

# Bibliography of Books Read by Mahatma Gandhi

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## CONTENTS :

Preface . . . . .	1
Chronological List (in ten sections) . . . . .	3
List of Titles . . . . .	72
List of Authors . . . . .	99
Appendix 1: Some of Gandhi's remarks on eight religious classics . . . . .	110
Appendix 2: Some other books owned by Gandhi . . . . .	117
Appendix 3: Details still sought . . . . .	147
Acknowledgements . . . . .	149

## PREFACE

The annotated bibliography which Ananda Pandiri<sup>1</sup> prepared in the 1980s and '90s (with some help from Shri Bhavsar), and which lists 354 titles, is valuable as far as it goes, but we have found evidence of well over a hundred additional books – many of them in native Indian languages – which Gandhi can be shown to have read, and have thus gained a more accurate picture of the extent to which he read more in English than in other languages.

In addition to including entries for the additional titles, we provide in the Chronological List and in Appendix 1 some citations of Gandhi's remarks about various books. Appendix 1 gives representative samples of his remarks about the classical religious texts that he most often referred to (the *Bhagavad Gita*, the *Ramayana*, the *Ishopanishad*, the Koran, the Bible, the *Mahabharata*, the *Bhagavata* and the *Manusmriti*). The Chronological List includes (a) more nearly comprehensive coverage of his remarks about books in regard to which we have found only a few comments by him, and (b) citations of evidence that he actually read each book in the list. If the evidence is equivocal, we indicate this (with a word like "maybe") at the beginning of the entry. If the original title of the book is long and "descriptive" (describing, for instance, its appendices or the like), the Chronological List gives only a reasonably long version of it.

The Chronological List is divided into ten sections, each of which may include some items for which the documentary evidence, though warranting only a vague estimate of when he read it, is nonetheless clear enough to indicate which of the ten sections it belongs in. In this way we avoid relying on mere guesswork to assign each and every book to a specific year.

The List of Authors gives short versions of the titles so as to indicate succinctly which books by each author are in the Chronological List.

The alphabetical List of Titles gives the full title (or in the case of *very* long titles a very substantial version of it) along with the place and date of publication of what seems to us to be the edition that Gandhi is most likely to have read. If there were very many editions and if the evidence doesn't hint at which one he read, then we give the place and date of the first edition and add "and other editions." (An example of such a book is the King James version of the Bible.)

Any book for which the evidence shows that Gandhi read it but doesn't indicate the title is included in the Chronological List (with a descriptive phrase standing in for the title), but perforce not in the List of Titles. We suggest the most likely possibilities as to the identity of certain books for which the evidence provides substantial but equivocal indications that he read them. (For example, he read in 1922 a book entitled "The Crusades," and at that time more than one book with that title was available.) We do not, however, list books in regard to which the evidence that he *may* have read them is quite vague.

If we have evidence that one or more of his friends told him about a book, but no evidence that he read it nor any citation by him from it, then we don't mention it.<sup>2</sup> And, if we have found evidence that someone gave him a certain book, or that it was otherwise in his possession, but the evidence does not indicate that he read it, then it is not mentioned in any of our three main lists, even though the possibility that he *may* have read it is palpable.

Appendix 2 lists briefly one third of the *ca.*4500 books that Gandhi donated to the municipal library of Ahmedabad in 1933 when Sabarmati Ashram was confiscated by the colonial government.<sup>3</sup> Shri Bhavsar is preparing a proper bib-

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1. "Books Read by Gandhi," in Ananda M. Pandiri, *A comprehensive, annotated bibliography on Mahatma Gandhi. Volume one. Biographies, works by Gandhi, and bibliographical sources* (Greenwood Press, Westport CT 1995; reprinted by Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad 2002), pp. 275-310. A bare list of 253 such books "based on his own writings and Mahadevbhai's Diaries" is on pp. 487-94 of Dharma Vir's *Gandhi bibliography* (Chandigarh 1967).

When Mr Pandiri visited Gujarat Vidyapith for two weeks in 1994, Shri Bhavsar, having begun already to compile the present work, was well equipped to lend assistance to him. It was soon after the publication of Pandiri's work that Shri Bhavsar invited Dr Lindley to collaborate on the present work. Ms Upadhyay, who had in the early 1990s studied library science with Shri Bhavsar, joined the team in 2010.

2. There were many such books. See apropos [www.wilsonquarterly.com/article.cfm?AID=1710](http://www.wilsonquarterly.com/article.cfm?AID=1710).

3. The dates given there are of course those of editions included in that donation.

Everyone knows that Gandhi was interested in religion, diet, health and politics. Mathematics and English poetry are also rather well represented among the titles listed in Appendix 1. In addition to renderings of Asian classics into English verse by various translators such as Edwin Arnold and Edward Fitzgerald, he owned several anthologies of British poems and separate books of poetry by Matthew Arnold, Browning, Burns, Byron, Chaucer, Dryden, Goldsmith, Houseman, Keats, Longfellow, Macaulay, Malory, Sarojini Naidu, Pope, Scott, Shakespeare, Shelley, Tagore, Tennyson, James Thomson, Wordsworth and a dozen less well known writers. Among the other poets from

liography of all the extant books from that donation. In the case of each one in English for which Shri Bhavsar has already prepared an entry in his bibliography and for which we have found specific evidence that Gandhi read it, we indicate in our main List of Titles the edition which he owned, and the book is then not listed in the Appendix.<sup>4</sup> Also excluded from that list are books in languages other than English and nearly all of the books published anonymously (including dozens of biographies of eminent modern Indians published by G.A. Nateson in Madras) or by various organizations or government offices (including, for instance, the *Statutes of the Union of South Africa, 1910 and 1911* and several substantial bulletins issued by the Women's Bureau of the U.S. Department of Labor).

Some other collections of books were also readily available to Gandhi – perhaps most readily (*a*) the more than four thousand books belonging to his personal secretary, Mahadev Desai, which are now in the library of the museum at Sabarmati, and (*b*) some ten thousand books in the libraries of the university, Gujarat Vidyapith, which Gandhi founded in 1920 in Ahmedabad less than two miles away from the ashram at Sabarmati. He often walked or bicycled between the two institutions.<sup>5</sup>

We give in English transcription (rather than in the original scripts, which the computers of many of our Western friends are unequipped to read) and without diacritical marks the titles of the books in native Indian languages. In these transcriptions we often follow the spellings given in Gandhi's *Collected Works*. We have found it impossible, however, to be entirely consistent about this. If, for instance, an Indian word is spelt differently on the title-page of an English-language book from the way Gandhi spelled it when writing in English, then we retain both spellings. In some catalogue which you, dear reader, may consult, you are not very unlikely to find it transcribed in yet another way. May you cope with this problem as well as children all over the world do with the peculiarities of everyday English spelling!

Our references to the *Collected Works* are to the original version of that set (because of its superiority), except that page references to Vol. I are to the 1969 version (reprinted in 1979 and 1994) rather than to the small-format 1958 version.

Please note that we have dealt only with books, not with newspapers or journals (which Gandhi read plentifully).

Wherever some fact of a kind that one would expect to find in this bibliography is missing, the reason is that we haven't been able to ascertain it. We seek and will implement clearly documented emendations and corrections. (Please see Appendix 3.)

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whom he cited verses were Thomas Gray and James Russell Lowell. He cited also from Goethe's *Faust* in English translation, as well as from a host of Indian-language poets.)

Many of the mathematical books were given to Gandhi by Amidas H. Modi. It is clear from Gandhi's autobiography and from some letters written to his son *ca.* 1909-1911 that he considered it quite important to be numerate as well as literate.

4. Since Appendix 2 offers a far from complete list of the books owned by Gandhi in 1933, he probably owned copies of many of the books that are included *without* an asterisk in our List of Titles. (For instance, we know that he owned a copy of A.S.N. Wadia's *The message of Christ*, and so it is very likely, even though we have no specific proof, that he also owned one of Wadia's *The message of Mahomed* which he finished reading in 1923 on the same day that he began to read *The message of Christ*.)
5. At the University on Saturdays in 1926 he gave well attended public lectures on the Bible. (This is commemorated in a stone inscription on the building where he taught.) The British authorities confiscated and closed the University in 1932, but at his urging allowed the library to be cleaned once a week thereafter. Gandhiana comprises nearly a third of the half-million books in the library today.

## THE TEN SECTIONS OF THE CHRONOLOGICAL LIST:

1. Before October 1888 . . . . .	4
(i.e. before arriving in England to study law)	
2. Before July 1891 . . . . .	6
(i.e. before returning to India after his first visit to England)	
3. Before October 1901 . . . . .	10
(i.e. before returning from Africa to India intending to settle there)	
4. Before July 1909 . . . . .	17
(when he arrived in England for the visit which resulted in his writing <i>Hind Swaraj</i> )	
5. Before 1915 . . . . .	24
(when he returned definitively in India)	
6. Before 1922 . . . . .	28
(back in India but not yet subjected there to a long imprisonment)	
7. March 1922 - January 1924 . . . . .	31
(his first long imprisonment in India)	
8. 1924 - 1930 . . . . .	50
(in India but not yet re-imprisoned)	
9. May 1930 - May 1933 . . . . .	53
(including three imprisonments and the last trip abroad)	
10. May 1933 - January 1948. . . . .	63
(in India, with only one more imprisonment)	

**CHRONOLOGY, Section 1:**  
***BEFORE OCTOBER 1888***  
(i.e. before arriving in England to study law)

(Parts of **Tulsidas, *Ramayana***; Gandhi heard recitations from this)

(Parts of the ***Bhagavata***; Gandhi heard recitations from this)

Parts of ***Manusmriti***

“During [the earlier] part of his illness my father was in Porbandar. There every evening he used to listen to the *Ramayana*.... I must have been [only] thirteen at that time....

“A few months after this we came to Rajkot. There was no *Ramayana* reading there. The *Bhagavata*, however, used to be read on every *Ekadashi* day”<sup>6</sup>

“I happened, at about this time, to come across *Manusmriti* which was amongst my father’s collection” (A, I/x)

**Shastri Gokulji Pranjivan, *Shravanpitribhakti Nataka*** (Gujarati)

(***Harishchandra***, a play in Gujarati which Gandhi saw several times)

“As a rule I had a distaste for any reading beyond my school books.<sup>7</sup> ...But somehow my eyes fell on a book purchased by my father. It was *Shravan Pitribhakti Natak* (a play about Shravan’s devotion to his parents). I read it with intense interest. There came to our place about the same time itinerant showmen. One of the pictures I was shown was of Shravan carrying, by means of slings fitted for his shoulders, his blind parents on a pilgrimage. The book and the picture left an indelible impression on my mind. ‘Here is an example for you to copy,’ I said to myself. The agonized lament of the parents over Shravan’s death is still fresh in my memory. The melting tune moved me deeply, and I played it on a concertina which my father had purchased for me.”

“There was a similar incident connected with another play. Just about this time, I had secured my father’s permission to see a play performed by a certain dramatic company. This play – *Harishchandra* – captured my heart. I could never be tired of seeing it. But how often should I be permitted to go? ...I must have acted *Harishchandra* to myself times without number. ‘Why should not all be truthful like *Harishchandra*?’ was the question I asked myself day and night. To follow truth and to go through all the ordeals *Harishchandra* went through all was the one ideal it inspired in me.... I am sure I should be moved as before if I were to read those plays again today.” (A, I/ii)

“[Please] forgive me, showing me the generosity that *Sravan* did to his parents.” (Letter to Harilal Gandhi, 2 March 1914; C, xii, 369)

### Some booklets about marriage

“About the time of my marriage [in May of 1882], little pamphlets, costing a paise or a pie, used to be issued, in which conjugal love, thrift, child marriages, and other such subjects were discussed.... I used to go through cover to cover, and it was habit with me to forget what I did not like, and to carry out in practice whatever I liked. Lifelong faithfulness to the wife, inculcated in these booklets as the duty of the husband, remained permanently imprinted on my heart.” (A, I/iv)

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1. See Appendix 2 for a selection of Gandhi’s later remarks about the *Bhagavata*.

2. And yet Gandhi also wrote (A, I/i), “I used to be very shy and avoided all company. My books and my lessons were my sole companions.”

Grade-school books in grammar, history, geography, mathematics, chemistry, and literature, including probably the following:

**T. S. Taylor**, *First principles of English grammar*

\***Richard Hiley**, *English grammar, style and poetry*

\***J. D. Morell**, *The analysis of sentences explained and systematised : with an exposition of the fundamental laws of syntax*

**John William Colenso**, *The elements of algebra : designed for the use of schools*

\***Isaac Todhunter**, *The Elements of Euclid : for the use of schools and colleges*

\***Isaac Todhunter**, *Plane trigonometry*

\***Isaac Todhunter**, *Key to exercises in Euclid*

\***Samuel Cooke**, *First principles of chemistry : an introduction to modern chemistry for schools and colleges*

**Alexander Mackay**, *Manual of modern geography : mathematical, physical, and political : on a new plan : embracing a complete development of the river systems of the globe*

**Ebenezer Lethbridge**, *An easy introduction to the history and geography of Bengal : for the junior classes in schools*

**Franz Kielhorn**, *Progressive exercises in [Sanskrit] grammar*, or perhaps *A grammar of the Sanskrit language*

Maybe \***Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar**, *Margopadeshika* (Gujarati translation, by Nandeshankar T. Mehta, of *First book of Sanskrit, being an elementary treatise on grammar with exercises*)

**Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar**, *Second book of Sanskrit, being a treatise on grammar with exercises*

**Bana Bhatta**, *Kadambari* (Sanskrit)

Very likely **Vishnu Sharma**, *Panchtantra* (ancient tales of animals; Gandhi would most likely have read them in Gujarati)

Very likely **Mahipatram Rupram Nilkanth**, *Vanaraj Chavdo* (a Gujarati novel routinely assigned in those days as a school-book in Gujarat)

At least some of **Narmadashankar Lalshankar Dave** (often referred to as **Narmad**), *Narmagadya* (essays in Gujarati, routinely assigned in those days as a school-book in Gujarat)

Very likely **Jane Austen**, *Pride and prejudice* (routinely assigned in those days as a school-book in Gujarat)

(We have taken most of these items from p.111 of C. N. Patel's Gujarati biography of Gandhi, *Gandhicharitra* (Ahmedabad, Gujarat Visvakash, 1995), with emendations partly from www.worldcat.org etc.)

"I have my doubts whether *Kadambari* will be with us forever, but Tulsidas's work will certainly endure. Let us at present get just roti, ghee and milk [i.e. basic nourishment] from our literature. Later on we shall add almonds, pistachio nuts, etc., and produce something like *Kadambari*" (Speech at Ahmedabad, 2 Apr. 1920; C, xvii, 303)

"...You should also read... *Vanaraj Chavdo*, as also some writings of Narmadashanker and Manilal Nabhubhai. If you read these works, you will have a complete understanding of the nature of the Gujarati language." (Letter to Kusum Desai, 8 April 1932; C, lxix, 280)

"If you master *Margopadeshika* well, you will become proficient in [Sanskrit] grammar" (Letter to Kanu Gandhi, 27 May 1935; C, lxi, 107)

## CHRONOLOGY, Section 2:

### ***BEFORE JULY 1891***

(i.e. before returning to India after his first visit to England)<sup>1</sup>

#### **Jeremy Bentham, *An introduction to the principles of morals and legislation***

“One day [in London, a] friend began to read to me Bentham’s *Theory of Utility* [sic]. I was at my wit’s end. The language was too difficult for me to understand. He began to expound it. I said: ‘Pray excuse me. These abstruse things are beyond me....’” (A, I/xiv)

#### **Henry Stephen Salt, *A plea for vegetarianism***

“I read Salt’s book from cover to cover and was very much impressed.... [V]egetarianism... henceforward became my mission.” (A, I/xiv)

#### **Other books on vegetarianism, including the following:**

**Anna Kingsford, *The perfect way in diet...***

**Howard Williams, *The ethics of diet***

Parts of **Thomas Richard Allinson, *A system of hygienic medicine*** and/or ***Medical essays*** prior to their publication as books

**John E. B. Mayor, *Why am I a vegetarian?...***

“Salt’s book whetted my appetite for dietetic studies. I went in for all books available on vegetarianism and read them. One of these, Howard William’s *The Ethics of Diet*, was a ‘biographical history of the literature of humane dietetics from the earliest period to the present day’. It tried to make out that all philosophers and prophets from Pythagoras and Jesus down to those of the present age were vegetarians. Dr. Anna Kingsford’s *The Perfect Way in Diet* was also an attractive book. Dr. Allinson’s writings on health and hygiene were likewise very helpful.... The result of all this reading was that dietetic experiments came to take an important place in my life.” (A, II/xv)

“Physicians put their feverish patients on rice. I have suffered from fever (no doubt by breaking hygienic rules, as Dr. Allinson would say), and was put upon a diet of rice and *mug*-water. Recovery was marvellous.” (*The Vegetarian Messenger*, 1 June 1891; C, i, 39-40)

“The enquiring reader can test the truth of my statement from *The Perfect Way in Diet*, *Fruits and Farinacea*, and such other works.... Professor Mayor... from whose book *Why I Am a Vegetarian* the above quotations are taken,...” (*Guide to London*; C, i, 99)

**David Charles Bell and Alexander Melville Bell, *Standard elocutionist***

“I sought a... teacher to give me lessons in elocution and paid him a preliminary fee of a guinea. He recommended Bell’s *Standard Elocution* as the text-book, which I purchased.... This infatuation must have lasted for about three months.” (A, I/xv)

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1. N.B.: This bibliography includes neither newspapers nor journals. Gandhi in his autobiography recalled: “In India I had never read a newspaper. But... [in London] I succeeded in cultivating a liking for them by regular reading. I always glanced over *The Daily News*, *The Daily Telegraph*, and *The Pall Mall Gazette*.” (A, I/iv)

**Herbert Broom**, *Commentaries on the common law...*

Maybe **John Indermauer**, *Principles of the common law ...*

**Edmund Henry Turner Snell**, *The principles of equity...*

Parts of **Frederick Thomas White** and **Owen Davies Tudor**, *A selection of leading cases in equity...*

**Whitley Stokes**, *The Anglo-Indian codes*

**Louis Arthur Goodeve**, *The modern law of real property...*

**William Douglas Edwards**, *A compendium of the law of property in land*

**Joshua Williams**, *Principles of the law of real property...*

**Louis Arthur Goodeve**, *The modern law of personal property*

**Thomas Collett Sandars**, *The Institutes of Justinian...*

**William Alexander Hunter**, *Introduction to Roman law*

“It took me nine months of fairly hard labour to read through the Common Law of England. For Broom’s *Common Law*, a big but interesting volume, took up a good deal of time. Snell’s *Equity* was full of interest, but a bit hard to understand. White and Tudor’s *Leading Cases*, from which certain cases were prescribed, was full of interest and instruction. I read Williams’ and Edwards’ *Real Property*, and Goodeve’s *Personal Property*. I read also with interest Williams’ and Edward’s *Real Property* and Goodeve’s *Personal Property*. Williams’ book read like a novel. I decided to read Roman Law in Latin.... The reading of Justinian... helped me a great deal [later] in the understanding of the South African law.” (A, I/xxiv)

“I... produce [herewith] a certificate from Mr. W.D. Edwards, a Practising Barrister in the Supreme Court of Judicature in England. He is the author of the *Compendium of the Law of Property in Land*, one of the books prescribed for the Bar Final Examination.” (Application for Enrolment as Advocate, Bombay, 16 November 1891; C, i, 50)

“Too much importance cannot be laid, if you want to practise [law] in India on your return, on the importance of studying the Indian Codes in England. The books will be available in your library. Whitley Stokes’s *Anglo-Indian Codes* are very popular with Indian Students in England.” (*Guide to London*; C, i, 115)

“In law the prescribed Common book is Broom’s *Common Law*. Indermauer’s *Common Law* is however read in addition to or instead of Broom by the students. For Equity, the prescribed book is Snell’s *Equity*. Students, however, generally find it sufficient to read William’s and Goodeve’s *Real Property* and Goodeve’s *Personal Property*. Very few read Williams on *Personal Property*. They read besides, various guides to the examination. For Roman Law, Saunder’s *Justinian* is the textbook. Many students, however, read Hunter’s *Introduction to Roman Law*. For the Law of Property the prescribed books are: Williams’ *Real Property* [and] *Personal Property*. Goodeve’s *Real Property* and *Personal Property*. Edwards’ *Compendium of the Law of Property in Land*. Students, however, generally find it sufficient to read Williams’ and Goodeve’s *Real Property* and Goodeve’s *Personal Property*. Very few read Williams on *personal property*.... In Law the prescribed Common book is Broom’s *Common Law*. Indermauer’s *Common Law* is, however, read in addition to or instead of Broom by the students. For Equity the prescribed book is Snell’s *Equity*.... Special subjects are prescribed every year. For instance, for Equity they sometimes prescribe certain portions ... from White’s and Tudor’s *Leading Cases in Equity*.” (*Guide to London*; C, i, 104)

**George Frederick Wharton**, *Legal maxims...* or maybe **Herbert Broom**, *A selection of legal maxims...*

“I had read [in England] the laws, but had not learnt how to practise law. I had read with interest 'Legal Maxims', but did not know how to apply them in my profession. 'Sic utere tuo ut alienum non ieadas' (Use your property in such a way as not to damage that of others): ...I had read all the leading cases on this maxim, but they gave me no confidence in the application of it in the practice of law.” (A, I/xxv)



**\*Edwin Arnold, tr., *The song celestial, or Bhagavadgita***

“Towards the end of my second year in England I came across two Theosophists, brothers, and both unmarried. They talked to me about the *Gita*. They were reading Sir Edwin Arnold’s translation – *The Song Celestial* – and they invited me to read the original with them. I felt ashamed, as I had read the divine poem neither in Sanskrit nor in Gujarati.... I began reading the *Gita* with them. [Certain] verses in the second chapter ... made a deep impression on my mind, and they still ring in my ears. The book struck me as one priceless worth. The impression has ever since been growing on me.... I have read almost all the English translations of it, and I regard Sir Edwin Arnold’s as the best. He has been faithful to the text, and yet it does not read like a translation. Though I read the *Gita* with these friends, I cannot pretend to have studied it then. It was only after some years that it became a book of daily reading.” (A, I/xx)

“I have read many English translations, but there is nothing to equal Edwin Arnold’s metrical translation.” (“Gita’ Jayanti”, *Harijan*, 16 December 1939; C, lxxi, 30)

**Edwin Arnold, *Light of Asia*<sup>2</sup>**

“The brothers also recommended *The Light of Asia* by Sir Edwin Arnold... and I read it with even greater interest than I did the *Bhagavad Gita*. (A, I/xx)

“The services of Sir Edwin to the East and West have not yet been sufficiently appreciated.... *The Light of Asia* alone has left on the Western mind in indelible impression for good.” (“The Edwin Arnold Memorial Committee’s Circular,” *Indian Opinion*, 12 November 1904, 29; C, iv, 296)

“You must read an account of the life of the Buddha, and *The Light of Asia*, if you can understand it.” (Letter to Ramdas Gandhi, 26 October 1932; C, li, 299)

Parts (in a newspaper prior to their publication in books) of **Edwin Arnold, *Japonica* and/or *Seas and lands***

“[In January 1936 a Japanese visitor to India] asked Gandhiji if he knew anything about Japan. Gandhiji said: ‘Nothing except through Edwin Arnold whose descriptions of Japanese life I read exactly 45 years ago with great avidity as they were appearing in his letters published weekly in an English journal.’<sup>3</sup> He married a Japanese wife and all that he wrote he did with intimate sympathy.” (Interview with Yone Noguchi; C, lxii, 178)

**Helena Petrovna Blavatsky, *The key to Theosophy***

“I recall having read, at the brothers’ instance, Madam Blavatsky’s *Key to Theosophy*. This book stimulated in me the desire to read books on Hinduism, and disabused me of the notion fostered by the missionaries that Hinduism was rife with superstition.” (A, I/xxi)

**Annie Besant, *Why I became a Theosophist***

“Mrs. Besant... was then very much in limelight.... I had read her book *How I Became a Theosophist*.” (A, I/xx)

***The Bible***

“I purchased... an edition containing maps, concordance and other aids. I began reading it, but I could not possibly read through the Old Testament. I read the book of Genesis, and the chapters that followed invariably sent me to sleep.

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2. Gandhi re-read this book in Africa in the mid-1890s; see below.

3. Arnold was editor-in-chief of *The Daily Telegraph*.

But just for the sake of being able to say that I had read it, I plodded through the other books with much difficulty and without the least interest or understanding. I disliked reading the book of Numbers. But the New Testament produced different impressions, especially the Sermon on the Mount which went straight to my heart. I compared it with the *Gita*. My young mind tried to unify the teaching of the *Gita*, *The Light of Asia* and the Sermon on the Mount.... That renunciation was the highest form of religion appealed to me greatly.” (A, I/xx)

\***Thomas Carlyle, *On heroes, hero-worship, and the heroic in history*** (London 1841 and later editions; Gandhi owned copies of editions published at New York in 1897 and at London in 1908)

“A friend recommended Carlyle’s *Heroes and Hero-worship*. I read the chapter on the hero as a prophet and learnt of the Prophet’s greatness and bravery and austere living. Beyond this acquaintance with religion I could not go at the moment, as reading for the [Bar] examination [of December 1890] left me scarcely any time for outside subjects.” (A, I/xx)

### **James Mill, *The history of British India***

“When Mill wrote the *History of India*, he, in his most interesting preface, pointed out... ..” (“The foods of India,” *The Vegetarian Messenger*, 1 June 1891; C, i, 35)

### **A book in French and its paraphrase in English**

and quite likely

\***J. J. B. Poclet, ed., *Ahn’s new, practical and easy method of learning the French language : second course***

and

\***Philippe Honoré Ernest Brette, Charles Cassel and Theodore Karcher, ed., *The modern French reader : prose, junior course***

“Just about this time [1891] Narayan Hemchandra came to England.... [He] went to Paris after a few months’ stay in London. He began studying French and also translating French books. I knew enough French to revise his translation, so he gave it to me to read. It was not a translation, it was the substance.” (A, I/xxii)

Maybe already now **Dadabhai Naoroji, *Poverty of India : papers and statistics***,<sup>4</sup> and/or later his ***Poverty and un-British rule in India***

“When I was your age, I read Dadabhai Naoroji’s *Poverty and Un-British Rule in India*” (Speech at a students’ meeting in Benaras, 26 November 1920; C, xix, 28)

“The following books are recommended for perusal...: ...*Poverty and Un-British Rule in India*...” (“Some Authorities,” appended to *Hind Swaraj*; 1909; C, x, 65)

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4. Maybe it was in this book that Gandhi read the text of Macaulay’s famous speech (entitled “Government of India”) of 1833 with the following passage cited in Gandhi’s “Open letter” of December 1894 (see C, i, 186; the passage is on p.81 of Naoroji’s book of 1888):

“We shall never consent to administer the *pousta* [a kind of nerve-poison] to a whole community, to stupefy and paralyse a great people whom God has given to our charge, for the wretched purpose of rendering them more amenable to our control. What is that power worth which is founded on vice, on ignorance, and on misery, which we can hold by violating the most sacred duties which as governors we owe to the governed, which as a people blessed with far more than an ordinary measure of political liberty and of intellectual light we owe to a race debased by three thousand year of despotism and priestcraft? We are free, we are civilized, to little purpose, if we grudge to any portion of the human race an equal measure of freedom and civilization.”

**CHRONOLOGY, Section 3:**  
***BEFORE OCTOBER 1901***

(i.e. before returning from Africa to India intending to settle there)

Maybe now (or even before?):

**Victor Hugo, *Les Miserables***

**Victor Hugo, *Ninety-Three***

“Says Victor Hugo: ‘[...]Germany is for the Occident that which India is for the Occident.’” (“Open Letter,” Dec. 1894; C, i, 182)

“Gandhiji again referred to the works of Victor Hugo and two of his books namely, *Les Miserables* and *Ninety Three*....” (Pyarelal, *Mahatma Gandhi –The Last Phase*, Vol. I, Book II, 59; C, lxxxvi, 248)

**Johann Caspar Lavater, *Essays on physiognomy*...**

“[H]is face beamed with a pleasing smile and he said, ‘I understand your trouble. Your general reading is meagre. You have no knowledge of the world.... A *vakil* should... be able to read a man’s character from his face....’ ...I read Lavator’s [*sic*] book [on physiognomy] and found it more difficult than Snell’s *Equity* and scarcely interesting.... Lavator’s book did not add to my knowledge....” (A, I, xxv)

**\*John Dawson Mayne, *A treatise on Hindu laws and usage***

***The Indian Evidence Act, 1872***

Some of *The code of civil procedure*...

“The study of Indian Law was a tedious business. The Civil Procedure Code I could in no way get on with. Not so, however with the Evidence Act. Virchand Gandhi would tell me all sort of stories about the barristers and Vakils. ‘Sir Pherozechah’s ability’, he would say, ‘lies in his profound knowledge of law. He has the Evidence Act by heart and knows all cases....’ ...I developed some likings for the *Evidence Act* and read Mayne’s *Hindu Law* with deep interest, but I had not courage to conduct a case.” (A, II/iii)

“The one book which I remember to have read, on my return to India, with the same unflagging interest was Mayne’s *Hindu Law*.” (A, I/xxiv)

**\*William Makepeace Thackeray, *Vanity fair*...**

“We know that Becky lived on nothing a year in *Vanity Fair*...” (Letter to *The Natal Advertiser*, 19 September 1893; C, i, 61)

**Benjamin Ward Richardson, *Food for man***

“Dr. Benjamin Ward Richardson, M.B., L.R.G.S., etc., himself not a vegetarian, has come to the following conclusions in his *Food for Man*: ... .... Dr. Richardson says: ....” (“Guide to London,” iii, 1893-94; C, i, 91 and 98)

“Dr. B.W. Richardson, in his *Food for Man*, recommends pure vegetarianism as a cure for drunkenness.” (Letter to *The Natal Advertiser*, 2 February 1895; C, i, 191)

**\*George P. Taylor, *The student's Gujarati grammar : with exercises and vocabulary***

“When I went to South Africa,<sup>1</sup> I took some Gujarati books with me. Taylor's *Gujarati Grammar* was one of them. I liked it very much.” (C, lxiii, 419)

### **A book on bookkeeping**

“[T]he case for which I had come to South Africa was mainly about accounts.... I purchased a book on book-keeping and studied it. That gave me some confidence. I understood the case.... I was prepared to go to Pretoria.” (A, II/viii)

**John William Kaye, *A history of the Sepoy War in India 1857-1858***

**George Bruce Malleson, *The decisive battles of India***

“I did not read Kaye and Malleson's volumes in England, but I did so in South Africa as I had made a point of reading them at first opportunity” (A, I/xxv)

\*Some of *The Koran*... as translated by George Sale

### **and maybe some books about Islam**

“What was the meaning [to me] of saying that the Vedas were the inspired Word of God? If they were inspired, why not also the Bible and the Koran? ...I purchased Sale's translation of the Koran and began reading it. I also obtained other books on Islam.” (A, II/xv)

**Arthur Tappan Pierson, “*Many infallible proofs*” : a series of chapters on the evidences of Christianity...**

A book by **Joseph Parker** – maybe *The ark of God : the transient symbol of an eternal truth*...

**Joseph Butler, *The analogy of religion, natural and revealed, to the constitution and course of nature***

Maybe already now **Ralph Waldo Trine, *In tune with the infinite*...**

### **and some other such books**

“I read a number of such [Christian] books in 1893. I do not remember the names of them all but they included the Commentary of Dr. Parker of the City Temple, Pearson's *Many Infallible Proofs* and Butler's *Analogy*.... *Many Infallible Proofs* were in support of the religion of the Bible as the author understood it. The book had no effect on me. Parker's *Commentary* was morally stimulating, but it could not be of any help to one who had no faith in the prevalent Christian beliefs. Butler's *Analogy* struck me to be a very profound and difficult book which should be read four or five times to be understood properly. It seemed to me to be written with a view to converting atheists to theism. The arguments advanced in it regarding the existence of God were unnecessary for me, as I had then passed the stage of unbelief, but the arguments in proof of Jesus being the only incarnation of God and the Mediator between God and man left me unmoved.” (A, II/xi)

“Years ago I read Butler's *Analogy*. Therein I read that the future is the result somewhat of our past. This thought has persisted with me because it coincides with the Indian belief. We are the makers of our own destiny. We can mend or mar the present and on that will depend the future.” (Interview with Dr. Lo Chi-Luen, 28 May 1947; C, lxxxviii, 26-27)

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1. Since Gandhi's extant copy of Taylor's book is of an edition published in 1903, his remark may well refer to his trip in December of 1906 from England to South Africa.

“I read Trine’s *In Tune with the Infinite* many years ago. I remember I enjoyed it.” (Letter to Sumangal Prakash, 6 June 1935; C, xciii, 24)

**\*Leo Tolstoy, *The kingdom of God is within you***

“Tolstoy’s *The Kingdom of God is Within You* overwhelmed me. It left an abiding impression on me. Before the independent thinking, profound morality and the truthfulness of this book, all the books given me by Mr. Coates seemed to pale into insignificance.” (A, II/xv)

“Tolstoy’s *Kingdom of God Is Within You*... is a most logical book. The English of the translation is very simple; what is more, Tolstoy practices what he preaches.” (Letter to Manilal Gandhi, 25 March 1909; C, ix, 209)

“Among his [Tolstoy’s] works the one which has had a greatest effect on me is *The Kingdom Of God Is Within You*.... The title means that God’s Kingdom is in our heart, that if we search for it outside we shall find it nowhere.... After I read the book, [my] lack of faith in nonviolence vanished.” (Speech on Birth centenary of Tolstoy, 10 September 1928; C, xxix, 261)

“Three moderns have left a deep impress on my life and captivated me: Raychandbhai by his living contact; Tolstoy by his book *The Kingdom Of God Is Within You*; and Ruskin by his *Unto This Last*.” (A, II/ii)

**Anna Kingsford and Edward Maitland, *The perfect way : or, the finding of Christ***

**Edward Maitland, *The “new gospel of interpretation”***

Maybe **Anna Kingsford and Edward Maitland, *Clothed with the sun***

Probably **\*Edward Maitland, *The bible’s own account of itself***

“I communicated with Christian friends in England. One of them introduced me to Edward Maitland, with whom I opened correspondence. He sent me *The Perfect Way*, a book he had written in collaboration with Anna Kingsford. The book was a repudiation of the current Christian belief. He also sent me another book, *The New Interpretation of the Bible*. I liked both. They seemed to support Hinduism.” (A, II/xv)

“I propose that the E.C.U. [the Esoteric Christian Union] should send me a selection of books to be sold here.... 5 copies of *The Perfect Way*, 5 of *Clothed with the Sun* and 10 of *The New Gospel of Interpretation* and other books may be sent to me.” (Letter to Mrs. A.M. Lewis, 4 August 1894; C, i, 160-61)

“The following books by the late Mrs. Anna Kingsford and Mr. Edward Maitland ... [are] for sale.... *The Perfect Way*.... *Clothed With the Sun*.... *The Story of the New Gospel of Interpretation*.... *The New Gospel of Interpretation*.... *The Bible’s Own Account of Itself*.... M. K. Gandhi / Agent for the Esoteric Christian Union and the London Vegetarian Society” (Advertisements in *The Natal Mercury*, 28 November 1894, and *The Natal Advertiser*, 2 February 1895; C, i, 168 and 192-93)

“I would try to conclude with a quotation from a letter of the late Abbé Constant...: ‘Humanity has always and every where asked itself these three supreme questions: Whence come we? What are we? Whither go we?’ Now these questions at length find an answer complete, satisfactory, and consolatory in *The Perfect Way*.” [Letter to *The Natal Mercury*, 26 November 1894; C, i, 170)

**Manilal Nabhubhai Dwivedi, *Maniratnamala* (Gujarati)**

**Shankaracharya, *Panchikaran* (most likely in the Gujarati translation by Jaykrishna Vyas)**

Chapter 2, ***Mumukshu prakarana*** (probably in a Gujarati translation), of the ***Yogavasishtha***

**Haribhadra Suri, *Shaddarshana Samuchchaya* (probably in a Gujarati translation)**

“My studies thus carried me in a direction unthought-of by the Christian friends. My correspondence with Edward Maitland was fairly prolonged and that with Raychandbhai continued until his death. I read some of the books he sent me. These included *Panchikaran*, *Maniratnamala*, *Mumukshu Prakaran* of *Yogavasishtha*, Haribhadra Suri’s *Shad-darshana Samuchchaya* and others.” (A, II. xv)

“Jai Krishna Vyas has written very well on Vedanta. I have read some of his writings. I used to go to him occasionally. I thought of him when I wrote about Poverty. I had already read the story of Sudama. I was imbued and still am with the ambition to share honours with him and Narasinh Mehta for poverty. That is how I came to write that Jai Krishna Vyas’s was dry philosophy and Sudamaji’s the right one and worthy of emulation. I used to observe that the former carried the key of his safe on his person, tied the waist, I knew that he had collected quiet a bit of money. All this seemed to contradict what he says in his book *Panchikaran*.” (Letter to Maganlal Gandhi, 9 September 1911; C, xi, 156)

“The following Gujarati books are eminently worth reading: ... *Panchikaran*, *Maniratnamala*, ...Chapter VI of *Yogavasishtha* – Hindi translation available....” (Letter to Harilal Gandhi, 27 May 1911; C, xi, 94)

The *Bhagavad Gita* (most likely in Gujarati translation)

“June 25... Read the *Gita*.” (1894 diary; C, xci = Supplementary-i, 1)

**William Digby, *India for the Indians – and for England***

“September 12... Read yesterday Digby’s *India for the Indians and for England*. (1894 diary; C, xcvi = Supplementary-vi, 12)

**William Wilson Hunter, *The Indian empire : its history, people and products***

“I... quote as follows from Sir W.W. Hunter’s *Indian Empire*.... As to the Indian philosophy and religion, the learned author of *The Indian Empire* thus sums up:....” (“Open Letter”, December 1894; C, i, 149-50)

“I take the liberty to say that India of that date [when Alexander the Great was alive] will compare very favorably with Europe of today. In support of that statement I beg to refer... to the Greek description of India at pp. 169-170 of Hunter’s *Indian Empire*, partly quoted in my 'Open letter'.” (“The Indian Franchise,” vi, 16 December 1895; C, i, 288)

At least some of **Andrew Carnegie, *Round the world***

“Here is what Andrew Carnegie in his *Round the World* says about the Taj of Agra: ‘...’.” (“Open Letter,” December 1894; C, i, 180)

**Thomas B. Macaulay, *something***

“I would, with your permission, quote an extract from Macaulay... on the subject of the treatment of the Indians...: 'We shall never consent to administer the *pousta* [a kind of nerve-poison] to a whole community, to stupefy and paralyse a great people whom God has committed to our charge, for the wretched purpose of rendering them more amenable to our control. What is that power worth which is founded on vice, on ignorance, and on misery, which we can hold by violating the most sacred duties which as governors we owe to the governed, which as a people blessed with far more than an ordinary measure of political liberty and of intellectual light we owe to a race debased by three thousand year of despotism and priestcraft? We are free, we are civilized, to little purpose, if we grudge to any portion of the human race an equal measure of freedom and civilization.'” (*Open letter*, Dec. 1894; C, i, 161 in the old, small-format version)

**Narmadashanker Lalshankar Dave** (often referred to as **Narmad**), *Dharmavichar*

**Max Müller**, *India – What can it teach us?...?*<sup>2</sup>

\***G. R.S. Mead** and **Jagdisha Chandra Chattopadyaya**, tr.: *The Upanishads*

or

**E. Röer et al.**, tr.: *The twelve principal Upanishads (English translation) with notes from the commentaries of Sankaracharya and the gloss of Anandagiri*

and maybe

**V. C. Seshacharri** and **S. Sitarama Sastri**, *The Upanishads and Sri Sankara's commentary*

“It was impossible now to get the leisure that I used to have in Pretoria for my religious studies. But what little time I could spare I turned to good account... Some friend sent me Narmada Shankar's book *Dharmavichar*. Its preface proved very helpful... [and I] read it from cover to cover with attention. I read with interest Max Muller's book *India – What Can it Teach us?* and the translation of the Upanishads published by Theosophical Society. All this enhanced my regard for Hinduism, and its beauties began to grow on me.” (A, II/xxiii)

“The revered Shankara [declared:] *Brahma satyam jaganmythya* [“The Brahman alone is real”] ...The author of that Upanishad was no hypocrite as he ascertained that this entire universe is *Brahman*; we should [therefore]... suffer when we see others suffer.” (Speech, 11 Feb. 1925; C, xxvi, 132)

“[A] parable in one of the Upanishads... compares our senses to horses. The human soul is described as the chariot-  
eer.” (Letter to Rohini Kanaiyalal Desai, 11 Sept. 1930; C, xliv, 138)

**Louis Jacolliot**, *The Bible in India : Hindoo origin of Hebrew and Christian revelation...*

“Says M. Louis Jacolliot: 'Soil of. ancient India, cradle of humanity, hail! [...]'” (*Open letter*, Dec. 1894; C, i, 182)

**Henry Summer Maine**, *Village communities in the East and West...*

“[Y]our Petitioners beg to draw the attention of Honourable Assembly to Sir Henry Summer Maine's *Village Communities...*” (Petition to Natal Legislative Assembly, 28 June 1894; C, i, 129)

“Sir H. S. Maine, in his Rede lecture, published in the latest edition of the *Village Communities*, says:....” (“Open Letter,” December 1894; C, i, 178)

“The following books are recommended for perusal...: ...*Village Communities* (Maine)...” (“Some Authorities,” appended to *Hind Swaraj*; 1909; C, x, 65)

“Maine has said that India was a congerie of village republics. The towns were then subservient to the villages....” (Speech at a meeting of Deccan princes, 28 July 1946; C, lxxxv, 79)

**Bruhad kavyadohan** (old Gujarati poetry)

“June 22... Read *Dohan*” (1894 diary; C, xcvi = Supplementary-vi, 1)

“July 29... Read *Kavya Dohan*. Did not like to read *Ras* etc. [with erotic tales] connected with Krishna” (1894 diary; C, xci = Supplementary-i, 7)

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2. In his “Open Letter” of December 1894, Gandhi cited (C, i, 177-88) a substantial passage from Max Muller and also the following from Arthur Schopenhauer: “From every sentence deep, original and sublime thoughts arise, and the whole is pervaded by a high and holy and earnest spirit. Indian air surrounds us, and original thoughts of kindred spirits... In the whole world there is no study, except that of the originals, so beneficial and so elevating as that of the *Oupnek'hat* [a 17th-century Persian translation of fifty Upanishads]. It has been the solace of my life; it will be the solace of my death.”

“When you relate stories to Gokaldas and Harilal, you had better read out to them stories from *Kavyadohan*. All the volumes are to be found among my books. You should read out and explain to them preferably the stories about Sudama, Nala and Angada Narrate the story of Harishchandra or read it out from the book.... [T]here isn't so much moral to be drawn from the works of English poets as from our old story-poems.” (Letter to Chhaganlal Gandhi, 23 January 1902; C, iii, 217-218)

Maybe **Shamal Bhatt**, *Shamalna cchappa* (Gujarati), or else the same poems in *Bruhad kavyadohan*

“July 27... Read Samal Bhatt's poems” (1894 diary; C, xci = Supplementary-i, 7)

**Premanand**, *Nalakhyan* (Gujarati narrative poetry)

**Premanand**, *Okha haran* (Gujarati narrative poetry)

“July 23... Read *Nala Damayanti*<sup>3</sup>.... July 24... Read *Okha Haran*” (1894 diary; C, xci = Supplementary-i, 6)

**Washington Irving**, *Lives of Mahomet and his successors*

\*Again **Thomas Carlyle**, *The hero as prophet : Mahomet...*

“I read Washington Irving's *Life of Mahomet and his successors* and Carlyle's panegyric on the prophet. These books raised Muhammad in my estimation.” (A, II/xxii)

“Among the biographies [of Muhammed] written by white men, Washington Irving's work is regarded as excellent. On the whole, he has shown the wonderful greatness of the Prophet, and has presented the good teachings of Islam in shining colours. [It is indeed an] excellent work” (The Gujarati part of *Indian Opinion*, 31 August 1907; C, vii, 202)

*The sayings of Zarathustra*

“I also read a book called *The Sayings of Zarathustra*.” (A, II/xxii)

Again **Edwin Arnold**, *Light of Asia...*

“My hostess was a good and simple woman, but somewhat narrow-minded. We always discussed religious subjects. I was then re-reading Arnold's *Light of Asia*. Once we began to compare the life of Jesus with that of Buddha. 'Look at Gautama's compassion', said I. 'It was not confined to mankind, it was extended to all living beings. Does not one's heart overflow with love to think of the lamb joyously perched on his shoulders? One fails to notice this love for all living beings in the life of Jesus.' The comparison pained the good lady.” (A, II/xxii)

**Leo Tolstoy**, *A confession : the gospel in brief and what I believe*

**Leo Tolstoy**, *What to do? : thoughts evoked by the census of Moscow*

**and some other books by Tolstoy**

“I made too an intensive study of Tolstoy's books. *The Gospel in Brief*, *What to Do?* and other books made a deep impression on me. I began to realize more and more the infinite possibilities of universal love.” (A, II/xxii)

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3. These are the names of the two main characters in the book we have listed.



*Report of the protector of Indian immigrants for the year ended 31st December, 1904* (Pretoria 1905)

[Natal government] "Blue-book," *Affairs of Natal*

[Natal Legislative Council] **Indian Immigrants Commission, *Report of the Indian Immigrants Commission*** (Pietermaritzburg 1887)

"According to the *Report of the Protector of Indian Immigrants for 1895*, out of a total Indian population of 46,343 only 30,303 are free Indians.... Thus, out of 9,560 registered voters only 251 are Indians....

"...I would take the liberty to show by extracts from a Blue-book what the most eminent Colonists have thought about the question....

"...I shall now venture to quote extracts from the *Report of the Indians Immigrants Commission....*" (*The Indian franchise*, 16 Dec. 1895; C, i, 274, 280-81)

**George Uglow Pope, *A Tamil hand-book : or, full instruction to the common dialect of that language...*** or else *A handbook of the ordinary dialect of the Tamil language...*

"I had not got beyond Pope's excellent Tamil handbook." (A, IV/xxxiii)

## CHRONOLOGY, Section 4: ***BEFORE JULY 1909***

(when he arrived in England for the visit which resulted in his writing *Hind Swaraj*)

Arun Gandhi's biography of Kasturba (published in various editions with various titles) mentions that Gandhi in 1901-02 consulted law-books in the Bombay High-Court library. But none of those books are identified.

**Tribhuvandas Motichand Shah, *Ma-ne shikhaman*** (maybe based on some version of **Pye Henry Chavasse, *Advice to mothers***)

“[T]he difficulty of getting a trained Indian nurse in South Africa can be easily imagined from the similar difficulty in India so I studied the things necessary for safe labour. I read Dr. Tribhuvandas' book, *Ma-ne Shikhaman* – 'Advice to a mother' – and I nursed both my children according to the instructions given in the book, tempered here and there by such experiences as I had gained elsewhere.... My careful study of the subject in Dr. Tribhuvandas's work was of inestimable help. I was not nervous.” (A, III/vi)

Again the *Bhagavad Gita* (this time in Sanskrit as well as in translation)

**Vivekananda, *Raja-yoga***

**Manilal Nabhubhai Dwivedi, *Raja yoga***

\***Patanjali, *Yoga-sutra*** (and/or maybe in a translated version as *Yogadarshan*)

“In 1903... I started reading Swami Vivekananda's *Rajayoga* with some of these [Theosophist] friends, and M. N. Dwivedi's *Rajayoga* and others. I had to read Patanjali's *Yoga Sutras*... and the *Bhagavad Gita*.... We formed a sort of Seekers' Club where we had regular readings. I already had a faith in the *Gita*, which had a fascination for me. I had one or two translations, by means of which I tried to understand the original Sanskrit. I decided also to get by heart one or two verses every day.... I remember having thus committed to memory thirteen chapters.... It became my dictionary of daily reference.... I turned to this dictionary of conduct for a ready solution to all my troubles and trials. Words like *aparigraha* (non-possession) and *samabhava* (equability) gripped me.... I understood the *Gita* teaching of non-possession to mean that those who desired salvation should act like the trustee who, though having control over great possessions, regards not an iota of them as his own.” (A, IV/v)<sup>1</sup>

“[V]ows are holy and bring happiness only when they are taken as a spiritual discipline. If resorted to by a demon, they only add to misery.... Lord Patanjali has shown this very clearly in his *Yogadarshan*.” (Letter to Maganlal Gandhi, late Dec. 1908; C, ix, 117)

“Gandhiji said that many years ago a friend of his used to carry Patanjali's *Yogasutra* constantly in his pocket. Although Gandhiji did not know Sanskrit yet, the friend would often come to him to consult about the meaning of some of the sutras. In one of the sutras it was stated that when ahimsa had been fully established it would completely liquidate the forces of enmity and evil in the neighbourhood. Gandhiji felt that the stage had not been reached in the neighborhood about him and this led him to infer that his ahimsa had not yet succeeded in the present test. That was the reason why he was saying that there was still darkness all round him.” (“Speech at prayer meeting”, 27 December 1946; C, lxxxvi, 278-79)

Just maybe **Arthur Hassall, *The expansion of Great Britain, 1715-1789*** (London 1907), if not some such book which, according to an unconfirmed report, is said to have been written by John Robert Sealy

“Professor Seely [sic] in his *Expansion of Great Britain*... [says that] that in the real sense of the term India is not a conquered country” (*Indian Opinion*, 30 July 1903; C, iii, 383)

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1. See Appendix 1 for a sampling of Gandhi's many hundreds of other references to the *Gita*.

**\*John Ruskin, *Unto this last***

“The book was impossible to lay aside once I had begun it. It gripped me.... I could not get any sleep that night. I determined to change my life in accordance with the ideals of the book.... I translated it later into Gujarati, entitling it *Sarvodaya*.... I believe that I discovered some of my deepest convictions in this great book.... I arose with the dawn, ready to reduce these principles to practice.” (A, IV/xviii)

“*Unto This Last* transformed me overnight from a lawyer and city dweller into a rustic living... on a farm three miles from the nearest railway station.” (“To American friends”, 3 August 1942; C, lxxvi, 358)

“I read Ruskin’s *Unto This Last* during a train journey to Durban and it gripped me immediately. I saw clearly that if mankind was to progress and to realize the ideal of equality and brotherhood, it must adopt and act on the principle of *Unto This Last*; it must take along with it even the dumb, the halt and the lame.” (“Speech at Industries Ministers Conference”, 31 July 1946; C, lxxxv, 96)

“I stand by what is implied in the phrase ‘*Unto This Last*’. That book marked the turning point of my life.” (Interview with Andrew Freeman, 23 October 1946; C, lxxxvi, 21)

Maybe some of **Herbert Spencer, *First principles of a new system of philosophy*** or else a second-hand account of some of its contents

Maybe some of **Herbert Spencer, *The principles of sociology*** or else a second-hand account of some of its contents

“The Missionaries have hastily interpreted the great Hindu belief in ETERNAL BLISS to mean a belief in NOTHINGNESS.... [But] the Sanskrit term which is translated as “nothingness”... conveys the same idea as ...being one with the Divine. This Divine is the great “Unknowable” of Spencer; that is to say, not capable of being known by means of the ordinary instruments of knowledge described by Spencer....” (Undated note by Gandhi, given by him to James Stuart in Africa not very long before 1905; C, iv, 94-95)

“We have been receiving for some time past copies of a journal called *The Indian Sociologist*.... It is a journal fearlessly edited, and the editor is imbued with the teaching of the late Herbert Spencer. The editor is evidently intended to model Indian opinion in accordance with Spencer’s teachings.” (“An Indian philanthropist,” *Indian Opinion*, 3 June 1905; C, iv, 458)

**William Wilson Hunter, *A brief history of the Indian peoples*** or else *A history of British India*

Some of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*

“The facts I have stated are to be found in the Encyclopedia Britannica, Hunter’s *History of India* and other books.” (The Gujarati part of *Indian Opinion*, 17 June 1905; C, iv, 469)

**Thomas à Kempis, *Imitation of Christ***

“I thank you for copying for me that extract from *Imitation of Christ*. I read that book in one single sitting, I think, in the year 1905 or 1906, and a friend, only few months ago, sent me another copy.” (Letter to George Joseph, 13 Jan. 1933; C, liii, 45-46)

“Among other books,... *Imitation of Christ* is worth reading.” (Letter to Ramadas Gandhi, 26 October 1932; C, I, 299)

“I have read the book by Thomas Kempis. It is beautiful.” (“Cloth shortage”, 27 July 1946; C, lxxxv, 65)

**Louis Kuhne, *The new science of healing***

**\*Adolf Just, *Return to nature***

“So far as I recollect, Dr. Louis Kuhne urges the necessity of vegetarianism on physiological grounds only.” (Letter to *The Natal Mercury*, 3 February 1896; C, i, 294)

“I began to give Manilal hip-baths according to Kuhne.” (A, III/xxii)

“If you will carefully follow the instructions given in Kuhne’s *Science of Healing*, I have no doubt that both of you will be benefitted” (Letter to Rajendra Nnath Barua, 5 Feb. 1935; C, lx, 175)

“I cannot resist giving [here] the remedy claimed to have been successfully tried by Just, the author of *Return to Nature*. I have tried it successfully in two or three cases of snake bites and numerous cases of scorpion stings. (“Snake poisoning,” *Harijan*, 17 August 1935; C, li, 338)

“I become a confirmed convert to nature-cure when I read Kuhne’s *New Science of Healing* and Just’s *Return to Nature* over forty years ago.” (Letter to a foreign naturopath, 28 May 1947; C, lxxxviii, 23)

### ***Tamil self-teacher***

“The ship’s doctor gave me a 'Tamil Self-Teacher' which I began to study.... There was no help available, but the Tamil Self-Teacher was a well-written book, and I did not feel in need of much outside help.... But I never learnt to speak Tamil, and the little I could do by way of reading is now rusting away for want of practice.” (A, II/xxiv)

\*At least one short story by **Tolstoy**: “*God sees the truth, but waits*”

“[Tolstoy] has written books to show how man’s life can be reformed; and, with the same object in view, has written some short stories also. We give below the [Gujarati] translation of one of these, having the above title [a title in Gujarati, of course] and considered one of his best” (“An interesting story,” *Indian Opinion*, 23 Dec. 1905; C, v, 167)

Probably now **Abdullah al-Mamun Suhrawardy**, *The sayings of Mohamed*

“A meeting of the Pan-Islamic Society... took place at the Criterion Restaurant [in London] on 3rd November in honour of its Founder and retiring Secretary Mr. Abdullah-Al-Mamoon Sohraworthy... the author of *Malki Law*, as also of *The Sayings of Mohamed*.” (“The Pan-Islamic Society,” *Indian opinion*, 15 Dec. 1906; C, vi, 175)

At least two of the later editions of this book (Calcutta 1938 and New York 1941) include an introduction by Gandhi.

Probably the following eight:

\***Robert Harborough Sherard**, *The white slaves of England*

**Thomas F. Taylor**, *The fallacy of speed*

**Godfrey Blount**, *A new crusade : an appeal*

**Henry David Thoreau**, *Life without principle*

**John Ruskin**, “*A joy forever*” (*and its price in the market*)

**Giuseppe Mazzini**, *The duties of man*

\***Max Nordau**, *Paradoxes of civilization*

**Romesh Chunder Dutt**, *The economic history of India...*

“The following books are recommended for perusal...: ...*The White Slaves of England* (Sherard) / *The Fallacy of Speed* (Taylor) / *A New Crusade* (Blount) / ... / *Life without Principle* (Thoreau) / ... / *A Joy Forever* (Ruskin) / ... / *Economic History of India* (Dutt)...” (“Some Authorities”, appended to *Hind Swaraj*; 1909; C, x, 65)

**Frederick Hadland Davis, *The Persian mystics : Jalálu'd-Din Rúmi***

Maybe some of *The way of Buddha*

“We have received for review two volumes of a series entitled *The Wisdom of the East* being published in Britain. The first is called *The Way of Buddha* and the second, *Persian Mystics*; in it the author has assigned the first place to Jalaluddin Rumi. An informative account of Sufis is followed by a narrative of the Life of Jalaluddin and translation of some of his poems.... We should like to recommend the book to everyone. It will profit to all, Hindus and Muslims alike.” (The Gujarati part of *Indian Opinion*, 15 June 1907; C, vii, 43-44)

**William Salter, *Ethical religion***

“Mr. Salter, a learned American, has published a book... which is excellent. Though it does not deal with any religion as such, it contains teachings of universal application. We shall publish the substance of these teaching every week.” (Gujarati part of *Indian Opinion*, 5 January 1907; C, vi, 274-75)

Just maybe already (but more likely later) **Charles Darwin, *The descent of man***

“With a mass of evidence and arguments, he [Darwin] has shown how man came into being; how he has evolved from a particular kind of monkey.... Darwin shows further that moral strength is even superior [in promoting the survival of the species] to physical and intellectual strength.... Superficial thinkers may believe that morality is of no use. But this is not Darwin’s view at all...” (*Ethical religion*,<sup>2</sup> 1907; C, vi, 316-17)

“Darwin, in his book *The Descent of Man*, has not based his conclusions on any one fact. He never tired of adducing heaps and heaps of evidence. He has crammed the whole book with facts to adduce his thesis and in the end he has formulated that thesis in the fewest words. Imagine how much he valued truth!” (Discussion with Pyarelal and Mahadev Desai, 20 Jan. 1940; C, lxxii, 209)

**John Wortabet, *Arabian wisdom : selections and translations from the Arabic***

“The same writers who have earlier brought out a book called 'The Wisdom of the East' have brought out the book. It contains extracts from the holy Koran, and reproduces the sayings of Arab thinkers on different matters. It contains various sayings on matters like nobility, character, knowledge, truthfulness etc.... We advise everyone who can read English to buy this book.” (the Gujarati part of *Indian Opinion* 28 December 1907; C, xii, 458)

“We read in the book *Arab Wisdom* that he who enjoys no respect has no religion.” (*Indian Opinion*, 28 March 1908; C, viii, 162)

**Sheikh Saadi of Shiraz, *Gulistan*** (presumably in a Gujarati or Hindi translation)

“Shaikh Saadi says in *Gulistan* that if man were to think of the Giver (God) of his daily bread quite as much as he does of his bread, his place in heaven would doubtless be higher even than that of the angels.” (The Gujarati part of *Indian Opinion*, 1 June 1907; C, vii, 3-4)

“We should like to recommend the book to everyone. It will be of profit to all, Hindus and Muslims alike.” (The Gujarati part of *Indian Opinion*, 15 June 1907; C, vii, 44)

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2. Since this book of Gandhi’s is an abstract of William Salter’s book with the same title, the passage which we have cited suggests that Salter had read Darwin, but hardly proves that Gandhi had done so.

\***Thomas Carlyle, *Critical and miscellaneous essays : collected and republished***<sup>3</sup>

Parts of **Thomas H. Huxley, *Collected essays*** or of some other such anthology of his writings

\*Parts of **Francis Bacon, *Essays or counsels, civil and moral***

Again ***The Koran*** in an English translation, maybe this time the one by E. H. Palmer or the one by J. M. Rodwell, if not the one by George Sale that Gnadhi had already read

***The Bible***

**Manilal Nabhubhai Dvivedi, tr. *Bhagavad Gita*** (Gujarati)

Some books by Tolstoy, Ruskin and Plato<sup>4</sup>

Some Tamil books

An Urdu book

“The goal has a library which lends books to prisoners. I borrowed some of Carlyle’s works and the Bible. From a Chinese interpreter who used to visit the place, I borrowed a copy of the Koran in English, Huxley’s lectures, Carlyle’s biographies of Burns, Johnson and Scott, and Bacon’s essays on civil and moral counsel. I had also some books of my own; these included an edition of the *Gita* with a commentary by Manilal Nabhubhai, some Tamil books, an Urdu book presented by Maulvi Saheb, [and] the writings of Tolstoy, Ruskin and Socrates [sic].<sup>4</sup> Most of these books I either read [for the first time] or re-read during my stay in goal. In the morning I read the *Gita* and in the afternoon portions of the Koran. In the evening I used to explain the Bible to Mr. Forteon, a Chinese Christian” (“My experience in goal”, *Indian Opinion*, 28 March 1908; C, viii, 159)

**Plato, *The defence and death of Socrates : being the “Apology” and part of the “Phædo”*** (translated into English from the ancient Greek)

Gandhi published a Gujarati version of *The defence and death of Socrates*. His preface to it was published *Indian Opinion*, 4 April 1908. (See C, viii, 172-74.)

“With reference to prohibited literature the committee has selected the following works for dissemination:... ..*The story of a satyagrahi* by M.K. Gandhi (being a paraphrase of the *Defence and death of Socrates* by Plato).” (“Statement of rules for civil disobedience”, 7 April 1919; C, xv, 192)

\***John Bunyan, *The pilgrim’s progress***

“John Bunyan bore up with prison life and wrote *The Pilgrim’s Progress*, which proved an immortal work. The British rank it next to the Bible.” (“My experience in gaol”, *Indian Opinion*, 28 March 1908; C, viii, 160)

“[T]hat inimitable book, *Pilgrim’s Progress* [recounts how] there came a time when the mighty burden that the Pilgrim was carrying on his shoulders unconsciously dropped from him, and he felt a freer man than he was when he started on the journey. So will you feel freer men than you are now, immediately you adopt this swadeshi life.” (“Speech on Ashram Vows,” *Madras Indian Review*, February 1916; C, xiii, 232)

“Bunyan has written it in such simple and beautiful language for children to follow that, wherever English is spoken, it is considered a most wonderful book for them.” (Speech on *The Pilgrim’s Progress*, 21 September 1918; C, xv, 50-51)

“Those who remember the story of the pilgrim should reflect over how the other characters, blindly following his example, got tired in two or three days and returned.” (Letter to Narandas Gandhi, 21 November 1932; C, lii, 34)

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3. Gandhi later owned several editions of this book. The copy from which he read at this time was (as he said) borrowed.

4. There are no writings by Socrates; all his teaching was done *viva voce*; we know of it only from reports by his pupil, Plato.

\***Henry David Thoreau**, *On the duty of civil disobedience* and other essays

two books by **John Ruskin**

Again **Francis Bacon**, *Essays*, this time in Gujarati translation, *Bacon na nibandho*

**Lala Lajpat Rai**, *Garibaldi* (originally in Urdu; translated into Gujarati)

Again some of *the Bible*

Again the Bhagavad Gita

“Though I had limited time on my hand, I managed to read two books by the great Ruskin, the essays of the great Thoreau, some parts of the Bible, life of Garibaldi (in Gujarati), essays of Lord Bacon (in Gujarati), and two other books about India.... Apart from these works, I read the Bhagavad Gita almost every day.” (“My second experience in gaol,” in the Gujarati part of *Indian Opinion*, 1 Jan 1909; C, ix, 181-82)

At least some of **Nathuram Sharma**, tr., *Upanishads*

“I was much struck by one passage in Nathuramji’s introduction to the *Upanishads*....” (Letter to Manilal Gandhi, 25 March 1909; C, ix, 205)

\***Thomas Carlyle**, *The French revolution : a history*

Again *the Bible*

\***Leo Tolstoy**, *My confessions*

and some other writings by Tolstoy, including, maybe already now

\***Leo Tolstoy**, *Letter to a Hindoo*

**Leo Tolstoy**, *Harmony of the Gospels*

Some books by **Emerson**

“I read over 30 books during this period [in jail in the Spring of 1909].... Notable among the English books, I would say, were those by Tolstoy, Emerson and Carlyle.... I also borrowed a copy of the Bible from the gaol. Tolstoy’s writings are so good and simple that a man belonging to any religion can profit by them. Moreover, he tries to put into practice what he preaches, so that, by and large, they command greater confidence. There is a forceful book by Carlyle on the French Revolution. I realized after reading it that it is not from the white nations that India can learn the way out of her present degradation....” (“My third experience in gaol,” in the Gujarati part of *Indian Opinion*, 5 June 1909; C, ix, 241)

“I should like all in Phoenix to read Tolstoy’s life and *My Confessions*. Both are soul-stirring books.... So far as English[-language] books are concerned Tolstoy is incomparable in my opinion in chastity of thought. His definition of the purpose of life is unanswerable and easy to understand.” (Letter to H.S.L Polak, 26 April 1909; C, ix, 213)

“Mr. Kallenbach... has gone through most of the experiences that you have so graphically described in your work, *My Confessions*.” (Letter to Leo Tolstoy, 15 August 1910; C, x, 307-08)

“A copy of your letter addressed to a Hindu on the present unrest in India has been placed in my hands by a friend.... It is the intention of my friend, at his own expense, to have 20,000 copies printed and distributed and to have it translated also.” (Letter to Tolstoy, 1 Oct. 1909; C, ix, 445-46. Tolstoy consented and the essay was published in *Indian Opinion*, 25 Dec. 1909 and 1 Jan. 1910. A Gujarati translation by Gandhi was published, first in *Indian Opinion* and then as a book.)

“I read Carlyle’s *History of the French Revolution* while I was in prison, and Pandit Jawaharlal has told me something about the Russian revolution. But it is my conviction that in as much as these struggles were fought with the weapon of violence they failed to realize the democratic ideal. In the democracy which I have envisaged, a democracy established by nonviolence, there will be equal freedom for all.” (Letter to Home Department Additional Secretary, 15 July 1943; C, lxxvii, 148)

“As I read the New Testament for the first time I detected no passivity, no weakness about Jesus as depicted in the four gospels and the meaning became clearer to me when I read Tolstoy’s Harmony of the Gospels and his other kindred writings. Has not the West paid heavily in regarding Jesus as a passive resister?” (Letter to Yvonne Privat, 29 Nov. 1947; C, xc, 129)

*Sandhya ni gutika* (a Gujarati booklet of instructions for daily worship by Brahmins)

*Veda shabda sangna* (a Hindi dictionary of Vedic Sanskrit terms)

**Raychand Mehta, Rajchandra** (his collected writings, in Gujarati)

**Nathuram Sharma, Ahnika prakash** (Hindi)

Again (some at least of) the *Upanishads*

Again *Manusmriti*

Again the *Ramayana*

Again **Patanjali’s Yogadarshan**

Again the *Gita*

“The books in Gujarati, Hindi and Sanskrit which I read [in jail in the Spring of 1909] were *Veda-Shabda-Sangna*... the *Upanishads*... *Manusmriti*... the *Ramayana*... *Patanjali-Yoga-Darshan*, *Ahnika-Prakasha* prepared by Nathuramji... *Sandhya-ni Gutika*... the *Gita* and the writings of the late worthy poet Raychand.

“The *Upanishads* proved a great source of peace to me. One statement in them has made a deep impression on my mind; in substance, it means that everything one does must be done for the welfare of the soul. The thought is expressed in words of great beauty. There is much else in it worthy of attention.

“But it was the writings of the poet Raychand which proved the most satisfying.... I memorized a portion of his writings and of the book on *Sandhya*. I would repeat them over and over again in my mind whenever I happened to wake up at night, and every morning I spent half an hour meditating on them. I would recite most of what I had memorized, and this kept me cheerful all the time.” (“My third experience in gaol,” in the Gujarati part of *Indian Opinion*, 5 June 1909; C, ix, 241)

“The more I consider [Raychand’s] life and his writings the more I consider him to have been the best Indian of his times. Indeed I put him much higher than Tolstoy in religious perception.” (Letter to H.S.L Polak, 26 April 1909; C, ix, 213)

“The following Gujarati books are eminently worth reading: ...[the] two volumes of Raychandbhai’s writings.” (Letter to Harilal Gandhi, 27 May 1911; C, xi, 94)



**CHRONOLOGY, Section 5:**  
***BEFORE 1915***  
(when he returned definitively to India)

**Henry Lindlahr, *Nature cure philosophy and practice based on the unity of disease and cure* or *Natural therapeutics*** or some other such book by the same author

“I no longer hold the view I had held earlier. Greater experience has convinced me that Dr. Lindlahr’s book is quite ordinary.” (Letter to M. B. Godbole, 4 Jan. 1948; C, xc, 55)

\*Maybe some of ***The Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam*** as paraphrased in translation by **Edward Fitzgerald**

“He brought for you and Millie yesterday a magnificent edition of Omar Khayam.... The whole of it is lithographed; the pictures are splendid and so is the colouring. You know how well Arabic letters lend themselves to ornamenting. There is a great deal of Arabic or Persian writing in the book.” (Letter to H.S.L. Polak, 20 August 1909; C, ix, 363)

“The pleasure which Pope found in the Iliad he placed before the people in English of superb beauty. The pleasure which Fitzgerald derived from the Rubiyat of Omar Khayyam made him render it in English of such power that millions of Englishman keep his poem with them as they do the Bible.” (“Speech at Bhagini Samaj, Bombay, 20 February 1918; C, xiv, 207-08)

\***Edward Carpenter, *Civilization : its causes and cure***

“Societies have been formed to cure the [British] nation of the evils of civilization. A great English writer has written a work called *Civilization, Its Causes and Cure*. Therein he has called it a disease.” (*Hindi Swaraj*; C, x, 19)

“I was reading last night a very illuminating work by Edward Carpenter – *Civilization, Its Causes and Cure*. I finished the first part.... His analysis of the civilization, as we know it, is very good. His condemnation though very severe is, in my opinion, entirely deserved. The cure suggested by him is good, but I note that he is afraid of his own logic, naturally because he is not certain of his ground.... If you have not read the book, and if it is not on your self, you will find it at Phoenix.” (Letter to H.S.L. Polak, 8 September 1909; C, ix, 396)

“You should now read Carpenter’s *Civilization: Its Causes and Cure*. I shall send it tomorrow.” (Letter to Maganlal Gandhi, 18 May 1911; C, xi, 77)

(Gandhi later owned copies of the 15th edition, “newly enlarged,” published at London in 1921, and of an edition published there in 1933.)

\***Leo Tolstoy, *Popular stories*** (including “How much land does a man need?” and “Ivan the fool”)

A Gujarati version of “How much land does a man need?” was published in four installments in *Indian Opinion* between 31 Dec. 1910 and 4 Feb. 1911.

“We reproduce [in Gujarati] this tale [“The fool and his brothers,” identified by the editors of Gandhi’s *Collected Works* as being the same as “The story of Ivan the fool”<sup>1</sup>] from a most devout piece of writing by that great man the late Tolstoy.... This tale is far superior to the one [*sic*] we have already published.... [It] is written in a style which makes it as interesting as its teaching is lofty. We have substituted Indian names for Russian lest the latter detract from the interest of the story....” (Gandhi’s preface to the Gujarati version of the story, *Indian Opinion*, 7 Oct. 1911; C, xi, 164-65)

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1. See the Gujarati edition of Gandhi’s *Complete Works*, xi, 176.

\*Leo N. Tolstoy, tr. Aylmer Maude, *The slavery of our times*

\*Leo N. Tolstoy, *What I believe ("My religion")*, containing twelve essays, including "The first step"

\*Leo N. Tolstoy, *What is religion? : and other new articles and letters*, including an anarchist essay (dated 1898-1900) entitled "How shall we escape?"

"The following books are recommended for perusal...: *The Slavery of our times* (Tolstoy) / *The first step* (Tolstoy) / *How Shall We Escape?* (Tolstoy) ("Some Authorities", appended to *Hind Swaraj*; 1909; C, x, 65)

**Leo N. Tolstoy, *The relations of the sexes***

"I send herewith an invaluable book, *The Relations of the Sexes*. To one who is conversant with the Hindu Scriptures, not a single idea mentioned in it is new. Please read it immediately and explain it to Manilal. Then give it to Mr. West." (Letter to Maganlal Gandhi, November 1910; C, x, 356)

Probably by now **Leo N. Tolstoy, *What is art?***

(It has sometimes been said that Gandhi read this already in 1893 or '94, but the earliest edition that we have been unable to identify was published in 1898.)

"We should... think about what art means. The book *What is Art* has been translated. Sushila should read it." (Letter to Manilal and Sushila Gandhi, 5 Dec 1927; C, xxxv, 363)

**Inspector of Education of Basutoland, *Annual report* for the year 1909**

"We hope that every Colonial-born Indian will read the annual report of the Inspector of Education in Basutoland for the year ended June last.... If what the Inspector says be true of the Basutos, how much more must it be so of Indian youths who receive, in the ordinary schools of the Colony, no instruction at all in their mother-tongue." ("For Colonial Born Indians", *Indian Opinion*, 28 May 1910; C, x, 260-261)

**Thomas Taylor, *The fallacy of speed***

Maybe **Mutu Coomaraswamy, *Sutta Nipata : or, dialogues and discourses of Gotama Buddha***

or maybe **Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, *The Indian craftsman*** or some other book by him

"Please translate 'Fallacy of Speed' if you can. The book is commonplace, but it will serve our purpose. I intend to give a summary of Coomaraswami's book. Let us see what happens." (Letter to Maganlal Gandhi, 9 Dec 1910; C, x, 379)

**Edwin Arnold, *Indian idylls from the Sanskrit of the Mahabharata* (Cambridge 1883 and later editions)**

"I read *Indian Idylls* (Edwin Arnold's) to the boys. It has excellent translations of narrative poems from the *Mahabharata*." (Letter to Chhaganlal Gandhi, 1 Aug 1911; C, xi, 133-34)

"Nowadays I read story-poems from the *Mahabharata* to the boys of my school for an hour every evening. I have no option but to read from an English book, as half the boys are Tamils. The one being read at present is Arnold's *Indian Idylls*." (Letter to Dr. Pranjivan Mehta, 7 Aug 1911; C, xi, 139)

**G. Lowes Dickinson, *Letters from John Chinaman***

“It will be good thing if you start writing in English gradually. If you understand *Letters of John Chinaman* fully, you may translate it. I shan’t have time for it. I re-read the book recently. It is invaluable. (Letter to Chhaganlal Gandhi, 1 Aug 1911; C, xi, 134)

**\*Jean Finot: *Race Prejudice***

“Please ask... to send me Dr. Mehta’s manuscript.... I want also Finot’s *Race Prejudice*...for Canon Allmet who is here but who is leaving for England shortly.” (Letter to L.W. Ritch, 12 Apr 1911; C, xi, 22)

**Gopal Krishna Gokhale, *Speeches***

“It is not possible, in this brief outline of Mr. Gokhale’s career, to go further into this and other speeches, but we would recommend readers to obtain a copy of Mr. Gokhale’s published speeches and study them. We cannot do better than conclude by quoting the closing lines of the excellent introduction to Mr. Natesan’s publication, *The Speeches of the Hon. Mr. G. K. Gokhale*, from which we have gleaned the facts in this sketch.” (“A splendid record,” *Indian Opinion*, 24 Aug 1912; C, xi, 309)

**Narmadashanker, *Dharmavichar* (Gujarati)**

**Ramdas Swami, *Dasbodh* (Gujarati)**

“The following Gujarati books are eminently worth reading: ...*Dasbodh*, ...Poet Narmadashanker’s *Dharma Vichar*...” (Letter to Harilal Gandhi, 27 May 1911; C, xi, 94)

“Some friend sent me Narmadshankar’s book *Dharma Vichar*. Its preface proved very helpful. I had heard about the Bohemian way in which the poet had lived, and a description in the preface of the revolution effected in his life by his religious studies captivated me. I came to like the book and read it from cover to cover with attention.” (A, II/xxii)

Probably<sup>2</sup> already by now some (perhaps partial) version of *Aesop’s Fables*

“[Y]our correspondent’s advice that we [Indians in Natal] should accept thankfully what has been granted ...and his suggestion that then we may be blessed with... a reserve set apart for us... remind me, if he will forgive me for the analogy, of Aesop’s justice-loving wolf.” (*The Natal Mercury*, 25 Sept 1913; C, xii, 200)

“In *Aesop’s Fables* birds and animals speak. The children know that birds and animals cannot speak and yet their delight in his stories is not one whit the less on that account.” (*Navajivan*, 18 July 1926; C, xxxi, 159)

“It is only proper [that] sahibs should appear like sahibs. If others try to imitate the sahibs they would meet the fate of the jackdaw who posed as a peacock in *Aesop’s Fables*. A crow is all right as it is but appears ridiculous when it forgets itself and imitates someone else.” (Speech at Dayaram Jethamal Sind College, Karachi, 10 July 1934)

Probably **Paul Carton, *Consumption doomed : a lecture on the cure of tuberculosis by vegetarianism***

“Chhaganlal should take as much olive oil as he can and do as much garden work as possible, and should sleep in the open in all weathers and take deep breaths early in the morning and at the time of retiring.... He should read Dr. Carton’s thesis on consumption. It was given by me I think to Maganlal to read.” (Letter to Devi West, 14 Dec 1913; C, xii, 271)

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7. Many people know some Aesop’s fables from hearsay without having actually read a collection of them.

**Joseph Doke, *The secret city***

“Mr. Doke’s energy was inexhaustible.... Only a short time ago was published his book, *The Secret City, a Romance of the Karoo*. It is a wonderful piece of imaginative work. The book has already passed through the second edition and has been translated into Dutch.” (*Indian Opinion*, 23 Aug 1913; C, xii, 168)

“*The Secret City* is enchanting. I have been reading it in my spare moments. I have nearly finished it.” (Letter to Clement Doke, 24 Sept 1913; C, xii, 209)

**Florence Daniel, *Food remedies***

and presumably the following:

**Bhavbhuti, *Uttar Ramcharit*** (probably in Gujarati translation from the original Sanskrit)

**Joseph Addison, *Essays***

**Swami Dayanand Saraswati, *Rigvedadi Bhasyabhumika*** (Gujarati)

“I should like *Food Remedies* sent to me. I returned to the Gaolerat Volksrust ... *Uttar Ramcharit*, Addison’s *Essays* and Dayanand’s commentaries on *Rigved* &c.... Addison’s *Essays* should be returned to Mrs. Polak. (Letter to Devi West, 14 Dec 1913; C, xii, 271)

***Kvyavinod*** (a Sanskrit primer)

“Please send me two dozen copies of *Kavyavinod*.” (Letter to Mathuradas Trijumji, 5 Aug 1915; C, xci = Supplementary i, 96)

**\*Henry Drummond, *Natural law in the spiritual world...***

“I read with deep interest Drummond’s book *Natural Law in the Spiritual World* long ago.” (Speech at the Rotary Club in Calcutta, 18 Aug 1924; C, xxviii, 83)

“Thirty years ago I read Drummond’s book in which he had established by means of several examples that the rules of the material world apply to the spiritual world also.” (*Discourses on the Gita*, 7 Jan 1928; C, xxxv, 445)

**\*Jonathan Swift: *Gulliver’s travels***

“*Gulliver’s Travels* contains so effective a condemnation, in an ironic vein, of modern civilization that the book deserves to be read again and again.... Children can read it with enjoyment, so simple it is; and the wise ones get dizzy trying to comprehend its hidden significance. In Brobdingnag, Gulliver tumbled as low as the had risen high in Lilliput. Even in Lilliput, he has represented the tiny people as possessing a few powers which were superior to his own, that is to say, to those of normal people.” (Letter to Maganlal Gandhi, 18 May 1911; C, xi, 77)

“If you follow [i.e. imitate] *Gulliver’s Travels* and conceive an imaginary country in which to apply your correctives, you could say [better] all that you have said....” (Letter to Amritlal V. Thakkar, 1 April 1927; C, xxxiii, 207)

## CHRONOLOGY, Section 6:

### ***BEFORE 1922***

(back in India but not yet subjected there to a long imprisonment)

Maybe some of the following:

**George Uglow Pope, *A handbook of the ordinary dialect of the Tamil language***

**George Uglow Pope, *A Tamil prose reader adapted to the handbook***

**George Uglow Pope, *An English-Tamil dictionary***

and maybe also some of the same author's earlier books relating to Tamil, such as *The naladiyar*

"You must let me have Tamil books please.... I want all Dr. Pope's books. Will you please attend to this as early as you can?" (Letter to G.A. Nateson, 10 May 1915; C, xiii, 83)

Chapter 1, *Vairagya prakarana* (probably in a Gujarati translation), of the *Yogavasishta*

**Tukaram. *Abhang*** (Marathi)

"June 26, Saturday: *Vairagya Prakarana, Abhanga* and Postage." (Dairy for 1915; C, xiii, 173)

\***George Vivian Poore, *Colonial and camp sanitation*** and/or maybe *Dry methods of sanitation*

**George Vivian Poore, *The earth in relation to the preservation and destruction of contagia***

**George Vivian Poore, *Essays on rural hygiene***

"My dear N.... I shall send you the book on sanitation. I am writing to the Ashram [to request that it be done], but let me give you [here] the substance of Poore's method.... We have followed this plan most successfully for 17 years." (Letter to N., 6 April 1933; C, liv, 317)

"We have a copy of Poore's *Sanitation* in our library. Send it to Shri N." (Letter to Narandas Gandhi, 6 April 1933; C, liv, 310)

"[T]each them to rid their village of filth... to preserve health and conserve their golden manure at one and the same time. Poore's *Rural Hygiene* used to be a precious little book on this subject...." ("Advice to students," Jan 1935; C, lx, 119)

"I have no recollection of the titles [of all the books] but *The Earth* and *Colonial and Farm Sanitation*, both by Poore, should be among them. If they are with you, send them to me or bring them with you when you come." (Letter to H.L. Sharma, 12 March 1935;<sup>1</sup> C, xl, 299)

**Pranjivan Jagjivan Mehta, *Vernaculars as media of instruction in Indian schools and colleges***

"The question of vernaculars as media of instruction is of national importance; neglect of the vernaculars means national suicide. One hears many protagonists of the English language being continued as the medium of instruction pointing of the fact that English educated Indians are the sole custodians of Public and Patriotic work." ("Introduction" to *Vernaculars as Media of Instruction*, 1 Feb 1917; C, xiii, 336)

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1. Gandhi was at this time spending a good deal of effort helping to launch, in collaboration with J.C. Kumarappa, the All-India Village Industries Association. It could well be that he was not planning to re-read these books himself, but wanted Kumarappa and/or some other AIVIA colleagues to do so.

**Bartrihari, *Bhartrihari shataka*** (in some translation from the Sanskrit), or at least the first and last of its three parts, *Niti shataka* and *Vairagya shataka*<sup>2</sup>

“I saw here the *Niti shatak* which was sent for Prabhudas. It carries a shloka, the meaning of which is given thus: 'Just as a good woman wants her breasts pinched with nails as sharp as sword, similarly a brave man wants his chest—the symbol of victory, attacked by swords as sharp as nails.' I felt very unhappy on reading it. There is hardly any book which does not carry something that needs to be omitted before we put it into the hands of the children. How could Bhartrihari write such shlokas in his *Niti shatak*. Only in an age of extreme debauchery can one think of such thoughts.” (Letter to Chhaganlal Gandhi, 11 June 1917; not in the first edition of Gandhi’s *Collected works*,<sup>3</sup> but in the second one: xv, 437)

“Read Bhartrihari’s *Vairagya shataka*, and reflect over it.” (Letter to Mahadev Desai, June 1921; C, xx, 334)

“Bhartrihari... thus summed up the power of character: 'What will not *satsang* do for a man?'" (Indirect quotation in *Young India*, 17 Sept 1925, from a speech by Gandhi on 25 August 1925 at the Y.M.C.A. in Calcutta; C, xxviii, 107)

“A person without a fixed purpose has an unsteady mind. Bhartrihari has described many forms of this weakness of mind.” (*Discourses on the Gita*, the entry for 26 March 1926; C, xxxii, 126)

“Bhartrihari has stated from his own experience that those who seek the gratification of their desires know neither fear nor shame.” (“An ill-matched union or child-slaughter”, *Navajivan*, 13 Nov 1927; C, xxxv, 230)

“It requires many other virtues to be able to cultivate patience which has notaint of lethargy in it. Bhartrihari described patience as father. 'He whose father is patience and mother is forbearance, whose wife is undisturbed peace of mind', etc. If you do not know the full verse, please let me know and I will give you the text.” (Letter to Manilal and Sushila Gandhi, 3 Dec 1928; C, xxxviii, 151-52)

“According to Bhartrihari, the only state in which one can live free from fear is that of non-attachment.” (Letter to Chiminlal Shah, 9 May 1931; C, xlvi, 127)

\*Henry Drummond, *The greatest thing in the world*

“What one has to do is to live a life of love in the midst of the hate we see everywhere. And we cannot do it without unconquerable faith in its efficacy. I am going to follow Drummond’s prescription to read the verses on love daily for three month.” (Letter to Esther Faering, 11 June 1917; C, xiii, 442)

“Could you send a copy of ‘The Greatest Thing in the world’ to Mr. Polak? I cannot procure it here. I copied out the verse and sent them to him. He now asks for the booklet. The book with me is being used.” (Letter to Esther Faering, 8 July 1917; C, xiii, 466)

**Ganapati Agraharam Natesan, *What India wants: autonomy within the Empire***

“I have read Mr. Natesan’s booklet with the greatest pleasure. It is a fine vade-mecum for the busy politician and worker. Mr. Natesan has provided him with a connected narrative of the movement of self-government in a very attractive and acceptable form.... The book is in my opinion a great help to the controversialist and the student of our present day politics, who does not care to study musty blue books or has no access to them.” (Foreword to *What India Wants*; published also in *The Indian Review*, October 1917; C, xiii, 556)

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2. Gandhi had expressed already in 1911 an interest in reading this classical collection of poetry: “Please send me *Bhartrihari shatak* if the meaning of the Sanskrit text is explained in Gujarati or English.” (Letter to Chhaganlal Gandhi, 13 Aug 1911; C, xi, 142)

3. The second edition has some additional material, but is so poorly edited that the Indian government is preparing an electronic version of the first one.

### ***Report of the committee on co-operation in India***

“I was therefore delighted to read the recommendation, in the *Report of the Committee on Co-operation in India*, that... ..” (“The Moral Basis of Cooperation”, Bombay Provincial Co-operative Conference, 17 Sept. 1917, published in *The Indian review*, Oct. 1917; C, xiii, 535)

### **Anandshanker Dhruv, *Hindu dharma ni balpothi* (Gujarati)**

“Anandsharkarbhai has written a primer of Hindu religion but it is a book which even the old can read and find instructive. It appears to be a unique book” (Letter to Devdas Gandhi, 29 Aug. 1918; C, xv, 35)

### **John Morley, *Recollections***

“Look at this.... I copy it from Morley’s *Recollections* (Vol. II):....” (Letter to C.F. Andrews, 6 July 1918; C, xiv, 477)

\*Evidently some of **Leo Tolstoy’s** *Essays and letters* (containing, on pp. 193-209, “A letter to Russian liberals”)

“[L]iterature such as ...Tolstoy’s *Letter to Russian Liberals* ...should be widely distributed.” (“Instructions for Satyagrahis”, Bombay, 30 June 1919; C, xv, 412-13)

### **\*Rabindranath Tagore, *Gitanjali***

Probably \***Rabindranath Tagore, *Sadhana***

Evidently some short stories by **Rabindranath Tagore**, maybe in the collection, *Stories from Tagore* (translated from the Bengali)

“No one can deny that his poetry is full of spiritual wisdom, ethical ideals and other noble elements. His *Gitanjali* and *Sadhana* stand in a world apart; his stories are full of childhood’s joy and equally of thought and art....” (“Sir Rabindranath Tagore’s Visit,” *Navajivan*, 7 March 1920; C, xvii, 72-73)

Gandhi is known to have cited poems from *Gitanjali* in 1936 and 1946: “Where the mind is without fear, and the head is held high, / Where tireless striving stretches its arms towards perfection, / Into that heaven of freedom, O Father, let my country awake.” (C, lxiii, 257); “When the heart is hard and parched up, come upon me with a shower of mercy. / When grace is lost from life, come with a burst of song. / When tumultuous work raises its din on all sides shutting me out from beyond, come to me, my Lord silence, with Thy peace and rest. / When my beggarly heart sits crouched, shut up in a corner, break open the door of my mind, and come with the ceremony of a king. / When desire blinds the mind with delusion and lust, O Thou Holy One, Thou Wakeful, come with the light and Thy thunder.” (C, lxxxv, 163)

### **Dattatreya Balkrishna Kalelkar, *Swadeshi dharma* (Gujarati)**

“It is not for me to write a preface to this essay, for the author is a friend of mine. I can say only this about it, that the views it expounds are a credit to swadeshi dharma...” (Preface to *Swadeshi dharma*, 28 May 1920; C, xvii, 465)

### **Maganlal Gandhi, *Vanat shastra* (Gujarati)**

“He [Maganlal Gandhi] laid the foundation of the science of khadi by writing his *Vanat Shastra*. This book still holds its place as a classic although the science of khadi has made great progress since.” (Speech at the opening of a museum named “Magan Sangrahalaya” in honor of Gandhi’s nephew Maganlal, 30 Dec. 1938; C, lxxviii, 256)

**CHRONOLOGY, Section 7:**  
**MARCH 1922 - JANUARY 1924**

(his first long imprisonment in India)

**Various books for the study of Urdu** (starting before mid-April 1922 and continuing daily until the end of September 1923, by which time Gandhi was reading books in Urdu by Maulana Shibli), including probably **Abu Zafar Nadavi, *Muntaki bate-Urdu***

“It has required the use of all my tact to retain possession of... an Urdu manual presented to me by Maulana Abul Kazam Azad. Strict orders were given to the Superintendent that the prisoners were not to be allowed any books save the jail library books.... I shall soon finish the Urdu manual. I would prize a good Urdu dictionary.” (Letter to Hakim Ajmal Khan, 14 April 1922; C, xxiii, 131, 136)

“July 18... Finished reading *First Urdu Book*.... Sept. 30... Yesterday started reading... the unread portion of *Urdu Reader No. 5*.” (1922-23 diary; C, xxiii, 149-185)

“My Urdu studies proved as absorbing as the reading of the *Mahabharata*. They grew on me as I proceeded.... [I became] more determined than ever to be able to read and understand Urdu literature. I therefore gave nearly three hours per day to Urdu reading.” (“What I read,” *Young India*, 11 September 1924; C, xxv, 125)

Maybe **Alfred Hardwick Lowe, *The manner of the master***

Probably **Erika Dunkerley, *Arm of God***

Probably **American Baptist Foreign Mission Society, *Christianity in practice***

**Cecily Spencer-Smith Phillimore, *By an unknown disciple***

**Shastri Chatursen, *Satyagraha aur asahayoga* (Hindi)**

\*The *Koran* translated by J. M. Rodwell

**Lucian of Samosata, *Trips to the moon* (translated from ancient Greek)**

A book entitled *The way to begin life*

**Balavantarayya Kalyanaraya Thakor, *Indian administration to the dawn of responsible government***

**Tulsidas, *Ramcharitamanasa* (the *Ramayana* in Hindi)**

“April 21... Up to today<sup>1</sup> I have read the following books: / 1. *Master and His Teaching* / 2. *Arm of God* / 3. *Christianity in Practice* / 4. *By an Unknown Disciple* / 5. *Satyagraha aur Asahayoga* / 6. *The Koran* / 7. *The Way to Begin Life* / 8. *Trips to the Moon* / 9. *Indian Administration* (Thakor) / 10. *The Ramayana* – Tulsidas.” (1922 diary; C, xxiii, 144)

“I took with me five books... [one of which was] Rodwell’s translation of the Koran.” (“My jail experiences - I” *Young India*, 17 April 1924; C, xxiii, 447)

“Tulsidas’s *Ramayana* (Hindi)” (“What I read,” *Young India*, 4 Sept 1924; C, xxv, 83)

“*Trips to the Moon* (Lucian)... a fine and instructive satire.” (“What I read”, *Young India*, 4 Sept 1924; C, xxv, 85)

“I think that some friend did send me the book called 'The Arm of God'. I do not think I read it carefully. But since you think so highly about it I shall ask our librarian to search it out and give it to me.” (Letter to R.B. Gregg, 21 July 1926; C, xxxi, 176)

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1. The imprisonment had begun a month earlier.



Most likely **Thomas Claverhill Jerson**, *The birds of India : being a natural history of all the birds known to inhabit continental India*<sup>2</sup>

“April 22... Finished reading *Natural History of Birds*.” (1922 diary; C, xxiii, 144)

Either an anonymous publication entitled *The young crusader : a Catholic tale* or else perhaps

**Christian Gottlob Barth**, *The young crusader... translated from the German*

“April 23... Finished reading *The Young Crusader*.” (1922 diary; C, xxiii, 145)

**Martin Anstey**, *The Bible view of the world*

“April 26... The Rev Lawrence has sent me *Bible View of the World*. April 29... Finished reading the book sent by the Rev. Lawrence.” (1922-23 diary; C, xxiii, 145)

A bit of **Alban Butler**, *The lives of fathers, martyrs, and other principal saints*

“April 29... Glanced through a book on martyrs.” (1922-23 diary; C, xxiii, 145; see also p.187 where “*Lives of Fathers and Martyrs*” is included (with an asterisk implying that he had dealt with it) in a list made by Gandhi of book-titles)

**Peter Hume Brown**, *History of Scotland*

“April 26... Yesterday I finished reading *A History of Scotland*, Book I.... May 1... Finished reading *A History of Scotland*, Book II.... May 6... Finished reading *A History of Scotland*.” (1922 diary; C, xxiii, 145)

“*The Cambridge History of Scotland*” (“What I read”, *Young India*, 4 September 1924; C, xxv, 83)

**Fredric William Farrar**, *Seekers after God*

“May 5... Finished reading Farrar’s *Seekers after God*.” (1922 diary; C, xxiii, 145)

“Farrar’s *Seekers after God*... is an inspiring book giving the best side of the lives of Marcus Aurelius, Seneca and Epictetus.” (“What I read,” *Young India*, 4 September 1924; C, xxv, 85.)

**Misar Kumari** (i.e. “Egypt[ian] princess”; a Gujarati translation of an anonymous Bengali play about Cleopatra)

“May 6... Finished reading *Misar Kumari*.” (1922 diary; C, xxiii, 145)

“*Misar Kumari* (Gujarati)” (“What I read,” *Young India*, 4 September 1924; C, xxv, 83)

Maybe **Emily Beesly**, *Stories from the history of Rome*

or else maybe **Henrietta Cecilia Sandford**, *Stories from the history of Rome*

or else some other book with that title (several of which were published in Great Britain between 1832 and 1892)

“May 12... Finished reading *Stories from the History of Rome*.” (1922 diary; C, xxiii, 145)

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2. Analogous books about the birds of certain other parts of the world had also been published in the 19th and early 20th centuries, but it seems to us most likely that the book available to Gandhi was this classic about the birds of India.

**Thomas Hughes, *Tom Brown's school days***

“May 16... 'They are slaves who will not choose / [to be subjected to] Hatred, scoffing and abuse, / Rather than in silence shrink / From the truth they needs must think: / They are the ones who dare not be / In the right with two or three.' – Lowell.... May 17... Finished reading *Tom Brown's School Days*. Some portions of it are beautiful. 'The Holy supper is kept indeed. / In whatso we share with another's need – / Not that which we give, but what we share, / For the gift without the giver is bare: / Who bestows himself with his alms feeds three: / Himself, his hungering neighbor, and Me.' – Lowell, from the same book as above.”<sup>3</sup> (1922 diary; C, xxiii, 146)

**Francis Bacon, *The wisdom of the ancients***

“May 20... Finished reading Bacon's *The Wisdom of the Ancients*.” (1922 diary; C, xxiii, 146)

A Gujarati history of India, probably **Ranchoddas Girdharbhai's** translation, *Hindustan no itihas*, of some of an abbreviated edition of **Montstuart Elphinstone, *The history of India***

“May 28... Read the history of India up to the Moghul dynasty.” (1922 diary; C, xxiii, 146)

“*History of India (Gujarati)*” (“What I read,” *Young India*, 4 September 1924; C, xxv, 83)

**Richard Morris, *Elementary lessons in historical English grammar* or else *English grammar***

“May 28... Went through Morris's grammar.” (1922 diary; C, xxiii, 146)

At least Part II, *Achyutapadarohan*, of **Icharam Suryaram Desai, *Chandrakant*** (Gujarati)

**Patanjali, *Yogadarshan*** (a classic Sanskrit treatise on yoga) translated into Gujarati

**Valmiki, the *Ramayana*** (a classic Sanskrit epic) translated into Gujarati

“May 29... Finished reading *Chandrakant*, Part II, as also Patanjali's *Yogadarshan*.... Started reading the Gujarati translation of Valmiki's *Ramayana*.... June 25... Finished reading Valmiki's *Ramayana*.” (1922 diary; C, xxiii, 146, 148)

“[I read] *Chandrakant*; Patanjali's *Yogadarshan* (Kania's translation); [and] Valmiki's *Ramayana* (Gujarati translation).” (“What I read”, *Young India*, 4 Sept. 1924; C, xxv, 83)

“[According to] the first aphorism of Patanjali's *Yogadarshan*.... yoga is controlling the activities of the mind.” (“A thought for the day,” 29 Nov. 1944; C, lxxviii, 391)

**Rudyard Kipling, *The five nations***

“May 31... Finished reading Kipling's *The Five Nations*.” (1922 diary; C, xxiii, 147)

**Edward Bellamy, *Equality***

“June 4... Finished reading Edward Bellamy's *Equality*.” (1922 diary; C, xxiii, 147)

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3. These verses, cited at the beginning of Chapters 7 and 8 of *Tom Brown's School Days*, are from James Russell Lowell's poems, “The Vision of Sir Launfal” (1848) and “Stanzas on Freedom” (1843).

**Gerald Stanley Davies, *St. Paul in Greece***

“June 7... Finished reading *St. Paul in Greece* (by Davis).” (1922 diary; C, xxiii, 147)

**Robert Louis Stevenson, *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde***

“June 9... Finished reading *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*.” (1922 diary; C, xxiii, 147)

**Archibald Philip Primrose Rosebery, *Pitt***

“June 14... Finished reading *Pitt* by Lord Rosebery.” (1922 diary; C, xxiii, 147)

“Add to these... Lord Rosebery’s *Life of Pitt* and you are perhaps then prepared to draw with me the conclusion that the dividing line between fact and fiction is very thin indeed and that even facts have at least two sides or as lawyers say facts are after all opinion.... Lord Rosebery... tells you that even the last words said to have been uttered by Pitt are disputed by his butler.” (“What I read,” *Young India*, 11 September 1924; C, xxv, 128-29)

**Rudyard Kipling, *The second jungle book***

“June 17... Finished reading Kipling’s *Second Jungle Book*.” (1922 diary; C, xxiii, 148)

\*At least Part I of **Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Faust*** (translated from the German into English)

“June 21... Finished reading *Faust*.” (1922 diary; C, xxiii, 148)

An article by Gandhi in the 25 September 1924 issue of *Young India*, entitled “God is one,” begins with 24 lines from Goethe’s *Faust*, starting at “Who can name Him...?” and concluding with “Feeling is all in all! / Name is but sound and reek, / A mist around the glow of Heaven.” (See C, xxix, 187)

“The famous European poet Goethe makes the Leonora of his best play – *Faust* – hold a spinning wheel and sing the sweetest of songs.” (“Basanti Devi’s spinning wheel,” *Navajivan*, 9 August 1925; C, xxviii, 54)

“Compare Margarete’s song in *Faust* as she sat at the wheel.” (“A testimony,” *Harijan*, 10 February 1940; C, lxxi, 182)

***The life of the late John Howard, Esq.***<sup>4</sup>

“June 24... Finished reading John Howard’s *Life*.” (1922 diary; C, xxiii, 148)

The ***Mahabharata*** (originally in Sanskrit) translated into Gujarati

“June 25... Started reading *Shantiparva* [part of the *Mahabharata*].... Dec. 4... Finished reading the *Mahabharata*” (1922 diary; C, xxiii, 148 and 153)

“*Mahabharata* – all the books (Gujarati translation)” (“What I read,” *Young India*, 4 September 1924; C, xxv, 83)

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4. John Howard was the first British advocate of prison reform and the author of *The state of prisons in England and Wales* (London 1777 and later editions).

**Jules Verne, *Dropped from the clouds*** (translated from the French)

“June 28...: Finished reading Jules Verne’s *Dropped from the Clouds*.” (1922 diary; C, xxiii, 148)

“Jules Verne’s *Dropped from the Clouds*... teaches science in the guise of a story. His method is inimitable.” (“What I read”, *Young India*, 4 September 1924; C, xxv, 85.)

**Washington Irving, *A history of the life and voyages of Christopher Columbus***

“July 1... Finished reading the life of Columbus by Irving.” (1922 diary; C, xxiii, 148)

**Robert Isaac Wilberforce, *The five empires : a sketch of ancient history***

“July 5... Finished reading Wilberforce’s *Five Empires*.” (1922 diary; C, xxiii, 148)

Either **Muriel M. C. Calthrop, *The crusades***

or **George W. Cox, *The crusades***, or some other book with that same title

“July 5... Commenced reading... *The Crusades*.... July 13... Finished reading *The Crusades*.” (1922 diary; C, xxiii, 148-49)

**Girdhar, the *Ramayana*** (a medieval Gujarati version of the epic)

“July 5... Commenced reading Girdhar’s *Ramayana*.... July 22... Finished reading Girdhar’s *Ramayana*.” (1922 diary; C, xxiii, 148-49)

“*Ramayana* by Girdhar (Gujarati)” (“What I read”, *Young India*, 4 September 1924; C, xxv, 83)

\***Thomas Macaulay, *Lays of ancient Rome***

“July 10... Finished reading *Lays of Ancient Rome*.” (1922 diary; C, xxiii, 148)

**Edward Gibbon, *The history of the decline and fall of the Roman Empire***

“July 13...: Started reading Gibbon’s *Rome*.... Oct. 23... Finished reading Gibbon.” (1922 diary; C, xxiii, 148, 152)

“Of the English books Gibbon takes easily the first place.... As the author proceeds to trace the events in the lives of the citizens of a single city who built up a world-empire, one traces the history of the soul. For Gibbon does not deal with trifles, he deals with vast masses of facts and arrays them before you in his own inimitable way. He deals with three civilizations, Pagan, Christian and Islamic, in sufficient detail to enable you to form your own conclusions. His own compel attention. But he is a historian jealous of his calling, faithful enough to give you all his data so as to enable you to judge for yourself.” (“What I read,” *Young India*, 11 Sept 1924; C, xxv, 128)

“I well remember the visit of Sir Henry Lawrence to this prison in 1922 or ’23, and he is right in his impression that I then passed my time principally between reading *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* and spinning at the wheel.” (Letter to Gulchen Lumslen, 30 May 1932; C, xlix, 501)

The ***Bhagavata*** (translated from the Sanskrit into Gujarati)

“July 22... Started reading *Shrimad Bhagavat*.... Aug. 27... Finished reading *Bhagavat Part II*.” (1922 diary; C, xxiii, 149)

“*Bhagavata* (Gujarati translation)” (“What I read,” *Young India*, 4 Sept 1924; C, xxv, 84)

**Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyaya, *Krishnacharitra*** (translated from the Bengali into Gujarati)

“July 23... Started reading *Krishnacharitra* (by Jhaveri)... July 29... Finished reading Krishnalal Jhaveri’s *Krishnacharitra*.” (1922 diary; C, xxiii, 149)

“Bankim’s *Krishnacharitra* (Jhaveri’s translation)” (“What I read”, *Young India*, 4 September 1924; C, xxv, 84)

“What am I to read to them? Munshi’s novels? Or *Krishnacharita* which Sjt. Krishnalal Zaveri has translated from the Bengali? It is a good book but I am afraid I cannot place it before these illiterate folks. They would take time to understand it.” (Speech at Gujarati Sahityaparisad, 31 Oct 1936; C, lxiii, 415)

**Chintamani Vinayak Vaidya, *Krishnacharitra*** (translated from the Marathi into Gujarati)

“August 4... Finished reading Vaidya’s *Krishnacharitra*.” (1922 diary; C, xxiii, 149)

“Vaidya’s *Krishna* (Gujarati translation)” (“What I read,” *Young India*, 4 September 1924; C, xxv, 84)

**Tilak, *Gitarahasya*** (translated from the Marathi into Gujarati)

“Aug. 10... Finished the *Gita*[-commentary] by Tilak.” (1922 diary; C, xxiii, 149)

“Tilak’s *Gita* (Gujarati translation)” (“What I read,” *Young India*, 4 August 1924; C, xxv, 84)

“Truth necessitates harmony of thought, speech and act... I remember the chapter in *Gitarahasya*. I did not agree with the suggestion in it. If you tell a lie under force of circumstances, you are certainly not telling truth. There never can be an occasion when one must tell a lie.” (Letter to Narayan Khare, 10 February 1932; C, xlix, 80)

“If you read the *Gitarahasya* in Hindi why didn’t you read it in the Marathi original?” (Letter to Devdas Gandhi, 11 May 1932; C, xlix, 423)

“Tilak’s... masterwork – the ‘Commentary’ on the *Gita* – is unsurpassed.... Nobody has yet carried on more elaborate research in questions arising from the *Gita* and the Vedas.” (Speech at opening of Tilak Hall, Kanpur, 24 July 1934; C, lviii, 236)

“[T]he *Gitarahasya* written by Tilak... is so rich in thought that it needs to be studied again and again.... It is a long time since I read this work and so I cannot remember his exact words. But I shall tell you the substance of what he says....” (Speech at a prayer meeting, 18 June 1947; C, lxxxviii, 172-73)

**Manu, *Manusmriti*** (translated from the Sanskrit into Gujarati)

“August 28...: Finished reading *Manusmriti*.” (1922 diary; C, xxiii, 149)

“*Manusmriti* (Gujarati translation)” (“What I read”, *Young India*, 4 September 1924; C, xxv, 84)

**Govardhanram Tripathi, *Sarasvati-chandra*** (Gujarati)

“August 27... Started reading *Sarasvatichandra*.... September 20... Finished reading *Sarasvatichandra* - Part IV today.” (1922 diary; C, xxiii, 149-50)

“I had liked the first part of *Sarasvatichandra* very much, but you ought to read all the four parts ...[to help gain] a complete understanding of the nature of the Gujarati language.” (Letter to Kusum Desai, 8 April 1932; C, lxix, 280)

**Richard Morris, *English grammar*** or else *Elementary lessons in historical English grammar...*

“May, 28, Sunday: Went through Morris’s *Grammar*.” (1922 diary; C, xxiii, 146)

Some version of the *Ishopanishad*<sup>5</sup>

“August 28... Started reading *Ishopanishad*.... September 1... Finished reading *Ishopanishad*.” (1922 diary; C, xxiii, 149)

**Kabir’s poems**, perhaps as edited and/or translated in *The Bijak of Kabir translated into English by the Rev. Ahmad Shah*<sup>6</sup>

“September 20...: Finished reading Kabir’s Poems.” (1922 diary; C, xxiii, 150-51)

“We draw our bhajans [hymns] from the exhaustless stores of Kabir, Tulsidas, Suradas, Nanak, Mirabai, Tyagaraja, Tukaram and other saints of India.” (Summary of Gandhi’s speeches at prayer meetings in temples, in Mahadev Desai, *Epic of Travancore*, Ahmedabad 1937, pp.250-51; C, lxiv, 308)

An English translation of **Jacob Behmen** [*sic*; a traditional English version of the name of the German mystic, **Jakob Böhme, Von übersinnlichen Leben**

“September 20... Started reading Jacob Behmen.... Sept. 23, Saturday: Finished reading Behmen’s *Supersensual Life*. / 'It is naught indeed but thine own learning and willing that do hinder thee so that thou dost not see and hear God.', p. 14. / 'If thou rulest over the creatures externally only and not from the right internal ground of thy inward nature, then thy will and ruling is in a bestial kind or matter.', p. 18. / 'Thou art like all things and nothing is unlike thee.', p. 19. / 'If thou wilt be like all things, thou must forsake all things.', p. 20. 'Let the hands or the head be at labour, thy heart ought nevertheless to rest in God ', p. 65. / 'Heaven is the turning in of the will to the love of God.'... 'Hell is the turning in of the will into the wrath of God.', p. 83.” (1922 diary; C, xxiii, 150-51)

“I must not omit to mention one little but precious book a dear friend sent. It was *Supersensual Life* by Jacob Behmen.” (“What I read,” *Young India*, 25 Sept 1924; C, xxv, 153)

\***Lily Dougall, Pro Christo et ecclesia**

“September 23...: Started reading *Pro Christo et Ecclesia*.... September 25...: Finished reading *Pro Christo et Ecclesia*.” (1922 diary; C, xxiii, 151)

The **Kathavalli upanishad** with a commentary in Hindi

“September 24... Finished reading *Kathavalli Upanishad*.” (1922 diary; C, xxiii, 151)

“*Kathavalli Upanishad* (Hindi Commentary)” (“What I read”, *Young India*, 4 September 1924; C, xxv, 84)

**Dayananda Saraswati, Satyārtha prakasha** (Hindi)

“September 25... Started reading *Satyārtha Prakasha*.... October 18... Finished reading *Satyārtha Prakasha*.” (1922 diary; C, xxiii, 151)

“*Satyārtha Prakasha* (Hindi)” (“What I read”, *Young India*, 4 Sept 1924; C, xxv, 84)

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5. Gandhi usually used this form of the title, though on one occasion, many years later, he referred to it as the *Ishavasha*. Some Western scholars call it the *Isa Upanishad*.

6. In the same jail a few months later, Gandhi read a collection of Kabir’s poems as translated into English by Rabindranath Tagore and Evelyn Underhill; see below.

“Every Hindu should have nothing but respect for Rishi Dayananda’s life [even though] *Satyarthaprakash* is disappointing.” (Letter to Naranji Vashi, 18 Nov 1926; C, xxxii, 65)

“I was pained to see the published report of our interview. I do not carry a copy of the *Satyarthaprakash* with me. I only said that there were several copies of it in the Ashram library. I did not ask for [them].” (Letter to the Secretary of Arya Samaj, 19 Dec 1932; C, lii, 235)

“I stick to my views about *Satyarthaprakash*.... It shows an imperfect knowledge of other religions, which have not been seen with the eyes of their votaries.” (Letter to Moolchand Agrawahl, 30 April 1934; C, lxxvii, 448)

“There is much in the Arya Samaj that I love, but I just cannot accept *Satyarthaprakash* as scripture.” (Letter to Narahari D. Parikh, 2 Nov 1945; C, lxxxiii, 11)

Most likely \***Nathaniel Micklem**, *The Galilean* but just maybe **George Claude Lorimer**, *The Galilean*

“September 26... Started reading... *Galilean*.... October 3... Finished reading *Galilean*.” (1922 diary; C, xxiii, 151)

**Jnaneshwar Jnaneshwari Gita Bhavarthadipika** (translated from the Hindi into Gujarati)<sup>7</sup>

“September 27... Started reading *Jnaneshwari*.... October 23... Finished reading *Jnaneshwari*.” (1922 diary; C, xxiii, 151-52)

“*Jnaneshwari* (Gujarati translation)” (“What I read”, *Young India*, 4 Sept 1924; C, xxv, 84)

**Philo Christus** (pseudonym for **Richard Moseley**), *Serious and friendly letters to a deist* or else maybe *A letter to the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Oxford*

“Oct. 6... Started reading *Philo Christus*.... Oct. 22... Finished reading *Philo Christus*.” (1922 diary; C, xxiii, 152)

A book apparently entitled *Prem mitra*

“October 23... Started reading *Prem Mitra*.... October 24... Finished reading *Prem Mitra*.” (1922 diary; C, xxiii, 152)

Again **Haribhadra Suri**, *Shad-darshan-samuchchya*

“October 25... Started reading *Shad-darshan-samuchchya*.... November 22... Finished reading *Shad-darshan-samuchchya*.” (1922 diary; C, xxiii, 152)

“*Shad-darshan-samuchchya granth* is a discussion of Buddhism, Vedanta, etc. The original work is in Sanskrit. Its Gujarati translation has been published.... It is a difficult work, and is purely an intellectual exercise.” (Letter to Chimanlal G. Vora, 21 Oct 1926; C, xxxi, 519)

\***Sam Higginbottom**, *The gospel and the plow*

“October 25... Started reading... *The Gospel and the Plough*.... October 28... Finished reading *The Gospel and the Plough*.” (1922 diary; C, xxiii, 152)

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7. Gandhi himself published in 1933 an abridged version in English of part of this work. He explained that a colleague had recently sent him “a rendering... of a discourse on ahimsa in *Jnaneshwari Gita*, Chapter XIII. I have taken the liberty of further condensing it and putting it in a form perhaps more easily to be understood....” (“True Ahimsa”, *Harijan* 10 Nov 1933; C, lvi, 207)

At least some of **Nathuram Sharma**'s commentary on the *Bagavad Gita*

“October 25... Started reading Nathuram Sharma's commentary on the *Gita*.” (1922 diary; C, xxiii, 152)

**Rajchandra Mehta**, *Atmassiddhisashtra* and/or *Mokshmala* (Gujarati)

“December 4...: Started reading the writings of poet Rajchandra.” (1922 diary; C, xxiii, 153)

**Jonathan Brierly**, *Ourselves and the universe...*

“December 6... Commenced J. Brierly's *Ourselves and the Universe*.... December 9... 'To wish ill, to do ill, to speak ill or to think ill of anyone, we are equally forbidden without exception.' - Tertullian [cited by] J. Brierly in *Ourselves and the Universe*.... December 15...: Completed J. Brierly's *Ourselves and the Universe*.” (1922 diary; C, xxiii, 153)

**Lyman Abbott**, *What Christianity means to me*

“Dec. 16... Started reading *What Christianity Means to Me* by Lyman Abbott.... Dec. 25... Finished reading *What Christianity Means to Me*.” (1922 diary; C, xxiii, 153)

A book entitled *Steps to Christianity*

“Jan. 3... Finished reading *Steps to Christianity* yesterday.” (1923 diary; C, xxiii, 178)

**Ralph Waldo Trine**, *My philosophy and religion*

“Jan 3... Started reading Trine's *My Philosophy and Religion*.... Jan 7... Finished reading *My Philosophy and Religion* yesterday.” (Jail 1923 Diary; C, xxiii, 178)

\***Rabindranath Tagore**, *Sadhana*

“Jan. 7... Started reading Rabindranath's *Sadhana*.... Jan. 14... Finished reading *Sadhana* yesterday” (1923 diary; C, xxiii, 178)

“Rabindranath's *Sadhana* certainly merits being read again and again.” (Letter to Sumangal Parekh, 6 June 1935; C, xciii, 24)

Either **Herbert Arthur Parkyn**, *Auto suggestion : what it is and how to use it*

or else **Anonymous**, *Auto-suggestion : what it is and how to practise it*

or else maybe **Henry Child Carter**, *Auto-suggestion and religion*

“Feb. 4... Finished reading *Auto-Suggestion*.” (1923 diary; C, xxiii, 178)

*Upanishadarthaprakashika* (Sanskrit and word-for-word Gujarati translation)

\**The Upanishads, translated by Max Müller*

*Kathakopanisadabhashya* (i.e. the **Upanishads** and commentaries on them by **Shankara** et al.)

Again the *Ishopanishad* (the oldest Upanishad), probably at this time with **Aurobindo**'s commentary



“Jan. 7... Started reading... *Upanishad*.... Feb. 4... Finished reading... *Ishopanishad* with a commentary. Reading *Kena [Upanishad]*.... Feb. 5... Started reading Max Muller’s translation of *Upanishads*.... Feb. 22... Finished reading Max Muller’s translation of the *Upanishads* as also *Upanishad-Prakash*, Part III.... Feb. 25... Finished reading the *Upanishad-Prakash*, Part IV. Started reading Part V, *Kathavalli Upanishad*.... March 11... Finished reading *Upanishad-[Prakash]*, Part V, on Thursday. Started reading Part VI... April 26... Finished reading *Kathopanishad* and started reading *Prashnopanishad*.... May 19... Finished reading *Prashnopanishad*.... June 6... Finished reading *Mundakopanishad*.... July 2... Started reading Chapters XV and XVI of *Mandukyopanishad* [not the same as the *Mundakopanishad*].... Aug. 12... Finished reading the last part of the *Upanishad[-Prakash]*, covering *Aitareya Brahmana* and *Taittiriya Brahmana*. Started reading *Chhandogya Upanishad*.... Oct. 7... Finished reading *Chhandogya Upanishad* and started reading *Brihadaranyak*.... Nov. 11... Finished reading *Brihadaranyak Upanishad* on Tuesday.” (1923 diary; C, xxiii, 178-186)

“*Ishopanishad* (Aurobindo’s commentary)” (“What I read,” *Young India*, 4 Sept 1924; C, 84)

“The Upanishads whetted my appetite for exploring the Vedic Religion at its source. Its bold speculation afforded the keenest delight. And their spirituality satisfied the soul. At the same time I must confess that there was much in some of them that I was unable to understand or appreciate in spite of the help of the copious notes of Professor Bhanu who has incorporated in them the whole of Shankara’s commentaries and the substance of the others.” (“What I read”, *Young India*, 4 Sept 1924; C, xxv, 86)

“I like the Upanishads, but I don’t consider myself fit to write a commentary on them.” (Letter to Premabehn Kantak, 3 April 1932; C, xlix, 262)

### A book entitled **Helps to Bible study**

“Feb. 5... Finished reading *Helps to Bible Study*.” (1923 diary; C, xxiii, 178)

### **Herbert G. Wells, *The outline of history***

Feb. 5... Started reading... Wells’s History.... March 2... Finished reading Wells’ History, Part II on February 28.... Started reading Wells’ History Part I.... March 16... Finished reading Wells’ History Part I yesterday.” (1923 diary; C, xxiii, 178-79)

### The **Bible** translated into Gujarati<sup>8</sup>

“March 2... Started reading the Bible yesterday.... July 30... Finished reading *Juno Karar* [the Old Testament] yesterday. Started reading *Navo Karar* today.... Sept. 2... Finished reading the Bible yesterday.” (1923 diary; C, xxiii, 178, 183-84)

### A bit of **Bhagvan Das, *Science of peace***

“March 16... Today I glanced through *Science of Peace* by Bhagwandas.” (1923 diary; C, xxiii, 179)

### **Rudyard Kipling, *Barrack-room ballads***

“March 19... Finished reading *Barrack-Room Ballads*.” (1923 diary; C, xxiii, 179)

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8. From the outset of this jail-term Gandhi had been mindful of the Bible: “I took with me five books... [one of which was] a presentation copy of the Sermon on the Mount sent by schoolboys of a high school in California in the hope that I would always carry it with me.” (“My Jail Experiences - I,” *Young India*, 17 April 1924; C, xxiii, 447)

**Patrick Geddes, *Cities in evolution***

March 19... Reading Geddes's *Evolution of Cities*.... March 21... Yesterday finished Geddes's *Evolution of Cities*." (1923 diary, C, xxiii, 179)

**Alkondaville Govindacharya, *The life of Ramanuja*...**

March 21... [S]tarted reading a biography of Ramanuja.... March 22... Finished reading the biography of Ramanujacharya." (1923 diary, C, xxiii, 179)

**Joseph Davey Cunningham, *A history of the Sikhs***

"March 22... Started reading Sikh history.... March 31... Finished reading Sikh history." (1923 diary; C, xxiii, 173)

"Cunningham's [history of the Sikhs] is a sympathetic record of events leading to the Sikh wars." ("What I read," *Young India*, 5 Sept 1924; C, xxv, 155)

**\*Ghulam Ahmad Mirza, *The teachings of Islam***

"March 26... Started reading Mirza's *Ethics of Islam* yesterday.... March 31... Finished reading... Mirza's *Ethics of Islam* yesterday." (1923 diary; C, xxiii, 179)<sup>9</sup>

**Benjamin Kidd, *Social evolution***

March 31... [Y]esterday... started reading Benjamin Kidd's *Social Evolution*.... April 4... Finished reading Kidd's *Social Evolution* yesterday." (1923 diary, C, xxiii, 179)

At least the preface to *The laws of Manu, translated with extracts from seven commentaries*, by **George Bühler**

"March 31.... [S]tarted reading Buhler's translation of *Manusmriti*.... April 4... Finished reading Buhler's preface to *Manusmriti* today." (1923 diary; C, xxiii, 179)

**Gokul-Chand Narang, *Transformation of Sikhism : or, how the Sikhs become a political power***

"April 4... Started reading *Rise of the Sikh Power* by Gokulchand.... April 9... Yesterday finished reading Gokulchand's *Rise of the Sikh Power*." (1923 diary; C, xxiii, 179)

"The... histories of the Sikhs by Cunningham, Macauliffe, and Gokulchand Narang... are good in their own way[s].... Cunningham's is... .... Macauliff's is... .... Gokulchand Narang's is a monograph supplying information not available in the two [other] works mentioned." ("My Jail Experience," *Young India*, 5 Sept 1924; C, xxv, 155)

**\*One hundred poems of Kabir : translated by Rabindranath Tagore...**

"April 9... Yesterday finished reading... *Kabir's Songs* by the poet." (1923 Diary, C, xxiii, 179)

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9. The book by Mirza of which Gandhi owned a copy is entitled *The teachings of Islam: a solution of five fundamental religious problems from the Muslim point of view*," and we have found no evidence for the existence of a book by Mirza entitled *The ethics of Islam*.

**Henry Roshier James, *Our Hellenic heritage***

“April 9... Started reading *Our Hellenic Heritage* by James today.... April 17... Finished reading James’s *Our Hellenic Heritage*.” (1923 diary; C, xxiii, 179-80)

The *Zend-Avesta*, translated by **Hormasji Tehmulji Dadachanji**

“April 9... Started reading Dadachandji’s *Avesta*.... April 28... Finished reading Dadachandji’s *Avesta* yesterday.” (1923 diary; C, xxiii, 179)

“I have no hesitation in regarding ...the *Zend-Avesta*... and other clean scriptures as revealed.” (“God is one,” *Young India*, 9 Sept. 1924; C, xxv, 178)

“The verse from the *Zend-Avesta* describes five kinds of physicians, but the fifth is the true physician, who depends on nothing but the name of God for healing.” (Extracts from speeches given at prayer meetings, *Harijan*, 21 July 1946; C, lxxxv, 30)

“If we look at the *Zend-Avesta*, we shall find many Sanskrit words in it.” [Speech at a prayer meeting, 10 Jan. 1948; C, xc, 397]

**Aurobindo, *Gita-nishkarsha*** (translated from the Hindi into Gujarati)

“April 9... Started reading Purani’s translation of Aurobindo’s *Gitanishkarsha*.... May 9... Finished reading *Gita-nishkarsha* yesterday.” (1923 diary; C, xxiii, 179, 181)

At least some of **Claude Field, *Mystics and saints of Islam***

“April 19... Sufishah Mullah Shah, when he was advised to flee from the wrath of Shah Jehan, is reported to have said: 'I am not an imposter that I should seek safety in flight. I am an utterer of truth. Death and life are to me alike. [...] The sphere where all colours are effaced has become my abode.' Mansuri Hallaj said: 'To cut off the hand of a fettered man is easy, but to sever the links that bind me to the Divinity would be a task indeed.' – Claude Field in *Mystics and Saints of Islam*.” (1923 diary; C, xxiii, 180)

**Herbert Spencer, *The principles of sociology***

“April 28... [S]tarted reading Spencer’s *Elements [sic] of Sociology*.... May 16... Finished reading Herbert Spencer’s *Sociology*.” (1923 diary; C, xxiii, 180-81)

**Max Arthur Macauliffe, *The Sikh religion : its gurus, sacred writings and authors***

“April 28... [S]tarted reading *History of Sikhism* by Macauliff.... June 3... Finished reading *History of Sikhism*.” (1923 diary; C, xxiii, 180-81)

“The... histories of the Sikhs by Cunningham, Macauliffe, and Gokulchand Narang... are good in their own way[s].... Macauliff’s is a life story of the Gurus giving the giving copious extracts from their compositions. It is a sumptuously printed publication. It loses its value because of its fulsome praise of the English rule and the author’s emphasis on Sikhism as a separate religion having nothing in common with Hinduism.” (“What I read,” *Young India*, 5 Sept 1924; C, xxv, 155)

A bit of **Shivaram N. Pherwani, *Social efficiency : India’s greatest need***

“May 16... [G]lanced through Shivaram Pherwani’s *Social Efficiency*.” (1923 Diary; C, xxiii, 181)

**Ardaser Sorabjee Wadia, *Message of Mahomed*** (or maybe *The message of Muhammad*)

\***Ardaser Sorabjee Wadia, *The message of Christ***

“May 19... Yesterday I finished reading Wadia’s *Message of Mahomed* and started reading *Message of Christ*.” (1923 Diary; C, xxiii, 181)

\***Husain Rahmat Allah Sayani, *Saints of Islam***

“May 21... Finished reading Husain’s *Saints of Islam*.” (1923 diary; C, xxiii, 181)

**James Hope Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism***

“May 21... Started reading Moulton’s *Early Zoroastrianism*.... May 31... Today finished reading Moulton’s *Early Zoroastrianism*.” (1923 Diary; C, xxiii, 181)

**Kakasaheb Kalelkar, *Himalayno Pravasa*** (a Gujarati account of travels in the Himalayas)

“May 27... Finished reading Kaka’s *Himalayano Pravasa*.” (1923 diary; C, xxiii, 181)

**Ralph Chaplin, *Bars and shadows : the prison poems***

“May 27... Read Ralph Chaplin’s *Bars and Shadows*.” (1923 diary; mistranscribed in C, xxiii, 181)

**Chandrashankara Pranashankara Shukla, *Sitaharana*** (Gujarati)

“May 27... Commenced reading... Chandrashankar’s *Sitaharan*.... May 31... Finished reading Chandrashankar’s *Sitaharan* yesterday.” (1923 diary, C, xxiii, 181)

**Kishorelal Mashruwala, *Buddha ane Mahavira*** (Gujarati)

**Kishorelal Mashruwala, *Rama ane Krishna*** (Gujarati)

“June 1... Finished reading Kishorelal’s book, *Buddha and Mahavira*.... June 3... Finished reading Kishorelal’s *Rama and Krishna*.” (1923 diary; C, xxiii, 181)

**Aurobindo’s** account of his imprisonment, most likely in Gujarati translation in Chapter 1 of *Karavasni kahani*<sup>10</sup>

“June 6... Finished reading the story of Aurobindo’s imprisonment.” (1923 diary; C, xxiii, 182)

**George Bernard Shaw, *Man and superman***

“June 16... Finished reading *Man and Superman* yesterday.” (1923 diary; C, xxiii, 182)

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10. This title, meaning “Imprisonment,” is that of (a) a collection, in Gujarati translation, of letters, lectures and articles by Aurobindo together with an autobiographical account of his imprisonment in 1908-09, and also of (b) the autobiographical first chapter of that book.

**Imam Gazali, *Bhagyano paras*** (Gujarati translation from the Arabic original)

“June 16... Finished reading *Bhagyano paras* today.” (1923 diary; C, xxiii, 182)

The **Markandeya Purana** (in an English translation)

“June 16... Started reading English translation of the Markandeya Purana.... July 2... Yesterday... finished reading Markandeya Purana.” (1923 diary; C, xxiii, 182)

**Kakasaheb Kalelkar and Narahari Parikh, *Poorva rang*** (Gujarati)

“June 30... At the beginning of this week, finished reading *Poorva Rang* by Kaka and Narahari.” (1923 diary; C, xxiii, 182)

**A book in Urdu about an episode in the life of Muhammed**

“June 30... Yesterday finished reading a book on an episode in the life of the Prophet in Urdu.” (1923 diary; C, xxiii, 182)

**Shibli Numani, *Usva-e-Sahaba*** (Urdu) and/or the translation, *Leaves from the lives of the companions of the Prophet*

“June 30... Yesterday... started reading an account of the companions of the Prophet.... August 15... Finished reading *Sahaba* today.” (1923 diary; C, xxiii, 182-83)

“I have read Maulana Shibli’s... *Leaves from the Lives of the Companions of the Prophet.*” (Letter to Deveshvar Siddhanta-lankar, 22 May 1927; C, xxxiii, 357)

“During my first imprisonment, I had read that book and *Usva-e-Sahaba* and found them extremely interesting. But now my Urdu has become rusty.” (Letter to Raihana Tybji, 7 Sept. 1930; C, xlv, 129)

**Manmatha Nath Dutt, either *A prose English translation of Markandeya Purana* or else *The Markandeya purana***

“June 16... Started reading English translation of *Markandeya Purana*.... July 2... Yesterday finished reading *Markandeya Purana.*” (1923 diary; C, xxiii, 182)

Part of **Gaudapada**’s commentary on the *Samkhya karikas*, maybe in **Ellwood Austin Welden**’s translation (from the original Sanskrit), *The Samkhya Karikas of Isvara Krishna with the commentary of Gaudapada*, or maybe in some other translation

“July 2... [S]tarted reading Chapter XVII of Gaudapadacharya’s *Karikas.*” (1923 diary; C, xxiii, 182)

Some of **Nanalal Kavi, *Jaya-Jayant*** (Gujarati)

“July 7... Started reading *Jaya-Jayant.*” (1923 diary; C, xxiii, 182)

“I remember reading only one of his [Kavi’s] books, *Jaya-Jayant*. I could not understand the poetry in it but I liked the subject matter. I could not even read fully what he wrote about me.” (“The late poet Nanalal,” *Harijanbandhu*, 29 September 1946; C, lxxxv, 359)

**Rabindranath Tagore, *Prachin sahitya*** (Gujarati, translated from his Bengali)

“July 10... Started reading Rabindranath’s book on ancient literature.... July 12... Finished reading the book on ancient Literature yesterday.” (1923 diary; C, xxiii, 182-83)

**Sophie Andreevna Tolstoy, *The autobiography of Countess Sophie Tolstoy***

“July 22... Finished reading, during the week, the autobiography of Countess Tolstoy.” (1923 dairy, C, xxiii, 183)

\***Henry Thomas Buckle, *History of civilization in England***

“July 2... Started reading today Buckle’s *History of Civilization*, Part I.... August 8... Finished reading Buckle’s *History*, Part II.... Aug 19.... Finished reading Buckle’s *History*, Part III.” (1923 dairy, C, xxiii, 182-83)

**Barindra Kumar Ghosh, Upendranath Bandopadhyay, Ullaskar Datta and Bhai Paramananda, *Kalapani-ni-katha*** (translated into Gujarati from the original Bengali)

“July 22... Reading *Kalapani-ni-katha*.... July 30... Finished reading *Kalapani-ni-katha* last week.” (1923 dairy, C, xxiii, 183)

**Govind Chintamani Bhate, *Sampattishastra*** (Gujarati)

“July 30... Finished reading *Sampattishastra*, Part I.... Aug. 12... Finished reading *Sampattishastra*, Part II.” (1923 diary; C, xxiii, 183)

**Jayadev, *Gita-govind***, translated from the Sanskrit to Gujarati by Keshav Harshad Dhruv)

“Aug. 8... Finished reading *Gitagovind*.” (1923 diary; C, xxiii, 183)

**William James, *The varieties of religious experience***

“Aug. 12... On Thursday started reading Prof. James’s *Varieties of Religious Experience*.... Aug. 26... Finished reading James’s *Varieties of Religious Experience*.” (1923 diary; C, xxiii, 183-84)

Maybe some or all of **Emily Beesly, *Stories from the history of Rome***

or else maybe of **Henrietta Cecilia Sandford, *Stories from the history of Rome***

or else some other book with that title (several of which were published in Great Britain between 1832 and 1892)

“Aug. 15... Reading *Stories from the History of Rome*.”<sup>11</sup> (1923 diary; C, xxiii, 183)

**Edward Washburn Hopkins, *Origin and evolution of religion***

“Aug. 19... Started reading Hopkins’ *Origin and Evolution of Religion*.... Aug. 23... Finished reading Hopkins’ book.” (1923 diary; C, xxiii, 183-84)

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11. Gandhi had already read such a book in May 1922; see above.

**William Edward Hartpole Lecky, *History of European morals, from Augustus to Charlemagne***

“Aug. 23... Started reading Leckey’s *European Morals*.” (1923 Diary; C, xxiii, 184)

**Edmond Gore Alexander Holmes, *Freedom and growth : and other essays***

“Aug. 28... Started reading Holmes’ *Freedom and Growth* yesterday.... Aug. 31... Finished reading Holmes’ *Freedom and Growth*.” (1923 diary; C, xxiii, 184)

At least some of **Ernst Heinrich Philipp August Haeckel, *The evolution of man*** (translated from his *Anthropogenie, oder, Entwicklungsgeschichte des Menschen*)

“Aug. 31... Started reading Haeckel’s *Evolution of Man*. (1923 diary; C, xxiii, 184)

Maybe **John Fleetwood, *Illustrated life of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ***, or else some other such book

“Sept. 2... Started reading an illustrated account of Jesus today.... Sept. 9... Finished reading the illustrated account of Jesus.” (1923 diary; C, xxiii, 184)

**Rabindranath Tagore, *Muktadhara*** (in a Gujarati translation from his Bengali)

“Sept. 9... Finished reading... *Muktadhara*.” (1923 diary; C, xxiii, 184)

**Rabindranath Tagore, *Dubtoon Vahan*** (in a Gujarati translation from his Bengali)

“Sept. 9... Finished reading... *Dubtoon Vahan*.” (1923 diary; C, xxiii, 184)

**Shibli Numani, *Sirat-un-Nabi*** (Urdu)

“Sept. 16... Finished reading the first part of Maulana Shibli’s life of the Prophet.... Sept. 28... Finished reading life of the Prophet (by Maulana Shibli) today.” (1923 diary; C, xxiii, 184-85)

“...These one or two examples are not the only ones concerning [Muhammed’s] humility and generosity towards enemies and antagonists. *The life of Prophet Mohammed* written by Maulana Shibli contains long stories illustrating these.” (“The key to success,” *Crusade*, 31 Oct 1924; C, xxv, 278)

“I have read Maulana Shibli’s *Life of the Prophet* as also [other writings by Shibli].... The sum-total of the impression left on my mind by these writings is of an elevated character.” (Letter to Deveshvar Siddhantalankar, 22 May 1927; C, xxxiii, 357)

“Into which language is [your] Father translating the *Sirat*? During my first imprisonment, I had read that book... and found [it] extremely interesting. But now my Urdu has become rusty.” (Letter to Raihana Tybji, 7 Sept 1930; C, xliv, 129)

“If you can read the whole of Shibli’s volume you can make from it a beautiful book in Gujarati describing incidents in the Prophet’s life.” (Letter to Devdas Gandhi, 11 May 1932; C, xlix, 423)

**Muhammad Ali’s preface to his translation into English of the Koran, *The Holy Qoran with commentary***

“Sept. 16... Finished reading... the Preface to the Koran by Dr. Mahomed Ali.” (1923 diary; xxiii, 184-85)

Again **Vivekananda, *Raja-yoga***

Sept. 28... This week finished reading Vivekananda's *Rajayoga*." (1923 diary; C, xxiii, 185)

**Champakrai Jain, *Dharma ni ekata*** (Gujarati)

"Sept. 28... This week finished reading... Champakrai Jain's *Dharma ni Ekata*." (1923 diary; C, xxiii, 185)

\***Reynold Alleyne Nicholson: *The mystics of Islam***

"Sept 30... Started reading Nicholson's *Mystics of Islam* yesterday and finished it today." (1923 diary; xxxii, 185)

"You did a good thing in studying the Koran. Get hold of *The Mystics of Islam* and read it." (Letter to Gulam Rasool Quareshi, 30 Aug 1930;C, xliv, 108)

At least part of ***Sahaba ekram***

"Sept 30... Yesterday started reading *Sahaba Ekram*, Part II." (1923 diary; xxxii, 185)

\***Paul Carus, *The gospel of Buddha*...**

"Sept 30... Started reading Paul Carus's *Gospel of Buddha*.... Oct 7... Finished reading Paul Carus's *Gospel of Buddha* during the week." (1923 diary; C, xxiii, 189)

**Thomas William Rhys Davids, *Lectures on the history of Indian Buddhism***

Oct 7... Reading Rhys Davids' *Hibbert Lectures on Buddhism*.... Oct 14... Finished reading Davids' *Hibbert Lectures on Buddhism*." (1923 diary; C, xxiii, 185)

**Syed Ameer Ali, *The life and teachings of Mohammed : or, the spirit of Islam***

"Oct. 7... Started reading Amir Ali's *Spirit of Islam* today.... Oct. 25... Finished reading Amir Ali's book on Tuesday." (1923 diary; C, xxiii, 185)

"There are many books on the life of the Prophet. The first place must be given to Amir Ali's *Spirit of Islam*." (Letter to Mirabehn, 3 Nov 1932; C, li, 335-36)

"[F]ind out from among [your] Father's books Amir Ali's *Spirit of Islam* and send it for Sardar. Mahadev and I have read it, but Sardar has not." (Letter to Raihana Tyabji, 8 May 1932; C, xlix, 412)

\*Most likely **Oliver Lodge, *Modern problems : dealing with pre-war questions of permanent interest***<sup>12</sup>

Oct. 14... Reading Sir Oliver Lodge's *Modern Problems*.... Oct 21... Finished reading Sir Oliver Lodge's *Modern Problems*." (1923 diary; C, xxiii, 185)

Again **Washington Irving, *Lives of Mahomet and his successors***

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12. This book owned by Gandhi was published in 1919. A book by Lodge entitled *Modern problems : a discussion of debatable subjects* had been published 1912.



“Oct. 25... Started reading Washington Irving’s *Mahomed* yesterday.... Nov. 4... Finished reading Irving’s *Mahomed*.” (1923 diary; C, xxiii, 185)

“Washington Irving’s *Mahomet and His Successors* ... a very well written work.” (Letter to Mirabehn, 3 Nov 1932; C, li, 336)

### **Mallisena, *Syadvadamanjari***

“Oct. 25... Started reading *Syadvada Manjari* today.... Dec. 9.... Finished reading *Syadvada Manjari* today.” (1923 diary; C, xxiii, 185-86)

### **Syed Ameer Ali, *A short history of the Saracens***

“Nov. 4... Started reading *History of the Saracens* by Amir Ali.... Nov. 24... Today finished reading Amir Ali’s *History of the Saracens*.” (1923 diary; C, xxiii, 185-86)

### **\*François Pierre Guillaume Guizot, *The history of civilization in Europe***

Nov. 11... Started reading *History of Civilization in Europe* by Guizot on Thursday.... Nov. 24... Yesterday finished reading of Guizot’s *History of Civilization in Europe*.” (1923 diary; C, xxiii, 186)

### **Shibli Numani, *Al Farooq : the life of Omar the Great***

“Nov. 11... Will commence tomorrow Maulana Shibli’s biography of Hasrat Omar.... Dec 23... [F]inished reading the biography of Hasrat Omar.” (1923 diary; C, xxiii, 187)

### **Parts II and III of François Pierre Guillaume Guizot, *History of civilization in France***

“Nov. 24... Started reading Guizot’s *History of Civilization in France*, Part II.... Dec. 9... On Wednesday finished reading Guizot’s *History of Civilization in France*, Part II, and started Part III.... Dec. 15.... Finished reading Guizot.” (1923 diary; C, xxiii, 186)

Probably an unpublished autobiography by **Curtis W. Reese**<sup>13</sup>

“Nov. 26... Finished reading Reese’s autobiography.” (1923 diary; C, xxiii, 186)

### **John Lothrop Motley, *The rise of the Dutch republic***

Nov. 26.... Yesterday started reading Motley’s *Rise of the Dutch Republic*.... Dec. 23... Finished reading Motley’s book.” (1923 diary; C, xxiii, 186-87)

“Motley extracts from a little republic the life of his hero.... Motley’s story of a state is subservient to that of one single life. The republic merges in William the Silent.” (“What I read,” *Young India*, 11 Sept 1924; C, xxv, 128)

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13. See <http://www25.uua.org/uuhs/duub/articles/curtiswillifordreese.html>. Born in 1887, Reese was a Baptist-trained minister who became a leader of religious humanism in the USA. He was strongly committed to universal brotherhood, social justice and racial integration. A draft of his unpublished autobiography may have been available to Gandhi at this time, and we have been unable to identify a likely auto biography by anyone else named Reese. He represented the American Unitarian Association at the centennial celebration the Brahmo Samaj.

### **Rajan Iyer, *Vedanta-bhraman***

“Nov 26...: [S]tarted reading Rajan Iyer’s *Vedantabhraman*.... Dec. 9... Finished reading Rajan Iyer’s *Vedantabhraman*.” (1923 diary; C, xxiii, 186)

### **Mahavira, the *Uttaradhyayan sutra* (an ancient Jain scripture)**

“Dec. 9... Started reading *Uttaradhyayan Sutra*.... Dec. 30... Finished reading *Uttaradhyayan Sutra*.” (1923 diary; C, xxiii, 186-87)

### **Max Heindel, *The Rosicrucian mysteries***

Dec. 15... [S]tarted [reading] *Rosicrucian Mysteries*.... Dec. 23... On Wednesday finished reading *Rosicrucian Mysteries*.” (1923 diary; C, xxiii, 186)

### At least some of **Bhagwatisudharma Swami, *Bhagwati sutra***

“Dec 30, Sunday: Started Bhagwati Sutra.” (1922-23 Diary; C, xxiii, 185)

### Some of **Shibli Numani, *Al Kalam* (Urdu)**

“Dec. 23... [S]tarted reading Maulana Shibli’s *Al Kalam*.” (1923 Diary; C, xxiii, 187)

“I have read... portions of [Maulana Shibli’s] *Al Kalam*.” (Letter to Deveshvar Siddhantalankar, 22 May 1927; C, xxxiii, 357)

### Some **Plato**’s Dialogues (translated from ancient Greek)

“Dec. 23... Started [reading] Plato’s *Dialogues*.... Dec. 30... On Thursday, finished reading the first part of Plato’s *Dialogues* and started the second.” (1923 diary; C, xxiii, 187)

### **John George Woodroff, *Shakti and shakta*...**

Dec. 23... Started reading Woodroff’s *Shakta and Shakti* [*sic*].... Dec. 30... Finished reading Woodroffe’s *Shakta and Shakti*.” (1923 diary; C, xxiii, 187)

The extant documents from Gandhi’s 1922-23 jail term include a list of book-titles together with numerals which the editors of his *Collected Works* have suggested were prison-library catalogue numbers. Some of the titles are marked with an asterisk and are of books which Gandhi’s diary show that he read. Most of the titles *not* marked with an asterisk are of books which he evidently did not get around to reading before being released in January 1924. These are *Ivanhoe*, *The old curiosity shoppe*, *Westward ho*, *Satires and epistles of Horace*, *Tropical agriculture*, “Primer of Marathi Language,” *Enoch Arden*, “Scott’s Poetical Works,” and the following in Gujarati: *Muktivivek*, *Kanta* (both of which were translations of books in Sanskrit by Vidyanaraswami), *Malathi madhava*, *Siddhanta-sara*, *Panchasati*, *Gulabsinh*, *Shrivitiprabhakar*, *Chatuh sutri*, *Bhojprabandh*, *Vikramcharitra*, *Anubhavapradika*, *Vastupalcharitra*, *Yogabindu*, *Kumarpalcharitra* and *Vivadandav*.

## CHRONOLOGY, Section 8:

**1924 - 1930**

(in India but not yet re-imprisoned)

**Paul Bureau, *Towards Moral Bankruptcy*** (translated from French)

“*Towards Moral Bankruptcy*... deals with ...[the question of birth-control by the use of contraceptives] and, as it appears to me, in a perfectly scientific manner.... I cannot resist the temptation of copying the following valuable medical testimony collected in the book in support of the proposition that self-restraint is not only not harmful but necessary for the promotion of health and perfectly possible.” (“Towards Moral Bankruptcy,” *Young India*, July 1926; C, xxxi, 77, 183)<sup>1</sup>

A book by **Havelock Ellis**, most likely *The dance of life*

and several other books on related subjects

“Having read [Paul Bureau’s *Towards Moral Bankruptcy*]... 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 [contraceptive] methods advocated [elsewhere]. 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’ 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.” (“Towards Moral Bankruptcy” *Young India*, 1 July 1926; C, xxxi, 77)

The ***Kenopanishad*** (originally in Sanskrit)

Probably at least some of **Shripad Damodal Satavlekar, *Mahabharata Samalochana*** (in Hindi; a multi-volume introduction to the *Mahabharata*)

“I am now reading the *Kenopanishad* after which I shall take up your *Mahabharata Samalochana*.” (Letter to S.D. Satavlekar, 14 April 1927; C, xxxiii, 237)

Stanley Jones, ***The Christ of the Indian road***

“Mr. Stanley Jones’s book I read but only cursorily as during the tour I was able to do very little of reading.” (Letter to Sonja Schlesin, 22 May 1927; C, xxxiii, 355)

**Katherine Mayo, *Mother India***

“I could really ill afford the time to read the book, but... having read it I am glad that I did so, because I saw that it required a fairly exhaustive reply from me.” (Interview reported in *The Hindu*, 10 Sept 1927; C, xxxiv, 504)

“[E]ven virtue appears as vice in the mouths of the evil-minded’.... The book is cleverly and powerfully written.... [It] bristles with quotations torn from their context.... [It is] a travesty of truth.... [It] describes an ovation said to have been given to the Prince of Wales, of which Indian India has no knowledge but which could not possibly escape it if it had happened.... There is much of this kind of stuff in this romantic chapter which is headed “Behold a Light”. The nineteenth chapter is a collection of authorities in praise of the achievements of the British Government, almost every one of which has been repeatedly challenged both by English and Indian writers of unimpeachable integrity. The

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1. Gandhi published a detailed, seven-part essay about this book, with substantial extracts from it.

seventeenth chapter is written to show that we are a 'world menace'.... Our indignation which we are bound to express against this slanderous book must not blind us to our obvious imperfections and our great limitations.” (“Drain inspector’s report,” *Young India*, 15 Sept. 1927; C, xxxiv, 539-547)

“I have asked the Publishers of *Young India* to send you a copy of my review of your book. If you think that I have done any injustice to you and care to draw my attention to it I shall feel thankful to you.” (Letter to Katherine Mayo, 13 Sept 1927; C, xciv = Supplementary-v, 63)

“‘MOTHER INDIA’ IS DISTORTED ONE-SIDED PICTURE CONTAINS PALPABLE FALSEHOOD WILDEXAGGERATION SUPPRESSION RELEVANT FACTS.... BELIEF NOT UNWARRANTED DAILY GROWING THAT BOOK INSPIRED BY PEOPLE INTERESTED IN DEGRADING INDIA IN PUBLIC ESTIMATION IN WEST” (Cable to Dhangopal Mukeerjee, 14 Nov 1927; C, xxxv, 235)

“Shrimati Sarojini [Naidu] Devi has received a call from America [i.e. an invitation to tour the USA, giving talks about India] chiefly for the purpose of undoing the mischief created by Miss Mayo’s untruthful and libelous production. No writing undertaken in India can possibly overtake the mischief done by that sensation-monger.” (“A call to India’s poetess,” *Young India*, 5 Jan 1928; C, xxxv, 441)

\***Edward John Thomson, *The other side of the medal***

“[I]n order to cover the misdeeds of General [James George Smith] Neill, it became necessary for the defender [of those misdeeds] to vote down Mr. Thomson, the author of *The Other Side of the Medal*, as a neurotic.” (“Need for self-conversion,” *Young India*, 3 Nov 1927; C, xxxv, 213)

\***Jabez Thomas Sunderland, *India in bondage***

“Having studied [the book] I can bear testimony to your great industry and greater love for India.... Though your love for India has prompted you to say harsh things of British rule and British method, I have detected in your work no venom. The prosecution in regard to your book only confirms your indictment of the system.” (Letter to J.T. Sunderland, 10 Aug 1929; C, xcii = Supplementary-ii, 54)

Maybe **Leonard Williams, *The science and art of living***

“Send over the book *Science and Art of Living* by Dr. Leonard Hill [*sic*]<sup>2</sup> if it is available at a low price.” (Letter to Shantikumar Morarji, 29 July 1929; C, xli, 236)

**Nandshankar Mehta, *Karanghelo* (Gujarati)**

“You should... read... *Karanghelo*... as also some writings of Narmadashanker and Manilal Nabhubhai. If you read these works, you will have a complete understanding of the nature of the Gujarati language.” (Letter to Kusum Desai, 8 April 1932; C, lxix, 280)

**Hasan Nizami, *Kavan Charit* (a Gujarati translation from the Urdu)**

“I read in Gujarati Hasan Nizami’s *Kavan Charit*. It did not make on me the impression it did on you. When I read it I was not prejudiced against him, [but] still I did not feel that his motive was pure. His language seems to me good, but for anybody who wants to read Urdu books for the sake of language there are many others equally good.” (Letter to Devdas Gandhi, 11 May 1932; C, xlix, 423)

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2. No such book by Leonard Hill is known to exist (although a book by Sir Leonard Hill entitled “*Further advances in physiology*” was published in London in 1909). The apparent error may have been that of the editors of Gandhi’s *Collected Works* in reading their photostat of his letter.

Relevant bits of *Gujarati Jodanikosh* (a dictionary of Gujarati spelling)

“My copy of the *Gujarati Jodanikosh*, second edition, published by the Vidyapith, is lying there. Send it to me” (Letter to Premaben Katak, 8 April 1932; C, xlix, 283)

**Rajendralal Mitra, *Beef in ancient India***

“Your reply about beef is very much to my liking. Rajendralal Mitra was a great scholar. He died many years ago. Someone had casually sent me the booklet.” (Letter to S.D. Satavlekar, 31 March 1933; C, liv, 259)

**CHRONOLOGY, Section 9:**  
***EARLY MAY, 1930 - EARLY MAY, 1933***  
(including three imprisonments and the last trip abroad)

Probably at least some of **Maganbhai Vahalbhai Patel**, *Vanatshastra praveshika* (Gujarati)

“Send me *Vanatshastra* and *Takli-shikshak* along with other books.” (Letter to Narandas Gandhi, 12 May 1930; C, xliii, 404)

“He [M.V. Patel] had an equal share with the late Maganbhai in the writing of *Vanatshastra*.” (*Harijanbandhu*, 5 Sept 1937; revised translation of this item by Pyarelal, “A silent co-worker gone,” in *Harijan*, 11 Sept 1937; C, lxvi, 96)

**Brahmacharya** (Hindi)

“There is a booklet in Hindi entitled *Brahmacharya* which is very good.” (Letter to Ramdas Gandhi, 26 Oct 1932; C, li, 299)

Yet again \***Edwin Arnold**, *Light of Asia*<sup>1</sup>

Probably again \***Husain Rahmat Allah Sayani**, *Saints of Islam*, or else a different book entitled *The saints of Islam*

A book about Punjabi prisons

“I have finished reading two books: *The Light of Asia* and *The Saints of Islam*. I am now reading a book on prisons written by an Inspector-General of Prisons of the Punjab.” (Letter to Narandas Gandhi, 26 May 1930; C, xliii, 418)

Maybe **Kishorlal Mashruwala**, *Jivanshodhan* (Gujarati)

“Manilal... should read... K’s *Jivanshodhan*....” (Letter to Narandas Gandhi, 23 Oct 1930; C, xliv, 258)

\***John Hoyland**, *The cross moves east...*

“I was able to read two days ago your good book on the Cross. There are in my opinion several inaccuracies inevitable in a condensation like your book.” (Letter to John S. Hoyland, 21 Dec 1931; C, xcii, 287)

**Will Durant**, *The case for India*

“Jan. 4... Started reading Will Durant’s book.... Jan. 6... Finished Durant’s book” (1932 dairy; C, xlix, 505)

“I have read the following books so far: Durant’s *India*....” (Letter to Narandas Gandhi, 8 Feb 1932; C, xlix, 76-77)

**Frank Percy Crozier**, *A word to Gandhi : the lesson of Ireland*

“Jan. 6... Commenced [a book] by Crozier.... Jan. 7... Completed Crozier’s book” (1932 dairy; C, xlix, 505-06)

“I have read the following books so far:... Crozier’s *A Word to Gandhi*....” (Letter to Narandas Gandhi, 8 Feb 1932; C, xlix, 76-77)

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1. The extant copy owned by Gandhi which we have seen is of an edition published in London in 1932.

**Henry Noel Brailsford, *Rebel India***

“Jan. 7... Commenced Brailsford’s [book].... Jan. 9... Today completed Brailsford’s *Rebel India*.” (1932 dairy; C, xlix, 506)

**Mohamedali Al Haj Salmin, *Imam Hussain* (Urdu)**

**Mohamedali Al Haj Salmin, *Khalifa Ali* (Urdu)**

“Jan. 10... Yesterday commenced reading Mahomedali Al Haj Salmin’s *Imam Hussain*. Completed it today. Now am reading his book on Khalifa Ally.... Jan. 14... Completed reading life of Ally yesterday.” (1932 dairy; C, xlix, 506)

**Samuel Hoare, *The fourth seal***

“Jan. 14... [C]ommenced reading Hoare’s *The Fourth Seal*.... Jan. 16... Finished Hoare’s book” (1932 dairy; C, xlix, 507)

**Ramsay MacDonald, *Wanderings and excursions***

“I have read the following books so far:... R. MacDonald’s travelogue....” (Letter to Narandas Gandhi, 8 Feb 1932; C, xlix, 76-77)

**J.C. Kumarappa, *A survey of Matar Taluka***

“Jan. 16... Received Kumarappa’s book on the Matar inquiry.... Jan. 19... Commenced yesterday the book about Matar Taluka inquiry.... Jan. 20... Completed Kumarappa’s book” (1932 dairy; C, xlix, 507-08)

**\*Will Hayes, *Indian bibles***

“Jan. 20... Completed... Hayes’ *Indian Bibles*.” (1932 diary; C, xlix, 508)

**John Ruskin, ...*St. George’s Guild***

“Jan. 20... Started Ruskin’s *Guild of St. George*.... Jan. 21... Completed Ruskin’s book about the Guild” (1932 dairy; C, xlix, 508)

At least some of **K. T. Shah, *Federal Finance in India***

“Jan. 21... Commenced Shah’s *Federal Finance*.” (1932 diary; C, xlix, 508)

**J. G. Milne, *The ruin of Egypt by Roman mismanagement***

“Jan. 26.... Commenced *The Ruin of Egypt*”.... Jan. 31... Completed *The Ruin of Egypt*.” (1932 dairy; C, xlix, 509)

**Will Hayes, *The book of the cow : a study in comparative religion***

“Jan. 31... Commenced Hayes’s book on the cow.” (1932 diary; C, xlix, 509)

“I have read the following books so far:... Hayes’ *The Book of the Cow*.” (Letter to Narandas Gandhi, 8 Feb 1932; C, xlix, 76-77)

**A. E.** (Pseudonym of **George William Russell**), *The candle of vision*

“Feb. 2... Completed A.E.’s *Candle of Vision*.” (1932 diary; C, xlix, 510)

**David Kinley**, *Money*

“Feb. 2... Commenced Kinley’s *Money*.... Feb. 8... Completed Kinley’s *Money*” (1932 diary; C, xlix, 510-11)

**H.E. Valiani** (using the pseudonym “**Koipan**”), *Shankh ane kodi* (Gujarati drama)

“I have read following books so far: ...*Shankh ane Kodi* (Gujarati)...” (Letter to Narandas Gandhi, 8 Feb 1932; C, xlix, 76-77)

**Charles F. Andrews**, *Zaka Ullah of Delhi*

“Feb. 6... “Today commenced reading biography of Zaka Ullah.” (1932 diary; C, xlix, 510)

“I am now reading the biography of Munshi Zaka Ullah written by Andrews.” (Letter to Narandas Gandhi, 8 Feb 1932; C, xlix, 77)<sup>2</sup>

**K.T. Shah**, *Sixty years of Indian finance*

“Feb. 8... Commenced Shah’s *Sixty Years of Economic Administration of India*.” [sic] (1932 diary; C, lxix, 511)

“I am... reading... Shah’s book, *Sixty Years of Economic Administration of India*.” (Letter to Narandas Gandhi, 8 Feb 1932; C, xlix, 77)<sup>3</sup>

At least some of **Ramananda Chatterjee**, *The golden book of Tagore*

“I have duly received *The Golden Book of Tagore*. What treasures of love have you poured into it! I gave two hours to it straight way. Thank you for thinking of sending it to me here. Had I got outside, I would not have been able to go beyond opening it and laying it down with a sigh.” (Letters to Ramananda Chatterjee, 6 and 16 Feb 1932; C, xlix, 68 and 99)

**Maithilisharan Gupta**, *Panchavati* (modern Hindi poetry)

“I have finished [reading] *Panchavati* and liked it.” (Letter to Mithilisharan Gupta, 22 Feb 1932; C, xlix, 153)

Again some of **Plato**’s *Apology* [of Socrates; translated from the ancient Greek]

“There was once a wise man, named Socrates.... Our purpose here is to discuss the substance of the concluding remarks of Socrates’ defence at the time of trial.... This is what [he] said: ‘...’ ...Glancing at the books [available to me], I saw Socrates’ speech. I opened the book... and my eyes fell on the world-famous passage in it which I have summarized above.” (Letter to youngsters at his ashram, 29 Feb 1932; C, xlix, 169-70)

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2. Gandhi probably finished reading this book. He was a great admirer of Andrews.

3. Gandhi probably finished reading this book as well. According to his diary he completed by 15 February a letter to K.T. Shah, which he might well not have written without having read the whole book. (As far as we know, Shah wrote only one book with the word “sixty” in its title. Gandhi’s apparent mistake as to the title was made twice on the same day, not on two different days.)



**Cecil Delisle Burns, *Democracy : its defects and advantages***

“March 1... Commenced Delisle Berne’s [sic] *Democracy*.... March 6... Completed *Democracy* yesterday.” (1932 diary; C, xlix, 514-15)

**Shrikrishna Venkatesh Puntambekar and N.S. Varadachari, *Hand-spinning and hand-weaving***

**\*Richard B. Gregg, *Economics of khaddar***

“I cannot call to mind any particular book on wool and silk industries. You should look up the long bibliography at the end of Puntambekar’s essay. There is one in Gregg’s book also.” (Letter to Manmohandas P. Gandhi, 8 March 1932; C, xlix, 189)

“Richard Gregg[‘s]... *Economics of Khaddar* is an original contribution.... He recognizes the spinning-wheel as a symbol *par excellence* of non-violence.” (“What is khadi science?,” *Harijan*, 16 Jan 1937; C, lxiv, 249)

**Upton Sinclair, *The wet parade***

Maybe **Upton Sinclair, *Boston : a novel***

Maybe **Upton Sinclair, *The brass check***

“March 6... Commenced Upton Sinclair’s *Wet Parade*. March 15... Completed *Wet Parade*.” (1932 diary; C, xlix, 515-16)

“The books sent by Upton Sinclair belong to the Ashram. Enter them in the catalogue and send me *Boston* and *Brass Tacks* (sic). Send a list of the rest.” (Letter to Premabehn Kantak, 3 April 1932; C, xlix, 262)

“Upton Sinclair’s latest book... gives a very good account of the working of the American Prohibition Law. I am sending you the book, which is named *Wet Parade*.” (Letter to Devdas Gandhi, 24 April 1932; C, xlix, 361)

**Edward Carpenter, *From Adam’s Peak to elephanta : sketches in Ceylon, and India***

“March 15... Commenced Carpenter’s *Adam’s Peak to Elephants*... March 20... Completed *Adam’s Peak to Elephants*.” (1932 diary; C, xlix, 516-17)

**S.E. Stokes, *Satyakama***

“March 19... Received Stokes’s book.... March 21... Commenced Stokes’s *Satyakama*.... March 25... Completed Stokes’s book.” (1932 diary; C, xlix, 516-17)

“Please tell Mr. Stokes that I have set aside other reading in order to go through his book. I hope, when I have finished it, to write to him directly.” (Letter to M.R. Jayakar, 23 March 1932; C, xlix, 230)

**Romain Rolland, *The life of Ramakrishna*** (translated from the French)

**Romain Rolland, *The life of Vivekananda*...** (translated from the French)

“March 26... Received... Rolland’s *Life of Vivekananda* and *Ramakrishna*.... May 22... Completed Rolland’s *Ramakrishna*.... May 23... Commenced *Vivekananda*.... May 31... Completed Rolland’s *Vivekananda*.” (1932 diary; C, xlix, 517-18 and 527)

At least some of **John Ruskin, *Fors clavigera***

“April 6... Completed the first book of *Fors*.... Commenced the second part of *Fors*.” (1932 diary; C, xlix, 519)

“Just now I am reading Ruskin’s *Fors Clavigera* a deeply human document. He is dreadfully in earnest. These letters are his last efforts at self-expression in word and deed.” (Letter to Mirabeen, 8 April 1932; C, xlix, 278)

Maybe **Dikshit’s *Jyotishshastra*** (translated from Marathi into Gujarati)

“Dikshit’s *Jyotishshastra* has been translated into Gujarati. I have got a copy of the translation with me” (Letter to Premabeen Katak, 3 April 1932, C, xlix, 262)

A book entitled ***Samarpan***

“April 6... Completed... *Samarpan*.” (1932 diary; C, xlix, 519)

Maybe again **Kishorlal Mashruwala, *Buddha and Mahavira*** (Gujarati)

“April 6... Completed... *Buddha ane Mahavir*.” (1932 diary; C, xlix, 519)

**David C. Muthu, *The antiquity of Hindu medicine and civilisation***

“I was delighted to hear from you and to have a copy of the new edition of that excellent book of yours. I am going to read it again.” (Letter to David C. Muthu, 5 April 1932; C, xlix, 228)

Again some Urdu readers

“April 24... Commenced third Urdu reader.... June 16... Urdu 4th completed.” (1932 diary; C, xlix, 522 and 1, 455)

“I do over two hours’ spinning and Urdu.<sup>4</sup> I have read those Jamia publications that were sent to me. And now I am rereading Shibli’s *Life of the Prophet*. I carry on a little Urdu correspondence.... My Urdu teacher [by mail] is Raihana.... She is a brick.” (Letter to M.A. Ansari, 7 Aug 1932; C, xcii = Supplementary - ii, 331)

Some or all of **Thomas Heath, *The twentieth century atlas of popular astronomy***

and some other books on astronomy

“The books will be useful to me, and your letter and notes will enhance their usefulness. But I am not as ambitious as you seem to think I am. I only wish to acquire sufficient general knowledge to be able to see God in the heavens more clearly. Please send me a small book on astronomy which you think will suit my purpose” (Letter to Hiralal Shah, 12 April 1932; C, xlix, 301)

“April 24... Commenced Heath’s *Astronomy*. (1922 diary; C, xlix, 522)

“May 11... Hiralal sent Mukerji’s book on astronomy.” (1932 diary; C, xlix, 524)

“I have taken this up [i.e. watching the stars] quite seriously. During the day I read something on the subject and at night observe the particular stars carefully enough to be able to recognize them afterwards.” (Letter to Devdas Gandhi, 11 May 1932; C, xlix, 422)

Maybe again **Shibli Numani, *Sirat-un-nabi***

And maybe \***Muhammad Ali, *Mohammed : the prophet of Islam***

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4. Even if this refers to two hours of Urdu study per day, it does not mean that all that time was spent with Urdu readers.

“Among our books there are some Urdu ones.... If you find *Sirat-un-Nabi* among those books, send it to me. It is written by Maulana Shibli. There is another biography of Nabi written by Dr. Mahomed Ali. Send that too.” (Letter to Premabehn Kantak, 1 May 1932; C, xlix, 384)

**Vasudev Jagannath Kirtikar, *Studies in Vedanta***

“June 1... Commenced Kirtikar’s *Vedanta*.... June 10... Completed Vasudev Kirtikar’s *Vedanta*” (1932 diary; C, 1, 453-54)

**Mohammed Mujeeb, *Shareef Ladka*** (Urdu drama)

**Mohammed Mujeeb, *Kheti*** (Urdu drama)

**Mohammed Mujeeb, *Kimiyagar aur doosre afsane*** (Urdu short stories)

“June 19... Completed an Urdu play entitled *Shareef Ladka*. Have taken up another book, entitled *Kheti*.... June 25... Commenced *Kimiyagar*.... July 10... Today completed *Kimiyagar*.” (1932 diary; C, 1, 455)

**Charles F. Andrews, *What I owe to Christ***

“I read your book, *What I owe to Christ*, immediately I got it.... The opening chapters are very good indeed. All the chapters are a great help to a struggling soul. They reveal you as nothing else that you have written can do, but there was a chapter in it which as I read I criticized... I should have to look at the book again in order to be able to recall the chapter and the subject.” (Letter to C.F. Andrews, 20 Dec 20 1932; C, lii, 245)

**Valaji Govindji Desai, *Ishucharita*** (Gujarati) before its publication

“I was not favourably impressed by the book. You call it *Ishucharita* [meaning “The Life of Jesus”] but I do not see anything in it to justify the title.... My complaint is that you have failed to raise before the reader a vivid image of Jesus.” (Letter to Valaji G. Desai, 19 Oct 1932; C, li, 258-260)

“There is no harm in your having published *Ishucharita*. The people will certainly like it very much.... [T]here is some incompleteness in your evaluation, but it is not a serious defect” (Letter to Valaji G. Desai, 22 Jan 1933; C, liii, 120)

A book by **Raghuvir Singh Agrawal**, either his *Mind and vision : a handbook for the cure of imperfect sight without glasses* or another such book

“I have your letter and the book.... [T]here is no difficulty in following your instructions.” (Letter to Dr. R.S. Agrawal, 17 Nov 1932; C, lii, 16-17)

**Maithili Sharan Gupta, *Anagh*** (Hindi drama)

**Maithili Sharan Gupta, *Saket*** (Hindi epic)

**Maithili Sharan Gupta, *Jhankar*** (Hindi poetry)

“Maithilisharan Gupta’s *Anagh*, which I recently read here, is also a good play and could be performed before the children there. Its Hindi is simple and sweet and the moral is excellent.” (Letter to Narandas Gandhi, 24/29 March 1932; C xlix, 249)

“I read *Saket*, *Anagh*, *Panchvati* and *Jhankar* with enjoyment. I liked them very much.... However, as you have asked for my opinion and I did gather impressions while reading, I am putting them down as they occurred to me. The expression of Urmila’s grief, though beautiful in style, could hardly have had a place in *Saket*.... [And,] the lamentations of Dasharath and others... are not appreciated in a book of the present period. It affects adversely the sentiment of

valour as well as faith. Those who have faith in the spirit and who consider worldly pleasures as transitory cannot find death and separation unbearable. They might temporarily give way to grief but how can we expect pitiful lamentations from them?” (Letter to Maithilisharan Gupta, 5 April 1932; C, xlix, 273-74)

“I follow your point and from that viewpoint Urmila’s grief is pertinent.... Prompted by love I sent you my comments, but I could never have expected such a beautiful, poetic letter in reply. I shall preserve it and read it again; which means

that I must re-read *Saket* from the viewpoint expounded by you.... I have written to Parasram to include *Saket* and *Anagh* in the Ashram curriculum.” (Letter to Maithilisharan Gupta, 26 April 1932; C, xlix, 373)

“Maithilisharan’s *Saket*... I wish to read carefully.... Mahadev and I have already read it once. It seems to be a fine work. I am sure if you secure a copy there and read it, you will also like it.” (Letter to Devdas Gandhi, 11 May 1932; C, xlix, 422)

“I received another copy of *Saket* with your annotations. The notes will be of great help to me.” (Letter to Maithilisharan Gupta, 15 May 1932; C, xlix, 444)

Apparently **Maganbhai Desai**, *Satyagrahni Mimansa* (Gujarati)

“Ask Chandrashankar to send me by registered post a copy of Maganbhai’s *Mimansa*.” (Letter to Narandas Gandhi, 15 May 1932; C, xlix, 439)

**George Rusby Kaye**: *Hindu astronomy*

Either \***James Jeans**, *The stars in their courses* or else another such book by him

“June 2... Completed *Hindu Astronomy*. Commenced that by Sir Jeans.” (1932 diary; C, I, 453)

**Abhaydev Sharma**, *Vaidik vinay* (Hindi)

“July 10... Today completed... *Vaidik Vinay*.” (1932 diary; C, I, 458)

**Munshi Premchand**, *Ram Charcha* (translated from the Hindi into Urdu)

Again **Shibli Numani**, *Al Faruq*

“July 10... Commenced... Premchandji’s *Ramacharcha*.” (1932 diary; C, I, 458)

“I am reading it [*Ramcharcha*]. I read the stories about the martyred lad, agriculture, alchemist etc. It is true that I could not understand some words; otherwise there was no difficulty.... [As for] *Al-Faruk*... [w]e had a copy in the Ashram. I have asked for it. I will read it after I finish *Ramcharcha*. I like it. I now remember to have read it before. I find the meanings I had noted down in it. It is not wrong if this book is read two-three times.” (Letter to Devdas Gandhi, 17 July 1932; C, I, 250)

“Devdas has sent your letter to me for perusal. I am grateful to you for the book sent to me. I am still reading *Ramcharcha* (i.e. Life of Rama). I have finished other books. All the three books have pleased me. There was not much difficulty in understanding them” (Letter to Hamid Ali Khan, 17 July 1932; C, I, 257)

“At present I am reading an Urdu book entitled *Ramcharcha*. It is beautifully printed and its Urdu is easy to follow.... I shall finish *Ramcharcha* in a day or two” (Letter to Raihana Tyabji, 26 July 1932; C, I, 301)

\***K. T. Shah**, *Indian Currency and Exchange Banking*

“July 14... Completed Shah’s *Banking*.” (1932 diary; C, I, 468)

**Simon Newcomb, *Astronomy for everybody***

“July 14... Completed... Newcome’s *Astronomy*.” (1932 diary; C, I, 458)

At least some of **Khara, *Astronomy***

“July 14... Commenced... Khara’s *Astronomy*.” (1932 diary; C, I, 458)

At least some of **Vaidik Muni Hariprasad, *Swadhyaya Samhita*** (Sanskrit and Hindi)

Some books by **Shripad Damodar Satavlekar**

“July 14... Commenced... *Swadhyaya Samhita*.” (1932 diary; C, I, 458)

“The books by Satavlekar are on the whole good. They are easy to learn.... At intervals I read some religious books also.... *Swadhyaya Samhita*.... contains selections from the Vedas and other books, and below them there is a translation in Hindi. (Letter to Devdas Gandhi, 17 July 1932; C, I, 251)

“Now I am reading *Swadhyaya Samhita* by Vaidik Muni Hariprasadji. But I find great difficulty in reading the Vedic hymns.... I feel bewildered when I try to study the Vedic hymns and find myself at loss to decide upon any interpretation” (Letter to S. D. Satavlekar, 19 July 1932; C, I, 263)

**Iyer, *Foreign exchange***

“July 14... Commenced Iyer’s *Foreign Exchange*.” (1932 diary; C, I, 458)

Books entitled ***The way of the cross*** and ***The Prophet’s message to the West***

“July 18... Read *The Way of the Cross* and *The Prophet’s Message to the West*.” (1932 diary; C, I, 458)

Yet again **Shibli Numani, *Sirat-un-Nabi*** (Urdu)

“July 28... For the last three days I have been reading *Sirat-un-Nabi*.” (1932 diary; C, I, 460)

“I am rereading Shibli’s *Life of the Prophet*.” (Letter to M.A. Ansari, 7 Aug. 1932; C, xcii = Supplementary - ii, 331)

**Locaire, *Astronomy***

“July 28... Today commenced Locaire’s *Astronomy*.” (1932 diary; C, I, 460)

Again the ***Ishopanishad*** (this time in Sanskrit)

“I am making a careful study of *Ishopanishad*, I have even memorized it.” (Letter to S.D. Satavlekar, 9 August 1932; C, I, 351)

**\*Robert Stawell Ball: *The story of the heavens***

**James Jeans, *The mysterious universe***

Another book by **James Jeans** on a related topic, most likely ***The universe around us***

A book of stellar maps, maybe **Thomas Heath, *Our stellar universe***

## ***Jyotirvilas***

### ***Khagolchitram***

“Hiralal... has already sent me three of the books on your list. They are as follows: *Stellar Maps*, *Khagolchitram* and *Hindu Astronomy*. I am sending them with this [letter]... I shall soon be having a fairly good collection of books on astronomy. There are three books by Jeans which are worth reading.... I have glanced through the chapters you have written. I felt, after reading a short sketch of Sir William Herschel’s life in Ball’s *Story of the Sky*, that you should give the names and short lives of Western astronomers.... A modest effort to do this was made in *Jyotirvilas*. The book on astronomy which we wish to publish should be as perfect as possible.... After reading the books of Jeans, I also feel that the book should give some knowledge about physics” (Letter to D.B. Kalelkar, 26 August 1932; C, 1, 427)

### **John Harvey Kellogg, *The new dietetics***

“[My]... headaches... were soon cured by mud-packs and it is an old story now. There is no cause at all for worry. We have in the Ashram a book by Kellogg named *Dietetics*. Send it with somebody who may be coming this side” (Letter to Narandas Gandhi, 28 Jan 1933; C, liii., 179)

### **\*Some of *The little flowers of St. Francis*...**

“I had sent to you, when you were here, a book named *Flowers of St. Francis*.... Its special value lies in the fact that it was received as a gift from a lady in Europe and contained her good wishes. A few passages in it are also marked. Don’t mind if you cannot recollect where it is.” (Letter to Chhaganlal Gandhi, 4 Sept. 1932; C, li, 22)

“I have received [from you] the book *The Little Flowers of St. Francis*. I got on to one of the flowers marked by you, I suppose, and perhaps that is all the progress I shall have made with it. It is a hopeless thing for me to try to read or do anything outside the work in front of me.” (Letter to Mary Barr, 26 Jan. 1933; C, liii, 154)

### **Maybe some of **Muriel Lester, *Entertaining Gandhi*** (London 1932)**

“Those who do not want to know anything about your having entertained a funny little man cannot be blamed for not wanting your book. There must be quite a few thousand people who would like to know the story of Kingsley Hall and Children’s House dedicated to the service of the neglected poor.” (Letter to Muriel Lester, 2 March 1933; C, liii, 443)

### **K. Narayana Iyer, *The permanent history of Bharata Varsha***

“Narayan Iyer I know well from his *Permanent History of Bharat Varsha*. ...He is a learned man but not a very clear thinker. That was the impression that his *Permanent History* left on my mind. But he is an enthusiast.” (Letter to G. Ramachandran, 25 March 1933; C, liv, 232)

### **Maybe a book entitled *Message and mission***

“I did not know that Arun had purposely sent the *Message and Mission* of the Prabartak Sangh for my opinion. I must now look it up if I can lay my hands on it and read it critically.” (Letter to Motilal Roy, 18 Apr. 1933; C, liv, 442)

### **Vasantram Shastri, *Sathina sath sutro***

“Somebody sent me a copy of your pamphlet. I went through of it. I never thought even in my dreams that you could write and tell such lies.” (Letter to Vasantram Shastri, 29 Nov 1932; C, lii, 92)

A bit of **Jon Shiloh Rommel**, *Regeneration*

“I thank you for your letter and your book called *Regeneration*. I glanced through the pages, but I must confess to you that I found in it nothing to appeal to me.” (Letter to Jon Rommel, 2 March 1933; C, liii, 441)

**Charu Chandra Mitra**, *Untouchability and temple-entry*

“With reference to your pamphlet, I have read it. You will permit me to say that I regard it as unbalanced.” (Letter to Charu Chandra Mitra, 5 March 1933; C, liii, 472)

**CHRONOLOGY, Section 10:**  
**MAY 1933 - 30 JANUARY 1948**  
(in India, with only one more imprisonment)

Some of *The pocket Oxford dictionary of current English* or of another, very similar book

“Totalitarian', according to the *Oxford Pocket Dictionary*, means 'designating a party that permits no rival loyalties or parties'. 'Totalitarian state' means 'with only one governing party'.” (Letter to Lord Samuel, 15 May 1933; C, lxxvii, 78)

Parts of the *Bhagavata*, yet again, in Gujarati translation

“Just finished Gujarati translation of *Bhagavata* portions prescribed by you. Missing your voice and running commentary.” (Telegram to Madan Mohan Malaviya, 19 May 1933; C, lv, 174)

“That is the meaning of the fast [i.e. Gandhi's last fast]. Read and think over *Gajendramoksha*,<sup>1</sup> which is considered the greatest epic. Perhaps then you will be able to value my action.” (Letter to Devdas Gandhi, 14 Jan 1948; C, xc, 427)

**Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf*** (in an abridged translation, *My struggle*)  
and a book about Hitler

“I [Premabehn Katak] read Hitler's book, *My Struggle* and another book about Hitler, and wrote to Mahatmaji about the books. He read the books with great curiosity.” (Premabehn Katak, unnamed document dated 10 Sept 1935; see Kakasaheb Kalelkar, ed., *Bapuna patro - 5 : Ku. Premabehn Katak : 28/2/1928 - 16/1/1948* (Ahmedabad 1960), p.232)

“Which is the other book about Hitler?” (Letter to Premabehn Katak, 13 Aug 1933; C, lxi, 329)

Maybe **George Bernard Shaw, *The adventures of the black girl in her search for God***

Probably at least some of **Charles Herbert Maxwell, *Adventures of the white girl in her search for God***

“I take it that Mahadev [Desai] has read B. Shaw's *Adventures of the Black Girl in her Search for God*. I am sending him today *Adventures of the White Girl in her Search for God* by Ch. Maxwell.” (Letter to Dahyachai Patel, 13 Jan 1934; C, lvi, 476)

At least some of **G.D.H. Cole, *What Marx really meant***

“He had been reading *What Marx Really Meant* during his fast and he had not yet finished [it].” (Interview to the press, 16 Aug 1934; C, lviii, 315)

**Frederick M. Link, *The life story of Sister M. Therese***

“When I was in jail I got, from separate sources, no less than three copies of the *Life of Sister Therese*.... I read the book.” (Discussion with C.V. Rahman and Prof. Rahm, *Harijan*, 30 May 1936; C, lxii, 388)

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1. The Bhagavata includes the Gajendra-moksha story.



At least some of **Mathurdas Trikamji, *Karma Yoga***

“[Y]our book on Karmayoga... is being read [out loud] daily in the library.... I like the arrangement of the material. You have tried to compress much in few pages. Those who do not know the subject are likely to find the book difficult.” (Letter to Muthuradas Trikamji, 11 Sept 1934; C, lviii, 434-35)

Maybe \***Henry David Thoreau, *Walden***

“Thoreau’s *Walden* in praise of walking is well known.... Unperturbed calmness brings wisdom.” (“Blessed poverty,” Hindi *Harijanbandhu*, 23 Sept and *Harijan*, 12 Oct 1934; C, lix, 69)

Apparently \***Adam Smith, *The wealth of nations***

“You know how Adam Smith, in his *Wealth of Nations*, after laying down certain principles according to which economic phenomena are governed, went on to describe certain things which constituted the 'disturbing factor' and prevented economic laws from having free play. Chief among these was the 'human element'.”<sup>2</sup> (“Khadi – a new orientation,” *Harijan*, 21 Sept 1934; C, lviii, 353)

Maybe some of ***Contemporary British philosophy, personal statements***, edited by **John Henry Muirhead**

“I had your last letter as also a copy of *Contemporary British Philosophy*. I had hoped to be able to send you something in acknowledgment of your letter and to return the book. But I have not had a moment to spare. Fortunately you have given me ample time.” (Letter to S. Radhakrishnan, 22 Nov 1934; C, lix, 385)

At least some of **W.J. Moore, *A manual of family medicine for India***

Maybe some or all of **Alexander Ambrose, *Everyone his own doctor***

“I want a good guide for village workers [to be written]. The conception is to produce a book after Moore’s *Family Medicine* or *Everybody His Own Doctor*” (Letter to Suresh Chandra Banerji, 10 Nov. 1934; C, liv, 322)

Maybe **Upton Sinclair, *The cry for justice***

Maybe **Upton Sinclair, *The EPIC plan for California*** and/or ***EPIC answers...*** and/or ***Immediate EPIC; the final statement of the plan***

“I am looking forward to receiving both *The Cry for Justice* and *Epic Campaign*. If you don’t mind, I would like you to send a fresh parcel so that if the parcel already sent miscarries I may not be without the books” (Letter to Upton Sinclair, 6 Dec 1934; C, lix, 427)

Some of **Barindra Kumar Ghosh, *Wounded humanity***

“I have glanced through your book. It has proved a severe disappointment. You have lost yourself in the exuberance of your own language.” (Letter to B. K. Ghosh, 17 Dec 1934; C, lx, 5)

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2. Gandhi’s phrasing here suggests to us that he probably had not read Smith’s book but was depending on remarks about it made to him by J.C. Kumarappa (a Western-trained economist with whom he was collaborating to found the All-India Village Industries Association).

Probably **Valji Govindji Desai**, *Ramakatha* (Hindi or Gujarati)

“I have your *Ramakatha* in front of me and I am going to read it.” (Letter to Valji G. Desai, 7 Jan. 1935;<sup>3</sup> C, lx, 61)

At least some of **G.I. Fowler**, *Wealth and waste*

“G.I. Fowler states, in his *Wealth and Waste*, that a proper disposal of human excreta would realize Rs. 2 per head per year.” “Scavengers all,” *Harijan*, 15 March 1935; C, lx, 303)

**Kishorlal Mashruwala**, *Gandhi Vichar Dohan* (Gujarati)

“I hope to finish [proofreading] *Gandhi Vichar Dohan* tomorrow” (Letter to Jivanji D. Desai, 10 April 1935; C, lx, 405)

Some of \***Thiruvalluvar**, *Thirukural*, translated from the ancient Tamil into English

“Thiruvallivar... gave us the famous *Thirukural* – holy maxims described by the Tamilians as the Tamil Veda.... The maxims number 1330.... To whet the reader’s appetite I quote two maxims at random: ....” (“Tamil holy book,” *Harijan*, 6 July 1935; C, lxi, 235)

Maybe **Paramhansa Yogananda**, *Whispers from eternity*

“Yes, send me by post *Whispers of Eternity* by Swami Yogananda” (Letter to V.M. Nawle, 11 Feb 1935; C, lx, 210)

**Kanaiyalal Maneklal Munshi**, *Gujarat and its literature*<sub>[1,1]</sub>, from early times to 1852

“Shri Munshi’s survey... has made fascinating reading for me... [His] estimate of our literary achievement appears to me to be very faithful.” (Gandhi’s foreword to the book, 1935; C, lxi, 26)

“I have been daily reading a few pages from your history. If I read the *Gita* or the *Ramayana* with the same perseverance, wouldn’t my life be blessed!” (Letter to K.M. Munshi, 13 April 1935; C, lx, 421)

**Ramanaresh Tripathi**, *Ramacharitmanas : Ayodhakand tika* (Hindi or Gujarati)

“I have your letter and the annotated version of *Ramacharitmanas* too.... For the last three days I have been reading your book.... I have great faith in your rendering.” (Letter to Ramanaresh Tripathi, 5 March 1936; C, lxii, 236)

Probably yet again the *Ramayana*

Probably **Kalidasa**, *Meghaduta* (Sanskrit lyrical poetry)

“Send me... some books, such as the *Ramayana*, lying there. I don’t find *Meghaduta*, etc.” (Letter to Kanu Gandhi, 4 Nov 1936; C, lxiv, 2)

**Arjun Dev**, *Sukhmani* (translated from the Punjabi into Gujarati)

“Jivanji put into my hands your work *Sukhmani* and Kaka’s *Jivanno Anand*. When I started on *Sukhmani* it so engaged my attention that I could not put it down” (Letter to Maganbhai P. Desai, 11 Nov 1936; C, liv, 21)

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3. The publication date of the book is 1935; so, what Gandhi had “in front of me” may have been a pre-publication copy.

**Kanaiyalal Maneklal Munshi, *Prithvivallabh*** (Gujarati)

“I have finished *Prithvivallabh*. I am now sending it to you. Read it carefully but quickly and let me know what you think of it.” (Letter to Lilavati Asar, 22 Sept 1936; C, lxiii, 305)

“I read it [*Prithvivallabh*] four days ago and now send my opinion direct to you.... Not one character appealed to me.... Kalidas wrote nothing of the kind. Shakespeare made no such impression on me. From them I learn something. Why not from you?” (Letter to K. M. Munshi, 26 Sept 1936; C, lxiii, 324)

“On your recommendation I read *Prithvivallabh*. According to me it owes its popularity not to the interest it sustains but to the meaning it contains.” (Letter to K.M. Munshi, 2 Nov 1945; C, lxxxii, 9)

Probably a little of **Shamal, *Nandabatrissi*** (Gujarati)

“We can do without these novels.... Our language [i.e. Gujarati] is hardly going to be redeemed through an increase of books like *Nandabatrissi*.” (Speech at Ahmedabad, 2 Nov 1936; C, lxiii, 419)

Maybe some of **Chittaranjan Das, *The Indian fight for freedom*** or of a book entitled ***The Indian fight for freedom Sardul Singh Caveeshar, India's fight for freedom : a critical survey of the Indian national movement since the advent of Mahatma Gandhi in the field of Indian politics*** (2nd edition, Lahore 1936)

“...an original work, say like *The Indian Fight for Freedom*” (Letter to Amrit Kaur, 20 Sept 1937: C, lxiv, 154)

**Richard B. Gregg, *The power of non-violence***

“It is difficult to single out books purely dedicated to an exposition of non-violence. Richard Gregg’s *Power of Non-Violence* may be studied with advantage.” (Letter to Kalidas Nag, 29 Jan 1937; C, lxiv, 324)

“I would recommend the study of Richard Gregg’s book on the practice of non-violence.” (“Talk with a pacifist,” *Harijan*, 12 March 1938; C, lxvi, 398)

Yet again the ***Ishopanishad***, this time in a manuscript Hindi translation prepared by Vinoba Bhave

“The *Ishavasya* [= the *Ishopanishad*] gripped me during my Harijan tour of Travancore [in January 1937]. All my speeches invariably included the first verse of this Upanishad.... I felt that I had come by a treasure. I told Vinoba and requested him to give me a simple Hindi rendering of the *Ishavasya*.... [H]e granted my request.”<sup>4</sup> (“A Foreword,” 10 Jan. 1945; C, lxxix, 19)

**K.T. Shah, *Provincial autonomy***

“I have... been studying *Provincial Autonomy* by Prof. K.T. Shah. It is an energetic but true indictment of the Act [i.e. the Government of India Act of 1935] from the orthodox standpoint.” (“My meaning of office-acceptance,” *Harijan*, 4 Sept 1937; C, lxvi, 105)

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4. According to Vinoba Bhave (*Ishavasyavrutti*, Ahmedabad 1947, p.5), Gandhi had initially made the request in 1924. Some of Gandhi’s other remarks about the *Ishopanishad* are given below in Appendix 2.

Maybe (before publication) some of **Jogendra Singh**, *The Persian mystics : the invocations of Sheikh Abdullah Ansari of Herat*

“Sir Jogendra Shah is to be congratulated for having given us his rendering into English of the 'Sayings of the Mystic' by Abdullah Ansari.” (Foreword to *Sayings of the mystic*, 14 April 1938; C, lxvii, 24)

A little of **Venkatarama Raghavan**, translator, *Prayers, praises and psalms : selections from the vedas, upanishads, epics, Gita, puranas, agamas, tantras, kavyas and the writings of the acharyas and others*

“I have not read much of the translations or the originals. Nevertheless the collection presented in this volume does enable even one like me to know how our ancestors prayed.” (Foreword to *Prayers, praises and psalms*, Sept 1938, C, lxvii, 384)

**Rustom Pestonji Masani**, *The religion of the good life : Zoroastrianism* (London 1938)

“I am just now reading during spare moments your *The Religion of the Good Life*, a copy of which you kindly sent me.” (Letter to Rustom Masani, 19 Oct 1938; C, lxviii, 26)

A book entitled *Cotton – the story of mankind* or else maybe

\***Ernest Henry Short**, *Man and cotton* (from *The Romance of British Industry* series)

“Some time ago I came across a book called *Cotton – The Story of Mankind*. It thrilled me. It read like a romance.” (Discussion with teacher-trainees, 3/4 Feb 1939; C, lxviii, 373)

**Harold John Timperley**, *What war means : the Japanese terror in China*

“I know you have a big [agricultural] co-operative movement [in Japan].... [W]e have many things to learn from you. But how can we understand this swallowing alive of China, drugging her with poison and so many other horrid things that I read about in a book called *What War Means* which Pandit Jawaharlal has given me. How could you have committed all those atrocities?” And then your great poet calls it a war of humanity and a blessing to China!” (Discussion with Toyohiko Kagawa, 14 Jan 1939; C, lxviii, 295-96)

Maybe a book entitled *Aim of Japan's expansion in China*

or maybe **Yoshi S. Kuno**, *Japanese expansion on the Asiatic continent*

or maybe some other such book

According to a “Chronology” in the (somewhat discredited) 2001 electronic edition of Gandhi's *Collected Works*, some Chinese monks gave to him on 5 July 1939 a book entitled *Aim of Japan's expansion in China*.

Some of *The concise Oxford dictionary of current English*

“I turn up *The Concise Oxford Dictionary* and I find the following definition of imperialism: 'Extension of British Empire where trade required protection of the flag.'” (“Good and bad,” *Harijan*, 4 Nov 1939; C, lxx, 317)

**Rumi**, *Masnavi*, evidently in the original as well as in a translation presumably by Amrit Kaur

“Here are two more translations corrected. Both are good. The *Masnavi* captivated me. It had the force of the original.” (Letter to Amrit Kaur, 8 July 1940; C, lxxii, 254)

At least the dedication of **Premaben Kantak**, *Satuagrahi Maharashtra*

“I have... your book. I read the dedication.” (Letter to Premaben Kantak, 6 Oct. 1940; C, lxxiii, 83)

A bit of **Chaman Lal**, *Hindu America*

“In spite of my best effort, I have not been able to read your book. But a cursory glance shows that some of your statements are too startling to be true...” (Letter to Chaman Lal, 22 March 1941; C, lxxiii, 390)

**Satish Chandra Das Gupta** and **G.R. Velunikar**, *Dead animals to tanned leather*

“This very useful pamphlet is... a booklet of instructions for those who would learn more to treat dead animals, so as to make the best use of the remains, May it serve the purpose for which it is intended.” (Forward to *dead animals to tanned leather*, 26 April 1942; C, lxxvi, 67)

**Government of India**, *Congress responsibility for the disturbances*

“On 15th July last I handed to the Superintendent of this camp for dispatch to you my reply to the Government of India publication entitled *Congress Responsibility for the Disturbances, 1942-43...*” (Letter to Additional Secretary, Home Department, Government of India, 10 Sept 1943; C, lxxvii, 200)

Some of **Bharati Sarabhai**, *The well of the people*

“I like your book. It certainly has a beautiful theme. I like best the portrayal of your heart, as presented in the book. I cannot be a judge of the language. I have hardly read a few poems and can appreciate little. I found the language affected.” (Letter to Bharati Sarabhai, most likely July 1944; C, lxxvii, 359)

Probably **Aziz-ul-Haque**, *The man behind the plough*

“I am deeply grateful to you for your kind letter and book. I shall read it, I know, with interest” (Undated draft<sup>5</sup> of a letter to Aziz-ul-Haque, Sept or maybe Oct 1944; C, lxxviii, 124)

Maybe some of **Kautilya**, *Arthashastra* (presumably in translation from the original Sanskrit)

“Kautilya mentions in his *Arthashastra* the existence of... forced labour” (Speech at a meeting of the All-India Spinners’ Association, 3 Sept 1944; C, lxxviii, 76)

Part of a preliminary draft of **Vanamala N. Parikh** and, eventually, **Sushila Nayar**, *Amaran Ba*

“These chapters are not bad, but they do not come up to my expectations.... [R]evise the writing at the places I have indicated and hand over the manuscript to... [the manager of Gandhi’s publishing house] to deal with it as he likes.” (Letter to Vanamala N. Parikh, 30 Nov 1944; C, lxxviii, 361)

At least some of **Beryl**, *Khalil Gibran* (unpublished)

“I prize... your handwritten 'Khalil Gibran'. I have commenced reading it.” (Letter to Beryl, 9 Jan 1945; C, lxxix, 16)

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5. Gandhi wrote the draft on the sheet containing Aziz-ul-Haque’s cover-letter to him. Whether the reply was sent is not clear beyond doubt.

**Karl Marx, *Capital*** (translated from the German)

and probably “some small books” explaining it

“Some small books have been written as an aid to the study of *Das Kapital*. Reading them would help.” (Letter to Krishna Chandra; 14 June 1945; C, lxxx, 326)

“Gandhiji was asked about Karl Marx. He got the opportunity and privilege of reading *Capital*, he told them, whilst he was in detention. He entertained high regard for his great industry and acumen. But he could not believe in his conclusions.... World thought was moving and was outdating Karl Marx. That, however, did not detract from the merit of the great man’s labours.” (Discussion with Midnapore political workers, 2 Jan 1946; C, lxxxii, 335)

**Joseph Kumarappa, *Practice and precepts of Jesus***

“Having carefully gone through these chapters, I can recommend their perusal<sup>6</sup> to every believer in God, be he a Christian or a follower of any other religion” (Foreword to *Practice and Precepts of Jesus*, 21 March 1945; C, lxxix, 279)

“...Yes, I mean going back to real Christianity, to Christ, not Western Christianity. You should study the meaning of Indian Christianity through J.C. Kumarappa’s book *Practice and Precepts of Jesus*” (“An Englishman’s difficulty,” *Harijan*, 31 March. 1946; C, lxxxii,155)

**Kanahiyalal Maneklal Munshi, *The Indian deadlock*** (Allahabad 1945)

“I read the whole of your book on the deadlock too. I liked it. My basic opposition [to partitioning Pakistan out of India] remains. But you have given the reader quite a lot of material to think about.” (Letter to K.M. Munshi, 18 March 1945; C, lxxix, 263)

**Narahari D. Parikh, *Kanyane patro*** (Gujarati)

I have gone through your book *Kanyane Patro*. The letters seem to have been written with great care but you have not been bold enough.” (Letter to Narahari D. Parikh, 6 May 1945; C, lxxx, 77)

**Satish Chandra DasGupta, *The cow in India***

“I have the book about the cow read out to me when I spin each day.” (Letter to Hamprabhu Das Gupta, 3 June 1945; C, lxxx, 248)

“The most authentic and perhaps complete information about the cow and the buffalo can be found in a voluminous treatise written by Shri Satish Chandra Das Gupta.” (Speech at a prayer meeting, 21 Nov 1947; C, xc, 78)

**Jogender Singh and Daljeet Singh, *Guru Nanak***

**Jogendra Singh, *Sikh ceremonies***, with an introduction by Daljeet Singh

“I have read both your books.... In both you have talked of miracles. I give no importance to miracles.... I think it is necessary that you should give the... original from which you have translated into English” (Letter to Daljit Singh, 7 Aug 1945; C, lxxxii, 86)

“*Nanak* is a good book but for the miracles” (Letter to Amrit Kaur, 11 Aug 1945; C, lxxxii, 106)

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6. Gandhi had written “careful perusal,” but the word “careful” was deleted in the publication. See C, lxxix, 279.

Two drafts, before publication, of **Shriman Narayan Agarwala**, *Gandhian constitution for free India*

“I did take up your book to read but could not complete it.” (Letter to Shriman Narayan Agarwala, 18 Aug 1945; C, lxxxii, 140)

“I completed your article yesterday.... I don't find any depth in the last few chapters. Nor is there any supporting evidence. There is according to me a need for more hard work and careful thinking.” (Letter to Shriman Narayan, 21 Oct 1945; C, lxxxii, 403)

“I am sending today your booklet and my foreword.... Let me know if you don't agree with the changes I have made in your booklet.” (Letter to Shriman Narayan Agarwala, 1 Dec 1945; C, lxxxii, 146- 47)

Before publication, **Joseph Kumarappa**, *The economy of permanence*

“When I took up the manuscript I was curious to know what it could contain. The opening chapter satisfied my curiosity and led me on to the end without fatigue and yet with profit. This doctor of our village industries shows that only through them we shall arrive at the economy of permanence...” (Foreword to *The economy of permanence*, 20 Aug 1945; C, lxxxii, 145)

Maybe **B.R. Ambedkar**, *What Congress and Gandhi have done to the Untouchables*

“There is no other person as well-informed and able as you are to answer Dr. Ambedkar's indictment of the Congress.” (Letter to C. Rajagopalachari, 26 Aug 1945; C, lxxxii, 169)

**Bharatan Kumarappa**, *Capitalism, socialism or villagism?*

“Dr. Bharatan Kumarappa has [in this book]... furnished the lay reader and the village worker... a comparative and historical study of the modern movements known as Capitalism and Socialism... and has earnestly, and I think convincingly, shown, amongst other reasons advanced by him, that the past two wars of our generation have shown the utter bankruptcy of such economic orders.” (Foreword to *Capitalism, socialism or villagism?*, 24 Sept 1945; C, lxxxii, 275)

Again **Bhartrihari**, *Shatak* (translated from the Sanskrit into Gujarati by **Bhadrashankar Jivanram Naik**)

“Jivanram was a great scholar. At present I am reading his translation of *Bhartriharishatakam*.” (Letter to Ramprasad, 11 Oct 1945; C, lxxxii, 345)

“These days I read *Bhartriharishatak* for a few minutes daily. What it says on moral wisdom and detachments are worth pondering over at such times. Why grieve over the inevitable?” (Letter to Rameswari Nehru, 15 Oct 1945; C, lxxxii, 361)

“I came across a sloka by Bhartrihari, 'In fact one who is attached to sense-objects and one who is free from them are both in the same position. The latter voluntarily gives up sense-objects and enjoys bliss, while the self-indulgent one too has to give up his sensual pleasures every now and then and earns only misery.' Bhartrihari has crammed a great deal of wisdom into this.” (Letter to V.V. Dastane, 15 Nov 1945; C, @)

“Yes, it was a lapse on your part that you did not carry the key with you. To keep a cash-box and not to carry the key with you is as good as not keeping a cash-box. Hasn't Bhartrihari written that the rich live in fear of being robbed?” (Letter to Krishnachandram 11 May 1946; C, @)

**Humayun Kabir**, *Men and rivers*

“I had your book *Men and Rivers* with me.... I read it with great interest. I recognize your ability to write novels.” (Letter to Humayun Kabir, 19 Oct 1945; C, lxxxii, 389)

At least a bit of **K.T. Shah**, *Foundations of peace*

“I have your English book on the foundation of peace. As usual I turned a few pages and tried to look up the index, but found none. How can one do without an index in a book on a serious subject?” (Letter to K.T. Shah, 31 Oct 1945; C, lxxxi, 450)

**T.N. Jagadisan**, ed., “**My master Gokhale**” : a selection from the speeches and writings of **Rt. Hon’ble V. S. Sastri**

“As I began to read Jagadisan’s selection, I did not know whether Gokhale absorbed my attention or Sastri.... I would close these hasty and rambling remarks by warning the critical reader against his or her trying the questionable task of discovering in these pages an echo of his or her own views. It should be enough to find in them the transparent sincerity and patriotism of... the biographer [Sastri] and the master” (Forward to “*My Master Gokhale*”, 20 Jan. 1946; C, lxxxiii,1)

**Dhirendra Mazumdar**, *Krantikari charkha* (Hindi)

“I read *Krantikari Charkha* from cover to cover. I like it. None of the arguments irk me. You have correctly understood the place of the Charkha.” (Letter to Dhirendra Mazumdar, 16 July 1946; C, lxxxv, 1)

Some of **Sitaram Purushottam Patwardhan**, *Satyagraha Wa Swarajya*

“I have gone through this book, but not thoroughly. I do not have the time. I have very little knowledge of the Marathi language.... Hence I cannot assert that whatever is written in this book confirms to my thinking. But I can certainly say that there is great similarity between my views and those stated in this book.” (Forward to *Satyagrah wa Swarajya*, 24 Nov 1946; C, lxxxvi, 152)

Maybe again some of the *Upanishads*, this time as translated by **Nathuram Sharma** from the Sanskrit into Gujarati

“I was somehow under the impression that *Allopanishad* was included in Nathuramji’s collection. I see now that it is referred to in his notes.” (Letter to Mathuradas Trijumji, 10 June 1947; C, lxxxviii, 119)

Apparently some of the *Guru granth sahib* (in some translation from the original Gurmukhi script)

“If we read the Granthsaheb we shall find that it is full of the teachings of the Vedas and Upanishads. The teachings of Koran are similar. The same is true of teachings of Guru Govind Singh.” (Speech at a prayer meeting, 4 Dec 1947; C, xc, 177)

“I read the Granthsaheb. A friend chides me for not knowing anything about the Granthsaheb. He says I cannot understand Sikhs and that if I did, I would not have written what I wrote about Guru Govind Singh.” (Speech at a prayer meeting, 24 Dec 1947; C, xc, 293)



## LIST OF TITLES

The numbers in square brackets show in which sections of the Chronological List the evidence that Gandhi read the books is given. In some instances we will indicate also a date to help locate the item. When we specify one particular edition of a book, it is the one we think he is most likely to have read (or, in some cases, most likely to have read the first time if he read it more than once). In putting the titles in alphabetical order we have disregarded the first word when it is “A”, “An”, “On” or “The”.

An asterisk means that the book was in his personal possession in 1933 (when he donated all his books to the Ahmedabad Municipal Library).

*Abhang* (by Tukaram; Ratnagiri n.d.; Bombay 1860 and later editions) [6]

*The adventures of the black girl in her search for God* (by George Bernard Shaw; London 1932, New York 1933) [10: Jan. 1934]

*Adventures of the white girl in her search for God* (by Charles Herbert Maxwell; London 1933) [10: Jan. 1934]

*Advice to mothers...* (by Pye Henry Chavasse, London and Birmingham 1839 and later editions, some with titles beginning *Advice to a mother* or *Advice to wives* or *Advice to a wife*) [4]

Aesop's fables [5]

*Affairs of Natal* (Natal government “Blue-book”) [5]

\**Ahn's new, practical and easy method of learning the French language : second course* (edited by J. J. B. Poclet; London 1864) [2]

*Ahnika-prakasha* (prepared by Nathuram Sharma) [4]

*Al farooq : the life of Omar The Great (second caliph of Islam)* (by Muhammed Shibli Numani, translated by Zafar Ali Khan, 1900, from *Umar al-Faruq* or *Al-Faruq : savanih umri hazrat Umar Faruq talif*, Lahore) [9: July 1932]

*Al-Faruq : savanih umri hazrat Umar Faruq talif* (by Muhammed Shibli Numani, Lahore) [7: Nov.-Dec. 1923; 9: July 1932]

*Algebra*: see *The elements of algebra...*

*Al kalam* (by Muhammed Shibli Numani; Kanpur 1903 and Azangadh 1908 and 1922) [10: Dec. 1923]

*Amaran Ba* (by Vanamala N. Parikh and Sushila Nayar; Ahmedabad 1945) [10]

*Anagh* (by Maithili Sharan Gupta; Jhansi 1925) [9: March 1932]

*The analogy of religion, natural and revealed, to the constitution and course of nature* (by Joseph Butler; London 1736 and later editions) [3]

\**The analysis of sentences explained and systematised : with an exposition of the fundamental laws of syntax* (by J. D. Morell; “new edition,” London 1874) [1]

*The Anglo-Indian codes* (by Whitley Stokes; London 1887-88) [2]

*Ahnika prakash*: see *Samavediya ahnika prakash*

*Annual report* (by the Inspector of Education of Basutoland, in regard to 1909) [5]

*Anthropogenie*: see *The evolution of man*

*The antiquity of Hindu medicine and civilisation* (by David Jacob Aaron Chowry Muthu; enlarged 3rd edition, London 1930 and New York 1931) [9: April 1932]

*Apology*: see *Defence and death...*; see also *Dialogues...*

*Arabian wisdom : selections and translations from the Arabic* (by John Wortabet; *Wisdom of the East* series; London 1907) [4]

*The ark of God : the transient symbol of an eternal truth...* (by Joseph Parker; *Vol. 1*, London 1877) [3]

*Arm of God* (by Erika Dunkerley; Edinburgh ca.1917) [7: April 1922]

*The Arthashastra* (by Kautilya, i.e. Chanakya; ca.320 BCE; several translations were potentially available to Gandhi, including a Gujarati translation by K.H. Kamdar (Vadodara 1930) [10]

*Astronomy for everybody : a popular exposition of the wonders of the heavens* (by Simon Newcomb; New York 1902 and later editions) [9: 1932]

A book on astronomy by someone named Mukerji [9: 1932]

*Atmasuddhisashtra* (by Rajchandra Mehta, compiled by Manishuklal Ravajbhai Mehta; Nardiyad 1901) [5; 7: Dec. 1922]

*The autobiography of Countess Sophie Tolstoy* (by Sophie Andreevna Tolstoy, and edited by Vasili Spiridonov and translated by S. S. Koteliansky and Leonard Woolf, New York 1922) [7: July 1923]

*Auto-suggestion and religion* (by Henry C. Carter; Cambridge UK 1922) [7: Feb. 1923]

*Auto-suggestion : what it is and how to practise it : by a student of psychology* (anonymous; London 1922) [7: Feb. 1923]

*Auto-suggestion : what it is and how to use it for health, happiness and success* (by Herbert A. Parkyn; Chicago 1905 and later editions, e.g. London 1916) [7: Feb. 1923]

*Bacon na nibandho* (Bacon's essays translated into Gujarati by Rajanji Faramji Shethna; Bombay 1904) [4]

*Barrack-room ballads* (by Rudyard Kipling; London 1892 and later editions) [7: March 1923]

*Bars and shadows : the prison poems...* (by Ralph Chaplin; London and New York 1922) [7: May 1923]

*Battles...*: see "*Decisive battles...*"

*Beef in ancient India* (by Rajendralal Mitra; Calcutta 1872) [8]

The *Bhagavad Gita* [2-10]

*Bhagavadgita tika* (by Nathuram Sharma; Ahmedabad 1916 and Porbander 1931) [7: Oct. 1922]

The *Bhagavata* (recited) [1]

The *Bhagavata* translated by Itcharam Suryaram Desai into Gujarati (Bombay 1889) [7: July 1922; 10: May 1933 and Jan. 1948]

*Bhagwati sutra* (by Bhagwati Sudharma; Bombay 1918) [7: Dec. 1923]

*Bhagyano paras : paras bhag* (by Imam Gazali, originally in Arabic; an abridged translation into Gujarati by Jan-kidas Maharaj; Surat 1922) [7: June 1923]

*Bhartriharishatak* (by Bhartrihari, 6th or 7th century CE, translated into Gujarati by Bhadrashankar Jivanram Naik) [6, 10: Oct. 1945]

The Bible in the “King James” translation: see *The holy bible...*

The Bible translated into Gujarati (Ahmedabad) [7: March-Sept. 1923]

*The bible in India : Hindoo origin of Hebrew and Christian revelation* (by Louis Jacolliot) translated (London and New York 1870 and later editions) from “*La Bible dans l’Inde*” [3]

\**The bible’s own account of itself* (by Edward Maitland; London 1891 and later editions; Gandhi owned a copy of this edition) [3]

*The bible view of the world : an exposition of the abiding principles of Christian truth* (by Martin Anstey; London 1916) [7: April 1922]

*The Bijak of Kabir translated into English by the Rev. Ahmad Shah according to his edited Hindi text published in 1911* (Hamirpur 1917) [7: Sept. 1922]

*The birds of India : being a natural history of all the birds known to inhabit continental India* (by Thomas Claverhill Jerson; 2 vols., Calcutta 1862-77) [7: April 1922]

*The book of the cow : a study in comparative religion* (by Will Hayes; Dublin and Chatham 1930) [9: Jan 1932]

*Boston : a novel* (by Upton Sinclair; Long Beach, New York, Pasadena 1928, London 1929) [9: April 1932]

*Brahamacharya* [9]

*The brass check : a study of American journalism* (by Upton Sinclair; Pasadena 1919 and later editions) [9: April 1932]

*A brief history of the Indian peoples* (by William Wilson Hunter; London 1883 and later editions) [4]

*Bruhad Kavyadohan* (edited by Icharam Suryaram Desai; Bombay 1887-91, 8 vols.) [3]

*Buddha ane Mahavira* (by Kishorelal Mashruwala; Ahmedabad 1922) [7: May-June 1923]

*By an unknown disciple* (by Cecily Spencer-Smith Phillimore; London 1918 and later editions) [7: April 1922]

*The candle of vision* (by George William Russell, alias “A.E.”; London 1918 and later editions) [9: Feb. 1932]

*Capital : a critical analysis of capitalist production* (by Karl Marx, translated by Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling, London 1889 (and later editions)<sup>1</sup> from the 3rd edition, 1883, of *Das Kapital : Kritik der politischen Ökonomie*, Hamburg 1867 and later editions) [10: 1940s]

*Capitalism, socialism or villagism?* (By Bharatan Kumarappa; Madras 1946) [10: Sept. 1945]

*The case for India* (by Will Durant; New York 1930) [9]

*Chandrakant : vedanta jñanano mukha grantha*<sup>2</sup> (by Icharam Suryaram Desai; Bombay 1901 and later editions, for instance in 1914 the “thoroughly revised” 3rd edition) [7: May 1922]

*The Christ of the Indian road* (by Stanley Jones; London, New York and Cincinnati 1925 and 1927) [8]

*Christianity in practice* (American Baptist Foreign Mission Society, Boston ca.1918) [7: April 1922]

*Cities in evolution* (by Patrick Geddes, London 1915 and later editions) [7: March 1923]

*Civil disobedience*: see *On the duty of civil disobedience* (listed under *D*)

*Civilization : its causes and cure, and other essays* (by Edward Carpenter; London 1889 and later editions) [5]

*Clothed with the sun : being the book of the illuminations of Anna Kingsford* (by Anna Kingsford and Edward Maitland; London, 1889) [3]

*The code of civil procedure : being Act XIV of 1882, as amended by Acts VI, VII, and X of 1888, with notes and an appendix by J. O’Kinealy* (3rd edition, Calcutta 1889) [3]

*Collected essays* (by Thomas H. Huxley; 9 vols., London 1893-94 and later editions) [4]

\**Colonial and camp sanitation* (by George Vivian Poore; London 1903) [6]

*The concise Oxford dictionary of current English* (by Henry Fowler; Oxford 1911 and later editions) [10: 4 Nov 1939]

*Congress responsibility for the disturbances, 1942-43* (by “Government of India”; New Delhi 1943) [10: Sept. 1943]

*Consumption doomed : a lecture [by Paul Carton] on the cure of tuberculosis by vegetarianism delivered to the French Vegetarian Society... translated... by D. M. Richardson* (London 1913) [5]

*Contemporary British philosophy, personal statements (first series)* and *Contemporary British philosophy, personal statements (second series)* (edited by John Henry Muirhead; London and New York 1924 and 1925) [10: Nov 1934]

*Critical and miscellaneous essays* (by Thomas Carlyle; London 1839 and later editions) [4]

*Commentaries on the common law : designed as introductory to its study* (by Herbert Broom; 8th edition, London 1888) [2]

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1. The title-page of this book in English did not describe it as the first part of a projected multi-volume work; so, it has very often been referred to as Marx’s *Capital*, and we think this is what Gandhi as well meant. Friedrich Engels prepared, from material left by Marx, vols. 2 and 3 of *Das Kapital* (1885, 1894) and Ernest Untermann translated them into English (1907, 1909).

2. The book is in Gujarati but the 3rd edition (which we have been able to examine) includes an English-language title-page, on which the subtitle is given as *Treatise on the principles of vedant*.

*A compendium of the law of property in land* (by William Douglas Edwards; London 1888) [2]

*Common law*: see *Commentaries on the common law...*

*A confession : the gospel in brief and what I believe* (by Leo Tolstoy; Oxford 1882 and later editions) [3]

*The cow in India* (by Satish Chandra DasGupta; Calcutta 1945) [10: 1945]

*The cross moves east : a study in the significance of Gandhi's "Satyagraha"* (by John Hoyland; London 1931) [9]

*The crusades* (by George W. Cox; New York 1874, London 1875, and later editions; or else by Muriel Calthrop, London 1913) [7: July 1922]

*The cry for justice : an anthology of the literature of social protest; the writings of philosophers, poets, novelists, social reformers, and others who have voiced the struggle against social injustice; selected from twenty-five languages...* (by Upton Sinclair; New York 1915 and later editions) [10: Dec. 1934]

*The dance of life* (by Havelock Ellis; London, New York and Boston 1923 and later editions) [8]

*Dasbodh* (by Samarth Ramdas Swami; Gujarati translation, Bombay 1887)

*Dead animals to tanned leather* (by Satish Chandra DasGupta and G.R. Velunikar; Wardha 1942) [10]

*The decisive battles of India* (by George Bruce Malleson; London 1883 and later editions with the subtitle "*from 1746 to 1849 inclusive*") [3]

*The decline and fall... : see The history of the decline and fall...*

*The defence and death of Socrates, being the "Apology" and part of the "Phædo" : or, the immortality of the soul* (by Plato, translated by Henry Clay; London 1905) [4; 9: Feb. 1932]

*Democracy : its defects and advantages* (by Cecil Delisle Burns; London 1929) [9: March 1932]

*The descent of man, and selection in relation to sex* (by Charles Darwin; London 1871 and later editions) [4]

*Dharma ni ekata* (by Champakrai Jain) [7: Sept. 1923]

*Dharma-vichara* (by Narmad, i.e. Narmadashanker Lalshankar Dave; Surat 1876 and at least two later editions, 1885 and 1889) [3, 5]

[...] *Dialogues of Plato* translated into English; probably *The dialogues of Plato : translated into English with analyses and introductions by B[enjamin] Jowett*, Oxford 1871 and later editions, but just maybe some other version, such as *The Platonic dialogues for English readers*, translated by William Whewell, Cambridge and London 1860, or *Plato's Divine dialogues, together with the Apology of Socrates, translated from the original Greek, with introductory dissertations and notes from the French of M. Dacier*, 6th ed., revised and corrected from Sydenham and Taylor, London 1851) [7: Dec. 1923; 9: 1932]

*Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*: see *The strange case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*

*Dropped from the clouds* (translation (London and New York 1875 and later editions) from by Jules Verne's *L'Ile mystérieuse. [1.ptie.] Les naufragés de l'air*, Paris 1874 and later editions) [7: June 1922]

- Dry methods of sanitation : with six illustrations* (by George Vivian Poore; London 1894) [6]
- Dubtoon Vahan* (by Rabindranath Tagore; translated from his Bengali to Gujarati; Ahmedabad 1920) [7: Sept. 1923]
- The duties of man* (by “Joseph” Mazzini, i.e. Giuseppe Mazzini, translated anonymously from the original Italian of 1860; London 1862) [4]
- \**On the duty of civil disobedience* (by Henry David Thoreau; included in *A yankee in Canada : with anti-slavery and reform papers*, Boston 1866, and then published in other editions as well; Gandhi probably first read it in the edition published by Simple Life Press at London in 1905) [4]
- Early Zoroastrianism* (by James Hope Moulton; London 1913) [7: May 1923]
- The earth in relation to the preservation and destruction of contagia : being the Milroy lectures delivered at the Royal College of Physicians in 1899, together with other papers on sanitation* (by George Vivian Poore; London and New York 1902) [6]
- An easy introduction to the history and geography of Bengal : for the junior classes in schools* (by Ebenezer Lethbridge; Calcutta and London 1874) [1]
- \**The economic history of India under early British rule from the rise of the British power in 1757 to the accession of Queen Victoria in 1837* (by Romesh Chunder Dutt; London 1902 and later editions; Gandhi owned the 5th edition, 1910) [4]
- \**Economics of khaddar* (by Richard Gregg; Madras 1928) [9: March 1932]
- The economy of permanence : a quest for a social order based on non-violence* (by Joseph C. Kumarappa; Wardha 1946) [10: 1945]
- Elementary lessons in historical English grammar : containing accidence and word-formation* (by Richard Morris; London 1874 and later editions) [7: May 1922]
- The elements of algebra : designed for the use of schools* (by John William Colenso; London 1849 and later editions)<sup>3</sup> [1]
- \**The Elements of Euclid : for the use of schools and colleges* (by Isaac Todhunter, London 1862 and later editions; Gandhi owned the edition of 1878) [1]
- Encyclopædia Britannica* (9th edition, edited initially by Thomas Spencer Baynes and William Robertson Smith; Edinburgh 1875-1890 and later in various American versions, some of them pirated and then some of them (after 1896) expanded and labeled “10th edition”) [4]
- English grammar* (by Richard Morris; New York 1875 and later editions) [7: May 1922]
- \**English grammar, style and poetry* (by Richard Hiley; London 1874) [1]
- An English-Tamil dictionary* (by George Uglow Pope; Oxford 1906) [6]
- Entertaining Gandhi* (by Muriel Lester; London 1932) [9]

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3. The first edition was entitled “A Key to Algebra.” Most of the later editions had the title we have given; a few versions had yet other titles..

*EPIC<sup>4</sup> answers : how to end poverty in California* (by Upton Sinclair; Los Angeles 1934) [10: Dec. 1934]

*The EPIC plan for California* (by Upton Sinclair; New York 1934) [10: Dec. 1934]

*Equality* (by Edward Bellamy; London, New York and Toronto 1897) [7: June 1922]

*Equity*: see *A selection of leading cases in equity...*

*Essays* (by Joseph Addison, from the journal, *The spectator*, London 1711-12 and 1714; several anthologies were published in the late 19th and early 20th century) [5]

*Essays* (by Thomas Carlyle; London 1883 and other editions) [4]

\**Essays and letters* (by Leo Tolstoy, tr. Aylmer Maude; London 1903 and later reprints (Gandhi's copy was published in 1911), Vol. I of the Oxford University Press edition of *The works of Leo Tolstoy*) [4]

*Essays on physiognomy* (by Johann Caspar Lavater) *translated from the German... by Thomas Holcroft : also one hundred physiognomical rules, taken from a posthumous work by J.C. Lavater...* (19th edition, London 1894; or maybe Gandhi read the version translated into English by Henry Hunter, London 1788-99, from a French translation of the original) [3]

*Essays on rural hygiene* (by George Vivian Poore; London and New York 1893 and 1903) [6]

\**Essays : or counsels, civil and moral* (by Francis Bacon; London 1601 and later editions; (London 1601 and later editions; Gandhi owned Vol. I of *Bacon's essays with introduction, notes and index*, edited by Edwin A. Abbott, London 1886) [4]

*Ethical religion* (by William Salter; Chicago 1889, Boston 1891, London 1905) [4]

*The ethics of diet* (by Howard Williams; London 1883) [2]

*Everyone his own doctor : or, the household medical guide : with valuable hints for the preservation of health* (edited by Alexander Ambrose; London 1895) [10: Nov. 1934]

*The evolution of man : a popular exposition of the principal points of human ontogeny and phylogeny* (by Ernst Haeckel; New York 1879 and later editions; translated from the original German book entitled *Anthropogenie, oder, Entwicklungsgeschichte des Menschen...*, Leipzig 1874 and later editions) [7: August 1923]

*Expansion of Great Britain* (attributed by Gandhi to "Prof. Seely," but maybe this was a mistaken reference to Arthur Hassall's *The expansion of Great Britain, 1715-1789* (London 1907) [4]

*The fallacy of speed* (by Thomas F. Taylor; London 1909) [5]

\**Faust* (by Goethe; Part I, Tübingen 1808 and later editions; Part II, Heidelberg 1832 and later editions; English translations began to be published in 1823; Gandhi owned a copy of the translation of both parts by Anna Swanwick, edited with an introduction by Karl Breul, London 1914); [7: June 1922]

*Federal finance in India* (by K.T. Shah; Bombay 1929) [9: Jan. 32]

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4. In this title, "EPIC" is an anagram for "End Poverty in California."

- \**First book of Sanskrit, being an elementary treatise on grammar with exercises* (Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, Bombay 1860s and later editions; Gandhi in 1930 owned an edition published in 1924 and also Nandeshankar T. Mehta's Gujarati translation, *Margopadeshika*, Bombay 1868; 2nd edition 1875) [1]
- First principles of a new system of philosophy* (by Herbert Spencer; New York 1864 and later editions) [4]
- \**First principles of chemistry : an introduction to modern chemistry for schools and colleges* (by Samuel Cooke; Bombay 1885) [1]
- First principles of English grammar* (by T.S. Taylor; London 1878, 2nd and 3rd editions 1880) [1]
- First Urdu book* [7: July 1922]
- The five empires : a sketch of ancient history* (by Robert Isaac Wilberforce; London 1840 and later editions) [7: July 1922]
- The five nations* (by Rudyard Kipling; London, New York and Leipzig, 1903 and later editions) [7: May 1922]
- Food for man* (by Benjamin Ward Richardson; probably the same text as the eight-page pamphlet, *Food thrift*, published at Manchester in 1886 by the Vegetarian Society) [3]
- Food remedies : facts about foods and their medicinal uses* (by Florence Daniel; London 1908) [5]
- Foreign exchange* (by someone named Iyer) [9: July 1932]
- Fors clavigera : letters to the workmen and labourers of Great Britain* (by John Ruskin; originally published at London as a monthly magazine from 1871 to 1878 and from 1880 to 1884, and meanwhile as a series of books) [9: April 1932]
- Foundations of peace* (by K.T. Shah; Bombay 1945) [10: Oct. 1945]
- The fourth seal; the end of a Russian chapter* (by Samuel John Gurney Hoare; London 1930) [9: Jan. 1932]
- Freedom and growth : and other essays* (by Edmond Gore Alexander Holmes; London etc. 1923) [7: Aug. 1923]
- \**The French Revolution : a history* (by Thomas Carlyle; London 1837 and later editions; Gandhi owned an undated three-volume edition published at London by Chapman and Hall) [4]
- From Adam's Peak to elephanta : sketches in Ceylon and India* (by Edward Carpenter; London, New York 1892 and later editions) [9: March 1932]
- \**The Galilean : the permanent element in religion* (by Nathaniel Micklem; London 1921) [7: Sept.-Oct. 1922]
- The Galilean : or, Jesus the world's savior* (by George Claude Lorimer; Boston 1892) [7: Sept.-Oct. 1922]
- Gandhi Vichar Dohan* (by Kishorelal Mashruwala; Ahmedabad 1932, republished there in 1935 by Gandhi's publishing-house) [10: 1935]
- Gandhian constitution for free India* (by Shriman Narayan Agarwala; Allahabad 1946) [10: Aug.-Dec.1945]
- Garibaldi* (by Lala Lajpatrai, originally in Urdu, translated into Gujarati by Devaji Kunvarji Mastar; Ahmedabad 1907) [4]



- General statement explaining the nature and purposes of St. George's Guild* (by John Ruskin; Orpington 1882) [9: Jan 1932]
- Gita-govinda* (by Jayadev, ca.1200; translated from the Sanskrit to Gujarati by Keshav Harshad Dhruv; Ahmedabad 1894) [7: Aug. 1923]
- Gita-nishkarsha* (by Aurobindo, translated by Ambubhai Purani from the Hindi into Gujarati; Navsari 1921) [7: April-May 1923]
- \**Gitanjali : some offerings : with an introduction by W. B. Yeats* (by Rabindranath Tagore; London 1912 and later editions; Gandhi owned the 1921 reprint) [6]
- Gita-rahasya* (by Bal Gangadhar Tilak, translated by Uttamlal K. Trivedi from the original Marathi into Gujarati; Pune 1919) [7: Aug. 1922]
- God sees the truth, but waits* (a famous short story by Leo Tolstoy; the original Russian version, "Bog pravdu vidit da ne skoro skazhet," was published in Moscow in 1872; we have not identified the book in which Gandhi found this story in English before 1906) [4: 1905]
- The golden book of Tagore; a homage to Rabindranath Tagore from India and the world in celebration of his seventieth birthday* (by Ramananda Chatterjee; Calcutta 1931) [9: Feb. 1932]
- \**The gospel and the plow, or, the old gospel and modern farming in ancient India* (by Sam Higginbottom; London and New York 1921; Gandhi owned copies this and of the 1929 edition) [7: Oct. 1922]
- \**The gospel of Buddha...* (by Paul Carus; Chicago 1894 and later editions; originally with the subtitle, "according to old records"; Gandhi owned an edition published at Chicago and London in 1917 with the subtitle, "compiled from ancient records") [7]
- A grammar of the Sanskrit language* (by Franz Kielhorn; Bombay 1860 and later editions) [1]
- The greatest thing in the world* (Henry Drummond; New York 1891 and later editions) [6]
- Gujarat and its literature, from early times to 1852* (by K.M. Munshi; Bombay 1935) [10: 1935]
- Gujarati jodanikosh* (2nd edition, Ahmedabad 1931) [8]
- \**Gulliver's travels : a voyage to Liliput and Brobdingnag* (by Jonathan Swift; London 1726 and later editions, one of which Gandhi owned in 1933) [5]
- Gulistan* (by Sheikh Saadi of Shiraz) [4]
- Guru granth sahib* (by a succession of Sikh gurus) [10: 1935]
- Guru Nanak : [life-travel-teaching]* (by Jogender Singh and Daljeet Singh; Lahore 1943) [10: 1945]
- A handbook of the ordinary dialect of the Tamil language...* (by George Uglow Pope; 7th edition, Oxford 1904, or a subsequent reprint of that edition) [6]
- Hand-spinning and hand-weaving : an essay* (by Shrikrishna Venkatesh Puntambekar and N. S. Varadachari; Ahmedabad 1926) [9]
- Harishchandra* [1]

*Harmony of the Gospels* (by Leo Tolstoy) [4]

*Helps to Bible study* [7: Feb 1923]

*The hero as prophet : Mahomet : Islam. Lecture II : Heroes and hero worship* (by Thomas Carlyle; London 1841 and later editions) [2, 3]

\**On heroes, hero-worship, & the heroic in history* (by Thomas Carlyle; London 1841 and later editions; Gandhi owned editions published at New York in 1897 and at London in 1908) [2]

*Himalayno Pravas* (by Dattatreya Balkrishna Kalelkar; Ahmedabad 1923) [7: May 1923]

*Hindu America, revealing the story of the romance of the Surya Vanshi Hindus and depicting the imprints of Hindu culture on the two Americas...* (by Chaman Lal; Bombay 1940, 2nd edition 1941) [10: March 1941]

*Hindu astronomy* (by George Rusby Kaye; Calcutta 1924) [9: June 1932]

*Hindu dharma ni balpothi* (by Anandshanker Dhruva; Ahmedabad 1916; 2nd edition 1918) [6]

Hindu laws: see *A treatise on Hindu laws...*

*Hindustan no itihās* (translated by Rāncchodas Girdharbhai, Bombay 1847, from some of an abbreviated edition (Bombay 1846) of *The history of India*, by Montstuart Elphinstone, London 1841; subsequent editions of the translation were also published) [7: May 1922]

*A history of British India* (by William Wilson Hunter; London and New York 1899/1900 and later editions) [4: 1905]

*The history of British India* (by James Mill; London 1818 and later editions, most of them updated by other authors) [2]

\**History of civilization in England* (by Henry Thomas Buckle; 5 vols., London etc. 1857-65 and later editions; Gandhi owned the 1885 edition) [7: July-Aug. 1923]

\**History of civilization in Europe* (by François Guizot; originally entitled *Histoire générale de la civilisation en Europe, depuis la chute de l'empire romain jusqu'à la révolution française*, Paris, 1828 and later editions; translated by William Hazlitt, London 1846, as *The history of civilization, from the fall of the Roman empire to the French revolution*; some of the later editions of the translation have different titles) [7: Nov. 1923]

*History of civilization in France from the fall of the Roman Empire to the French revolution* (by François Pierre Guillaume Guizot; originally entitled *Histoire de la civilisation en France, depuis la chute de l'empire romain jusqu'en 1789*, Paris, 5 vols., 1828-30 and later editions; translated anonymously in the 1830s or early '40s) [7: Nov.-Dec. 1923]

*History of European morals, from Augustus to Charlemagne* (by William Edward Hartpole Lecky; New York 1903 and later editions) [7: Aug. 1923]

*The history of India* (by Montstuart Elphinstone; London 1841) [7: May 1922]

*History of Scotland* (by Peter Hume Brown; 3 vols., Cambridge UK, 1899-1909 and later editions) [7: April-May 1922]

- The history of the decline and fall of the Roman empire* (by Edward Gibbon; 6 vols., London 1776-88 and later editions<sup>5</sup>) [7: July 1922]
- A history of the life and voyages of Christopher Columbus* (by Washington Irving; London 1828 and later editions) [7: June-July 1922]
- A history of the Sepoy War in India 1857-1858* (by John William Kaye, 3 vols., London 1864-1876 and later editions) [3]
- A history of the Sikhs : from the origin of the nation to the battles of the Sutlej* (by Joseph Davey Cunningham; London 1849; revised edition, 1853) [7: March 1923]
- The holy bible : containing the old and new testaments translated out of original languages and with the former translations differently compared and revised by his majesty's special command* (London 1611 and later editions) [2-10]
- The holy Quran : containing the Arabic text with English translation and commentary* (by Muhammad Ali; Woking 1917, Lahore 1920) [7: Sept. 1923]
- How I came to believe ("My confession")* (by Leo Tolstoy; a translation first published in 1885) [4]
- Hygienic medicine*: see *A system of hygienic medicine*
- Illustrated life of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ...* (text by John Fleetwood; New York 1858) [7: Sept. 1923]
- Imam Hussain* (by Mohamedali Al Haj Salmin) [9]
- Imitation of Christ*, translated from *Imitatio Christi* (by Thomas à Kempis; 1418 and many later editions) [4]
- Immediate EPIC<sup>6</sup> : the final statement of the plan* (by Upton Sinclair; Los Angeles 1934) [10: Dec. 1934]
- India for the Indians – and for England* (by William Digby; London 1885) [3]
- \*India in bondage : her right to freedom and a place among the great nations* (by Jabez Thomas Sunderland; Calcutta 1928, New York 1929) [8]
- India – What can it teach us? : a course of lectures delivered before the University of Cambridge* (by Max Müller; New York 1882, London 1883) [3]
- Indian administration to the dawn of responsible government, 1765-1920* (Balavantaraya Kalyanaraya Thakor; Bombay 1922) [7: April 1922]
- \*Indian bibles : a simple outline* (by Will Hayes; London 1931) [9]
- The Indian craftsman* (by Ananda K. Coomaraswamy; London 1909) [5]
- \*Indian currency and exchange banking* (by K.T. Shah; Bombay 1922) [9]

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9. Gandhi may have read the five-volume version prepared by Thomas Bowdler (from whose name the word "bowdlerise" is derived): *Gibbon's History of the decline and fall of the Roman Empire : for the use of families and young persons : reprinted from the original text, with the careful omission of all the passages of an irreligious or immoral tendency* (London 1826).

6. In this title, "EPIC" is an anagram for "End Poverty in California."

*The Indian deadlock* (by Kanaiyalal Maneklal Munshi; Allahabad 1945) [10: March 1945]

*The Indian empire : its history, people and products* (by William Wilson Hunter; London 1882 and later editions) [3]

*The Indian fight for freedom* (by Chittaranjan Das) [10]

*The Indian Evidence Act, 1872* [3]

*Indian idylls from the Sanskrit of the Mahabharata* (by Edwin Arnold; Cambridge 1883 and later editions) [5]

*India's fight for freedom : a critical survey of the Indian national movement since the advent of Mahatma Gandhi in the field of Indian politics* (by Sardul Singh Caveeshar; 2nd edition, Lahore 1936) [10]

\**An inquiry into the nature and causes of the wealth of nations* (by Adam Smith; Edinburgh 1776 and later editions; Gandhi owned the 1863 edition) [10: Sept. 1934]

*The Institutes of Justinian : with English introduction, translation, and notes* (by Thomas Collett Sandars; 8th edition, London 1888) [2]

*An introduction to the principles of morals and legislation* (by Jeremy Bentham; London 1789 and later editions) [2]

*Introduction to Roman law* (by William Alexander Hunter; 5th edition, London 1897) [2]

*In tune with the infinite : or, fullness of peace, power, and plenty* (by Ralph Waldo Trine, New York 1897 and later editions) [3]

*The Ishopanishad* in an unspecified version [7: Aug.-Sept. 1922]

*The Ishopanishad* in Sanskrit [9: Aug. 1932]

*The Ishopanishad* with Aurobindo's commentary [7: Feb. 1923]

*Ishucharita* (by Valaji Govindji Desai; Ahmedabad 1932) [9: Oct. 1932]

*Japanese expansion on the Asiatic continent : a study in the history of Japan with special reference to her international relations with China, Korea, and Russia* (by Yoshi Saburo Kuno; Berkeley 1937) [10: July 1939]

*Japonica* (by Edwin Arnold; London 1892) [2]

*Jaya-Jayant* (by Nanalal Kavi; Ahmedabad 1914 and later editions) [7: July 1923]

*Jivanshodhan* (by Kishorlal Mashruwala; Ahmedabad 1929) [9]

*Jnaneshwari Gita bhavarthadipika* (by Jnaneshwar, ca.1300; translated by Ratnasinh Dipsinh Paramar from the Hindi into Gujarati; Bombay 1912; 2nd ed., 1922) [7: Sept.-Oct. 1922]

"A joy forever" (and its price in the market) : being the substance (with additions) of two lectures on the political economy of art, delivered at Manchester, July 10th and 13th, 1857 (by John Ruskin; New York 1885) [4]

*Jyotirvilas* [9: Aug. 1932]

*Jyotishshastra* (by Balkrishna Dikshit, translated by Harihar Pranshankar Bhatt from Marathi into Gujarati) [9: Apr. 1932]

- Kadambari* (by Bana Bhatta, 7th century CE; editions were published in Calcutta in 1859, 1862 and 1871, in Madras in 1870, in Bombay in the 1860s and 1883, etc.) [1]
- Kalapani-ni-katha* (by Barindra Kumar Ghosh, Upendranath Bandopadhyay, Ullaskar Datta and Bhai Paramananda; translated by Natavarlal Vimawala and Romanlal Desai; Ahmedabad 1923) [7: July 1923]
- Khalifa Ali* (by Mohamedali Al Haj Salmin) [9]
- Kanyane patro* (by Narahari D. Parikh; Ahmedabad 1944) [10: May 1945]
- Karanghelo* (by Nandshankar Mehta; Bombay 1893) [8]
- Karavasni kahani* (a collection of writings by Aurobindo Ghosh translated by Navalram J. Trivedi into Gujarati, with an editorial preface by K.M. Munshi (Bombay 1922) [7: June 1923].
- The *Kathavalli upanishad* (i.e. the *Khata upanishad*) and commentary on it, translated by Cintamani Gangadhar Bhanu from the Sanskrit into Hindi [7: Sept 1922]
- Kavan charit* (by Hasan Nizami; translated into Gujarati from his Urdu original) [8]
- Kavyadohan*: see *Bruhad Kavyadohan*
- Kavyavinod* (a Sanskrit primer, according to the editors of Gandhi's *Collected Works*) [5]
- The *Kenopanishad* (many editions) [8]
- \**Key to exercises in Euclid* (by Isaac Todhunter; London 1880 and later editions; Gandhi owned one of 1885) [1]
- The key to Theosophy* (by Helena Blavatsky; London 1889) [2]
- Khagochitram* [9: Aug. 1932]
- Khalil Gibran* (a manuscript sent to Gandhi by someone named Beryl) [10: Jan. 1945]
- Karma yoga* (by Mathurdas Trikamji; Ahmedabad 1934) [10: 1934]
- Kheti* (by Mohammed Mujeeb; Delhi 1931) [9: June 1932]
- Kimiyagar aur doosre afsane* (by Mohammed Mujeeb; Delhi 1931) [9: June-July 1932]
- \**The kingdom of God is within you : Christianity not as a mystic religion but as a new theory of life* (by Leo Tolstoy; "authorised" translation by "A. Delano"; London 1894; Gandhi owned this edition; a translation by Constance Garnett was published in same year in London and several times thereafter) [3]
- \**The Koran : commonly called the Alcoran of Mohammed : with a preliminary discourse by George Sale* (London 1850 and again 1891; Gandhi owned the "Savery version" published by Frederick Warne and Co.) [3]
- \**The Koran* as translated from the Arabic by J.M. Rodwell (London 1861 and later editions; Gandhi owned an edition of 1918) [4 and 7: April 1922]
- The Koran* translated from the Arabic by E.H. Palmer (Oxford 1880) [4]
- The Koran translated from the Arabic by Muhammad Ali: see *The Holy Quran...*
- Krantikari charkha* (by Dhirendra Mazumdar; Wardha 1945) [10: July 1946]

*Krishnacharitra* (by Chintamani Vinayak Vaidya, translated by Krishnaprasad Manishanker from the Marathi into Gujarati; Pune 1918) [7: August 1922]

*Krishnacharitra* (by Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyaya, translated from the Bengali into Gujarati by Krishnalal Jhaveri; Bombay 1908 and later editions) [7: July 1922]

*The laws of Manu, translated* (by George Bühler) *with extracts from seven commentaries* (Oxford and Delhi 1886) [7: March-April 1923]

\**Lays of ancient Rome* (by Thomas Macaulay; London 1842 and later editions; Gandhi owned one published at Calcutta in 1911) [7: July 1922]

*Leading cases*: see *A selection of leading cases...*

*Lectures on the origin and growth of religion as illustrated by some points in the history of Indian Buddhism* (by Thomas William Rhys Davids; London 1881 and later editions) [7: Oct. 1923]

*Legal maxims, with observations and cases : in two parts. Part I : one hundred maxims, with observations and cases. Part II : eight hundred maxims, with translations* (by George Frederick Wharton; London 1865) [2]

See also *A selection of legal maxims...*

*Les miserables* translated into English from *Les misérables* by Victor Hugo, Paris 1862) [3]

*Letters from John Chinaman* (by G. Lowes Dickinson; London 1901 and later editions) [5]

*A letter to Russian liberals* (by Leo Tolstoy; 1896) [6]

*A letter to the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Oxford...* (by “Philo Christus,” i.e. Richard Moseley; London 1752) [7: Oct. 1922]

*The life and address of Mustafa Kamal Pasha* (i.e. of Atatürk; before April 1919) [6]

*The life and teachings of Mohammed : or, the spirit of Islam* (by Syed Ameer Ali; London 1891 and later editions) [7: Oct. 1923]

*The life of Ramakrishna* (by Romain Rolland; translated by E. F. Malcolm-Smith, Calcutta 1929, from *La vie de Ramakrishna*, Paris 1929) [9: May 1932]

*The life of Ramanuja, the exponent of the Vishistadvaita philosophy* (by Alkondaville Govindacharya; Madras 1906) [7: March 1923]

*The life of the late John Howard, Esq.* (London 1790 and later editions) [7: June 1922]

*The life of Vivekananda and the universal gospel* (by Romain Rolland; translated by E. F. Malcolm-Smith, Calcutta 1931, from *La vie de Vivekananda et l'évangile universel*, Paris 1930) [9: May 1932]

*The life story of Sister M. Therese...*: see *A passion flower...*

*Life without principle* (by Henry David Thoreau; Boston 1863 and later editions) [4]

*Light of Asia : or, the great renunciation (Mahâbhinishkramana) : being the life and teaching of Gautama, Prince of India and founder of Buddhism...* (by Edwin Arnold; London 1879 and later editions) [2; 3; 9: May 1930]

- \**The little flowers of St. Francis of Assisi* (medieval Italian stories first published as *Fioretti* in several late-15th-century editions; translated by Thomas Walker Arnold, London 1899 and later editions; the copy owned by Gandhi was published in 1926) [9: Jan. 1933]
- The lives of fathers, martyrs, and other principal saints* (by Alban Butler; 4 vols., London 1756-59; and later editions) [7: April 1722]
- Lives of Mahomet and his successors* (by Washington Irving; London 1850 and later editions) [3; 7: Oct.-Nov. 1923]
- The *Mahabharata* (translated from Sanskrit into Gujarati by Icharam Suryaram Desai; Bombay 1921) [7: June 1922]
- Mahabharata, or karma-yoga: see The permanent history...*
- Mahabharata samalochana* (by Shripad Damodal Satavlekar) [8]
- \**Man and cotton* (by Ernest Henry Short; London 1921) [10: Feb. 1939]
- Man and superman : a comedy and a philosophy* (by George Bernard Shaw; London and New York 1903 and later editions) [7: June 1923]
- The man behind the plough* (by Aziz-ul-Huque; Calcutta 1939) [10: 1944]
- Ma-ne Shikhaman* (by Tribhuvandas Motichand Shah) [4]
- Maniratnamala* (by Manilal Nabhuvhai Dvivedi) [3]
- The manner of the master : and studies in his teaching* (by Alfred Hardwick Lowe; London 1921) [7: April 1922]
- A manual of family medicine for India* (by William James Moore; London 1874 and later editions) [10: Nov. 1934]
- Manual of modern geography : mathematical, physical, and political : on a new plan : embracing a complete development of the river systems of the globe* (by Alexander Mackay; Edinburgh 1861, and later editions) [1]
- Manusmriti* (maybe an undated version from before the establishment in 1867 of copyright in India, but more likely the Gujarati translation by Chunilal Pitambar Bhatt, Ahmedabad 1884, or, when Gandhi was in prison in 1922, the Gujarati translation by Manishankar Pranshankar Shastri, Gandevi 1914) [1; 7: August 1922]
- Manusmriti: see also The laws of Manu...*
- “*Many infallible proofs*” : *a series of chapters on the evidences of Christianity...* (by Arthur Tappan Pierson; Chicago 1886 and London 1889) [3]
- \**Margopadeshika* (Gujarati translation by Nandeshankar T. Mehta, 1875, of Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, *First book of Sanskrit, being an elementary treatise on grammar with exercises*, Bombay 1860s and later editions) [1]
- The Markandeya Purana* (translated by Manmatha Nath Dutt; Calcutta 1904; see *A prose English translation of Markandeya Purana...*)
- Medical essays* (by Thomas Richard Allinson; London 1887) [2]
- Meghaduta* (by Kalidasa, approximately 400 CE; several editions were potentially available to Gandhi) [10: Nov. 1936]

*Mein Kampf*: see *My struggle*

*Men and rivers* (by Humayun Kabir; Bombay 1945) [10: Oct. 1945]

*Message and mission of India* (by Aurobindo Ghosh) [9: Apr. 1933]

\**The message of Christ* (by Ardaser Sorabjee N. Wadia; Gandhi owned the edition of 1920) [7: May 1923]

*The message of Muhammad* (or, in an earlier edition, *The message of Mahomed*; by Ardaser Sorabjee N. Wadia) [7: May 1923]

*Mind and vision : a handbook for the cure of imperfect sight without glasses* or another such book by Raghuvir Singh Agrawal (Delhi 1930s) [9: 1932]

*Misar Kumari* (translated from Bengali into Gujarati by Bhanumati Dalpatram Trivedi, Bombay 1922) [7: May 1922]

\**The modern French reader : prose, junior course* (edited by Philippe Honoré Ernest Brette, Charles Cassel and Theodore Karcher; London 1867; Gandhi owned the edition of 1887) [2]

*The modern law of personal property* (by Louis Arthur Goodeve; London 1887) [2]

*The modern law of real property : with an appendix containing the Vendor and Purchaser Act, 1874, the Conveyancing Acts, 1881 to 1892, the Settled Land Acts, 1882 to 1890, [and] the Married Women's Property Acts, 1882* (by Louis Arthur Goodeve; 3rd edition, London 1891) [2]

*Modern problems : a discussion of debatable subjects* (by Oliver Lodge; London 1912) [7: Oct. 1923]

\**Modern problems : dealing with pre-war questions of permanent interest* (by Oliver Lodge; London 1919) [7: Oct. 1923]

\**Mohammed : the prophet* (by Muhammad Ali; Lahore 1924 and later editions; Gandhi's copy was published there in 1928 is entitled *Mohammed : the prophet of Islam*) [9: May 1932]

*Mokshmala* (by Rajchandra Mehta; Ahmedabad 1902) [5; 7: Dec. 1922]

*Money* (by David Kinley; London 1918) [9: Feb. 1932]

*Mother India* (by Katherine Mayo; New York and London 1927) [8]

*Muktadhara* (by Rabindranath Tagore; translated from his Bengali into Gujarati; Ahmedabad 1922) [7: Sept. 1923]

*Mumukshu prakaran* [3]: see *Yogavasishtha*

*Muntaki bate-Urdu* (by Abu Zafar Nadavi; 4 vols., Ahmedabad 1922) [7: April 1922]

\**My confessions* (by Leo Tolstoy; Gandhi and his friend Hermann Kallenbach each owned a translation, published by The Free Age Press evidently in 1900, of a Russian edition of such an essay that had been published "eighteen years ago (in 1882).") [4]

"*My master Gokhale*" : a selection from the speeches and writings of Rt. Hon'ble V.S. Sastri, P.C., CH., LL.D., D.Litt. (edited by T.N. Jagadisan; Madras 1946 [10: Jan 1946])

*My philosophy and religion* (by Ralph Waldo Trine; London 1921) [7: Jan. 1923]



- My struggle* (by Adolf Hitler; abridged translation by Edgar Dugdale, London 1933, from *Mein Kampf*, 2 vols., Munich 1925-26) [10: Aug. 1933]
- The mysterious universe* (by James Jeans; Cambridge (UK) 1930 and later editions) [9: Aug. 1932]
- \**The mystics of Islam* (by Reynold Alleyne Nicholson; London 1914) [7: Sept. 1923]
- Mystics and saints of Islam* (by Claude Field; London 1910) [7: April 1923]
- Nalakhyan* (by Premanand) [3]
- The Naladiyar : or, four hundred quatrains in Tamil, with introduction, translation, and notes critical, philological and explanatory, to which is added a concordance and lexicon with authorities from the oldest Tamil writers* (by George Uglow Pope; Oxford 1893) [6]
- Narmagadya* (by Narmad, i.e. Narmadashankar Lalshankar Dave; Bombay 1874) [1]
- Nandabatrissi* (by Shamal Bhatt; Bombay 1904) [10: 1936]
- \**Natural law in the spiritual world* (by Henry Drummond; London 1884 and later editions; Gandhi possessed a copy of an undated edition published by Hodder & Soughton) [5]
- Natural therapeutics* (by Henry Lindlahr; Chicago 1918) [5]
- Nature cure philosophy and practice based on the unity of disease and cure* (by Henry Lindlahr; Chicago 1914) [5]
- A new crusade : an appeal* (by Godfrey Blount; London 1903) [4]
- The new dietetics : what to eat and how : a guide to scientific feeding in health and disease* (by John Harvey Kellogg; Battle Creek 1921 and later editions without the first of the two subtitles) [9]
- The "new gospel of interpretation" : being an abstract of the doctrine and a statement of the origin, object, basis, method and scope of the Esoteric Christian Union* (by Edward Maitland; London 1892 and later editions) [3]
- The new science of healing : or, the doctrine of the oneness of all diseases forming the basis of a uniform method of cure, without medicines and without operations. An instructor and adviser for the healthy and the sick.* (by Louis Kuhne) translated (by "Dr. Th. Baker") from the 3d greatly augmented German ed[ition] (Leipzig 1892 and later editions) [4]
- Ninety-three* (translated from *Quatrevingt-treize* by Victor Hugo, Paris 1874) [3]
- Niti shatak*: see *Bhartriharishatak*
- Okha haran* (by Premanand; Bombay 1886) [3]
- On the duty of civil disobedience...*: see under "D" (for "duty") in the alphabet
- On heros...*: see *Heros...*
- \**One hundred poems of Kabir : translated by Rabindranath Tagore assisted by Evelyn Underhill* (London 1914 and later editions; Gandhi owned the New York 1917 edition and a London 1921 reprint) [7: April 1923]
- The oracles of Zoroaster*: see *The sayings of Zarathustra*

- Origin and evolution of religion* (by Edward Washburn Hopkins; New Haven and London 1923) [7: Aug. 1923]
- \**The other side of the medal* (by Edward John Thomson; London 1925; several editions in 1926; a copy owned by Gandhi in 1933 was entitled *The other phase of the medal: a critical rejoinder to the swarajists' propaganda* and was published at Madras in 1926) [8]
- Our Hellenic heritage* (by Henry Rosher James; London 1921 and again 1922) [7: April 1923]
- Ourselves and the universe : studies in life and religion* (by Jonathan Brierly; London 1902 and later editions) [7: Dec. 1922]
- Our stellar universe...* (by Thomas Edward Heath; London 1905; three such books, of quite different lengths and each with a different subtitle: (1) *A road-book to the stars*, (2) *Six stereograms of sun and stars*, and (3) *Stereoscopic star charts and spectroscopic key maps*; the first of these is the one that we think Gandhi is most likely to have read) [9: Aug 1932]
- The outline of history : being a plain history of life and mankind* (by H. G. Wells; London 1920 and several other editions already by 1922) [7: Feb.-March 1923]
- Panchikaran* (by Shankaracharya, tr. by Jaikrishna Vyas, Bombay 1887) [3, 5]
- Panchtantra* (by Vishnu Sharma. Gujarati version, Bombay 1824 and probably other editions) [1]
- Panchavati* (by Maithili Sharan Gupta; Jhansi 1928) [9: Feb. 1932]
- \**Paradoxes of civilization* (by Max Nordau, translated by J.R. McIlvaith from the 5th edition of *Die conventionellen Lügen der Kulturmenschheit*; London 1906; Gandhi owned this translation) [4]
- A passion flower of the Carmel of the Divine Heart of Jesus : the life story of Sister M. Therese of the Holy Trinity, Carmelite of the Divine Heart of Jesus, died March 10, 1926* (by Frederick M. Lynk; St. Meinrad 1933) [10: May 1936]
- The perfect way : or, the finding of Christ* (by Anna Kingsford and Edward Maitland; 2nd edition, London 1892) [3]
- The perfect way in diet : a treatise advocating a return to the natural and ancient food of our race* (by Anna Kingsford; London 1881 and later editions) [2]
- The permanent history of Bharat Varsha* (by Narayan Iyer; Trivandrum 1915) [9: March 1933]
- The Persian mystics : the invocations of Sheikh Abdullah Ansari of Herat, A.D. 1005-1090* (translated and edited by Jogendra Singh; *Wisdom of the East* series; London 1939) [10: April 1938]
- The Persian mystics : Volume I : Jalálu'd-Din Rúmi* (by Frederick Hadland Davis; *Wisdom of the East* series; London 1907) [4]
- Physiognomy*: see *Essays on physiognomy*
- \**The pilgrim's progress* (by John Bunyan; London 1678 and later editions; Gandhi's copy was published in London in 1879) [4]
- Pitt* (by Archibald Philip Primrose Rosebery; London 1891 and later editions) [7: June 1922]
- Physiognomy*: see *Essays on physiognomy*

\**Plane trigonometry* (by Isaac Todhunter; London 1859 and later editions; Gandhi owned the one of 1869) [1]

*A plea for vegetarianism* (by Henry Salt; Manchester 1886) [2]

*The pocket Oxford dictionary of current English* (by Francis George Fowler and Henry Watson Fowler; Oxford and New York 1927) [10:1933]

*Poorva rang* (by Dattatreya Balkrishna Kalelkar and Narahari Parikh; Ahmedabad 1923) [7: June 1923]

\**Popular stories* (by Leo Tolstoy, translated by “N...” and A. C. Fitfield; Free Age Press, London, undated; Gandhi owned a copy which Hermann Kallenbach had acquired in April 1910) [5]

*Poverty and un-British rule in India* (London 1901) [2: see *Poverty of India...*]

*Poverty of India : papers and statistics* (by Dadabhai Naoroji; London 1888) [2]

*The power of non-violence* (by Richard Gregg; Philadelphia 1934 and later editions) [10: 1938]

*Prachin sahitya* (by Rabindranath Tagore; translated from his Bengali; Ahmedabad 1922) [7: July 1923]

*Practice and precepts of Jesus* (by Joseph C. Kumarappa; Ahmedabad 1945) [10: March 1945]

*Prayers, praises and psalms : selections from the vedas, upanishads, epics, Gita, puranas, agamas, tantras, kavyas and the writings of the acharyas and others* (by Venkatarama Raghavan; Madras 1938) [10: 1928]

*Prem mitra* [7: Oct 1922]

*Prem sagar* (by Lallu Lal, 1810; translated from the Hindi to English by W. Hollings, Calcutta 1848, and by E.B. Eastwick, # [?])@

*Pride and prejudice* (by Jane Austen; London 1813 and later editions) [1]

*Principles of the common law : an elementary work intended for the use of students and the profession* (by John Indermauer; London 1876) [2]

*The principles of equity : intended for the use of students and the profession* (by Edmund Henry Turner Snell; 9th edition, London 1889) [2]

*Principles of the law of real property : intended as a first book for the use of students in conveyancing* (by Joshua Williams; 16th edition, London 1887) [2]

*Principles of morals and legislation: see An introduction to the principles of morals and legislation*

*The principles of sociology* (by Herbert Spencer; 3 vols., New York 1876-96 and later editions) [4; 7: April-May 1923]

*Prithvivallabh* (by Kanaiyalal Maneklal Munshi; Bombay 1924 and later editions) [10: 1936]

\**Pro Christo et ecclesia* (by Lily Dougall; London and New York 1900 and later editions; Gandhi’s copy was published at London in 1920) [7: Sept. 1922]

*Progressive exercises in [Sanskrit] grammar* (by Franz Kielhorn; Bombay 1860 and later editions) [1]

*Property: see A compendium of the law of property in land..., The modern law of personal property and Principles of the law of real property...*

- A prose English translation of Markandeya Purana : transl. literally into English prose* (by Manmatha Nath Dutt; Calcutta 1897; an edition entitled *The Markandeya Purana* was published at Calcutta in 1904) [7: June-July 1923]
- Provincial autonomy (under the Government of India Act, 1935)* (by K.T. Shah; Bombay 1937) [10: Sept. 1937]
- Race prejudice* (translated by Florence Wade-Evans, London 1906, from *La préjugé des races* by Jean Finot, Paris 1905) [5]
- Raja yoga : or, the practical metaphysics of the vedanta, being a translation of the Vakyasudha of Bharatitirtha, and the Aparokshannbhuti of... Shankaracharya, with an introduction, appendix containing the Sanskrit text and commentary of the Vakyasudha and notes* (by Manilal Nabhubhai Dvivedi; Bombay 1885) [4]
- Raja-yoga : or, conquering the internal native* (by Vivekananda; initially published as *Yoga philosophy : lectures delivered in New York, winter of 1895-6*); among the later editions is a Gujarati translation by Narmadarshankar Balashankar Pandya; Ahmedabad 1923) [4; 7: Sept. 1923]
- Rajchandra* (writings of Raychand Mehta, edited by Mansukhbhai Ravajibhai Mehta; 2 vols., Bombay 1905) [4]
- Rama and Krishna* (by Kishorlal Mashruwala; Ahmedabad 1923) [7: June 1923]
- Ramacharitamanas : Ayodhakand tika* (by Ramanaresh Tripathi; Allahabad 1927 and later editions) [10: March 1936]
- Ramakatha* (by Valji Govindji Desai; Ahmedabad 1935) [10: Jan. 1935]
- The *Ramayana*: i.e., as *Ramcharitamanasa*, by Tulsidas, ca.1575 in the Awadhi dialect of Hindi [1, 7: March/April 1922] (the version read by Gandhi in 1922 may have been the one prepared by Shyamsundardas, Prayag 1904 and later editions); by Valmiki, 4th century BCE (translated into modern Gujarati by I.S. Desai, Bombay 1914) [7: May-June 1922]; by Girdhar, a medieval Gujarati bard (published at Bombay in 1875 and in various later editions) [7: July 1922]
- Rebel India* (by Henry Noel Brailsford; New York 1931) [9]
- Recollections* (by John Morley; London 1917) [6]
- Regeneration* (by Jon Rommel; 1932 or '33) [9: March 1933]
- The relations of the sexes...* (by Leo Tolstoy) translated by V. Tchertkoff and A. C. Fifield principally from private letters, diaries, and unpublished mss (Christchurch 1901; 2nd edition, London 1901 or later) [5]
- The religion of the good life : Zoroastrianism* (by Rustom Pestonji Masani; London 1938) [10: Oct. 1938]
- Report of the Committee on Coöperation in India* (Simla 1915) [6]
- Report of the Indian Immigrants Commission* (Natal Legislative Council; Pietermaritzburg 1887) [5]
- Report of the Protector of Indian Immigrants for the year ended 31st December, 1904* (Pretoria 1905) [5]
- \**Return to nature : the true natural method of healing and living and the true salvation of the soul : paradise regained* (by Adolf Just) ...authorized translation from the fourth enlarged German edition (New York 1903 and later editions; Gandhi owned – a gift from Herman Kallenbach – an edition published at London in 1912) [4]

- Rigvedadi Bhasyabhumika* (by Swami Dayanand Saraswati; Bombay 1905) [5]
- The rise of the Dutch republic* (by John Lothrop Motley; New York and London 1855, 3 vols., and later editions with the subtitle *A history*) [7: Nov.-Dec. 1923]
- Rise of the Sikh power*: see *Transformation of Sikhism...*
- Roman law*: see *Introduction to Roman law*
- Round the world* (by Andrew Carnegie; New York 1886) [3]
- The Rosicrucian mysteries; an elementary exposition of their secret teachings* (by Max Heindel; Ocean Park, CA 1911 and 1916) [7: Dec. 1923]
- \**The Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam* (paraphrased in translation by Edward Fitzgerald; London 1859 and later editions, one of which Gandhi owned) [5]
- The ruin of Egypt by Roman mismanagement* (by Joseph Grafton Milne; London 1927) [9: Jan. 1932]
- \**Sadhana : the realisation of life* (by Rabindranath Tagore; London 1919; Gandhi owned this edition; later editions were also published, e.g. in 1921) [6; 7: Jan 1923]
- Sahaba ekram* [7: Sept. 1923]
- \**Saints of Islam* (by Husain Rahmat Allah Sayani; London 1908) [7: May 1923; 9]
- Saket* (by Maithili Sharan Gupta; Jhansi 1932) [9: April 1932]
- Samavediya ahnika prakash* (by Naturam Sharma; Bilkha 1908) [4]
- Sampattishastra* (by Govind Chintamani Bhate, originally in Marathi; Gujarati translation, Ahmedabad 1923) [7: July 1923]
- Samarpan* (anonymous; Bhavnagar 1930) [9: April 1932]
- The Samkhya Karikas of Isvara Krishna (ca.400 CE) with the commentary of Gaudapada (ca.700 CE)* (translated by Ellwood Austin Welden; Philadelphia 1913) [7: July 1923]
- Sandhya ni gutika* [7]
- Sarasvati-chandra* (by Govardhanram Tripathi; 4 vols., Bombay 1887-1901) [7: Aug.-Sept. 1922]
- Satyagraha aur asahayoga* (by Shastri Chaturseen; Bombay 1922) [7: April 1922]
- Satyagraha wa swarajya* (by Sitaram Purushottam Patwardhan) [10: Nov. 1946]
- Satyagrahni mimansa* (unpublished doctoral thesis by Maganbhai P. Desai, Ahmedabad 1931 or '32) [9: May 1932]
- Satyakama, or "true desires" (being thoughts on the meaning of life)* (by Samuel Evans Stokes; Madras 1931) [9: 1932]
- Satyartha prakasha* (by Swami Dayanand Saraswati; Ajmer 1867 and later editions, e.g. Merath 1916) [5; 7: Sept.-Oct. 1922]
- The sayings of Mohamed* (compiled by Abdullah al-Mamun Suhrawardy; London 1905 and later editions) [4]

*The sayings of Zarathustra* (perhaps derived from *The oracles of Zoroaster, the founder of the Persian Magi... translated from the Greek [sic] by J. P. Cory*, as published in *The Phenix* in 1835) [3]

*The science and art of living* (by Leonard Llewelyn Bulkeley Williams; London 1924) [8]

*Science of peace* (by Bhagvan Das; Adyer 1922) [7: March 1923]

*Seas and lands* (by Edwin Arnold; London 1891) [2]

*Second book of Sanskrit, being a treatise on grammar with exercises* (by Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar; Bombay 1860s and later editions) [1]

*The second jungle book* (by Rudyard Kipling; London and New York 1895 and later editions) [7: June 1922]

*The secret city : a romance of the Karoo* (by Joseph J. Doke; London 1913) [5]

*Seekers after God* (by Fredric William Farrar; London 1868 and later editions) [7: May 1922]

*A selection of leading cases in equity, with notes* (by Frederick Thomas White and Owen Davies Tudor; 6th edition, London 1886) [2]

*A selection of legal maxims, classified and illustrated* (by Herbert Broom; 6th edition, edited by Herbert F. Manisty and Charles Cagney, London 1884) [2]

*Serious and friendly letters to a deist* (by “Philo Christus,” i.e. Richard Moseley; London 1752) [7: Oct. 1922]

*Shad-darshana samuchchaya* (by Haribhadra Suri; editions were published at Benares in 1867, at Benares and Calcutta in 1905, and at Bhavanagara in 1918) [3; 5; 7: Oct.-Nov. 1922]

*Shakti and shakta : essays and addresses on the Shakta Tantrashastra* (by John George Woodroffe; London 1918 and later editions) [7: Dec. 1923]

*Shamalna cchappa* (by Shamal Bhatt; Ahmedabad 1868) [3]

*Shankh ane kodi* (by “Koipan,” i.e. H.E. Valiani; Bombay 1924) [9: Feb. 1932]

*Shareef Ladka* (by Mohammed Mujeeb) [9: June 1932]

*A short history of the Saracens : being a precise account of the rise and decline of the Saracenic power* (by Syed Ameer Ali; London 1899 and later editions) [7: Nov. 1923]

*Shravanpitribhakti Nataka* (by Shastri Gokulji Pranjivan; Ahmedabad; we don't know the date of the 1st edition; the 2nd one was published there in 1885) [1]

*Sikh ceremonies : compiled by Sardar Sir Jogendra Singh, Kt. : with an introduction by Raja Sir Daljeet Singh* (Bombay 1941) [10: Aug. 1945]

*The Sikh religion : its gurus, sacred writings and authors* (by Max Arthur Macauliffe; 6 vols., Oxford 1909) [7: April-June 1923]

*Sirat-un-nabi yani, savanih aqdas hazrat sarvar-i alam Muhammad rasul Allah salla Allah alayhi va-sallam* (by Muhammad Shibli Numani; Aligargh 1900 and later editions) [7: Sept. 1923; 9: May and July 1932]

*Sitaharana* (by Chandrashankara Pranashankara Shukla; Ahmedabad 1926<sup>7</sup>) [7: May 1923]

*Sixty years of Indian finance* (by K.T. Shah; Bombay and London 1921, second edition 1927) [9: Feb. 1932]

\**The slavery of our times* (by Leo Tolstoy, translated by Aylmer Maude; London 1900 or 1901) [5]

*Social efficiency : India's greatest need* (by Shivaram N. Pherwani; Bombay 1923) [7: May 1923]

*Social evolution* (by Benjamin Kidd; London and New York 1894 and later editions) [7: March-April 1923]

\**The song celestial, or Bhagavadgita* (translated by Edwin Arnold; London 1885; Gandhi owned in 1930 a copy of the 1919 reprint) [2]

*The speeches of the Hon. Mr. G.K. Gokhale* (Madras ca.1900) [5]

*Standard elocutionist* (by David Charles Bell and Alexander Melville Bell; Dublin 1873; revised edition, London 1888) [2]

\**The stars in their courses* (by James Jeans; Cambridge 1931) [9: June 1932]

*Steps to Christianity* [7: Jan. 1923]

*Stories from Tagore* (by Rabindranath Tagore, translated from the Bengali; Calcutta, London, New York 1918)

*Stories from the history of Rome* (by Emily Beesly; London 1878 and later editions) [7: May 1922 and Aug. 1923]

*Stories from the history of Rome...* (by Henrietta Cecilia Sandford; Glasgow 1832) [7: May 1922 and Aug. 1923]

\**The story of the heavens* (by Robert Stawell Ball; London, New York and elsewhere 1885 and later editions; Gandhi owned an edition published at London in 1897) [9: Aug. 1932]

*St. George's Guild: see General statement explaining ... St. George's Guild*

*St. Paul in Greece* (by Gerald Stanley Davies; London 1877) [7: June 1922]

*The strange case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* (by Robert Louis Stevenson; London 1886 and other editions, some with slightly different titles) [7: June 1922]

\**The student's Gujarati grammar : with exercises and vocabulary* (by George P. Taylor; London and Surat 1893 and later editions; Gandhi owned an edition published at Surat in 1903) [3]

*Studies in Vedanta* (by Vasudev Jagannath Kirtikar, ed. by Mukund Ramrao Jayakar; Bombay 1924) [9: June 1932]

*Sukhmani* (by Arjun Dev, ca.1600; translated into Gujarati by Maganbhai P. Desai, Ahmedabad 1936) [10]

*Supersensual life: see Von übersinnlichen Leben*

*A survey of Matar Taluka (Kheda District)* (by Joseph C. Kumarappa; Ahmedabad 1931) [9: Jan 1932]

*Sutta Nipata : or, dialogues and discourses of Gotama Buddha* (by Mutu Coomaraswamy; London 1874) [5]

*Swadeshi dharma* (by Dattatreya Balkrishna Kalelkar; Ahmedabad 1920) [6]

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7. This is the earliest edition that we know of. The book includes a preface by Gandhi's secretary, Mahadev Desai, so we think that Gandhi may have read the book in manuscript form.

- Syadvada manjari* (by Mallisena, a 13th-century Jain philosopher; Hindi translation by Shastri Jawaharlal, Bombay 1910) [7: Oct.-Dec. 1923]
- Swadhyaya samhita* (by Vaidik Muni Hariprasad) [9: July 1932]
- A system of hygienic medicine* (by Thomas Richard Allinson; London 1886) [2]
- A Tamil hand-book : or, full instruction to the common dialect of that language; on the plan of Ollendorf and Arnold. For the use of foreigners learning Tamil, and of Tamulians learning English* (by George Uglow Pope; 2nd edition, Madras 1859) [6]
- A Tamil prose reader adapted to the handbook* (by George Uglow Pope; Oxford 1905) [6]
- Tamil self-teacher* [4]
- \**The teachings of Islam : a solution of five fundamental religious problems from the Muslim point of view* (by Ghulam Ahmad Mirza; London 1910) [7: March 1923]
- \**Thirukural* (by Thiruvalluvar, before 300 CE; translated by V.V.S. Aiyer as *The kural or the maxims of Tiruvalluvar*. Tiruchirapalli 1915) [10]
- Tom Brown's school days* (by Thomas Hughes; Cambridge UK 1857 and later editions) [7: May 1922]
- Towards moral bankruptcy* (by Paul Bureau; translated by Mary Scharlieb, London 1925, from his *D'Indiscipline des moeurs : etude de science sociale*, Paris 1920 and later editions) [8]
- Transformation of Sikhism : or, how the Sikhs become a political power* (by Gokul-Chand Narang; Lahore 1912 and later editions, some of them with rather different titles; originally a thesis at the University of Berne) [7: April 1923]
- \**A treatise on Hindu laws and usage* (by John Dawson Mayne; Madras 1878 and later editions; Gandhi owned the 6th edition, published in 1900) [3]
- Trips to the moon* (by Lucian of Samosata, ca. 150 CE; translated from the Greek by Thomas Francklin, Cambridge 1780 and later editions) [7: April 1922]
- The twelve principal Upanishads (English translation)* (by Edward Röer *et al.*), with notes from the commentaries of Sankaracharya and the gloss of Anandagiri (published "for the Bombay Theosophical Publication Fund," Bombay 1906) [3]
- The twentieth-century atlas of popular astronomy : comprising in twenty-two plates a complete series of illustrations of the heavenly bodies* (by Thomas Heath; Edinburgh and London 1903 and later editions) [9: April 1932]
- Umar al-Faruq...: see Al-Farooq...*
- The universe around us* (by James Jeans; Cambridge (UK) and New York 1929 and later editions) [9: Aug. 1932]
- \**Unto this last* (by John Ruskin; London 1862 and later editions, more than one of which Gandhi owned) [4]
- Untouchability and temple-entry* (by Charu Chandra Mitra; Calcutta) [9: 1933]



- Upanishado*, i.e. the Upanishads translated into Gujarati by Nathuram Sharma (Ahmedabad 1903; 4th edition, Bilkha 1938) [10: 1947]
- \**The Upanishads*, translated by G. R. S. Mead and Jagdish Chandra Chattopadyaya and published by the Theosophical Publishing Society, London 1896; Gandhi's copy is inscribed "M. K. Gandhi, 16/1/04") [3]
- The Upanishads and Sri Sankara's commentary* (translated by S. Sitarama Sastri; Madras 1898-1901; another edition 1905) [3, 4]
- \**The Upanishads* (translated by Max Müller; Oxford 1879-84 and later editions; Gandhi owned the 1st edition of Part I) [7: Feb 1923]
- Upanishadarthaprakashika : mula mantra sahit* (Gujarati translation by Pathak Vishvaram Sadaram of an ancient Sanskrit text; Ahmedabad 1894; another edition 1918) [7: Jan.-Feb. 1923]
- The Upanishads: see also *The twelve principal Upanishads...* and *Kathakopanisadabhasya*
- Urdu reader No. 5* [7: 30 Sept. 1922]
- Usva-e-Sahaba* (by Muhammad Shibli Numani; Hzamgadh 1908) [7: June-August 1923]
- Uttar -Ramacharita* (by Bhavabhuti, originally in Sanskrit; Gujarati translations: by M.N. Dvivedi, Bombay 1883; by Narayan Hemchandra, Ahmedabad 1895) [5]
- The *Uttaradhyayan sutra* (by Mahavira, 527 BCE, edited by Sudharmaswami, ca.500 BCE; Mangrol 1911) [7: December 1923]
- Vaidik vinay* (by Abhaydev Sharma; Muzaffarnagar 1931-33, 3 vols.) [9: 1932]
- Vairagya prakarana* [6]: see *Yogavasishtha*
- \**Vanity fair : a novel without a hero* (by William Makepeace Thackeray; London 1848 and later editions; Gandhi owned a copy of the 1st edition) [3]
- Vanaraj chavdo* (by Mahipatram Rupram Nilkanth; Bombay 1874 and later editions) [1]
- Vanat shastra* (by Maganlal Gandhi; Ahmedabad 1922 and later editions) [6]
- The varieties of religious experience : a study in human nature* (by William James; London and New York 1902 and later editions) [7: Aug. 1923]
- Veda shabda sangna* [4]
- Vedanta-bhraman* (by Rajan Iyer) [7: Nov.-Dec. 1923]
- Vernaculars as media of instruction in Indian schools and colleges* (by Pranjivan Jagjivan Mehta; Madras and Rangoon 1917) [6]
- Village communities in the East and West : six lectures delivered at Oxford* (by Henry Summer Maine; London 1871) [3]
- Von übersinnlichen Leben* (by Jacob Behmen, i.e. Jakob Böhme, 1624; Gandhi read an English translation; several were published in England between 1901 and 1922, with titles like *The supersensual life : or, the life which is above sense*, *Of the supersensual life* and *Dialogues on the supersensual life.*) [7: Sept. 1922]

- \**Walden : or, life in the woods* (by Henry David Thoreau; Boston 1854 and later editions; Gandhi possessed an edition published in London in 1924) [10: 1934]
- Wanderings and excursions* (by James Ramsay MacDonald; London and Indianapolis 1925 and later editions) [9: Feb. 1932]
- The way of Buddha* (*Wisdom of the East* series) [4]
- The way of the cross* (by Fulton J. Sheen, New York 1932; or by John J.A. Murphy, New York 1931; or by Venantius Buessing, New York 1927; or by Alfonso Maria de' Liguori, New York 1924; or by "A Jesuit Father", New York 1912; or some other such book) [9: July 1932]
- The way to begin life* [7: April 1922]
- Wealth and waste* (by G.I. Fowler) [10: 1935]
- The wealth of nations*: see *An inquiry into the nature and causes...*
- The well of the people* (by Bharati Sarabhai; Calcutta 1943) [10: 1944]
- The wet parade* (by Upton Sinclair; Pasadena, New York and London 1931, London and Culver City 1932) [9: March 1932]
- What Christianity means to me* (by Lyman Abbott; New York 1921, 1922) [7: Dec. 1922]
- What Congress and Gandhi have done to the Untouchables* (By Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar; Bombay 1945) [10: Aug. 1945]
- \**What I believe ("My religion")* (by Leo Tolstoy, translated by Fyvie Mayo and A.C. Fifield; New Age Press, undated) [5]
- What I owe to Christ* (by Charles F. Andrews; London, New York and Cincinnati) 1932 [9]
- What India wants: autonomy within the Empire* (by Ganapati Agraharam Natesan; Madras 1917) [6]
- What is art?* (translated from an essay by Leo Tolstoy; Philadelphia 1898 and later editions) [5]
- \**What is religion? and other new articles and letters* (by Leo Tolstoy, translated by V. Tchertkoff and A.C. Fifield (New Age Press, 1902) [5]
- What Marx really meant* (by G.D.H. Cole; London and New York 1934 [10: 1934]
- What to do? : thoughts evoked by the census of Moscow* (by Leo Tolstoy; New York ca.1888) [3]
- What war means : the Japanese terror in China : a documentary record* (by Harold John Timperley; London 1938) [10: 1939]
- Whispers from eternity : universal scientific prayers and poems* (by Paramhansa Yogananda; Los Angeles 1929, 2nd edition 1935) [10: 1935]
- \**The white slaves of England* (by Robert Harborough Sherard; London 1897; Gandhi owned this edition) [4]
- Why am I a vegetarian? : an address delivered before the German vegetarian societies on the 14th of September 1889...* (by John E.B. Mayor; Manchester 1889) [2]

*Why I became a Theosophist* (by Annie Besant; London 1890) [2]

*The wisdom of the ancients* (by Francis Bacon; London 1609 and later editions) [7: May 1922]

*Wisdom of the East*: see *Arabian wisdom*, *The way of Buddha*, and *The Persian mystics*

*A word to Gandhi : the lesson of Ireland* (by Frank Percy Crozier; London 1931) [9]

*Wounded humanity* (by Barindra Kumar Ghosh; Calcutta, probably 1934) [10: 1934]

\**Yogasutra* (by Patanjali, translated by Manilal Nabhubhai Dvivedi; Bombay 1890) [4]

*Yogadarshan* (by Patanjali, translated from Sanskrit into Gujarati by Jekishandar Jethanbhai Kaniya; Bombay 1894 and later editions) [7: May 1922]

*Yogasutra* (by Patanjali, as published in translation (probably M.N. Dvivedi's translation) from April 1898 to September 1904 as "The Age of Patanjali" in the periodical, *The International Theosophist*, edited by H.A.W. Coryn and F.J. Dick) [4]

*Yogavasistha* (attributed to Valmiki, ca.400 BCE) [3, 6]

*The young crusader : a Catholic tale* (Dublin 1857) [7: April 1922]

*The young crusader...* (by Christian Gottlob Barth) *translated from the German by Samuel Jackson* (London 1846) [7: April 1922]

*Zaka Ullah of Delhi* (by Charles F. Andrews; Cambridge 1929 [9: 1932])

*The Zend-avesta*, translated by Hormasji Tehmulji Dadachanji (Bombay) [7: April 1923]

# LIST OF AUTHORS, TRANSLATORS AND EDITORS

(In this list we give abbreviated versions of the titles. The numbers in square brackets refer to sections of our Chronological List.)

- Abbott, Edwin A., ed.: *Bacon's Essays* [4]  
Addison, Joseph: *Essays* [5]  
"A.E.": *see* Russell, George William  
Aesop: fables [5]  
Agarwal, Shriman Narayan: *Gandhian constitution* [10]  
Agrawal, Raghuvir Singh: *Mind and vision* [9]  
Aiyar, Vanaganedi Venkatesa Subramanya, tr.: Thiruvalluvar, *The Kural or the maxims of Tiruvalluvaral* [10]  
Ali, Muhammad, tr.: *The Holy Quran... with commentary* [7]; *Mohammed : the prophet* [9]  
Ali, Syed Ameer: *Life and teachings of Mohammed* [7]; *Short history of the Saracens* [7]  
Allinson, Thomas Richard: *Medical essays* [2]; *System of hygienic medicine* [2]  
Ambedkar, Bhimrao Ramji: *What Congress and Gandhi have done to the Untouchables* [10]  
Ambrose, Alexander: *Everyone his own doctor* [10]  
Andrews, Charles Freer: *What I owe to Christ* [9]; *Zaka Ullah of Delhi* [9]  
Ansari, Abdullah: *Persian mystics: the invocations* [10]  
Anstey, Martin: *Bible view of the world* [7]  
Arnold, Edwin: *Indian idylls* [5]; *Japonica* [2]; *Light of Asia* [2, 3, 9]; *Seas and lands* [2]; *Song celestial* [2]  
Arnold, Thomas Walker, tr.: *Little flowers of St. Francis of Assisi* [9]  
Aurobindo: *see* Ghosh, Aurobindo  
Austen, Jane: *Pride and prejudice* [1]  
Aveling, Edward, tr.: *Capital* [10]
- Bacon, Francis: *Essays* [4]; *Wisdom of the ancients* [7]  
Baker, Th., tr.: Louis Kuhne, *New science of healing* [4]  
Ball, Robert Stawell: *Story of the heavens* [9]  
Bandopadhyay, Upendranath: *Kalapani-ni-katha*  
Barth, Christian Gottlob: *Young crusader* [7]  
Baynes, Thomas Spencer, ed.: *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (9th edition) [4]  
Beesly, Emily: *Stories from the history of Rome* [7]  
Behmen, Jacob: *Von übersinnlichen Leben*, translated (more than once) as *Supersensual life* or as *Dialogues on the supersensual life* [7]  
Bell, Alexander Melville and David Charles Bell: *Standard elocutionist* [2]  
Bellamy, Edward: *Equality* [7]  
Bentham, Jeremy: *...Principles of morals and legislation* [2]  
Beryl: *Khalil Gibran* [10]  
Besant, Annie Wood: *Why I became a Theosophist* [2]  
Bhagvandas: *see* Das  
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\*"Bhikkhu" means "monk."

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\* Whenever J. C. Kumarappa wrote his middle name, it was “Chelladurai,” but libraries give it as “Cornelius” because that is on the title-page of *Economy of permanence*.

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 Spencer, Herbert: *First principles* [4]; *Principles of sociology* [4, 7]  
 Stevenson, Robert Louis: *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* [7]  
 Stokes, Whitney: *Anglo-Indian codes* [2]  
 Sudharmaswami, ed.: *Uttaradhyayan sutra* [7]  
 Suhrawardy, Abdullah al-Mamuned, ed.: *Sayings of Mohamed* [7]  
 Sunderland, Jabez Thomas: *India in bondage* [8]  
 Swift, Jonathan: *Gulliver's travels* [5]

Tagore, Rabindranath: *Dubtoon Vahan* [7]; *Gitanjali* [6]; *Muktadhara* [7]; *Prachin sahitya* [7];  
*Sadhana* [7]; *Stories* [6]  
 —————, tr.: *One hundred poems of Kabir* [7]  
 Taylor, George P.: *Student's Gujarati grammar* [3]  
 Taylor, Thomas F.: *Fallacy of speed* [5]  
 Taylor, T. S.: *First principles of English grammar* [1]  
 Tchertkoff, Vladimir Grigorevich, tr.: Tolstoy, *Relation of the Sexes* [5] and *What is religion?* [5]  
 Thackeray, William Makepeace: *Vanity fair* [3]  
 Thakor, Balavantaraya Kalyanaraya: *Indian administration* [7]  
 Thiruvalluvar: *Thirukural* [10]  
 Thomas à Kempis: *Imitation of Christ* [4]  
 Thomson, Edward John: *The other side of the medal* [8]  
 Thoreau, Henry David: *Duty of civil disobedience* [4]; *Life without principle* [4]; *Walden* [10]  
 Tilak, Bal Gangadhar: *Gita-rahasya* [7]  
 Timperley, Harold John: *What war means* [10]  
 Todhunter, Isaac, ed.: *Elements of Euclid* [1]; *Key to exercises in Euclid* [1]; *Plane trigonometry* [7]  
 Tolstoy, Leo (i.e. Lev Nikolaevich):\*\*\* more than a dozen books [3, 4, 5, 6]  
 Tolstoy, Sophie: *Autobiography* [7]  
 Tribhuvandas: *see* Shah  
 Trikamji, Mathurdas: *Karma yoga* [10]  
 Trine, Ralph Waldo: *In tune with the infinite* [7]  
 Tripathi, Govardhanram: *Sarasvati-chandra* [7]

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\* The titles (in English) of some short stories never published independently as books are included here.

Tripathi, Ramanaresh: *Ayodhyakand tika* [10]  
 Trivedi, Bhanumati Dalpatram, tr.: *Misar Kumari* [7]  
 Trivedi, Navalram Jagannath, tr.: Aurobindo, *Karavasni kahani* (a collection of lectures, letters , articles) [7]  
 Trivedi, Uttamlal K., tr.: Tilak, *Gita-rahasya* [7]  
 Tudor, Owen Davies: *Selection of leading cases in equity* [2]  
 Tukaram: *Abhang* [6]  
 Tulsidas: *Ramcharitamanasa* [1 etc.]

Underhill, Evelyn, tr.: *One hundred poems of Kabir* [7]

Vaidya, Vinayakrav: *Krishna Charitra* [7]  
 Valiani, H.E. (pseudonym: “Koipan”): *Shankh ane kodi* [9]  
 Valmiki: *Ramayana* [7], *Yogavasistha* [3. 6]  
 Varadachari, N.S.: *Hand-spinning and hand-weaving* [9]  
 Velunikar, G.R., *Dead animals to tanned leather* [10]  
 Verne, Julius: *Dropped from the clouds* [7]  
 Vimawala, Natavarlal, tr.: *Kalapani-ni-katha* [7]  
 Vinoba: *see* Bhave, Vinoba  
 Vivekananda: *Raja-yoga* [4, 7]  
 Vyas, Jai Krishna J., tr.: *Panchikaran* [3, 5]

Wade-Evans, Florence, tr.: Jean Finot, *Race prejudice* [5]  
 Wadia, Ardaser Sorabjee N.: *Message of Christ* [7]; *Message of Muhammad* [7]  
 Welden, Ellwood Austin, tr.: *Samkhya Karikas* [7]  
 Wells, Herbert George: *Outline of history* [7]  
 Wharton, George Frederick: *Legal maxims* [2]  
 Whewell, William, tr.: *Platonic dialogues* [7]  
 White, Frederick Thomas: *Selection of leading cases in equity* [2]  
 Wilberforce, Robert Isaac: *Five empires* [7]  
 Williams, Howard: *Ethics of diet* [2]  
 Williams, Joshua: *Principles of the law of real property* [2]  
 Williams, Leonard Llewelyn Bulkeley: *Science and art of living* [8]  
 Woodroffe, John George: *Shakti and shakta* [7]  
 Wortabet, John: *Arabian wisdom* [4]

Yogananda, Paramhansa: *Whispers from eternity* [10]

Zarathustra: *Sayings* [3]

## APPENDIX 1:

### Some of Gandhi's remarks on eight religious classics

● Gandhi's autobiography mentions that already as a boy he had been impressed by readings from the *Ramayana*:

"During [the earlier] part of his illness my father was in Porbandar. There every evening he used to listen to the *Ramayana*.... I must have been [only] thirteen at that time, but I quite remember being enraptured.... Today I regard the *Ramayana* of Tulsidas as the greatest book in all devotional literature." (A, I/x)

Here are a few more of his hundreds of references to it:

"The difficulties [which I experienced upon coming to London] may well be likened to the heads of Ravana – the giant of the second great Hindu epic *Ramayana*, whom Rama, the Hero, fought, and ultimately defeated – which were many, and which were no sooner chopped off than replaced." (Interview published in *The Vegetarian*, 13 June 1891; C, i, 43)

"You say: 'Indians as a race did repudiate it, bloodlust, with full consciousness in days gone by and deliberately took their choice to stand on the side of humanity.' Is this historically true? I see no sign of it either in the *Mahabharata* or the *Ramayana*, not even in my favourite Tulsidas which is much superior in spirituality to Valmiki. I am not now thinking of these works in their spiritual meanings. The incarnations are described as certainly bloodthirsty, revengeful and merciless to the enemy. The battles are described with no less zest than now.... The finest hymn composed by Tulsidas in praise of Rama gives the first place to his ability to strike down the enemy" (Letter to C. F. Andrews, 6 July 1918; C, xiv, 474)

"In the jail I read the *Ramayana* with more attention and still greater devotion than ever before.... I used calmly to recite the name Rama with all the halo that Tulsidas has surrounded it with. I cannot put in words the indescribable peace that then came on me" (Letter to D. R. Majli, 23 March 1924; C, xxiii, 303)

"I worship Rama, the perfect being of my conception, not a historical person.... Tulsidas had nothing to do with the Rama of history.... It is the spirit running through the book that holds me spellbound." ("Notes," *Young India*, 27 Aug. 1925; C, xxviii, 111)

"You might be acquainted, if you have known Tulsidas's *Ramayana*, with the fact that Ramachandra, Sita and Lakshman had very affectionately embraced the untouchable Guha...." (Speech at a meeting of Untouchables; 13 Sept. 1925; C, xxviii, 178)

"I am quite certain that this verse ['Drums, fools, Shudras, beasts and women / All these are fit to be beaten'] is not [really] by Tulsidas" ("Husband's duty," *Hindi Navajivan*, 9 Aug. 1929; C, xli, 268)

"The life-giving force in Tulsidas's language is not found in other writers. [His] *Ramacharitamanana* is a storehouse of gems of thought." ("Indian culture," *Hindi Navajivan*, 5 Sept. 1929; C, xli, 356)

"It is wisdom to put up with all the roughness of life, and that is one of the rich lessons we learn from the *Ramayana*." (Letter to someone who had asked Gandhi if he had ever met anybody who was never perturbed, 17 May 1932; C, xlix, 450)

"[I]n Tulsidas's *Ramayana*... Lakshmana describes to Parshurama the characteristics of a true Kshatriya [knight]. He says: 'It is the trait of our clan never to use force towards God, a Brahmin, a Harijan or a cow.' 'Harijan' here means a man of God, a devotee, no matter to what caste of varna he belongs." (Discussion with Harijan sevaks, 27 March 1936; C, lxii, 292)

"You must read *Ramayana* regularly and perhaps a Hindi newspaper. Never mind the newspaper however. What Shakespeare is to English, Tulsidas is to Hindi." (Letter to Amrit Kaur, 18 Oct. 1937; C, lxvi, 253)

"[Tulsidas] used any number of words of Arabic or Persian origin in his *Ramayana*. He just picked up the words spoken in the streets and used them." (Speech at a prayer meeting, 18 Dec. 1947; C, xc, 255)

● Even more dear to Gandhi than the *Ramayana* was the *Bhagavad Gita*. In Africa he learned Sanskrit in order to memorize it, he later wrote three books of commentary on it, and his translation of it was published on the day that he set out on the Salt March (1930). Some illustrative examples of the nearly 1400 substantial references to the *Gita* that have been tallied<sup>1</sup> from his *Collected Works* are as follows:

“When I fancied I was taking my last breath, the *Gita* was my solace.” (1921)

“You will find ...in the *Bhagavad Gita* no warrant whatsoever for untouchability, child marriages, child widows, prostitutes in the name of religion, as is practiced by our own sisters and daughters who go by the name of *Devadasis*... [but] you will find... abundant testimony in favour of the spinning-wheel.” (1927)

“[F]or some time now in the Ashram we have been reciting the *Gita* every day, the whole of it being finished every fortnight.” (1928)<sup>2</sup>

“Dear Boys and Girls,... I congratulate those of you who have undertaken to help in the kitchen.... ... I have always felt that the kitchen provides a means for us to test how far we practice the teaching of the *Gita*.” (The beginning and end of a long letter to the youngsters at his ashram, 28 Feb. 1932; C, xlix, 167-68)

“Dear Boys and Girls,... Mother *Gita* has already answered the question, 'What makes us commit sin?'. Desire and anger do that.” (Letter to the youngsters at his ashram, 10 Apr. 1932; C, xlix, 291)

“[One should] read the third chapter of the *Gita* again and again. There Krishna says, 'I do not stop working for one single moment.'” (Letter to Cham Prabhu Sengupta, 9 Apr. 1934; C, lvii, 367)

“I lost my earthly mother who gave me birth long ago; but this eternal Mother has completely filled her place. ...[I say,] 'Mother, these learned pundits have put me in a predicament. Help me out of my perplexity.' And the Mother, with a smile, says, 'The assurance held out by me in the ninth chapter is not meant for the Brahmins only, but for the sinner and the outcaste, the downtrodden and the disinherited, too.’” (Speech at Benares Hindu University, 1 Aug. 1934; C, lviii, 271)

“The message of the *Gita* is to be found in the second chapter... where Krishna speaks of the balanced state of mind, of mental equipoise. In nineteen verses at the close of the second chapter... Krishna explains how this state can be achieved. It can be achieved, he tells us, after killing all your passions.... The whole thing is described in language of beauty that is unsurpassed. These verses show that the fight Krishna speaks of is a spiritual fight.” (Discussion with Toyohiko Kayawa, 14 Jan. 1939; C, xlvi, 296-97)

“The last eighteen verses of the second chapter of the *Gita*... give in a nutshell the secret of the art of living.” (Speech at a prayer meeting, 19 March 1946; C, lxxxiii, 258)

“The *Gita* teaches us that those who eat without doing any work are thieves.” (Talk with Prabhavati and others, 20 June 1947; C, lxxxviii, 246)

“The thesis of the *Gita* was neither violence nor non-violence but the gospel of selfless action, the duty of performing right action by right means only, in a spirit of detachment, leaving the fruits of action to the care of God.” (Interview with Vincent Sheean, 28 Jan. 1948; C, xc, 512)

● Gandhi often mentioned **the *Gita* and the *Ramayana* together**, as when he told one of his nephews that “for one hour, at seven in the evening, I explain the *Gita* to Ba [his wife] and read the *Ramayana* to her” (1914), or when he said that “Nothing elates me so much as the music of the *Gita* or the *Ramayana* by Tulsidas, the only two books in Hinduism I may be said to know [thoroughly]” (1921) and that “The *Gita* and the *Tulsi-Ramayana* teach me to resort to self-purification” (1927).

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1. See Y.P. Anand, *Mahatma Gandhi's 'Works' and interpretation of the Bhagavad Gita* (2 vols., 2009; Radha Publications, 4321/1 Ansari Road; Daryaganj; New Delhi - 110 002).

2. This was at Sabarmati. Later, at Sevagram, the early-morning recitations of the *Gita* would cover the entire text each week. See C, lxiii, 310-11.



● Until his first long imprisonment in India (1922-24), Gandhi read only isolated bits of the *Mahabharata*, the other great Hindu epic besides the *Ramayana*. In a long and tender letter of 1918 to his youngest son, he had mused:

“Why all this devotion to Krishna? ...It is because he, with his infinite strength, helped the little Pandava Kingdom to victory, destroyed the wicked Kauravas and freed the people from suffering, that he came to be [worshipped].... It is a miracle the poet has wrought.... I wish you could read the whole *Mahabharata* in Sanskrit. You will then get a joy that I have missed.” (C, xiv, 513)

Some of his later references to it are as follows:

“The *Mahabharata* I had never read before [the 1922-24 imprisonment] except in scraps. I was even prejudiced against it, believing (falsely, as it has now turned out) that it was nothing but a record of bloodshed and impossible long descriptions which would send me to sleep. I dreaded to approach the... six thousand pages. But having once commenced the reading, I was impatient to finish it, so entrancing it proved to be except in parts.... The ending... demonstrates the utter nothingness of earthly power. ...What is left to the virtuous Pandavas [after winning the final battle] is poignant grief.... The numerous and powerful Yadavas because of their corruption die an inglorious death fighting amongst one another.... The inexorable law of cause and effect is allowed without exception to run its even course.” (“What I read”, *Young India*, 4 Sept 1924; C, xxv, 86-87)

“The author of the *Mahabharata* asks: 'Between human effort and Fate, which is more potent?' and, not being able to come to any definite conclusion, he represents sometimes the former and sometimes the latter as more potent.” (“My Notes,” *Navajivan*, 5 Apr 1925; C, xxvi, 473)

“Who will call Draupadi dependent, Draupadi who, when the Pandavas failed to protect her, saved herself by an appeal to Lord Krishna?” (Reply to women’s address, 14 May 1925; C, xxvii, 99)

“The *Mahabharata* says that forgiveness is the quality of a brave man.” (Speech at a meeting of Christians, 1925; C, xxviii, 21)

“Many attained *moksha* [eternal salvation] with the help of Krishna’s name. But poor Krishna of the *Mahabharata* had to die without glory. For how could he have Krishna’s name on his lips? Now tell me who is greater. Is it not the devotee rather than God?” (Letter to Mahadev Desai, 20 September 1925; C, xxviii, 209)

“[The author’s] intention was... to write the *Mahabharata* in such a way that even little boys and girls would study it, remember the virtuous characters in it and learn to keep away from people like the wicked characters in the epic. His aim was to strengthen the finer impulses in us and help us to overcome the evil ones. Before the women, too, he held up the example of Draupadi and thus taught them that they should, when threatened with a danger, roar like lionesses and protect their honour.... The most painful punishment is appointed for evil intention.” (“Discourses on the Gita,” 9 March 1926; C, xxxii, 108-09)

“The learned author of the *Mahabharata*... described Vishvamitra, the sage, as ready to eat what was forbidden to him, and even to steal, when he was oppressed by the pangs of hunger.” (Speech given on 1 March 1927; C, xxxiii, 135)

“I recall the many... descriptions of the simplicity of even the rich men in the time of the *Mahabharata*. Let us not wear our wealth so loudly as we seem to be doing here.” (Speech at a public meeting, 22 September 1927, C, xxxv, 20)

“These deaths of dear ones teach us much if we would learn from them.... Have you read the disgraceful wailings depicted in the *Mahabharata* over the war deaths? I write this not for you. I feel that you are comparatively composed.” (Letter to Satis Chandra Das Gupta, 21 November 1927, C, xxxv, 285)

“[S]omewhere in the *Mahabharata*... [it is said that if you] put Truth in one scale and all sacrifices whatever in the other, the scale which contains Truth will outweigh the one that contains all the sacrifices put together.” (Speech, 27 November 1927; C, xxxv, 335)

“One cannot gain knowledge of *dharma* [duty] from a historical interpretation of the *Mahabharata*. And the *Mahabharata* is certainly not history.” (Letter to V. Rajagopala Krishnayya, 16 April 1928; C, xxxvi, 235)

“The author of the *Mahabharata* has dwelt at length on the glory of serving the poor.” (Speech, 4 March 1929; C, xl, 77)

“The Vedas and the *Mahabharata* are filled with illustrations both of inter[caste]-dining and inter[caste]-marriage.” (“Confusing the issue”, *Harijan*, 4 March 1933; C, liii, 455)

“By this morning’s behavior the sanatanists [Hindu fundamentalists] lowered the sanatanist flag in this sacred place even as the great Yudhishtira lowered it by uttering a half-truth. For, has not the reputed author of the *Mahabharata* told us that when Yudhishtira uttered the fateful half-truth, the wheel of his chariot sank some feet into the ground, and that he had to make amends even after death?” (Speech at a public meeting, 26 April 1934; C, xxxvii, 437)

“[T]he victor was no better off than the vanquished. Out of that vast concourse of warriors only seven remained to tell the tale.” (“Moral support,” *Harijan*, 18 August 1940; C, lxxii, 377)

“How shall I thank you for the care and promptness with which you have copied out the verses from the *Mahabharata* and appended your note on them.

“My complaint is that the author of the great epic has reserved the virtues recited by him for forest-dwellers only.” (Letter to T.R. Venkatarama, 24 Oct. 1947; C, lxxxiv, 397)

It seems to us that his recollection of the details was strongest in the mid-to-late 1920s and then gradually faded.

● Gandhi’s view of the *Bhagavata* was equivocal. It is about Krishna’s life as a child and as a young man.

“I see that the *Bhagavata* is a book which can evoke religious fervour. I have read it in Gujarati with intense interest.” (A, I/x)

“I firmly believe that the author of the *Bhagavata* did not write it to encourage promiscuity.” (“A difficult question,” *Navajivan*, 18 July 1925; C, xxxi, 157)

“When Shukadeva passed by the side of women bathing in a state of nudity, so the author of the *Bhagavata* tells us, his own mind was quite unruffled, nor were the women at all agitated or affected by a sense of shame.” (*Satyagraha in South Africa*, Chapter II; C, xxix, 12)

“[T]he *Bhagavata* says ‘Wherever people meet and utter His name from their hearts, there God dwells, there is his temple.’” (*Harijanbandhu*, 30 April 1933; C, lv, 63)

“When once it is admitted that an Untouchable can become touchable by simply reciting the *Bhagavata*’s twelve-lettered mantra, the [use of the *Bhagavata* as a scriptural] citadel of Untouchability is destroyed.” (“Untouchability as it exists today”, 1 January 1934; C, lviii, 47)

“‘Which is the one book that can be to the Hindus what the Bible is to the Christians or the Koran to the Mussalmans?’ we asked ourselves. ‘Is it the Vedas?’ No. ‘The *Bhaghavata*?’ No....” (Speech at Benares Hindu University, 1 Aug. 1934; C, lviii, 271)

“[T]he classical episode of the ‘Gajendra Moksha’ from the *Bhagavata* ...is a piece of rare poetical merit, combining as it does the melodious music of verse with the loftiness of the sentiment which it embodies.” (Speech at a prayer meeting, 18 June 1946; C, lxxxiv, 346)

● As a youngster Gandhi found **Manusmriti**, the **Laws of Manu**, uninspiring:

“I happened... to come across *Manusmriti* which was amongst my father’s collection. The story of the creation and similar things in it did not impress me very much, but on the contrary made me incline somewhat towards atheism.” (A, I/x)

As an adult he would refer to it from time to time, but almost never with approval:

“It is no good quoting verses from *Manusmriti* and other scriptures in defense of this Orthodoxy [the precept and practice of Untouchability].... I have not so far come across any Hindu who obeys or [even] wants to obey every injunction contained in *Manusmriti*.” (“A Stain on India’s Forehead,” *Bapu aur Harijan*, November 1917; C, xiv, 75)

“If we were to follow some of the tenets of *Manusmriti*, there would be moral anarchy.” (Letter to Ranchhodlal Patwari, 9 September 1918; C, xv, 45)

“The only rule of cleanliness enjoined in the *Manusmriti* is that one should avoid touching a woman while she is in her period and with a Chandal while he is engaged in unclean work.” (Speech at a public meeting, *Navajivan*, 19 Apr 1925; C, xxvi, 480)

“[I]n the hoary *Manusmriti*... if the verses of doubtful authenticity are not expurgated, one would discover several texts contradicting the loftiest morals and teachings to be found spread throughout that great book.” (“Statement on Untouchability,” viii, *The Bombay Chronicle*, 18 November 1932; C, lii, 9-10)

“The *Manusmriti* does not define an 'untouchable'.” (Speech at a public meeting, *Harijanbandhu*, 8 July 1934; C, lviii, 133)

“Someone [has] picked out some striking quotations from *Manusmriti*... disparaging... women....” (Speech, 2 November 1936; C, lxiii, 421)

“There is nothing in which good and bad are not mixed up. Why, our *Manusmriti* talks of pouring molten lead into the ears<sup>3</sup> of the untouchables!” (Speech at a prayer meeting, 30 May 1947; C, lxxxviii, 42)

“The country where women are not honored is not really civilized. According to Manu, men and women should both understand their own limits.” (Speech at a prayer meeting, 1 January 1948; C, xc, 340)

● The course of his relation to the *Ishopanishad* was special. It consists of only eighteen verses, but the original meanings of some of the ancient Sanskrit terms are difficult to determine, so it was not until the 1930s that he began to find in it the full value that he eventually did find. He read two translations of it in the early 1920s, memorized the original Sanskrit ten years later, and then in the last ten years of his life would mention the *Ishopanishad*, particularly the opening verse, even more often than the *Ramayana*, and in his very last years he would readily declare that it contained “the distilled wisdom of all the sages” and would accordingly describe the *Gita* as a commentary on the first verse of the *Ishopanishad*:

“I continue to receive your kind messages. The latest brings the news of your financial worries.... You know the next part of the beautiful verse you have quoted from an Upanishad? It means 'Enjoy the world by renouncing it.' How apposite!” (Letter to Princess Efy Aristarchi, 30 June 1932; C, i, 78)

“...I interpret the [abstruse<sup>4</sup>] expressions thus for my own satisfaction. I feel that this interpretation explains the meaning of [the 11th and 12th verses of] the *Ishopanishad*....” (Letter to Kulkarni, 30 October 1932; C, li, 318)

“There is a great passage in the most ancient and simplest and I think the shortest of the Upanishads. The translation is 'The face of truth is covered with a golden lid', and then the seeker ends with a prayer, 'O God! remove the lid for me so that I can see truth face to face.'...” (Letter to “N.”, 4 April 1933; C, liv, 298)

“It is the strict law of God that anyone who desires to be close to Him should renounce the world and yet be in it. This is what the first mantra of the *Ishopanishad* exhorts us to do. This thing is difficult and yet easy at the same time. It is easy if we believe that we have to live for service.” (Speech at a students’ meeting, 14 July 1934; C, lviii, 183)

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3. As punishment for the transgression of hearing Vedic verses recited.

4. Gandhi in a slightly later and somewhat longer discussion applied this adjective to those words in the *Ishopanishad*. See C, liv, 55.

“The golden key for the solution of all the difficulties that may linger in your hearts... is to remember the first verse of the *Ishopanishad* and forget all about other scriptures.” (Conclusion of a speech, 20 January 1937; C, lxiv, 294)

“I must give you the gist of the [first] verse.... God the Creator and Ruler pervades every atom... and therefore, seeing that it is all God’s..., we have to surrender everything and renounce everything in His favour and eat or enjoy or use just what He gives from day to day.” (Summary of speeches at prayer meetings, 12-21 January 1937; C, lxiv, 307)

“[The first verse says:] The Lord pervades all that moves in this world. Enjoy it with a feeling of renunciation. Never covet another’s wealth.”<sup>5</sup> (Letter to Sharad C. Shah, 1 February 1938; C, lxvi, 349)

“What better do you need than the *Ramayana*, the *Gita*, or *Ishopanishad*?” (Letter to Krishnachandra, 11 May 1939; C, lxix, 252)

“I am a constant student of the *Ishopanishad* which contains only 18 mantras. The first half of the second mantra means: ‘Only doing works of service on this earth, you should wish to live 120 or 125 years.’ The word in the original denoting the number is [often] translated by the word ‘hundred’....” (“Two Posers,” *The Hindu*, 12 June 1945; C, lxxx, 299)

“[M]y belief [is] that the first mantra of *Ishopanishad* is all that undiluted Hinduism – in other words, for me, religion – can have to give.... The *Gita* is a commentary on the first verse of the *Ishopanishad*.” (“Much in Little,” *Harijan*, 23 June 1946; C, 326)

“If the solemn pledge made today is fulfilled, I assure you that it will revive with redoubled force my intense wish and prayer before God that I should be enabled to live the full span of life, doing service of humanity until the last moment.” (Statement dictated by Gandhi and delivered in his behalf at the first prayer meeting, 18 Jan. 1948, after the conclusion of his last fast; C, xc, 453)

● He read the entire King James version of the **Bible** during his student days in London, and was enchanted by the Sermon on the Mount:

“I read the book of Genesis, and the chapters that followed invariably sent me to sleep. But just for the sake of being able to say that I had read it, I plodded through the other books with much difficulty and without the least interest or understanding. I disliked reading the Book of Numbers.

“But the New Testament produced a different impression, especially the Sermon on the Mount which went straight to my heart. I compared it with the *Gita*. The verses, ‘But I say unto you, that ye resist not evil: but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also. And if any man take away thy coat let him have thy cloak too,’ delighted me beyond measure, and put me in mind of Shamal Bhatt’s ‘For a bowl of water, give a goodly meal’, etc. My young mind tried to unify the teaching of the *Gita*, *The Light of Asia* and the Sermon on the Mount.” (A, I/xx)

In jail in 1922 he re-read the Bible as translated into his native Gujarati.

He would often refer respectfully to the Bible, yet also often in a discriminating way:

“I can discover no justification in the New Testament for wars.... I do not regard the Bible as an infallible record of the teachings of Jesus. Nor do I consider every word in the New Testament as God’s own word. [However,] between the Old and New [Testaments] there is a fundamental difference. Whilst the Old contains some very deep truths, I am unable to pay it the same honors I pay the New Testament....” (“What I read,” *Young India*, 4 Sept 1924; C, xxv, 85)

A deep familiarity with the Bible is suggested by the remarkable wealth of passages that Gandhi would cite from it – passages like: “And God said, ‘Behold, I have given you every herb bearing seed which is upon the face of all the earth...’” and “The wolf also shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid... for the

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5. This seems to us the least fanciful, linguistically, of Gandhi’s renderings of the mantra.

earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea” (1896), “The Earth is the Lord’s” and “Not every man that saith unto me 'Lord, Lord' shall enter the kingdom of heaven” (1903), “I will give unto this last, even as unto thee” (1908), “Go ye unto all the world” (1916), “Greater love hath no man than this, that he lay down his life for his friend” (1918), “‘Vengeance is mine,' saith the Lord” (1919), “The letter killeth, the spirit giveth life” (1926), “Seek ye first the kingdom of God and His righteousness and everything else will be added unto you” (1926, '27 and '47), “Ye shall reap as ye have sown,” “In the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat thy bread” and “Love worketh no ill to his neighbor, believeth all things, hopeth all things, never faileth...” (1930), “They take my Father’s name in vain” (1940), and “For whosoever will save his life shall lose it, and whosoever will lose his life for my sake shall find it.” (1943).

● He often called **the Quran** a sacred and/or authoritative scripture, but never cited word-for-word from it, because he read it in translations only and he knew that no translation of it from the venerated Arabic text has ever had such authority with Muslims as the King James version of the Bible did with Anglophone Christians. Some examples of his references to the Quran are as follows:

“Barisahib... agreed with the interpretation [by Gandhi] of the Koran to the effect that whilst violence under certain well defined circumstances is permissible, self-restraint is dearer to God than violence.” (1919)

“The Koran does not insist that Muslims must eat beef. It has not prohibited beef, that is all.” (1921)

“I am positive that neither in the Koran nor in the *Mahabharata* is there any sanction for and approval of the triumph of violence.” (1922)

“The Koran, so far as I have been able to understand it, declares it to be a sin to take the life of any living thing without cause.” (1924)

“I am glad that Dr. Mohammed Ali assures me that 'The Koran enjoins no such punishment as stoning.'” (1925)

“We find three things in the Koran: (1) animal sacrifices, on the Bakr-i-Id day; (2) it refers to a practice which also obtained among the Jews, a father sacrificing his own son – Ibrahim does this; and (3) Ramazan, which is [also] a form of sacrifice.” (1926)

“The long line of sufis whose veneration for the Koran cannot be questioned owe their illuminating philosophy of peace and love to the Koran.... Like all other religious books including our own, there are passages which cause difficulties. But the difficulties caused in reading the Koran are not greater than those caused by reading books of other faiths.” (1927)

“My own reading [of it] I don’t regard as in any way deep or learned. It was purely for my own satisfaction.” (1927)

“You will find many more gems in the Koran.” (1932)

“I have read the Koran with as much care and reverence as I have read the *Gita*.” (Talk to Khudai Khitmatgars, 15 Oct. 1938; C, lxviii, 2)

“Shamsuddin Saheb agreeing with Gandhiji quoted a verse from the Koran to the effect that there can be no compulsion in religion.” (1946)

“Denouncing the system of purdah, which varied from country to country, Gandhiji said that he was certain that it had little to do with the Koran.” (1947)

“[He declared that] men worshiped the same God under different names and the Koran was not opposed to it.” (1947)

“[T]he Koran lays down that one should have love for non-Muslims as well [as for one’s fellow Muslims].” (1947).

## APPENDIX 2:

### Some other books owned by Gandhi\*

- Abbott, J.E.: *Bhikshagita : the mendicant's song* (Poona 1928)  
\_\_\_\_\_: *Dasopant Digambar* (Poona 1928)
- Abhedananda (Swami): ten books and booklets published in Calcutta, New York or San Francisco
- Abhyankar, G.R.: *Problems of Indian states* (Poona 1928)
- Abramow, L.M.: *Fruitarian diet and physical rejuvenation* (London)
- Acharya, M.K., tr.: *Krishna Karnamitra of Lilasuka* (Madras 1924)
- Addison, J. and Steele, R.: several volumes derived from *The Spectator*
- Adler, F.: *The moral instruction of children* (London 1900)
- Aidall, I.: *The German nature-cure and how to practice it* (London 1897)
- Aiyangir, S.K.: *Sri Ramakrishna : a sketch of his life and times* (Madras)
- Aiyar, K.N.: *Maha-Bharata or Karma-Yoga...*(Trivandrum 1918)
- Aiyar, R.: *Biblical references to the Maurya Dynasty of India and the date of Psalm 68 of the Holy Bible* (Madras 1927)
- Aiyar, V.V.S., tr.: *The Kuiral, or, the maxims of Tiruvalluvar*
- Aiyer, S.S., ed.: *President Wilson : the modern apostle of freedom (speeches on world's freedom)* (Madras 1918 or '19)
- Albers, A.C.: *Palms and temple-bells* (Calcutta)  
\_\_\_\_\_: *The life of the Buddha* (Bodhigaya 1922)
- Alberuni's India : an account of the religion, philosophy, literature, geography, [etc.]... of India about A.D. 1030,*  
ed. E.C. Sachau (London 1914)
- Alexander, G.: *Wallace : the hero of Scotland* (London)
- Alexander, H.G.: *Narcotics in India and South Asia* (London 1930)
- Ali, M.: *Britain, Egypt and the Sudan* (Delhi 1924)  
\_\_\_\_\_: *Islam, the religion of humanity* (Lahore)
- Allahdin, A., ed.: *Claims and teachings of Ahmad : the promised messiah and mahdi* (Secunderabad 1927)
- Allami, A.F.: *Ain-I-Akbari*, tr. H.S. Jarrett, ed. William Irvine (Calcutta 1910)
- Allen, J.: *From passion to peace, or, the pathway of the pure* (London 1910)
- Allen, J.C.: *Heros of Indian history* (Bombay 1917)  
\_\_\_\_\_: *Life triumphant* (London 1910)  
\_\_\_\_\_: *Morning and evening thoughts* (London 1915)
- Allinson, T.R.: *A book for married women* (London 1914)  
\_\_\_\_\_: *Medical essays* (London 1911)
- Andrews, C.F.: several books
- Andrews, S.P.: *The science of society* (London 1913)
- Antiyas: *Twilight verses* (Ahmedabad 1925)
- Appasamy, A.J.: *Student life in the West* (Madras 1929)
- Appayacarya: *First book of practical vedanta* (Madras)
- Apte, V.G.: *The crown Sanskrit-English dictionary...* (Poona 1912)
- Armstrong, S.C.: *Education for life* (Hampton, Virginia 1914)
- Arndt, H.: *Why did Jesus fast?* (Cincinnati 1922)

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\* Please see our Prefatory Notes as to the scope of this list.

Arnheiter, T.: *The soul of a Christmas tree* (Boston 1932)  
 Arnold, M.: *Poems* (1896)  
 \_\_\_\_\_, ed. H.B. George and A.M. Leigh: *Selected poems...* (Oxford 1916)  
 Arundale, G.S.: *Thoughts on "At the feet of the master"* (Madras 1919)  
 Ashley, P.: *English local government* (London 1905)  
 Askwith, E.H.: *A course of pure geometry* (Cambridge 1921)  
 Aurobindo: see Ghose, A.  
 Austen, J.: *Sense and sensibility* (London 1905)  
 Ayyangar, T.R.R.: *The devotees of the lord* (Kumbakonum 1929)  
 Ayyar, P.V.J.: *Ramayana* (Madras 1921)

Bacon, F.: *The advancement of learning* (three copies)  
 Badi-Ul-Alam, M.: *What is man and the universal religion of man in the light of Islam?* (Chittigong 1914)  
 Baha-U'llah: *The book of assurance : the book of Ighan* (New York 1929)  
 Bahina, B.: *Autobiography and verses*, tr. J.E. Abbott (Poona 1929)  
 Bailey, G.H.: *The tutorial chemistry...* (London 1919)  
 Bailey, L.H.: *First lessons with plants* (New York 1913)  
 Bain, A.: *A companion to the higher English grammar* (London 1877)  
 \_\_\_\_\_: *John Stuart Mill : a criticism...* (London 1882)  
 \_\_\_\_\_: *Logic* (London 1873)  
 Baker, W.M.: *Algebraic geometry* (London 1911)  
 Bakhale, R.R. and Karsandas, J.C.: *Report on what happened at Borsad* (Bombay 1931)  
 Bakhsh, B. Khuda: *A history of the Islamic peoples* (Calcutta 1914)  
 Ballentine, W.G.: *Discovering Jesus* (New York 1927)  
 \_\_\_\_\_: *Young man from Jerusalem* (Boston)  
 Banaji, B.S., *The life and faith of ancient Persia* (Bombay 1928)  
 Banerjee, H.: *Journey of life* (Calcutta 1922)  
 Banerji, N.C.: *The ideal of swaraj in education and government* (Madras 1921)  
 \_\_\_\_\_: *Asianism and other essays* (Calcutta 1930)  
 Banerji, T.C.: *The mysteries of spiritual life* (Benaras)  
 Bapat, S.V., ed.: *Reminiscences of Lokamanya Tilak* (Poona 1924)  
 Barlow, G.: *Industrial India*  
 Baudouin, C.: *Contemporary studies* (London 1924)  
 Bandopadhyaya, H.T.: *Upadeshamrita, or, the priceless instructions* (Calcutta 1912)  
 Bapat, S.V., ed.: *The reminiscences and anecdotes of Lokamanya Tilak* (1925)  
 Barrow, C.M., ed.: *Poetical selections for junior students* (London 1909)  
 Bartholomew, J.G.: *A literary and historical atlas of Asia* (London 1912)  
 \_\_\_\_\_: *A literary and historical atlas of Europe* (London 1923)  
 Basu, B.D.: *The consolidation of the Christian power in India* (Calcutta 1927)  
 \_\_\_\_\_: *The rise of the Christian power in India* (Calcutta)  
 \_\_\_\_\_ and Chatterjee, H.P.: *The Brihajatakam of Varaha Mihira* (Allahabad 1912)  
 Battacharya, U.C. and Chakravartty, S.S., ed.: *Life of Pandit Motilal Nehru* (Calcutta 1931)  
 Baynath, tr.: *Adhyatma Ramayana*  
 Beard, S.: *Is flesh-eating morally defensible?* (London)

\_\_\_\_\_ : *The testimony of science in favour of natural and humane diet* (London)

The Venerable Bede: *Ecclesiastical history of the English nation* (London 1922)

Beeton's date-book : *a British chronology* (London)

Begbie, H.: *Life changers...* (London 1924)

\_\_\_\_\_ : *Other sheep : a study of the peoples of India...* (London)

Bell, R.: *The cancer scourge and how to destroy it* (London)

Bell, R.J.T.: *Elementary treatise on coordinate geometry of three dimensions* (London 1923)

Bell, W.: *The Oxford India reader...* (Oxford 1912)

Bemister, C.L.: *Vegetarian menus ... 185 recipes* (Adyar 1917)

Bennett, E.N.: *Problems of village life* (London)

Benson, A.C.: *The house of quiet : an autobiography* (London 1911)

\_\_\_\_\_ and Viscount Esher, ed.: *The letters of Queen Victoria : a selection* (London 1908)

Bernier, F.: *Travels in the Mogul empire A.D. 1656-1668* (London 1914)

Besant, A.: ca.25 books and booklets published between 1890 and 1930

Bhagavan, N.: *Yoga deepika* (Madras 1916)

Bhandarkar, D.R.,ed.: *India* (American Academy of Political and Social Studies, Philadelphia 1929)

Bhandarkar, R.G.: *Saisnavisn, Saivism and minor religious systems* (Strassburg 1913)

Bharadwaja, C.: *The light of truth, or, an English translation of the Satyarth Prakash, the well-known work of Swami Dayananda Saraswathi* (Agra 1915)

Bhesania, N.C.: *Failure of Gandhism* (Bombay 1923)

Bhikshu: *Karma yoga* (Chicago 1928)

Bhishagratna, V.K., tr.: *The Sushruta Samhita : an English translation based on the original Sanskrit text* (Calcutta 1907)

Bihurilal, R.: *True and practical divine knowledge* (Delhi)

Bircher-Benner, M.: *Food science for all...* (London 1928)

Blackmoore, R.D.: *Lorna Doone* (London 1909)

Blanford, H.F.: *An elementary geography of India, Burma and Ceylon* (London 1894)

Boeckel, F.B., ed.: *Across borderlines* (Washington 1926)

\_\_\_\_\_ : *Through the gateway* (Washington 1926)

Bogg, J.S.: *An illustrated life of Swedenborg* (London 1921)

Bombay Gov. High Court: *Kesari-Tilak case* (Bombay)

Bombay Millowners' Assn.: *Indian cotton excise duty* (Bombay 1925)

Boole, M.E.: *The forging of passion into power* (London 1910)

\_\_\_\_\_ : *A woodworker and a tentmaker* (London 1909)

Bose, G.: *The concept of repression* (Calcutta 1921)

Bose, P.N.: *The Montagu-Chelmsford reform scheme : a constructive criticism* (Calcutta 1918)

\_\_\_\_\_ : *Some present-day superstitions* (Calcutta 1927)

Bothamley, C.H.: *The Ilford manual of photography*

Brahmachari, S.: *The soul problem and maya* (Benares 1922)

Bramhmachari, G.: *The dialogue divine and dramatic between the Lord Sri Krishna and the heroic warrior Arjuna* (Madras 1928)

Brayne, F.L.: *Village uplift in India* (Gurgaon)

Brayshaw, A.N.: *The Quakers : their story and message* (NewYork 1927)

Brewer, E.C.: *The dictionary of phrase and fable...* (19th ed.)

Bridges, H.I.: *The ethical movement : its principles and aims* (1911)

Borglie: see de Broglie



Broudbent, A.: *Science in the daily meal* (Manchester 1908)

Brokaw, W.E.: *Equitable society and how to create it* (New York 1927)

Bromwich, T.J.P.: *Introduction to the theory of infinite series* (London 1926)

Brooks, F.T.: *The making of the better man* (Madras 1913)

Brown, W.M.: *Communism and Christianity analyzed and contrasted from the Marxian and Darwinian points of view* (Galion, Ohio)

Browning, R.: *Selections...*, ed. R.A.S. Rankin (London)

Bryce, J.B.: *The treatment of the Armenians in the Ottoman Empire...* (London 1916)

Buch, M.A.: *The principles of Hindu ethics* (Baroda 1921)

Buckle, A.B.: *History of England : for beginners* (London 1906)

Budhiraja, S.D.: *Shrimad-Bhagawad Gita* (Madras 1927)

Buhler, J.G.: *On the Indian sect of the Jaina*, tr. J. Burgess with an *Outline of Jaina mythology* (London 1903)

Bulwer-Lytton, E.: *The last days of Pompeii* (New York 1916)

Bunyan, J.: *The holy war made by Shaddai...* (Philadelphia 1852)

Burke, E.: *On the impeachment of Warren Hastings* (London 1862)

\_\_\_\_\_: *Reflections on the revolution in France*, ed. F.G. Selby (London 1902)

Burns, R.: *The poetical works* (London 1903)

\_\_\_\_\_: *The poetical works and letters...* (Edinburgh)

Burnside, W.S. and Panton, A.W.: *Theory of equations : with an introduction to the theory of binary algebraic forms* (Dublin 1916)

Burway, M.W.: *Life of Ranoj Rao Sindhia* (Bombay 1917)

\_\_\_\_\_: *Glimpses of the Bhagawatagita and the vedantic philosophy* (Bombay 1916)

\_\_\_\_\_: *Shri Ramagita* (Bombay 1928)

Buzin, R., tr. E. Waugh: *Autumn glory* (London)

Byron G.G., ed. H.G. Keene: *Childe Harold*, Cantos I and II (London 1894)

\_\_\_\_\_: *The poetical works* (Edinburgh 189)

Cabot, R.C.: *What man lives by : work, play, love, worship* (Boston 1914)

Cady, H.E.: *Finding the Christ in ourselves* (Kansas City)

Caird, J.: *India : the land and the people* (London 1883)

Cantlie, J.: *British Red Cross Society Nursing Manual No. 2* (London 1923)

Carlyle, T.: *Critical and miscellaneous essays collected and republished* (London)

\_\_\_\_\_: *Essays on signs of the times and characteristics*, ed. R.D. Ranade (Poona 1916)

\_\_\_\_\_: *On the choice of books* (London 1893)

Carpenter, E.: *England's ideal and other papers on social subjects* (London 1909)

\_\_\_\_\_: *Towards democracy* (London 1921)

\_\_\_\_\_ and Maitland, E.: *Vivisection* (London 1893)

Carton, P., tr. D.M. Richardson: *Consumption doomed...* (London 1913)

Cathcart, G.D.: *First book of physiology and hygiene* (London 1914)

Caveeshar S.S.S.: *The city of joy* (Amritsar)

\_\_\_\_\_: *Spirit of Sikhism* (Lahore)

Char, C.M.P.: *The life and teachings of Sri Madhvacharya* (Madras 1909)

Chakkarai, V.: *Jesus the avatar* (Madras 1926)

Challoner, R.: *The treasure for all, big and small* (Madras 1924)

Chamupati: *On the ten commandments of Dayananda* (Lahore)

Chand, P.: *Mithya khundun : containing the origin of Sikhism* (1914)

Chandu, P.K.: *1001 gems of Hindu religious thought...* (Mangalore 1916)

Chapman, J.A.: *India : its character : a reply to "Mother India"* (Oxford 1928)

Chapman, J.B.: *Biochemistry: a domestic treatise...* (St. Louis 1900)

Chatterjee, A.: *Shoku = Shanti : or, solace to the bereaved* (Calcutta)

Chatterjee, B.C.: *Gandhi or Aurobindo?...* (Calcutta 1921)

Chatterjee, B.R.: *Indian culture in Java and Sumatra* (Calcutta 1927)

Chatterjee, N.M.: *India and other sonnets* (1923)

\_\_\_\_\_ : *Pravati* (Calcutta)

Chatterjee, R.: *Towards home rule* (Calcutta 1917)

Chattopadhyaya, H.: *The sleepers awakened...* (Madras)

Chaucer, G.: *The nonne preestes tale* (Madras 1907)

Chaudhury, S.R.: *A sketch of the religious life of Serabrata Brahmarshi Susipapa Banerjee* (Calcutta 1920)

Chauduri, S.: *The song of charkha* (Madras)

Chekov: see Tchekov

Chesterton, A.M.: *The garden of childhood : stories for little folk* (London 1905)

Chetty, N.S.: *My lisplings : poems* (Bombay 1929)

Chisholm, G.G.: *Longman's school geography* (London 1905)

Chopra, B.R.: *The expectant mother and her baby* (Edinburgh 1929)

Christen, T. tr. P. Pye: *Free economy* (Botosani 1929)

Church, A.H.: *Food : a brief account of its sources, constituents and uses* (London 1889)

Church, A.J.: *The story of the Odyssey* (London 1909)

Christmas, E.: *The house of goodwill : a story of Morgan Memorial* (Boston 1924)

Chrystal, G.: *Algebra : an elementary textbook...*(London 1922)

Clark, A.H.; *The social dynamic of Jesus* (Madras 1930)

Claxon, W.J.: *In the potteries* (London)

\_\_\_\_\_ : *Iron and its workers* (London)

\_\_\_\_\_ : *The seaman and his craft* (London)

Cleveland, F.A.: *First lessons in finance* (New York 1903)

Close, C.W.: *Phrenopathy or rational mind cure* (Bangalore 1898)

"Close, Upton" (i.e. J.W. Hall): *The revolt of Asia : the end of the White Man's world dominance*  
(New York and London 1927)

Coatman, J.: *India in 1926-27* (Calcutta 1928)

Cobham, E.M.: *The children all day long* (London 1910)

Coit, S., ed.: *The message of man : a book of ethical scriptures gathered from many sources...* (London and New York)

Collins, K.: *A modern reading of St. Francis of Assisi* (London 1908)

Collinson, J.: *What it costs to be vaccinated : the pains and penalties of an unjust law* (London 1905)

Colville, W.J.: *Ancient mysteries and modern revelations* (London 1911)

\_\_\_\_\_ : *Spiritual therapeutics: or, divine science applied to moral, mental and physical harmony* (London 1914)

Colvin, S.: *Keats* (London 1887)

Combe, G.: *On the relation between science and religion* (Edinburgh 1872)

Cooke, A.O.: *A visit to a cotton mill* (Oxford)

Samuel C., *First principles of astronomy...*(London 1895)

Coomaraswamy, A.K.: *Art and swadeshi* (Madras)

\_\_\_\_\_ : *Buddha and the gospel of Buddhism* (London 1916)

\_\_\_\_\_: *Essays in national idealism* (Colombo)  
 \_\_\_\_\_: *The message of the East* (Madras)  
 Cooper, N.M.: *The imitation of Zoroaster : quotations from Zoroastrian literature* (London 1910)  
 Cooper, W.E.: *Is meat-eating sanctioned by divine authority?* (Paignton 1906)  
 \_\_\_\_\_: *The toiler and his food* (London)  
 Cotton, C.W.E.: *Handbook of commercial information for India* (Calcutta 1919)  
 Coudenhove-Kalergi, R.N.: *Pan-Europe* (New York 1926)  
 Cousins, J.M.: *Footsteps of freedom : essays...* (Madras 1919)  
 \_\_\_\_\_: *The kingdom of youth : essays towards national education* (Madras)  
 \_\_\_\_\_: *Moulted feathers* (Madras 1919)  
 \_\_\_\_\_: *The cultural unity of Asia* (Madras 1922)  
 Cox, A.F.: *North Arcot* (Madras 1894)  
 Craddock, E.A.: *The class-room republic* (London 1920)  
 Crane-Gartz, K.: *Letters of protest* (Pasadena)  
 \_\_\_\_\_: *More letters : third series* (Pasadena 1926 or '27)  
 \_\_\_\_\_: *The parlor provocateur, or, from salon to soap-box* (Pasadena)  
 \_\_\_\_\_: *Still more letters* (Pasadena 1930)  
 \_\_\_\_\_: *A woman and war* (Long Beach 1928)  
 Cropper, L.C.: *Book-keeping and accounts* (London 1918)  
 Crosby, E.: *Tolstoy as a schoolmaster* (London 1904)  
 \_\_\_\_\_: *Plain talk in psalm and parable* (London 1901)  
 Coue, E.: *Self-mastery through conscious auto-suggestion* (London 1926)  
 Cousins, J.H.: *Footsteps of freedom : essays* (Madras 1919)  
 \_\_\_\_\_: *A wandering harp : selected poems* (New York 1921)  
 Cousins, W.E.: *David Jones : the pioneer of protestant missions in Madagascar* (London)  
 Curtiss, J.D.: *Wonderlands in Nature : with emphasis on music* (Elgin, Illinois 1925)

D'Cruz, J.E.A.: *Surveying and levelling for students* (Madras 1916)  
 Dalgleish, W.S.: *Great authors : from Macaulay to Browning* (London 1893)  
 Dalvi, K.T.: *A new profession : or, manual of Indian talkies* (Bombay 1931)  
 Dange, S.A.: *Hell found!* (Calcutta)  
 Daniel, F.: *Healthy life cook book* (London 1908)  
 \_\_\_\_\_: *Distilled water* (London 1909)  
 Daniel, S.G.: *The way of life* (Tanjore 1928)  
 Dars, P.B.N.: *Speeches and writings* (Lucknow 1921)  
 Darwin, C.: *Journal of researches into the natural history and geology of the countries ... of the world* (London 1891)  
 \_\_\_\_\_: *On the origin of species by means of natural selection* (London 1903)  
 Das, A.J.: *A husband's dilemma* (1928)  
 Das, B.C.: *Financial autonomy : general history of industry and trade* (title-page lost)  
 Das, B.M.: *God and his visions* (Calcutta 1926)  
 Das, B.: *The unity of Asian thought, i.e. of all religions* (Benares 1931)  
 Das, C.R.: *India for Indians* (Madras)  
 \_\_\_\_\_: *Go my countrymen* (Vellore)  
 Das, K.N.: *A history of Bengali literature* (Naogaon 1926)

Das, R.K.: *Hindustani workers on the Pacific coast* (Berlin 1923)

Das, S.S., ed.: *The Hindi scientific glossary* (Benares 1906)

Datta, D.: *Peasant-proprietorship in India* (Comilla 1924)

Davies, N.: *Education for life...* (London 1931)

Davis, H.: *Birth-control ethics...* (London 1927)

Davison, C.: *Elements of solid geometry* (Cambridge 1909)

\_\_\_\_\_ : *Higher algebra... for colleges and secondary schools* (Cambridge 1921)

Davidson, W. and Alcock, J.C.: *English grammar...* (London 1906)

Day, R.E.: *Exercises in electrical and magnetic measurement* (London 1885)

Dayanand, tr. D.Prasad: *Satyarth prakash : a guide to Vedic hermeneutics*, (Lahore 1908)

D'Cruz, J.E.A.: *Surveying and levelling : for students* (Madras 1916)

De, G.S.: *Matriculation arithmetic...* (Calcutta 1916)

Deans, R.S.: *Notable trials: romances of the law courts* (London 1906)

Deb, G.C.: *Essay on the advantages of a vegetarian diet* (Bombay 1913)

de Broglie, E.: *Saint Vincent de Paul* (London and New York 1913)

Dell, F.: *Upton Sinclair : a study in social protest* (1927)

Denney, J.: *The Christian doctrine of reconciliation* (London 1918)

Desai, A.S. et al.: *A dictionary of English and Gujarati* (Ahmedabad 1910)

Desai, M.: *The black regime at Dharsana : a brief survey of the "Dharsana raid"* (Ahmedabad)

Deval, K.B.: *The Hindu musical scale...* (Poona 1910)

Deussen, P., tr. J.H. Woods and C.B. Runkle: *Outline of the Vedanta system of philosophy* (Cambridge USA 1906)

Devi, S.: *The orient pearls : Indian folk-lore* (London 1917)

Dewey, E.H.: *The true science of living : the new gospel of health* (London 1904)

Dewey, J.: *The school and society...* (Chicago 1910)

Dewick, E.C.: *Studies in the character of Jesus Christ* (Madras 1924)

Dhar, M.M.: *Krishna the charioteer...* (London 1919)

Dibblee, G.B.: *The newspaper* (London)

Dickens, C.: *A tale of two cities* (London 1908)

Dickenson, G.L.: *The Greek view of life* (London 1924)

Disney, J.L.: *Healing powers of mind and nature* (Philadelphia 1921)

\_\_\_\_\_ : *Healing by faith or by prayer*

Divatia, N.B.: *Gujarati language and literature* (Bombay 1921)

Dobbs, W.J.: *A treatise on elementary statics* (London 1915)

Doraiswami, S.V.: *Indian finance : currency and banking* (Madras 1915)

Dostoyevsky, F.: *The idiot* (London 1920)

Douglass, B.W.: *Every step in beekeeping...* (London 1922)

Douglas, C.H.: *Credit-power and democracy* (London 1921)

\_\_\_\_\_ : *Social credit* (Chandos 1924)

Dover, C.: *Cimmerii? : or, Eurasians and their future* (Calcutta 1929)

Dowden, E.: *Southey* (London 1884)

Drummond, H.: *Natural law in the spiritual world* (London, undated edition)

Dryden, J.: *The poetical works* (London 1893)

Dvivedi, M.N.: *The Jivanmukti-viveka : or, the path to liberation in this life* (Bombay 1897)

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\* An "unseen" is a kind of academic test-question in Indian schools, based on textual material that was not part of the textbook.

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Saxon, E.J.: *The right diet for children* (London 1912)

Schreiner, O.: *Trooper PeterKalket of Mashonland* (London 1897)

Schweitzer, A., tr. C.T. Campion: *The decay and the restoration of civilization : the philosophy of civilization* (London 1923)

Schwegler, A., tr. J.H. Stirling: *Handbook of the history of philosophy*, (Edinburgh 1868)

Scott, B.: *Available truth* (Baltimore 1930)

\_\_\_\_\_ : *God and man : a treatise with topically arranged Biblical references* (New York)

Scott, F.G.: *In sun and shade : a book of verse* (Quebec 1928)

Scott, H.R.: *Gujarati poetry : its value for missionaries* (Surat 1911)

Scott, W.: *The lady of the lake* (London 1898)

\_\_\_\_\_ : *The lay of the last minstrel* (London 1899)

\_\_\_\_\_ : *Marmion* (two editions)

\_\_\_\_\_ : *Prose selections*, ed. Egerton Smith (Bombay)

\_\_\_\_\_ : *Quentin Durward* (London)

Selby, F.G.: *Burke's reflections on the revolution in France* (London 1898)

Sell, E.: *The life of Muhammad* (London 1913)

Semple, A.: *Aids to botany* (London 1883)

Sen, K.C.: *Essays theological and ethical* (Calcutta 1916)

\_\_\_\_\_ : *Lectures on India* (London 1901)

\_\_\_\_\_ : *The match industry in India* (Calcutta 1923)

\_\_\_\_\_ : *The mystery of true faith* (Karachi 1931)

\_\_\_\_\_ : *The new dispensation* (Calcutta 1916)

Seshachalam, T.N.: *Kambam's Kosala, or, a poet's plea for culture* (Madras 1924)

Seth, M.J.: *The Republic of Armenia* (Calcutta 1924)

Sett, S.N.: *Sett's guide to commercial places... [in] India* (Hoogly 1921)

S.G.K.: *The educational theory of Comenius* (1928)

Shah, C.G.: *Hundred percent Indian* (Bombay 1926)

Shah, K.T.: *A guide to the study of Indian administration* (Bombay 1922)

\_\_\_\_\_ : *Trade tariffs and transport in India* (Bombay and London 1923)

\_\_\_\_\_ and Gulestan J. Badadurji: *Governance of India : a commentary on the Government of India Act...* (Bombay 1924)

Shah, N.M.: *Themes for essays in mathematics* (Poona 1927)

Shah, R.V.: *Pourings of a struggling soul* (Ahmedabad)

Shahani, M.: *The wonderful new invention of pulsology* (Jaipur 1929)

Shahani, T.K.: *Gopal Krishna Gokhale : a historical biography* (Bombay 1929)

Shahanshahji: *Spiritual doses, or, a collection of verses* (Lahore)

Shakespeare, W.: *Complete works* (Edinburgh 1864); separate editions of *Julius Caesar*, *King Henry the Fourth (Part I)*, *Much ado about nothing*; *Othello*; and *Twelfth night*; and two anthologies of excerpts

\_\_\_\_\_ : see also Dutt, S. and Lamb, C.

Sharma, Paras Ram: *An essay on the "evils of animal diet"* (Bombay 1915)

Sharma, V.L.: *Handbook of the Arya Samaj* (Allahabad 1912)

Sharpe, E.: *Shri Krishna and the Bhagavad Gita* (London 1924)

Shaw, F.W.: *The meaning of life and Jesus : the evolution of an ideal* (Madras)

Shaw, G.B.: *The doctor's dilemma : a tragedy* (London 1927)

Shelley, P.B.: *The poetical works*

Sheppard, R.S.: *Manual of English : for the matriculation of entrance examination to the Indian universities* (Madras 1919)

Sherman, F.C.: *The inner chamber : a manual of devotion* (Cleveland 1926)

Shilotri, P.S.: *A produce-exchange bank for India...* (Bombay 1924)

Shinkaku: *An outline of Buddhism, the religion of investigation and analysis* (Honolulu 1929)

Short, E.H.: *Man and cotton* (London 1921)

\_\_\_\_\_ : *Man and wool* (London 1921)

Shroff, J.D.: *My religion : some reflections* (Bombay 1923)

Siddhantalankur, S.: *Confidential talks to youths* (Bombay 1925)

Sime, J.: *Life of Johann Wolfgang Goethe* (London)

Simmonda, P.L.: *The commercial letter writer : a series of modern and practical letters...* (London)

Simpson, B.: *A spiritual quest and venture of faith*

Sinclair, D., ed. J.M. Stone: *History of India*, (Madras 1911)

Sinclair, M.C.: see M.C.S.

\_\_\_\_\_ : *The parlor provocateur, or, from salon to soap-box* (Pasadena)

Sinclair, Upton: six books

Singer, Ignatius: *The problem of "life"* (London 1913)

Singh, B.C.: *The life and teachings of Swami Dayanand Saraswati* (Lahore 1903)

\_\_\_\_\_ : *The teaching of the Arya Samaj* (Lahore 1903)

Singh, B.-C. and Goswami, S.D.: *Princes and India : the truth* (London 1931)

Singh, B.L.: *Guru Gobind Singh's idealism* (Lahore)

Singh, M.G.: *Sikhism : its faith and morals* (Lahore)

Singh, Harnam: *The ten Swayyas of Guru Govind Singh rendered into English and annotated* (Amritsar 1924)

Singh, Jodh: *The present-day indifference to religion* (Amritsar)

Singh, Nabhu: *The morcha of Nabhu, Part I: an appeal to all Indian leaders* (Lahore)

Singh, Nihal: *Messages of uplift for India* (Madras)

Singh, Puran: *The Japji of Guru Nanak and Internationalism and the Sikhs* (Amritsar 1929)

Singh, J.P.B.: *Humanism* (Bangalore)

\_\_\_\_\_ : *Speeches and writings* (Bangalore)

Singh, S.C.: *The spirit of Sikhism* (Lahore)

Singh, S. Jagat: *Guru Nanak's gift* (Amritsar 1929)

Singh, S.S.: *Meditations of various aspects of the spiritual life* (London 1926)

\_\_\_\_\_ : *Reality and religion: meditations on God, man and Nature* (London 1925)

\_\_\_\_\_ : *The search after reality : thoughts on Hinduism, Buddhism, Muhammadanism and Christianity* (London 1925)

Singh, S.N.: *Urge divine* (Madras)

Singh, Teja: *Asa di Var, or, Guru Nanak's ode*

\_\_\_\_\_ : *The growth of responsibility in Sikhism* (Amritsar 1922)

\_\_\_\_\_ : *Sikhs and organization* (Lahore)

\_\_\_\_\_ : *What Sikhism did for womankind* (Amritsar 1928)

Singhal, J.P.: *Eternal truth* (Aligarh 1923)

Singham, Thurpul: *Gandhian rambles in the realm of the New Testament* (New York 1927)

Sinha, A.B.N.: *Vaishnavism : a history of the origin and development of the Vaishnava religion in India* (Patna 1929)

Sinha, J., ed.: *The new era* (Deoghar 1925)

Sinnett, A.P.: *Esoteric Buddhism* (London 1907)

\_\_\_\_\_ : *The growth of the soul : a sequel to "Esoteric Buddhism"* (London, Benares 1905)

\_\_\_\_\_ : *Occult essays* (London 1905)

Sircar, M.: *Mysticism in the Bhavatgita* (London 1929)

Sital, P.: *Principles of Jainism* (Agra 1926)

Sivadhyanananda: *The ever-showing phenomenon in man : know the kingdom within you* (Madras 1929)

Sivaganacharya: *Life and work of an Indian saint : being the autobiography of Swami Sivaganacharya.,*  
ed. G.K. Sastri (Madras 1912)

Slater, T.: *On the morals of today* (London 1920)

Smiles, S.: *Character* (London 1871 and 1912)

\_\_\_\_\_ : *Duty : with illustrations of courage, patience, and endurance* (London 1908)

\_\_\_\_\_ : *Life and labour, or, characteristics of men of industry, culture and genius* (London 1907)

\_\_\_\_\_ : *Self-help : with illustrations of conduct and perseverance* (London 1908)

\_\_\_\_\_ : *Thrift, a book of domestic counsel* (London 1908)

Smith, C.: *An elementary treatise on conic sections by the methods of co-ordinate geometry* (London 1920)

\_\_\_\_\_ : *An elementary treatise on solid geometry* (London 1907)

Smith, Vincent A.: *Asoka, the Buddhist emperor of India* (Oxford 1909)

Sohom, P.: *Common sense or Ekamavigman* (Dacca)

\_\_\_\_\_ : *Truth* (Calcutta 1913)

Sorab, M.A.: *The new humanity : a compendium of the ideals of universal civilization* (Los Angeles 1927)

\_\_\_\_\_ : *The song of the caravan* (New York 1930)

Sonnenschein, E.A.: *A new English grammar : based on the recommendations of the joint committee on grammatical terminology* (Oxford 1921)

Sontag, P.J.: *Jesus Christ the savior of all : a presentation of the Christian religion for non-Christians* (Bettiah)

Sprading, C.T., ed.: *Liberty and the great libertarians : an anthology on liberty and a handbook of freedom* (Los Angeles 1913)

Sprague, F.H.: *Jesus and the modern outlook* (Boston 1930)

Sprunger, J.A.: *The gospel in types : the tabernacle and its holy vessels* (Cleveland)

Squire, J.C., ed.: *Second [set of] selections from modern poets* (London 1924)

Sri-Kalki, H.H.: *The divine doctrine, or, universal religion* (Bangalore 1931)

Sriramamurty, M.: *Aparna* (Vizianagram 1922)

Stalker, J.: *The life of Jesus Christ* (Edinburgh)

Starr, M.: *Arrows of flame* (London 1931)

Steiner, R.: *Mystics of the Renaissance...* (London 1911)

\_\_\_\_\_ : six later books

Stenhouse, E.: *An introduction to Nature-study* (London 1914)

\_\_\_\_\_ : *A first book of Nature-study* (London 1913)

Stephen, L.: *Scott*

Sterling, G.: *Sonnets to Craig* (Long Beach 1928)

Sterne, L.: *A sentimental journey through France and Italy* (London 1907)

Stevens, T.M.: *Elements of mercantile law* (London 1903)

Stevenson, L.: *Towards a Christian International : the story of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation* (London 1929)

Stevenson, R.L.: *Prince Otto : a romance* (London 1908)

\_\_\_\_\_ : *Treasure island*

\_\_\_\_\_ : *The writings...*, ed. S.G. Dunn (London 1917)

Stewart, B.: *Physics* (London 1891)

Stewart, J.: *Bread and bread-making* (London)

Stieve, F. and Dickes, E.W. : *Isvolsky and the world war : a study based on documents recently published by the German Foreign Office* (London 1926)

Strangways, A.H.F.: *The music of Hindustan* (Oxford 1914)

Streeter, B.H.: *The four gospels : a study of origins* (London 1927)

\_\_\_\_\_ and Appaswamy, A.J. : *The sadhu : a study in mysticism and practical religion* (London 1921)

Stronach, A.L.: *A simple history of English literature* (London 1902)

Style, J.M.: *August Comte : thinker and lover* (London 1928)

Sugden, Mrs., ed: *The Arabian Nights entertainments : arranged for the persual of the young* (London)

Sully, J.: *Outlines of psychology : with special reference to the theory of education* (London 1888)

Sultan, K.: *Enquiry after God...* (Madras 1917)

\_\_\_\_\_ : *The eloquence of astrology...* (Madras 1930)

Swiney, F.: *The bar of Isis, or, the law of the mother* (London 1909)

\_\_\_\_\_ : *The cosmic procession : or, the feminine principle in evolution...* (London 1906)

\_\_\_\_\_ : *The responsibilities of fatherhood* (London)

Swystun, W.: *Ukraine – the sorest spot of Europe* (Winnipeg 1931)

Sykes, E.: *Banking and currency* (London 1911)

Symonds, J.A.: *Shelley* (London 1887)

Synderland, J.T.: *Wealth, beauty and youth for all* (Madras)

Tadd, J.L.: *New methods in education...* (London 1901)

Tagore, P.C.: *Diving music before diving mosques* (1926)

Tagore, R.: a dozen books

Taki, R.S.: *Amourism, or, premamrita* (Bombay 1922)  
 \_\_\_\_\_: *De carmine dei deorum, or, on the song of the god of gods : being a commentary in English on the Bhagavad Gita* (Bombay 1923)

Talcherkar, V.A.: *The charka yarn...* (Bombay 1925)

Tattvabhushan, S.: *Elevation of the masses and the depressed classes* (Calcutta 1912)  
 \_\_\_\_\_: *Indubala : a domestic picture* (Calcutta 1908)  
 \_\_\_\_\_: *The Devalaya : its aims and object :, with a short sketch of the life and work of its founder* (Calcutta 1919)

Tchekov, A.: *"The Bishop" and other stories* (London 1919)

Teape, W.M.: *The secret lore of India and the one perfect life for all* (Cambridge 1932)

Tennyson, A.: *Enoch Arden* (London 1919)  
 \_\_\_\_\_: *Guinevere* (London 1907)  
 \_\_\_\_\_: *Fifty poems 1830-1864* (Cambridge 1927)  
 \_\_\_\_\_: *Poems, chiefly lyrical* (Oxford)  
 \_\_\_\_\_: *Works* (London 1890)

Thackeray, W.M.: *English humorises* (New York 1916)  
 \_\_\_\_\_: *The history of Henry Esmond, Esq.* (London 1852)

Thadani, N.V.: *The mystery of the Mahabharata* (Karachi 1931)

Theerthan, D.: *Prophet of peace : or, Sree Narayan Gurudev of Malabar* (1933)

Thimm, C.A.: *German, self-taught : with phonetic pronunciation* (London 1904)

Thiruvalluvar: *The Kural or the maxims of Tiruvalluvar*, tr. by V.V.S. Aiyar (Tiruchirapalli 1915)

Thomas, O., *Robert Moffat* (London)

Thompson, J.A., ed.: *The outline of science : a plain story simply told* (London)

Thomson, J., ed. W.J. Jefferson and E.E. Morris *The seasons* (London 1869)

Thoreau, H.D.: *On the duty of civil disobedience* (London 1905)  
 \_\_\_\_\_: *Walden, or, life in the woods*, ed. Byron Rees (New York 1919)

Thucydides: *The History of the Peloponnesian War*, transl. by William Smith from the ancient Greek (London 1892)

Thurston, W.R.: *The great secret : a supplement to Thurston's Philosophy of Marriage* (New York 1928)  
 \_\_\_\_\_: *Thurston's philosophy of marriage* (New York 1927)

Tilak, B.G.: *Writings and speeches*, with an appreciation by Aurobindo Ghose (Madras 1919)  
 \_\_\_\_\_: see also Bapat, S.V.

Tilden, W.A.: *Introduction to the study of chemical philosophy : the principle of theoretical and systematic chemistry* (London 1888)

Timur, M.: *The moral foundation of national greatness* (Lahore 1925)

Tolstoy, I., tr. G. Calderon: *Reminiscences of Tolstoy* (London 1914)

Tolstoy, L.: *War and peace* (an edition of 1915-17 which had belonged to Madeleine Slade); some collections of short stories and plays; and dozens of works of non-fiction

Todd, J.A.: *The world's cotton crops* (London 1915)

Tout, T.F.: *A first book of British history* (London 1912)

Towne, E.: *How to grow success* (Holyoke, Massachusetts 1903)

Townsend, M.: *Mahommed, the great Arabian* (London 1912)

Trench, R.C.: *On the study of words* (London 1886)

Treves, F.: *Intestinal obstruction : its varieties and their treatment* (London 1888)

Trine, R.W.: *This mystical life of ours...* (London 1907)



- Tripathi, M.S.: *A sketch of the vedanta philosophy : to which is prefixed that of the life of Sujna Gokulaji Zulu, a typical vedantin* (Bombay 1901)
- Tulsidas: see Mal, Lala Kannoo
- Turgenev, I., tr. C. Garnett: *A sportsman's sketches* (London 1906)
- Underhill, E.: *The life of the spirit and the life of today* (London 1923)
- Usmani, S.: *Peshawar to Moscow : leaves from an Indian muhajireen's diary* (Benares 1927)
- Vacha, D.H.: *First steps in mechanics...* (Bombay 1902)
- Vaharamihira, tr. B.D. Basu: *The Brihajatakam* (Bahadurganj, 1912)
- Vaidya, C.V.: *The Mahabharata : a criticism* (Bombay 1905)
- \_\_\_\_\_ : *The riddle of the Ramayana* (London 1906)
- \_\_\_\_\_ : *The story of the Ramayana* (Bombay 1910)
- Vajpayee, P.N.: *The quintessence of Hindi* (Madras 1929)
- Vakil, M.H.: *Religion and life* (Bombay 1930)
- van Dyke, H.: *Out-of-doors in the holy land : impressions of travel in body and spirit* (New York 1908)
- van Marter, S.: *The faith that moves mountains* (Kansas City)
- Varma, P.M.L.: *The labour problem* (Budaun 1922)
- Varma, T.K.C. and Farquhar, J.N.: "*Christ, a myth*" vs the "*historicity of Christ*": *proving that the Christ of the New Testament is a myth, and the Gospels spurious* (Lahore 1927)
- Vasu, N.: *The modern Buddhism and its followers in Orissa* (Calcutta)
- Vaswami, T.L.: eighteen books
- Vaughan, H.S.: *Companion to the British Road Book, Vol. I, Kent to Cornwall* (London 1898)
- Vaughan, K.O. and Hill, L.: *The purdah system and its effect on motherhood : osteomalacia...* (Cambridge 1928)
- Venkatachar, B.K.: *Why I should read the Gita* (Mysore 1923)
- Venkataramani, K.S.: five books
- Venkatasubbaiya, V. and Mehta, V.L.: *The co-operative movement* (Allahabad 1918)
- Venakayya, P.: *A national flag for India* (Masulipatnam 1916)
- \_\_\_\_\_ : *Life of Dr. Sun Yat Sen* (Madras 1912)
- Verinder, F.: *My neighbour's landmark : short studies in Bible land-laws* (London 1913)
- Victoria: see Benson, A.C.
- Vidyaraaya: *Panchadasi* (Srirangam 1912)
- Vilakshananandaji: *Mantra sakti* (Madras 1930)
- Villard, F.G.: *William Lloyd Garrison on non-resistance* (New York 1924)
- Visvesvaraya, M.: *Speeches...* (Bangalore 1917)
- Vivekananda: *The complete works* (Almora 1922)
- \_\_\_\_\_ : *Christ, the messenger* (Calcutta 1911)
- \_\_\_\_\_ : *Practical vedanta* (Almora 1930)
- Wacha, D.E.: *Commerce and statistics* (Bombay 1915)
- \_\_\_\_\_ : *The life and work of J.N. Tata* (Madras 1915)
- \_\_\_\_\_, ed: *Reminiscences of the late Hon. Mr. G.K. Gokhale* (Bombay 1915)
- Wadia, B.P.: *How India can save the Empire...* (Madras 1918)
- Wadia, A.S.N.: *Gems of English poetry selected and arranged with introduction and notes* (Bombay 1895)

Wagner, C., tr. M.L. Hendee: *The better way* (London 1905)

\_\_\_\_\_, tr. E. St. John: *On life's threshold : talks for young people on character and conduct* (London 1905)

Wagner, Richard (but not the composer), tr. "G.S": *Stories from natural history* (London 1904)

Walker, E.: *Thoughts are things* (Chicago 1909)

Walker, T.A.: *A manual of public international law* (Cambridge 1895)

Walls, A.: *The Gospels combined : being the writings of Matthew, Mark, Luke and John interwoven and arranged* (Steubenville, Ohio 1926)

Wallace, A.R.: *Vaccination a delusion : its penal enforcement a crime* (London 1931)

Wallace, C.L.H.: *Home cure and eradication of disease* (London)

Walmsley, H.E.: *Cotton spinning and weaving : a practical and theoretical treatise* (London 1893)

Ward, H.F.: *Which way religion?* (New York 1931)

Waring, E.J.: *Bazaar medicines and common medical plants of India* (London 1897)

Washington, B.T.: *My larger education : being chapters from my experience* (London 1911)

Wassilevsky, I.: *Hebrew poetry of today and Ezekiel (priest and prophet) : two lectures* (Manchester)

Waterman, N. and Bautruce, G.: *Girl wanted : a book of friendly thoughts* (London 1912)

Waterton, C.: *Wanderings in South America* (Glasgow)

Watson, G.D.: *God's eagles : or, complete testing of the saints* (Cincinnati)

Watters, T.: *On Yuan Chwang's travels in India...* (London 1904 or '05)

Webster, J. J. and Jessup, F.W.: *The Apsley cookery book, containing 448 recipes for the uric-acid free diet* (London 1906)

Wedderburn, W.: *Allan Octavian Hume, C.B., "Father of the Indian National Congress", 1829-1912* (London 1913)

Wedgewood, J.C.: *The future of the Indo-British commonwealth* (Adyar 1921)

\_\_\_\_\_ and Wedgewood, E.: *The road to freedom and what lies beyond* (London 1913)

West, A.S.: *Revised English grammar...* (Cambridge 1919)

Wheeler, J.T.: *Tales from Indian history : being the annals of India retold in narratives* (Calcutta 1892)

Wellock, W.: *Ahimsa and world peace...*(Madras 1922)

\_\_\_\_\_ *The spiritual basis of democracy* (Madras 1924)

Wells, H.G.: *A short history of the world* (London 1924)

Whitehorn. H.K.: *Nature's meal-times : facts and figures concerning when to eat* (London 1927)

Whittaker, E.T. and Watson, G.N.: *A course of modern analysis : an introduction to the general theory of infinite processes and of analytic functions; with an account of the principal transcendental functions* (Cambridge 1920)

Whyte, E.: *Talks with golden chain links* (Adyar 1916)

Whyte, H.: *H.P.Blavatsky: an outline of her life* (London 1909)

Wigglesworth, S.: *Ever-increasing faith* (Springfield, Missouri 1924)

Wijesinghe, M.: *A case against caste* (Colombo)

Wilcox, E.W.: *A double life* (New York 1891)

Wilde O.: *Lady Windermere's fan : a play about a good woman* (London)

Williams, G.M.: *Understanding India* (New York 1928)

Williams, L.F.R.: *India in the years 1917-1918 : a report prepared for presentation to Parliament...* (Calcutta 1920)

\_\_\_\_\_ : *India in 1919...* (Calcutta 1920)

\_\_\_\_\_ : *India in 1922-23...* (Calcutta 1923)

Wilmans, H.: *A blossom of the century* (Sea Breeze, Florida 1893)

Wilson, F.B.: *Through silence to realization : or, the human awakening* (London 1906)

Wilson, F.W.: *Some Indian problems : being some essays addressed to patriots with the "Congress mentality"* (Allahabad 1929)

Wilson, J.W.: *The new hygiene : a drugless remedy for all diseases, the promotion of health and longevity* (London 1899)

Wilson, P.W.: *After two years : a study of American prohibition* (London 1922)

Wilson, William: *Popular preachers of the ancient church : their lives and their works* (London)

Wilson, Woodrow, see S.S. Aiyer

Wilt, C.: *The retreat of the ten thousand*, tr. Frances Younghusband (London and Bombay 1912)

Wood, E.: *Character-building : a practical course* (Madras 1924)

\_\_\_\_\_ : *Textbook of Indian citizenship* (Madras 1920)

Wood., H.: *Studies in the thought world : or, practical mind art* (Boston 1899)

Wood, Mrs. Henry: *Dunesbury House* (Bombay 1927)

Woodroffe, J.G.: *Is India civilized? : essays on Indian culture* (Madras 1918)

\_\_\_\_\_ : *The world as power : power as life* (Madras 1922)

\_\_\_\_\_ and Mukhyopadhyaya, P.: *Mahamaya : the world as power : power as consciousness (chit-shatki)* (Madras 1929)

Woofter, T.J.: *The basis of racial adjustment* (Boston 1925)

Wordsworth, W.: *The excursion : Book I, The wanderer*, ed. T.R. Advani (Karachi 1917)

Worth, P., dictated through Mrs. J.H. Curran: *The pot upon the wheel*, ed. C.S. Yost (St. Louis 1921)

Wren, P.C.: *Indian class reader IV* (Bombay)

Wright, D.: *Was Jesus an Essene?* (Wimbledon)

Wright, R.P.: *Facts and fallacies about nitrate of soda* (London 1909)

Wyss, J.D.: *The Swiss family Robinson* (London)

Yegen, L.B.C.: *Law vs. law* (Billings 1931 or '32)

Yogananda, P., tr. R.V. Row: *The second part of Prunava Vadartha Deepiku* (Madras 1925 or earlier)

\_\_\_\_\_ and B. Nerode: *Descriptive outline, general principles and merits of Yogoda...* (Los Angeles 1930)

Yonge, C.D.: *Life of Sir Walter Scott*

Young, A.: *Sharinf : a souvenir of a hike from Poona (India) to England* (Poona 1933)

Yorke-Davies, N.E.: *Foods for the fat* (London 1893)

Zubesi, M.A.: *"Asr-I-Jadid" : the new epoch* (Bombay 1929)

Various translations of the *Gita*

*Indian educational policy, 1913* (government publication, Calcutta 1914)

*The Indian National Congress : containing an account of its origin...* (Madras)

*Memorandum on some of the rules of Indian administration during the past fifty years of British rule in India* (Calcutta 1911)

*Mysteries of a convent revealed! and Six months in a convent* (Philadelphia)

*The statutes of the Union of South Africa, 1910 and 1911*

## APPENDIX 3 :

# Details still sought

We seek further information; here is a list of details which we know that we don't know. If you have relevant information, please send it to <libpu@gujaratvidyapith.org> and tag the message "GandhiBib."

Information about a Gujarati history of India up to the Moghul dynasty (if such a book was published before 1923).

Re: *Al farooq : the life of Omar the Great (second caliph of Islam)*, an English translation (1900) by Zafar Ali Khan of a book written originally in Urdu by Shibli Numani: (a) place of publication and (b) evidence for or against the likelihood that the translation was of the edition in Urdu published at Azamgarh in 1897.

Re: **The Bible translated into Gujarati**, information as to which edition Gandhi is likely to have read in 1922.

Re: Bhartrihari's *Niti shatk* (the *Bhartriharishatak*), the place and year of publication of Bhadrashankar Jivanram Naik's translation into Gujarati.

Re: a booklet entitled *Brahamacharya* and read by Gandhi in 1932: (a) the author's name and (b) the place and year of publication.

Re: *Dharma ni ekata*, a book in Gujarati by Champakrai Jain: the place and year (before 1924) of publication.

Re: *Foreign exchange*, by someone named Iyer: (a) secure information as to the rest of the author's name, and (b) the place and date (before July 1932) of publication.

Re: Mohamedali Al Haj Salmin's *Imam Hussain*: the place and year (before 1923) of publication.

Re: *The Indian fight for freedom*, by Chittaranjan Das: the place and year (before 1938) of publication.

Re: *Jyotirvilas*, a publication (of some kind) in which Gandhi read (before 26 August 1932) short biographies of some Western astronomers: information about the publication.

Re: Balkrishna Dikshit's *Jyotishshastra*, the place and year (before 1933) of publication of the Gujarati translation.

Re: the earliest translations into Hindi of the *Kathavalli Upanishad* (i.e. the *Khata Upanishad*): (a) where and when they were published and (b) the name of a translator into Hindi.

Re: a translation into Gujarati. *Kavan charit*, of a book by of Hasan Nizami: the place and year (before 1933) of publication of the original Urdu edition.

Information about *Khagolchitram*, a book on astronomy published before 1933.

Re: Mohamedali Al Haj Salmin's *Khalifa Ali*: (a) the language and (b) the place and year (before 1923) of publication.

Re: *Khalil Gibran*, by someone named "Beryl": the rest of the author's name.

Re: Shripad Damodal Satavlekar's *Mahabharata samalochana*: the place and year of the original publication.

Re: Manilal Nabhuvhai Dvivedi's *Maniratnamala*: the place and year (before 1894) of publication.

Re: *Margopadeshika*, Nandashankar T. Mehta's Gujarati translation (1875) of Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, *First book of Sanskrit, being an elementary treatise on grammar with exercises*: the place of publication of the translation.

Re: Aurobindo's *Message and mission of India*: the place and year (before 1934) of publication.

Re: *Mumukshu prakaran*: (a) the place and year before 1894 of a Gujarati translation, and (b) the translator's name.

Re: *Prem Mitra*: (a) the author's name and (b) the place and year (before 1923) of publication.

Re: Herbert Spencer's *Principles of sociology*: information as to a Gujarati translation (if published before 1924).

Re: an edition of Tulsidas's *Ramcharitamanasa* published at Prayag in 1922: (a) the editor's name. (We have "Shyam-sundardas".)

Re: *Sahaba ekram*: (a) the name of the author and (b) the place and year (before 1924) of publication.

Information about *Sandhya ni gutika*, read by Gandhi in 1910.

Re: Maganbhai P. Desai's doctoral thesis, *Satyagrahni mimansa*: the year it was completed (1931 or '32).

Re: Sitaram Purushottam Patwardhan's *Satyagraha wa swarajya*: the place and date (before 1947) of publication.

Re: Mohammed Mujeeb's Urdu play, *Shareef Ladka*: the place and year (before 1933) of publication.

Re: Shastri Gokulji Pranjivan's *Shravanpitribhakti Nataka*: the date of the first edition.

Re: *The speeches of the Hon. Mr. G.K. Gokhale*: the date (we think it is ca.1900) of publication (at Madras).

Re: an apparently anonymous book or booklet, *Steps to Christianity*: the place and year (before 1923) of publication.

Re: Richard Wagner's *Stories from natural history*, translated by "G.S" (London 1904): (a) the title of the original publication (presumably in German, but the author was not the composer of that name), (b) the place and year of its publication, and (c) the translator's name.

Re: Vaidik Muni Hariprasad's *Swadhyaya samhita*: the place and year (before 1933) of publication.

Re: Charu Chandra Mitra's *Untouchability and temple-entry*: the year (before 1933) of publication (at Calcutta).

Re: Rajan Iyer's *Vedanta-bhraman*: the place and year (before 1924) of publication.

Information about *Veda shabda sangna*, read by Gandhi before 1910.

Re: an anonymous book, *Vairagya prakarana*, published at Mumbai: the year (before 1916) of publication.

Information about *The way to begin life*, a book or booklet read by Gandhi in 1935.

Re: *Wealth and waste*, attributed by Gandhi in 1935 to G.I. Fowler: (a) the rest of the author's name and (b) the place and year of publication. (We know about a book with that same title, but by another author, published at New York in the 1890s.)

Re: Hormasji Tehmulji Dadachanji's translation of the *Zend-Avesta*: the year (before 1924) of publication (at Bombay).

The middle name of **Edwin A. Abbott**, who prepared an edition (London 1886) of Francis Bacon's essays.

The first name of **A. Delano**, who translated Tolstoy's *The kingdom of God is within you*.

The first name of **J. O'Kinealy**, who prepared the 3rd edition (Calcutta 1889) of a *Code of civil procedure*.

The complete names of **S. Sitarama Sastri** and **V. C. Seshacharri** who translated the Upanishads and Sankara's commentary on them.

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