression of the excellent spirit is no small compensation for the tremendous losses the Society has suffered.

The loss of the valuable manuscripts containing Gokhale's life and the files of the *Dnyan Prakash* for the last eighty years is indeed irreparable. But it is only in this manner that Nature gives us rude shocks and reminds us that there is nothing permanent, nothing everlasting except God himself; and that therefore ours is but honourably

and humbly to labour only to do His will irrespective of consequences.

The members of the Society are now manfully striving to restart without avoidable delay the interrupted activities. The question is how will the public help. Assurances have been given from many parts of India. It is to be hoped that the assurances will be translated into action without delay and without fuss. However much one may differ from the politics of the Society, there is no denying the honest and self-sacrificing labours of its members, there is no denying their patriotism. It stands unique in its great social activities no less valuable than the political. I hope that the readers of *Young India* will show their appreciation of the many services of the Society, and their toleration where they differ from the Society's politics, by sending in their subscriptions in response to its appeal.

SPINNING-WHEEL IN MYSORE

In his speech¹ at the District Conference, the Deputy Commissioner and the President of the District Board of Mysore presented spinning as a useful subsidiary occupation, and as pre-eminently suited in poor families to supplement the family income, and thus exhorted the local bodies and public-spirited people to take it up in right earnest :

To secure increased popularity and to ensure its general adoption by the people . . . it is necessary that the leaders in each village, the *Yejmans* the *Sahukars*, the *Budhivantas* should take to it. . . . I appeal to all Municipal Councils, Panchayats, and Village Committees, Co-operative Societies and other Associations to stock and sell charkha to the local people, and secure at least one trained weaver for their town or village, provide him with a loom, and get woven into *dupaties* and towels all the yarn locally spun by people who could not drive any other trade or calling owing to age, infirmity, disease or lack of occupation. . . . The District Board hopes to be able to take full advantage in the coming year of the recent order of Government promising to meet half the cost of demonstrations and competitions arranged for weaving and spinning. . . .

Here at least there is an official recognition of the spinning-wheel. The more the possibilities of this simple instrument are known, the greater will be its hold upon the people.

¹ Only excerpts reproduced here

SPINNING FOR FAMINE RELIEF

The Kathiawar Rajkiya Parishad is nursing a khadi centre in Kathiawar in and near Amreli by way of famine relief. Though there is no actual famine there, for want of sufficient rain the cultivation has been below par for three successive years, the result being that many cultivators are living from hand to mouth. It is in this centre that nearly a thousand farmers' wives are supplementing their poor resources with wages earned from hand-spinning. Instead of these women remaining in idleness and in a state of semi-starvation, they are earning from anything between one to three rupees per month according to the time they are able or willing to give to spinning. Incidentally this work furnishes occupation for carders, weavers and washermen. The difficulty however had to be confronted of selling khadi so made. Mr. Abbas Tyabji came to the rescue and he, assisted by Sjts. Amritlal Seth and Ramdas Gandhi, toured in parts of Kathiawar for the purpose of hawking the khadi. It was not possible to sell it as cheap as khadi produced in some parts of India where carders, weavers, washermen and even spinners do not demand or receive the same wage as those in Kathiawar. But Mr. Abbas Tyabji was able successfully to appeal to local patriotism for the disposal of his khadi. And he tells me that nowhere was he put off by people, but, as soon as they understood what this khadi meant, they took all that he had to offer. This khadi, as all other khadi, has had an interesting history. Its price has gone down in the same proportion as it has risen in quality. And yet there is plenty of room for improvement in the quality of khadi and decline of its prices. The decline in prices and progress in improvement depend upon steady improvement in carding and spinning upon which increasingly great attention is being bestowed. But the chief points to be noticed in this connection are that khadi has been the means of giving work and wages to poor women who would have been without either but for khadi and that there is unlimited scope for this work provided demand for khadi can be kept up.

PERIPATETIC KHADI EXHIBITION

Khadi workers all the country over are discovering the great utility of khadi exhibitions in popularizing and demonstrating the various processes connected with cotton till it becomes khadi on the weavers' loom. Recently a peripatetic exhibition was organized in the district of Ratnagiri. It covered eight villages. In all these places

demonstrations were given in hand-ginning, carding, spinning on the wheel as well as the *takli*, and methods of testing the strength of yarn. There were exhibited samples of indigenous dyes, yarn spun by leaders, khadi of various grades and a small assortment of other swadeshi goods. Whilst the exhibition was on, in the respective villages, hawking too was resorted to. There was a reading-room improvised which furnished literature on khadi. There was a magic-lantern demonstration. Singing parties gave songs and *bhajans*¹. People were encouraged and enabled to subscribe to the All-India Deshbandhu Memorial [Fund] and addresses on khadi were delivered by well-known speakers. The whole thing was organized in an efficient and inexpensive manner. The expenses amounted to Rs. 622-9-11. And these were partly covered by profits made on the khadi sales. There is no doubt that such exhibitions have a great educative value and further experience and consequent improvements may make them self-supporting.

Young India, 10-6-1926

439. KHADI PROGRESS

Here is a graph² illustrating three years' production and sale by the Khadi Pratishthan. The reader can see at a glance the enormous progress made by the Prathisthan as well in production as in sale.

Young India, 10-6-1926

440. VALUELESS ASSURANCE

The Union Government have, the Government of India tell the public in a *communiqué*, given the assurance that

there is no present intention on the part of the Union Government of extending the regulations beyond the position as it existed prior to the judgment of the Transvaal Provincial Division of the Supreme Court in the case, *Rex v. Hildick Smith*, when it was held that certain regulations with reference to miners and works, which have actually been in force in South Africa since 1911 and in certain provinces for many years before that date, were not valid under the sections of the Act in terms of which they were promulgated.

¹ Devotional songs

² Not reproduced here

The *communiqué* further states :

that the Government of India have also been assured that should any such extension of the scope of these regulations be contemplated in future, every reasonable opportunity will be given to all parties in the Union interested in the matter to make representations.

I hold these two assurances to be simple camouflage. For the Union Government, in reply to questions in the Union House of Assembly, have been repeatedly saying the same thing that they have now told the Government of India, namely, that they had no present intention of exceeding the scope of the regulations beyond the position that existed prior to the judgment in question. The sting of the new Bill lies in its enabling powers. It is like the sword of Damocles hanging over the heads of both the Natives of South Africa and the Indian settlers, for, it can be made applicable to the latter precisely as the former. The Bill is, therefore, as insulting as it can possibly be made. Only it does not affect the material interests of the Indians as much as the Class Areas Bill, not because of any goodwill on the part of the Union Government, but because Indians as a rule do not take to labour, skilled or unskilled, of the kind contemplated under the Colour Bar Bill. They are better touched materially through their trade and through restriction of residential rights. And this is sought to be accomplished by the Class Areas Bill which is to be considered by the Round Table Conference. The Colour Bar Bill shows the mentality of the Union Government and as *The Times of India* correspondent very properly says in effect the acceptance by the Union Government of the proposal for a Round Table Conference is a mere courteous gesture. It is not to be interpreted to mean a change in the Union Government's angle of vision. And this deduction is further strengthened by the later information that in adumbrating his native policy, General Hertzog has made it clear that, whilst he is prepared to allow limited representation in the Union Parliament to the Natives and to the Coloured people, he will not allow any whatsoever to the Indian. The result which *The Times of India* correspondent rightly deduces is that the Indian, in the estimation of General Hertzog, stands infinitely lower than the Native. In fact, he is to be tolerated till he can be effaced from South Africa as a necessary evil. The Colour Bar Bill therefore cannot be isolated from the different Acts of the Union Government. It forms part of its settled policy and furnishes the key to it.

Nor is the second assurance given by the Union Government of the slightest value. Is it any new right that they have conceded when they say that when the scope of the regulations is extended every reasonable opportunity will be given to all parties in the Union, interested in the matter, to make representations specially when it is known to them that representations of Indians carry no voting force behind them? And, if the qualifying phrase in the *communiqué* means that parties outside the Union, that is, the Government of India or the Imperial Government will not be allowed even to make representations, surely the assurance is worse than useless, because, it is a restriction of which the announcement has been made and not a concession.

Young India, 10-6-1926

441. WHAT IS PRAYER?

A medical graduate asks :

What is the best form of prayer? How much time should be spent at it? In my opinion to do justice is the best form of prayer and one who is sincere about doing justice to all does not need to do any more praying. Some people spend a long time over *Sandhya*¹ and 95% of them do not understand the meaning of what they say. In my opinion prayer should be said in one's mother tongue. It alone can affect the soul best. I should say that a sincere prayer for one minute is enough. It should suffice to promise God not to sin.

Prayer means asking God for something in a reverent attitude. But the word is used also to denote any devotional act. Worship is a better term to use for what the correspondent has in mind. But definition apart, what is it that millions of Hindus, Mussalmans, Christians and Jews and others do every day during the time set apart for the adoration of the Maker? It seems to me that it is a yearning of the heart to be one with the Maker, an invocation for His blessing. It is in this case the attitude that matters, not words uttered or muttered. And often the association of words that have been handed down from ancient times has an effect which in their rendering into one's mother tongue they will lose altogether. Thus the *Gayatri* translated and recited in, say, Gujarati, will not have the same effect as the original. The utterance of the word 'Rama' will instantaneously affect millions of Hindus, when the word 'God', although they may

¹ Ritual prayer to Sun God

understand the meaning, will leave them untouched. Words after all acquire a power by long usage and sacredness associated with their use. There is much therefore to be said for the retention of the old Sanskrit formulae for the most prevalent *mantras* or verses. That the meaning of them should be properly understood goes without saying.

There can be no fixed rule laid down as to the time these devotional acts should take. It depends upon individual temperament. These are precious moments in one's daily life. The exercises are intended to sober and humble us and enable us to realize that nothing happens without His will and that we are but 'clay in the hands of the Potter'. These are moments when one reviews one's immediate past, confesses one's weakness, asks for forgiveness and strength to be and do better. One minute may be enough for some, twenty-four hours may be too little for others. For those who are filled with the presence of God in them, to labour is to pray. Their life is one continuous prayer or act of worship. For us ordinary mortals there must be a middle path between these two extremes. We are not so exalted as to be able to say that all our acts are a dedication, nor perhaps are we so far gone as to be living purely for self. Hence have all religions set apart times for general devotion. Unfortunately these have nowadays become merely mechanical and formal, where they are not hypocritical. What is necessary therefore is the correct attitude to accompany these devotions.

For definite personal prayer in the sense of asking God for something, it should certainly be in one's own tongue. Nothing can be grander than to ask God to make us act justly towards everything that lives.

Young India, 10-6-1926

442. CO-OPERATION IN SPINNING

A dear friend asks me to answer the question that has occurred to him and his other friends.

Is there co-operation in spinning? Does it not rather make people purely individualistic, self-centred and keep them separate from one another even as so many pebbles?

The briefest and the most decisive answer I can give is : "Go,

watch any well-organized spinning centre and test the thing for yourself. You will then discover that spinning cannot succeed without co-operation.”

But brief though this answer is, it is, I know, useless for those (and they are the majority) who cannot or will not make the time for paying such a visit. I must therefore try to convince by describing such a centre in the best way I can.

In speaking to a co-operative society in Madras last year, I said that through hand-spinning I was trying to found the largest co-operative society known to the world. This is not an untrue claim. It may be ambitious. It is not untrue because hand-spinning cannot serve the purpose for which it is intended unless millions actually co-operate in it.

The purpose is to drive away enforced idleness and pauperism which is the result mainly of that idleness in India. This purpose, it will be admitted, is grand enough. The effort must be correspondingly great.

There must be co-operation from the very commencement. If spinning makes one self-reliant it also enables one to understand the necessity of interdependence almost at every step. An ordinary spinner must find a ready market for her surplus yarn. She cannot weave it. There can be no market for her yarn without the co-operation of a large number of people. Just as our agriculture is possible only because there is co-operation, be it ever so little, of millions in regard to the cultivation and disposal of the produce, so will spinning be successful only if there is co-operation on an equally large scale.

Take the working of any typical centre. At the central office is collected seed cotton for spinners. The cotton is ginned by ginners perhaps at the centre. It is distributed then among carders who re-deliver it in the shape of slivers. These are now ready to be distributed among the spinners who bring their yarn from week to week and take away fresh slivers and their wages in return. The yarn thus received is given to weavers to weave and received back for sale in the shape of khaddar. This latter must now be sold to the wearers—the general public. Thus the centre office has to be in constant living human touch with a very large number of people irrespective of caste, colour or creed. For the centre has no dividends to make, has no exclusive

care but the care of the most needy. The centre to be useful must keep itself clean in every sense of the term. The bond between it and the component parts of the vast organization is purely spiritual or moral. A spinning centre therefore is a co-operative society whose members are ginnerers, carders, spinners, weavers and buyers—all tied together by a common bond, mutual goodwill and service. In this society the course of every piece can be traced almost with certainty as it floats to and fro. And as these centres grow and draw the youth of the country who have the fire of patriotism burning brightly in their hearts and whose purity will stand the strain of all temptation, they will, they must, become centres for radiating elementary knowledge in hygiene, sanitation, domestic treatment of simple diseases among the villagers and education among their children suited to their needs. That time is not yet. The begin-ning indeed has been made. But the movement can grow only slowly. It is not possible to show substantial results till khadi has become a salable article in the bazaar like ghee or, better still, postage stamp. For the present a vast amount of energy has to be spent in educating the people to buy khadi in the place of any other cloth even as a child would eat and bless the rice cooked by its mother without stopping to think of the quality or the price of the rice so cooked. If it did, it would find that the rice cooked by the mother was far too dear for the labour and the love spent upon the working. And so will it be with khadi one day, when the children of mother Hind wake from their deep sleep and realize that yarn spun and worked by the hands of her daughters and sons can never be too dear for her crores of children. When this simple truth dawns upon us, spinning centres will multiply a hundredfold, a ray of hope will penetrate the dark Indian cottages and that hope will be the surest foundation for the freedom we want but do not know how to achieve.

Young India, 10-6-1926

443. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
*Thursday [June 10, 1926]*¹

CHI. JAMNALAL,

Your Letter. I wish you could make a long stay there and build up your body getting away from it all. There must be no more fits of giddiness. The real remedy for it is, mainly, open air and exercise. You must take a ten-mile walk daily. I should not think that is at all too much. The Charkha Sangh committee meets on the 26th; you do not therefore have to come here till then. It would be better if you resisted the temptation to stay in Delhi and at the Rampura Ashram for the present. I want you to spend as much time in Mussoorie as possible. Ask Lakshmidas to write to me from time to time. He should improve his health a lot. Velabehn will arrive here this evening along with Mani.

Blessings from
BAPU

JAMNALAL BAJAJ
NARAYAN NIWAS
MUSSOORIE, U.P.

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G. N. 2866

444. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS DUPTA

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
June 11, 1926

DEAR SATIS BABU,

I have your letter. I must not argue with you, for, your reasoning is perfect. Khadi work requires *tapasya*. You are bent upon it. I can therefore say, may God help you.

If Hema Prabha Devi surrenders everything of her own accord and if she can bask in the sunshine of freedom from all possessions, I should naturally feel delighted. I have simply uttered a note of warning as a friend. But you will both do as the spirit guides you.

¹ From the postmark

The meeting is postponed to the 26th instant to enable everyone to be in his place on the 21st instant which is the Id day. I shall expect you on or before 26th.

You must have received my letter about a travelling charkha for Mr. Muhammad¹ Hassan Chaman of Kera, Cutch. If not, please send one to him by V.P.P.

Mr. Birla has written to me of what he has done. It is good that you have enlisted his interest. I have written to him² at length and asked him to give all the help he can to the Pratishthan.

Yours,

From a microfilm : S. N. 11182

445. LETTER TO V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
June 11, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your circular letter. You might have noticed a paragraph in the current number of *Young India* about the Society's loss. I am thinking out to whom I should make the appeal. Is Malaviyaji approaching anybody to your knowledge? There are monied men whom both he and I can approach. But, I know that he can approach them with greater confidence and greater effect. Has anyone approached Mr. Ambalal Sarabhai? To Jamnalalji I shall be writing. He is in a somewhat peculiar position just now. He has ceased to multiply his earnings and has almost ear-marked the profits he is making. I know that there is still a reserve. I fancy that he will send something, but nothing like what I would like him or ask him to send if he was his former self.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat : S. N. 12059

¹ 'Muhen' in "Letter to Satis Chandra Das Gupta", 3-6-1926

² *Vide* "Letter to G. D. Birla", 8-6-1926

446. *LETTER TO AMIYA CHANDRA CHAKRAVARTI*

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
June 11, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I was simply wondering whether my letter had miscarried. I now understand the sad reasons for the delay in acknowledging my letter. You have not yet mentioned to me the calamity that has befallen you. How can I help you to find peace? It can only come from within and by waiting upon God and trusting Him with implicit faith. No man need ever feel lonely who feels the living presence of God near him and in him. Whatever peace I have found, has been found by increasing faith in the hand of God being in everything. Calamities then cease to be calamities. They test our faith and steadfastness. May you also find your peace in the midst of seeming strife.

Yours sincerely,

AMIYA CHANDRA CHAKRAVARTI, ESQ.

TIRTHA NIBAS, PURI

From a photostat : S. N. 12060

447. *LETTER TO EMIL RONIGER*

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
June 11, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. The idea of making any money out of my writings even for a charitable purpose is quite foreign to me. Up to now I have avoided all such temptation. This time the temptation has come in a double manner. Mr. Holmes was the first tempter and he suggested that unless some notable publisher had the copyright, it would not be possible to circulate the *Experiments with Truth* as much as it is desirable and he added that the copyright would bring me a respectable sum for many of my public undertakings. I have therefore allowed Mr. Holmes to deal with the Macmillans. I have heard nothing further from him. I have really no terms. I can only give you this assurance that I shall not close with the Macmillans till I have corresponded with you. I shall endeavour also at least to give you the

rights over the German translation. You may let me know what terms it is possible for you to offer consistently with all your obligations.

Yours sincerely,

EMIL RONIGER, ESQ.

RHEIN FELDEN

From a copy: S.N. 32243

448. LETTER TO JETHALAL H. JOSHI

June 11, 1926

If Bhai Nriprasad does not need you and Jamnadas wants you, then settle down there. Where can I find a better educational field for you than this? Whatever I teach you is bound to be uninteresting from the modern viewpoint.

Vandemataram from

MOHANDAS

From a microfilm of the Gujarati : S.N. 10922

449. LETTER TO FULCHAND KASTURCHAND SHAH¹

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

Friday, June 11, 1926

BHAI FULCHAND,

Your letter. You may perhaps like to file Jamnadas's postcard; hence I am returning it to you. I have written to him that he should have asked me for money. Because of our difficult [financial] position you do not have the means to offer the money. Most probably I have written to you that my going to Finland has been cancelled. I have also replied to Devchandbhai. Today there is a letter from the Dewan. I have sent that also to Devchandbhai. In reply he writes that he would come by the end of the month. I have received the report and shall go through it. Fixing the date of the conference has been delayed and that troubles me too. But I am a bird with my wings clipped; so in every such case my inclination is to wait. It is perfectly true that Manilal has deposited a sum of Rs. 32,000 with Revashankerbhai, but we are not in a position to use it yet.

¹ For other letters to the addressee, *vide* "Letter to Fulchand", 25-3-1926 and 7-5-1926.

A letter of authority for Manilal is still to come. He told me on his return from Rajkot that it would come in a short time. On receiving this amount, whether my finances allow it or not, I shall definitely pay off the sums for which I have committed myself. I have talked to Vallabhbhai about the school at Rajkot. Whenever you need anything, please do ask for it. I am prepared to provide the cotton for the training of *Antyaja* teachers at Rajkot, Jetpur and other places. Bhai Balwantrai has arrived. I have asked him to keep Rs. 100 for the sale of khadi. And for making payments to the weavers he may ask for more as the need arises. I am having a talk about Gariyadhar with Bhai Shambhushanker who is here today. I have found that he is getting the work done very economically. It seems to me Gariyadhar work is the least expensive of all. Bhai Balwantrai said that Mulchandbhai needed Rs. 500 for the *Antyaja* Ashram, which has been paid to him on his personal security. All your queries have now been answered.

From a photostat of the Gujarati : S.N. 10923

450. LETTER TO CHUNILAL D. GANDHI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

June 11, 1926

BHAISHRI CHUNILAL,

I have your letter as well as the *hundi* from your friend. I intend to use the money for propagating khadi.

SJT. C. D. GANDHI

C/O TATA MILLS (LTD.)

BOMBAY HOUSE, BRUCE STREET

FORT, BOMBAY

From a microfilm of the Gujarati : S.N. 19611

451. LETTER TO DEVCHAND PAREKH

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Friday, June 11, 1926

BHAI DEVCHANDBHAI,

Here is a letter from the Dewan. Now we have to wait for the rest of this month at any rate.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati : S.N. 19612

452. LETTER TO KANTILAL H. PAREKH

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
June 11, 1926

BHAISHRI KANTILAL,

I have your letter and it is quite to the point. You did well in writing. If you still have anything to ask do write to me without hesitation. The responsibility concerning khadi that rests on you and on others like you cannot be taken away, until we get men who will put less responsibility on others or who have the same capacity as yourself and until they are able to carry on khadi work by themselves. Along with the spread of the khadi movement we also exhort people to lead a simple life. Until we give up some of our undesirable habits khadi work cannot gain momentum.

If to make khadi a practical proposition is interpreted to mean that it should compete with mill-made cloth, I think that is almost impossible. Dharma need never enter into such competition. Millowners may give away their cloth gratis just to kill khadi, but can we do the same with khadi? There certainly is competition in trade when commodities are offered, [virtually] for nothing. I am willing to listen to all criticism of the work there. And I am eager to remove all recognizable faults. If it is said that since the workers are my own men the demands of that centre are readily conceded, the complaint is entirely baseless. I know it, because it is contrary to my nature to do so. Of course, one thing is certain I am entirely useless where I cannot trust people. I shall be glad if you let me know why you regard the complaint as reasonable.

I am not at all perturbed by the way Ramdas has now been selling khadi. It cannot be said that he compels people to buy khadi. But one can certainly say that they buy it owing to a sense of shame

or out of a desire to help others. I see nothing wrong in it. Only thus can the spread of khadi be initiated. The over-all expense on khadi is much more than the artisans' wages, hence it is our duty to effect as much economy as possible. That depends on the spirit of sacrifice and the efficiency of the workers. I believe this improvement is coming gradually. But please make whatever suggestions you can in this regard. We shall certainly implement as many of them as possible.

Now about you. If I know why you have lost faith in the khadi movement, I can find a remedy. We must promote the desire to work without remuneration. But how many people will do that? Before you do what you like, there is need to assume a big responsibility, you may certainly stay in the Ashram as long as you consider it necessary. The Ashram made you what you are and its reward therefore is your character. Always guard it. Make it nobler every day. That itself is the return. How long you can serve by living in the Ashram depends perhaps on your own convenience. One can free oneself of worries on one's own. If freedom from worry depended upon another's convenience, it could never be had. When the season there is over, do come here. Before that if you have anything particular to say, do write to me. If the answer I have given is not complete, please let me know.

From a photostat of the Gujarati : S.N. 10927

453. LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

June 12, 1926

I have your letter. You will have misfortune. But there is as much connection between your being in Tiruchengodu and the water scarcity as there is between Z—a newcomer—being in the same district and the scarcity. Those who charge you with rivalry unconsciously give your presence an importance you did not deserve. But as there is not much danger of your becoming inflated, let those good people who so charge you have all the pleasure they can derive from their belief.

The Finland idea is dead and decently buried. Dr. Dalal has suspected Hydrocele in Devdas. Even if it requires an operation it would be a minor thing. I certainly don't worry about it, perhaps,

because I don't dread the knife so much as I¹ dread drug-taking.

Poor Santanam! It almost appears as if we in India have more than our share of domestic troubles. And in India the Southern Presidency seems to take the first place.

I shall speak to Shankerlal about the arrangements of the tour.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat : S.N. 10929

454. LETTER TO FENNER BROCKWAY

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

June 12, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your cable. I am so sorry you had to go to the expense of cabling me. Newspaper correspondents will publish things without verification. There was a talk about my going to Finland. But it was announced in the newspaper that everything was arranged, whereas, nothing was certain. The final decision come to was that I should not go to Finland. Had I gone, I would certainly have accepted your invitation. As it was, I had to send you the following cablegram which I hope you duly received.

“Thanks, not going Europe.”

Yours sincerely,

FENNER BROCKWAY, ESQ.

INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY

13, GREAT GEORGE STREET

LONDON S. W. 1

From a photostat : S.N. 11361

¹ The source has “a” in place of the words “as I”.

455. LETTER TO KONDA VENKATAPPAYYA GARU

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
June 12, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

What a sad letter you have sent me. I appreciate the confidence you have given me. After all it is these domestic troubles which enrich one's life, for, they enable us to realize the vanity of wordly pomp, worldly riches and worldly happiness and enable us also to realize the true beauty of ahimsa, otherwise, love of the purest type.

I am glad both your wife and daughter are improving. I hope that the improvement will be continuous and permanent.

Yes, Devdas had an operation. He was discharged last week and is now taking his convalescence with Jamnalalji at Mussoorie. I am not going to Finland. There was a talk about my going. But I decided not to go.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm : S.N. 19616

456. LETTER TO C. V. KRISHNA

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
June 12, 1926

MY DEAR KRISHNA,

I have your letter. This is my message for the Conference:

I wish the Conference every success. The fact of its being held on the Pinakini Satyagraha Ashram grounds is a tribute to the memory of the late Hanumantha Rao who devoted his life selflessly to the national cause. I hope that the various conferences, being held there will emphasize the necessity of hand-spinning and khaddar and that the black taint of untouchability that I discovered when I was in that district will be removed as a result of the effort of the Conference.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S. N. 19617

457. LETTER TO “FORWARD”

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

June 12, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

Here is the best reminiscence I can give you of Deshbandhu for your special number :

‘Throughout my privileged stay with Deshbandhu at Darjeeling during the closing days of his earthly life, I found that, ill as he was, the bulk of his time was devoted to the thought of his country. Even whilst he had fever on he would discuss with me the future plans that he had laid down for his country’s uplift. I often ask myself whether we are doing anything or enough to have deserved such a man as Deshbandhu.’

Yours sincerely,

THE EDITOR

“FORWARD”

19, BRITISH INDIAN ST.

CALCUTTA

From a photostat : S.N. 19618

458. LETTER TO GANGABEHN MAJMUDAR

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

Saturday, June 12, 1926

RESPECTED GANGABEHN,

Your letter. What can I do if you distrust persons who stay with me? I can’t agree upon the prices, etc., of two years ago. I can pay you only at present rates. Over and above that, I shall try to pay you as much as I can. I only want you to appoint someone you trust to sit with a person nominated by me. Both of them may fix the prices according to existing conditions and I am prepared to pay them. I would request you to settle this matter urgently.

BAPU

SMT. GANGABEHN MAJMUDAR

NAGARWADA, RICHEY ROAD

AHMEDABAD

From a microfilm of the Gujarati : S.N. 10942

459. *LETTER TO MULSHANKER KANJI BHATT*

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Saturday, June 12, 1926

BHAISHRI MULSHANKER,

I could make out nothing from your letter. I can intervene only if there is a debt due to you in law or in equity. I find neither in this case.

SJT. MULSHANKER KANJI BHATT
KALBADEVI, NEW MARKET, ROOM NO. 27
BOMBAY-2

From a microfilm of the Gujarati : S.N. 19613

460. *LETTER TO SOMNATH PURUSHOTTAM*

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Saturday, June 12, 1926

BHAI SOMNATH,

I have your letter. In my view the primary rules to be observed by all are truth and non-violence. And I believe that one who does not control his palate can observe neither rule. The practice of some yoga would, I imagine, be necessary for successfully observing these rules.

SJT. SOMNATH PURUSHOTTAM
BHANGWADI THEATRE
BOMBAY-2

From a microfilm of the Gujarati : S.N. 19614

461. *LETTER TO JAGJIVANDAS NARANDAS MEHTA*

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Saturday, June 12, 1926

BHAISHRI JAGJIVANDAS,

Bhai Shambhushanker has arrived here. I discussed everything with him. Just now he has asked for Rs. 300. A *hundi* for the amount is sent herewith. Some of the debts are small, which he says he would pay off. I have found a debt of Rs. 1,300 from you. Bhai Shambhushanker has also told me that you intend to take interest on that amount. I feel that you cannot charge interest on money [lent for]

public causes. Bhai Shambhushanker says that you constantly complain that you get no money from me, and you have to spend your own money. I remember no occasion of with holding money without reason. Some delay might have been caused in understanding things; but for that, there was no delay whatever. Even if I have unreasonably delayed payment, you must never give your money and, if you do, you should not charge interest. I am prepared to pay off the money on behalf of the Parishad, when the question of interest is sorted out. Bhai Shambhushanker's salary was also discussed. He should take Rs. 50 up to July and then Rs. 25. Bhai Shambhu-shanker would think it over and write to me. He deserves much more but he has told me of his desire to lead a selfless life and his resolve to take nothing for public service as far as possible. Hence I suggested Rs. 25.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati : S.N. 19615

462. WHAT IS NATURAL?¹

No word seems to be more abused today than the word 'natural'. For instance, a correspondent writes, "as eating and drinking are natural to man, even so is anger." Another seems to argue : "The sexual function is as natural as the other functions of the body. Were it not so, God would not have endowed it to man. If it was not our duty to curse the wicked and to bless the good, why should we have been endowed with the faculty of cursing and blessing? May it not be our duty to develop all our faculties to perfection? And thus *himsa* would appear to be as much one's dharma as *ahimsa*. In short virtue and vice are figments of our imagination. Your *ahimsa* is a sign of weakness, inasmuch as it expresses only one side of our nature. Rather than regard it as the highest religion, why should we not regard it as the highest irreligion? *Ahimsa Paramo Dharmah* was originally *Ahimsa Paramo Adharmah*—the negative prefix *a* (not) having somehow dropped out, or been rubbed out by some enemy of mankind. For on many occasions, *ahimsa* can be demonstrated to be the highest irreligion." This is not one man's argument, I have boiled down and put together the arguments of many. The theory about the negative *a* in *ahimsa*² being

¹ The Gujarati original of this appeared in *Navajivan*, 13-6-1926. This is a translation by Mahadev Desai.

² Slip for *adharmā*

dropped was propounded by an old barrister friend, and he did so in all seriousness. Indeed if we were to put man in the same category as the brute, many things could be proved to come under the description 'natural'. But if they belong to two different species, not everything that is natural to the brute is natural to man. "Progress is man's distinction, man's alone, not beast's." Man has discrimination and reason. Man does not live by bread alone, as the brute does. He uses his reason to worship God and to know Him, and regards the attainment of that knowledge as the *summum bonum* of life. The desire to worship God is inconceivable in the brute, while man can voluntarily worship even Satan. It must therefore be, and is, man's nature to know and find God. When he worships Satan, he acts contrary to his nature. Of course, I will not carry conviction to one who makes no distinction between man and the brute. To him virtue and vice are convertible terms. While to the man whose end and aim is realization of God, even the functions of eating and drinking can be natural only within certain limits. For having knowledge of God as his end, he will not eat or drink for the sake of enjoyment but solely for sustaining the body. Restraint and renunciation will therefore always be his watchwords even in respect of these functions.

And if it is man's nature to know and find God, sexual indulgence should be contrary to his nature, and complete renunciation of it will accord best with his mission. For realization of God is impossible without complete renunciation of the sexual desire. It is not man's duty to develop all his faculties to perfection; his duty is to develop all his Godward faculties to perfection and to suppress completely those of a contrary tendency.

Anyone blessed with choice or free will to accept and reject cannot but distinguish between good and evil, virtue and vice. For these mean in other words nothing but things to be accepted and things to be rejected. Thus robbing someone of his property is a thing to be rejected, hence bad or sinful. We have within us both good and bad desires. It is our duty to cultivate the former and to suppress or eradicate the latter, and if we fail therein we should remain brutes though born men. Birth as a human being is therefore declared by all religions as a rare privilege—a state of probation. And Hinduism says that if we are weighed and found wanting we should have to be reborn as beasts.

The world is full of *himsa* and nature does appear to be 'red in tooth and claw'. But if we bear in mind that man is higher than the brute, then is man superior to that Nature. If man has a divine mission to fulfil, a mission that becomes him, it is that of ahimsa. Standing as he does in the midst of *himsa*, he can retire into the innermost depths of his heart and declare to the world around him that his mission in this world of *himsa* is ahimsa, and only to the extent that he practises it does he adorn his kind. Man's nature then is not *himsa*, but ahimsa, for he can speak from experience, his innermost conviction, that he is not the body but *atman*, and that he may use the body only with a view to expressing the *atman*, only with a view to self-realization. And from that experience he evolves the ethics of subduing desire, anger, ignorance, malice and other passions, puts forth his best effort to achieve the end and finally attains complete success. Only when his efforts reach that consummation can be said to have fulfilled himself, to have acted according to his nature. Conquest of one's passions therefore is not superhuman, but human, and observance of ahimsa is heroism of the highest type, with no room therein for cowardice or weakness.

Young India, 24-6-1926

463. MAHUDHA KHADI CENTRE

I give below some facts from the report of this Centre which Shri Mohanlal Pandya has sent to me.

The Centre provides spinning work to 261 women, of whom 236 are Muslims. The rest belong to the Brahmin, Vania and Barot communities. The number of spinners is increasing day by day. This work is a great help to them, as they would not go out of their homes to do any other work. The Muslim women call the spinning-wheel the glory of the housewife.

As a result of this activity, three persons are employed in carding and five women in making slivers. Eight looms are operating.

The quantity of yarn produced is 20 maunds a month. Previously, they spun yarn of 6 counts, but now the Centre does not want them to spin yarn of less than 10 counts and does not, therefore, pay less than 5 annas per pound. That comes to Rs. $12\frac{1}{2}$ per maund, the total for 20 maunds being Rs. 246. This means an average earning of less than a rupee for every woman who spins. Shri Mohanlal,

however, tells me that it is probably one and a half rupees. If he is right, then either the number of spinners is smaller or the yarn spun is of a higher count.

From this quantity of yarn they weave every month 65 pieces of khadi, each of 18 yds. length and 27 inches width. They make from these pieces towels of $1\frac{1}{2}$ yds. length and 22 inches width, and small square hand-kerchiefs. Most of this khadi is sold in Bombay. From Magashar¹ to Vaishakh², khadi worth Rs. 1,294 was sold locally. The Centre now has stocks of khadi brought from other sources too. Their sale during the last three months amounted to Rs. 842. The selling price of the khadi is fixed at 20 per cent less than the cost price. The Centre has a staff of six persons.

I commend to this Centre and others like it the example of Bengal. There all khadi is produced for local consumption and, therefore, every effort is made to meet local needs. The result is that a large quantity of fine khadi with greater width is produced, and the production of such khadi is increasing day by day. If, in this manner, we work to meet local needs, we get opportunities of coming into contact with people belonging to all classes of society and are able to serve them, and at the same time the consumption of khadi will also spread to larger numbers. If we adopt this method of promoting the use of khadi, a good many problems will be solved automatically and by and by we shall advance not in arithmetical progression but in geometrical progression.

If the same attention were paid to improving the strength of the yarn as is paid to its fineness, every weaver would agree to weave that yarn. Experience tells us that if we wish to improve the quality of yarn, the spinner should himself or herself prepare the slivers. It need not be pointed out that this will add to the earnings of the spinners.

Another suggestion which I should like to make to workers is that they should go to villages in the interior and acquaint themselves with the conditions there. They should study the conditions of the poor in those villages and examine the possibility of introducing the spinning-wheel among them. I know that it is very difficult for people like us, brought up in modern conditions, to go and live in

¹ Names of months in the Indian calendar, corresponding roughly to November-December and April-May

² *ibid.*

places far removed from any railway station. Once we are there, we cannot leave as often as we might want. However, it is in these villages that real work awaits us, and eventually we shall be forced to go to them. There are more than 7,000 railway stations to serve seven lakh villages, and, if the Government's tax collectors can reach them, why should not servants of the country go there to give the people a return for the taxes which they pay? It should not be forgotten that the people who collect the taxes as also those who benefit from them directly or indirectly are from among our own middle class.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 13-6-1926

464. *WHAT PROVISION SHOULD BE MADE FOR DISABLED CATTLE?*

A gentleman devoted to cow-protection writes :¹

Those who have read my articles [on the subject of cow-protection] cannot be in doubt about my views on this point, for I cannot even for a moment entertain the idea that disabled cattle should be left uncared for. I believe it to be the duty of all of us to look after such cattle. But I have often pointed out that kindness to animals does not mean merely this. Cow-protection has a wide connotation, and we do not discharge our duty to cows and buffaloes fully by merely looking after disabled cattle. Cow-protection means preventing, in a manner consistent with dharma, that is, without doing anyone harm, the unnecessary slaughter of cattle which is going on at present. Today, either through ignorance or fanaticism, we have given cow-protection an extremely narrow meaning. That is why we helplessly witness or tolerate the unnecessary slaughter of cows before our very eyes. With a little intelligence, some self-sacrifice and a measure of practical knowledge, we can save countless cows and buffaloes and thereby preserve the wealth of the country. An attempt is being made in these pages to explain this. This way of protecting cattle will necessarily ensure the protection of disabled and infirm cattle. At present, such cattle are a burden on us, and therefore, one might even say that they are not protected in the right manner. I am

¹ The letter is not translated here. While generally approving of Gandhiji's views, the correspondent wanted to know what provisions he would recommend for disabled cattle if the existing *goshalas* were turned into dairies as advised by him.

convinced that, when we have solved the problem of cow-protection in an intelligent manner, we shall be able to take excellent care of infirm and disabled cattle.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 13-6-1926

465. *LETTER TO N. S. VARADACHARI*

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

June 13, 1926

MY DEAR VARADACHARI,

Your letter stuns me. Unless you have lost faith in the virtue of khadi how can you possibly want to leave khadi work? I had hoped that you were the last person in the world to think of deserting khadi. I can understand your difficulties. But does not success in any enterprise mean capacity for overcoming difficulties no matter however great they may be? If you cannot possibly do with the salary you are getting, you must let me know what you need. If the salary cannot be paid out of the Charkha Fund, some extra work might be found for you. "Where there is a will there is a way". The only thing needful is that there should be a determination not to desert khadi no matter what it costs. But, if your faith in khadi has slackened, you should tell me so. I have warned friends repeatedly that if in their experience they find khadi to be an impracticable proposition, they must not hesitate to say so first to me if they will and then to the public. I have no desire to bolster up a wrong cause no matter what grief it may give to me personally. As a matter of fact it will be no grief to me but unmixed joy to discover my error. No friend therefore need spare me when he finds that my faith in khadi is like building castles in the air. But, if your faith is as green as when you wrote your essay then you dare not desert khadi. If necessary, you can come and discuss things personally with me.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. N. S. VARADACHARI

ERODE

From a microfilm : S.N. 11184

466. LETTER TO V. LAWRENCE

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
June 13, 1926

MY DEAR LAWRENCE,

I was delighted to receive your full letter after so many months or is it years? I did know that one of your sons was in Jaffna. How strange however that he should never write to me? I suppose you are now rich enough to let him even pay a visit to me. Let him come. I will give him some lessons in spinning and he will also see something of real Indian life.

Yes. I would love to listen to the music of your daughters. Ramdas is just now with me. He is engaged in doing khaddar work. He will be leaving me for his headquarters in a few days. Devdas had an operation for appendicitis and he is now taking his convalescence with a friend at a hill station. Chhaganlal and Maganlal are here with their families. Jamnadas, the third brother whom you know, is in charge of a national school at Rajkot. Mrs. Naidu is touring through India. Mr. Andrews has gone to his friend Mr. Stokes who is living near Simla. This finishes the news of those whom you know. I am keeping well and passing my time principally in editing the two newspapers.

With love to you all.

Yours sincerely,

V. LAWRENCE, ESQ.
19, FOUNDRY LANE
DURBAN, S. AFRICA

From a photostat : S.N. 19619

467. LETTER TO KISHORELAL MASHRUWALA

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Sunday, June 13, 1926

CHI. KISHORELAL,

I got your letter. As for my message, it was on these lines : If you can free yourself occasionally for short intervals, you may be able to do some work as a supervisor and earn something. This suggestion was made in the belief that Balubhai would not be willing

at present to allow you to come to the Ashram. I knew well that you would not like the suggestion and even said so to Nanabhai. But I thought you might perhaps accept a supervisor's job for a short time as the work is, I think, lighter and while doing it you can stay in Bombay. I would certainly like your coming, if you can, to the Ashram and, if your health permits, your taking up lessons in weaving. What you say about the students is right. I would recommend it to them and would talk about women occasionally.

How long would Girdhari have to be there?

From a photostat of the Gujarati : S.N. 19620

468. *LETTER TO KASAMALI*

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Sunday, June 13, 1926

BHAISHRI KASAMALI,

Your letter. God is one. I do not understand your difficulty in conceivign Him as formless. That which has a form cannot be all-pervading, it needs must be the subtlest. It can therefore be only formless. All must admit the need for a guru but one may not hastily accept someone as a guru. In this age to seek a guru is to believe in one, because to acquire a perfect guide one must perfectly qualify oneslef. Moreover if we regard all faiths as true there is no need for us to relinquish our faith or make others change theirs, since all can adopt whatever satisfies them from all the religions.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati : S.N. 10932

469. MESSAGE TO THE STUDENTS

The Gujarati Mahavidyalaya opened, after the last summer vacation, on June 14th, with an address from Gandhiji which, it being his day of silence, was read for him. The following is the translation :

1921 and 1926—What a difference?

Please do not think that I am striking a melancholy note. We are not going back, our country is not going back. We have gone five years nearer swaraj and there can be no doubt about it. If someone says that it was very nearly achieved in 1921 and today it is far away—no one knows how far—do not believe it. Prayerful, well-meaning effort never goes in vain, and man's success lies only in such an effort. The result is in His hands.

Strength of numbers is the delight of the timid. The valiant of spirit glory in fighting alone. And you are all here to cultivate that valour of the spirit. Be you one or many, this valour is the only true valour, all else is false. And the valour of the spirit cannot be achieved without Sacrifice, Determination, Faith and Humility.

We have built our Vidyalaya on the foundation of self-purification. Non-violent non-co-operation is one aspect of it. The 'non' means renunciation of violence and all that stands for it, i.e., all Government control. But so long as we do not co-operate with our 'untouchable' brethren, so long as there is no heart-unity between men of different faiths, so long as we do not co-operate with the millions of our countrymen by according to the spinning-wheel and khaddar the sacred place they deserve, the negative prefix is entirely nugatory. That non-co-operation will not be based on ahimsa, but *himsa*, i.e., hatred. A negative injunction without a positive obligation is like body without soul, worthy to be consigned to the flames. There are 7,000 railway station for the 7,00,000 villages of India. We do not even claim to know these 7,000 villages. We know only through history the condition of villages not within easy reach of railway stations. The only loving tie of service that can bind the villagers to us is the spinning-wheel. Those who have not yet understood this basic truth are in this institution to no purpose. The education is not 'national' that takes no count of the starving millions of India and that devises no means for their relief. Government contact with the villages ends with the collection of revenue. Our contact with them begins with their service through the spinning-wheel, but it does not

end there. The spinning-wheel is the centre of that service. If you spend your next vacation in some far-off village in the interior you will see the truth of my remark. You will find the people cheerless and fear-stricken. You will find houses in ruins. You will look in vain for any sanitary or hygienic conditions. You will find the cattle in a miserable way, and yet you will see idleness stalking there. The people will tell you of the spinning-wheel having been in their homes long ago, but today they will entertain no talk of it or of any other cottage industry. They have no hope left in them. They live, for they cannot die at will. They will spin only if *you* spin. Even if a hundred out of a population of 300 in a village spin, you assure them of an additional income of Rs. 1,800 a year. You can lay the foundation of solid reform on this income in every village. It is easy I know to say this, but difficult to do. Faith can make it easy. 'I am alone, how can I reach seven hundred thousand villages?'—This is the argument that pride whispers to us. Start with the faith that if you fix yourself up in one single village and succeed, the rest will follow. Progress is then assured. The Vidyalaya wants to make you workers of that type. If it is a cheerless job, the Vidyalaya is indeed cheerless and fit to be deserted.

You will see that we open this term with a few changes in our staff. Acharya Gidwani whose sacrifice rendered the opening of this College possible, and who won the affection of students, has at my instance accepted the office of Principalship of Prem Maha Vidyalaya, Brindaban. I know that students were agitated over this. I congratulate them on their devotion to their Principal. I give you today the consolation that I gave the students that saw me the other day. We have to put up with these partings. We can but treasure the good things of our loved ones and follow them. Rest assured that we have done everything in the interests of the College. Fortunately we have Sjt. Nrisinhaprasad to serve us as Vice-Chancellor. He has lived with students for years and he often comes in contact with you. Trust yourselves to him. My doors are always open for every one of you. It has been a constant source of sorrow to me that I have not been able to come as closely in contact with you as I have wished.

Professors Athavale, Dalal, Mazumdar and Shah have left the College. Their resignations were unavoidable. It is to be regretted that we shall no more have the benefit of their scholarship. But in their stead we have as Professors Sjts. Kikubhai, Jinabhai Desai, Nagindas, Gopaldas and Gandhi. They are all ex-students of the Vidyalaya and

well may we take a pardonable pride in the fact. Let their industrious scholarship be a source of honour to us. May God bless you with long life for the selfless service of the country.

Young India, 17-6-1926

470. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
*Tuesday [June 15, 1926]*¹

CHI. JAMNALAL,

There has been no letter from any of you today. I certainly hoped for one from Devdas. There is no harm if you cannot come on the 26th. But that should be only on health grounds. Bhai Amritlal Sheth² has sent me a list today. You may take it that when you come here you will have to spend three or four days in Kathiawar.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photos tat of the Gujara ti: G.N. 2867

471. LETTER TO GANGABEHN MAJMUDAR

Jeth Sud 5, 1982 [June 15, 1926]

RESPECTED GANGABEHN,

I have your letter. I find that I have not been able to persuade you. I am helpless since you would neither accept my suggestion for arbitration nor let the man sent by me inspect the goods. I am in no wise bound to buy the goods, as you seem to think. It is my duty to save the Rs. 10,000 which I have given to you. This is my last request to you. If you agree to nothing, I would be driven in desperation to approach a lawyer.

BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujara ti: S.N. 10942

¹ The letter was evidently a sequel to the letter dated June 10; *vide* "Letter to Jamnalal Bajaj", 10-6-1926. The addressee's reply bears the date June 18, 1926.

² Gujarati journalist and public worker, one of the leaders of Kathiawar Political Conference

472. *LETTER TO MULCHAND UTTAMBHAI PAREKH*

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Tuesday, June 15, 1926

BHAISHRI MULCHAND,

I have your letter. I have made a minor change in your draft. In case the Ashram is closed down, it is not clear what would happen to the buildings. Would the buildings lapse to the Durbar along with the land? If there is any such idea, it should be removed. In such a contingency, the value of the buildings should be assessed by an arbitrator and we should get back half of it. The names of the trustees are all right, I return the drafts sent by you.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 12189

473. *TELEGRAM TO DR. SUNDRI MOHAN DAS*¹

[On or before *June 16, 1926*]

WISH FUNCTION EVERY SUCCESS.

GANDHI

Forward, 16-7-1926

474. *LETTER TO V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI*

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 16, 1926

DEAR FRIEND

I have your letter.² I am moving in the matter. Only my capacity for collecting monies has suffered a check which, on occasions such

¹ This was sent on the first death anniversary of C. R. Das which was being observed as Chittaranjan Hospital Day.

² In regard to the destruction by fire of the Servants of India Society printing presses at Poona, Gandhiji had written to Sastri on May 30, June 4 and June 11; *vide* "Letter to V. S. Srinivasa Sastri", 30-5-1926, "Letter to V. S. Srinivasa Sastri", 4-6-1926 and "Letter to V. S. Srinivasa Sastri", 11-6-1926.

as this loss to the Society, I somewhat deplore.

I am glad you have written to Seth Ambalal¹. I am also writing to him. Jamnalalji² is due here very shortly. I therefore do not propose to write to him.

Yours sincerely,

RT. HON. V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI

SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY

DECCAN GYMKHANA P.O.

POONA CITY

From a photostat: S.N. 10936

475. LETTER TO C. VIJAYARAGHAVACHARIAR

THE ASHRAM,

SABARMATI,

June 16, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter³ for which I thank you. Hakim Saheb⁴ has not yet written to me. There is a letter due from him to me apart from his promise to you to write to me. You are quite right in saying that I should be bored by any discussion on political matters, for there is nothing new to be said upon them. I cannot possibly enthuse over Councils. My politics are confined to the spinning-wheel, the removal of untouchability and the prayers for Hindu-Muslim unity, etc. These three absorb the whole of my time and attention. What is the use of my interesting [myself] in things which I cannot appreciate, which I do not understand and which even repel me? So you will see, it is not you who bore me. Come and talk to me on the usefulness of the spinning-wheel, on the ways of spreading its message of hope, instruct me on the technique of the art and you will never weary me with your talk. If you ask me to listen to the respective merits

¹ Ambalal Sarabhai, Ahmedabad textile magnate

² Jamnalal Bajaj

³ This is not available.

⁴ Hakim Ajmal Khan

of different Council parties or candidates, then, I should be as little eager to discuss those things as I would to discuss the claims of rival jockeys.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. C. VIJAYARAGHAVACHARIAR
FAIRY FALLS VIEW
KODAIKANAL OBSERVATORY
S. INDIA

From a photostat: S.N. 10938

476. LETTER TO GIRDHARILAL

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 16, 1926

DEAR LALA GIRDHARILAL

I have your letter¹ with the instructive enclosure². I have read both carefully. About the enclosure, I can say nothing. The points raised in your letter: By all means try to bridge the gulf that at the present moment seems to be widening between the two parties—Hindus and Mussalmans. But I adhere to my opinion that no real solution is to come at the present moment out of any effort. I see distrust everywhere. Some more fighting is unfortunately in store for us before a peaceful atmosphere is created. When each party expects to humble the other, peace is impossible. It is more over my firm conviction that this exaggerated importance we are giving to the Councils out of all proportion to their usefulness, if there ever was any, is keeping us apart. Everyone who remains outside the Councils thinks that he is losing something. And, what is true of individuals is true of communities and, therefore, there is a mad rush over getting as much representation as possible and then getting in as many men as possible with a communal taint. If you can see any good out of effort made in an atmosphere such as this, I can but admire your zeal and credulity. But I cannot enthuse over any such effort. I am sorry I cannot send you a more hopeful or rather less discouraging letter.

¹ Dated June 12, this had referred to the writer's negotiations with the Muslims for communal peace in Lahore and sought Gandhiji's advice and suggestions (S.N. 11070).

² A long statement on the communal problem dated June 11, addressed to Motilal Nehru (S.N. 11070)

I shall be more at home in advising about anything you might have to say on Jallianwala Bagh.¹

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

LALA GIRDHARILAL
CHAMBERLAIN ROAD
LAHORE

From a photostat: S.N. 11071

477. LETTER TO ASSISTANT EDITOR, "THE PEOPLE"

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 16, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

You ask me whether I see *The People* sometimes. I wish I could say yes to your question. But the fact is that I rarely see weekly newspapers. I glance at one or two dailies but most of my reading of newspapers and magazines I am obliged to do through deputy.

You further ask me for birthday greetings. These I send you most heartily and wish this offspring of Lalaji's² many happy returns of the day.

Yours sincerely,

THE ASSISTANT EDITOR
"THE PEOPLE"
12, COURT ROAD
LAHORE

From a microfilm: S.N. 19621

¹ Girdharilal had said he would write soon in regard to the Jallianwala Bagh memorial.

² Lajpat Rai

478. LETTER TO MOHMED HASAM CHAMAN

THE ASHRAM,
June 16, 1926

BHAISHRI MOHMED HASAM CHAMAN,

One who has a perfect understanding of ahimsa, who has gained spiritual knowledge, and is filled to the brim with compassion can certainly shed the turbulent body by forsaking food, drink, and so on while chanting the name of Rama. You have done a very good thing indeed in giving away five fields for the welfare of cattle.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm the Gujarati: S.N. 19916

479. LETTER TO HASAN ALI

ASHRAM,
June 16, 1926

BHAISHRI HASAN ALI,

. . .¹ Among the principal fruits I took were bananas, dates, tomatoes, groundnuts and lemons. The spiritual outcome of it was this: it was then that, in all my life and in respect of all things, I found myself almost free from passion. I had to introduce changes in my diet in England when I developed intense pain in my ribs.² I had only myself to blame for this pain. And then I came to India and again, because of my own fault, I was afflicted with acute dysentery.³ After this I could not recover my health no matter what means I tried. So I started taking goat's milk which I continue up to this day.⁴ I would always feel sorry for having done so, but I had a desire to live for the sake of the work I was doing and it persists even now. Yielding to that desire I started taking milk which I still continue. Doctors in their

¹ Omission as in the source

² This was in 1914, when Gandhiji was in England *en route* to India, and suffered from pleurisy.

³ In 1918.

⁴ *Ibid.*

researches think only of the body hence some or many of their experiments tend to kill the soul. . . .

Vandemataram from

MOHANDAS

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19917

480. NOTES

DESHBANDHU

Today¹ is the first anniversary of Deshbandhu's death. He died in harness, full of glory because full of faith. He believed in himself, in his country, because he believed in God; Up to the very last day he thought not of himself but of his country. He died for an ideal and he lives today through his ideal because it survives him. The dissensions in Bengal and the fratricidal war that is going on in India are indeed a negation of his ideal. But this aberration I hold to be merely a passing phase in working out the ideal. In the course of self-purification, we are bound to come upon steep rocks and deep ravines. We must bridge our way over the ravines and cut it through the rocks. And I have full faith that we shall overcome our difficulties. They are costing us dear. They may cost us dearer still. But no price will be greater for working out our own salvation for which Lokamanya, Deshbandhu and their predecessors lived and died.

THE POSITION OF NON-CO-OPERATORS

A friend asks:

In the midst of so many parties in the country we hardly see where to set our feet. When so many parties are being formed, is it not desirable that those few who still believe in the boycott of Councils, Hindu-Muslim unity, etc., should consolidate their forces and re-declare their ideals? We are being accused of having turned our backs on swaraj and our creed of non-violence is being openly sneered at. At every step we are being taunted that we are wasting our time and energy. I admit that one need not be disturbed by taunts, but it does appear desirable to organize ourselves and call upon those who are of our way of thinking to join us. How long are we to have patience? How long must our faith be tried?

If patience is worth anything, it must endure to the end of time.

¹ June 16, 1926

And a living faith will last in the midst of the blackest storm. Non-violence acts in a manner contrary to violence. I cannot advise the formation of an additional party. Non-violent non-co-operation can and must stand without an organized party. Non-violent non-co-operation is on its trial. Let each one who has faith in boycott of Councils, law-courts, etc., stand firm even though he may be alone in his own district. Khaddar and national schools should satisfy everyone who wants an occupation. The facts and figures I am reproducing from week to week from reports received from various khadi centres must convince the most sceptical of the progress that khadi is making, surely though slowly. And the progress that is now being made is not due to any momentary enthusiasm but it is due to a reasoned faith in khadi. If non-co-operators have faith in non-violent non-co-operation they will know that it is not dead but it is very much alive and that it will give a good account of itself when the darkest cloud threatens the horizon. It will be found then to be the one sheet-anchor of India's hope.

IN SEARCH OF GURU

As a result of my statement in Chapter I, Part II of *My Experiments with Truth*¹, that I was still in search of a guru, numerous correspondents, Hindus, Mussalmans and Christians, have favoured me with long letters telling me how to find a guru. More letters are still coming in. Some tell me actually where to go and whom to see. Some refer me to certain literature. I am grateful to all these correspondents for their solicitude for my welfare. But let them and others realize that my difficulty is fundamental. Nor does it trouble me. It is fundamental because my conception of a guru is perhaps not of the ordinary. Nothing but perfection will satisfy me. I am in search of one who, though in the flesh, is incorruptible and unmoved by passion, free from the pairs of opposites, who is truth and ahimsa incarnate and who will therefore fear none and be feared by none. Everyone gets the guru he deserves and strives for. The difficulty of finding the guru I want is thus obvious. But it does not worry me; for it follows from what I have said, that I must try to perfect myself before I meet the guru in the flesh. Till then I must contemplate him in the spirit. My success lies in my continuous, humble, truthful striving. I *know* the

¹ Gandhiji's autobiography started appearing serially in *Young India*, 3-12-1925.

path. It is straight and narrow. It is like the edge of a sword. I rejoice to walk on it. I weep when I slip. God's word is: 'He who strives never perishes.' I have implicit faith in that promise. Though therefore from my weakness I fail a thousand times, I will not lose faith but hope that I shall see the Light when the flesh has been brought under perfect subjection as some day it must. I wonder if the kind correspondents will now understand my position and cease to worry about me but join me in the search, unless they are satisfied that they have found Him.

FOR MANAGERS OF "GAUSHALAS"

The Secretary of the All-India Cow-Protection Association circulated some time ago among the managers of all known *gaushalas* and *pinjrapoles* a set of questions asking for information. Very poor response has been made to the request hitherto. Lists have been printed and they can now be supplied on application to the Secretary, All-India Cow-Protection Association, Sabarmati. Chaunde Maharaj has undertaken to visit the majority of *gaushalas* in Maharashtra and get the information personally from the managers on behalf of the Association. I trust that the managers in these places will give him all the information required. I need hardly say that the A.I.C.P.A. has no desire whatsoever to acquire ownership of or control over any of these *gaushalas*. The desire is merely to collect information, tabulate and publish it for the guidance of all trustees and managers of such institutions and to assist them with advice. It is open to them, if they so wish, to be affiliated to the Association and receive its guidance and the benefit of the assistance of experts whose services the Association hopes to be able to secure at an early date. But whether any of these institutions is affiliated or not, it will be the duty of the Association to give all, the information in its possession to these societies. It is hardly necessary to state that co-ordination of effort on the part of nearly 1,500 *gaushalas* and their efficient management must result in the saving of many more cattle than are now saved. Affiliation would no doubt carry some responsibility on the part of those who seek affiliation. In their own interest they will be bound by rules made for their management and they will have to give a percentage of their income to the central Association. But it is entirely optional for every institution to seek or not to seek affiliation. The object of this note is merely to seek information.

SOUTH AFRICAN LEGISLATION

If anything is needed to emphasize the meaning of the warning issued by Mr. Andrews and myself, here is an extract from a South African letter:

I feel that through the passage of the Colour Bar Bill the Government is not keeping its word with the Indian Government and the community, especially when on the top of this comes the Natal Educational Ordinance which, if passed, will mean the negation of educational rights we have, little as they are at present. In the direction of economics we see joint Councils raised under the Union Conciliation Act of 1921 in industries like furniture, printing, building, etc.—in which thousands of Indians are involved, without the Indian employees and employers being allowed to become members of the Trade Unions or Masters' Union who negotiate on behalf of the employees and employers and who go to make up the joint Councils who prepare the schedules or wages and other benefits; or, either allowed a voice in the joint Councils. Of course we have no objection to legislation aimed at bettering the conditions of workers, but at the same time what we do object to is that it is not fair to Indian employees and employers that schedules of wages be prepared which they have to abide by in which they have had no voice and the effect of it all is the annihilation of both the Indian employer and employees.

It shows as clearly as day-light which way the wind is blowing. The Class Areas Bill, because so much opposition was raised against it, has been postponed hut the policy underlying it is being pursued by the Union Government in a thousand other ways as instanced by the correspondent. It is impossible therefore to be too watchful about the way things are shaping in South Africa.

APRIL FIGURES

The following further figures show the progress of khadi in April last more accurately, covering as they do the provinces of Bengal and Gujarat:

	Production		Sale	
Bengal	Rs. 34,670-0-0	Rs.	34,470-0-0	
Gujarat	Rs. 9,735-0-0	Rs.	17,052-0-0	
Total	Rs. 44,405 0-0	Rs.	51,522 0-0	

Total for other provinces as per previous reports

Rs. 92,542-0-0 Rs. 2,09,088-0-0

Grand Total Rs. 1,36,947-0-0 Rs. 2,60,610-0-0

Young India, 17-6-1926

481. *SOME KNOTTY POINTS*

A medical friend from far-off Burma writes:

Why do you emphasize khaddar and not swadeshi? Is not swadeshi the principle and khaddar a mere detail?

I do not regard khaddar to be a detail. Swadeshi is a theoretical term. Khaddar is the concrete and central fact of swadeshi. Swadeshi without khaddar is like the body without life, fit only to receive a decent burial or cremation. The only swadeshi cloth is khaddar. If one is to interpret swadeshi in the language of and in terms of the millions of this country, khaddar is a substantial thing in swadeshi like the air we breathe. The test of swadeshi is not the universality of the use of an article which goes under the name of swadeshi, but the universality of participation in the production or manufacture of such article. Thus considered, mill-made cloth is swadeshi only in a restricted sense. For, in its manufacture only an infinitesimal number of India's millions can take part. But in the manufacture of khaddar millions can take part. The more the merrier. Khaddar, in my opinion, is bound up the welfare of millions of human beings. Khaddar is, therefore, the largest part of swadeshi and it is the only true demonstration of it. All else follows from it. India can live even if we do not use brass buttons or tooth-picks made in India. But India cannot live if we refuse to manufacture and wear khaddar. Khaddar will cease to have this paramount importance when a more profitable employment is discovered for the idle hours of India's millions.

But says the Doctor:

Good khaddar is costly and the ordinary variety is ugly.

I deny that any khaddar is ugly. Want of the dead-sameness of a machine-made article is not a sign of ugliness, but it is a sign of life, even as absence of sameness in the millions of leaves of a tree is no sign of its ugliness. As a matter of fact, it is the variety about the leaves which gives a tree its life-like beauty. I can picture a machine-made tree whose every leaf would be absolutely the same

size. It would look a ghastly thing, because we have not yet ceased to love the living tree. And, why should the cost of khaddar, good or bad, worry us if every penny we pay for it goes directly into the pockets of the starving millions? My experience is that in the majority of cases where people have taken to khaddar they have revised their tastes about dress. Though khaddar may be dearer yard per yard than the same quality of Manchester calico, the rejection of superfluous clothing more than balances the extra cost. Those who wish to wear fine khaddar can now obtain it at all the principal khadi centres.

The medical friend next questions the desirability of spinning and gravely suggests that if everybody would spin, the poor people who depend upon spinning for their livelihood would be losers. He forgets that those who are called upon to spin by way of sacrifice promote the khaddar atmosphere and make it possible to render spinning easier and by small inventions and discoveries make it more profitable. The wages of professional spinners cannot suffer in any way whatsoever by sacrificial spinning.

The friend then asks:

Should doctors cease to prescribe foreign drugs and instead learn the use of Ayurvedic and Unani drugs?

I have never considered the exclusion of everything foreign under every conceivable circumstance as part of swadeshi. The broad definition of swadeshi is the use of all home-made things to the exclusion of foreign things in so far as such use is necessary for the protection of home-industry more especially those industries without which India will become pauperized. In my opinion, therefore, swadeshi which excludes the use of everything foreign, because it is foreign, no matter how beneficial it may be, and irrespective of the fact that it impoverishes nobody, is a narrow interpretation of swadeshi. Foreign drugs therefore, where they are highly efficacious and not otherwise objectionable, I should use without the slightest hesitation; that is, if I did not object to drugs altogether. But there is no doubt that there is among many medical men with Western diplomas a fashion, altogether harmful, of decrying Ayurvedic and Unani drugs, some of which are indeed of great potency and cheap withal. Any movement therefore on the part of those who have received a training in Western medicine to explore the possibilities of Ayurvedic and Unani systems would be most welcome and desirable.

The last question that this friend asks has been repeatedly

answered in these pages: "Are you against all machinery?" My answer is emphatically, "No". But, I am against its indiscriminate multiplication. I refuse to be dazzled by the seeming triumph of machinery. I am uncompromisingly against all destructive machinery. But simple tools and instruments and such machinery as save individual labour and lighten the burden of the millions of cottagers I should welcome.

Young India, 17-6-1926

482. FOR MANAGERS OF KHADI CENTRES

Readers must have noticed the interesting information I have been recently publishing about different khadi centres. I am now tempted to ask all khadi centres to send me the following particulars:

(1) Number of spinners supported, with sex, religion and, if possible, age. Wages paid to them. Their average monthly earnings from spinning. Count spun. Monthly output of yarn received. Number of villages served.

(2) If the cotton is hand-ginned, the quantity ginned and the rate paid. The number of ginners employed. Their total earnings.

(3) If carding is done by professional carders, the number of carders and sliver-makers employed. The rate of wages paid to each. The total amount paid to them per month.

(4) Number of weavers employed. The rate paid to them and total earned by them. The total output of khadi in yards, with width and in weight.

(5) Cost of khadi up to weaving. Sale price. The total of local sales. Other sales.

(6) Establishment charges. Number of men and women, paid or volunteers, working in connection with the centre.

I hope that all the superintendents who see this paragraph will kindly send me their returns. I would also add that these managers would add any further any new particulars that they may consider to be of interest to the movement.

Young India, 17-6-1926

483. KHADDAR IN NILGIRI DISTRICT

Khaddar is being hawked in the Nilgiri District, a wealthy landlord having placed at the disposal of the khaddar workers his bungalow for storing khadi and for their residence during their tour. It appears that there was an exhibition at the Government Botanical Gardens under the aegis of the Nilgiri Agri-Horticultural Society. An application was made for exhibiting khaddar and spinning-wheels there. The Secretary replied that the exhibits could not be allowed for want of space although it is stated that the Secretary assured the public that exhibits of any kind, although not for competition, were invited for giving added strength to the show.

I publish this information as it is received though it seemed difficult to believe that any Secretary would be guilty of such childishness as to refuse khadi exhibits in spite of the open invitation referred to. I shall be glad to publish any explanation that the Secretary may have to offer, if he cares to, for the conduct ascribed to him.

Young India, 17-6-1926

484. CATTLE WEALTH

The reader who has been following Sjt. V. G. Desai's writings about the cow could not have failed to notice the fact that in no other country in the world save India are cattle a burden on the land or its people. It may be said that the slaughter of cattle is not only not repugnant to the vast majority of people in other lands but they deliberately kill out superfluous cattle. One may even go further and say that in such countries there is no such thing as superfluous cattle, because cattle are actually bred for slaughter. In this argument there is no doubt considerable force. But all the writings in these pages are devoted to showing that, although the vast majority of people in India will not slaughter cattle for food, by judicious management, her cattle need not become a burden on the land and that their slaughter can be made so dear as to enable only those people to slaughter who will do so for luxury or in the name of religion. The aim of *Young India* writings is to show that cattle at the present moment go to the slaughter-houses because of our criminal negligence and want of proper knowledge. It is further to show that the saving of an enormous number of cattle is more a problem of economics than

religion; or rather to show that there is no conflict between religion and economics. Indeed, I have myself gone further and stated that a religion which is in conflict with fundamental economics is bad, and that, in the reverse way, economics that are in conflict with fundamental religion are also equally bad.

From the Western countries we can learn a great deal about cattle economics apart from their slaughter for food. If the nation, or say Hindus, would forego profits from cattle-keeping, the self-denial would be enough to keep cattle during the natural term of their lives even after they cease to give us a return in the shape of milk or labour. The following passages¹ from the introduction to Henry and Morrisson's treatise on *Feeds and Feeding* show how they regard cattle wealth in America.

Young India, 17-6-1926

485. HAWKING KHADI

Praiseworthy efforts are being made in, all important khadi centres to create a local market for khadi manufactured in those centres. I take the following extracts² from a report of hawking activities in Tamil Nad for a period covering 1_ years ending last March.

The following extracts from the Andhra report give the experiences of hawkers in that province. The report covers a period of ten months.³

Young India, 17-6-1926

¹ The extracts, not reproduced here, gave details of many by-products of animal husbandry useful to man.

² The report, not reproduced here, furnished details of khadi sales by hawkers in urban and rural areas and stressed the need for better propaganda in villages.

³ *ibid*

486. *LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI*

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
*Thursday, Jeth Sud 7 [June 17, 1926]*¹

CHI. MATHURADAS,

I have your letter. I had Pyarelal's letter yesterday in which he informed me of Dr. Mehta's opinion. Appendicitis is something new but I am not particularly worried. It is sufficient if you follow the doctor's instructions. I think the climate of the place will suit you. There is no doubt that you will have to take complete rest. From your future letters I shall expect to know whether the climate suits you or not. I did not know that Matheran and Panchgani were at the same height. I still think that Panchgani is higher. But we do not have to make the comparison now.

Blessings from

BAPU

SHRI MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI
HOMI VILLA
PANCHGANI

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

487. *LETTER TO PARASRAM MEHROTRA*

SABARMATI ASHRAM,
June 18, 1926

CHI. PARASRAM,

I would now like to know when you can come. Wire me the final date. I want to utilize you for *Hindi Navajivan* and work should be done with expedition.

Blessings from

BAPU

SHRI PARASRAMJI
THE "MALAVA MAYUR" OFFICE
AJMER

From a copy of the Hindi: C.W. 6100. Courtesy: Parasram Mehrotra

¹ From the postmark

488. LETTER TO KISHENSINGH CHAVDA

SABARMATI ASHRAM,
Jeth Sud 8, 1982 [June 18, 1926]

BHAISHRI KISHENSINGH¹,

It is good that you wrote to me. The letter was left in the diary and, as soon as you left, I got busy with other matters. I could never get away from them and remember it. Please pardon me.

I enclose a few scribbled sheets².

From a microfilm Of the Gujarati: S.N. 19400

489. LETTER TO FULSINGH

SABARMATI,
*Jeth Sud 8, 1982 [June 18, 1926]*³

BHAISHRI FULSINGHJI,

I have your letter, and I congratulate as well as thank you. I find your criticism entirely valid. The thing is that enough money is not spent on the job of correcting spellings at the Navajivan Prakashan Mandir. In our efforts to bring out cheap publications, such mistakes as you point out have crept in. I do not write this in self-defence but to stress the faults, because I feel that books published by the Navajivan Prakashan Mandir should be flawless. I shall discuss this in detail with Swami. Please send a list of all the mistakes you have noted down.

Vandemataram from

MOHANDAS

BHAISHRI FULSINGHJI

C/O CHAROTAR KELAVANI MANDAL

ANAND

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 288

¹ Gujarati writer and social worker

² These are not available.

³ The postmark reads: "20-6-26, Ahmedabad".

490. LETTER TO DEVDAS GANDHI

SABARMATI ASHRAM,

Friday, Jeth Sud 8 [June 18, 1926]¹

CHI. DEVDAS,

It would appear that you have taken a vow not to write. In Bombay the rule was well observed, but from Mussoorie one letter has been received for the whole Ashram. Eschew laziness. If Jamnadasji cannot come here on the 26th,² he should not worry. His health is also somewhat indifferent. It is therefore imperative that he should get perfectly fit. Aren't Lalji's [wounds] completely healed yet?

Mathuradas has now got wed to Panchgani.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19622

491. MESSAGE TO NELLORE ADI-ANDHRA CONFERENCE³

[Before June 19, 1926]

This is my message for the conference. I wish the conference every success. The fact of its being held on the Pallipad Satyagraha Ashram grounds is a tribute to the memory of the late D. Hanumantha Row who devoted his life selflessly to the national cause.

I hope that the various conferences being held there will emphasize the necessity of hand-spinning and khaddar and that the black paint of untouchability that I discovered when I was in that district will be removed as a result of the efforts of the conference.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

The Hindu, 21-6-1926

¹ The reference to the addressee and Lalji convalescing at Mussoorie suggests that the letter was written in 1926.

² For a meeting of the All-India Spinners' Association

³ This was sent to the secretary of the Pallipad Satyagraha Ashram where the conference was held on June 19, 1926, under the presidentship of Harala Devendrudu, M.L.C., D. K. Nageswara Rao Pantulu read out the message.

492. LETTER TO BIRENDRANATH SEN GUPTA

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

June 19, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. In my opinion, attainment of divine knowledge is impossible so long as there is any lustfulness in man. A partner who is absolutely sure of his ground is not obliged to yield to another. I hold mutual consent to be absolutely necessary. I do recommend complete abstention for national workers. But I know that this is a counsel of perfection and each one must decide for himself and according to his ability.

Where one is doing one's best even in the midst of chaos and confusion, there is no cause for disappointment. If boys want technical training, they should have either carpentry or smithy, not an elaborate workshop fashioned after the European style but they should work under an ordinary carpenter or smith and when they have mastered their art, they will take up to European developments and assimilate what is necessary. This becomes cheap and effective.

I think that you should confine yourself to the work immediately before us. Mass education will come naturally out of any honest and concentrated activity.

There is no trouble in the Gujarat Vidyapith except that some professors who are really no non-co-operators even so far as educational work is concerned had to resign.

I am sorry to hear about what you say of Babu Ramdas Gour. By every kindly act we should all discourage him from his explorations.

Yours sincerely,

BABU BIRENDRANATH SEN GUPTA

THE BIHAR VIDYAPITH

P.O. DIGHAGHAT

PATNA

From a microfilm: S.N. 10943

493. LETTER TO A. S. DAVID

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 19, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter.¹ I understand what you mean. But I must confess that I still less like your latest letter. But I don't propose to argue. I repeat my advice that it will be better for you to come here and see things for yourself before you take any further step whatsoever.

Yours sincerely,

A. S. DAVID, ESQ.
71, DILKUSHA
LUCKNOW

From a photostat: S.N. 10944

494. LETTER TO S. RAMANATHAN

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
June 19, 1926

MY DEAR RAMANATHAN,

I have seen the letter Maganlalji has written to you. I am receiving bitter complaints about deterioration of the quality of Tamil Nad khadi. This deterioration must be stopped at any cost and I think that a public statement is necessary to admit and explain the existing deterioration if you accept the verdict pronounced by so many people. I translate for your benefit a paragraph from Jerajani's² letter to me whom I referred the complaint for my guidance. He says:

The goodness that one noticed in Tirupur Khadi before is certainly not to be found now. But during the current year there is a little improvement. The khadi organization in Tirupur has

¹ David had written to Gandhiji, on June 10, in regard to his interest in bread-labour and his desire to join the Ashram. He had expressed his intention to dissociate from Missionary activity and sought Gandhiji's help and guidance. (S.N. 10917.) *Vide* also "Letter to A. S. David", 5-6-1926.

² Vithal Jerajani, a prominent constructive worker, connected with the All-India Spinners' Association

endeavoured to remedy the glaring defects this year. But there is room for more improvements. They have standardized ten strands to a quarter of an inch for the warp. But they have not set a standard for the woof. And, therefore, the weavers put as many or as few strands in the woof as they like. The tendency, therefore, is for the khadi to be loose and weak.

Please investigate and let me know accurately if you admit deterioration. If so, how far has it gone, what steps can be taken to remedy the evil and how did the deterioration set in and who is responsible for it?

Yours sincerely,

SJT. S. RAMANATHAN
SECRETARY
ALL-INDIA SPINNERS' ASSOCIATION
(TAMIL NAD BRANCH)
ERODE

From a microfilm: S.N. 11191

495. LETTER TO G. RAJAGOPALACHARI

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 19, 1926

I send you herewith a copy of my letter to Ramanathan.¹ You will do, I know, whatever is possible.

I expect you here at the end of the month.

Yours sincerely,

ENCL. 1

SJT. C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR
GANDHIASHRAM
PUDUPPALAYAM
TIRUCHENGODU

From a microfilm: S.N. 11190

¹ *Vide* the preceding item.

496. LETTER TO D. N. BAHADURJI

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 19, 1926

DEAR FRIEND

Nurgisben sent me your yarn for examination. It was not bad at all. The strength was nearly 50 and evenness over 40. This is an extremely good record for a beginner and for one who has not sat at the wheel for hours at a time. What I would like you to aim at is 70 marks for strength and over 45 for evenness. The highest yet obtained is 79 and 49, respectively.

I hope Mrs. Bahadurji is keeping all right. She owes me a letter.

Yours sincerely,

D. N. BAHADURJI, ESQ.
RIDGE ROAD
MALABAR HILL P.O.
BOMBAY

From a microfilm: S.N. 19623

497. LETTER TO SANTISUDHA GHOSH

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 19, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. Surely it is not too late for a girl of 19 to change her mode of life and to obtain self-control. As a matter of fact, it is never too late to do either of these two things. The only thing needful is perfect faith in God and waiting upon Him to make the necessary change.

I do believe that mind has much to do with the body. If you have got any constitutional diseases, you should medically treat them,

and if you are merely weak in body because of the weakness of mind,
faith in God and His power to make us better should restore you.

Yours sincerely,

SRIMATI SANTISUDHA GHOSH
C/o MR. K. N. GHOSH, M.A.
ALIKONDA (BARISAL)

From a photostat S.N. 19624

498. LETTER TO GANGABEHN MAJMUDAR

June 19, 1926

POOJYA GANGABEHN,

I have your letter. Your allegations are such as do not deserve to be answered, so also your language. But since you agree to the appointment of an arbitrator, we must appoint one. But I can see that making the *panchanama*¹ is itself going to be a problem. However if you get a *panchanama* made, send it to me so that I shall be able to think over it. But I feel you must consult a lawyer about all this.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S. N. 10942

499. LETTER TO MOTILAL ROY

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

June 19, 1926

DEAR MOTI BABU,

I have your letter. I do hope that your khadi work is making steady progress. Do please keep me informed of the happenings from time to time.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

BABU MOTILAL ROY
PRABARTAK SANGH
CHANDRANAGAR
BENGAL

From a photostat: G.N. 11026

¹ A written statement announcing the appointment of an arbitrator or arbitrators and terms of reference

500. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,

SABARMATI,

*Jyaistha Shukla 9 [June 19, 1926]*¹

BHAI GHANSHYAMDASJI,

Of course you know about the loss incurred by the Servants of India Society. In this connection Srinivasa Sastri has asked me also to go round with a begging bowl. He has a right to ask me. I have already written in *Young India*, but Sastriji desires that I should write to my friends also. Although I do not approve of the political activities of the Society, I cannot forget the honesty, patriotism and sacrifice of its members and therefore I look upon it as a duty of every patriot to support and sustain it. If you hold the same opinion, do send some donation and, if possible, ask your other friends also to give something.

Yours,

MOHANDAS

From the Hindi original: C.W. 6129. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

501. MISCELLANEOUS

COMMUNITY DINNER AFTER A DEATH

A gentleman writes as follows, expressing his feelings about my describing the custom of giving a community dinner after a death as uncivilized:²

I have stated so often that all that is written in Sanskrit should not be regarded as holy scriptures. Nor should everything which we find written in the *Manusmriti* and other authoritative works be accepted as coming from the pen of the original authors of the works, or, even if that is so, as having literal authority at the present day. I do nothing of the sort. Certain principles *aresanatana*³, and people who

¹ In 1926 two presses of the Servants of India Society were destroyed by the fire. The reference to the loss indicates that the letter was written in that year; *vide* “Servants of India Society’s Relief Fund”, 24-6-1926.

² The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had asked Gandhiji how, calling himself a *sanatani* Hindu, he could denounce the practice of community dinners after a death, which was enjoined by the Shastras.

³ Eternal

believe in them are sanatanis; but we need not believe that the practices which were enjoined in certain ages on the basis of those principles are valid in other ages too. Customs and practices change with place, time and circumstances. The practice of giving a community dinner after someone's death may have had some meaning in old days, but in modern times our reason cannot accept it. Faith has no place in a sphere in which we can exercise our reason. Faith has meaning only in relation to what is above reason. In this case, our reason tells us that giving a community dinner after a death is not a part of dharma. Our experience of the world also tells us that no other religion enjoins or sanctions such a practice. We should therefore, have much stronger reason than the authority of Sanskrit verses to accept such dinners as enjoined in Hinduism. They are not at all consistent with the principles taught by the holy books of Hinduism or, for that matter, by the holy books of any other religion. We can see with our own eyes the harm they do. Against this evidence of direct observation, what weight can we attach to Sanskrit verses. Neither our reason nor our heart nor our knowledge of other countries of the world justifies the practice of giving community dinners after a death. I have no better reason than this, and no one need be expected to have, for believing that such dinners are uncivilized. As those who believe that everything old is bad are wrong, so also are those who believe that it is good. Whether old or new, everything should be tested on the anvil of reason, and anything which does not stand the test should be rejected.

LIQUOR SHOPS AND PARSIS

A Parsi gentleman writes to say:¹

This correspondent has provided me a double opportunity, for though I write very little these days against the evil of drink my conviction has not become less strong. I have now an opportunity of showing this, and I can also, at the same time, remove a misunderstanding. Let us deal with the second point first. I have never said that only Parsis should stop running liquor-booths. My view is that all communities should forgo the financial benefit which the liquor trade may bring. There are many other means of honest livelihood, against which no

¹ The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had requested Gandhiji to state his view about the general impression among Parsis that, whereas he pleaded with them to stop running liquor-booths, he made no such appeal to Hindus, some of whom took over booths given up by Parsis.

one can raise any objection. I cannot but feel sorry when I see anyone leaving these and taking up liquor trade. If I had power in my hands, not a single liquor shop would remain in the country. There is no such thing as the right of drinking and, therefore, there would be no question of depriving people of a legitimate right. Selling liquor should be as much a crime as stealing. If I have addressed my appeal to Parsis, that is because they are more enlightened than others and I expect more from them. I cannot, however, approve of anyone, whether he is a high-caste Hindu or a low-caste Hindu or belongs to some other community, carrying on liquor trade. Let us take up the first question. I still hold, in their entirety, the views about the evil of drinking which I expressed in 1920-21. The more I think and observe, the more terrible the harm done by the evil of drinking appears to me. Some crimes are wholly the result of drinking. I am, therefore, impatient to take every possible legitimate measure to abolish this evil. But our helplessness is so great that we cannot quickly carry out even such a beneficial programme as prohibition. If I could teach people to adhere to non-violence, I would once again start the movement of picketing liquor shops. But it seems today that we worship only the power of the sword. In such circumstances, I do not have the courage to advocate any strong measure.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 20-6-1926

502. KHADI IN SURAT

Tours for the sale of khadi, wherever they were undertaken, seem to have been successful. Shri Bharucha writes to say:¹

I am quite sure that such tours would succeed in other places as this one has done in Surat. All that is required is hard work and tact.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 20-6-1926

¹ The extract is not translated here. The correspondent had stated that during a tour of three and a half days he had sold khadi worth Rs. 2,800.

503. THE WHEEL OF “YAJNA” IN NEPAL

If the spinning-wheel is a means of *yajna* in this age and this country, and if *yajna* (sacrifice) has a place among all people and all religions, there is no harm in describing it as the wheel of *yajna*. This name occurred to me without any effort on my part when I read the following letter. Its author¹, who comes from Nepal, is an inmate of the Ashram. He had to go through much suffering to be able to join the Ashram. He decided to master the science of the spinning-wheel and popularize it among the poor in Nepal. It is now three months since he returned to Nepal, and he has written a letter in Hindi giving an account of his work there during this period. The following is a translation of it:²

This is an example of work worth emulating by every lover of the spinning-wheel. This khadi-worker has the capacity for self-sacrifice, determination, knowledge of the science of spinning, discrimination and humility. Anyone who has these virtues will come by other wealth easily enough.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 20-6-1926

504. LETTER TO KRISHNADAS

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 20, 1926

MY DEAR KRISHNADAS,

I have your letter at last after having waited for it for a long time. The decision not to go to Finland has certainly given me immense relief and satisfaction.³ The temptation to go was strong but I felt that the invitation was not of the character that would move me from India. If I had gone at all, I would have gone not to

¹ Tulsi Maher

² The letter is not translated here.

³ On April 6, 1926, K. T. Paul had conveyed to Gandhiji an invitation to attend the World Conference of Young Men's Christian Association at Helsingfors, Finland, in August 1926. After considerable correspondence, Gandhiji ultimately declined. *Vide* "Letter to K. T. Paul", 7-6-1926.

deliver any political message but to come in contact with the student world and talk to them about the purity of personal life. It was that aspect of it which first tempted me. But when I discovered that the invitation was prompted and not spontaneous I felt that there was no call. I entirely endorse Guruji's opinion that if one has no influence in one's own surroundings, one cannot gain it by going out of them but by success without, gain influence within.

For personal reasons I am certainly sorry that you are not returning to me for the time being. But I approve your decision to remain there to serve Guruji and to be at your mother's call whenever she requires your presence. You will send for more money without hesitation whenever you require it.

I am keeping good health. Devdas is taking his convalescence with Lalji in Mussoorie. Jamnalalji and Laxmidasbhai are also there. Jamnalalji probably returns here on the 26th. I had seen the *Indian Review* verse. Are you now much stronger than you were? I suppose you know that Tulsi Maher is doing extremely well in Nepal. Pyarelal is still with Mathuradas who has gone to Panchgani on Doctor Mehta's advice.

Yours,

SJT. KRISHNADAS
C/o S. C. GUHA, ESQ.
DARBHANGA

From a microfilm: S.N. 19625

505. LETTER TO TULSIDAS

THE ASHRAM,
Monday, June 21, 1926

BHAISHRI TULSIDAS,

Girdhari writes that he, too, has now been discharged [from the hospital]. So I feel like writing something to you. Shall I thank you? I know that none of us deserved the affection you have shown to my friends. How can I repay such affection? It would be some sort of compensation if these youths and myself devote our whole life to the

service of the country. May God bless you.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

SIR HARKISHANDAS HOSPITAL

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19918

506. LETTER TO DR. DALAL

THE ASHRAM,
Monday, June 21, 1926

BHAISHRI

Girdhari writes today that he has been discharged [from the hospital]. May I then write a word of thanks? I know writing minimizes the value. You and I are both busy. Your time should not be wasted. These youths and I can perhaps repay your services to some extent by devoting ourselves to the service of the country. Devdas has said a lot about your simplicity and I am very happy to hear it all.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

DR. DALAL
CHOWPATTY
BOMBAY

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19919

507. LETTER TO PATTABHI SITARAMAYYA

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 22, 1926

DEAR DR. PATTABHI,

You know that all my sympathies are with you in your great sorrow.¹ I never knew anything about Sudakshina's death. Though I

¹ While replying to a postcard from Gandhiji, Sitaramayya had written of the death of his eight-year-old daughter and recalled how, when only three years old, she had given away her bangles for Gandhiji's work (S.N. 10935).

cannot recall her features, I well remember her having parted with her bangles with the greatest cheerfulness. Do please come and pass some time with us in the Ashram whenever you can.

Now about Keshu. I did not write on behalf of Maganlal.¹ As Keshu is just now acting as one of the nurses for me, he takes me in his confidence. I do not know that Maganlal even now knows that I am in correspondence with you about him. Not that he need not know it; but we all remain so busy that, when we do talk, we talk only about things necessary. And as I have nothing to consult him about in the matter of Keshu's education, I have not discussed with him the plans I am maturing. However, he does know that Keshu wants to increase his knowledge of mechanical engineering. Is there a technical institute in the Mysore State? And, if there is, do you know anything about it? And do you claim yours to be the best in India? Please complete the information by telling me whether you have any such thing as terms during the year or are you open all the year round to receive pupils whenever they come?

Yours sincerely,

DR. PATTABHI SITARAMAYYA
MASULIPATAM

From a photostat: S.N. 10949

508. LETTER TO N. S. VARADACHARI

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 22, 1926

MY DEAR VARADACHARI,

Your letter has much relieved me. I know that your resolution will remove all your difficulties. The question of increment is a mere detail. You will not be alarmed at the manner in which I have discussed the problem arising from letters like yours. There has been a crop of such letters recently from several parts of India. I thought,

¹ Sitaramayya had mistaken Gandhiji's query regarding technical education as being intended for Maganlal Gandhi, and had praised the latter's "incipient genius" which would benefit by workshop experience. *Vide* "Letter to Satish Chandra Das Gupta", 22-6-1926.

therefore, that I would gently discuss the problem in the pages of *Young India*.

I have seen C.R.'s¹ letter to you. I saw it only yesterday, Shankerlal being in Bombay. The thought never grasped my mind that Ramanathan's case and the increase given to him had anything to do with you. On the contrary, Shankerlal told me that your pecuniary difficulty arose, or at least came to his notice, earlier than Ramanathan's. And in any case, I have too great regard for you even to suspect that you would want to take an improper advantage of any situation.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. N. S. VARADACHARI

From a microfilm: S.N. 11194

509. A LETTER²

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 22, 1926

MY DEAR FRIEND,

Why do you say that I am seemingly or otherwise indifferent towards you or your cause? I have mentioned to you my difficulty. I cannot make any dispositions without the assistance of ordinary channels created by the Charkha Sangh. If I make personal dispositions of the Charkha Sangh funds, the whole organization will break down. I am, therefore, pleading with you not to distrust Satis Babu, but do as he wishes you to do and you will find that, in the end, you will get all the facilities you need. Why do you distrust Satis Babu? The two letters you have sent me are plain enough. But if you cannot hit it off with him, join the Abhoy Ashram. If we are to make khadi a great success that it should become in the near future, we must learn to work in co-operation, subordinate our own views, inclinations and our pride. Differences of principle are few and far between. In your own case, after all there is no principle at stake. You may consider your way of khadi work to be superior to that suggested by another. Surely that is no cause for heart burning or even dispute, except by your. . . .

From a copy: S. N. 11195R

¹ C. Rajagopalachari

² Addressee not known

510. LETTER TO MOHAMMAD SHAFEE

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 22, 1926

DEAR SHAFEE SAHIB,

I was delighted to receive your long, interesting and hopeful letter.¹ I have been following your doings in Bihar. It is a move in the right direction. Some of the statements you make in your letter are painful reading. I should be deeply hurt to find that Hindus had the designs upon the Mussalmans that you describe in your letter.²

I take it I have your permission to discuss your letter with Rajendrababu.

For myself, you will find me coming out of my shell the moment I see that God wanted me to do so. For the present my action lies in seeming inaction.

Yours sincerely,

MOHAMMAD SHAFEE, ESQ.
OF MUZAFFARPUR
BIHAR SHARIF

From a photostat: S.N. 11073

¹ In this Mohammad Shafee, who recalled having met Gandhiji at Ahmedabad on May 5 and 6, spoke of his endeavours "to bring about some understanding between the Hindu and Muslim workers of my Province" and of a conference of Hindu-Muslim unity workers held at Chapra on June 8, 9 and 10. A joint Hindu-Muslim deputation had toured the Province "to carry the message of peace to the masses". Shafee had stressed in his letter that it was time "to pursue the work of reconciliation with greater vigour, in a larger area and with bigger personalities" (S.N. 11073).

² Shafee had alleged that some Congress workers considered that in Bihar the Hindus, by virtue of their superior numbers, could retaliate against the Muslims for wrongs done to the Hindus in other Provinces.

511. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI ,
June 22, 1926

DEAR SATIS BABU,

There are two things in which I want your help outside the khadi work. Keshu, as you are aware, is a born mechanic. He wants to make further progress. That he thinks he can only do by being in some mechanical engineering institution or shop. I would like to satisfy his ambition. But I do not know where he could be put. I have sent for the syllabus from the Andhra National Institute at Masulipatam,¹ which I have got. But I know that you can give me the best advice in this matter. That is one thing.

The second is the soap question. As the colony here is growing in extent, the expense of soap increases. A cake of soap for the body costs 4 to 6 annas. Washing soap a cake two annas. Is there not a cheaper way of cleaning our bodies and our clothes if one wants to use something more than water? If you give me a simple recipe, I shall certainly make the soap at the Ashram if that proves cheaper. Having manufactured so much soap, you can perhaps tell me what to do. I want a prescription something after Dr. Ray's style. You may remember what he said about tooth powders. He said: "the Bengal Chemical Works tooth powder was for fools, but chalk or powdered coal was the best powder for wise men like himself." Is there any such simple soap prescription for wise men?

I observe Hemaprabhadevi has ordered 12 copies of *Ashram Bhajanavali*. The last edition is almost all exhausted and I have discovered many typographical errors in it. It is the most popular publication of the Navajivan Printing Press. The edition is now being carefully revised by a committee and I hope that in a short time a faultless edition will be published when she can have as many copies as she likes.

I do not mind your not coming if you are wanted for your work there. I shan't strive with you about your personal finance. I am

¹ Vide "Letter to Pattabhi Sitaramayya", 22-6-1926.

satisfied so long as both of you keep perfect health and perfect temper.

Yours,

SJT. SATIS CH. DAS GUPTA
KHADI PRATISHTHAN
170, BOW BAZAAR ST.
CALCUTTA

From a photostat: S.N. 19630

512. LETTER TO MRS. PERIN CAPTAIN¹

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 22, 1926

You do remember Miss Haussding. Don't you? You will meet her on Friday. I had expected a letter last week. But none came. Her main letters have, however, begun to arrive. She is therefore likely to come by the boat (*Razmak*) mentioned by her. And if she has arrived, please telegraph to me so that I can send someone to meet her at Ahmedabad station.

Yours,

MRS. PERIN CAPTAIN
ISLAM CLUB BUILDINGS
CHAUPATI
BOMBAY

From a microfilm: S.N. 19631

513. LETTER TO K. T. MATHEW

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 22, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I think that even if you alone resign and seek re-election, it would be some education for the people. Satyagraha on

¹ Grand-daughter of Dadabhai Naoroji

your part would certainly be out of place.

Whilst generally speaking practice of law is not an ennobling task, it is not difficult to retain one's principles and earn a livelihood from the practice of that profession. I think it will be difficult to find support such as you require from any public institution, and it will be a pity not to utilize the legal ability you have acquired in maintaining yourself. I have no doubt that in Cochin itself there is great scope for men like you for doing public service.

Yours sincerely,

K. T. MATHEW, ESQ.
MEMBER LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL
KUNNAMKULAM
COCHIN STATE

From a microfilm: S.N. 11226

514. LETTER TO V. V. DASTANE

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 22, 1926

MY DEAR DASTANE,

I have your letter. The meeting of the Council is on the 26th, not 22nd. It is not the first meeting of the Council. Several meetings have taken place.

Is your reminding about 2,000 yards a wish for alteration in the rule? If it is, I am afraid we must not touch the rules as yet, though I hold the same opinion as you that it would be better if we have 2,000 and regular half hour per day. I am afraid many members are in arrears. Unsteadiness is the bane of our life.

Though I have not answered your query about the loan of Rs. 500, it is not as if I have not enquired about it. I understand from Shankerlal that Jamnalalji would not like to divert the use of the fund. You should write to him. He is likely to be here on the 26th instant.

Yours,

SJT. V. V. DASTANE
JALGAON

From a microfilm: S.N. 11192

515. LETTER TO TIRATHRAM TANEJA

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 22, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter for which I thank you. I suppose not much skill is required for the use of foreign dyes. Is it not a fact that one cause of their popularity and superiority is the facility with which foreign dyes can be handled? Those, therefore, who want to use foreign dyes are using them. But a body like the All-India Spinners' Association can make researches only in indigenous dyes. The utmost it can do is not to boycott foreign dyes.

I agree with you that for hand-spinning to become more widespread, the quality of yarn should be improved both in strength and evenness. About the comparative merits of hand-weaving, I am afraid hand-weaving will not work among millions, if only because it is not available for millions. And it is too complicated for millions to learn. Hand-spinning is the only thing that everybody can do. Therefore, our concentration must be on that and that alone.

Your sincerely,

SJT. TIRATHRAM

From a copy: S.N. 11193

516. LETTER TO BHUPENDRA NARAYAN SEN

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 22, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I am glad you are going back to Arambagh, You must develop the power of resisting malaria. I know nothing about the resignation of Tarini Babu. I shall enquire. But supposing that he accepts the inspectorship and you do something else, who will do the actual work in Arambagh? It seems to me to be a wrong method of going about the work, if it is a matter of finding maintenance, otherwise why not belong to the Khadi Pratishthan and work Arambagh under Khadi Pratishthan? And if you do not care for Khadi Pratishthan, why not belong to the Abhoy Ashram? And if you are to take a course of medicine, the question again arises who will work Arambagh? My impression is that you should be where your work is or else you will make no headway. It may be however that I have not yet grasped the meaning of what you have described in your letter. You will then explain.

I hope Profulla has now got rid of his eye trouble. I have not a shadow of doubt that the time is coming when the country will learn that there is no work but the work of construction. It opens up such illimitable scope for solid work. What does it matter whether along those lines we get swaraj today or tomorrow? I know that it is the shortest cut,

I must not be tempted to move out of Sabarmati during this year. God will open a way for me next year.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. BHUPENDRA NARAYAN SEN
23, NANDARAM SEN STREET
POST HATKHOLA
CALCUTTA

From a microfilm: S.N. 11196

517. LETTER TO CHAMPABEHN MEHTA

THE ASHRAM,

SABARMATI,

Tuesday¹, Jeth Sud 11, June 22, 1926

CHI. CHAMPA²,

I have your letter. Much time has passed since I have had news of the children's health. Bhai Manilal is in Ahmedabad. He spoke of having got your letter. I write this letter to express the hope I have in you. I hear that Chi. Ratilal is extravagant with his money. Now he has asked for money from me. I have written to him saying that I can give him nothing without Doctor's permission. I don't know whether you get a chance to read the letters I write to him. I take it that you do. What I expect you to do is not to let Ratilal spend money unnecessarily. Keep a proper account or make him do it. I expect you to gain a hold over Ratilal by your self-control and strength of character so that he might mend. This work, I think, is not beyond the capacity of a virtuous woman. No one can deal with the mental infirmity of Ratilal but you, if you wish, can certainly do that. You have given me that hope.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19626

518. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

THE ASHRAM,

SABARMATI,

Tuesday, June 22, 1926

CHI. MATHURADAS,

Received your letter. It is good that you have taken a bungalow. There was another letter from Sir Prabhashanker Pattani saying that we should not hesitate to keep his bungalow. But I feel that we should not keep it too long. It is good that you intend to go to Matheran. But if you notice strikingly good results in Panchgani, I think, you should not move from there. One prefers Panchgani because of its altitude. In

¹ The source has Tuesday; however, in 1926 *Jeth Sud* 11 fell on Monday.

² Daughter-in-law of Dr. Pranjivandas Mehta

Matheran you can get cool air but you cannot have the height—that is its defect. But why talk now about what would arise after September? In Bombay you won't need the help of anyone—would you? After going to Panchgani if you need Mahadev, write to me. Panchgani is a big town. Facilities for shopping, etc., are as good as at Deolali. So Pyarelal would have no difficulties there.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19628

519. *LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI*

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
*Tuesday [June 22, 1926]*¹

CHI. MATHURADAS,

I have your letter. I had no doubt at all that the climate there would suit you. All of you will enjoy it during the rains. On my inquiring many people told me that water evaporates there as fast as it rains. Where there is moisture, there is danger. Girdhari was discharged from the hospital the day before yesterday.

Blessings from
BAPU

SJT. MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI
HOMI VILLA
PANCHGANI

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

520. *LETTER TO DUDABHAI*

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Tuesday, June 22, 1926

BHAI DUDABHAI,

I have your letter. Write to Bhai Balwantrai saying that you have not received your salary yet. It is necessary that you keep on writing to him about all the difficulties you have. He too has suggested it. I was very happy at your decision not to leave the school at any cost. I had a talk with Bhai Balwantrai about your salary. Most probably you

¹ From the postmark

will have no difficulty now. Write to me promptly when Lakshmi's clothes are torn and, if the new ones are to be stitched here, send me her measurements also.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19629

521. LETTER TO VISHNU KARANDIKAR

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 23, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter with enclosures. The letters are of no use to me, for, as you know, *Young India* is not a newspaper. It is, as a friend has aptly said, a viewpaper. I could not, therefore, take in your notes unless I alter the whole scope of the paper which I must not do.

I am asking the manager of the Satyagraha Ashram to send you some Ashram photographs if there are any available. You need not worry about paying for them. All the recent photographs of mine that you may have seen are snapshots taken unawares, for, for the last ten years, I have not given a sitting to any photographer.

I shall see to it that you get a complimentary copy of *Young India* regularly. My articles are always written on almost the last day possible for going to print and the date of publication is so arranged as to catch the European mail of the same week. Therefore it is not possible to send you an advance copy of my articles.

VISHNU KARANDIKAR
61, FLEET STREET
LONDON E.C. 4

From a photostat: S.N. 10773

522. LETTER TO ESTHER MENON

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 23, 1926

MY DEAR CHILD,

I have your letter. Now you know everything about the much talked of visit to Finland. I felt that the time had not yet arrived for going. I could see no clear definite light. Undoubtedly, had I gone to Finland, I would have gone to Denmark also. I had made that definite promise to Anne Marie and I would have loved to have seen your own home. But that was not to be.

Mirabai is doing quite well and she is standing the heat wonderfully well. I am glad you have a helper. You have not yet told me what sort and what quantity of old khaddar is to be sent to you. But Maganlal has made a parcel. It is being despatched today to the address given by you at 'Craiglea' I suppose 'Craiglea' is the name of the cottage in Kodaikanal. It is quite like Menon that he should be devoting himself to the care of the sick. You refer to Rs. 10/-. Nothing has been received here as yet. Nothing need be sent.

Yours,
BAPU

MRS. ESTHER MENON
'CRAIGLEA'
KODAIKANAL

From a photostat of the original in N. A. I.; also *My Dear Child*, p. 81

523. LETTER TO V. A. SUNDARAM

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 23, 1926

MY DEAR SUNDARAM,

It was sweet of you to have sent me those Tamil hymns so as to reach me on my silence day and the date; it was quite easy reading for

me and your translation was a great help. It is like paraphrase of verses from the *Bhagavad Gita* or from the Bible.

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 3192

524. LETTER TO NAJUKLAL N. CHOKSI

SABARMATI ASHRAM,
Jeth Sud 13, 1982, June 23, 1926

BHAISHRI NAJUKLAL,

I have your letter. I do hope you realize that my last letter to you and Moti¹ remains unanswered. *Ashram Samachar* was not published last week owing to Maganlal's illness. Most probably it will come out this week. I get news from Bhai Lakshmidas almost daily. Only today there has been no letter from him. He is keeping good health. He does not get fever there. He also does a lot of walking. Anandi had fever for two days. Now she is all right. Tell Moti to shed laziness and write a letter.

Everyone is awaiting the rains now.

Blessings from
BAPU

BHAISHRI NAJUKLAL
SEVASHRAM
BROACH

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 12129

525. LETTER TO JAGJIVAN

SABARMATI ASHRAM,
Jeth Sud 13, 1982, June 23, 1926

BHAI JAGJIVAN,

Your letter. You should not leave your present school in a hurry. Moreover, I will have to ask Amritlal Sheth before taking you

¹ Wife of the addressee and daughter of Laxmidas Asar

elsewhere. My advice to you is, tell him about all your difficulties and stay where you are.

C/O ANTYAJA SHALA
RANPUR

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19633

526. LETTER TO SHAMBHUSHANKER

SABARMATI ASHRAM,
Jeth Sud 13, 1982, June 23, 1926

BHAISHRI SHAMBHUSHANKER¹,

I had your letter. I accept and applaud your decision about salary. You will draw Rs. 50 p.m. up to the month of July, so the change will take effect from August onwards. I have not yet received Bhai Jagjivandas's letter. You have not sent me the copy of the agreement which has been sent to you for your signature; but from what you write I can see no objection to including the immovable property if you wish to bind yourself. As I see it, the responsibility for paying the damages will arise only for losses caused by your carelessness; not for other losses. I also agree with you that there should be a worker to help you. We should think over the conditions on which such a man should be engaged. Let us hope that by the grace of God it would rain. Think about and write to me of all the jobs that are usually done during the rainy season and others that could be done. It is better if you have a talk about khadi with Maneklal and Chhaganlal. How much of such khadi could they have with them? We have to think about it if it is much. The khadi that Bhai Vajeshanker sells, in whose name does he get it made? How much khadi has he got woven? Isn't he in Hanod on behalf of the State? There is only one principle underlying the khadi activity. In India crores of people do not have any occupation except agriculture. Sufficient livelihood for the crores cannot be obtained from agriculture alone. Similarly, agriculture can't take up their whole time. They must have some other occupation and that is hand-spinning. So we are propagating it everywhere. Khadi produced

¹ A khadi worker of Gariyadhar in Saurashtra

from hand-spun yarn is thus a means of propagating spinning. We endure the various fraudulent practices of [some] spinners, ginner and weavers, etc., but when we come to a stage when we can't bear such practices, we stop taking work from them. The way you have suggested is the only way to make them guileless. That is, we should ourselves become guileless, pure, selfless and hardworking.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19634

527. *LETTER TO NANABHAI BHATT*

SABARMATI ASHRAM,

Jeth Sud 13, 1982, June 23, 1926

BHAISHRI NANABHAI,

I send herewith Bhai Gokulbhai's letter. I understand nothing in it. When Vallabhbhai comes, I will talk about it. Let me know what is your opinion. Can we, even if we want to, give our permission without a meeting of the committee?

C/O RASHTRIYA SHALA

BOMBAY

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19635

528. *CHARKHA IN OTHER LANDS*

Sjt. C. Balaji Rao of Coimbatore has circulated printed extracts collected with much labour from 'Peoples of All Nations' showing what place the ancient wheel occupies in the homes of other peoples. I reproduce them below slightly abridged:¹

Only those who are obsessed with prejudice will refuse to see the potency of the wheel in the foregoing extracts, assuming, ofcourse, that the statements made in the original compilation are true. The greatest obsession is the poor wage earned by the spinner. If we would but get out of ourselves for a while and step into the shoes of the famishing millions, we would at once discover that what appears trifling to us is a fortune for them. We would further discover that millions can add only a few pice to their daily income which, as it is, is

¹ These are not reproduced here. They dealt with the position of the spinning industry in various countries of Africa, Europe, Asia and South America.

no more than a few pice. It is at the most Rs. 40 per year, i.e., say 7 pice per day.

Young India, 24-6-1926

529. SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY'S RELIEF FUND

I gladly publish the following appeal to the public made by Sjt. Sastri:

The Servants of India Society have sustained a terrible loss by the fire which brought to ruin the Arya Bhushan Press and the Dnyan Prakash Press. These had been built up with great patience and foresight by Mr. Gokhale, who knew the mutations of public support and desired to provide for the Society a constant source of income. Deprived of their mainstay, the members of the Society cannot but turn in their distress to their countrymen for that prompt and generous help in money which alone can put them back in their former position and enable them to resume their career of service to the public. I have already appealed to personal friends through private letters, and I wish by this means to reach the wider public who are interested in the Society and its work. Sympathy and help are flowing in from all sides, and our hearts have been gladdened beyond measure by the spontaneous expressions of goodwill received from those who are not in habitual agreement with us on public matters. As I said on another occasion, it seems as though the essential kindness of human nature, being so often forced out of its natural current by conflict of interests, were only waiting for a pretext to come back to its own channel.

We calculate that two lakhs of rupees would be required to enable us to make a fresh start. The sum is large, and there is depression all round. Still my colleague and I have every confidence that in a few months' time we shall get what we want. Our members will go round to various places, but they are not many and cannot be everywhere. We look to our associates and sympathizers in all parts of the country for active help. We beg them to respond to this appeal as though it had been made to them individually and in person. No amount is so small but it will be welcome; in fact small reflection that we are known and appreciated by a wide circle of those whom we seek to serve.

The total amount collected at the time of circulation of the appeal amounted to over Rs. 26,000. I hope that the whole of the two lacs required to set the two presses and the papers going will have been subscribed by the time these lines appear in print. The true

insurance for public concerns like the Servants of India Society is public goodwill reduced to concrete terms.

Young India, 24-6-1926

530. SACRIFICE

I have before me several letters from young men complaining that they have so many family burdens that the poor salary they get from public work is totally inadequate for their wants. One therefore says he must give up public work and go to Europe by raising a loan or securing a gift and increase his earning capacity; another is in search of a paying job; yet another wants a capital to start a paying business. Everyone of these young men is a sound, honest and self-sacrificing worker. But a reaction has set in. Family requirements have increased. Khadi or national education does not satisfy them. They do not desire to be a burden upon public service by asking for an increase. But the logical outcome of this attitude of mind must mean, if it becomes at all general, either stoppage of the public service which depends upon the labours of such men and women, or a general indefinite increase which in its turn must bring about the same undesirable result.

It was because this process of multiplication of wants out of proportion to our surroundings was discovered to be going on with increasing velocity that non-co-operation was conceived. And thus conceived it was not non-co-operation with persons, but with an attitude that was responsible for the system which had seized us in its serpentine coils and which was reducing us to dust. The system had raised the standard of living among us, its creatures, wholly unwarranted by the general condition of the country. And since India did not live upon exploitation of other peoples, the expansion of the middle class who were also the middle-men meant extinction of the lowest strata. Hence the smallest villages were dying out through sheer exhaustion. This was all plain to many of us in 1920. The arresting movement is yet in its infancy. Let us not hinder it by any hasty action.

This artificial increase in our wants has been felt more severely than it otherwise would have been, because of the persistence of the family system which the Western method is ill-designed to support. The joint system having become wooden, its evils have become

accentuated, its sweet graces have disappeared. Thus, evil has been added to evil.

Our self-sacrifice must, therefore, be in terms of the requirements of the country. The reforms required are more from within than from without. A perfect constitution superimposed upon a rotten internal condition will be like a whited sepulchre.

The process of self-purification must therefore be completed. The spirit of self-sacrifice must be extended. Great as the sacrifice has been, it is nothing compared to the demands made upon us by the country. We dare not support able-bodied members of the family—men or women—who will not work. We may not contribute a single pice towards the expenses of conforming to meaningless or superstitious customs, such as caste-dinners, or towards forming expensive marriage connections. Every marriage and every death brings an unnecessary, cruel burden upon the head of the family. We must refuse to regard such acts of self-denial as self-sacrifice. They are evils to be counteracted with courage and resolution.

There is too, for us, the inordinately expensive education. When it is difficult for millions even to make the two ends meet, when millions are dying of starvation, it is monstrous to think of giving our relatives a costly education. Expansion of the mind will come from hard experience, not necessarily in the college or the school-room. When some of us deny ourselves and ours the so-called higher education, we shall find true means of giving and receiving a really high education. Is there not, may there not be, a way of each boy paying for his own education? There may be no such way. Whether there is or there is not such a way is irrelevant. But there is no doubt that when we deny ourselves the way of expensive education seeing that aspiration after higher education is a laudable end, we shall find out a way of fulfilling it more in accord with our surroundings. The golden rule to apply in all such cases is resolutely to refuse to have what millions cannot. This ability to refuse will not descend upon us all of a sudden. The first thing is to cultivate the mental attitude that will not have possessions or facilities denied to millions, and the next immediate thing is to re-arrange our lives as fast as possible in accordance with that mentality.

Without a large, very large, army of such self-sacrificing and determined workers, real progress of the masses, I hold, to be an impossibility. And without that progress, there is no such thing as

swaraj. Progress towards swaraj will be in exact proportion to the increase in the number of workers who will dare to sacrifice their all for the cause of the poor.

Young India, 24-6-1926

531. 'MAHATMAJI'S ORDER'

A teacher writes:

There is a small group of boys of our school in . . . who have been regularly sending 1,000 yards of self-spun yarn to the A.I.S.A. for some months, and they have been doing this little service merely on account of intense love for you. If anyone asks them the reason for their spinning, they reply: 'It is Mahatmaji's order. It has got to be obeyed.' I think such mentality on the part of little boys is to be encouraged in every way. Slave mentality is something quite different from the spirit of hero-worship or implicit obedience. These boys are now anxious to get some message from you in your own handwriting for their inspiration. I am sure their request will be complied with.

I do not know whether the mentality betrayed by this letter is hero-worship or blind worship. I can conceive occasions when implicit obedience without waiting for reasoning out causes is a necessity. It is essentially the quality of a soldier. And no nation can make substantial progress without the possession of that quality by a vast number of its people. But occasions for such obedience are and must be rare in any well-ordered society. The worst thing that can happen to boys in a school is to have to render blind obedience to everything that the teacher says. On the contrary, if teachers are to stimulate the reasoning faculty of boys and girls under their care, they would continuously tax their reason and make them think for themselves. Faith only begins where reason stops. But there are very few actions in the world for which reasonable justification cannot be found. A teacher would not tolerate from his pupils, who were asked to account for drinking boiled and filtered water in a locality where the quality of well-water was suspected, an answer to the effect that such were the orders of a mahatma. And if it be wrong to admit such an answer, in the supposed case, it is surely wrong to approve of the justification for spinning that the boys of the school in question have given for their spinning. When I am dislodged from my mahatmaship in that school, as I have certainly been dislodged in several homes to my

knowledge (for some of my correspondents have been gracious enough to inform me of their lost love), I am afraid the spinning-wheel will be destroyed. Surely, a cause is often greater than the man. Certainly, the spinning-wheel is greater than myself. I should be exceedingly sorry to find, when the hero-worship of me is destroyed, because of some fatuous mistakes that I may commit or because people are enraged against me for some cause or other, that the good cause of the spinning-wheel had to suffer. It is therefore infinitely better that the pupils should reason out for themselves all the things that are capable of being so treated. The spinning-wheel is essentially a thing for reasoning out. With it, in my opinion, is mixed up the well-being of the whole mass of Indian humanity. Pupils should, therefore, learn something about the deep poverty of the masses. They should have an ocular demonstration of some villages that are crumbling down to pieces. They should know the population of India. They should know the vast extent of this peninsula and they should know what it is that all the many millions can do to add to their scanty resources. They should learn to identify themselves with the poor and the downtrodden in the land. They should be taught to deny themselves, so far as possible, things that the poorest cannot have. Then they will understand the virtue of spinning. It will then survive any shock including disillusionment about myself. The cause of the spinning-wheel is too great and too good to have to rest on mere hero-worship. It lends itself to scientific economic treatment.

I know that there is among us a great deal of blind hero-worship such as this correspondent has described, and I hope that the teachers of national schools will take note of the warning I have uttered and prevent their pupils from lazily basing their actions upon statements, without testing, of men reputed to be great.

Young India, 24-6-1926

532. FOR A.I.S.A. MEMBERS

The managers of Khadi Bhandar, Princess Street, Bombay, and of The A.I. Charkha Sangh Khadi Bhandar, 14, Dadi Sheth, Agyari Lane, Kalbadevi Road, Bombay, inform me that on sending them their certificates of memberships the members of the A.I.S.A. can become members without payment of these Bhandars and get all the concessions allowed to the paying members including all their circulars and a rebate on purchases. They further announce that,

during the month of July there will be sales in both the stores at reduced rates. The prices will be invariably reduced by 6_ per cent but on some special goods the reduction will be 25 per cent and in some cases even 50 per cent. The reduced rates will last till the end of the next month.

Young India, 24-6-1926

533. NOTES

VILLAGE ORGANIZATION

Professor Narayandas Malkani's notes on his recent tour in Bardoli Taluka are both interesting and instructive. The reader will find there a brief account of an experiment in village work that has been going on in that Taluka amongst the backward classes since 1921 when the wave of temperance reform swept through the land. Here in this small tract the introduction of the wheel is bringing about a slow but steady revolution in the life of the simple dwellers. But for the charkha, temperance workers could not have had any footing in these villages. Nor could they have produced any impression whatsoever upon the villagers, if they had not come in touch with the people in many other ways and found a profitable employment for occupying every idle moment of theirs. The workers have been able to divert the minds of villagers from drink and interest them in spinning. Effort is being made to educate the children of these people. The education that is being given them is by no means of the orthodox type. It fits in with their surroundings and is intended to draw out all their faculties. The idea being not to manufacture clerks but to make citizens of the children, well able to take care of themselves and well able to preserve intact their hereditary occupation, namely, agriculture, spinning, weaving, etc. But the experiment is still in its infancy. The child is father to the man. And even in this infant stage of the experiment everything that has gone on hitherto gives promise of a brilliant future. For, with the introduction of hand-spinning, the trades necessary for sustaining it are also being gradually revived amongst the people. It is not too much to hope that this revolution that is going on amongst the people may enable them to get rid of, what Professor Malkani calls, 'the native bureaucracy' and that not by violent but by strictly non-violent means, means that are calculated to convert not to coerce 'the native bureaucracy'. For,

the people simply need to be independent of both the money-lender and the publican, of the first by ceasing to want credit and of the second by ceasing to drink.

A TRAVESTY

‘The voluntary repatriation’ described by Dr. Malan, the Union Minister¹, is anything but voluntary. It is stimulated, aided or induced. And if the process continues unchecked, it may presently become compulsory. A large number of men repatriated are said to be colonial-born. No colonial-born Indian to whom India is only a geographical expression will voluntarily repatriate himself. Again it is not voluntary repatriation when an agency is set up, probably paid by results, to collect repatriation recruits and when these recruits are detained in compounds pending repatriation. It seems to me that this detention in compounds is likely to be declared illegal if it is tested in a court of law. For detention without a guard would be useless. And placing a guard over free and innocent men would amount to wrongful confinement. I know of no regulation in 1914 that permitted the Government to detain such men in guarded camps. If repatriation is to be voluntary it must be free from the pestering attention of recruiting agents and there should be no detention in depots or camps.

THE TRUE GURU

In confirmation of my note on the definition of a guru, a correspondent sends the following interesting information:

In connection with your definition of a guru, I am reminded of the beautiful lines of the poet-saint Ramadas. He said:

विवेका ऐसा गुरु। चिन्ता ऐसा शिष्य चतुर।

जीवा ऐसा मित्र उदार। भुवनत्रयीं पिलेना॥

‘You cannot find a better guru than *viveka* or the power of discriminating from untruth, right from wrong or good from evil. There is no better disciple than *chitta* or mind, and no nobler friend than one’s *jeeva* or soul.’ In fact, Ramadas points out that man need not go outside himself in search of a guru. ‘Be guided by your power of discrimination, derived from your implicit faith in God, keep your mind under control of such a power and nobly sacrifice the self.’ This in essence is the advice of the Maharashtrian saint.

Young India, 24-6-1926

¹ Of South Africa

534. TO READERS OF “*HINDI NAVAJIVAN*”

It has ever been a matter of sorrow to me that I am not able to write for *Hindi Navajivan* or look after it. After Shri Haribhau Upadhyaya was posted for khadi work, I have received several complaints regarding the language of *Hindi Navajivan*. It is said that the quality of the language has deteriorated, that there are grammatical errors and that the idiom has a foreign ring. It is also said that sometimes the meaning conveyed is just the opposite of what is intended. All this may be true. Although the translators do their work with devotion and industry, it may well be that they, being Gujaratis, make mistakes. I am looking for a person who knows Hindi. I hope, when I find one, the chances of error will be fewer. At the same time, it may be appropriate to point out that, after all, *Hindi Navajivan* carries only translations. Of course, I shall do my best to see that the meaning is not distorted. The truth, however, remains that I have not the ability to bring out *Navajivan* in Hindi. I have neither the time to manage its affairs nor the requisite knowledge of Hindi. I agreed to bring out *Hindi Navajivan* on the insistence of friends and out of a desire that those who know only Hindi should not remain unacquainted with my ideas. This work can be continued if readers will help. They can help in two ways: (1) they can point out the errors, and (2) they can refuse to buy the paper when the errors become too many to put up with. *Navajivan* is not published out of any financial motive. It is brought out solely to advance the general good. If, owing to faults of language or some other reason, it cannot serve the purpose for which it is intended, it will be our duty to close it down.

All the translations carried in this issue are by persons whose mother tongue is Hindi.

Readers will oblige me by pointing out errors in this issue.

[From Hindi]

Hindi Navajivan, 24-6-1926

535. *LETTER TO DEVI WEST*

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 24, 1926

MY DEAR DEVI¹,

So you are an orphan now. And yet, why an orphan! Father had died full of years and contentment that he lived a life of godliness and was liked by those who knew him. I hope, therefore, that you and other members of the family have not given way to grief. What a beautiful motto on the tomb-stone: To live in hearts we leave behind is not to die.

Yes. Indeed, India is today cut up into two owing to these mad riots. God's ways are inscrutable. I am hoping that the fighters will be soon exhausted. It is simple madness that gives rise to these fights.

We are keeping fairly well. I say fairly well because Radha and Rukhi are just now ill. They have malaria. Devdas has undergone an operation for appendicitis. He is convalescing now. Manilal is still in phoenix. Ramdas is doing khadi work. Have not seen Bhai Kotwal for many months now.

Did I tell you that I had an English friend living in the Ashram? Her name is Miss Slade. We have given her an Indian name, Mirabai. A German lady is coming probably this week.

Yours,

DEVI
23, GEORGE STREET
LOUTH, LINC.
ENGLAND

From a photostat: S.N. 19639

¹ Sister of Albert West, Gandhiji's associate in South Africa

536. LETTER TO REV. WILLIAM PATON

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 24, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter. I had indeed said that if the way was open for me, I would go to Helsingfors. But I was eventuated [*sic*] that it was not. Had I gone to Finland, I would have visited England also. There were so many invitations from kind friends, yours being the last amongst them.

I am glad to know that the new Viceroy desires to do what is right and that he is moved by religious conviction.

Yes. Indeed Andrews did exceedingly well in South Africa. But for his labours there would have been no Conference.

With regards to you and Mrs. Paton,

Yours sincerely,

REV. WILLIAM PATON, M.A.
1, WORLEY ROAD
St. ALBANS
(ENGLAND)

From a photostat: S.N. 10775

537. LETTER TO C. F. ANDREWS

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 24, 1926

MY DEAR CHARLIE,

Absence of any letter from you except the one you wrote from Simla means, I hope, that you are enjoying your stay with Stokes. I hope that the visit has given you rest and peace.

Shankerlal told me that you were grieved over my chafing you about your Christian partiality. But I hope that you have got over the grief and turned the incident to one of joy. Is it not a matter of joy that you should have friends who will not always be serious with you?

I am so glad I had not gone to Finland. I have received several letters of congratulations on my decision not to go. Amongst these

was a Punjabi Christian friend who came here and passed a night before going to Helsingfors. He has gone as a delegate.

Happenings in South Africa do not give one much hope of a satisfactory conclusion to the deliberations of the Round Table Conference.¹

If you receive this in Kotgarh, please give my love to Stokes and Mrs. Stokes and Gregg².

Yours,

REV. C. F. ANDREWS
C/O S. E. STOKES, ESQ.
KOTGARH, SIMLA HILLS

From a photostat: S.N. 19640

538. LETTER TO LAKSHMIDAS P. ASAR

SABARMATI ASHRAM,
Jeth Sud 14, 1982, June 24, 1926

CHI. LAKSHMIDAS,

I have your letter. I have written to you about Anandi³. Dr. Kanuga was called in. He wanted to administer quinine. He had said that he would himself send the medicine. She remains very restless these days; so I have not insisted on getting the medicine from him. Chhaganlal went to his place once, but could not find him. So quinine is being given regularly from here. At the moment the fever has subsided. Quinine will be continued for some time. What you write about a bath is right. I will see that she remains particularly careful about it. There has not been a drop of rain here. Its failure is causing apprehension.

Radha⁴, Rukhi⁵ and Kusum⁶ are down with fever. Kusum has been keeping indifferent health ever since she came from Bombay.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19636

¹ A Round Table Conference on the position of Indians in South Africa was to be held in Cape Town. *Vide* "That Round Table Conference", 22-7-1926.

² Richard B. Gregg

³ Daughter of the addressee

⁴ Daughter of Maganlal Gandhi

⁵ *ibid*

539. LETTER TO PRABHALAKSHMI

SABARMATI ASHRAM,
Jeth Sud 14, 1982, June 24, 1926

CHI. PRABHALAKSHMI,

Your letter. In accordance with your wishes, I would not use your letter without your permission. If people gossip, how can we muzzle them? We should be amused if we are accused when we are innocent. When we are in the wrong, however harsh others may be towards us, we ought to be more severe with ourselves; then we won't find their harshness unbearable. Since God is all-pervading, without attributes and without form, we should instal Him in our hearts and meditate on Him. All of us—whether great or small, good or bad, intelligent or dull and so on—are what we are by virtue of our past deeds. To enquire who have done worthy deeds and why we have become as noble as we are, and so on, is to lay claim to godlike perfection and, in all this arrogance, the question is never answered. Thus, faith comes when reason fails. Your duty just now is to become tranquil, forget all that has happened and fulfil your function in radiant perfection.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19637

540. LETTER TO DEVDAS GANDHI

SABARMATI,
*Thursday, Jeth Sud 14 [June 24, 1926]*¹

CHI. DEVDAS,

Your letter. I saw [your] letter to Mahadev. My rebuke had been issued by then. From my reference to compound interest you would have guessed that. I had got your letter on the way. Girdhari has been discharged from the hospital, but his health does not appear very good. He is expected here now. Jamnalalji would also arrive at about the same time. After that I would think things over and, if there is any need, I would send him there. I wrote letters to Dr. Dalal and Bhai Tulsidas soon after Girdhari's discharge. I wrote to them that it was only by dedicating ourselves to the country's service that we could

¹ The reference to Girdhari's discharge from the hospital suggests that the letter was written in 1926; *vide* "Letter to Tulsidas", 21-6-1926.

discharge to some extent the debt we owe them. Dr. Dalal has replied. Herewith I send you his letter.

From a photostat of the Gujarati S.N. 19638

541. TELEGRAM TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

SABARMATI,
June 25, 1926

MATHURADAS

HOMIVILLA PANCHGANI

PYARELAL MUST NOT COME. 'NAVAJIVAN'¹ ARRANGED.
WRITING.

BAPU

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

542. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
Friday [June 25, 1926]²

CHI. MATHURADAS,

I have your telegram. It surprised me. I learnt about the matter when Mahadev told me. In his letter to Pyarelal he wrote a sentence in jest. Mahadev thinks your telegram is the result of that. Please do not think that Pyarelal is particularly needed for the work. It is true that, as is my nature, I do make use of people who are there, according to their qualifications. But that does not mean that Pyarelal should come here. I have made arrangements here for the *Hindi Navajivan*. If I need more help, I shall have Pyarelal send translations from there.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

¹ *Hindi Navajivan*; *vide* the following item.

² The date has been inferred from the contents; *vide* the preceding item.

543. LETTER TO DEVDAS GANDHI

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
*Friday [June 25, 1926]*¹

CHI. DEVDAS,

Along with this I send you Bhai Tulsidas's letter. Velabehn² is indisposed since last night. Her old ailment has recurred while she was in Bombay. Tell Bhai Laxmidas that there is nothing to worry about. Rajendrababu has arrived and would stay here up to the 29th or 30th. He has come here for a meeting of the Charkha Sangh. It will meet tomorrow. The German lady³ is expected here tomorrow. There is a letter from Kishorelal saying that Girdhari would arrive here tomorrow. He cannot be said to have completely recovered.

From a photostat Of the Gujarati: S.N. 19641

544. LETTER TO MOTIBEHN CHOKSI

SABARMATI ASHRAM,
Saturday, Jeth Vad 1, 1982, June 26, 1926

CHI. MOTI,

At last, after many days and that too on reminding you, I do have a letter from you. Will this laziness ever go? Anandi had fever and it has now subsided. Velabehn also had fever for the last few days. She is better today. Radha and Kusum are still in bed.

Have you maintained the habit of reading or have you now given it up owing to laziness? Can I ask about the spinning?

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 12133

¹ The reference in the letter to a meeting of the Charkha Sangh, All-India Spinners' Association, which was held on June 26, 1926 suggests this date.

² Wife of Laxmidas Asar

³ Miss Haussding

545. *LETTER TO GOKALDAS H. THAKKAR*

THE ASHRAM,
June 26, 1926

BHAISHRI GOKALDAS,

Your letter. I have nothing to write on except the charkha and allied subjects. I have never seen your paper. And I do not like to write for a paper I know nothing about. Please therefore excuse me.

MOHANDAS GANDHI

SHRI GOKALDAS HIRAJI THAKKAR
SECRETARY, "SEVAK MANDAL"
SEVAK MANDAL KARYALAYA
OPPOSITE POST OFFICE
JAMNAGAR

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19921

546. *POSSESSED BY GHOST OF SUSPICION*

"A Passenger" has written the following letter without giving his name.¹ Such letters do not deserve any notice. One does not know, however, how many workers may be victims of such suspicions. The issues raised in the letter are worthy of attention. I made inquiries immediately on receiving the letter, and discovered that the facts of the case are quite different from what they are represented to be by "A Passenger". The person against whom these allegations are made is engaged in work which he simply could not have carried on if he travelled without paying proper fare as he is stated in this letter to have done. He is, moreover, being watched by railway officials. If he were even once caught travelling without a proper ticket, his career of public service would come to an immediate end. He generally travels third class, but a friend had bought for him a second-class ticket from Morbi and so he had taken a seat in that compartment. From Muli, he changed into a third-class compartment for a short distance because he wanted to be with a friend who was travelling in that compartment.

¹ The letter is not translated here. It stated that a leading worker in Saurashtra had been travelling by railway without paying the proper fare.

The worker has still with him the number on the second-class ticket which he held. Normally, no one preserves the number on a railway ticket but, as mentioned above, railway officials are a little too kindly disposed to him and ask him frequently to show his ticket. He also, therefore, has made it a practice to note down the number on his ticket. It does not appear that "A Passenger" had taken the trouble to examine the ticket himself or ask the worker for his explanation. So much about the facts of this case.

The complaint made in this letter should give every public worker reason for pride, and also teach him to be vigilant. It should give reason for pride because it shows that people expect to see perfection in workers who wear khadi, and it teaches him the need for vigilance because a worker wearing khadi must avoid any lapse. It should, however, be admitted that many self-seeking "workers" have exploited the khadi dress. Wearing khadi and having made people believe that they were men of self-sacrifice, such workers deceive society and refuse to make any amends. Such khadi-wearers disgrace khadi.

It is a perfectly legitimate assumption that anyone who cheats the railway company in the matter of fare will ultimately plunder the country, too, for his own gain. And yet many people think that it is not wrong to cheat the railway company and to travel by a higher class on a lower-class ticket. It is desirable that people who wear khadi and others engaged in national work keep away from such dishonesty. People, too, should understand that all persons who wear khadi are not saints, and those who do not wear it are not wicked men. Anybody, irrespective of whether he is a good man or a bad man, is free to adopt khadi as his dress. If others look upon khadi as sacred and feel themselves sanctified by wearing it, that is their special faith and does them honour. But this special faith of theirs does not concern the world. It is but right that people in the world should trust a person only after he has been put to the test.

In conclusion, I should like everyone to know that I have no disciple, or rather that I have only one, myself. All my time is taken up in teaching myself, and so I need no other disciple.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 27-6-1926

547. NOTES

SPINNING IN SANSOLI¹

Sansoli is a village in the Kalol taluka of Panch Mahals district. Shri Ranchhoddas Shah has sent some interesting information about the spinning activity there, which I reproduce below:²

The number of spinning-wheels is not large enough to be remarkable, but the quantity of yarn produced on each wheel is quite good. But the most interesting particular mentioned in this report is that the spinner himself or herself cards the cotton and makes the slivers. It is essential that this improvement in the method of work should, wherever possible, be adopted forthwith. Carding is an easy operation, and those who card their own cotton can spin better and finer yarn and produce more of it in the same time, whereas it is difficult to spin to one's satisfaction if the carding has been done by a hired carder. Another point worth noting here is that the cultivator who gins the cotton grown by himself increases his earning considerably. The practice of ginning cotton at home can be revived only if the spinning is also done at home. Thus the revival of hand-spinning will automatically bring about the revival of many other industries which have disappeared, and enable an intelligent cultivator to add considerably to his income.

SELF-PURIFICATION AMONG CHODHRAS³

Shri Narayan Malkani, a professor in the Gujarat Mahavidyalaya, had recently been to the parts around Vedchhi in Bardoli taluka and saw the work being done among the Chodhras there. He has sent a report of his observations for *Young India* of which I give here only the gist, since many points mentioned in the original are meant for readers outside Gujarat. In 1921 a good many villages had got rid of the evil of drink. Afterwards, a good number had started drinking again. The enduring work which is now being done there, thanks to some workers having settled for good in the area, is interesting to observe. Shri Narayan Malkani is reporting only about the "clean" villages, clean in respect of drinking.

¹ The name, Sanosali, as originally spelt, was corrected in a note in *Navajivan*, 11-7-1926.

² The letter is not translated here.

³ A scheduled tribe in South Gujarat

The Chodhras rank high among the Kaliparaj¹ communities. They till their own land; but, thanks to their addiction to drinking, the owners of liquor shops and money lenders in the area have become their masters and function as the “local” Government of the area. Those among them who succeed in freeing themselves from the grip of this “local” Government may be said to have won swaraj.

The Vedchhi Ashram² has strengthened the anti-drink movement through sound work in the field of khadi. Four hundred spinning-wheels are in commission at present, which means that 800 persons spin on them daily. There are more men than women among them. In the first³ year 500 lbs. of yarn was spun; last⁴ year, the quantity rose to 16,000 lbs. This gave about 4,000 square yards of khadi. The people stock the required cotton from what they grow in their own fields, card it themselves and then spin. The yarn is woven into cloth in Vedchhi itself by Chodhra boys. The charge for weaving is only two annas a yard but the weaver gets some other help in addition to his wages. In some villages, this activity has provided work to carpenters too, and as a result people can have a fairly good spinning-wheel for Rs. 2. In this way, the people who wear khadi spend only two annas for every yard they use; and, where previously no supplementary occupation existed, two such occupations, weaving and carpentry, have come into existence.

When I visited the area two years ago, I asked the people how much they got through the spinning-wheel every year. An old man replied with evident pleasure that they got ten rupees. Shri Narayan Malkani gives detailed figures now. A Chodhra family requires 34 yds. of cloth in a year—10 yds. for children and 24 yds. for the husband and the wife. The family gets these 34 yards for Rs. 4_, whereas previously when they bought their requirements in the market they had to pay Rs. 22 for the same quantity. Thus a family producing its own cloth saves Rs. 17_. It is true, of course, that this does not take into account the cost of cotton. What would a poor Chodhra get for that cotton if he sold it in the market? Seven rupees for 14 lbs. The net saving, therefore, comes to Rs. 11. To them this is

¹ Scheduled tribes in Gujarat; literally, dark-skinned people

² The Ashram at Vedchhi, a village in the Surat district of Gujarat, managed by Jugatram Dave

³ The words “first year” and “last year” were corrected in *Navajivan*, 11-7-1926.

⁴ *ibid*

a big enough saving. It is not as if all the families keep back the 14 lbs. of cotton which they would require and spin it into yarn, but we may say that a movement in the direction has started.

REFORMING VILLAGE LIFE

We saw above that with the help of the spinning-wheel a slow but steady change is being brought about in the lives of the poor Chodhras. Without the aid of the spinning-wheel, the workers could not have come into contact with the village people merely by making speeches against the evil of drinking. If, moreover, they had not shown to the latter a profitable way of spending the whole of their spare time, what effect could they have produced by their propaganda work? The workers stopped the village people from drinking and placed the spinning-wheel in their hands. They started schools for children, schools, moreover, in which the pupils do not receive the kind of clerk-making education which other schools impart but get education which will help them to be good farmers, spinners and weavers and live as useful members of society. The experiment is still in its initial stage; but the present ways of a child can tell us a little what he will be like when he grows up, and we can, therefore, hope from what has been achieved so far that we shall get excellent results in course of time. For, along with spinning, other occupations connected with it are also being revived. We may hope that, as a result of the work which is being done, the people will become free from the grip of what Prof. Malkani calls the “local” Government of the area, and that not by throwing off its yoke through force but by awakening the conscience of the present masters and bringing about a change of heart in them. This will happen because, once people learn to give all their time to work and stop borrowing money from professional money-lenders and patronizing the liquor shops, they are bound to become free from the grip of either.

A CORRECTION

Referring to the “Note” in the *Navajivan* of June 13, about the Mahudha khadi centre, a gentleman writes as follows:¹

If we had many more such readers who read their *Navajivan* carefully and drew attention to errors, in a short time the paper would

¹ The letter is not translated here. For the “Note”, vide “Mahudha Khadi Centre”, 13-6-1926.

be free from errors. It is certainly my own ambition that the paper should contain no error of fact, should use no improper word or be faulty in language. I know, however, that faults of language occur. Errors of fact creep in sometimes through inadvertence. The only claim I can make is that the language of the paper is restrained. As regards errors of fact, we need the help of readers. To prevent faults of language, the press should have more efficient workers and those who write for *Navajivan* should be studious of their language. I am not well equipped in regard to any of these, but despite these handicaps the desire to continue *Navajivan* is strong. Those readers of the paper, therefore, who love it have no option but to bear for the present with the errors which occur.

The correspondent is certainly right in regard to the error in multiplication pointed out by him. Asked about the quantity of yarn produced from 20 maunds of yarn, Shri Mohanlal Pandya explains:

The statements that 20 maunds of yarn was produced and 65 pieces of khadi were woven in [the month of] *Vaishakh* does not mean that all the 20 maunds of yarn was used for producing the 65 pieces. For 65 pieces, at the most 11 maunds of yarn would be required. The rest remained in balance. The quantity of yarn left in balance varies from month to month, depending on the number of weavers who work during the month.

I need not suggest to friends who send reports that they should bear in mind that *Navajivan* has readers who read the paper with attention and, therefore, should work out their figures carefully and supply full details.

TRUE GURU

A gentleman writes as follows in support of my note explaining the qualities of a true guru:¹

Ramdas Swami has actually said in so many words that man need not search for any guru outside of himself; that one should follow the path indicated by one's own sense of discrimination born of one's faith in God, be guided by that sense of discrimination and always work in a spirit of sacrifice. That saint of Maharashtra has said in these few words all that needs to be said.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 27-6-1926

¹ *Vide* "Notes", 17-6-1926, under the sub-title, "In Search of a Guru", and "Notes", 24-6-1926, under the sub-title, "The True Guru".

548. LETTER TO G. D. CHATTERJEE

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 27, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter drawing my attention to Mr. Spender's article.¹ I am inclined to deal with the portion quoted by you in the pages of *Young India*.²

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SJT. G. D. CHATTERJEE
LAHORE

From the original: C.W. 7740; also G.N. 8778. Courtesy: Parasram Mehrotra

549. LETTER TO C. VIJAYARAGHAVACHARIAR

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI ,
June 27, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. Mr. Muggeridge³ will be quite welcome whenever he comes.

I wish I could see eye to eye with you in regard to the temple. But unfortunately, I cannot enthuse over it. My temple today is the spinning-wheel through which I see the possibility of bringing a ray of hope to the crumbling cottages of India.

I thank you for your enquiry about Devdas. He is convalescing

¹ Gandhiji discussed portions from Spender's article in *Young India*; vide "Colour Bar v. Swadeshi", 1-7-1926.

² This letter was returned by the Dead Letter Office.

³ Malcolm Muggeridge Union Christian College, Alwaye, whose speech on "Nationalism and Christianity" Gandhiji published in *Young India*, 22-7-1926. Vide "Letter to C. Vijayaraghavachariar", 9-7-1926.

at Mussoorie with a friend.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. C. VIJAYARAGHAVACHARIAR
KODAIKANAL

From a photostat: S.N. 12061

550. LETTER TO S. SHANKER

THE ASHRAM
SABARMATI,
June 27, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I still think that you ought not to leave your job and come to me. It is much better that you follow out in Bombay the rules of life at the Ashram. Surely there should be no difficulty about your learning Hindi and Sanskrit in Bombay. There are so many classes. There is a free Sanskrit class conducted in Kalbadevi Road¹ by Narahari Shastri. It should be easier for you to go to some one to teach you Hindi.

If you will go to the untouchable quarters in Madugaum, you will have no difficulty in knowing untouchables from touchables. There is in Matunga² a school conducted for untouchables. You can devote some time to that school if you choose to do so. And where you cannot do any personal work for them, and if you have even a few pice to spare, you may set aside that amount and give to those who are working for the so-called untouchables.

Yours sincerely,

S. SHANKER, ESQ.
BOMBAY

From a microfilm: S.N. 19642

¹ In Bombay

² Suburb in Bombay

551. LETTER TO D. N. BAHADURJI

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 27, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. 50 strength means half of what it should be. And strength means the quality of twist. A properly twisted thread will stand the strain of a standard weight and still not break and that standard means 100 marks. But if it stands only half of that weight, it would be 50 marks. But 50 strength is really not good enough for the weaver. Mill yarn too rarely attains 100 marks. But 70 marks would be creditable and it will offer no difficulty to the weaver in weaving. 50 is the standard mark for evenness of thread. When a well-twisted thread is not even, it snaps as it passes through the apparatus which is meant for receiving hundreds of threads called warp which give us the width of cloth. If the thread is uneven, it breaks from time to time. The more even the yarn, therefore, the better it is for weaving; hence the necessity for obtaining at least 45 marks for evenness. Constant looking at the strand after the spinning is finished enables one to gauge the evenness, and the actual breaking of the yarn in order to gauge the strength enables one to arrive roughly at the possible strength. And when you get your yarn tested from time to time, you are in a position to make the necessary improvements which come by careful progress. I hope I am now clear. I felt so thankful and delighted that you are taking so much interest in this poor man's work. What a silent revolution it would mean in our life if we could identify ourselves with the poorest of our people in a practical manner such as the spinning-wheel presents!

Your sincerely,

D. N. BAHADURJI, ESQ.

BOMBAY

From a microfilm: S.N. 19643

552. LETTER TO BHAGWANJI MEHTA

SABARMATI ASHRAM,
Jeth Vad 2, 1982 [June 27, 1926]

BHAISHRI BHAGWANJI,

I have your letter. Why do you suppose that I am prejudiced against you? Because I cannot accept your argument it does not mean that I am prejudiced against you. It is not my experience that I could refrain from sensual pleasures because I am married. How can I then accept this position? Among my friends there are a number of life-long celebrates, men as well as women. Then how can I entertain any doubt?

About God I shall write in *Navajivan* when I have the time. I say when I have the time because the question you ask has been asked often and there will be nothing new in my reply; but I shall try to take it up for your sake. I have never had any doubts about your honesty.

Vandemataram from

MOHANDAS

SHRI BHAGWANJI ANUPCHAND MEHTA

SADAR

RAJKOT

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 19924

553. LETTER TO LAXMIDAS P. ASAR

SABARMATI ASHRAM,
Jeth Vad 2, 1982, June 27, 1926

CHI. LAXMIDAS,

I get your letters regularly. Valabehn is better but I find she has to be nursed with utmost care. Anandi has started running. Mani has donated her nose-ring to me and has also got her gold necklace snapped up by me. It has been resolved that the price of khadi made through the Charkha Sangh could be put up by 6_ p.c. to 12_ p.c. to meet the cost of establishment and distribution. It has also been decided that before implementing this resolution the views of all the agents should be ascertained. It is very good that you do a lot of walking. Do not be in the least hurry to come over here. I

wouldnot be satisfied even with 83 p.c. strength in the yarn. My intention is to get 100 p.c. but I do not know where the difficulty lies. If the strength is 100 p.c. the evenness of the yarn also, I am sure, would be 100 p.c. I believe it is so because I find that the evenness of my yarn improves with the strength.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 19645

554. LETTER TO DEVDAS GANDHI

SABARMATI,

Jeth Vad 2, 1982, June 27, 1926

CHI. DEVDAS,

Your letter. You did not write to me what work you had at Motilalji's. Whatever it might have been, I am happy that you had a chance to serve him. I can also say that it is not worth coming here now. It has been very hot. It did rain yesterday, so it may get a little cool. It is very sultry today, it could not but be because people were dying not to speak of animals—for want of rain. And even now we need plenty of rain.

Rajendrababu is leaving just now. In the current issue of *Hindi Navajivan*, he has had a good share. It is good that all three of you do a lot of walking. I wish you to return only after gaining good strength. Khadi is bound to command respect as long as there are a few khadi-wearers at any rate who selflessly devote themselves to social service. I have not read a single book of Hardy's. He was or is a good novelist—that's all I know about him. I could not get thoroughly acquainted with that German lady as I am very busy with my work. I intended to see her today, but could not.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 19646

555. LETTER TO RAI PRABHUDAS BHIKHABHAI

ASHRAM,
June 27, 1926

BHAISHRI PRABHUDAS,

Your letter. You should write without reserve whatever you wish to and I shall answer as far as I can. Whatever the *Gita* says about the practice of yoga is only commendatory. It does not propose to teach any of the exercises. These should be learnt from a proper person. I myself do not know their sequence. I cited the example of friends who have practised *pranayama*¹. If one could attain *brahmacharya* merely through *pranayama*, a great problem would be solved but thereby *brahmacharya* would come to lose much of its importance. I do hold that *pranayama* and such other exercises make the observance of *brahmacharya* easier for the aspirant. I may even put someone from amongst the *brahmacharis* staying with me under those who have experience. You must not interpret what I say to mean that I want you to give up your studies. Indeed I wish you all success in them.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

SJT. RAI PRABHUDAS BHIKHABHAI
KATHANA LOT
POST KATHLAL
Via NADIAD

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19922

¹ Breath regulation

556. *LETTER TO BASANTI DEVI DAS*

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 29, 1926

MY DEAR SISTER,

I hope you received my telegram¹ about Bhomble. I do not know what to say or how to console. When I think about poor Sujata and you, the whole picture of sorrow rises before me. I can only hope that your innate bravery is not only keeping you up, but is proving a tower of strength to Sujata and all other members of the family surrounding you at the present moment. Do let me have a line if you can.

Yours,

SHRIMATI BASANTI DEVI DAS
C/O SUDHIR ROY
2 BELTOLA ROAD
CALCUTTA

From a photostat: S.N. 19644

557. *LETTER TO NARANDAS ANANDJI*

ASHRAM,
June 29, 1926

BHAISHRI NARANDAS,

Today Prof. Gidwani gave me the shocking news that the vine whose grapes you send me with such love is treated with specially slaughtered goat's blood, or the blood brought from the slaughter-house to feed the roots of the plant. He said that Bhai Ranchhoddas gave him the news and Bhai Ranchhoddas himself brings the grapes from the orchard. I cannot credit this story. It seems there is some misunderstanding somewhere, but since the doubt has arisen, it should be resolved. I thought of sending you a wire, but am writing this

¹ This is not available. *Vide* "Letter to Urmila Devi", 30-6-1926.

instead, seeking explicit clarification. But do reply to me by wire. If the tale is true, please stop sending me the grapes.

Blessings from
BAPU

BHAISHRI NARANDAS ANANDJI
KARACHI

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19923

558. *LETTER TO MOTILAL*

ASHRAM,
June 29, 1926

BHAISHRI MOTILAL,

Your letter. A man who sets out to find the right guru, should, I believe, become free himself from faults and passions. Being free from faults and passions does not mean being absolutely perfect. It is only modest to feel the need for a guru. A guru need not necessarily be a living person. Even today I regard as my guides some who, though not yet perfect, have reached a high stage [of spiritual development]. There is no point in trying to know the difference between a perfect man and God. Since it is impossible to get a perfect answer, one must find a reply through one's own experience.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS GANDHI

SJT. MOTILAL
C/O MESSRS KUNVERJI UMARSHI & CO.
COOPERGANJ
KANPUR

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19925

559. LETTER TO URMILLA DEVI¹

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 30, 1926

I have your letter². Since then I have also learnt about Bhomble's death. Though it is a very severe blow, perhaps, it is well that he has passed out of the present body. I do not know how Sujata is bearing her grief. You will tell me all about the last moments of the boy. He had many faults, but he had also a nobility about him which was most charming. But he had lost the power of struggling against the devil within him.

The Bengal politics make me sad and miserable when I think of them.³ It is difficult to follow the intricacies from this distance. How is it that Das's most trusted men have seceded? I almost feel that it would have been better if you had stood aloof from the quarrel. But, of course, you being on the spot should know best.

The death of Deghapatia⁴ is also a sad business. I remember having met him at Darjeeling. You know when. Having such a slight acquaintance, I have not written to his family. But you will please convey my condolence if you think fit. And, the son, what about him?⁵ A terrible tragedy. One feels absolutely helpless when one contemplates such things over which there is no control.

Yes, Devdas is quite all right and he is at Mussoorie, convalescing with Jamnalalji's friends. We have now a German lady as an addition to the Ashram. I do not know how she will fare; it is yet too early to say.

Yours,

From a photostat: S.N. 10954

¹ C. R. Das's sister

² Dated June 21, 1926

³ Urmila Devi had written, *inter alia*, of the "constant quarrelling" between the Sengupta group and the so-called aristocratic group in the Congress, consisting of such leaders as T. C. Goswami, N. R. Sarkar, S. C. Bose, and Dr. B. C. Roy, and had reported that the aristocratic group had deserted the Congress altogether and aligned itself with mischievous elements (S.N. 10946).

⁴ The Raja of Deghapatia

⁵ Urmila Devi had written that the twenty-eight-year-old son of the Raja lay seriously ill and dying.

560. LETTER TO IGNATIUS

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 30, 1926

MY DEAR IGNATIUS,

I have your letter and the book. Please thank your friend on my behalf for having sent the book. I am returning it to you as I have read the book and I have also a copy of it. I read it in the Yeravda jail and a copy was presented to me by a well-known Catholic friend, I think, in Dehra Dun. I like the book for the charming simplicity with which the saintly girl has described her life, her hopes and her aspirations. The supernatural part of it had no appeal for me. The persistency with which she secured admission to the Convent commanded my respect and admiration. The purity of her character was worthy of adoration. Her rigorous self-examination was inspiring. The canonization, etc., did not interest me.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 11198

561. LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 30, 1926

MY DEAR C. R.,

I have your letter about Tirupur khadi. The complaint is not about seasonal khadi. The comparison has been set up between last year's and this year's production. And the correspondent, who was himself a lover of khadi and an admirer of Tirupur khadi, contends that it has been progressively deteriorating. And as you see, Jerajani endorses the verdict up to a point. Whether a public statement is made or not, I think a more thorough investigation is necessary. If the hot season causes deterioration, we must either find out ways and means of combating the evils of heat or we must frankly tell the public that they must expect two qualities according to the seasons and, therefore, also two prices.

With reference to your tour, I have well-nigh despaired of any tour coming forth during the year through no fault of anybody. It is difficult to get you all ready at the same time. And you will insist upon having some unavoidable thing at the last moment and postpone your departure which is the conjunction of your stars. I would suggest complete cancellation of touring unless you have courage enough to go out even single. Manilal is not available till the first of September. He has been postponing the work of his Railway Association from time to time and I cannot put any pressure upon him when he pleads the cause of his association. Jamnalalji never cancels a programme, he accepts, but it is unjust to him and unjust to the cause to bind him to a programme which is not irrevocable. I have therefore freed him from all obligations. He will join you when you are ready if he at all can. Nobody wants to tour without you. You are therefore the central figure. Seeing that your own movements are erratic and beyond your control, the only thing to do is for you to say when you will move out and such men as can be got together will form the company. And if you have not the heart to undertake the job on these conditions, by all means give up the idea of touring this year, only remember this much that the Maharashtra tour has been fixed up after your definite instructions. But if these instructions were conditional upon Manilal Kothari and Jamnalalji joining you, let the Maharashtra tour also be cancelled. Please wire to me your decision. And do not hesitate to say no if the touring is really beyond you, whether on account of your difficulties at Tiruchengodu or any other. It is no use trusting to chance.

Devdas is still at Mussoorie. He is gathering strength and helping Punditji¹. In what way, he does not state. Laxmidas and Lalji are with him. Jamnalalji was here. He has gone for a few days to Ranpur to examine Amritlal Seth's undertaking. Rajendra Babu left yesterday. Pyarelal is still with Mathuradas who, as you know, has gone to Panchgani, and is rendering invaluable help to Mathuradas. I have now a German lady. She came here on Saturday. Thus the Ashram is fairly full. Chhotalal has now calmed down and is trying to specialize in spinning and weaving, etc. There is no question therefore now of his travelling with you or coming to you.

Yours,

From a copy: S.N. 11199

¹ Motilal Nehru

562. LETTER TO C. F. ANDREWS

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
June 30, 1926

I have your postcard. It is surprising how you managed to get ill somehow or other. Instead of having a good and quiet time at Kotgarh, you must have blood-poisoning¹.

I wrote a long letter some days ago to the Kotgarh address. Do please let me know fully how you are keeping. Do come here if you at all feel like it. And you know you will have all the nursing that you can possibly desire or need.

Yours,

From a photostat: S.N. 19647

563. LETTER TO ANIL KUMAR MITRA

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
June 30, 1926

MY DEAR ANIL,

I have your letter. I am sorry that you are unable to go back to Santiniketan. You will let me know how you finally fix yourself up. I would like you not to publish the autobiography just now. Because I am revising the first part with a view to publishing it in book form in English. As soon as it is revised and published you shall have a copy when you can make the necessary corrections and publish the translations. But before you do so, I would like you to send the manuscript for Mahadev to see. As you know, Mahadev knows Bengali.

Yours sincerely,

From a copy : S.N. 32253

¹ Caused by insect bite

564. A.I.C.P.A. BALANCE-SHEET

The following is the balance-sheet of the A.-I. Cow-Protection Association ending 30th April 1926:¹

It will be noted that the proceeds of the sale of yarn have been very poor because the yarn was mostly bad.² If the subscribers will improve the quality of their yarn, they will without extra trouble or expense to themselves increase the amount paid by them.

Young India, 1-7-1926

565. COLOUR BAR v. SWADESHI

Thus writes Mr. Spender:

Gandhi would keep out European goods; the South Africans would go a step further and keep out the Indians. Swadeshi and Colour Bar Bills are the obverse and reverse of the same idea; both follow from the despairing thought that East and West cannot intermingle without destroying each other's characteristic ways of life. Gandhi, the saint, is full of benevolence, and I listened to him while he earnestly disclaimed all sympathy with violent or anarchical ways of changing any existing order. Yet, as he discoursed on the ravages which Western industrialism had wrought in the Indian village, I had the feeling that, if he were Emperor of India invested with plenary powers the regulations that he would make for the admission of Europeans and their settlement in India might not greatly differ from those which the South Africans are attempting to impose on Indians in South Africa today. I have a very real respect for Mr. Gandhi, and I am, of course, aware that the last thing that he desires is to afford excuses for either form of intolerance. It is nevertheless true that 'Swadeshi' and 'Colour Bar' belong to the same spiritual family.³

This paragraph from Mr. Spender's article furnishes an extraordinary study in what Tolstoy would call hypnotism. Under the hypnotic influence of the standardized thought of the English official in India, Mr. Spender is unable to see any difference between the Colour Bar Bills of South Africa and the Indian swadeshi in terms of

¹ The accounts are not reproduced here.

² This was only Rs. 26 and odd out of receipts totalling a little over Rs. 6,154.

³ This was evidently the portion of Spender's article quoted by G. D. Chatterjee in his letter to Gandhiji; *vide* "Letter to G. D. Chatterjee", 27-6-1926

khaddar. Mr. Spender is an honest Liberal. He has some sympathy for Indian aspirations. But he cannot escape the influence of his immediate surroundings. What is true of him is no doubt true of every one of us. Hence the necessity for non-co-operation. When the surroundings are vicious, we must cut ourselves off from contact with those surroundings, in so far at least as our contact is voluntary.

But whether Mr. Spender's extraordinary proposition is an outcome of the hypnotic influence of his surroundings or whether it is really his own original idea, let us examine it. The Colour Bar Bill is aimed at men, not at measures. Swadeshi is aimed at measures only. Colour Bar is indiscriminately against a man's race or colour. Swadeshi knows no such distinction. The upholders of the Colour Bar would carry out their purpose even violently, if necessary. Swadeshi eschews all form of violence, even mental. The Colour Bar has no reason behind it. Swadeshi, in the form of khaddar, is a scientific formula supported by reason all along the line. Under the Colour Bar every Indian, no matter what educational qualifications he may possess, even though he may be thoroughly Westernized, is an undesirable person in the estimation of the Europeans of South Africa. The Colour Bar Bills are violent in purpose, for, they would keep the natives of the soil and the Asiatic settlers for ever as unskilled labourers and will not allow them to rise above that status. The Colour Bar Bills are intended to do, under the name of civilization and for its protection, perhaps, in a more virulent form, what has been done in the name of Hinduism by Hindus to the so-called untouchables. But it is worthy of note that untouchability, whatever may be said to the contrary, is fast dying in India. Those who are devoting themselves to the removal of untouchability are also those who are enthusiastically advocating the universalization of the spinning-wheel. Untouchability is admitted to be an evil. The Colour Bar is being raised almost to the status of a religion in South Africa. The Colour Bar Bills would harm, and deprive of their possessions innocent men and women without any just cause. Whereas swadeshi is intended to harm not one single soul, it seeks to return to the poorest of the land what has been taken away from them almost by force. The Colour Bar Bills are exclusive. Swadeshi is never exclusive in the sense in which the colour Bar Bills are. Swadeshi has no sympathy with the formula that East and West can never intermingle. Swadeshi does not banish all foreign or European goods, nor all machine-made goods, nor for that matter does swadeshi tolerate all home-made goods. Swadeshi admits of and

welcomes the introduction of all foreign goods that cannot or need not be manufactured in India and that would benefit her people. Thus swadeshi admits all foreign books containing pure literature, all foreign watches, foreign needles, foreign sewing machines, foreign pins. But swadeshi excludes all intoxicating drinks and drugs even though they may be manufactured in India. Swadeshi concentrates itself upon the spinning-wheel and khaddar, to the exclusion of all foreign cloth and even cloth manufactured in the mills of India, for the very simple, sufficient, satisfying and moral reason that the destruction of the spinning-wheel has meant the destruction of the only supplementary industry of India for the millions of its peasants without furnishing any substitute. Thus, swadeshi in the form of khaddar and the spinning-wheel is a paramount necessity for the very existence of the millions of her paupers. Whereas the Colour Bar Bills are a response to the greed of a handful of Europeans who are, after all, exploiting the resources of a land which belongs not to them, but to the original inhabitants of South Africa. The Colour Bar Bills have, therefore, no moral foundation whatsoever so far as I can see. The exclusion or the extinction of the Asiatic settlers of South Africa is in no way required, can in no way be proved to be necessary, for the existence of the South African Europeans. Still less can the suppression of the original inhabitants of South Africa be defended on any single moral ground. It is, therefore, painfully surprising to find a person of Mr. Spender's experience and attainments putting the highly moral swadeshi in the form of khaddar in the same category as the Colour Bar Bills. They do not belong to one family, let alone spiritual, but they belong to absolutely different families as different as the North Pole is from the South.

Mr. Spender speculates upon what I would do if I were 'Emperor of India invested with plenary powers'. Perhaps I can speculate with greater authority. If I were Emperor of India, I would extend the hand of fellowship to the whole of the world irrespective of caste, colour or creed, for, I claim the whole of mankind to be the children of one God, having absolutely the same capacity for self-realization as the tallest amongst them. I would disband practically the whole of the army of occupation in India, retaining only such police as may be necessary for the protection of her citizens against thieves and robbers. I would not bribe the Frontier tribes as they are being bribed today. But I would cultivate the friendliest relations with them and to that end send out reformers amongst them

in order to find out the ways or means of providing useful occupation for them. I would guarantee the fullest protection for every European living in India and all honest European enterprises. I would impose a prohibitive tariff on all foreign cloth so as to exclude it entirely from India and bring khaddar under State control, so as to enable every villager who chooses to spin, feel that the products of his or her spinning-wheel would be taken up. I would prohibit the importation of intoxicating liquors and close down every distillery, confining the manufacture of alcohol and opium for proved medical necessity. I would guarantee full protection to all forms of religious worship, save what is repugnant to the moral sense of mankind. I would throw open to the so-called untouchables every public temple and public school to which all other Hindus have right of admission. I would summon the representative of both the Hindus and Mussalmans, search their pockets and deprive them of all eatables and of all lethal weapons, if they have any, and lock them together in one room and open it only after they have settled their quarrels. There are of course many other things that I would do if I were Emperor of India. But since there is little chance of my being one, the foregoing is enough as a fair sample of what one who is mis-called a visionary, but who considers himself a practical man, understanding the wants of the poorest people, would do if he had the power.

Young India, 1-7-1926

566. 'TOWARDS MORAL BANKRUPTCY'-I

Kind friends continue to send me cuttings from Indian newspapers approvingly dealing with the question of birth-control by the use of contraceptives. My correspondence with young men on their private conduct is increasing. I am able to discuss in these pages only an infinitesimal portion of the questions raised by my correspondents. American friends send me literature on the subject and some are even angry with me for having expressed an opinion against the use of contraceptives. They deplore that, an advanced reformer in many ways, I should be medieval in my views about birth-control. I find too that the advocates of the use of contraceptives number among them some of the soberest of men and women of all lands.

I therefore thought that there must be something very decisive

in favour of the methods advocated and felt too that I should say on the subject more than I have done. Whilst I was thinking of the problem and of the question of reading the literature on the subject, a book called *Towards Moral Bankruptcy* was placed in my hands for reading. It deals with this very subject and, as it appears to me, in a perfectly scientific manner. The original is in French by M. Paul Bureau and is entitled *L' Indiscipline des Moeurs*¹ which literally means "the indiscipline of morals". The translation is published by Constable Company and has an introduction by Dr. Mary Scharlieb, C.B.E., M.D., M.S. (Lond.). It covers 538 pages in 15 chapters.

Having read the book, I felt that, before I summarized the author's views, I must in justice to the cause read the standard literature in favour of the methods advocated. I consequently borrowed from the Servants of India Society such literature as they had on the subject. They have very kindly lent me some of the books in their possession. . . . Kaka Kalelkar who is studying the subject has given me Havelock Ellis's volume specially bearing on the subject and a friend has sent me the special number of *The Practitioner* in which is collected some valuable medical opinion from well-known practitioners.

My purpose in collecting literature on the subject was to test the accuracy, so far as a layman could, of M. Bureau's conclusions. One often finds that there are two sides to questions even when scientists discuss them and that there is much to be said for either side. I was anxious, therefore, to know the viewpoints, of the advocates of contraceptives before I introduced to the reader M. Bureau's volume. I have come to the deliberate conclusion that so far at least as India is concerned, there is no case for the use of contraceptives. Those who advocate their use for Indian conditions either do not know them or choose to ignore them. But if it can be proved that the methods advocated are harmful even in the West, it would be unnecessary to examine the special Indian conditions.

Let us therefore see what M. Bureau has to say. His studies are confined to France. But France means much. It is considered to be [one of] the most advanced countries in the world and, if the methods have failed in France, they are not likely to succeed elsewhere.

Opinions may differ as to the meaning of the word 'failure'. I must therefore define the word as it is here meant. The methods must be proved to have failed if it can be shown that moral bonds have

loosened, licentiousness has increased, and, instead of the check having been exercised by men and women for purposes of health and economic limitation of families only, it has been used principally for feeding animal passions. This is the moderate position. The extreme moral position condemns the use of contraceptives under every conceivable circumstance, it being contended that it is not necessary for man or woman to satisfy the sexual instinct except when the act is meant for race reproduction, even as it is not necessary for man or woman to eat except for sustaining the body. There is also the third position. There is a class of men who contend that there is no such thing as morality or that if there is, it consists not in exercising restraint but in indulgence of every form of animal appetite, so long as it does not so impair the constitution as to render it unfit for the very indulgence which is its object. For this extreme position, I do not suppose, M. Bureau has written his volume. For, M. Bureau concludes his books by quoting Tom Mann's saying: 'The future is for the nations who are chaste'.

In the first part of his book, M. Bureau has collected facts which make most dismal reading. It shows how vast organizations have sprung up in France which merely pander to man's basest tastes. Even the one claim of advocates of contraceptives that abortions must disappear with the use of these methods cannot be sustained. 'It is certain', says M. Bureau, 'that during the twenty-five years that have especially seen the increase in France of anti-conceptionist methods, the number of criminal abortions has not become less.' M. Bureau is of opinion that abortions are on the increase. He puts down the figure at anything between 2,75,000 and 3,25,000 per year. Public opinion does not look upon them with the horror that it did years ago.

Young India, 1-7-1926

567. NOTES

KHADDAR EXHIBITIONS IN BIHAR

I have before me a fairly long report of the Khaddar Exhibitions that have been recently held in Bihar. The inspiration to hold these exhibitions was derived by Babu Rajendra Prasad from such an exhibition held by the All-India Agrawala Maha Sabha at Delhi during the year. The first such exhibition in Bihar was opened by Babu Satis Chandra Das Gupta of Khadi Pratishthan, Calcutta. And

as it proved successful, similar exhibitions were continued to be held in various parts of Bihar. The first exhibition was held on the grounds of Bihar Vidyapith on the banks of the Ganges, some three miles from Patna. The second was held in the Bihar Young Men's Institute and it was opened by Sadhu Vaswani of Sind. The third was held at Arrah and the fourth at Muzaffarpur and was opened by Maulvi Saheb Muhammad Shaffee. The fifth was held at Chupra¹ and was opened by Maulana Mazhar-ul-Haque. The sixth was held at Mairnea, a small village in the district of Chupra and the seventh and the last mentioned in the report was held at Gaya on the 11th instant. The highest attendance was at Gaya, in spite of terrible heat. It totalled 7,000. There was a large number of ladies included in the number. The least attendance was 2,000. The report goes on to state:

These exhibitions are being visited by Congressmen, non-Congressmen, Government officials, Zamindars, lawyers, big and small merchants, and in some cases even Europeans. The exhibition at Mairnea was visited by crowds of simple villagers, rather than middle-class men.

The khadi sales averaged over a thousand each, the lowest being Rs. 400 at Mairnea, and the highest being Rs. 2,000 at Gaya. The report says:

In these exhibitions all discord and disunion between Hindus and Mussalmans or political leaders holding different views was absent.

The methods adopted are:

We approach at every place some prominent person and request him to organize a khadi exhibition. We secure an influential man to open it. Invitation cards are issued to prominent people. The exhibition is advertised by means of notices, placards, etc. In the evenings, during the exhibition time, magic lantern lectures are given illustrating the khadi movement. Crowds are attracted to these lectures. After the exhibition is over, khadi is hawked in the places where it is held. We propose to continue to hold these exhibitions and expect to clear off our stock which amounts to Rs. 80,000.

I observe from this report that noted men conducted the sales and hawking at these exhibitions.

PROFESSOR PRESENTED WITH KHADDAR

Quite recently, the students of the economic department of the Patna College presented Professor Hamilton on his retirement with a

¹ Also spelt as 'Chapra'

piece of khaddar of local manufacture with the following remarks by their spokesman as quoted in *The Searchlight*:

Sir, I know you to be a devout follower of the late Prof. Marshall who lays down the basic concept of all his works on economics: 'It is on the one side a study of wealth, on the other and more important side, a part of the study of man.' And for you we cannot choose a better present than a piece of khadi, from start to finish, a Bihar product, made of the indigenous Kukti cotton. It lays bare to you, Sir, not only the economic endeavours of our country but the very heart of our nation. On the side of wealth-production it represents that part of it which goes to increase the poor man's mite, and on its human side, represents the country's struggle to provide food for the famished and to clothe the shame of the naked.

It is to be wished that all the students whether of Government college or other will appreciate the economics of khaddar as the Patna College students have done and will follow their example whenever they have any occasion to make presentations.

KHADDAR IN MYSORE

A correspondent writes:

Some khaddar lovers of Mysore have started a co-operative society in Mysore town since July 1925. Not much khaddar is yet locally produced. The organizers therefore secure khaddar from Andhra, Tamil Nadu and Karnatak. The Society intends to increase its capital. At present they have 365 shares of Rs. 10 each. The shareholders are required to pay Re. 1 per month on each allotted share. But some have paid the whole amount. There are 103 members of the society. The shop purchases locally spun yarn at the rate of Rs. 12 per pound. It is then locally woven. The society is spending only Rs. 32 per month for the establishment and other charges. The paid-up capital between July 1925 and May last was Rs. 2,036. Khaddar purchased was Rs. 8,365. Khaddar sold was Rs. 8,088.

This is no doubt an unpretentious beginning for a town like Mysore. But if the example is copied by other towns and if the management is able and honest there is no doubt that there is a great future for khaddar in Mysore.

WHO CAN AFFILIATE?

A question has been asked what are the terms of affiliation for *goshalas* to All-India Cow-Protection Association. No rules have yet been passed by the Committee. But I adopt the suggestions of Chaunde Maharaj that it should be one per cent of the net income of

the society seeking affiliation. Full particulars should be supplied at the time of affiliation and the applicant society should be prepared to endorse the objects of the Association and submit to inspection and audit by the Association. The affiliated institution or society shall have the right to have the advice of the experts of the Association and free use of the literature at its disposal and such other guidance as may be in its power to render. These rules will naturally be subject to the sanction of the Committee of the A.-I. Cow-Protection Association. I would welcome suggestions before the rules are placed before the Committee.

Young India, 1-7-1926

568. ALL-INDIA DESHBANDHU MEMORIAL

A correspondent draws my attention to the fact that the acknowledgments of amounts received on behalf of the All-India Deshbandhu Memorial Fund have been loosely dealt with in *Young India* in that there has been no continuity. This is true because as intimations were received either from the Secretary or the Treasurer I passed on the memoranda without checking and without examining the last totals. The correspondent is therefore unable to know whether the monies paid by himself have been actually credited to the All-India Deshbandhu Memorial Fund or not. Upon receipt of this letter, I corresponded¹ with the Treasurer and secured a copy of the full list of subscribers to date. In order to avoid any confusion and error and so as to enable every subscriber to find out for himself whether his subscription has or has not been received, I am publishing the full list². I am unable to give the whole list in one issue, if only because the second part of the list is still under examination.

I need hardly assure the reader that the funds at the Treasurer's office are most jealously kept and they are banked as soon as they are received. The confusion has arisen not owing to faulty or careless book-keeping, but owing to omission to publish *all* lists received at the *Young India* office. I shall be thankful if subscribers will look up the list that is being now published and call my attention to any omission they may discover.

Young India, 1-7-1926

¹ This letter is not available.

² Not reproduced here

569. LETTER TO SHEWAKRAM KARAMCHAND

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
July 2, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. It is perfectly possible to completely stop involuntary night discharges. I have not entirely succeeded, but I know that it is perfectly possible. I have been free often for months and months. And I recall even a time when I was free for over a year. Why that long spell of freedom was broken is a long story. The discharges are neither natural nor beneficial for health. They are an interruption to the full development of health and, when one's mind has become absolutely free from passion of every kind, night discharges are an impossibility. It is a state attainable by all. But it is attained by sustained and even painful effort.

I have your second letter also which I might deal with later in the pages of *Young India*.¹ I have always wanted to give your boys a letter in my own handwriting, but something or other has come in the way. Here are a few lines now.²

Yours sincerely,

Encl. 1

SJT. SHEWAKRAM KARAMCHAND

TEACHER

M. A. V. SCHOOL

OLD SUKKUR

(SIND)

From a microfilm: S.N. 19648

¹ It is not clear what the addressee's second letter was about; *vide*, however, "Conservation of Vital Energy", 2-9-1926.

² The enclosure is not available.

570. LETTER TO SATCOWRIPATI ROY

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI ,
July 2, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your telegram, but such news as you have given me always travels fast. I got the news of Bhomble's death twenty-four hours before your telegram. I telegraphed to Sudhir and wrote also to Basanti Devi giving such comfort as was possible.

I hope you are keeping well and that things in Bengal are shaping themselves right.

Yours sincerely,

BA[B]U SATCOWRIPATI ROY
BHAWANIPUR
CALCUTTA

From a microfilm: S.N. 19649

571. LETTER TO RAMESHWARDAS PODDAR.

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Friday [July 2, 1926]¹

BHAI RAMESHWARJI,

Your letter. As for God, He is always testing us. What does it matter if a whole lifetime is spent in repeating *Ramanama*. We should repeat *Ramanama* with faith that it is the best remedy.

Yours,

MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 164

¹ From the postmark

572. LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR

THE ASHRAM,
July 2, 1926

BHAISHRI KAKA,

Both your letters to hand. Much of what you write is due, I see, to your misunderstanding. I am not backing out at all. Only I would not be on the committee which I do regard as right. All the rules are framed by the committee. Even in the matter of selecting a name, do not accept my suggestion only. I do not think there are more men on the committee than are needed. Nowadays Mama¹ and Narahari² do not come here at all. There is at present such an understanding with Vinoba that every three months he should come and stay here for quite some time. I have asked for a copy of the rules being sent to Mama, Narahari and Appa³.

As the principles were laid down at the time of the founding of the Ashram⁴ they are not mentioned in these rules. Panditji⁵ and Chhaganlal Joshi⁶ can both be on the committee. They do not wish to be there I rather liked their plea. They are neither particularly enthusiastic nor indifferent about the committee. I regard the committee as absolutely necessary. It is indeed my aim not to tie down the committee here and now with too many rules.

I believe we cannot yet interest ourselves in the affairs of the families. One who has lived in the Ashram for five years and studiously endeavours to observe its rules can become a member of the managing committee. The committee of course has overall control of all the departments.

If your interpretation of the rules is correct they will have to be amended.

I have conceived of the school as an autonomous body within the Ashram itself. The managing committee is not intended to acquire some prerogatives for its members. Living in the Ashram and leading

¹ Vaman Laxman Phadke

² Narahari D. Parikh

³ Appa Saheb Patwardhan

⁴ In 1915

⁵ Presumably, Narayan Moreshwar Khare

⁶ Head Master of the Ashram school.

a similar life [elsewhere] I regard as one and the same.

I did know your opinion on the question of prayer, but I did not send you my comments. All the aspects had been discussed here, so I presumed you must have inferred my opinion from it. There was an open discussion and I had discussed the matter specially with Mahadev. Had I found a difference of principle in the opinion you held, I would have joined issue with you.

From my standpoint, I do not agree that there is any divergence between us in regard to the ideals of the Ashram school. The reason why you think there is, is that you do not fully understand that I am an *anekantavadin*¹. I am quite convinced that we are at present in no position to take pupils from outside; besides we are trying new experiments every day. It is certainly desirable to make experiments, but we cannot involve outsiders even if we try to. Fortunately they are not so simple-minded as to get themselves readily involved. People all over the world act in accordance with current traditions and that is only right. We are either too advanced or too backward for many to keep us company. I believe, nowhere else in India is the educational field so wide as ours, because we deal with children and also with their parents. We may not perhaps be in a position to cope with that field, but what I say is true. What does it matter if people from outside compare our school with Ambalalbai's? Should we not be guided by our own conscience? Certainly we have no wish to boycott anyone. Tulsidas, the *Antyaja*, would have a place right here.

The object in having you on the committee is clear enough, viz., that all may feel the need to consult you while you are at the Ashram. Let us assume that perhaps Maganlal may not feel that way. Is that any reason why you should hesitate? If my idea of the committee is correct, Mahadev, Kishorelal and Maganlal cannot by themselves carry the burden.

The ideal before the school would be to discover through experiments what national education is and for the teachers to consider themselves as pupils because they are seekers, too, groping for their ideal. I place you and myself in the same category. The idea you have in regard to khadi is equally true in regard to education.

What you have yet to do is this. Return the rules after adding to or deleting from them. There may possibly be an error in

¹ In Jainism one who looks at things from various points of view

incorporating into the rules that part of your criticism which all accept. Therefore I want you to translate your own criticism into the rules, so that it will be easy for everyone to understand it. Else we would all be trying to interpret them in our own way.

You write nothing about your health. Let me know about the weather there. Shanker has written many letters to you. Now what about his complaint that you have not replied to them?

Blessings from

BAPU

SJT. KAKASAHEB

YEOTMAL

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 19926

573. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,

Friday [July 2, 1926]¹

CHI MATHURADAS,

I have your letter. You are bound to gain weight in that climate. The stomach trouble should not persist now. What is your body temperature now? There is quite a crowd at the Ashram at present. A lady² who was to come from Germany has already arrived.

Blessings from

BAPU

SJT. MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

HOMI VILLA

PANCHGANI

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

¹ The postmark bears the date July 3, 1926. The Friday preceding that date was July 2.

² Helene Haussding

574. LETTER TO V. R. KOTHARI

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
July 3, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter.¹ Jamnalalji is now here. I have discussed the thing with him. His opinion is that your institution is good so far as it goes. It is an ordinary type of boarding house looking after about 25 boys belonging to the depressed classes. The funds which friends place at my disposal for this work are limited. Several institutions, some better carrying out the purpose I and those who are associated with me have in view, are being supported. To pay you Rs. 10,000/- would be to pay practically the whole of the expense of the building. When you embarked upon the scheme, you had not any help through me in view. It seems to me that you should exert yourself to approach others who are also interested in such work and enlist their support. It is not right for me to burden the trust at my disposal with a single heavy item. It seems to me that Rs. 5,000/- can be more usefully employed for the same cause by distributing the same amongst several equally needy and equally efficient institutions. I have shown this letter to Jamnalalji who is as much interested in the welfare of the depressed classes as I am and who helps me in raising funds for such purpose.²

Yours sincerely,

SJT. V. R. KOTHARI
POONA CITY

From a microfilm: S.N. 11127

¹ On March 9, 1926, Kothari had referred to a grant of Rs. 5,000 Gandhiji gave him for a Depressed Classes Hostel, at Bari, in Sholapur District and renewed his request for a further grant. Jamnalal Bajaj paid a visit to the institution (S.N. 11120). On June 28, Kothari wrote reminding Gandhiji of his request for the grant (S.N. 11188).

² In reply to this, Kothari wrote again on July 5 (S.N. 11128).

575. LETTER TO SHALIGRAM SHASTRI

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
July 3, 1926

BHAI SHALIGRAM SHASTRI,

Your letter to hand. Also received your telegram. You must have got my telegram informing you that Harihar Sharma was going back and that you might fix any date after August 16. I can well understand the reason for your not coming at this time.

I send you a copy of the scheme which Pandit Harihar Sharma has drawn up in consultation with the local workers. Please study it and place it before the committee if necessary, and obtain their opinion also on this.

From a microfilm of the Hindi: S.N. 19650

576. KHADI WORK IN GARIADHAR

Shri Shambhushanker has been working in Gariadhar on behalf of the Conference¹. His record of work is noteworthy. He persuaded 1,100 families in 41 villages around Gariadhar to stock cotton and helped them with all facilities up to the stage of weaving. Approximately 3,000 maunds of cotton has been stocked, out of which 800 maunds was ginned on hand-wheels. There is a cess on carding in this region, but those who carded this cotton for being turned into slivers were exempted from this cess. Out of all these families, only 112 families availed themselves of the assistance offered by the conference in terms of its resolutions on the subject, namely, one-half the expenditure incurred on carding and weaving. Till now, only Rs. 164 have been spent on this account. As near-famine conditions prevailed in this area, cheap slivers were also supplied. About 8 maunds of slivers were sold to nearly 50 families, at the rate of 6 annas a pound, and most of this was used for making women's garments. It is estimated that no more than Rs. 50 would have to be set aside for this purpose. In addition to this, because of the famine conditions, cotton was also purchased from the market and got spun

¹ Kathiawar Political Conference

into yarn on payment, with a view to having it woven into cloth. So far, 295 maunds of cotton have been ginned, and made into slivers in the Centre itself. The quantity is in the process of being spun and woven into cloth. The cost of ginning came to Rs. 110. The cotton-pods yielded 93_ maunds of cottonwool and 190 maunds of cotton-seeds. The yarn being spun is of 4 to 8 counts. The rate of payment for spinning is five pies per count. The rate for carding and making slivers is Rs. 2-12-0 per pound, and for weaving it is Rs. 8. The khadi woven is of 24 inches to 27 inches width, and one maund of khadi measures between 110 and 115 yards in length. Shri Shambhushanker tries to get all the khadi produced sold locally. He has so far sold 962 yards of khadi at the rate of 17 annas for 3_ yards, which comes nearly to 5 annas a yard. A maund of yarn is woven into cloth every day. Moreover khadi is woven in this area for the Amreli Khadi Centre too. This khadi measures 30 inches in width. The work in this centre is being done efficiently and economically, and the chief reason for this seems to be that Shri Shambhushankerbhai mixes with and maintains close contacts with each spinner, carder and weaver. My object in publishing the figures which I receive from the various centres is that they may learn and derive inspiration from one another. Healthy and pleasant competition amongst the various centres should be welcome. The field of work is so large that it offers scope for sacrifice for thousands of voluntary workers and can help thousands of others to make a living. Those, moreover, who become interested in this work and realize that village life can have the beauty of poetry can derive the utmost happiness from it.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 4-7-1926

577. RESTRICTIONS ON WOMEN IN MENSES

A widow writes as follows:

I am told that a woman in menses should not touch books, paper, pencil, slate and such other things connected with learning. Do you also believe in this?

Such a question can be asked only in a wretched country like India which is disgraced by foolish notions about touching and not touching things. Some of the rules forbidding such a woman to touch a particular thing can be justified on grounds of health and morality. During that period, the woman is unfit to do hard work. It is very

necessary that she should remain undisturbed by sex desire. A married woman should altogether avoid the company of her husband, and rest is very necessary for her, but it is not only not improper for her to read good books or to study but, on the contrary, I believe that it is desirable and necessary that she should do so. We can think of a number of household chores which such a woman can do with comfort and with little exertion.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 4-7-1926

578. GUJARAT KHADI PRACHARAK MANDAL

According to the accounts for the second *Chaitra*¹ received from the Gujarat Khadi Mandal, 3,854 square yards of khadi was woven in fifteen different centres out of yarn spun personally by people who got it woven. One of the centres wove 410 square yards of khadi from ready yarn and 3,348 sq. yards of khadi for sale was woven in ten centres. A subsidy of Rs. 1,433 at the rate of _ an anna a *vishi*² per yard was given to fifteen centres. Khadi worth Rs. 7,580 was sold through eleven stores. The total number of workers in the various centres was 41. Besides, there were 15 carders, 117 weavers, 172 persons spinning for themselves and 683 spinning for wages. The figures of work for a period of eleven months are as follows: Khadi woven out of yarn spun by the persons who had it woven, 35,033 sq. yards; khadi made from ready-made yarn, 7,756 sq. yards; khadi for sale, both spinning and weaving done through the centres, 20,595 sq. yards; a subsidy of Rs. 10,584 at the rate of half an anna; the sale of khadi through the various stores, Rs. 80,063. These figures do not include those relating to centres in Kathiawar. During the second *Chaitra*, the Mandal sold 19 spinning-wheels, 50 *taklis*³, 32 spindles, 105 lb. of slivers, 40 lb. of yarn, 60 bows for carding, 29 charkhas and 56 *aterans*⁴. In the figures above, annas and fractions have been left out. These statistics may seem ludicrous in the context of our aim of bringing about boycott of foreign cloth, but, as a

¹ A month in the Hindu calendar, roughly corresponding to March-April; in this year there was an extra, i.e., second *Chaitra*.

² A unit of a warp comprising twenty threads

³ Spindles worked with hand

⁴ Wooden gadgets on which yarn is wound off a spindle

measure of the progress of khadi itself, of the help given to the poor and from the standpoint of middle-class men and women who wish to earn their living through voluntary service, they are not ludicrous but heartening. As our capacity for work improves and workers acquire self-confidence, khadi will make even faster progress. Anyone who takes the trouble to think cannot but see that, if there is any work which can become universal in the country, it is that connected with the production of khadi.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 4-7-1926

579. *LETTER TO V. A. SUNDARAM*

[SABARMATI],

*Monday [July 5, 1926]*¹

MY DEAR SUNDARAM,

I have your welcome letter. So you will give me a Tamil lesson and something noble every Monday. I understand all the Tamil you have given me, of course with your careful notes.

Love to you all. I have mentioned your proposal to Devdas. But I do not think, he will come. He is all right now.

Yours,

BAPU

SUNDARAM

C/O MRS. STOKES

KOTGARH

Via SIMLA

From a photostat: G.N. 3182

¹ From the postmark

580. LETTER TO THE EDITOR “ HINDOO”

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
July 5, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

Here is my article¹ for the *Hindoo* if it may be so called.

Yours sincerely,

Encl. 1

THE EDITOR

Hindoo

SIND (HYDERABAD)

From a microfilm: S.N. 19652

581. MESSAGE FOR “ HINDOO”

July 5, 1926

I must not be tired of repeating what I found to be a fundamental truth for India's freedom. I can therefore commend to the readers of *Hindoo* the spinning-wheel and khaddar. I know how severely Sind has proved disappointing, but I know that the time is coming when Sind will also respond.

From a microfilm: S.N. 19652

582. LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI

July 5, 1926

CHI. MANILAL,

Your letters to hand. I expect there would be no hitch in arranging your marriage when you come here. Certainly nothing can be *finalized* before your arrival. If you must marry, you must restrain your extravagance. Everyone coming from there complains of this.

I find your explanation inadequate. But you will always be what you are. I do not want to control you. I shall be content with whatever

¹ *Vide* the succeeding item.

you let me know.

The books you ordered have been dispatched. Please remit their cost immediately. The Ashram can grant no credit, because it has no private sources of income. I hope this is quite clear.

I learn now for the first time that Shanti does not satisfy you. I am glad however to learn that Dahyo does.

Please send me the old book of newspaper cuttings maintained by me. There are also a number of books which are of no use there; you had better send them here or bring them with you.

Devdas is quite well. He is enjoying the climate of Mussoorie. Ramdas is in Amreli.

What is one to write about Harilal¹? Rami² is in the Ashram.

You do not seem to have made use of the many articles which Mahadevbhai sent you. Of course, that does not matter. An editor ought to have the right to decide what he will accept and what he will not. But should he not write even a letter of thanks or an acknowledgment?

When you come, be armed with a notice to me: 'Marry me off in fifteen days' time; I must take the next steamer.'

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 1118. Courtesy: Sushilabehn Gandhi; also G.N. 4705

583. *LETTER TO TEHMINA KHAMBHATTA*

THE ASHRAM,

SABARMATI,

Tuesday [July 6, 1926]³

DEAR SISTER,

Your letter to hand. I was certainly expecting it. Every time I take up Mrs. Eddy's⁴ book, I do remember Bhai Khambhatta. I

¹ Gandhiji's eldest son

² Daughter of Harilal

³ From the postmark

⁴ Mary Baker Eddy (1821-1910), author of *Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures* (1875)

am very glad to learn he is recovering. How can we get tired of diet or a medicine which proves beneficial to us? I have certainly not forgotten about sending my opinion of Mrs. Eddy's book. But sincethere is no urgency about it, I give it only such time as I can spare from my other occupations.

Blessings from

BAPU

SMT. TEHMINA BEHRAMJI KHAMBHATTA
275, HORNBY ROAD
FORT
BOMBAY

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 4362. Courtesy: Tehmina Khambhatta

584. *A MESSAGE*¹

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
July 7, 1926

The greatest contribution that India can render to the sum of human happiness is to attain her freedom by peaceful and truthful means. Whether such a thing will ever come to pass is more than one can say. Indeed, appearances would contradict any such belief. Nevertheless, my faith in the future of humanity is so great that I cannot but hold any other belief than that India will gain her freedom only through peaceful and truthful means and no other. May all, therefore, who share my belief help India towards that supreme consummation.

From a photostat: S.N. 19656 a

585. *LETTER TO NURGIS CAPTAIN*²

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
July 7, 1926

I had your long letter. After you were twelve hours away from Aden, your criticism about the young men you saw on board is true though painful. This cow-protection cry on the part of many educated

¹ It is not known to whom this message was sent.

² Grand-daughter of Dadabhai Naoroji

Hindus is a false cry. But, after all, they are but a drop in the ocean of Hindu humanity and against these few beef-eaters, there are millions who would rather die than touch beef and its restraint to be treasured, for our upward growth depends upon our self-restraint.

Poor Yeshwantprasad is still suffering. The guinea worms have not left him entirely. He is at Bhavnagar undergoing treatment from his own *hakim*. Jamnabehn is also there. Mira is getting on quite all right. And, now we have the German sister who was expected to come. She too has made herself at home. I am quite well. Devdas is at Mussoorie. You know that he had an operation for appendicitis. He is quite all right now. You must be thoroughly restored before you return.

Mr. Bahadurji's yarn that you sent me for testing was not bad at all. His test gave nearly 50 per cent. 60 per cent is really required for weaving purposes. We are at present concentrating upon increasing the strength of the yarn instead of the speed and the same has reached up to 90 per cent. Probably, at the end of the month someone may reach 100 per cent.

Yours,

NURGISBEHN

GENEVA

From a microfilm: S.N. 19653

586. *LETTER TO A. T. GIDWANI*

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
July 7, 1926

MY DEAR GIDWANI,

I hope you are getting on well in your new surroundings.

You will be interested to know that I wrote to Narayandas the same day that you gave me the information about grapes and asked him to telegraph to me.¹ He telegraphed saying that he was replying my letter. I immediately came to the conclusion that the worst you have told me was true. The promised reply has not yet been received. Meanwhile Hatham sent another telegram stating the whole information will be given to me if I promise not to fast. Poor simple

¹ *Vide* "Letter to Narandas Anandji", 29-6-1926.

Hatham, as if by his telegram he has not told me all I did know. I gave up the grapes immediately I got the telegram from Narayandas.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 19654

587. LETTER TO V. B. TYAR

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
July 7, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your article on 'Sandhya Prayer'. It is interesting, but not required for the readers of *Young India*. They will not understand it. The prayer that the readers of *Young India* find emphasized is the prayer of the heart.

I return the article. You may need it. I hope you are succeeding with your charkha.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. V. B. TYAR
MILITARY ACCOUNTS
MAYMYO
(BURMA)

From a microfilm: S.N. 19655

588. LETTER TO BHUPENDRA NARAYAN SEN

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
July 7, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I now understand somewhat better your plans. But tell me wherein you differ from Khadi Pratishthan and Abhoy Ashram in your plans to develop some of the items of constructive programme on your own lines.

The only suggestion I have about malaria is its prevention. There is no certainty about it. But I feel that if a person keeps his body pure and unlogged and takes the ordinary precautions about pure water and pure food, he is not likely to be troubled by malaria.

You ask me to tell you all about my health. There is, however, nothing to tell because it seems to be quite all right for the moment.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm S.N. 19656

589. LETTER TO MISS KATHERINE MAYO

THE ASHRAM,

SABARMATI,

July 7, 1926

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your second letter.¹ The notes were duly corrected, amplified and posted to you. I hope you have received them. If they have gone astray, please let me know. I believe that the original is not yet destroyed. If they have not been received by you, let me inform you that they were amplified as they were sent by you. You will therefore kindly wait for the amplified copy if you have not received it already.

Yours sincerely,

MISS KATHERINE MAYO

BEDFORD HILLS

NEW YORK (U. S. A.)

From 3 photostat: S.N. 10778

590. LETTER TO PRABHASHANKER PATTANI

SABARMATI ASHRAM,

July 7, 1926

SUJNA BHAISHRI,

For a long time I have kept with me a letter from a weaver of the Dhed caste only with a view to sending you an excerpt from it. In

¹ Writing this on May 26, Katherine Mayo had acknowledged Gandhiji's letter of April 9 with enclosures, pointing out that his secretary had overlooked returning her notes of the talk Gandhiji gave her and her friends. She wanted either that they should be returned to her corrected, amplified, etc., or that Gandhiji should confirm that they were correct (S.N. 10754).

your present state of health, I am afraid, I ought not to write this to you, but since you have not relinquished charge of the State's administration, a petition from the poor may reach you. This man writes:¹

I do not know how dead cattle are disposed of in Bhavnagar. please get information on this point and do what is proper. Why does not the State itself set up a tannery to handle all the dead cattle? In fact why should not the State also run an ideal dairy and supply pure milk at low price to children?

SIR PRABHASHANKER PATTANI
BHAVNAGAR

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 19657

¹ Not translated here. The correspondent had complained against the indiscriminate slaughter of animals by a person to whom the Bhavnagar State had granted the monopoly of disposing of dead cattle.

APPENDICES
APPENDIX I
VITHALBHAI PATEL'S LETTER TO GANDHIJI

BOMBAY,
May 10, 1926

DEAR MAHATMAJI,

When I accepted the office of President of the Legislative Assembly I had made a resolution within myself that I would devote the savings from my salary towards the furtherance of some object calculated to promote the national welfare. It was not possible for me for various reasons to save anything worth the name within the first six months. Since the last month, however, I am glad to say that I am quite out of the woods, and can, and do, save a substantial amount. I find that, on an average, I require Rs. 2,000 per month for my expenses. The amount of my net salary, excluding income-tax, is Rs. 3,625. I propose, therefore, to set apart Rs. 1,625 per month, beginning from the last month, to be utilized hereafter in such manner and for such purpose as you may approve. I have, of course, some ideas in the matter, and I will in due course discuss them with you. But whether you agree with me in those ideas or not, the amount is at your disposal.

I enclose herewith a cheque for Rs. 1,625 for the month of April.

I trust you will not decline to take this responsibility.

I am,
Yours sincerely,
V. J. PATEL

Vithalbhai Patel—Life and Times—II. P. 669

APPENDIX II
I. THE SABARMATI PACT¹

The conference convened at the instance of Pandit Motilal Nehru was held at Sabarmati Ashram, Ahmedabad, on the 20th and 21st. . . . Telegrams and letters were received. . . . including one from Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya which contained suggestions about bringing all Indian political parties on a common platform in a united Congress.

The conference adopted the following agreement, as embodying its decision on points specifically discussed :

¹ This appeared under the title “Swarajists and Responsivists : The Ahmedabad Compromise”.

It is hereby agreed between the undersigned, subject to the confirmation of the All-India Congress Committee, that the response made by the Government shall for purposes of Clauses (a) and (b) of the resolution II-B (4) of the All-India Congress Committee, dated March 6 and 7, 1926, be considered satisfactory in the provinces, if the power, responsibility and initiative necessary for the effective discharge of their duties are secured to ministers and the sufficiency of such power, responsibility and initiative, in each province, shall be decided in the first instance by Congress members of the Legislative Council of the Province, subject to confirmation by a Committee consisting of Pandit Motilal Nehru and Mr. M. R. Jayakar.

It is further agreed that the said Committee will decide all disputes in the Congress provinces of the Bombay Maharashtra, Bihar and the C.P. Marathi. This agreement has been subscribed to by the undersigned in their individual capacities, and it will be submitted for ratification to the executive of the Swaraj and Responsive Co-operation Parties. It will be placed for ratification before the All-India Congress Committee at a meeting which is being convened on May 5 and 6 next, at Sabarmati.

The compromise is signed by Sarojini Naidu, Motilal Nehru, Lajpat Rai, M. R. Jayakar, N. C. Kelkar, B. S. Moonje, M. S. Aney, D. V. Gokhale, G. A. Ogale at Sabarmati, April 21, 1926.

II. A. I. C. C.'S DELHI RESOLUTION

The Clauses of Resolution II-B(4) of the A.I.C.C. meeting at Delhi referred to in the agreement state that Congressmen shall

(a) refuse to accept offices in the gift of the Government until, in the opinion of the Congress, a satisfactory response is made by the Government;

(b) refuse supplies and throw out budgets until such response is made by the Government, except when the Working Committee instructs otherwise.

III. RESPONSIVISTS' AKOLA MANIFESTO

The Responsive Co-operationist Party manifesto, issued at the Akola Conference in February last, declared regarding their Council programme :

We believe that no programme of bringing about constitutional dead-lock by resorting to the policy of uniform, continuous and consistent obstruction can be successful unless tried on a large scale, and backed by some sanctions behind the same.

We believe that the best course under the present circumstances is that of Responsive Co-operation, which means working the Reforms, unsatisfactory, disappointing and inadequate as they are, for all they are worth; and using the same for accelerating the grant of full responsible Government and also for creating, in the meanwhile, opportunities for the people for advancing their interests and strengthening their power and resistance to injustice and misrule.

The policy of working the Reforms necessarily includes the capture of all places of power, responsibility and initiative which are open to election by, or are otherwise responsible to, the party within the legislature, subject to such conditions with regard to policy, programme and kindred matters as may seem desirable to impose from time to time.¹

IV. THE BREAKDOWN OF THE PACT

At the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee at Ahmedabad on the 4th May, Pandit Motilal announced that, owing to irreconcilable differences between the signatories of the Sabarmati Pact regarding the interpretation of its terms, the negotiations that he had been for the past few days carrying on with the Responsivists had broken down, and the Pact had, therefore, fallen through and was non-existent. A letter from the Responsivists was read by the Secretary confirming in the main Pandit Motilal's statement.

V. MOTILAL'S SUBSTITUTE FORMULA

The following is the text of the substitute formula which was handed to the Responsivists leaders on the 4th morning :

Having regard to the fact that doubts and differences have arisen as to the true interpretation of the agreement arrived at between Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Messrs Lajpat Rai, M. S. Aney, M. R. Jayakar, N. C. Kelkar, G. A. Ogale and Pandit Motilal Nehru at Sabarmati on the 21st April, 1926, this meeting of the All-India Congress Committee, while fully agreeing with the principles, policy and programme laid down in resolution 7 of the Cawnpore Congress and resolution 2(b) of the All-India Congress Committee passed at Delhi on 6th and 7th March, 1926, and fully believing that dyarchy in any form or shape is wholly unworkable in the best of conditions, is of opinion that with a view to remove all doubts and differences and to put the true issue before the country, it is expedient to state clearly what shall constitute the satisfactory response referred to in the said resolution.

It is, therefore, hereby resolved :

That the acceptance by the Government of the principle underlying the resolution passed by the Assembly on the 8th February, 1925, shall constitute a satisfactory response by the Government to the national demand for full responsible Government, and the immediate adoption by the Government of the various steps mentioned in the resolution of the Assembly passed on the 8th September, 1925, shall for the present be taken to be a sufficient compliance with the said principle.

(2) That if Responsible Government in the fullest sense is guaranteed by the Government to come automatically in the near future by the adoption of steps other

¹ Parts I, II and III are reproduced from the *Indian Review*, April, 1926, and Parts IV, V and VI from the issue of May, 1926.

than those mentioned in the resolution of the Assembly passed on the 8th September, 1925, and if, in the meantime, substantially full Responsible Government in the provinces is granted, the response so made by the Government shall be considered sufficient in the provinces for the purpose of accepting ministerships and considering the provincial budgets on their merits, provided that no such response shall be considered adequate unless it includes :

(a) The release or trial according to law of all political prisoners who are at present detained without being convicted by a duly constituted court.

(b) The repeal of all repressive laws.

(c) The removal of all disqualifications now imposed on persons who have served the sentences passed on them, from standing for election to elected bodies in the country.

(d) The abolition of non-official nominations to membership of Council and throwing open the seats of nominated non-official members to election by the general electorate.

(3) That the adequacy of any action by the Government in any province as is referred to in resolution 2 shall on the recommendation of the Congress members of the Legislative Council of that province be decided by the Working Committee.

VI. RESPONSIVISTS' DISAPPROVAL

In their reply, Mr. Jayakar and his colleagues pointed out :

We have carefully considered the draft which we regarded as a travesty of the Pact and a complete repudiation of the same. We think that the draft furnishes no common ground on which we could profitably meet and discuss. Under the circumstances, we are of opinion that no useful purpose will be served by our attending the Working Committee's meeting this morning, and we have, therefore, decided not to attend the same. We feel that we need not have been dragged all the way to Ahmedabad from our distant homes to be made sport of in the manner the draft proposes to do.

The Indian Review, April and May, 1926