Day-to-Day with Gandhi

[SECRETARY'S DIARY]

Volume I

[From Nov. 1917 to March 1919]

By

Mahadev H. Desai

Edited by

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About this Diary

Mahadev Desai joined Gandhiji as his secretary in 1917 and breathed his last in the lap of Gandhiji in AgaKhan Palace while in detention in 1942.

It is amazing to note that Mahadevbhai regularly wrote his day-to-day diary despite his busiest routine with Gandhiji.

Gandhiji and Mahadev Desai had such an inseparable relation that they were like two bodies with one soul. Hence, Mahadev Desai's Diary means a record of Gandhiji's activities.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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- Naryan M. Desai

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- Publishers

PUBLISHERS' NOTE

It is a matter of privilege for Sarva Seva Sangh to have the opportunity of publishing Mahadev Desai's Diary in Hindi as well as in English.

The relation between Gandhiji and Mahadev Desai is well-known to all. Both names are immortal in the history of our national freedom movement. Mahadev Desai joined Gandhiji in 1917 and remained with him till 1942 when Mahadevbhai breathed his last in the lap of Gandhiji in Aga Khan Palace while in detention. It is amazing to note that Mahadevbhai regularly wrote his day-to-day diary despite his busiest routine with Gandhiji.

Gandhiji and Mahadev Desai had such an inseperable relation that they were like two bodies with one soul. Hence Mahadev Desai's Diary means Diary of Gandhijits activities.

While reading this diary one feels like actually witnessing the various incidents with Gandhiji. As there are authentic records of important interviews of Gandhiji with national and international leaders, we come across even the utterings of Gandhiji in his delirious condition side by side with excerpts from Gandhiji's most important historical as well as epic speeches. We also find here Gandhiji's typical crackling of jokes with small children.

Thereis no other Diary in history of this kind except that of Bosswel, the learned English writer, who has noted the events of Dr. Johnson's life in his diary. But the difference between these two diaries lies in the difference of the life of Gandhiji and that of Dr. Johnson.

Mahadev Desai had a knack of snatching some time out of his overcrowded daily routine for some extra reading. He has enriched his diary by jotting down some references out of that study. Mahadevbhai was a voracious reader and a deep thinker. As we find in his diary glimpses of a critical study of his reading, there are sprinkling of a lucid description of some new places he had visited or a running life-sketch of some new personalities he had met. In all these writings Mahadevbhai's supreme literary genius is amply revealed.

The period between 1917 and 1942 was a glorious chapter of India's non-violent struggle for Independence. We get a peep into Gandhiji's innermost thoughts through Mahadevbhai's diary. This period was packed with Gandhiji's most important

interviews, correspondence, whirlwind tours all over the country. A vivid picture of the social, political and spiritual atmosphere of our country in those days is graphically drawn by Mahadev bhai in this diary.

It would not be an exaggeration to say that such a publication is definitely an enriching addition to the world's literature. It is an irony of fate that Mahadevbhai could not live long to edit his diary himself. True to his devotion he died in harness. Late Shri Narharibhai Parikh, Mahadevbhai's dearest and nearest friend, shouldered the responsibility of editing this diary as a labour of love for a departed friend. Narharibhai himself was suffering from a serious disease. But he persevere relentlessly and completed the editing of about 3,000 pages when he succumbed to the disease. It was a tremendous task to edit the voluminous matter which would run into about 20 volumes of about 400 pages each. The remaining volumes are being edited by Shri Chandulal Bhagubhai Dalal.

The original diaries are in Gujarati. First three volumes in Hindi, covering the period of 1932-33, were published by Navjivan Trust. The publication work of these diaries was interrupted due to some dispute over the rights of publication. Finally Shri Narayan Desai, son of Mahadev Desai, got the rights of publication and he generously entrusted the publication of Hindi and English editions of the Gujarati Diary to Sarva Seva Sangh without claiming any royalty. Sarva Seva Sangh is deeply grateful to Shri Narayan Desai for this generous offer.

Sarva Seva Sangh has brought out five Volumes of Hindi editions chronologically right from 1917. Sixth volume is expected to be out soon.

The English translation of Mahadev Desai's Diary is being done by Shri Hemantkumar Nilkanth. The first translated volume was received by Sarva Seva Sang three years back. But due to some reason or the other the volume could not find the light of the day uptill now. We deeply regret for this delay and offer our apologies to our subscribers who have paid an advance subscription for their English volumes. We hope to compensate this delay by rapidly publishing the next two volumes - 2nd and 3rd - within the shortest possible time.

We greet our readers by offering the New Year’s gift in the form of the first volume of “*Day-to-day with Gandhi*”.

PREFACE

The idea of keeping a diary seems to have struck Mahadevbhai immediately after he joined Bapu[1] in November 1917. In the beginning he simply copied what he regarded as important letters. Then gradually he began to jot down noteworthy events and Bapu's thoughts given out in his talks. This diary covers the period between 13-11-1917 and 31-3-1919. There are many days within it during which nothing has been written. His later diaries are naturally much more comprehensive, but it must be remembered that this is his first attempt. Even as it is, the copious letters published here give us a very clear conception not only of the numerous questions that faced Gandhiji when on coming back to his country he started his public work, but also the way in which he solved these questions in accordance with the philosophy of life which he had made his own. The student of the Gandian philosophy will, therefore, find a very interesting and illuminating material in this book. Even the ordinary reader is provided with a substantial fare inasmuch as there is much for him to know and think over.

The diary begins with the time when the Champaran fight, as well as the work of the Inquiry Committee was over, the recommendations of the Committee were to be implemented through legislation, and Bapuji had begun to do some constructive work among the ryots there in order to keep up their awakening and increase their strength. There are, therefore, a few letters in it which give some idea of this constructive work of Bapuji in Champaran. For the history and understanding of the fight, however, one must go through Sri Rajendrababu's book *'Satyagraha in Champaran*.' Even before his work in Champaran was completely over, and when his presence there was still needed, though not constantly as the situation had to that extent improved, two big activities fell into Gandhiji's hands. In quick succession he had to wage two fights, one for getting an increase in the workers' wages in the mills in Ahmedabad owing to the rise in prices and the other, for securing suspension of land revenue in the Kaira District where the crops had failed. We have with us authentic accounts of both these fights in Sri Shankarlal Parikh's book "*Khedani Ladat*" ('The Kaira Satyagraha') and in another book by Mahadevbhai himself "*Ek Dharmayuddha*" ('A Holy war'). But for the first time some letters appear in this diary that shed a new light on the fights and clearly show how Bapuji's mind was then working.

About the mill-workers' strike, the then Collector of Ahmedabad frankly expresses to Bapu himself his admiration of the way in which the strike was conducted. He says,

> "This is the first time in my life when I see a fight between employers and workers carried on with so much love and regard for each other."

This distinguishing feature of the fight is clearly evidenced in Gandhiji's letters to mill-owners and to Sri Ambalal Sarabhai specially. It is in this diary, moreover, that the reader gets a clearer idea of the significance of his fast during the mill-workers' strike. He writes,

> "The Ahmedabad strike provided the richest lessons of life. The power of love was never so effectively demonstrated to me as it was during the lock-out. .....Those four days were to me days of peace, blessing and spiritual uplift. There never was the slightest desire to eat during those days."

And in another letter,

> "I consider the fast as my greatest achievement in life. I had an experience of supernal serenity while it lasted."

In his Morning Prayer sermon at the Ashram, he explained very tersely the necessity of his fast as well as the flaw underlying the act. But to know them well and clearly it is best to let the reader go through in the text itself. In a letter to his son Devdas he avers,

> "It is not difficult to understand the real import of my refusal to accept, for more than one day only, the increase of 35% which we had demanded. It would have been totally unbecoming for me to stretch my point any further. The millowners even now believe that they have given the increment because of my fast and not because of the strikers. It would have been nothing but an extortion from the mill-owners, if I had demanded anything more under that situation. The fact that when I was in the position of getting the maximum from them I asked for the minimum, shows only my desire to be on the square and my humility and perception of right action. Had I not gone on a fast, the workers were certain to fall from their vow and the strike would have fizzled out. It was only the fast that sustained them. Under these circumstances demanding the minimum was the only right course in order to see that the workers' vow was kept. Only the letter of such a vow should be maintained in such a situation. That was done. The flaws, moreover, that had crept into my vow were diminished, materially diminished, by asking for the minimum.

As regards the Kaira Satyagraha Struggle, Gandhiji's letters to Sri Deodhar and Sri Joshi, both members of the Servants of India Society, and to two Liberals, Messrs. B. K. Thakore and Natarajan, as well as the latter's reply deserve mention here. To Deodhar Bapu says,

> "Why think that we can gain only what the officials give? Why not feel that we must get what we deserve?"

Both Sri Natarajan and Sri B. K. Thakore thought it unwise to advise the ryots to withhold payment of the revenue dues. The former held the view that if the local Government refused to redress the grievance, Indian public opinion could be roused, the Viceroy and, failing him, the British Parliament and the British public could be appealed to, and a fund could be opened in the meanwhile to give immediate relief to the distressed peasants so that they might not starve and might also pay the dues. All these measures could be taken, he thought, but not the drastic one of Satyagraha. Gandhiji appealed to him not to be scared by the expression 'passive resistance.'

> "You have only to come", he says, "and see with what perfect good humour the fight is being carried on."

The letter he wrote to Sri B. K. Thakore expounds the significance of *Satyagraha* and shows the unavoidable necessity of launching it. During the progress of the fight Gandhiji had to write many letters to Mr. Pratt, the Commissioner of the Northern Division, but in one striking letter to him he sets aside the Kaira question altogether, and shows him how *Satyagraha* is the only method by which the wooden administration of the Government officials could be reformed and the public could be saved from taking to the wrong path of violence in its desperation against the rigidity of the rulers. This diary thus shows how Bapuji never missed a single chance to explain the propriety of the principle of Satyagraha, as the concept was then quite a novel one, to the public, to its leaders and to the Government as well.

The diary belongs to the period when the First World War (1914-1918) was still being fought out. Even while the Kaira struggle was being waged, the Viceroy called a War Conference and invited Bapu to attend it. He did go to Delhi, but 'in fear and trembling' he 'decided as a matter of duty to join the Conference.' Tilak Maharaj and Mrs. Besant were not invited and Ali Brothers were still under surveillance without any charge preferred against them. No War Conference in India, Bapu thought, could ever succeed if these most powerful and trusted leaders were not present in it and if the immoral action of Britain in riding roughshod over its public promises and concluding

secret treaties behind the back of its ally, Turkey was not retraced. Bapu sent a letter to this effect to the Viceroy through his Chief Secretary Sir Claude Hill. The Viceroy then called him for an interview, with the result that 'the spirit of chivalry in him got the better of the spirit of justice' and he not only took part in the War Conference, but accepted to, launch a recruiting campaign in right earnest. Then at the end of the Conference, he wrote another letter saying that he would certainly offer unconditional co-operation in the War, but he wanted the Viceroy to know how the Indian situation stood and what the expectations of India were.

That letter was acclaimed as *classic* by those present and Bapuji himself said that it contained the quintessence of *dharma*, of Satyagraha and his other ideals. That letter to the Viceroy and other letters of his which explain his attitude towards the recruiting campaign form the most important part of the diary. The question of the consistency between his creed of '*Ahimsa*' (non-violence) and his recruiting campaign was raised not only then but has been discussed ever since. Bapu's thoughts on the subject have been most happily put in a long letter to Mr. C.F. Andrews. Here are a few extracts from that and several other letters appearing in this book that explain his reasons for joining the recruiting campaign:

"A nation that is unfit to fight cannot from experience prove the virtue of not fighting. I do not infer from this that India must fight, but I do say that India must know how to fight."

"I have not come across a single individual in India who follows in practice the creed of non-violence as faithfully as I. I claim to be saturate with love. Nobody knows as many sins, as also the virtues, of the Englishman as I and as clearly as I. I would teach that man the art of violence who wants to learn how to fight and kill. If I can do nothing in this matter (of recruitment), you may take it as a proof that my spiritual endeavour is still not sufficiently vigorous for the purpose. He who does not know how to die without killing must learn the art by knowing first how to kill and face death."

"In my letter to Maffey I have said I should kill neither friend nor foe. Regarding those who want to fight but will not – either out of cowardice or spite against the British – what is my duty? Must I not say, "If you can follow my path so much the better, but if you cannot you ought to give up cowardice or spite and fight?" You cannot teach *Ahimsa* to a man who cannot kill."

"I shall best spread the gospel of *Ahimsa* or *Satyagraha* by asking the '*Himsak*' (militant) men to work out their '*Himsa*' in the least offensive manner; and may succeed, in the very act, in making them to realize the better worth of *Ahimsa*."

"*Ahimsa* is the eradication of the desire to injure or to kill. *Ahimsa* can be practised only towards those that are inferior to you in every way. It follows, therefore, that to become a full *Ahimsaist* you have to attain absolute perfection. Must we all then try to become Sandows before we can love perfectly? This seems to be unnecessary. It is enough if we can face the world without flinching. It is personal courage that is an absolute necessity and some will acquire that courage only after they have been trained."

"There has been compulsory renunciation of arms but not the desire to kill... All that can be said of India is that individuals have made serious attempts with greater success than elsewhere to popularise the doctrine. But there is no warrant for the belief that it has taken deep root among the people."

"*Ahimsa* was preached to man when he was in full vigour of life and able to look his adversary straight in the face. It seems to me that full development of body force is a *sine qua non* of full appreciation and assimilation of *Ahimsa*."

"I must wait for instilling into any mind the doctrine of *Ahimsa*, i.e. perfect love, when it has grown to maturity by having its full play through a vigorous body."

After dealing with the theoretical aspect of *Ahimsa* so far, Bapu states the difficulty that faces him:

> "My difficulty now arises in the practical application of the idea. What is the meaning of having a vigorous body? How far should India have to go for a training in arms-bearing? Must every individual go through the practice or is it enough that a free atmosphere is created and the people, without having to bear arms etc., imbibe the necessary personal courage from the surroundings? I believe that the last is the correct view."

Then Bapu adds:

> "And, therefore I am absolutely right, as things are, in calling upon every Indian to join the army, always telling him at the same time that he needs doing so not for the lust of blood, but for the sake of learning not to fear death.

And further on:

> "There is not a single recruiting speech in which I have not laid the greatest stress upon the part of a warrior's duty. There is no speech in which I have yet said, 'let us go to kill the Germans'. My refrain is 'let us go and die for the sake of India and the Empire,' and I feel that supposing that the response to my call is overwhelming and we all go to France and turn the scale against the Germans, India will then have a claim to be heard and then she may dictate a peace that will last. Suppose further that I have succeeded in raising an army of fearless men, they fill the trenches and with hearts of love lay down their guns and challenge the Germans to shoot them – their fellowmen. I say even the German heart will melt. I refuse to credit it with exclusive fiendishness. So it comes to this, that under exceptional circumstances war may have to be resorted to as a necessary evil, even as the body is. If the motive is right, it may be turned to the profit of mankind and that an *Ahimsaist* may not stand aside and look on with indifference, but must make the choice and actively co-operate or actively resist."

The above quotations from this diary appear to me to be the essence of Bapu's thoughts on war and recruitment. All the same it cannot be said that these quotations or even all the letters appearing in the diary completely reveal the working of Bapu's mind on these two points. He says, "Under exceptional circumstances war may have to be resorted to as a necessary evil." If somebody wants to, he can interpret this sentence and some others in the book to mean that Bapu thought that war was sometimes indispensable and that under special circumstances a war could do even good to the world. But one has to remember in this context what Bapu himself says, viz.,

> "I am passing through new experiences. I am struggling to express myself. Somethings are still obscure to me and I am trying to find words for others which are plain to me. I am praying for light and guidance."

It should also be borne in mind that at that time Bapu was a co-operator and had faith in the liberal attitude of the British Empire. He himself says that the only reason for his remaining steadfastly loyal to Britain is his faith that Britain is sound at heart and that it will be through Britain that India can best give her message to the world. On the other hand, Britain's crime in disarming India, its exclusive and haughty military policy and the immolation of India's riches and art at the altar of the British commercial greed are so hateful to him, that, but for that faith, he would have been a

rebel long before. But even after actually turning a rebel, his good feelings towards Britain continued and that was why on the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939, he was ready to give all moral support to Britain.

In a letter to Kishorelalbhai, he raises the question as to how to teach non-violence to children and says:

> "I must admit I am caught up in the tangle of various thorny questions of this sort arising from my perception of this new facet of *Ahimsa*. I have not been able to discover a single master key to all these intricate problems and that key has got to be found out.

Ordinarily, it can be rightly said that a man is smaller in reality than what he appears to be through the thoughts he expresses in speech or writing, since he gives out to the world only those thoughts in which his brighter side or the element of good in him is clearly reflected. But there are exceptional personalities, whose lives are actually nobler even than what they seem to be through their speeches and writings. Language is a poor vehicle for the complete revelation of the innermost workings of their hearts and minds. It can be safely said for Bapu that he was far greater in reality than what his speeches and writings which we have with us lead us to imagine. You cannot have through them a perfect visualisation of his towering personality and of his thoughts and cherished ideals. It was wholly and solely to teach the power of non-violence to the Indian nation and to convert it into a votary of that holy principle, that Bapu had advised the people to join the army. It is possible that he may not have been able to frame in apporpriate language the reasons that led him into the recruiting campaign, but the fact does not, in the least, impair his unstinted adoration of Ahimsa. It is through his life, and not so much through his words, that he has given to the world invaluable lessons in fearlessness, love, oneness with all beings, total surrender to God and other noble qualities; and it is his actions in life that provide us the binoculars that give us a correct view of the heights to which he had risen in non-violence.

The Montford Scheme of Reforms was presented to the public while the recruiting campaign was still going on, and attempts were made to unite the political parties of India in order to present unanimous demands about the modifications in the scheme. A Special Session of the Indian' National Congress was, therefore, held in Bombay in August 1918. An All Party Conference preceded it, and Bapu was earnestly pressed both by the Moderates and the Extremists to attend the Conference. But Bapu was convinced that he would not be able to convert to his own views either the

Moderates or the Extremists. He, therefore, preferred not to give a break to his incessant recruiting campaign even for those few days that he would have to spend after the Conference. He did not attend either the Moderate or the Extremist Conference, nor the Special Session of the Congress in Bombay. His letters on this question to the Moderate leaders, Messrs. Surendranath Banerji, Samarth and B. Chakravarti as well as to the Extremist leader Tilak Maharaj are worth perusal. Neither of the parties was prepared to go as far as Bapuji either in the recruiting campaign or in the heroic effort of *Satyagraha* to get the popular demands on the modifications in the Montford Scheme accepted by the Government.

The book also contains very instructive and pleasing letters to the members of his 'family' – his sons and the inmates of his Ashram – a very remarkable one from Vinoba (V. Bhave, now the famous Sarvodaya leader), and Bapu's letter to Maganlalbhai to explain his reasons for beginning to take goat's milk at the suggestion of Ba (Smt. Gandhi). The diary is thus filled with the very valuable material published here for the first time.

Bapu's bulletins issued during the Kaira struggle and his two recruiting appeals have been given in the Appendices.

Narhari Parikh[2]

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1. Mahatma Gandhi was affectionately called ‘Bapu’, father, by the millions of India.

2. Translated from Gujatati. Sri Narhari Parikh was one of the earliest and bravest associates of Bapu in India. His near-death martyrdom at the non-violent raid on Dharasana Salt Works entitles him to the rank of a hero. - Translator.

Translator's Note

It is no easy job to translate Mahadevbhai's[1] diary. He was a poet by nature. Mahatma Gandhi himself called him so, as his colleagues can attest. And he had enriched his knowledge and literary taste by extensive reading. The original diary, therefore, is not only a piece of high-class Gujarati literature, but contains ramifications in Hindi and Sanskrit also.

A good translation, moreover, does not mean dismantling a machine and, then, its transporting and careful assembling, part by part and screw by screw, in some other town. It is something like the transplantaion of whole flower plant from one soil to another and rearing it so carefully there as to let it blossom again as luxuriantly as before.

While, therefore, the translation has to be first of all a creation by itself, happy and readable, it has also to be as faithful a transcription of the original text as possible. It is a translation and not an adaptation. This is all the more necessary in the case of this diary. Not only does it record epoch-making events, but also reveals through their talks, both grave and gay, a world figure and others who have made history. The translation has to do full justice to these events and personalities.

Then there is the reader's angle to be taken care of. This presentation in English must appeal to the 'average' reader, one who is neither a scholar nor a mere schoolboy.

I have borne in mind all these varied requirements. How far I have succeeded in the tests they offer is beyond my capacity to judge fairly. I can only say I have tried to follow the well-known Shakespearian advice '*to thine ownself be true*' and have enjoyed the time spent after the translation.

H. G. Nilkanth.

1. 'bhai' is a suffix of respect.

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    Appendix III

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“Only that day dawns to which we are awake"

– Thoreau

“There is no other choice left for a number of people except to resort to ascetic seclusion in a country which has been reduced to the helplessness of a widow, has been squeezed of all its valour and manliness has been bled white and made a skeleton, has been robbed of its pristine glory and has, therefore, sunk into gloom and despair."

“Away with works, Philosophy too;

All I want

Is *bhakti*[1] for you.

Vanish knowledge,

Discretion too;

All I want

Is *bhakti* for you.”

– *Tukaram* (a Maharashtrian Saint)

“Like most human things, discipleship has its good and its evil, its strong and its poor and dangerous side; but it really has a good and strong side; – its manly and reasonable humility, the enthusiasm of having and recognising a great master, and doing what he wanted done.”

– Dean Church

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1. bhakti = devotion.

13-11-2017

Extract from a letter dated 13-11-2017 to Miss Esther Ferring[1]:

*"Having been wandering about, I have not been able to reply to your letter ..... To say that perfection is not attainable on this earth is to deny God. The statement about the impossibility of ridding ourselves of sin clearly refers to a stage in life. But we need not search scriptures in support of the assertion. We do see men constantly becoming better under effort and discipline. There is no occasion for limiting the capacity for improvement. Life to me would lose all its interest, if I felt that I could not attain perfect love on earth. After all what matters is that our capacity for loving ever expands. It is a slow process. How shall you love the men that thwart you even in well-doing? And yet that is the time of supreme test. I hope that you are now enjoying greater peace of mind.

Let your love for the Ashram be a source of strength in our attempt to do our duty there. The Ashram is undoubtedly intended to teach us to do our assigned task with the utmost attention and with cheerfulness. There is no meaning in our wishes (however pure) not being fulfilled. Not our will but His may be done.

Bapu"

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1. Miss Esther Ferring first came to India from Denmark as a member of the Danish (Christian) Mission. From her contact with Gandhiji, she felt herself cramped in the Mission atmosphere and left it for good. After a short stay at Shantiniketan (Poet Tagore's Residential University) and then at Gandhiji's. Ashram, she returned to her homeland. She has married an Indian, Dr Menon.

* The sign indicates the original writing.

15-11-2017

New Year's Day, Samvat[1] 1974

Motihari (Champaran, Bihar)

In a letter to Maganlalbhai at the Ashram:

"What shall I send you for a gift on this bright and happy day? I would like to give you what is wanting in you, in me, in many others. The man who possesses it gains everything, and he alone can really give it who possesses it. Who am I then to give you that precious gift? Let us join and pray to God to grant it to us:

"Though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, and have not charity, I am become as sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal. And though I have the gift of prophecy, and understand all mysteries, and all knowledge; and though I have all faith, so that I could remove mountains, and have not charity, I am nothing. And though I bestow all my goods to feed the poor, and though I give my body to be burned, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing. Charity suffereth long and is kind; charity envieth not; charity vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up, doth not behave itself unseemly, seeketh not her own, is not easily provoked, thinketh no evil; rejoiceth not in iniquity, but rejoiceth in the truth; beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things. Charity never faileth: but whether there be prophecies, they shall fail; whether there be tongues, they shall cease; whether there be knowledge, it shall vanish away. For, we know in part and we prophesy in part.

But when that which is perfect is come, then that which is in part shall be done away. When I was a child, I spoke as a child, I understood as a child, I thought as a child: but when I became a man, I put away childish things. For now we see through a glass, darkly; but then face to face: now I know in part; but then shall I know even as also I am known. And now abideth faith, hope, charity, these three; but the greatest of these is charity."[2]

Read this, chew the end, digest it. Read the original in English; translate it into Hindi. Do all you can, strain your neck and eyes, but get a good glimpse of this love or charity. Mira[3] was stabbed with this dagger of love and she really felt the wound. If we, too, can get at that dagger and gain the strength to use the divine weapon, we can shake the world to its foundations. Though I feel I have something of that love, I am painfully conscious every moment how very shallow it still is. I weigh and find myself very much wanting. At times I get flustered. Only yesterday I saw I had no room in my

heart for those who would not let me have my way and my mind was all bubbling like seething waters. May the New Year do you good. May your physical, mental and spiritual attainments ever grow in grandeur, and may you lay them down at the feet of Mother India. That is my wish and that my benediction.

With blessings,

Bapu"

"Chi.[4] Harilal,

To-day is the Diwali[5] day. May the New Year bring you bliss! I wish all your good desires be fulfilled and you gain in strength of character for that is the real Laxmi.[6] It is in her worship that our welfare lies. May that truth reveal itself to you more and more brightly!

Bapu's blessings"

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1. An Indian era prevalent in Gujarat, started to commemorate the glorious reign of Vikramaditya and called Vikram Samvat (Vikram's year).

2. The Letters of Paul; "To the Corinthians" – 1

3. The saintly queen of Mewar (15th Century A. D.) whose hymns have become veritable folk songs in parts of India.

4. Chi. = Chiranjivi, meaning 'having a long life', a term used as a blessing for a youngster by an elder of the family. Harilal was Gandhiji's eldest son.

5. Last day of the Gujarati year. Literally, an array of lights; so a day of illumination.

6. Laxmi – Goddess of wealth. It is a custom in Gujarat to worship goddess Laxmi on a fixed day during the Diwali holidays.

21-12-2017

Motihari

Letter to Hermann Kallenbach[1]:

*"My dear friend,

I have been irregular of late. I have been wandering so much that I never have the leisure to write love letters, especially when they get lost. From you I have had only three letters during the past three months. Polak[2] has, however, written to me about you and so has Miss Winterbottom. How often do I not want to hug you! Daily do I have novel experiences here which I would like you to share with me. But this monstrous war never seems to be ending. All the peace-talk only enhances the agony. However, like all human institutions, it must have an end, and our friendship must be a poor affair, if it cannot bide its time, and be all the stronger and purer for the long and weary waiting, and what is this fleeting, physical form after all? As I was whizzling through the air yesterday and looking at the trees, I saw that beneath all the change that these mighty trees daily underwent, there was a little something that persisted. Every leaf has its own separate life. It drops and withers. But the tree lives on. Every tree falls in process of time or under the cruel axe, but the forest of which the tree is but a part lives, and so with us leaves of the human tree. We may wither, but the eternal in us lives on changeless and endless. I derived much comfort last evening, as I was thus musing. My thoughts went on to you and I sighed, but I regained self-possession and said to myself, 'I know my friend not for his form, but that which informs him.'

With love,

Your old friend"

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1. A very close friend of Gandhiji since his (Gandhiji's) early life in South Africa. He wanted to accompany him to India, but could not do so as, being a German, he was a suspect and kept under surveillance during the World War then raging. Later on, in 1938, he came to India on a short visit to Gandhiji.

2. Mr. & Mrs. Polak ('Henry' and 'Millie') were also among Gandhiji's dearest ones. Both of them have written remarkable books on him.

To Bhai[1] Jamnadas Khushalchand:

"My activities go on expanding. I am wearing myself out, the while my tempo lasts, in making known to the country all the ideals I cherish."

Sujna[2] Bhai Ambalalji,

"I do not wish to meddle in your business affairs. But a letter from Bhai Krishnalal gives startling news and compels me to write to you.

Even for the sake of Shrimati Ansuyabehn (a labour leader and also Sri. Ambalal's blood sister) you should, I think, satisfy the demands of the workers in the warp section in your mills. There is no reason to believe that the satisfaction of the demand of one group of workers will mean pestering you with new demands from other groups. But even if that happens, the demands may be righteously dealt with then. And why should mill-owners not feel happy at giving a little more to their own workers? There is one and only one royal road to remove their discontent: Enter sympathetically into their lives, their joys and sorrows and bind them to yourself with the silken chord of love. This is by no means a too high expectation from any rich man who is imbued with Indian traditions of generosity. After all, his riches are only for the use of the country. If you spend after your workers, you are sure to find you get a rich return. And will the brother wound the heart of his own sister? And of a sister, such as Ansuyabehn is? I, for one, have found her a very pure soul. It is but in the fitness of things, if her word becomes law to you. You will thus discharge a double duty in a single act; that of allaying the discontent of your workers and of winning the blessings of your sister. I know my trespass too is doubly presumptuous. In a single letter I have interfered in your business, as well as in your family affairs. You will please forgive me.

Vande Mataram[3]

Yours

Mohandas Gandhi".

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1. 'Bhai' & 'bahan' or 'behn' are addresses of respect and love, meaning 'brother' and 'sister.'

2. Sujna-Well-knowing-wise, a term of special respect. 'Ji' also is a suffix of respect.

Though the name of his benefactor has not been given out by Gandhiji in his Autobiography (see Chapters IX and X, part V), it is now an open secret that it was Sri Ambalal Sarabhai who rushed to Gandhiji's aid during perhaps the most acute financial crisis, which his Ashram had to face. His admission of an

'untouchable' into the Ashram fold caused an uproar, and his supporters – all orthodox Caste Hindus – stopped their aid at once. They took this step, despite a clear notice from Gandhiji, at the very outset of his founding the Ashram in Ahmedabad, that he would admit an 'untouchable' Hindu, if an occasion arose. Ambalal Sarabhai's timely munificent aid was for Gandhiji a manna from heaven. The letter is a portent of Gandhiji's fight against this patron for the cause of labour, which among others was dear to his heart.

3. Vande Mataram – I bow to Mother (India). The words form the title of a patriotic song in the Bengali novel 'Anandamath' by Bankimchandra Chatterjee. They shot into national importance, as a greeting and an exhortation, when boys shouting "Vande Mataram" were punished under Lord Curzon's regime. The whole song – specially the first two stanzas – soon became India's national anthem.

13-1-2018

Motihari

"Bhai Chimanlal (Chinaiwala, another cotton-mill magnate).

Your letter. I have no doubt that it is our duty to help all the working classes. But I have not much faith in the co-operative movement, as at present conducted. I think we should study labour conditions first of all. How much does an average worker earn? In what quarters of the town does he live, and what are his living conditions? How much does he spend and what is his saving? What is the amount of debt he has to incur? How many children on an average he has? How does he bring them up? Where did he live formerly? What made him give up his stay there and come to the town? How has the change affected him economically, socially and morally? I think it very unwise to start co-operative societies for the labourers forthwith, without getting full answers to these questions. What is really needed is our loving identification, with them. If we do so, many of the intricate problems that confront us now will be solved in a short time. My advice to you at present is to mingle with the workers freely, and have a good knowledge of their living conditions. More when we meet."

16-1-2018

Motihari

"Dear Mr. Rudra[1],

I am dictating this letter to Mr. Desai, as owing to an acute pain in the left side I am disinclined to do much writing. What I want from you, if I can get it, is not a hastily written letter about the vernaculars but a full, enthusiastic and eloquent plea for them, which I can use for rousing the public to a sense of its duty in the matter. Why would you have teaching in the vernaculars and answers in English? Why should every lad have to know English? Is it not enough if some men are specially trained in each province, so that they may diffuse among the nation through the vernaculars a knowledge of new discoveries and researches? So doing, our boys and girls will become saturated with the new knowledge, and we may expect a rejuvenation such as we have never witnessed during the past sixty years. I feel more and more that if our boys are to assimilate facts of different sciences, they will only do so, if they receive their training through the vernaculars. No half measures will bring about the much-needed reform. Until we attain this state of things, I fear that we shall have to let the Englishmen think for us, and we must continue slavishly to imitate them. No scheme of self-government can avert the catastrophe, if it does not involve this much-needed change. If you feel with me, I want your letter expressing the above views in your own language.

I had a very nice time of it in Calcutta, but not in the Congress pandal. It was all outside the pandal. I was enraptured to witness "The Post Office" performed by the Poet[2] and his company. Even as I dictate this, I seem to hear the exquisitely sweet voice of the Poet and the equally exquisite acting on the part of the sick boy. Bengali music has for me a charm all its own. I did not have enough of it, but what I did have had a most soothing effect upon my nerves which are otherwise always on trial.

You will be glad to learn that, at the Social Service Conference, I made full use of my privilege as the President and as a lover of so much that is good in Bengali life, to speak strongly against Bengali provincialism. The audience did not resent it. It seemed to appreciate my remarks. I am sending you a copy of my address which, of course, does not contain the personal appeal mentioned above.

I have not given you a tenth of my experiences, but Mr. Desai reminds me that I must give you one more. I attended a Humanitarian League meeting. There, too, I

was the President, and I felt that I should be untrue to myself and the audience, if I did not touch upon the devilish worship going on at the Kalighat. I, therefore, spoke about it without mincing words. I was watching the audience while I was speaking. I am unable to say whether I made any impression upon it. Anyway, I eased my conscience by referring to the matter fairly fully. If I had sufficient fire in me, I would stand in front of the lane leading to the Ghat and stop every man and woman from blaspheming God in the name of religion.

I return your letter on the vernaculars for you to refresh your memory.

Yours

M. K. Gandhi”

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1. Principal of St. Stephens' College, Delhi, conducted by the Cambridge Mission. He was the first Indian to hold that high post there. Mr. C. F. Andrews, afterwards called “Deenbandhu” (brother of the lowly) by Indians for his devoted services to India, started his Indian career as a Professor in this college. Though a Mission college, it had an atmosphere of respect for all religions, and even nationalism was encouraged. It was Mr. Andrews who first brought Gandhiji into contact with Principal Rudra. Gandhiji used to put up with him whenever he visited Delhi.

2. Gandhiji used to refer to Rabindranath Tagore as “the Poet”.

18-1-2018

Motihari

“Bhai Kalyanbhai,

I have received your letter. I see only two courses open to that woman, one of which, and decidedly the better one, is: She should put her learning to good use, and try through it to reform her husband with whom destiny has joined her. There have been many women in the past who have succeeded in converting their husbands to a good way of life; but for that achievement, she should be endowed with spiritual wisdom. If she does not possess that wealth, she should gather courage and refuse point- blank to go to her husband. If there is a possibility of undue pressure being applied on her at her father's house, she has every right to leave it. In that case, some friend must come forward to accommodate her in his home. If it is not possible to afford her such shelter in village areas, she may be taken out of them to some town. I wish you proved through action your friendship with her by providing her some safe refuge. But you may first try the better course given above".

21-1-2018

An extract from a letter:

"Who should write the preface to a compilation[1] of my speeches and writings? Or does it need a preface at all? These questions can be answered only after knowing the name of the publisher and his object in undertaking the work. If it is a regular publishing concern, the book needs a preface from Sarojini. If it is some devout Vaishnava (follower of Lord Vishnu), he must approach Ranchhorbhai for the preface.

If it is an unknown reader of my writings, who wants to publish the book provided he gets a guarantee of some return in money, he must contact my friend, Dr. (Pranjivandas) Mehta (a rich life-long friend of Gandhiji). There is no need for a preface at all, if either you or Mathuradas are going to hold the copyright. At present, at least, I am myself like an animal marked out in Falis' Circus and there is no need, except for reasons stated above, to get any stamp on the book through a preface. There can be only one worthy object in its publication: to provide for as many as possible a facility to know my thoughts, so long as the tempo lasts. I have, of course, a fondness, may be an over-fondness, for those thoughts and, naturally, I would wish to share them with the largest possible number. It is the record of my own activities that has suggested the publication of the book. Where then is the need of a preface written by me? My practice of my views is itself the right preface. He who can read that preface will get an impetus to read through the book."

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1. Reference to the book 'Thought-world of Mahatma Gandhiji' (in Gujarati) edited by Mathuradas Trikamji.

21-1-2018

Motihari

To Messrs. Liengier & Co., Madura.

*"The method that I have adopted for reinstating those who have left off weaving, is to supply them with yarn at the lowest market rates, to buy out all the cloth they may manufacture for cash at the highest market rates, the yarn to be paid for in instalments, without interest, convenient to the weaver. This has enabled them to earn about Rs. 17 per month. These weavers do not give their whole time to weaving, and their manufacture is confined to the coarsest cloth. They do not want to aspire higher, and what they earn is enough for their wants. But I know that a clever weaver manufacturing finer counts, with perhaps a little pattern-work, can make 25 rupees per month. Every weaver lost to the country is, in my opinion, so much national waste, and every weaver reinstated is so much national gain. Whatever the plan you adopt, I would like you to keep me informed of your activity from time to time.

Your servant

M. K. Gandhi".

24-1-2018.

In reply to Kaka's[1] letter questioning how the Professor's[2] incarceration could be called a satyagrahic act, why he should not have appealed etc. :

"When a person is accused of a crime, he is either guilty or innocent. If he is guilty, he should go to jail as an act of penance. If innocent, he should go to jail to provide the judge a good lesson. If all those who are unjustly convicted choose to go to jail after declaring their innocence, it will come to pass, that in due time hardly any innocent person may be sent to jail. This much to show the principle in general. In the Professor's, particular case, there are many distinguishing features. The case instituted against him was not really for rash driving at all. They wanted through the case to make me and through me the whole agrarian satyagraha movement unpopular among the masses. They had imagined that, even if nothing could be done against me personally, the harassment of one of mine would gratify my opponents. Under these circumstances, it was necessary for the Professor to show what mettle he possessed. The ryots of these parts are very much afraid of jail besides. Here was the chance to make them fearless and it could not be allowed to go waste. Even for the Professor himself, a golden opportunity had fallen to his lot unsought and it would have been foolish to fritter it away. And what is satyagraha but resistance against injustice through self-suffering? The court's finding was sheer injustice. The Professor offered satyagraha by cheerfully accepting the unjust sentence and suffering imprisonment. It is entirely outside the pale of satyagraha to appeal against any judgment whatsoever. There is no room for offering any defence in pure and untainted Satyagraha. The satyagraha we witness at present is not pure but diluted, and the degree of the strength of that dilution affords at once a measure and a sign of our own weakness.

It is my firm faith that the world will stand aghast with wonder and admiration when it first witnesses the glory and grandeur of a pure and undiluted satyagraha. So as a matter of a satyagrahic principle, it was certain that an appeal could never be preferred. But this question - of application of that principle – was not the prime reason for dropping the idea of an appeal. I felt that the charge was so frivolous that it did not deserve the glorified importance of an appeal. By desisting from the temptation of an appeal, we have been able, I think, to expose very easily the partiality or the foolishness of the judge. No lawyer, moreover, was able to give us an assurance of success, if an appeal was made, and I warned the pleaders to file it, if they wanted to, on their own responsibility. I told them, 'If you lose the appeal, I am certain to put

the blame on your shoulders.' In this case, besides, no 'appeal' could be filed. All we could do was to pray for a 'revision', and the higher court never enters into the facts of a revisional case. It only amends an error on a point of law. In this particular case, there was no possibility to success through a technicality in law. You will thus see that in our acceptance of the sentence, not only has the principle of satyagraha been observed, but also, what the world calls, practical wisdom."

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1. Kaka Kalelkar, a very close disciple of Gandhiji who, though a Deccani by birth, has been rendering yeoman services to the Gujarati literature, and was made once the President of the Gujarati Literary Conference.

2. Sri, J. B. Kripalani (a college Professor who had resigned to join the fight) was riding on a horse in it. He was accused of 'rash driving' and sentenced to 3 weeks' imprisonment. The Ashram inmates used to call him 'Professor'. He was once the President of the Indian National Congress and is now a distinguished Opposition leader.

24-1-2018

"Chi. Jamnadas,

You are going to gain nothing by leaving your work there and coming over here to stay with me. You will yourself get tired in a few days and then wistfully remember the post of duty you are now at.

What you should, therefore, do is to seek enjoyment in your work there. Your desire to stay with me is at present a kind of a craving for passion. And just as a man feels tired and depressed when that enjoyment is over, you will feel a sense of ennui within a short time of your stay here. You may, however, certainly cherish the ideal of being able to come here to stay with me some day, and in the meanwhile, try to grow fit for it by efficiently discharging the duties and responsibilities on hand."

24-1-2018

To a salt doctor:

*"Dear Dr. Kulkarni,

When I posted my last letter to you, I had read the literature sent by you, but for me it was not convincing enough to turn me from my experiment. What you say is either true or untrue. If salt is the panacea for all evils, no effort should be spared to double or even quadruple its consumption. What I require is statistics showing the successful treatment of plague: etc. by the saline method. Having read a great deal against salt in books on vegetarianism, I wanted to take the experiment on myself. Nearly 7 years ago, Mrs. Gandhi was suffering from copious hemorrhage. I was treating her with Kuhne (a German hydropath) baths and a strict dietary. When I was almost in despair, I thought of the reasoning applied against salt by Dr. Wallace and against pulses by Dr. Haig. Salt, Dr. Wallace has argued, is an irritant and a stimulant. Being inorganic it passes out without being assimilated, but with passage making a great deal of mischief. It unduly excites the salivary glands, irritates the stomach and thus induces men to eat more than they need and taxing the organs unduly, it impoverishes the blood. Both Mrs. Gandhi and I were like most people lovers of salt and ate large quantities of it. I argued to myself that probably the introduction of salt in the system was responsible for the continuation of her illness. I need not enter into the reasoning applied by me to the pulses. I was myself at this time ordinarily hale and hearty. Certainly, no change on the score of health was called for. But discovering that I could not warn Mrs. Gandhi from the use of salt and pulses without doing so myself, I left them off and so did she. There was no other change made in the treatment. Within a week's time she was free from hemorrhage, and she who was at the time of change a skeleton quickly put on flesh. I have ever since remained without salt. The condiment has such a hold upon her that she could not resist the temptation when there was no necessity for it. So, when she had completely recovered, she took to salt eating. She does have hemorrhages now and then and leaving off salt and taking friction baths enables her to recover quickly. During the seven years of my experiments, I have treated asthmatics and patients suffering from other lung diseases with a saltless diet, and they have almost invariably responded. As for myself, I have not suffered from serious illnesses any more than those with whom I come in daily contact. This saltless diet has, I believe, materially assisted me in my '*Brahmacharya*' (celibacy) vow. With these experiences before me, your persistent advocacy of salt has come upon me with

somewhat of a shock. There is one great change in me which I have been noticing, and which I have discussed with medical friends without getting any light from them. If I receive a wound, it heals more quickly than before. I experience no feeling of excessive fatigue after long walks. But I seem to have become a green stick. The skin has become too tender and delicate. A knife would tear it much more quickly than anybody else's. Although I invariably walk barefoot, the soles of my feet refuse to become tough and hard, as would anybody else's. My gums have become flabby and the few teeth I have left are more ornamental than useful. Is it possible that this delicateness is the result of a saltless diet? Of course, there are so many other changes that I have made in my life that it is difficult to single out salt for my condemnation. If I had not noticed this deterioration in me – if it is a deterioration – I should have, owing to the many other advantages I have experienced; very actively advocated a saltless diet. If I received some enlightened assistance from you, I would like, if it be for a temporary period, to go back to salt and watch its results upon my system. I was already conferring with Dr. Dev upon the advisability of interrupting my experiment when your letter came. Hence my last letter to you. If you have an accurate knowledge about the matter, and if you are an enthusiast with a scientific mind which would refuse to swerve even by a hair's breadth from the path of truth, even in a fit of enthusiasm I would like to utilize your services, both for plague research and for finding out the real value of salt as an article of human consumption. I shall try to secure the books you have mentioned.

Yours

M. K. Gandhi”

27-1-2018

'Bhaisri Mavlankar[1],

"I have received your letter re. the draft of the (Gujarat) Sabha's reply to the Government press-note on the failure of crops this year in the Kaira District. I find the first part of the rejoinder quite good, but the last part is as weak in argument as the first is strong. I am not bothering about making corrections. A more telling answer could be given to the Government's contention that an institution working from outside has no locus standi in the district and can do nothing for it. Even if not a single member of the Gujarat Sabha came from that district, it is not only the right but the duty of the Sabha to voice the grievances of the people in distress in any part of Gujarat. There was, besides, the need of giving the names of the member of the Inquiry Committee. The distinction that has been made between senior and junior officials is improper, as it means an unconscious admission on our part that, if there had been senior officials on the Inquiry Committee, they would have made a proper and detailed inquiry. Our claim, however, is that, in comparison with experienced and responsible non-official public leaders, Government officials are less trustworthy inquirers because of their official position itself. The Government appoints them to serve its own and their selfish interests. As it is to their advantage to do so, they are in the habit of pooh-poohing any plea of hardship advanced by the people. A public leader, on the other hand, has no axe to grind, is unbiassed and, knowing that no error on his part would be forgiven, is more careful and exact in his inquiry. We should have brought out all these points quite clearly. Our object is to educate the people in national consciousness through this dispute, and we want to show that as public leaders, we are as eager to maintain our own prestige as the government is to maintain its own. While the government very often keeps up its prestige through its physical might, let us do so only through our just actions. It is a great training for swaraj, if the people get a clear idea of this our contention through our reply, and then a vivid experience of its truth through our acts. That is why I have gone into a criticism of the draft to this extent.

Another thing that strikes me is this: At such a time an immediate action alone has any value. The members of the Committee must give up all their other work and attend its sittings. In short, the Committee cannot afford to be dilatory in its work. It must have as members only such able and responsible men as can present themselves whenever the Committee wants them. If our case is based on just grounds, it is a

question of the protection of thousands of poor men. Just as it is our wont to leave everything else in order to serve our own personal interest, so are we bound to give up everything for the sake of public interest, and to do this ought to be a tacit vow of every public worker. I think we have been very late in our reply. It often happens that the Government, through its ceaseless vigilance, is able to suppress a public movement. “Equity helps the vigilant and not the indolent” is not a maxim to be repeated parrot-like in law courts but it is one that has to be followed in everyday life. It is just because you all are doing such splendid work and are sincere and steadfast, that I have given the draft the dignity of so much criticism. Had I wanted to say you were all idlers, I would have expressed my thought more effectively by keeping severely silent. It is my practice not to waste my time in writing condemnatory letters.

This letter is the outcome of my love and my wish that there may be through it, greater alertness among you people, and the institution, already 30 years old, may rise still higher in prestige. Do not commit the mistake of considering the letter as the lash of a whip and don't feel depressed by it.

Vande Mataram,

Mohandas

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1. Quite early in his career, Mr. G. V. Mavlankar made his mark not only as a lawyer of repute in Ahmedabad, but also as a staunch nationalist leader, suffering incarcerations as the natural consequence. The people honoured him afterwards by making him the first Speaker of free India's Loksabha, “House of the People”.

31-1-2018

Bankipur,

Mavlankar's letter (in substance) from Ahmedabad: 'Your idea that, if the peasants of Kaira are in real distress, they should allow the Government to sell off their lands instead of paying their revenues by incurring debts or selling their cattle, appears to Devdhar[1] and Thakkar[1] like a gratuitous advice to a fellow mouse to go out to bell the cat, while keeping itself to the security of the hole. They suggest that we collect a lakh of rupees by public subscription, and lend them to the peasants to enable them to pay their dues. They think we could put the Government to shame that way'. Hence the perplexity of Mavlankar. He writes further to say in effect: "Their suggestion is quite opposed to yours and I am in a quandary as to what I should do – whether I should sit still and do nothing or do that which goes entirely against your view. I feel myself at sea".

Gandhiji's reply:

"I can perfectly visualize your perplexity arising from two conflicting suggestions. It was only when faked *Nalas*,[2] who were king Nala's exact replicas, faced *Damayanti* that she was in deep distress. But that alone is real firmness which is shown at such a crisis. It is also true that it is no easy thing to remain firm at such times, and errors, in the choice of the right step, are most often excusable. I can myself see something in the idea of collecting a lakh of rupees and paying the Government dues through them, but that attempt will not succeed in reforming the ways of the Government. I do not think that the Government will feel ashamed and sorry, if we come forward to pay the dues of the peasants through the amount.

On the other hand, it will be a serious headache for the Government to impound and sell the peasants' cattle. The object behind the idea of offering satyagraha is to make the people fearless and free, and not to maintain our own reputation anyhow. If, out of fear of the consequences or want of faith in us, people pay up the dues, they deserve the distress the payment entails; but we must strive still harder to win their confidence and not leave them in the lurch. This is the straight and narrow path for the satyagrahi. If I possess a lakh of rupees, I would go to every homestead and tell the inmates: "Let them sell off your live-stock, but you must never pay the revenues by borrowing from others." And when the auction takes place, I would buy up the animals and return them to those only who had thus bravely stood the test. But I would never tell them beforehand that I was going to buy up their cattle. This is the time when, if

all goes well with us, the Government would be compelled to give a near apology to the public.

All this dissertation, however, is like wisdom after the event and so of small value. You must continue to do only that which you think the best under the situations that may face you from time to time. I get thereby the coveted benefit of watching your moves from this distance, and you get the invaluable experience of the truth that no man is indispensable in this changing world."

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1. G. K. Devdhar and A. V. Thakkar were members of Gokhale's 'Servants of India Society'; Sri Thakkar came afterwards to be known as 'Bapa' (father) for his services of aborigines and depressed classes.

2. From a story in the Mahabharata. Knowing that Damayanti, a princess of entrancing beauty, was resolved upon choosing king Nala as her husband in her 'Swayamvara' (a gala concourse of suitors from among whom a princess could choose a husband), four gods took the exact form of Nala and five Nalas appeared before her. On her supplication, however, the Deva (gods) resumed their forms and she could marry the right Nala. Then they blessed her for her fidelity with four boons.

Miss West's[1] letter:

*"Mr. Govindoo tells me that Manilal (Gandhiji's second son) is very miserable about getting old and not being married. What are you going to do about this? Will he always have to remain single?"

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1. Sister of Mr. West, Gandhiji's colleague in S. Africa who helped in the printing of Gandhiji's journal, "Indian Opinion". The inmates of the Phoenix Settlement called her 'Devibehn'.

Gandhiji's letter to Manilal:

"Devibehn writes that you unburdened yourself to Sam (another colleague) your uneasiness at still remaining unmarried. You must not feel shy of putting all your thoughts before me. I am not your jailor but your friend. I will give you some good advice and you may consider it, and then do what you think best. I wish you never committed a sin out of fear from me. I want you to have no fear from anybody including me.

I think you should not marry. In *Brahmacharya* lies your ultimate good. But, if it becomes unbearable to you to remain a bachelor, you may come here when you can free yourself from the work there, and take steps to get married. It is clear that nothing could be done in the matter at your end. If you are intent on marriage, I suppose you

can find a bride here..... I take it that you will not give up your work there immediately, just in order to get married. You can rightly think of marriage only after seeing that the "Indian Opinion" goes on in your absence. On no account should you feel miserable, nor should you indulge in day-dream and fancies. We pine for a thousand things, but cannot get all of them. Let this truth soak into you and give you peace. You must make it a point to do whatever you choose to in the open, straightforward way, and all will be well with you.

I may have to enter into a big fight for Mohammad Ali's[1] release, but nothing has been decided as yet.

Blessings.

Bapu."

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1. Messrs. Mohammad Ali and Shaukat Ali who were in jail for their pro-khilafat and anti-government speeches. They were ardent associates of Gandhiji in his Non-Cooperation Movement of 1921.

To Miss West:

*Dear Devi,

"Manilal's case is sad. I have written to him a consoling letter. It is difficult for me to be reconciled to his marriage. If he can stand a few more years of bachelor's life, he will get hardened. I have told him that he is to consider himself entirely as a free man, and to receive my advice as from a friend. You are all just now going through fire. May you all come out unburnt.

Here I am in the midst of three imminent battles of passive resistance; which will ultimately take place, it is difficult to say. But they just now absorb all my time and keep me constantly on the wheels. This journeying is an exhaustive process, but it has got to be gone through.

With love,

Yours,

Bhai"

2-2-2018

Prabhudas'[1] letter from the Ashram:

"I feel dull and listless as Devdas kaka[2] is not here. The Ashram wears a desolate look when, Bapu, you are not with us. I feel so out of sorts!"

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1. Grand-nephew of Gandhiji, who stayed with him since his early childhood

2. Devdas was Gandhiji's youngest son.

Gandhiji's reply:

"Let alone me, there are many attractive features in the Ashram, and I wish you could discover them and feel happy. It is really deplorable, if the Ashram atmosphere is lively only when I am present there in body, because the body is sure to fall one day. If the presence of the soul could be felt, it always is there. The more we give up our attachment to the physical frame of the person we love, the purer and more expansive our love grows. If we can create round our ownselves that atmosphere, which we are striving to generate for the whole Ashram, then the Ashram will never appear insipid to us and we can, besides, bring about that cheerful atmosphere for the whole Ashram the earlier.

Inadvertently, the letter has gone above you. Whatever you cannot understand in it, get it explained by Chi. Chhganlal (Gandhiji's nephew and the boy's father). Give the letter to others to read, because it happens to be one that could be helpful to all. You must preserve it, read and re-read it, and absorb in yourself every word of it.

Blessings,
Bapu."

In an letter to Devdas:

"Deva (a short loving form) if you equip yourself fittingly enough to wear my mantle, nobody dare come in your way. Only, I wish you became strong enough to bear the burden. But don't be under the delusion that you have no innate fitness for the aspiration. Work itself is the best teacher, and, as we take up one task after another, we grow morefit to tackle our work ever more successfully."

To a gentleman from Ranchi (Bihar):

"He is a true Ashramite who observes the rules and discipline of the Ashram, though physically he may not be staying in it, and that man is an outsider who, living within the Ashram, deliberately flouts its rules."

Mrs. Jinrajdas (of the Theosophical Society of India) made Ba (Mrs. Kastutba Gandhi) a member of the All India Women's Conference and sent a card intimating the fact. Gandhiji wrote to her:

*"Mrs. Gandhi is an almost illiterate woman. She cannot even sign her name in English. Do you want mere names to adorn your register?"

Mrs. Jinrajs wrote back in a loving and gentle retort.

To her Gandhiji replied:

*"The sentence about Mrs. Gandhi's signature in English was unhappily worded. The complete thought has not been given in it. Mrs. Gandhi is not educated in any sense of the term. She can hardly read and write Gujarati. That she cannot even sign her name in English, was intended to convey to those who prize English education, the full measure of Mrs. Gandhi's unfitness to become a member of an association whose members are scholars, either in their own language or in English."

10-02-2018

Letter from a former pupil of the Ashram, Sri Vinayak Narhari Bhave[1]:

"Param Pujya (most venerated) Bapuji[2],

I left the Ashram a year ago to recoup my health. I had intended to stay in Vai for 2 or 3 months and then return, but though a whole year has passed away, nothing has been heard from me. Questions, therefore, may have arisen whether I am ever to come back and even whether I am alive or dead. I must admit, I am myself entirely to blame in the matter. I had, however, written a letter or two to Mama[3] requesting him to write to me immediately if any satyagraha was to be launched. I had told, him, I would give up everything to join it, but otherwise I would stay on out of the Ashram, till I could fully gratify the longing that has kept me away. If anybody suspected that I was a deserter, even there the fault is mine alone, because I am averse to correspondence. I must, however, state here that the Ashram has not only captivated me, but I have also the ingrained conviction that I was verily born for this Ashram. Why, then, did I loiter away a whole year outside the Ashram precincts?

Early in my life, when I was only ten, I took a solemn vow to observe *Brahmacharya*[4] and dedicate my life to the country. Later on, during my High School days, I was fascinated by the teachings of the Bhagawad Gita. My father, however, asked me to take up French as my Second Language, but that did not abate my zest to learn the Gita. I began to study Sanskrit privately at home that very day, and I was resolved upon studying the Vedanta and other books on philosophy whenever possible. When, with your permission, I came to Vai, I saw that there was an excellent opportunity for me to study the Vedanta.

One, Sri Narayanshastri Marathe, a *Brahmachari*[5] all his life, is teaching the Vedanta and other scriptures here. I was seized with a passion to learn the Upanishads etc. from him. Now let me write what I have done during all this time:

My work with respect to my craving for knowledge which kept me out so long:-

Study of (1) The Upanishads, (2) The Gita, (3) Brahmasutra –Shankarbhashya, (4) Manusmriti and (5) Patanjal Yogadarshan. I went through, besides, (1) Nyayasutra, (2) Vaisheshiksutra and (3) Yagnavalkyasmriti. My desire to study our religious books has now been fully gratified.

I can now read whatever I want to in Sanskrit without any extraneous aid.

Then about the recuperation of health for which I went to Vai: I had made it a rule to walk 10 to 12 miles. Then began grinding 6 to 8 seers (12 to 15 lbs.) cereals with a hand-mill. At present I do 300 namaskars[6] and take a walk everyday for physical exercise. This has improved my health.

Re. my diet: I have never taken other condiments, but, for the first six months, I used to take salt. I am now on a saltless diet and I have taken a life-long vow to have only saltless and spiceless food. I have started taking milk. Many experiments proved that I cannot go without milk, but my desire to give it up, if possible, persists. For a month, I had nothing but milk, lemon and bananas, but I found that I was getting weak. This is my present diet: Milk $1^{1/2}$ lbs.-, jowar chapaties two, bananas 4 or 5, lemon 1, when available. When I come to the Ashram, I intend to regulate my diet on your advice. I am not tempted by any other food for the sake of its taste only. All the same, I cannot help feeling that my present diet is rather too luxurious. My daily expense overfood, item by item, is about : bananas and lemon 4 pice, chapaties 2, milk 5, total 11. I want to know from you what changes I should make. You will please write to me.

Other things done:

Took classes in (1) the Gita. Free tuition to 6 students of the whole gospel with full explanation of the verses. (2) Jnyaneshwari (A big Marathi exposition on the Gita by St. Jnyaneshwar), 6 chapters, 4 students attended. (3) 9 Upanishads to 2 students. (4) Hindi propaganda: I do not know Hindi well myself, but I used to read Hindi newspapers to some students. (5) English to 2 students. (6) Excursions: nearly 400 mils on foot. Saw fortresses of historical fame such as Rajgarh, Sinhagarh, Torangarh etc. (7) Used to hold, during my tramps discourses on the Gita, which have come to 50 in all till now. Even now I propose to pad it to Bombay, and then take a train for Ahmedabad to rejoin the Ashram. A student, 26 years old, has been throughout with me in my journeys and he, too, is at present footing it out in my company. He is not inclined to study the Gita from anyone except myself. The latest date of my entry into the Ashram is Chaitra Sudi 1 (the New Year's Day in Maharashtra falling generally in April.) (8) I started at Vai an institution called the ‘Vidyarthi Mandai’ (Students' Association) and founded a library in connection with it. We, fifteen students and myself, formed a club of hand-grinders and our earnings were used in buying books for the library. We offered the same rate (1 pice for 2 lbs.) as the local grinding mill, and thus could draw customers. Sons of even high class families were members of the club. Vai is a centre of Orthodoxy and since the hand-grinders were all Brahmin

students studying in the High School, we were ridiculed by the public as faddists and fools. All the same, our grinding club continued for 2 months. 400 books have been stocked in the library. (9) I tried very much to propagate the principles of the Ashram. (10) There is a group in Baroda of 10 to 15 friends who want to serve the people. I had started there an institution for the propagation of the mother tongue, 3 years before I joined the Ashram. I attended its Annual Celebration. (This 'celebration' means nothing more than a meeting for comparison of the notes of members as to the work accomplished and the work to be done). I put before them the idea of spreading Hindi, and I have every reason to believe that the institution will take up the work. Since you have begun an effort for the propagation of Hindi I may say that this institution in Baroda will be prepared to associate with you for the work.

And finally, I must state how I have behaved as an inmate of the Ashram. These are our vows : Control of the palate : I have already dealt with this vow during my reference in this letter to my dietetic experiments. Non-possession: A wooden dish (thali), bowls, one 'Iota' (a small jug) belonging to the Ashram, dhoti, a blanket and books comprise all my paraphernalia. I have taken a vow not to use a shirt, a cap, and a coat. I wrap my upper body also with a dhoti. I use only hand-woven clothes. Swadeshi' (exclusive use of articles made in one's own country): I do not use a single foreign-made article (but only if 'swadeshi' is not taken in the expanded sense which you gave it in your speech at Madras).

Truth, non-violence, brahmacharya: I am sure that I have strictly observed these vows to the best of my understanding of them.

What more shall I write? In my dreams and in my waking hours, only one question haunts me: "Will God deign to take service from me? With the greatest self-honesty I can say this much: I follow the rules of the Ashram (except one) and so, though the body may be roaming outside, I am, in reality, always in the Ashram. It is the ideal of my life. The one exception, alluded to above, is about self-cooking i.e. about making my chapaties' myself. I tried to observe that rule also, but could not do so in my tramps.

If any question of offering satyagraha arises, say against the hardships of the third-class passengers in railways, I will come immediately, otherwise I have given you above the latest date of my arrival in the Ashram.

What are the changes that have been made in the Ashram? How many students are there? What is your scheme of national education, and what changes should I

make in my diet? I am longing for advice on all these points. And you must write the reply yourself, in your own hand. That is the earnest and insistent prayer of this 'Vinoba', your son, to whom you are no other than his revered father.

I will leave this town in a few days."

"A Hercules, a Samson!" burst out Gandhiji when he finished the letter. Another Gorakh, who has beaten his Machchandar[7]."

And this was the memorable reply from Bapuji:

"I do not know what eulogistic epithet I must use for you. Your love and your character and your self-examination have enthralled me and made me a dotard. I am not competent enough to judge you. Your self-analysis is a good enough judgment about you for me also. I accept the father's position you give me, because you have satisfied almost all my expectations from a son. I believe that he is the true father who gives birth to a son of a more sterling worth. And he is the true son who becomes richer (in spiritual values) than his father. If the father is a lover of truth, strong in his resolves and acts and full of compassion, the son should possess these qualities in a greater degree. I can see that you have gained them all but I don't find that your achievement is due to any effort on my part. So the position you install me on, I accept only as a gift of love from you. I will strive to be fit for that position and, when I turn out to be a Hiranya Kashyap[8], you must offer *civil disobedience* against my orders as did Prahlad of yore.

You are right when you say that you have scrupulously observed the Ashram rules, even while remaining physically out of it. I had never entertained any doubts about your return. Mama had read to me, besides, your messages sent through him. May God endow you with a long life and may it be used for the uplift of India, is all I wish.

There is nothing I may suggest by way of a change in your diet, at least, at present. Do not give up milk for some time; you may even increase its quantity, if you find it necessary for health.

A satyagraha against the working of railways is unnecessary. What is needed are well-informed propagandists for the purpose. It is possible that a fight may have to be offered with regard to the plight of the peasants of the Kaira district. I am at present a rambler from place to place. In a day or two, I will have to go to Delhi.

More when we meet. All of us are eager to see you in our midst.

Blessings,

Bapu”

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1. Now of international fame as the ‘Bhoodan’ (land-gift) and ‘Sarvodaya, leader-Acharya Vinoba Bhave. Gandhiji had selected him for the honour of being the first to begin individual civil disobedience during the Second World War on the strength of his great purity of character.

2. Bapuji =respected father. Gandhiji used to be called ‘Bapu’ by millions.

3. Mama Phadke, an earliest inmate of the Ashram, who has devoted his life to the service of the Depressed Classes.

4. Brahmacharya=lit. walking in the Way of the Lord; hence perfect continence. Hence Brahmachari=bachelor, in thought, word and deed.

5. It has been the Hindu traditional conviction that its scriptures and metaphysical truths cannot be rightly grasped except by a highly exalted soul.

6. Bows, a particular physical exercise involving bows to the sun.

7. Learning that his guru Machchandar had fallen into temptations, Gorakh took the form of a street-singer and sang only one line: ‘See Machchandar, Gorakh has come.’ The song roused Machchandar from his spiritual stupor, and it was thus the disciple beat the guru in his own field.

8. Power corrupted this king who, in his vanity, forbade God's worship and enjoined his own. His son, Prahlad, was a devotee of God and, though quite a child, disobeyed his father. Lord Vishnu takes a ‘man-lion’ form, kills the king and saves the devotee.

Bapu's ejaculation after writing the letter:

“A really great soul. It has always seemed to me that deeds of previous lives have tied me very strongly with Madrasis and Maharashtrians. No Madrasis are now with me, but not a single Maharashtrian has ever disappointed me, and Vinoba is the high water-mark of Maharashtrian strength of character."

To Pandit Hridaynath Kunzru (a leading member of Gokhale's Servants of India Society) at the time of the Kumbha Mela[1]

Extract from the letter:

Satyagrahashrm, Sabarmati,

10-2-2018.

*"I am handling a most dangerous situation and am preparing to go to a still more dangerous; You will now understand why I have not gone to the Mela. I was looking forward to having an opportunity of seeing Hinduism at work, both in its devilish and divine character. The former, I know, cannot influence me, and I had relied upon the latter doing for me what it did for me at Hardwar. I was looking forward to meeting you, and preaching you a few holy sermons on the necessity of Servants of India, not making it a regular habit of getting ill almost every alternate month. But it was not to be....."

Yours,

M. K. Gandhi.

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1. A big congregation of the Hindu monks and sannyasins held on specific sacred days every 3, 6 or 12 years in specific holy towns. Hundreds of thousands of lay pilgrims visit the town at that time, which becomes the scene of a stupendous mela (fair).

11-2-2018

Letter from his sister (a widow) complaining against high prices, and the inconveniences she has to put up with in her house, and requesting that the remittance amount be increased.

Gandhiji's reply:

“Revered Sister,

Though I do not write to you, your image has never been out of my mind even for a moment. The fact that you are not staying with me is an ever-painful, incurable wound. You alone can heal it. If you live with me, the sight of your face would be for me a glimpse, however faint, of ‘Ba’ (their mother). But you have chosen to deprive me of that solace. My complaint against you is of a kind which time can never soften. You have made it a point never to let me have the chance to claim proudly that my sister stands by me in my work for the country. If I write to you, I can only heap reproaches on you, or pour out my soul's anguish, as in this letter. That also is a reason, why I am so slack in my correspondence with you. I know that these are hard times, but whence can I get more money to send you? I have but to give you, whatever I can, from my friend's pocket. How can I have the face to request him to give me something more to send to you? He may at once ask me, “Don't you think your sister must stay with you?” What answer can I give him then? The world does not treat me as an ‘untouchable’ outcaste, but for you I am one. About this painful subject, I can tell you only one thing: I am not living a whit more comfortably than you. Your troubles, therefore, do not appear unbearable to me. I feel not a trace of shame nat the fact that you have to earn a supplementary income, by grinding corn for others. If you have the slightest pity for me, do come here; I beseech you. Make the Ashram your home and share in my work. You may be feeling distressed, at present, at the thought that you have no brother worth the name, but, if you do what I suggest, you will no longer feel the want of a brother, and you will find that you have not one but many. You will become a mother to many children besides. This is the Vaishnava dharma (worship of Lord Vishnu) in its pristine purity. So long as this truth does not dawn in you, we will have to bear the grief of separation from each other.”

To his sister's daughter-in-law:

"Chi. Nirmala,

Read the above letter to Ralait. I wonder what I should write to you in the matter. There are so many avenues of work open for you here, that, if you come, I can make your life a poem of spiritual peace and beauty, and you will forget all your woes of widowhood. Some other women are already here to help me, but, unfortunately, I am deprived of your support, though you are my own. I shall not find fault with you, as I find fault with sister Raliat, because you have two elders to win the permission of – your father and my sister. But if there is a driving urge in you to help me, you can not only secure the permission, but bring with you my sister Raliat also, as she cannot live a day without you by her side. I am pretty sure that you understand this point.

Were Gokuldas (her deceased husband) alive, he would never have felt at ease with himself without being here with me. You can, therefore, give peace to his soul, if you stay here.

Ba (Kasturba Gandhi) is in Bihar and she often longs for your company. I will have to stay in these parts for sometime more".

12-2-2018

.....'s letter: Expressing his feeling of shame forgoing to remarry within a short time of the death of his first wife, and his sadness at the thought that he could not observe mourning even for a year; but defending his action by such excuses as : if he did not bow down to the loving pressure of his dear ones, he would be misunderstood and would probably never get a second chance, in future, to remarry because of his obstinacy at present, etc.

“Bhai.....,

I have got your letter. It appears to me waste of energy to scourge you with words. There are some men who really want to extol themselves for their action, but they do so by appearing repentant for what they call their misbehaviour. You seem to be one of them at present. It may be acknowledged that you have a serviceable nature, which is out of the ordinary, and that is why you take part in public life. But in action you betray even greater weakness than a common man. First, you proclaimed that you felt deeply wounded by the loss of your wife, and that her parting words carved a deep impression on your mind. But soon the fact of the wound was forgotten, and the deep impression was erased altogether. If in the midst of loud lamentations, due to unbearable grief, a man suddenly bursts into laughter, he may be taken for a man gone mad or a play-actor. You, too, were lamenting but yesterday and are now revelling in laughter. Which of the two epithets then can apply to you? Can that man be adjudged fit for public service, who cannot control his lust, who has not an iota of self-restraint? And do not, please, sink lower than you have already done, by arguing that you are somewhat better than many others, who have done worse things and are still seen doing public service.

The retrograde step you have taken is about a matter of no small importance in the plank of social reform among us, Hindus. It is more essential that a Hindu widower observes at least some self-restraint than that a Hindu widow re-marries. You have lapsed from the fundamentals of Hinduism. If ever a Gujarat Seva Mandal (Service of Gujarat Society) is started and you want to be in close touch with it, it would be a serious moral question facing me, whether to accept you as a member thereof or not. It is not for me to judge you. That is only God's privilege and He alone can judge. But I will not, therefore, relinquish my right and duty to choose my life-companions.

Your action has exhibited to the world merely how superficial was the wound you had felt at your first wife's death, but to me, personally, the action has come as a serious shock. May God protect and enlighten you!

Mohandas Gandhi"

A flood of Mr. West's letters from Phoenix: It is difficult to conduct the 'Indian Opinion'. It could be maintained only, if it was transferred to Durban and some practical, business view was introduced in its working. That was his idea as well as of all others.

Reply:

*"My dear West, 12-2-2018.

I hope you have received all my letters. I have your two letters to acknowledge. I do not really know what to say. I have read Ritch's and De Beer's letters. From their standpoint they are right. For me, you would better serve the work by being good agriculturists. Manilal's advice from Johannesburg does not appeal to me. He ought to be in Phoenix to manage the Gujarati portion. But, as I have said, you are the final arbiter and you should do what you think is best. So far as I am concerned, the property is as much yours as mine, and so is the cause.

Having said so much about Phoenix, I would like to speak to you about my activities here. The very fact that I write so little to you, shows how busy I must be here. I think everybody wonders at my output of work. And nothing is of my seeking. I have taken up activities, as they have come to me. In Bihar, besides watching the legislative activity, I am opening and managing schools. The teachers are, as a rule, married people. And both husband and wife work. We teach the village children, give the men lessons in hygiene and sanitation, see the village women and persuade them to break through the Purda and send their girls to our schools. And we give medical relief free of charge. Diseases are known and so are the remedies. We, therefore, do not hesitate to entrust the work to untrained men and women, provided they are reliable. For instance, Mrs. Gandhi is working at one such school, and she freely distributes medicine. We have, perhaps, by this, time, relieved 3000 malaria patients. We clean village wells and village roads and thus enlist villagers' active co-operation.

Three such schools have been opened and they train over 250 boys and girls under 12 years. The teachers are volunteers.

Then there is the work in Gujarat. It consists in carrying out the programme set forth in the Godhra and Broach addresses. At the present moment, I am trying to deal with imminent passive resistance. The activities in Gujarat are multifarious. Lastly, I am endeavouring to lead the movement for the release of the Ali brothers. I am evolving a programme for dealing with cow protection, hand-weaving and acceptance of Hindi as the *lingua franca* of India. Of course, the Ashram and the national school continue.

In all this, it is my good fortune to be well assisted. This activity involves a great deal of travelling.

The Ashram is beautifully situated on the banks of the Sabarmati river. We daily bathe in it. All the children can swim now. The school is under an able Principal, who was a distinguished Professor of the Gujarat College. The Ashram, of course, is under Maganlal's (Gandhiji's nephew and colleague in S. Africa) management. I do not know what is in store for the Ashram or the school. They are at the present moment popular institutions.

In all these activities, I often wish for the co-operation of the fellow-workers there. But I know it cannot be. But believe me, there is not a moment, when I do not think of one or the other of you. News of your exploits serve as apt illustrations for me. I am building on the experience gained there

Please tell Mrs.West that she is not to consider, for one moment, that I have forgotten her or Granny. Nor have I forgotten the assurances given by me. New ties and new acquaintances cannot make me forget old ones.

This letter is not for publication. I do not wish to talk publicly of my activities.

With love,
Yours ever,
M. K. Gandhi”

12-2-2018

*"My dear Parbathy,

You see I began your letter in Gujarati as I do not write in English to girls and boys. But I know that I must write to you in English. You will say, 'If you had provided for my Gujarati and Hindi tuition, I would have understood your Gujarati and Hindi letters also.' You would be right, if you said so. I would, however, say, 'If you had only gone with me or followed me to India, you would have been truly my daughter and learnt Hindi and Gujarati.'

Please tell Sam that I expect him to make of Phoenix an agricultural success. Do please write home all about your doings there. Radha and Rukhi have grown wonderfully. Rukhi looks almost as big as Radha. They have both made considerable progress in their tuition.

With love to you all,

M. K. Gandhi"

(Signature in Tamil).

In loving admiration for Bapuji, I gave him the epithet 'The slave-hunter' in my talks with Pandyaji.[1] He goes on, I explained, catching someone or other, and yokes him to the national work, a passion of his life, which he pursues day and night. "No one could help getting tired of dilating upon his 'Lila' (the divine play of the Lord), and stopping the description by saying 'neti', 'neti'[2,] –" I remarked. I then gave him some instances of his varied ways of capturing the quarry for his work: He won me over by pointing out how very fast l wrote, and yet in what charming hand; he added that my faults were completely forgiven in view of my good qualities. Then, the other day, he made Durga (Mahadevbhai's wife) fall for him, by establishing a father's relationship with her, and creating in her a sense of deep gratefulness through an exceedingly loving letter. His charming chats with Ansuyabehn and Sri Shankarlal Banker (another labour leader), and his unfailing invitation, on meeting them, to have their meals with him, captured them too, and they became his colleagues. Then one day, he pressed Vallabhbhai (Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel) to dine with him everyday in the morning also, and heartily appreciated his refusal to remarry, though his wife had died 12 years ago, and thus drew him into the orbit of his magnetic field. There was another way with

him, besides, I added, and that was to share his most confidential secrets with some of us.

Last night he preferred to walk the whole distance (4 miles) from the Gujarat Club to the Ashram, despite the earnest en-treaty of Ansuyabehn to let her take him there in her car. Many topics arose in our talks on the way.

As I am writing a commentary on his book 'Sarvodaya', I said, "There are some chapters in it which are really excellent in style and substance, but there are some others which appear slipshod." He readily accepted my criticism and observed, "Sometimes I used to have an itch to write and the output was really charming. But sometime when, on my return home thoroughly fagged after a whole day's honest work, somebody demanded from me a definite number of columns for the 'Indian Opinion', I would dictate to him, and even say that I did not approve of such and such sentences, but that it could not be helped, as I had no time to think out a better expression. It is quite possible that such parts fall flat."

"'Letters from John Chinaman' is written in perfect King's English. Can the other books of G. Lowis Dickinson ever compare with it?"

Then the topic changed. "One thing has pained me very deeply today. In fact, I am consumed with it. I have already written to A a letter that is written not in ink, but in the burning lava of my heart. But I am as deeply pained at Mrs. B's action 'as at Mr. A's. She had no right to indulge in procreation, after taking to a life of public service; undertaking heavy responsibilities, and even accepting the position of the head of such a big educational institution as.... Of course, Mr. A also is to blame, but I am not blaming Mrs. B either. I am only expressing my anguish at the happening, not at the person concerned. I had supposed that the couple had turned a new leaf in their lives and given up their old ways to lead a life of service. I was so happy a year ago, when I learnt that they had begun to do public work. I am as grieved to-day as I was elated then. How can such people ever be considered fit for public service?

Referring again to A in the morning Bapuji said, "He had no right to enter public life. He should have gone to.... and spent his life there. But he did not go there and took to public service; but he made no sacrifice in doing so. What is his earning capacity after all? Rs. 25, 30, at the most 50. But today he draws from the institution an 'honorarium' which comes to Rs. 200/- p. m.! The respect and the high social status that he enjoys from his post in the institution, as well as from the help to individuals

that he can render through the post, must necessarily be counted as a part of the honorarium."

Then at night: "I have never considered, and do not intend to consider, now or in future, any person as my disciple. But, on his own, he (A) goes on proclaiming to one and all, 'I am Gandhiji's disciple.' How can he call himself my disciple when he does such things?"

Nothing can extenuate his action, except one possibility which C had pointed out: If he (A) never loved his wife, he had every right to remarry the very next day of his first wife's death. But then this our A was 'sunk in sorrow and gloom!'

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1. Sri Mohanlal Pandya, an erstwhile revolutionary, and so in the black book of the Government, became a convert to non-violence, and was a leader in the Kaira Satyagraha in 1918. He earned the honourable nickname of "dungli-chor" (onion thief), for canying away onions, from his own field, which the Govt. had confiscated.

2. 'not this', 'not this', a well-known Sanskrit expression, indicating the impossibility of giving a definition, comprising the attributes of God

15-2-2018

I read to-day Bapu's concise reproduction (in Gujarati) of Thoreau's 'Civil Disobedience' which first appeared in the 'Indian Opinion.' It deserves repeated reading and reflection. I write it down here (in Gujaiati) verbatim. It was shipshaped before it was published again in India. It is the revised form that I copy:

PREFACE

Henry David Thoreau, one of the very few topmost sages of America, whose thought, word and deed were all in harmony, lived in the middle of the 19th century. In consequence of his firm adherence to truth, his thought was charged with as much power as his speech and act. His writings are a mine of excellent thoughts, from every word of which emanates sparks of divine fire. That is why millions read and ponder over them.

Here is a brief report of the incident, which brought about the writing of his booklet 'Civil Disobedience', a summary of which also I attempt to give:

He was a resident of Massachusetts, one of the States of the United States of America. He felt that the war, which the U.S.A. had then declared against Mexico, was against all canons of justice. Moreover, while he considered the system of slavery, then prevalent there, as a grave and cruel injustice against the Negroes, his State, not only tolerated the system, but supported the masters. He, therefore, resolved not to pay any tax to the State and thus, by declaring his opposition to its policy, offer civil disobedience against the State and cease to be a partner in the State's atrocities. In accordance with this resolve, he declared to the tax-collector, when he came to him, "You won't get a farthing from me, so long as my money is to be used for the expenses of the war or the purchase of slaves." The tax-collector was puzzled and shocked. "What should I do then?" he asked. "Of course, you must resign; what else?" Thoreau had, consequently, to go to jail. His friend, Emerson, went to see him there and said, "Why are you here, Henry?" "But why are *you* not here?" countered Thoreau. This article is the expression of the thoughts that struck him in the jail. Historians say that among the chief reasons for the abolition of slavery in U.S.A., were Thoreau's going to jail voluntarily, and his publication of this pamphlet after his release. A perusal of this *precis* will show how apposite is the time for its publication, under the present situation of our country.

*"I heartily accept the motto – 'That government is best which governs least.' Carried out, it finally amounts to this: 'That government is best which governs not at all.' Government is at best an expedient; and all governments are sometimes in-expedient. The objections which have been brought against a standing army, are many and weighty and deserve to prevail, but they may also be brought against a standing government. The standing army is only an arm of the standing government and cannot stand for a moment without the army. But we cannot see this; we are overwhelmed by the power of the State. But the fact remains that the subject maintains both the State and the army.

Governments thus show how successfully men can be imposed on, even impose on themselves. This government never of itself furthered any enterprise. It does not keep us free. It does not educate. The character inherent in the American people, has done all that has been accomplished, and it would have done somewhat more, if the government had not sometimes got in its way.

But, I ask for, not at once no government, but *at once* a better government, which it is the duty of every man to demand. A majority rule is not always likely to be in the right. This imperception is the root of many an injustice. Can there be a govt. in which majorities do not virtually decide right and wrong but conscience? Must the citizen resign his conscience to the legislator? Why has every man a conscience then? I think we should be men first and subjects afterward. It is not desirable to cultivate respect for the law, so much as for the right. The only obligation, which I have a right to assume, is to do what I think right. Law never made men a whit more just; and by means of their respect for it, even the well-disposed are daily made the agents of injustice. A common and natural result of an undue respect for law is that you may see a file of soldiers marching in admirable order to a war, and submitting quietly to military commands, against their wills, against their consciences. Now what are they? Men at all? Or small movable magazines, at the service of an unscrupulous man in power? They put themselves on a level with wood and earth and stones. They command no more respect than men of straw. They have the same sort of worth only as horses and dogs. Others as legislators, lawyers, ministers and representatives claim to serve the State chiefly with their heads. But I see that they are as likely to serve the devil, without intending it, as God. A very few – as heroes, patriots, martyrs, reformers in the great sense – serve the State with their consciences, and so necessarily resist it, for the most part, and they are commonly treated as enemies by it. A wise man will

only be useful as a man, and will not submit to be 'clay' and 'stop a hole to keep the wind away'.

How does it become a man to behave toward this American government to-day? I answer that he cannot, without disgrace, be associated with it. I cannot, for an instant, recognize that political organisation as *my* government, which is the slaves' government also. All men recognise the right to resist the government, when its tyranny is great and unendurable. But some say that such is not the case now. Why? Because not they, but others are the victims. All machines have their friction and I should not make a stir about this. But when the friction comes to have its machine, and oppression and robbery are organised, it is not too soon for honest men to rebel and revolutionize.

Man must do justice, cost what it may. If I have unjustly wrested a plank from a drowning man, I must restore it to him, though I drown myself. He that would save his life in such a case, shall lose it. This people must cease to hold slaves, and to make war on Mexico, though it cost them their existence as a people.

We are accustomed to say, that the mass of men are unprepared; but improvement is slow, because the few are not materially wiser or better than the many. It is not so important that many should be as good (brave) as you, as that there be some absolute goodness somewhere; for that will leaven the whole lump. There are thousands who are, *in opinion*, opposed to slavery and to war, who yet in effect do nothing to put an end to them; who, esteeming themselves children of Washington and Franklin, sit down with their hands in their pockets and do nothing. What is the price current of an honest man and patriot to-day? They hesitate, they regret and sometimes they petition. But they do nothing in earnest and with effect. They will wait, well-disposed, for others to remedy the evil that they may no longer have it to regret.

There are nine hundred and ninety-nine patrons of virtue to one virtuous man. But it is easier to deal with the real possessor of a thing, than with the temporary guardian of it.

Even *voting for the right is doing* nothing for it. It is only expressing to men feebly your desire that it should prevail, and has no value. A wise man will not leave the right to the mercy of chance, and wish it to prevail through the power of the majority. Alone, he will fight for it. There is but little virtue in the action of masses of men. When the majority shall at length vote for the abolition of slavery, it will be because there is little

slavery to be abolished by their vote. Only his vote can hasten the abolition of slavery, who asserts his own freedom by his vote.

It is not a man's duty, as a matter of course, to devote himself to the eradication of any, even the most enormous, wrong. But it is his duty, at least, to wash his hands of it.

How can a man be satisfied to entertain an opinion merely, and enjoy it, if he does not put it in practice? If you are cheated out of a single dollar, you do not rest satisfied with saying that you are cheated; but you take effectual steps at once to obtain the full amount, and see that you are never cheated again. Action from principle, the perception and the performance of right, changes things and relations. It is essentially revolutionary. It not only divides States, it divides families and friends, aye, it divides the individual, separating the diabolical in them all from the divine. It is the service of Truth and the service of all through Truth.

Unjust laws exist; shall we be content to obey them or transgress them at once? Men generally think that they ought to wait, until the majority is persuaded to alter them; that if they resist, the remedy would be worse than the evil. But if that happens, it is the fault of the government itself, and not of the transgressors of unjust laws.

I know this well, that if one thousand, if one hundred, if ten men, – if ten *honest* men only, ay, – if one HONEST man, in this State of Massachusetts, *ceasing to hold slaves*, were actually to withdraw from his co-partnership with the State, by refusing to pay his taxes and be locked up in the country jail therefore, it would be the abolition of slavery in America.

He must see that, at any rate, he does not lend himself to the wrong he condemns, and not wait till men of his view constitute a majority. He is not alone. It is enough if he has God on his side, without waiting for others. Any man, more right than his neighbours, constitutes a majority already.

I meet the State government directly and face to face, once in a year – no more – in the person of the tax-gatherer. And the simplest, the most effectual, and, the indispensablest mode of treating with it, on this head, is to deny it then. If a thousand men were not to pay their tax-bills this year, that would not be a violent measure, as it would be to pay them, and enable the State to commit violence.

I know that when one brave man goes to jail, for not paying his tax-bill, that day the citadel of slavery is breached. For it matters not how small the beginning may seem

to be. What is once well done, is done for ever. But we love better to talk about it; that we say is our mission. Reform keeps many scores of newspapers in service, but not one man.

Under a government which imprisons unjustly, the true place for a just man is a prison. The proper place to-day, the only place which Massachusetts has provided for her freer and less desponding spirits, is in her prisons. For it is the only house in a slave State, in which a free man can abide with honour. If any think that their influence would be lost there, and their voices no longer afflict the ear of the State, they do not know by how much truth is stronger than error, nor how much more eloquently and effectively he can combat injustice, who has experienced a little in his own person. A minority is, powerless, while it conforms to the majority; it is not even a minority then; but it is irresistible, when it clogs by its whole weight.

When I converse with my freest neighbours, I perceive that they dread the consequences, to their property and families, of disobedience to the State. For my own part, I should not like to think that I ever rely on the protection of the State. It costs me less, in every sense, to incur the penalty of disobedience to the State than to obey. I should feel as if I were worthless in that case.

I have paid no poll-tax for six years. I was put into a jail once on this account, for one night; and, as I stood, considering the walls of solid stone and the door of wood and iron, I could not help being struck with the foolishness of that institution, which treated me as if I were mere flesh and blood and bones. It did not realize that, if there was a wall of stone for me between me and my townsmen, there was a still more difficult one for them to climb or break through, before they could get to be as free as I was. I did not, for a moment, feel confined. I felt as if I alone, of all my townsmen, had paid the tax and was free. I could not but smile to see how industriously they locked the door, and left me free for my meditations, which were really all that was dangerous. As they could not reach me, they had resolved to punish my body; just as boys, if they cannot come at some person, against whom they have a spite, will abuse his dog. And I saw that the State was half-witted; it was timid even in punishing my body, and I lost all my remaining respect for it."

* * * * *

A gentleman came from Baroda and stayed for afew days in the Ashram. He had long talks with Bapuji and then, before he left, after serious deliberation, he took a vow to return on Thursday next, and devote his life to national service. But from

Baroda, he wrote a letter to the effect that he had decided not to go to the Ashram as, on second thoughts, he had realized that his family would then be put to serious trouble and might have even to starve.

Reply:

"Your letter makes painful reading. The facts that you state in it, had not been out of your mind, when you took the vow. It was your duty to keep the vow, once you took it, even if your family was starved to death in consequence. It is only men of firm resolve, who can mould a nation. Others do not deserve to be classed among 'men.' Nobody urged you to take the vow. You had ample time, besides, for the fullest consideration of its possible effects on your family. This is nothing but weakness, which is a common failing with us and is at the root of our very slow progress. The object of writing this letter is not to induce you to keep your vow now. Even if you come here, you would be rejected. You must engage yourself in the maintenance of your family, *repent your sin* and humbly spend a homely, quiet life now.

Vande Mataram,

Mohandas Gandhi"

"Bhaishri Dahyalal,

I have your card. Many thoughts throng in my mind at the news of Bhai Amritlal's untimely death. And Bhai Navalram tells me just now that, besides him, some of your other colleagues also have lost their lives, in the service of the plague patients there. If that is so, I see, in their deaths, an occasion not to grieve for, but to rejoice over. We all would like to die such a glorious death. Our saying, "What more could one desire than death on the battle-field?" – is very apposite here. Thebody is sure to fall one day, when it gets worn out. We would even wish that it did so. Let us, therefore, have the faith to believe that Amritlal, Motilal and other colleagues will, in due course, assume new and fitter bodies and serve India through them in future.

Give my condolences to the bereaved family of Amritlal. You will do a service, if you make efforts to send Motilal's widow here, as soon as possible.

Vande Mataram,

M. K. Gandhi"

16-2-2018

"Chi. Devdas,

I came here for a day but, it seems, I will have to stay on for a month. I wanted to go to Delhi today, but shall have to go to Nadiad instead for the work of the Kaira peasants. Thousands would be put to a serious loss, if I left the work here just now.

The people would collapse in despair. Such being the case, I am detained here for the present. All the same, my hope persists that I shall be able to free myself from the work here in 10 days. You are never out of my mind. I know you are full of life, and can take an interest in many different things. Had you been here with me, you would have seen the glory and grandeur of Truth every moment. Pursuit of truth is the only legacy I can bequeath. I believe that wealth to be inexhaustible and, for the man who knows its worth, invaluable. He would neither ask nor even wish for any other heritage. As far as I know you, you have been able to assess the true value of this heritage

and are in love with it. This morning, however, I dreamt that you cheated me. You took out some currency notes from the cash box, got them changed and squandered away the money. I came to know of it all, and was sore distressed and irritated. But just then I woke up. I found that it was merely an ugly dream and

thanked God heartily. But it shows my infatuation for you. On your part, you want me to have it. You need not be seriously afraid that this excessive fondness will wear off completely during the remaining span of my life. I am making serious efforts to have an equibalanced love for one and all. All the same, my hope remains that your response to it will be greater than that of others.

I do not write a separate letter to Chi. Chhotelal and Chi. Surendra. You can, if you like, give this letter to them to read; or you can just give the necessary news. There is no harm, if you do not let them read the letter, as it is a sacred private talk between father and son, and so worth treasuring for you alone.

Blessings,

Bapu."

To Anandibai – a lady volunteer of Champaran (Bihar) on the death of her brother's wife (in Marathi):

"I am deeply grieved to hear of the death of your sister-in-law. But I know you are quite aware of the immortal Soul within us. You need not, therefore, be reminded of the truth that life and death are, really speaking, two sides of the same coin. And yet it has become the second nature of man, to feel unhappy at the death of some dear one. I wish to share in your grief and to give you as much peace as can. For persons like you who have decided and resolved to lead a life of service, there is only one proper way to mourn the loss of a beloved one, and that is to be all the more devoted to service.

Yours,

Mohandas Gandhi"

21-2-2018

As Secretary of the National Education Promotion Society, Mr. Arundale had made a request for an article for the National Education Week they were celebrating. It was first intended that the following reply be sent:

*"I have your letter. Just now I am immersed in one or two difficult matters. Thoughts do not come to me for the asking. I have to make my mind play upon a subject, before I can write anything readable in it. I can merely ay that I shall bear your letter in mind and try to give you something. The odds are that I shall fail, unless the things I am handling are finished before their expected period."

Then it was found that the latest date given for the article on Mr. Arundale's letter was 20-2-2018. So he exclaimed, "Good. That solves the problem. Write to him, "We received your letter only yesterday, and it was impossible to send you an article, before the date specified in your letter. In a letter to Mr. Sly[1] also, written about the same time, he had said, anything dropping out, is a positive relief."

21-2-2018

To Miss Winterbottom[2],

*"I have allowed weeks to pass by, without writing to you, but you know the reason why. Before telling you something about my activity, I want to answer an important question you have asked — a question which shows how closely you have been following my doings, in this part of the world. You have reminded me of what I used to say in London, viz., that benign autocracy was the best form of government, and have asked me how I reconcile my activity in connection with the Home Rule Movement here. I still retain the position held by me in London. But that form of government is an impossibility today. India must pass through the throes of Parliamentary Government, and, seeing that it is so, I naturally support a movement which will secure the best type of Parliamentary Government and replace the present bastardism, which is neither the one nor the other. What is more, I take part in the movement, only to the extent that I can enforce and popularise principles which, I know, must permeate all systems, if they are to be of any use. In Natesan's publication, a copy of which I have taken the liberty to send on to you, there is a translation of my address to the Gujarati Political Conference, which will more fully illustrate what I mean.

I have delayed for one week, hoping to deal with other matters. I must, however, no longer do so, but take some other opportunity of writing further.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. Gandhi”

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1. President of the Champaran Inquiry Committee appointed by the Government.

2. An old friend of Gandhiji, who had helped him in England.

"Bhai Gordhanbhai,

Pujya (respected) Ansuyabehn, Bhai Shankarlal Banker and I have returned just now from a meeting of the weavers. They say that millowners want them to sign some agreement, in return for a payment of 8 annas to each. I have advised them not to give their signatures, without showing the document to their advisers. I have also told them that, in a day or two, we will suggest the proper increment that they should demand from millowners. If they follow the advice, and agree to ask for the payment we suggest, it will be all to the good for them. I respectfully submitted yesterday to the members of the mill-owners' group an explanation of where I come in the picture, and what responsibility I have to discharge in the matter. I feel that the principle of arbitration has taken deep root among us, and it would be a tragedy for one and all, if the workers lose their faith in it. I cannot, therefore, renounce the duty that has fallen upon me, without my seeking it. Bhai Shankarlal Banker and Vallabhbhai Patel concur completely. It would be very undersirable for the workers, for you and for the public, if they have to remain idle for a long time, with their prospects unsettled all the while. Bhai Banker has brought with him from Bombay the rates of payment there, for different kinds and grades of work. I shall feel obliged, if you can send me immediately a statement of the corresponding rates that prevail here. On my part, I would wish the millowners to let us know the rates of payment to different sections, which they consider reasonable, stating, of course, that this co-operation from them did not mean that they were bound to accept the rates we may demand. If anyone of you presented himself at our dliberations and gave us your point of view, our resolution, whatever it be, was bound to be more well-informed. I have no class prejudices, and am not partial to the workers because they are workers. But I have a love for justice, and since it is often found to be on the side of workers, I happen to plead for them. Hence the general belief that I am partial to them. I am incapable of doing any harm to the great cotton industry of Ahmedabad. I hope, therefore, that your Association will give us every help in this difficult matter. I pray you will send your reply immediately, as I have told the workers that I will, if possible, declare the outcome of our deliberations on Wednesday at the latest.

M. K. Gandhi".

26-2-2018

After a long deliberation, it was decided this evening that the question of the spinning department be waived, for the present, and the weaving section be advised to ask for an increment of 35% to their wages for the month of July, and be allowed to declare a strike, if their demands were not accepted. It was also resolved that, in case of a strike, the labour leaders should visit the strikers individually at their homesteads, spend long hours with them in friendly chats and thus, by showing their oneness with them, keep up the spirits of the strikers. This idea of the identification of the higher with the lower class, caught Bapu's fancy and, with a good-humoured gibe at Ansuyabehn, he said : "So now get out of your Stately mansion, and be a sister to the lowly – the women workers."

A letter[1] *on the Kaira situation:*

"I have read your letter to the Gujarat Sabha. It is the duty of all of us to work for the ryots of the Kaira District. I believe the Gujarat Sabha is not worth its name, if it did not take up this question.

I myself am largely responsible for the advice that is being given to the peasants there. Their case is that the crop this year is less than 4 annas (one-fourth of the standard yield) and that the Government has always agreed not to collect land-revenue if it came to below 4 annas. If the Government refuse to heed the peasants' cry of distress, they have only one remedy left with them. They should refuse to pay the land-revenue, and allow their goods to be sold for the default. If they did not take this step, the fact of the payment itself would mean that they were in the wrong.

The assessment of revenue has but to be, and is, based upon the productive capacity of the soil. It is clear that no revenue could be demanded on barren tracts of land. The Government regulation that payment be made in instalments, is not at all a favour conferred on the peasants. It is but the outcome of sheer necessity.

I see every possibility of a gulf remaining between your views and those of the Gujarat Sabha. But it is only a part of a public man's business to put up with such differences. Both the views may be put before the public, which may then make its own choice.

That there is nothing illegal in courteously refusing to pay a tax, and allowing the authorities to collect the amount through attachment of property, is to me as good as an axiom.

Yours
Mohandas

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1. The name of the addressee could not be found out – Editor.

26-2-2018

*My dear Devadhar,

I have your two letters and the report. I do feel that you have unconsciously injured the cause, and have allowed yourself to be made a tool in Mr. Pratt's hands. You have based your statement, about the under-valuation on the part of the raiyats (ryots), on totally insufficient data. Amritlal Thakkar, who went into details, does not think that 3½ annas is an under-valuation. You know that the official valuation has undergone a manipulation.

And how can it be said that substantial concessions have been made, when we know that not a single concession has yet been made? He was simply playing with us, when Mr. Pratt said that postponement would be granted when the *rabi* (winter-crop) was not over 25% (4 annas). Do you realize that *rabi* does not include cotton, tobacco, tuvar (lentil) and diveli (castor seed)?

Where was the necessity of publishing the report at all? When I entered upon the scene, you might well have left the judging of the moment of publication to me.

Lastly, why think that we can gain only what the officials give? Why not feel that we must get what we deserve?

I feel that you are not doing justice to yourself or the cause you handle by attempting too much. You are ailing. You have more irons in the fire than you can handle. You should have boldly said you could not undertake the inquiry.

I know you will not misunderstand my letter. I love you too well to do you conscious injustice. The best expression I can give to my regard for you, is to open out the door to my heart and let you see what there is. No friend can do more. He who does less, is so much the less a friend.

You ought to listen to my prayer and give Amritlal to the work in Gujarat. He will render greater service to the Society (Servants of India Society), because he will shine most in the work in Gujarat. The Council work can be done somewhat by a man who has a head about him. The pariah work can only be done by a man with a heart to guide his head. Amritlal is that man.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. Gandhi

27-2-2018

"Chi. Ramdas,

I am worrying over you these days. I read disappointment writ large in your letters. With a painful inferiority-complex, you feel that you are uneducated and are nowhere in the world. Were you here with me, I would nestle you under my wings and give you solace and strength. I think it is due to my own defect that I cannot satisfy you. Knowing that all my faults were committed unconsciously, you will please forgive me. Children can legitimately claim very special rights from their parents. They are always in a state of helplessness before them. One mistake on the part of a parent may mean fading, for a whole life, the opening bud of the child's soul. Our scriptures have raised parents to the pedestal of Godhood. It is not always that parents, who can discharge such a great responsibility, are born in this world. They are most often too earthy, and they leave a legacy of that earthiness to their progeny. Thus, with every new generation, there is greater selfishness and grossness. What makes you think yourself an unfit son? Do you see that your unfitness means mine also? And I don't propose to let others judge me an unfit person. How is it possible for you to be unfit then? You are not going to give up truth, in your greed for wealth, though you will, of course, try to earn. And you are sure to keep up the code of righteous and self-restrained living, though you may wish to marry. So I, for one, will always regard you as a worthy son.

You need not apologise to me. You have not disappointed me. I wish you came here, after finishing your work on hand there. I will certainly take part in your wedding ceremony, and if you want academic education, I will help you there also. If only you build an iron constitution, we will successfully cope with everything else. As the situation stands at present, we are all miles away from one another. You are there, Manilal at Phoenix, Deva at Badaharva, Ba at Bhitiharva, Harilal in Calcutta and I, a traveller, always on the wheels. May be, this disruption of the family is our contribution to national service, and a necessary state in the evolution of our souls. Be that as it may, let us cheerfully bear with what has fallen to our lot.

Bapu's blessings."

Giving in his morning prayer speech today an account of the situations that have arisen out of the Kaira Satyagraha and the strike of the mill-workers, he said: "I have always been saying that it is not a government alone against which Satyagraha can be launched. It can be offered against anything and everybody and under all situations. We are at present witnessing examples of this maxim. While there is a Satyagraha on foot in Kaira against the government, in Ahmedabad it is offered against the rich and, in the matter of untouchability, it is carried on against some of our scriptural texts. I feel that in everyone of these matters, success is bound to come to us, because Truth is definitely on our side. The Government has been overweening and insolent in the Kaira affair, and there was no go for us except to offer Satyagraha. If we don't win there, the fault will lie with our own imperfections, and not with the principle itself. Our Satyagraha succeeded in Bihar, because there I fell in with a team of workers, who were the salt of the earth. I see that there is not as much purity here; nevertheless, I have got more than I had bargained for. In Ahmedabad also a splendid situation has arisen. I would like to share with you something that the Collector told me yesterday. I have not given it out anywhere else, but the Ashram, I think, is the right place where I can do so. And he did not say it for the sake of politeness, as a conventional compliment. It came out of his heart. He declared, "This is the first time in my life, when I see a fight between employers and workers carried on with so much love and regard for each other." I too feel that I have never seen such cordiality, as exists here between two fighting forces. You saw that, though belonging to the opposite camp, Ambalalbhai came here yesterday to dine with us. And, when I gave him a rather pressing invitation to have his meal with us tomorrow also, he could see my purpose and immediately accepted it. Could there be an affinity between opponents more charming than this? I think we are not going to be defeated in this fight, if we have firmness, purity and single-minded purpose to a degree sufficient for the occasion. I cannot keep you fully in touch with all that is going on in the struggle, but it is a training in self-control for you to reconcile yourselves to this situation. Only, we must always be ready and prepared to do our part of the work, whatever it be, if we are called upon to do it, and for all that we have but to cultivate firmness and self-control."

For the last 3 or 4 days, it has become a rule with us to go to bed late at 12 midnight or even 0. 30 a.m. and wake up early at 3 or 4 a.m., without even a wink of sleep by daytime. He (Bapu) got up very early this morning also, and finished writing some very remarkable letters, one of which (to Ramdas) has been given above. The

following is another such, in which he has handled the question of the Ali brothers' release. In a tone full of regret, he expresses his inability to go to the Ali brothers, because he is held up here in the strike of the mill workers and the question of the Kaira peasants. The letter is written to Janab (Mr.) Shuaib Qureshi, editor of the “New Era”.

*Dear friend

“I am ashamed of myself. I am most anxious to be there. Yet the facts seem to have conspired against me. The strike is still on, and it is of such a delicate nature that I dare not leave it. The Kaira affair, too, involving as it does the rights of several lakhs of people, demands my attention. I know that delay about the Ali brothers is dangerous. I, therefore, stay where I am till I feel free. I know you will not have me do otherwise. “Will you please apologise to Maulana Saheb? Do please keep me informed of what goes on there.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. Gandhi.”

28-2-2018

*Dear Mr. Pratt,

"Your frank talk of yesterday encourages me to send you this letter.

The following is the position throughout India. A new order of things is replacing the old. It can be established peacefully, or it must be preceded by some painful disturbances. What it will be, lies largely in the hands of Civil Servants like yourself, more than in those of the King's representatives quite at the top. You desire to do good, but you rule, not by the right of love, but by the force of fear. The sum-total of this energy of the Civil Service represents to the people the British Constitution. You have failed, probably not through any fault of your own, to interpret it to the people, as fully as you might have. The result is the people dread your power to punish, and they miss the good you desire to do. The Home Rulers, so named, have become impatient of your authority. They are a rapidly increasing power. They find no difficulty in showing to the people the dreadful side of the Civil Service rule. The people welcome them as deliverers. With nothing but love of the land and distrust of the officials to guide them, they spread ill-will. The order you represent knows this only too well, and it naturally resents this insult. And so the gulf widens. I presumptuously believe that I can step into the breach, and may succeed in stopping painful disturbances, during our passage to the new state of things. I want, at the end of it, to see established, not mutual distrust and the law of force, but mutual trust and the law of love. I can only do so, if I show the people a better and more expeditious way of righting wrongs. It is obviously bad, if they submit to your order through fear and harbour ill-will. It is worse, if misguided, they resort to violence. The only loyal and truly uplifting course for them is to show their disapproval, by disobeying your order, which they may consider to be unjust, and by knowingly and respectfully suffering the penalty of their breach. I venture to think that advice to do so, can be safely tendered in almost every conceivable case of a felt wrong, provided that all other recognised remedies have been previously tried. I wish you could see the viewpoint submitted by me. You will, I know, forgive me for my presumption in writing this letter. Of course, I have written irrespectively of the Kaira trouble. It is highly likely that I shall have the privilege of working with you on a more non-contentious platform. But I feel that it is better that you should know me with all my limitations.[1]

Yours sincerely,

M.K. Gandhi”

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1. During the Kaira Satyagraha, Mr. Pratt was the Commissioner of Northern Division (Gujarat), and he had made serious efforts to suppress the movement. Then he went to England on furlough, from where he wrote the following letter to Gandhiji, which suggests what favourable impression peaceful Satyagraha creates upon the minds of the Government officers concerned in the long run :

18-2-2020

*Dear Mr. Gandhi,

During my absence from India, I have been in fairly close touch with Indian affairs through the newspapers, both English and Indian, and a week or two ago when I read the account of your speech in the Amritsar Congress, in which you and Mr. Jinnah were fighting the battle of trust and co-operation against suspicion and disappointment, I felt that I would like to write and congratulate you on the stand you took. I write this purely as a private individual. Our relations in the past have not been altogether harmonious. Speaking for myself only, I feel sure that there have been hard thoughts and hard words against you, which were not justified. But the future matters far more than the past, and I wish to grasp the hand of fellowship and co-operation, in the same spirit in which you extended it in your admirable speech. I hope, though I cannot be sure, that I will return to Ahmedabad at the end of March, and I look forward to the pleasure of meeting you in India.

Yours sincerely,

F. Pratt”

1-3-2018

To Ambalal Sarabhai:

"Sugna Bhaishri,

Early this morning, as I was getting up, I fell into a reverie. Whither are we going? What would be the results of my activity, if it was continued for long? And what of yours? In the former case, you would either accept the demands of the labourers or, if you are adamant, the labourers may take to some other occupation. If they give up their resolve and accept the wages you offer, it will be my defeat. But the public will not feel morally shocked at my success or defeat.

But what about *your* activity? If you win, the labourers will be all the more suppressed; they will sink into deeper depths in cowardice and despair, and they will be convinced that Mammon is the real Ruler, who can triumph over everything in this world. If, despite your efforts, the labourers get an increment, you and those with you will consider yourselves beaten. But is your victory really desirable? Would you wish the rich to get even more purse-proud? Would you like labourers to become utterly helpless, before the might of wealth? What would you prefer – to let the workers grovel in the dust, or to consider it as *your* victory, not theirs merely, if they get their due or even a little more? Don't you see that in your defeat lies your true victory, and that your seeming victory is dangerous even, to yourself? What would have happened, if Ravana had won against Rama? Can't you realize that your victory would give the world a moral shock and, therefore, it is *duragraha* (persistence in an untruthful act, as against Satyagraha, persistence in 'truth)? Success of my movement will be hailed everywhere as a progressive step, but, even in the case of my defeat, there will be no harmful repercussions. It will only show that the labourers were not strong enough to hew their way to victory. My effort, therefore is a form of Satyagraha. Please consider deeply. I appeal to you to listen to the still small voice within you and follow its dictates. Will you have the goodness to dine with us here?"

3-3-2018

During the continuance of the strike, as we were once returning from a meeting of the workers, our talk turned on the spirit and fanaticism of Muslims. This led him on to confide to me the hidden workings of his mind.

"There are two subjects on which I have to cruelly suppress my mind's urges. Ever since I read the history of the East India Company, my mind refuses to be loyal to the British Empire, and I have to make strenuous efforts to stem its tide of rebellion. The first thought that rises up in the mind, is that the British should be driven out of India bag and baggage; but a feeling, deep down in me, persists that India's good lies through British connection, and so I force myself to love them. The same about Muslims. Though we do say that Hindus and Muslims are brothers, I cannot conceive of their being brothers right to-day. I have talked with Indian leaders also, and many of them do not at all believe in Hindu-Muslim unity. They do talk of it, of course, but they have no such belief in the hearts. Just the same in this matter also, something within me tells me that Hindus and Muslims are going to unite as brothers one day, that there is no other course open to them and they have but to be brothers. If we go on remembering old scores, we would feel that unity is impossible, but at any cost we ought to forget the past. History teaches us that these things have happened the world over, and that the world has forgotten them, because public memory is always short and forgiving. This is another instance of love by a compelling mental effort. Hinduism is so liberal and broad-minded that, I think, it can achieve this consummation. Not that all religious distinctions will be wiped out in future, but Hinduism will captivate Muslims by the power of its compassion, which is its very essence. This red-letter day of heart-unity, however, will come only when Hindus regain their spiritual heritage. We can win over the Muslims this very day, if we are sufficiently imbued with that spirit of brotherly love. But it is difficult to predict just now the time when Hindus will rise to that height."

Then on the topic of teaching English to women, he said:

"I am often tempted to write a letter to Prof. Karve[1] to the effect that it is a tyranny on them to make English a compulsory subject for girls. I can understand English being included in the list of optional subjects for them, but personally I don't see any necessity for even that. So much time and labour are wasted over committing to memory the words of English language, with their entirely foreign background, that the student then becomes unfit for many other things he ought to do. And it would be

very harmful to the country, if the energy of our girls is used up in studying English. In fact, there is no need for men also to learn it. Only politicians, representatives who go abroad and students with a literary bent may learn the language. I don't see any necessity for the masses to learn it. I do not mean to say that the masses should be deprived of the benefit of anything worth knowing, that may be written in the English language, but those who are proficient in English, may translate it into regional languages, so that the masses can get that benefit. It would also mean a great saving of expense, if English is dropped from the subjects of study".

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1. Ever since he took the bold step of marrying a Brahmin widow, Prof. D. K. Karve devoted his life to the cause of women's education and founded the S. N. D. T. University for women.

"Bhaishri,

....we are always so anxious to live on as long as possible that death, and specially that of some loved one, appears to us like a dreadful phantom. But I have often felt that the occurrence of death is the real time of our test. He who has even a slight awareness of the immortality of the indwelling spirit, sees death in its true colours. To that man any grief over the death of anybody, is at once unnecessary and wasteful. These thoughts are by no means new, but their reminder, at the time of a calamity, gives solace to the heart. It is with that object that all this has been written."

To Manilal :

".....I feel bored at the blind adoration of the people for me. If they know my views and even then respected me, I could utilize their regard for me for national work. I do not wish to gain any popularity at the cost of hiding my religious views. If I become an object of universal contempt for sticking to the right course, I would hail that too.

Remembering that man always looks before and after and pines for what is not, as all his desires are never satisfied, let us be at peace with ourselves."

6-3-2018

To Mrs. Millie Polak: Sabarmati,

*"Dear Millie,

..... I am here attending to the Kaira trouble, as also a big strike. My passive resistance is, therefore, beginning to have full play in all the departments of life. These two things detain me in Ahmedabad. I am sending Henry some papers about it directly. I have been watching his career. Nothing that Henry does in this direction will surprise me. I should feel sad, if I found him doing less. He will feel the loss of Sir William Wedderburn (a veteran Congress leader), but he has not left the world before his time ..... Do you write to Mr. Ambalal? He is the most stubborn opponent in the strike.

Deodhar's reply to Bapu's letter: Did not accept all Bapu's contentions, but complained about his illness. Answer:

Wednesday

9-3-2018

*"Do by all means come and we shall discuss. Meanwhile, we must agree to differ. I have come in close touch with both Messrs. Pratt and Ghosal (the Collector of Kaira District) and I think I know them. I suppose we shall have to be content with half your usefulness. He who remains sick half the time of his life, is only half useful; is he not? You will not do the one thing to regain health.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. Gandhi"

7-3-2018

"Bhai Pranjivan,

Whatever the final outcome of the struggle in Kaira, it is certain that both the public and the official world are given a very good training. An unprecedented awakening has come over the people. The very idea of non-payment of taxes was once unthinkable, and considered an act of disloyalty. But now people have begun to put the idea into action freely and fearlessly. Those from the educated classes, who have become volunteers, are benefited immensely. Towns people who had never seen a village, got an opportunity to see 600 of them; the work there is still not over. Things are going on the same splendid way, in the tussle between millowners and workers. We are penetrating all the strata of Indian life. That 10,000 workmen are observing a strike quite peacefully, without a rupee being spent after them, is by no means a small achievement and yet it is a fact. People have realized the truth of the principle:

'self-help is the best help'. The strikers have been given these two keynotes for success:

'On you, not on others, depends your success' and 'No victory without voluntary self-suffering.'

Gandhiji then answered Sri Pranjivan's question – whether he should extend his shipping business, as one ship owned by him was being built:

"The answer to your question, whether it is good for you to expand your business, depends entirely upon your goal in life. Nobody knows how long he will live. It may be all right to earn money in order to do good to the people, but, if in the process of gaining wealth, death overtakes the man, he will have to repent at his deathbed, for having done no service to the people. But if earning money is considered a good thing by itself, and so if the aim of life is to pile up money, or if a man thinks it his duty to expand his business, so that the country's trade position may improve, then, of course, one has but to go in for greater and greater business."

"Bhai Mansukhlal,

Your criticism does not make me unhappy. I do not think of the question of Kathiawar as one of no importance. It appears to me to be such a big problem, that I feel I have not the capacity to cope with it, at least, at present. Nor is it true that I have not thought over the problem, but I have deliberately set it aside. It is possible that my

decision, not to handle it, betrays my weakness. If it is so, I should be endowed with sufficient strength; it cannot be pumped into me by you or anybody else. For it, there must be a fire burning within, which it is not."

10-3-2018

Bapu drenched me with his love today, as he opened himself out in sweet reminiscences of his family:

“Harilal will indeed be hurt by my letter to him, but I could not give him any other reply. Nobody in the world, perhaps, has tasted the joys of parental love as much as I. My claim in that matter is very high. If I am told that so-and-so loves his father or mother more than I, I would say, ‘All right, bring him to me; let me test him first.’ My parents had surrendered themselves to my love. My father would never ask any of the servants to do anything for him, but he would insist on my doing it. If it was water that he wanted, or a shampoo of his legs, or any other personal service, small or big, there was sure to be a call for me. He simply doted up on me. It is hard to find a father so loving as he. That day, when I tried to see the drama, is indelibly carved in my memory. O, the tears he shed, and the punishment he inflicted upon himself then! This was how it all happened. That day I was pressing his legs, as usual, but my heart was far away. The one thought 'Oh, if only Bapu spared me today to let me see the play!’ revolved in my mind. “Bapu .....!” I broached the subject timidly. But he had chosen to be deaf.

He had sensed, of course, that the boy's heart was not in the massage. ‘Bapu’, I ventured to repeat, ‘an excellent play is to be enacted today.’ No answer. But my craze to see the performance blinded me to the plainest signs. The third time I pressed; ‘Bapu, there is an excellent programme. Shall I go to see it?’ ‘Ye ..... s’, came out from his trembling lips, but the meaning was a clear ‘no’. Even that did not deter me. I stuck to the letter of the permission and went. The curtain was only just lifted and the first scene was on, when a man came from home and told me, ‘Bapu is weeping like anything and beating with his palm his forehead in anguish.’ I came out, sped home, fell at Bapu's feet. He spoke not a word, not one word of anger or reproach. He showed his dislike merely through a stream of tears and gesticulation. Never since that day have I seen a single play, so long as he was alive.

He was a very strict disciplinarian. “No; you will do this, not that.” “This has got to be done.” “What's this nonsense?” "Who did it this way?” – came out from his lips with irresistible finality. He insisted on having his way always. Even when the most confidential consultations were going on, or when the most celebrated State-representative was visiting him, he would have me by his side. Every little personal service he would take from me alone. I used to pestle into a paste his medicated opium also. Some *Vaidya* (physician who prescribes from *Sanskrit medical books*) had told

him, “If you take just a slight quantity of opium, it will keep up your vitality.” His was such a personality that the Thakore Saheb of Rajkot himself would often come to our house. There was an unforgettable incident in connection with the Thakore Saheb. He was about to marry two princesses – one from Dharampur and the other from Kanpur. Dharampur's was a more imposing durbar, and the marriage party going there to fetch the bride were sure to receive far more costly gifts in jewellery, clothes, and money. But Bapu decided that we – my brother and myself – were to proceed to the less respectable Kanpur. This raised a hot discussion at home. Mother was offended. ‘What? My sons to go to Kanpur!’ She grumbled. She thought out a stratagem to override Bapu's wish. She asked us to see the Thakore Saheb himself just on the day when the marriage-par- ties were to leave Rajkot. To Thakore Saheb then we hied that morning. But Bapu was there, sitting. Eyes red with rage, he glared. We broke down. The Thakore Saheb saw us weeping. “What's the matter, Gandhi? Why this severe look? What's it that they want?” “We are Diwansaheb's (Chief Minister's) sons,” we pleaded, “and don't like to go to Kanpur.” “Perfectly true,” agreed the Thakore Saheb. “The marriage party may not have reached even the city limit. Run and join them. Yes, Dharampur, not Kanpur is where you should go.” But Bapu put his foot down. “No,” he intervened with a quiet decision: “You are going to Kanpur. Dharampur is no good for boys like you.” If his sons got out of hand at that early age, he felt, and caught a craving for luxuries, what would they come to in life? So Bapu's point was carried and we went to Kanpur.

I used to get scholarships, 5 and 10 rupees, in the sixth and the seventh forms. But not a pice have I ever used for myself.”

I talked of Lallubhai's son.[1] Bapu remarked, “Yes, that's typical Kathiawar. Devdas seems to have thoroughly imbibed all such healthy traditions and has been keeping them up, I see.”

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1. Late Sri V. L. Mehta, an ex-Minister of Bombay State after Independence and son of Sir Lallubhai Samaldas, who relinquished his right to a College scholarship in favour of Mahadev Bhai Desai, who was then in need of the amount for his further studies.

12-3-2018

Mrs. Besant visited Ahmedabad. There was a dinner in her honour at Ambalal Sarabhai's. Confidential talks were held before the dinner-time and I was present. They referred to the strike first of all. With a look towards Ambalal Bapuji said to Mrs. Besant; “They were prepared to crush the millhands out of existence,” and Ambalal paid back in the same coin, “And they were prepared to crush the millowners out of existence.” Mrs. Besant then suggested, “Do you wish, Mr. Gandhi, that I should approach the Government in the matter?” Bapuji: “No, I do not at all wish you to move the Government in the matter. There has been perfect good humour between us.” Mrs. Besant: “Oh, quite unusual. What about your Kaira people, Mr. Gandhi?" Bapuji: “Well, I think I need not be sparing in the use of adjectives, and I may say that the Government have been most stupid in their attitude. They ought to understand. They do not see how far we have climbed down. We have taken particular care to keep the agitation out of the Press. Otherwise, we could have done it very well. There is an unusual amount of activity in Kaira, we have reached every village and every homestead. (As to the ryot) Kaira has a bold peasantry. It is one of the richest tracts in India. It has magnificent trees. Trees in Bihar grow of themselves. Here they are grown. The Kaira farmer has put in the whole of his energy into the soil.”

There was a long ‘personal and private’ letter from Ambalal Sarabhai today. Immediately after reading it, Bapu tore it to pieces. He was then at Anasuyabehn's and there and then he wrote out a reply. As I was standing just behind him with my face over his head, I read the letter through as he was writing it. I requested him to let me take down a copy. "Nothing doing," he said, “such letters should never be copied and preserved. These things can never be published. You must not copy it even in your diary.” “But I may write down at least what I can remember,” I put in. “Well ....., You may,” he relented. This was the last day of the notice-period given by the mill-owners before declaring a lock-out. Seth Ambalal might have expected that a large number of weavers would turn up before the notice-period expired, but none of them did, though some of them, it seems, had given him some hope that they might. In that private letter Sri Ambalal seems to have made an allegation that some workers were prevented from attending the mills by intimidation and force and so, it appears, he had requested Bapuji to give instructions to the strikers not to use pressure.

The gist of Bapu's reply was:

'I have got your letter and destroyed it after perusal. I have never wished that any pressure be put upon loyal millhands. I will certainly inquire and do the needful, if you give me specific instances of intimidation. Personally, I am indifferent about the success or failure of the strike, after doing my duty in the matter, and I never wish that a single mill-hand remains absent from his mill against his will. I am even prepared to escort a loyal worker to his mill, if he comes to me and says he wants to join. I am entirely indifferent in the matter of the workers' attendance or absence. My part of the work is done and there the matter ends for me.

Now that you have given me this delicate question (of the strike) to tackle, how is it possible for me to have the pleasure of a stay with you? I am very eager to meet your children, but I have to suppress that desire for the present. I have but to postpone that delightful meeting to a more favourable occasion in future.'

17-3-2018

During his prayer speech in the Ashram, he explained his reasons for going on a fast:

"The step I have just now taken is really very drastic and dreadful, but I was actuated by a deep and weighty consideration. It is dreadful because all those numerous men and women in India who know me will get a shock and will bewail it. At the same time, I saw in the fast a good opportunity to give out to the world one sublime principle of action. I thought I should not miss that chance and so I took that terrible step. I have been impatient for the last 2 days to explain the significance of the fast, but till now I could not get sufficient leisure for it. My inability to present myself at the morning and evening prayers of the Ashram pains me deeply. That is one reason why am here today. Added to it is the fact that the artiste, whom we wanted for our prayer songs, came to stay with us yesterday, and I won't allow myself to be cheated of the joy of listening to his melodious music. I have overcome many an allurement, but there are many others that still cling. As we have got all that we wanted on the subject of music in the Ashram, for the present at least, I made it a point to come over here, despite the most loving pressure of Ansuyabehn to stay with her. On occasions such as this (of fasting), specially, the Ashram music has a very soothing and elevating effect on my whole being. This is just the right time and place to pour out before you what is welled up in my mind. It would be bad to call you away from your respective duties and collect you here at any other time.

From the mine of our ancient culture and civilization, a gem has come into my possession, i.e., I have learnt a principle of life, which, if thoroughly assimilated, can enable even the very few of us who are here to rule the world. But before I tell you what it is, I have to say something else by way of a preface. There is only one individual in the whole of India today, after whom millions of our countrymen are mad and for whom they would willingly lay down their lives. That man is Tilak Maharaj.[1] I have often felt that this extraordinary popularity is a treasure which Tilak Maharaj alone possesses and he can make capital out of it for India's good. Though he has written 'Gita-rahasya' (The essential teaching of the Bhagawad Gita), yet, deep down in me, the feeling persists that he has not imbibed the true spirit of Mother India, viz., her age-old pursuit after soul force. And that is why the country still welters in its present plight. In his heart of hearts, he feels that we must copy the Europeans. It is his aim to make his country shine as brilliantly as Europe shines today, or rather as it appears to shine in

the eyes of those who are enamoured of European ways and outlook on life. He did, indeed, suffer six years' incarceration, but only to show a kind of courage that Europe understands and approves. He wanted our oppressors to realize that Indians also have the grit to spend years and years in jail. Many great men of Russia were banished to Siberia to rot till death in its gaols there, but they never voluntarily accepted jail-life as a corollary of their spiritual wisdom. To spend away one's life, in the way they did, is to fritter away our God-given wealth. Were Tilakji's object in his sufferings spiritual and not political, our condition to-day would have been far better, because astounding benefits might have come out from them.

It is this central point–the spiritual background behind my suffering through the fast–that I want him to understand. While fully keeping within the bounds of deference due to such a great man as he, I have talked to him as much as I could about the point, though I must say I have not written or spoken on it quite explicitly. It is true indeed 'that in my writings this phase of my life has been played down in order to deal more fully with the question on hand. But Tilakji's nicety of perception is by no means ordinary and he can read between the lines. Even other-wise, this is a principle which cannot be really understood through a written or a spoken word. Its practice with its visible results alone can convince the sceptic. So I thought that though I have often written indirectly about it, I must not miss a chance to show to the world its superb efficacy through practical demonstration. This occasion gave me the chance.

An equally great personality is Pandit Madanmohan Malaviya. He is the purest of all the present leaders of India, i.e., of all political leaders and all those others whom we know, though there may be other holy persons whom we do not know. Even a man with such purity of character, and such deep knowledge of the scriptures, as he is, does not quite understand, I am sorry to say, what India really stands for. I know I transgress the rules of decorum when I say so. Malaviyaji may get enraged and run me down as a presumptuous, conceited fellow. But the fact is such and I have no hesitation in declaring it. I have often said so to Malaviyaji himself. With him, in particular, I am bound, by strong ties of love, and I have had many a loving tussle with him on this question. But at the end of all my argument he would say, "What you say may be all right, but I remain unconvinced." I have got this opportunity to show him, by example, the truth of my plea. To both these great men I must show the true spirit that has been animating India since ages past.

For the last twenty days, I have been moving among ten thousand mill-workers. In my presence they took a solemn oath with Ishwara or Khuda (Hindu and Muslim words for God) as their witness. And they took it with great fervour. Whatever they be in other respects, these labourers are believers in their God.

They had supposed that God was sure to rush to their rescue, as they had strictly kept the vow for full 20 days. But when God did not help them even then, and chose to put them to a severer test, their faith in Him weakened. They felt, 'Trusting the word of this one man, we suffered so long but gained nothing. Instead of listening to his advice to remain peaceful, had we indulged in violence we would have got within quite a few days, not merely the 35% increment we demanded but even more'. That was their changed outlook after 20 days. It was impossible for me to put up with this mentality. It appeared to me as the victory of Satan, if a vow taken in my presence, could be broken so easily and if the people's faith in God faded away. Life would become intolerable to me, if I remained a passive witness to the extinction of *dharma* even in a matter in which I was participating. I realised I must make the mill-workers understand the seriousness of a vow and show them how far I would go to honour it. If I did not do that, I was a coward, I felt. If a man who claims to jump over the length of a pole, fails to jump over even the little span of 9 inches, he betrays himself a braggart and coward. I had to save those ten thousand persons from a moral fall and I took the only possible step for it. My fast had an electric effect, beyond my wildest hope. Thousands of men were present there and streams of tears flowed through their eyes. A wave of conversion – an awareness of the Soul – swept them. Life pulsated where men had become but stocks and stones. Their spirits rose high and they regained the confidence that they could keep the vow. The sight convinced me beyond doubt that the light of *dharma* in India is not yet extinct, that Indians are still their true selves, capable of realizing the Self within and knowing its power. If Tilak Maharaj and Malaviyaji open themselves to this, the true spirit of India, we can achieve miracles.

I am at present brimming over with joy. Formerly, when I took such a vow (of fasting), I did not experience so much of pace. The cravings of the flesh affected me and I had to struggle. This time all is peace within and the demands of the body are altogether absent. Perfect calmness pervades the mind; there is a desire to pour out myself before you, but it is also true that I am overwhelmed with joy and bliss."

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1. The 'extremist' leader who was among the first to suffer imprisonments. He gave India the war cry, 'Swaraj is my birthright and I will have it.' He was a great scholar also and wrote several books on Indology.

Alluding further to the implications of his vow, he said:

"My pledge is aimed at firing the strikers with courage enough to enable them to stick to their resolve, and at showing to the public thatan oath is no light matter and must not be trifled with. It is a sign of the miserable plight of the country, if vows could be lightly taken here and equally lightly broken. And if ten thousand labourers went back upon their solemn resolve, the country would head straight for disaster. It would become impossible to raise again the question of the amelioration of labour conditions. Everywhere the disgraceful precedent of Ahmedabad would be cited and they would say, "Ten thousand labourers suffered for 20 long days – and with such a leader as Gandhi – and yet they failed." So I was faced with the imperative need of bracing up the spirits of the labourers by any fair means. How could I do so, except by that of self-suffering? I saw the necessity of setting an example to them, so that they may realize that in honouring a pledge, suffering, even to this extent, may have to be gone through. That was why I took this vow. I know it is tainted in one respect. It is possible that owing to this vow the feelings of the millowners may be moved and simply out of pity for me, they may accept the 35% increase demanded by us. It is my earnest desire, however, that they should grant the increase only if they saw the justice of it and should give nothing, not a pie, on sentimental grounds. All the same, my vow will naturally rouse their sympathy and, to that extent, covers me not with honour but with shame. But I had to choose between two alternatives: my shame and the strikers' plighted word. The balance tilted in favour of the second one, and I decided to bear with my shame for the sake of the workers. A man must always be prepared to put up with such humiliation, if he wants to do public work. So my vow is not at all a kind of threat to the millowners, and I for one do wish that they saw my vow in that light and granted the 35% demand, only when they were convinced of its propriety. It is my appeal to the workers also that they should go to the millowners and tell them my view point."

18-3-2018

His prayer speech:

"Most probably the compromise will be signed before 10 O'clock today. I am examining its terms with a self-analytic watchfulness. It is a compromise that I would never ordinarily accept. But the fault lies with my own vow, which was defective in many respects. I do not mean to say that its faults out-numbered its merits, but, while the good points far exceeded the bad, there were several glaring faults also. As far as it affected the workers, the vow left nothing to be desired and accordingly, marvellous results have accrued from it. But in relation to the millowners, it was tainted and in that respect I had to eat the humble pie. I saw that my fast had put a pressure on the millowners. Whatever I may say in the matter, they cannot help being influenced by the fast, and the world will agree that it would necessarily have that effect on them. Owing to this undesirable element in my fast, the millowners had ceased to be free agents. And to get a signature to any document from a man, or to make him agree to any course, or to take any article from him under duress, is against the principle of equity. A Satyagrahi, in particular, should never do so, and that is why I had to yield on many points in the terms of the compromise. The situation put me to shame, and what else could such a man do? I had to key down many demands and to accept, even from the lowered demands, whatever the millowners gladly agreed to. Had I put forth our demands in *toto*, they would have accepted them all, but to take everything from them, after putting them in such an awkward position, was an act of meanness, which I could never stoop to. It would be like indulgence in a hellish revelry at the end of a holy fast. And when I refuse to take even an ambrosial food, if it is not the right time for it, how could I ever wish to join a hellish feast?

I think that some of the sayings in our religious books are the result of deep spiritual experience. Thoreau, says, where injustice prevails, no honest man can be rich and, where there is justice, he can never be in want of anything. Our scriptures go even further and say that life is impossible for an honest man, where injustice is the order of the day. That is the real reason why some of our holy men abstain from activity altogether. They do so not out of a sense of defeat or ennui, but because the world is too unfit for any activity on their part. To them the world seems so steeped in lie and cant that they find it impossible for themselves to live in it. If there is one pure soul, they think, among all others who are Pharisees, he should either go away from them or degrade himself to their level of impurity. So there are some very holy men who go

away to the Himalayas or the Vindhyachala mountains and wear away their bodies there in spiritual pursuits. To some of those who achieve their goal, this physical encasement itself appears a snare and a delusion and, being believers in the immortality and the immanence of the Indwelling Self, they give up the mortal coil and attain ‘Keval Moksha’ (absolute and final beatitude). Some of them even return to the world, but only after reaching so high a state of enlightenment that they can assert their will, even while living in the midst of the world's hypocrisy. When I compare my state with that of these giants of spiritual strength, I feel myself Lilliputian. All the same, I have a good idea of my power; but I also know that in the eyes of others it appears much higher than it really is. As days pass more and more it seems to me that the world is full of untruth and shame and the feeling grows that I may not live in it much longer. Even when I was in Phoenix, I had often told them, “Don't be surprised if one day, all of a sudden, I disappear from your midst.'' So, if the Spirit moves me, I may fly away some day to such an unknown place that I can never be traced. But my disappearance should not unnerve you, and you must go on doing the work you may have taken on hand.”

21-3-2018

When once Bapu begins to praise a man, because he appreciates him, he does not stint in pouring out all his love and regard for him. He does not then care to see whether that man really deserves all that love and esteem. In the eye of the lover, the loved one appears to be a paragon of virtue, though, in fact, he may be a contemptible creature. But may not this practice of Bapu harm the man himself? And when such exaggerated remarks are made before a large crowd and in the very presence of the persons praised, some of them feel embarrassed, some think that there is no meaning in them and some, I know, feel even insulted. The Professor once told me, “When Bapu says fine things about any person – no matter if he refers to us also – we may take it that Bapu does not rate him or us at any high value. He simply considers us as of a piece with many others.”

Today, for instance, as he was chatting with Prof. C. F. Andrews and I came up to serve tea to the guest, he smothered me with his praises.

*“This man is overflowing with love for you. He thinks you can eat all these dates; he thinks you will want all this tea. And I do not think I shall spoil him by praising him in his presence, if I say that he has simply filled the Ashram; he has come not to be blessed by the Ashram but to bless it. I am ashamed when I have to say this, but it is true that there are some men who have come to bless the Ashram and not to be blessed by it. He is one of the few pearls I have got here. And I told you so that you hug him and love him and dote on him."

As he proceeded, he talked of Maganlal:

*“Maganlal is, of course, the giant that he was at Phoenix, but is a hundred times the giant that he was there. He has filled his life with sacrifice. He has made the greatest sacrifices; he has sacrificed all ambitions simply for one or two things. He knows that he can very well join me in the passive resistance struggles, but in not joining me he thinks he is making a big sacrifice. For he is childlike in simplicity, and he can rejoice in taking part in the procession and going to jail, but he has sacrificed all this, because he understands that he is indispensable to the Ashram and that he cannot, therefore, leave it.”

The talk then turned on Kaira:

There is a new spirit in the air. The people here have now come to think that, it matters of public interest, they ought to be able to do without English assistance. And

you will agree that upto a point they are right. When we got your telegram yesterday, I opened it before many of my friends, and I suggested to them we might have you to help us. I thought that when you came, I should be free to go to Delhi (for the Ali brothers' internment question), and from my having to go to Delhi, it struck me that you might take up either the Kaira question or the internment question. The cause in Kaira is right, though in morality the workers are not quite so right, as the workers in Bihar; not that they are wrong, but Bihar is quite apart; in spirituality they (Biharis) are infinitely great. All the workers here are quite bold and spirited, however, and you will like to work with them. Kaira is one of the richest tracts in India. It is beautiful too, not naturally beautiful, but has been made beautiful by human hands, unlike Bihar which God has made beautiful. Bihar is naturally a garden; here the people have planted and nurtured the trees and made Kaira a garden. And Kaira has probably some of the best agriculturists in India. They know scientific agriculture, their study of complementary crops and knowledge of which crop will sort well with which is excellent. The situation is somewhat difficult. We are able to pay the instalment, but the point does not lie there. It lies in the behaviour of these civilians. We want to show it to them that we cannot tolerate it. They know that the people are in difficulty, there is plague, even that the year is bad. But still they should continue their brutality. I do not think I am using harsh language, but I am convinced, and I want to tell the Viceroy, too, that the fount of British connection is defiled. The ‘talati’ (village officer) is his representative and they accept his estimates of the year. This is a deplorable state of things. You will feel it, and I think you will give life to the whole question, because, though I feel it intensely, I have not your language.”

27-3-2018

A tragic letter from Professor Kripalani:

With the death of both his brother and brother's wife, a sudden calamity has befallen him and he fears he will have to forego the joy of serving the public.

Reply:

*"My dear friend,

You will forgive me for not writing to you earlier. I hope Girdhari (the professor's nephew) gave you my message. I wanted to give you a letter that would bring you peace and joy. And I waited. I may fail to give you such a letter even now. But I can no longer keep back writing to you. Your own letter, pouring forth the soul's agony, stares me in the face. But should death, even when it overtakes us so suddenly, as it has done in your brother's case, paralyse us? Is it not only a change and a forgetting'? Is it any the less so, when it comes all of a sudden? You have been called to a privileged position. Your faith and your philosophy are on their trial. If you feed by honest means two hungry mouths of your family, you are performing a truly national service. What will happen to India, if all the bread-winners turned so-called servants of India? You will only now be weighed in the balance, and I know you will not be found wanting. All your friends also are now on their trial. Pray let me know your plans. If you can, do come to see me and we shall discuss them. Any assistance I can render is, you know, yours.

With deep love and sympathy,

Bapu"

5-4-2018

Wrote a[1] statement to the press on the Kaira trouble and sent its copies with covering letters to many persons. To Shastriar (Shrinivasa Shastri, President of the Servants of India Society) he wrote:

*You have perhaps read my statement about Kaira. The struggle is one against the attempt of the officials to crush the spirit of the people. In the circumstances, I think, it is our clear duty to assist the cultivators. War cannot be allowed to cover oppression. I understand that there will be a public meeting in Bombay to express sympathy for the people. I hope that if you at all can, you will attend the meeting and speak at it."

Shastriar's reply:

*"I have received your letter dated Nadiad on the 1st April. Need I say I am sensible of the honour it conveys?

I have no desire to pit my judgment against that of people better qualified by experience and local knowledge. But you would not like me to act except as my judgment approved, especially in important matters. Frankly, I am not satisfied of the expediency of passive resistance in the Kaira affair, even allowing that the rights of the case are with the ryots.

I do not, however, approve of coercion by government. In fact, I pressed the urgent call for a conciliatory policy, as strongly as I could, both on Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola and Sir James Dubolay when I saw them yesterday.

I am grieved to hesitate, instead of springing, to your side at your call. But I know at the same time you would not wish me in the circumstances to do what I cannot heartily approve."

The following is Bapu's counter...reply:

*I thank you for your note. However anxious I may be to win your approbation for every conduct of mine, I share your anxiety that your conscience may not, in any way, be coerced. I know that you will keep in touch with the Kaira affairs, as they develop from day to day."

Then he wrote a letter to Natarajan[2] which clearly exemplifies the dictum, "Agree with thine adversary quickly."

It also indicates Bapu's self-honesty, his faith in the honesty of his opponent and his eagerness to explain his point of view to him:

*"Dear Mr. Natarajan,

It grieves me to find that sometimes you jump to conclusions, and will not have the patience to hear the other side. This, I venture to think, adversely affects your capacity for national service, which I know you always want to render. Take this Kaira

affair, I do not mind your differing from me. On the contrary, I honour, you for stating your convictions, even though it may hurt you to hold them in opposition to your friends. My complaint, however, is against the haste with which you form your conclusions. You do not know the inwardness of the Kaira struggle and you have no time to study it. There was the Godhra Conference in which the masses, for the first time, took an active part. Some of these men, at the end of the Conference, twitted the leaders with these remarks: "What is the use of your holding conferences and inviting us? Kaira is face to face with practically a failure of crops. The ryots are entitled to suspension. What are you people doing in the matter?" Some of the listeners accepted the rebuke as well deserved and undertook to move in this matter. Hence the petition signed by thousands for suspension. This petition alone should have been sufficient to warrant suspension, which would have meant merely loss of interest to the Government, but gaining of goodwill in return. The officials, however, took a dubious and devious course. They set about getting *annawari patraks* (official registers of crop estimates with 1 rupee= 16 annas as the standard for a full crop) of which I can say that most of them will not bear a close scrutiny. The ryots have exhausted every means at their disposal for getting relief. Each time these faulty documents are flung in their faces. What are they to do? To sell their cattle, trees and other belongings and quietly pay the revenue? I would defy you to be on the scene, as I have been and to advise the ryots to do so. You must know the methods that are employed, in order to exact payment from ryots, when they have no crops. I could not calmly contemplate an emasculation of the ryots taking place in front of me. Nor could you. I hold that it is a perfectly constitutional, just and righteous thing for a people to say, 'Since you reject our petitions, and if we have to pay, we can only pay by borrowing or selling our belongings'. You have only to come and see with what perfect good humour the fight

is being carried on, how the people are steeling their hearts for any kind of loss, and how elderly men and women too are taking part in the demonstration. You, at least, ought to see that this self-inflicted suffering must exalt the nation, whereas the same suffering unwillingly undergone hitherto, has only degraded the nation. This is a bread-agitation.What is the use of a thousand meetings in India praying for redress, if they are to tell the people calmly to denude themselves of their trees or their cattle or their ornaments, whilst a constitutional agitation is being carried on ? It is like giving them stone when they asked for bread.

I wish this letter would prick your conscience, stimulate your inquiring spirit, bring you to Kaira and see the campaign in working. I would then not only be prepared to tolerate, but would welcome, your report, no matter how adverse it may be to the cause. I shall have the satisfaction of knowing, that you have at least studied the question. You owe this to yourself, to a friend and to the nation. If you cannot give this much time to the cause you must not, you have no business to, hold any opinion on the Kaira affair.

I hope you will pardon me for my presumption in writing to you as I have done. As I have told you so often, I always endeavour to secure your cooperation and help in my work, and I should be satisfied not to have it, if you withhold it after full consideration. You ought not to be led astray by the term ‘passive resistance’.

You have got a concrete case. Judge it on its merits.

Yours sincerely

M. K. Gandhi”

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1. See Appendix I-1

2. Editor, "The Social Reformer."

Somebody remarked that the letter was likely to offend Natarajan. Bapu read it again. He found two sentences left unfinished. I was mildly rebuked: “I would expect at least you to draw my attention. Why didn't you point them out?” I said I had shown the letter to Vallabhbhai and (Shankarlal) Banker. “I have not seen your ability in them in this respect." Bapu countered (falteringly) “But doesn't matter,” he added glowing up, "he (Natarajan) may say I don't know good English, but the plea happens to be very happily put." The letter has been written with a view to goad his intellect to think properly, not to wound his feelings. It rouses him from his complacence with the question, “Dear friend, has your power of judgment deserted you?”

8-4-2018

On the train from Vasad to Nadiad:

There were two letters and a telegram from Miss Esther Farring on Bapu's fast. I was asked to answer them, but my letter appeared to him to exaggerate his achievements. So he himself wrote the following letter:

*“Dear Esther,

I seem to have been cruelly neglectful in my correspondence with you. I could not be satisfied with giving only a line to you. I wanted to give you a long love letter. But I have not the quiet for framing such a letter. And I dare not wait any longer. I do not know how I can describe my activities, not one of which is of my own seeking. They have all come to me with a persistence I dare not oppose. What is a soldier to do who is hemmed in on all sides? Is he to concentrate his effort on dealing with one attack only and to court extinction by ignoring the other attacks that are being simultaneously delivered? Obviously, safety lies in dealing with all in the best way he can. Such is about my position. Distress pleads before me from all sides. I dare not refuse help where I know the remedy.

The Ahmedabad strike provided the richest lessons of life. The power of love was never so effectively demonstrated to me, as it was during the lock-out. The existence of God was realized by the mass of men before me, as soon as the fast was declared. Your telegram was the most touching and the truest of all. Those four days were to me days of peace, blessing and spiritual up- lifting. There never was the slightest desire to eat during those days.

The Kaira affair you must have understood from my letter to the press. I wrote one on the fast too. If you have not seen the latter, please let me know.

I hope you are keeping well. In liver complaints nothing answers so well as fasting.

Please address your letter to Ahmedabad or rather Sabarmati.

With love,

Yours

Bapu"

Chi. Durga (Mrs. Mahadevbhai)

I don't know if you have forgotten me, but I haven't. Anandibehn has given me all the news about you. You have been separated from Mahadev longer than I had expected. I have told him, he can go to see you whenever he likes. But if you wish, I am prepared to send him even immediately. I must at the same time let you know that Mahadev is having very elevating experiences here, and you are sure to gain through them. If your perception of this fact can allay your pain of separation, Mahadev may stay on. But there is one risk there also. If it happens that I am involved in a struggle more serious than even this one, he cannot be spared for you, the while it lasts, even though you may want him then. So this is just the right time for him to pay you a visit. If you are tired of your stay there, you can come here. But I have some doubt whether your stay in Nadiad is feasible. It is also certain you cannot get here the benefits you are having there; just the same I am at your disposal and will follow your wishes.

Blessings,

Mohandas"

To my father:

"Sujna Bhaishri,

I had decided a long time ago to write to you whenever I could seize a chance, but I was too busy for a long time and then for a while the idea slipped form my memory. You will please forgive me.

Let me beg to state that you have committed no error in entrusting Mahadev to me. The experience he is having here is quite a necessity for the development of his soul. And it is not true that money confers happiness to one and all. Mahadev is so constituted by nature that money and physical comforts cannot give peace to his soul. My reading of Durga, moreover, tells me that her outlook on life is going to be the same as Mahadev's is. She, too, is getting invaluable experiences.

As for me, I must say that the coming of both of them into my circle has been nothing but a valuable gain to me. I was in the lookout for a helpful companion who should be at once a man of high character, a loving heart and deep learning. Mahadev fulfilled all the requisites and ended my search. And I had never dreamt that Durga would turn out to be as useful to me as she has verily been. God's ways are *par excellence* unique.

All I wish and pray is that you cease to have any worry for the couple and that you bless them in their march to life.

Respectfully yours

Mohandas Gandhi"

9-4-2018

N. M. Joshi spread a gossip in Bombay to the effect that, only out of respect for Gandhiji, he did not dissociate himself from the latter's statement that his own findings on the Kaira affair corroborated those of Gandhiji. Jamnadas apprised us of this propaganda of Joshi. (Shankarlal) Banker also had a good deal to say against him. Hence this letter from Bapu to Joshi:

*Dear friend,

I have just heard that you have been saying to friends that it was only out of regard for me that you did not contradict me when I said that the result of your inquiry was the same as mine, so far as the *annawari* was concerned, and that you think. I was uselessly making the people suffer. I should be sorry, if what I have heard is true. You have every right and you owe it to a friend, as I deem myself to be to you, to say what you feel. In public life there may arise hundreds of occasions when friends must differ and still remain friends. Do please, therefore, tell me what you have been saying to the Committee there and otherwise, too, what your opinion is on the whole of my activity. I know you will not mind, if it does not convince me (assuming it is adverse). You will believe me When I say that it will have due weight with me.

Yours sincerely

M. K. Gandhi”

10-4-2018

Natarajan's loving response to Bapu's letter. Bapu was highly pleased and remarked, you'll see this letter (to Joshi) will evoke the same happy reaction".

Propaganda for Hindi made a great stride at the Indore Conference. An excellent programme was chalked out, thirty thousand rupees were collected, and even volunteers came forth to leave their homes for work in other provinces. A notice appeared in the press to the effect that six Madrasis were to be given scholarships to learn and spread Hindi. Immediately came Anna's letter: "Gomti, myself and a colleague are eager to seize this opportunity to fit ourselves for Hindi propaganda by first learning Hindi ourselves." Though he was in a great hurry to go out, Bapu could not help scratching out a very hasty but telling reply immediately.

"Bhaisri Anna,

I am so happy at your reply. It is really a wonder to me that you manage never to forget men! Three of you – yourself, Gomtibehn and a friend of your choice! What more can I want ? Mahadev will write the rest.

Vande Mataram,

Mohandas"

And the following letter to Hanmantrao also:

*"My dear Hanmantrao,

If Mr. Shastriar sees eye to eye with me regarding Hindi, I would like you to offer yourself as a scholar under my appeal, and select for me two more Telegus. I have already got 3 Tamils.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. Gandhi"

On the same day there was a telegram of Dr. Naik from Budhwar Peth, Poona:

*"Hindi class opens 11th instant in public meeting under Hon. Kamat. Wish your blessings."

He had paid 8 annas for a reply by wire, but Bapu was so glad at the news that he wired this long reply:

*"I wish every success (to) your effort. Feel sure (the) Deccan will lead the way, as in so many cases, in recognising Hindi as common medium, and thus save India loss of immense nerve-energy required (in the) use (of) English"

Letter to Polak:

"My dear Henry,

I have not been regularly writing to you. I have neither the time nor the energy for writing. I am just now doing so much creative work that the day leaves me exhausted for further effort. Writing, making speeches and even talking are painful processes for me. I simply want to brood. A series of passive resistances is an agonising effort while it lasts. It is an exalting agony. I suppose the agony of child-birth must be somewhat like it.

I am asking Mr. Desai to give you details."

The following was Natarajan's reply received the day before yesterday, which had delighted Bapu's heart.

*"My dear Mr. Gandhi,

You will believe me when I tell you that I was really deeply touched by your kind and affectionate letter of remonstrance. I venture to think that my article on the situation in Kaira in the last issue of 'The Reformer' would have led you to a more correct appreciation of my standpoint. I do not at all deny that there are severe hardships suffered by the poorer ryots in the District, owing to the failure of their crops. I do not maintain that the Government, or the public for that matter, have done all they can to afford relief to them. I feel that a strong case has been made out for an independent public inquiry, that such an inquiry should be ordered by the Government and that, pending the result of that inquiry, the collection of revenue should be suspended. In all those respects I am at one with you heart and soul.

Where I have the misfortune, for such I must call it, to differ from you, it is as regards the wisdom of advising the sufferers to resort to withholding their dues. A ryot

who has lost all cannot, of course, pay his assessment. His inability abrogates his duty. No man can be required to do what it is not in his power to do. 'Passive Resistance' is a course open only to those who are able to pay, but will not pay, because they think that the state is not entitled to recover the tax from them. "What is the use of a thousand meetings," you ask, "praying for redress, if they are to tell the people calmly to denude themselves of their trees or their cattle or their ornaments, whilst a constitutional agitation is being carried on?" Does this not mean, in passing, that constitutional agitation can be recommended only in cases where nobody has to suffer anything? Apart from that, I have heard it repeatedly said that it is not the case of those who advocate 'Passive Resistance' that the people or the large proportion of them are not able to pay.[1] They are entitled to suspension under the rules; and since they have not been granted it, and not because they have nothing to pay the revenue with, that they refuse to pay.

The Government say that there has not been such a loss of crops as would justify suspension except in the villages, where it has already been granted. It is very probable that the Government have under-rated the amount of loss. It is also possible that the other side has somewhat over-rated it. I do not want to conceal from you that the results of Mr. Devdhar's inquiry, so far as it went, has produced an impression on me and on others, which makes it impossible to put aside altogether the possibility of such an exaggeration. In any case, there is, as I have said above and in my article, an ample case for an independent inquiry. Let us press the demand for an inquiry. If the local Government is unresponsive, let us go to the Government of India and to the Parliament. Let us create an all India opinion and bring it to bear upon the Government. Meanwhile, let funds be collected to relieve the poor cultivators and to keep them from starving. This is a hasty sketch of my views which are fully developed in the article in the last week's 'Reformer', an extract copy of which I send herewith.

Yours very sincerely,

K. Natarajan."

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1. See Appendix I-4, last para.

11-4-2018

Saw Pratt today. Had long talks with him. Bapu went the length of telling him plainly, "Were I a king, I would not hesitate to grant a universal demand, however unreasonable it might be."

* * * *

Left for Navli. Read the mail in the train. Letters from Durga, my father, Balwantrai (a Gujarati literary writer of repute and Professor of History) and Prof. Patrie Geddes. The last suggested organisation of public festivals with a view to encourage folk-songs and folk-literature....I had been asked to go to Wadhwan, but the idea was dropped ... Vallabhbhai narrated his experience of Jinnah and did not mince his words: "For two long hours we waited, but Jinnah Saheb couldn't find time to grant us an audience. And this is whom they call our Mazzini of India! And you had given him a certificate to boot!"

Referring to Sarojinidevi[1] Bapu said:

I have always spoken in high terms about her purity and I see nothing to withdraw from all that I have said. I have seen so much power and dignity of bearing in her, that I can't imagine anyone impugning her character. Faults there are in that lady – speechifying and making a great noise. But that is the very essence of her public life, the food on which she thrives. "Take it from me," she once admitted to me, "and I would die!" And I saw the truth of the remark. It is this flurry that fires her with zeal for public service. She is certainly a lover of gaieties. Would always have her table groan with rich dishes. Though not a millionaire's daughter herself, she has long enjoyed the luxuries of a princely home and cannot give them up. She may deliver an impressive speech on simplicity and voluntary suffering, and immediately afterwards do full justice to a sumptuous feast. But, I am quite sure, she will cast off the slough, if she falls in with a man of my type. Nature herself has made her of that deceptive fibre. I myself, when I first saw her, wondered, 'How can I take any work from this apparition!' Even when she visited the Ashram, she was such a sought-after that only once I could serve her the Ashram fare. All the same, I cannot forget her sudden visit one day when I was in England. There I used to do my work squatting on the bare ground with a thin yarn mattress between. No such cushions and *gaddis* as here you provide me with. In she sailed, nevertheless, and without the least thought, squatted down by my side and even began to eat out of my dish! I was asking myself what I should do to draw her out. Then decided to put her straight questions. "How is your

home life? When do you retire for sleep? What is your time to get up?" "Mine at 8 a.m.", she replied. "But the children would be already up. They would all flock to my bed, young and old – the moment they found me awake — and there would be a scramble for making my body their playground." What a picture, that! Could there be a mother's love greater than this? And the same story even at her old home in Hyderabad. What complete freedom between mother and children! And their correspondence! It is a treat to read their letters. She has brought up the children so well that they are quite at home in a wide variety of subjects. And how brave she is! She stood by me to the end, right till my Ambulance fondness for the English language to serve our country's cause. She immediately saw the truth of my view, and, gulping the unpalatable, said, "Yes, you are right." That woman is living solely for the cause of India. She is using all her extraordinary power of speech and pen in India's service. There is, of course, in her behaviour with men, a freedom which may appear to the strictly orthodox – Malaviyaji for instance – as going beyond the limits of modesty. She revels in fun and frolic – even mischievous pranks. But to me it seems she is just the sort of person whom all that befits. I know her husband well enough. He, too, is a brave soul. He has the largeness of heart to give her the fullest freedom. They simply hug and dote upon each other. I think she never hides from the public gaze, her conduct with anybody. The fact itself is a proof of the purity of her soul. I have myself subjected her to a close scrutiny, and I can vouch for her good behaviour. Not that she is free from other faults. She would freely indulge in wild exaggeration. I had to rebuke her severely for writing about me in the way she has done. 'It is an insult. You had no business to write of me in this strain,' "I had told her. But it is woven into her nature – to laud to the skies the person she admires. But apart from these defects, where would you find a woman like her who has given up her life and soul for India?"

We got down from the train, to get into an imposing chariot. The people of the village, Vadod, had marvellous enthusiasm. They had erected a grandly decorated pandal. With great *eclat*; we were carried in a procession accompanied by a musical band.

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1. Sarojini Naidu.

12-4-2018

During our talks Bapu said in passing, "What a glorious, opportunity this (of Satyagraha), if the Germans landed on our shore! They would be unwilling to fight with us, because we are unarmed, and we would refuse to obey their orders!"

Out of the two remarkable letters in yesterday's mail – that of Balwantrai Thakote and Prof. Patrie Geddes – the chief points in the second letter were:[1]

*(1) It (Conference) was really perfectly English, with the succession of decorous speeches by the proper persons, in the proper tone and with the proper conviction.

(2) No great public conference has yet given English a thought, yet at Stratford-on-Avon they play Shakespeare. Your theatres were silent. No sign of Tulsidas.

(3) Why not take examples and methods from the West – like the Welsh "Eisteddfod?" At the one before the last, I heard Lloyd George in his utmost vigour, his utmost flowering mood, since largely in his own vernacular. He said, "I have come here to sing."

(4) Their pandal was divided into groups of each quality of voice for collective singing.

(5) The Irish, reviving their language, may give you points e.g., establishments of small vacation gatherings.

(6) Look to Provence – A great folk poet — Mistral. They do him honour, they reopened the ancient Greco-Roman Theatres of their region, and brought from Paris Sarah Bernhardt and her company not simply to do their plays, but to start their own acting at their highest level; and when the Swedes gave old Mistral the Nobel Prize, he built the Messee Provencal – no mere glass-case museum.

(7) In Denmark a bishop and a layman laid their heads together and set about re-educating the youths and maidens, not with the three Rs but with plough and cow and tale and song.

(8) You want for your meetings no mere transient pandal, with its poor acoustics, but the open-air theatre and the amphi-theatre where the Greeks perfected their language and literature.

(9) Support strongly the plea of uniting Hindi and Urdu. It is very much alike the union of the Saxon and the French Vocabulary. English thus gained the best qualities of each. The homely directness and force of the Germanic languages yet gained a new

precision, a new dignity from the classical side. Might not, therefore, the union of Hindi and Urdu be worked up by the institution of Essay and Prize poems for the next conference?"

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1. These remarks and suggestions have been made with reference to the Hindi Literary Conference held at Indore.

Bapu's reply:

*"Dear Prof. Geddes,

I am truly thankful to you for your very kind letter.

You would not be more pained than I am over our base imitation of the West. I want a great deal from you, but nothing indiscriminately. I take part in the spectacles, such as the one at Indore, in order that I may reach and touch the hearts of the people, and wean them from materialism as much as possible. There is a materialistic view of the vernaculars' question and the religious. I am endeavouring to place the latter before them. The success of the Conference is to be measured by the extent to which I have been able to touch the religious side of the audience before me.

I tried last year to do away with the pandal for the Congress, and suggested a meeting on the Maidan early in the morning. That is the Indian style, and it is the best. I wonder if the amphitheatre is an improvement. My ideal is speaking to a crowd from under a tree. Never mind, if the voice does not reach the thousands, nay millions. They come not to hear but to see. And they see far more than we can imagine. Amphitheatres suggest a limitation to the space capacity. The merit lies in an unlimited number being able to come, and yet doing their work in an orderly manner. Such were the annual fairs of old. We have but to introduce religion into the social and political life, and you have a perfect organisation in working order to fall back upon.

But what is the use of my writing? Both of us are preoccupied. The wretched fever of the West has taken possession of us. We have no leisure for things eternal. The utmost that can be said of us is that we do hanker after the eternal, though our activity may belie our profession.

I shall treasure your letter. May I make public use of it?

And do please tell me how I may build cheap and durable houses from the foundation to the roof.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. Gandhi"

* * * *

"I have never come across a single Englishman who has worried over what would happen to him the next day," Bapu remarked.

'That is why they are *yogis*', I (Mahadevbhai) said to myself, 'and we, in India, are so small before them!'

Points in Balwantrai Thakore's letter:

(1) Not only does the Indian Social Reformer's article on the 'Situation in Kaira' appear to me reasonable in all its points, except the one about the formation of the Inquiry Committee, but it is also written in a very polite tone.

(2) We do not possess the economic efficiency or the skill to increase our farm produce.

(3) The principal question is how to make the application of the rules about suspension and remission of land revenue, 'instant, automatic and fairly reliable.'

(4) Big departments like that of land revenue, with their far spreading offshoots and ramifications create results, direct and indirect, as well as good and bad. But just as a surgical operation is not the right remedy to cure a very aged patient of his disease, and just as a woman advanced in pregnancy should not be administered strong drugs, so are extreme measures ineffective, in bringing about sudden reforms of these gigantic departments.

(5) Ordinary men, possessed of an ambition to win by hook or crook, men who believe it a national service to excite disaffection and hatred, demagogues and lovers of commotion may behave as you seem to be doing. But whatever movement you begin, you do it with a sense of religious duty (dharma) only. And even during its progress, if you ever find that you had erred in beginning it, you have not hesitated to admit your mistake and give a new turn to your movement. That is why I cannot understand your activity in the Kaira trouble."

Gandhiji's reply:

"Bhaishri Balwantraiji,

I am really obliged by your letter which shows your love for me. I have written to Natarajan that he has formed his opinion hastily. Rather than answer your arguments, I prefer to explain what I mean by 'Satyagraha'. I do use the words 'passive resistance' for it, but they do not express my idea of Satyagraha. You must, therefore, forget this expression, 'passive resistance.' To political questions also, I apply the same principle, as we do to make for a happy family life. I see people everywhere in India cowering from fear. They act out of fear, they lie out of fear and they cheat themselves and the Government out of fear. Today the smallest police officer can insult and run down even a millionaire. That is the wretched state under which we grovel and, I think, it is the duty of all our leaders to free the country from it. The officials as a class blatantly pooh-pooh public opinion. They think theirs is a heaven-born right to rule India, and it is a blasphemy to disobey their order. To free them from this delusion is itself a service to them and, therefore, to the Empire. Wherever, therefore, I see people submitting to injustice out of fear, I tell them that the only way to save themselves from suffering inflicted by others, is to invite suffering for themselves consciously and intelligently. That is what I call Satyagraha. It is 'duragraha', it is brute force to try to relieve one's pain by giving pain to the oppressor. If an ox is aggrieved, it gives a kick in return. If a human being is afflicted, he should use his soul-force and invite self-suffering, in order to rectify the wrong done to him.

This is not the first time when the ryots of the Kaira District are suffering severe distress. Only, this time they dared to ventilate their grievance. If they pay their dues, it will be only out of fear from the Government and against their will. And they will have either to sell their cattle or cut down their invaluable trees to enable them to do so. How can we sit silent and do nothing when we see, as I have been seeing with my own eyes, people suffering from this terrible distress? And what is the remedy? Send applications? These we have sent already and to no purpose. Natarajan says, 'Approach the Viceroy and, if he fails, the Cabinet and then the Parliament in England.'

But where is the relief to the suffering ryot in this endless string of applications and appeals? His trees will have been cut off and the dues exacted in the meanwhile. This method of crying for relief is thus like crying over spilt milk. It must be borne in mind, besides, that the figh is not for any change in law, but for its implementation. Is there any sense in an appeal after the accused is already hanged? A good many

innocents have already been despatched this way – and all because of our placid indifference.

There were only two courses open to us. Either to thrash the the tax-gatherer black and blue and drive him away he came to our door, or to tell him courteously, "We are not going to pay the revenue." "But they will exact the dues all the same! Where then comes in your defence of the ryot?" – I hope this doubt will not arise in your mind. If it does, I have already answered it in the beginning of the letter.

This fight is an unconscious but effective training to the people in their duty (dharma), in their moral behaviour, in unity, truth and non-violence. And the Government is taught the healthy lesson of listening to the people's voice. There is no room at all for hatred against anybody here. It is not by compulsion, but by a wakening, through our own suffering, its sense of justice, that we want the Government to afford relief. So the result is bound to be beneficial all around, and the struggle is certain to develop the souls of all those who are engaged in it. And suppose, owing to their weakness, the ryots fail and succumb. What then? No austerity for a righteous cause can fail to bear a good fruit. Any defeat here is only a step to victory:

नेहाभिक्रमनाशोऽस्ति प्रत्यवायो न विद्यते |[1]

स्वल्पमप्यस्य धर्मस्य त्रायते महतो भयात् ||

"No set-back knows this effort brave;
Even a little saves from danger grave."

If you find a further clarification still necessary, please write to me.

Vande Mataram,

Mohandas."

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1. Gita II-40. "Here no effort undertaken is lost, no disaster befalls. Even a little of this righteous course delivers one from great fear."

– 'The Gita according to Gandhi' by M.D.

There was a letter from Devdas today. In a former letter he had, though in the most loving terms, blamed Gandhiji for going on the fast during the strike. Gandhiji's reply:

“Chi. Devdas,

Your letter. You must have received mine also. You are silent as regards your health. That you are serving..... (a lady) is to me the best thing you could do. You have written in the matter in the same charming, simple, unaffected manner, as is the description we read in the scriptures of disciples, going out to the woods to render domestic service to their guru. I, for one, cannot gauge the spiritual height to which this service will lift you.

It is not difficult to understand the real import of my refusal to accept, for more than one day only, the increment of 35% which we had demanded. It would have been totally unbecoming for me to stretch my point any further. The millowners even now believe that they have given the increment because of my fast, and not because of the firmness of the strikers. It would have been nothing but an extortion from the millowners, if I had demanded anything more under that situation. The fact that, when I was in the position of getting the maximum from them, I asked for the minimum, shows only my desire to be on the square and my humility and perception of right action. Had I not gone on a fast, the workers were certain to fall from their vow, and the strike would have fizzled out. It was only the fast that sustained them. Under these circumstances, demanding the minimum was the only right course, in order to see that the workers' vow was kept. Only the letter of such a vow should be maintained in such a situation. That was done. The flaws, moreover, that had crept into my vow were diminished, materially diminished, by asking for the minimum. Miss Esther (Farring) has thoroughly appreciated the significance and propriety of the fast. She wired a quotation from the Bible which means,

"Greater love than this no man can show
To give his life for the neighbour's woe.”

I consider the fast as my greatest achievement in life till now. I had an experience of supernal serenity while it lasted.

I do not get here the joy I used to have in my work at Ahmedabad. Uneasiness lurks in the mind and sometimes agitates it. I do often see that the people have

grasped fully the spirit of the struggle, but what makes me worried is a passing appearance in their behaviour which suggests that they have not understood it. As for the work itself, there is no doubt it goes on in full swing, but my mind feels exhausted. The fight for Mohammad Ali's release is a crushing burden, though, I know, it has but to be borne. However, I have completely made my own the faith that God is going to give me the power to lift the load, how-so heavy, and so, deep down in me, there is peace also. Ba, besides, is with me here. Tell Chhotelal that his pen seems to have got tired again. Let him send me greater details about the work in our weaving section.

Blessings

Bapu"

It has been decided to leave for Bombay tonight. The Commissioner's meeting ended in a fiasco. The peasants could not be over-awed and, in the face of the Commissioner himself, they said they would stand by their resolve not to pay their revenue dues. Gandhiji was delighted at this outcome of the meeting and indulged in varied talks.

About the Englishmen he said:

"I have thoroughly studied them and have assimilated their excellent traits. I dare say, nobody may be treating them with as much frankness as I do. Hardly may there be any Indian who has as many friends among them as I have. They never suffer under sense of helplessness; it is we who do. I have never seen an Englishman worrying how to procure the means wherewith to buy his next meal."

"We can certainly tell the Kaira peasants that through our local struggle, we are fighting for Swaraj for the whole of India as well. The first act of our Swaraj Parliament will be to restore the confiscated lands to the peasants. How is it possible for me, if I am then alive, to forget those peasants who had stuck to their resolve till then?"

"There can never be a Satyagraha by a government against the people."

He referred to More Sanghwani[1] and his famous mare and said,

"Kathiawar is steeped in the heroic spirit, but all gone wrong. Bravery wasted in internecine fights. There is acumen, too, among the people, enough and to spare, but used for intrigue and duplicity. They know only one way to get rich – cunning and cheating"

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1. A famous outlaw of Kathiawar during the transition period, before the establishment of British rule.

13-4-2018

Arrived in Bombay. Saw Carmichael and Duboley. Answered these questions put by them:

"Will the movement raise the moral tone of the people?", "Will it make them more loyal to the Empire?" The interview lasted for an hour and a half. Then saw Chandawarkar and some others.

14-4-2018

Returned from Bombay. A very impressive and moving ex-position before me of the subject: "Love is the motive spring of Satyagraha". Wrote "Instructions to the Volunteers" in the afternoon. Then a letter to Maffey about Mohammad Ali.

15-4-2018

"My body has regained its normal health", said Bapu. Pratt's letter full of grief, anger and irritation at the failure of the meeting he had called. Reply to him. Public reply to Pratt's speech for the Press,* letters to Carmichael and Chandawarkar, message* through the Press to the ryots of Kaira, containing an answer to Pratt's speech. Letter to the Lieutenant Governor of Bihar re. Swami Satyadev. Revised both the papers for the Press at night. Other private letters, ten or twelve in number. Such stupendous activity would astound any on-looker. It seems he is the embodied form of the maxim: "Knowledge of the Self is to recognise and attain the Power of the Almighty Soul" as well as of his own comment thereon: "The fully awakened soul can shake the world without stirring a finger." "My worth is nothing before that Power," he had added, in all humility, at the time I, too, was indirectly given a sage advice through the following words he wrote in a letter to someone:

"A man who has not taken a vow, is like a rudderless boat that is tossed hither and thither, till it strikes a rock and is smashed."

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*See Appendix I-2 and 3.

16-4-2018

Danteli and Chikhodra. A very large and impressive meeting at Chikhodra. Bapu's speech, too, rose to the occasion: “I am sure that this place, ruled as it is by the spirit of the great Swami Dayanand, is daily resounding with the sweet chants of Vedic hymns, and that the *yogic* rules of *yama* and *niyama* are observed here. Hence this ground is just the right one where the vow (to refuse to pay the revenue dues) should be taken." His whole speech hung upon this idea.

Letter to the Nayaka[1] *friends:*

“I have been told just now that 25 among you are the first on whom the Government's heavy hand has fallen. If the news is correct, I write this to congratulate you. I believe that the farms which have been listed as ‘confiscated’, will remain so only on paper. Just the same, as, on your part, you have taken a vow not to pay the dues and to suffer the consequences, there is no sense in giving you any consolation or assurance. The one thing I should do is to congratulate you."

17-4-2018

Visited Ode. The reception by the people was very imposing, but in the meeting the result was nil. The village is ridden by strife among its parties. Bapu wrote the mail for Johannesburg – delightful letters to Manilal, and Mr., Mrs. and Miss West. I can't find copies. He read and corrected Padhiar's (a Gujarati author) ‘Antyajastotra’ (a eulogy of the (‘untouchable’) and wrote an introduction for it. All this output of work within the two hours before the commencement of the meeting. On our return, we two — Shankarlal Banker and I – lost the way. We had to take a round of 4 miles to reach Bhalej station, and a severe rebuke from Bapu followed the mishap.

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1. A poor low-class community among the Hindus.

18-4-2018

Ras. The beautiful scenery and the big maidan, which looked like a natural open-air theatre, was a pleasant surprise to Bapu. Wonderful speech. Use of the word, 'lokasangraha',[1] in it.

19-4-2018

Nadiad. Ramnavami.[2] Wrote several letters - chief among them to Hanmantrao and some Madrasis. Graduates and lawyers, twenty in all, wrote from Kumbakonam (a South Indian town) to the effect that a teacher for Hindi should be sent to them, since they were eager to learn the language. Bapu thought of sending Devdas.

To the Madrasis:

*"I was delighted to receive your letter signed by so many of you. I shall send you a teacher, as fast as I can. I am trying to secure the services of a volunteer who would teach Hindi for the love of it. The success of this great national effort depends almost entirely upon the presidency of Madras. But I have great faith in the Tamil brethren rising to the occasion. There will be no limit to our power for serving the land, as soon as we make Hindi the common medium of expression, throughout the length and breadth of India."

Manu Subedar (a rich influential Bombayite) paid a visit. Talks with him. "We don't want your money. Money collected in Bombay and sent from there, would have an extremely demoralising effect on the peasants here," said Bapu to him. Subedar racked his brains at night to find an exact Gujarati equivalent for the English word 'pale-faced'. Bapu was at last tired and told him now, please! Save yourself the trouble. The word 'gora' (lit-white) will do for us."

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1. The word occurs in the Gita III-20. Mahadevbhai translates it as "guidance to mankind." – The Gospel of Selfless Action by M. D. p. 178.

2. Birthday of Rama, Chaitrasud 9, (Navami – ninth, Chaitrasud – bright half of the month Chaitra).

20-4-2018 and 21-4-2018

Ajarpura, Kasol and Samarkha.

Meetings at all the three villages. Remarkable speech at Ajarpura. “One of the objects of this Satyagraha is to resuscitate our old *grampanchayats* (village-communes)” Subedar was in-disposed and vomitted during the round. We went to Ahmedabad at night. Saw Ambalal (Sarabhai), Anandshankar (a scholar and arbitrator in the workers' strike dispute) the next day. Returned from Ahmedabad at night. In the train Bapu talked of a Maharashtrian gentleman who has come from Ahmednagar to pick up the art and science of Satyagraha. “These people,” expostulated Bapu, “are under the impression that all this (Satyagaraha) is like studying a mechanism, everything about which can be immediately learnt up by merely watching its working. This is a common fault with all Maharashtrians from the smallest of them to even such great men as Prof. Karve.” But Joshi and another Maharashtrian friend, who visited Bapu in Delhi on the 28th, drew from him a favourable comment. As they took only 5 minutes of Bapu's time, Andrews remarked, “These people are very wise. They won't take a minute more than necessary.” “Yes,” Bapu agreed; “that is the white side of Mahatashtra."

22-4-2018

Meetings in the morning at Pandoli and Sunav. Overflowing enthusiasm at Sunav where nearly 2000 people attended the meeting. But Pandoli welcomed us with the Indian drums and cymbals (jhanjh-pakhaj), whereas at Sunav there was a modern musical band. Bapu commented, “In the band at Sunav, we missed the melody and the natural simplicity of the indigenous drums and cymbals we enjoyed at Pandoli. We have to take particular care to see that our activity too, does not degenerate into the artificiality of that musical band. In our drums and cymbals, the age-old melody of India has been preserved, while the band, with its discordant notes, jars in the ear. Our activity, also, must be full of harmony and sweetness.” Excellent speeches at both the places. Letters to Pratt, Ghosal and the Viceroy after returning to Nadiad.

Left for Bombay by the mail at night. Such rush and over-crowding that we were separated.

23-4-2018

Immediately on getting up, I saw Bapu writing in the mail train letters to Maganlal and Ba. Among other things that Bapu had heard from Ba, was the fact that Maganlalbhai and Santok (Mrs. Maganlal) had quarrelled. Hence, his letters with a view to smooth the matter.

"Chi. Maganlal,

Ba told me that high words had passed between you and Santok and that you were looking dejected. I wish you never involved yourself in any friction. You must remember to be patient in your attempts to develop the soul of Santok. Impatience may indicate want of love. We must be content, if we have done our duty, i.e., taken care to see that we do not support anybody in the wrong action he or she may be taking. It is your worry that consumes you and blocks your own evolution. It is high time you extricated yourself from this sad state.

मात्रास्पर्शास्तु कौन्तेय शीतोष्णसुखदुःखदाः |[1]

श्रागमापायिनोऽनित्यास्तांस्तितिक्षस्व भारत ||

Objects touch the senses and we feel
Pleasure and pain and heat and cold;
Contacts fleeting they, they come and go;
Be not by them subdued, O Bharat bold!

Meditate over this verse and assimilate its precept. It is charged with the power to transform us. For me, I can say, the verse has afforded peace during times of great anxiety and trouble. You must also make use of Santok as a mediator, to end the differences in Bhupatrai's family. They can and must be made up.

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1. Gita II-14. "O Kaunteya! Contacts of the senses with their objects being cold and heat, pleasure and pain; they come and go and are transient. Endure them, O Bharata!"

– 'The Gospel of Selfless Action' by M.D.

"My dear Kastur (Kasturba - Mrs. Gandhi)

You must give a mother's love and solace to Maganlal. He has left his home and parents to make my work his own. If there is anybody at present who is fit to inherit my work and responsibility, it is he. Who, but you, can arm him with a mother's moral support and strength? It is your business to share in his sorrows, to serve him with maternal love and sympathy at his meals and save him from many a worry. There is another thing you may look after – the quarrels between the members of Bhupatrai's family. You are the right person to bring about their reconciliation. I wish you kept yourself busy doing such silent service. Therein lies real learning and real greatness. You need have no constraint in wearing a borderless white sari.[1] I will try to come soon."

Attended the meeting of the 'Beggar Committee' at noon and took his meal after his return. I kept waiting for him in order to dine in his company.

A public meeting on the Kaira trouble was held at night under the auspices of the Home Rule League. Hon. (V. J.) Patel was the President. Tilak also came up unexpectedly. Patel began his speech in Gujarati, and the speeches delivered there were either in Gujarati or Marathi. Patel made a speech with inebriate excess.

Subedar, Horniman and others also let themselves go, and made Pratt the butt of their ridicule and sarcasm. Bapu's speech was restrained, gentle and full of good taste.

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1. Hindu widows alone used to wear such saris.

24-4-2018

My coat, with Rs. 125/- in cash, and a deposit receipt for Rs. 2500/- was stolen in Bombay. Bapu saw Maulana Abdul Bari in the morning. Jamnadas came on a visit in the afternoon and during the long talks with him, Bapu said, “I disliked entirely the tone of yesterday's speeches. The Englishman is deeply hurt at his name being made the target of scoffs, and that is exactly what happened last night. I will have to raise a protest against such speeches some day.”

Started for Delhi at 4. 30 p. m. We finished our meals before the fall of the evening and had a short chat. On the ground of his acquaintance with Bapu, as a volunteer at the Lucknow Congress, a Sindhi student came to see him in the afternoon. Bapu put his visit to good use by asking him to buy our tickets, and occupy our seats in the train till we came up. During the journey the student came again into our compartment. He said he had received military training as a cadet in the Indian Defence Force. Bapu was quick to see in the statement a good chance for the Ashram boys. He said, “Will you, not be good enough to stay in our Ashram for a few days, and give our students the training you have acquired? When does your vacation begin?”

My father came to meet us at Navsari station and was very happy to see me doing well. The one question that Bapu put him, late when the train was about to start, was: “Well, aren't you satisfied and free from worry now?” After a short silence, my father replied, “Yes, sir.”

25-4-2018

The next morning, he wrote all his letters for the day, even as the train was running. Then he talked about many persons, about Harilal, about Subedar, Banker and many others. Harilal had asked me to procure a recommendation for him from Manu Subedar and send it to Calcutta. As I had raised no objection and timely submitted to Harilal's wishes, Bapu gave me what I should call a fatherly admonition. I was both amazed and charmed with it, as it showed at once Bapu's unparalleled love and concern for me, his intense desire to round off the angles in my nature, and, what was still more remarkable, his perfectly correct discernment of my faults. I have never been pleased so much by his praises of me, as by this – his deep insight into my foibles. "You are extremely pliant," he began; "and this I point out not as a merit in you, but as a defect. You succumb completely to the atmosphere around you. You do not display the mettle to resist and rise above a debasing environment. That means you would be a prey to evil influences, if you happen to be in their midst. You are like a painter who cannot help depicting obscenity in his portrait, if he chanced to see an indecent scene. Instead of completely detaching yourself from an unclean surrounding, you take interest in it, are even tickled at it."

"Your analysis is perfectly correct, I admit," I replied, "and I am going to strive hard to remove the defect. But how can I arrogate to myself the work of reforming such a big man as....?" "Where's the question of reforming anybody else?" rejoined Bapu. "Nobody ever reforms others in this world. We have to reform only ourselves. Get mentally detached from your associates, and, through this simple aloofness, you can stamp your presence on others. People must realize that some kind of talk has to be discontinued, immediately you happen to come to them. You can be said to have impressed yourself on others, only when they would be ashamed to use filthy language or talk about any indecent incident in your presence. You must learn to remain always in an entirely pure environment." I told him that, though I knew the close relationship between art and ethics, it was my nature to enjoy unhealthy literature for the sake of its attractive style or its gripping subject-matter. "I have been observing that trait in you almost since you came to me," said Bapu.

Bapu: "In the whole Bombay crowd, only one man caught my eye – Banker. But wait. There was Umar (Sobhani) also, a stalwart Muslim. The Muslim, as a rule, is a man of strong likes and dislikes. That apart, he is an excellent man and is highly cultured too".

"Harilal threw away his whole life in a moment by one false step. I see in him all my faults magnified and my merits minimised, as we see in some special mirrors reflections of objects larger and smaller than their size. My virtues, generosity for instance, have been enlarged in him into defects. I feel that Devdas has been born to compensate me for the dissatisfaction. I feel from my three other sons."

As we were going to the station, Bapu, disclosed an unknown fact of his life: "On my return from England, I sold away practically all the ornaments of Ba, in order to pay off my debt for my educational expenses in England. Do you know the only ornaments Ba possesses are the pair of gold bangles she wears on her wrists? Harilal, too, can do likewise. The custom in our caste enjoins that Rs. 1700/- worth of jewellery is the minimum a bridegroom's father must give as a gift to the bride. And the bride's parents are not required to give her anything. The caste does not object to the use of this jewellery by the husband in order to tide over a difficult time in the family."

At Bharatpur station Bapu went into the first class compartment in which Chandawarkar, Paranjape and Patel were travelling. They must have talked a lot. When he re-joined, I asked him, "Could you make them agree to combine and speak with one voice at the Viceroy's meeting?" He heaved a sigh and said, "No ....o. There was not much difference in their views, and they were discussing what they should do there. But our great men appear so small to me! These three for instance. They didn't seem to be in earnest. Their attitude showed that they not believe that this occasion called for serious thinking."

A reporter of 'The Hindu,' Vyasrao, joined Bapu in the train at Mathura station. They talked about conscription, and voluntary recruitment. "How can you," the reporter submitted, "wedded to non-violence as you are, encourage recruitment in the army? Please clarify your stand." "I am definitely opposed to war as such," Bapu explained, "But I would support the attitude of one who approaches me with a fixed desire to fight. I would tell him to enrol himself in the army." The reporter was be-fuddled. Bapu said:

*"I recognise the existence of human passions, and before a man learns to die, he must be capable to strike. To one who comes for the advice whether it is right to fight or not, I would distinctly say 'No, it is not'. But to one who comes with the clear conviction in his pocket that fighting is right, but is doubtful whether it is right to fight on a particular occasion, I would advise him that the present is the right moment to fight."

After giving this clarification, Bapu asked the reporter, “Do you see my point now? If you do, explain it.” The reporter said something, but he did not appear to have caught Bapu's view. Bapu then said:

*“Take a concrete case. There is my son who tells me that he cannot do without marrying. I do believe that celibacy is the best for him, and yet I must allow him to marry, simply to ensure that he does not go wrong, and after his marriage persuade him to be more and more continent.”

26-4-2018

He showered his love on me, and gave me a parting embrace, before he retired last night. But the first thing he did in the morning, was to call me and read me a lecture:

"What shall I say, when you did it all out of love? But I must say that spiritually you have erred. Why did you not take your meal the other day till I came back? I was deeply pained to find you waiting for me. If you desisted from having your meal out of a feeling of love for me, let me tell you that that love was mistaken love. If you wanted to have the joy of my company at dinner, it was simply self-indulgence. I wanted to send you somewhere immediately on my return, but I saw that you had not had your meal, and was forced to give up the idea. How can I take work from you this way? You are prone to mistaking your bad habits for good ones. Are not our relations too close now for standing on any such formality? Your father and Durga have joined in pampering you rather too much."

In the morning, he attended the preliminary meeting called by (Sir Claude) Hill. At the very commencement of the meeting, Bapu raised his objection against the absence of Tilak, Mrs. Besant and Ali brothers. Hill asked: "Who resents their absence?" Only Bapuji said, "I resent." Nobody supported him. He returned from the meeting disgusted and annoyed. Began to pen a letter to Hill. Showed it to Andrews. It underwent several corrections. Mazhar-ul-Huq (ex-President of the Muslim League) also was there to help him.

*"Dear Sir Claude Hill,

It was not without considerable pain that I had to decline the honour of serving on any of the Committees that will be appointed at the eventful Conference and of speaking on the main resolution. I feel that the Conference will be largely abortive with the most powerful leaders excluded from it. The absence of Mr. Tilak, Mrs. Besant and Ali Brothers from the Conference deprives it of any real weight. I must confess that not one of us, who were present at today's meeting, has the influence of these leaders with the masses. Refusal to have them at the Conference, shows that there is no real desire to change the attitude hitherto adopted by those who are holding the reins of the Government. And, without any real alteration in the spirit, all your concessions will lose their grace and force, and will fail to evoke genuine loyalty from the masses. How

to evoke in the Indian the loyalty of the Englishman, is the question before the Indian leaders. I submit that it is impossible to do so, unless you are prepared to trust the trusted leaders of the people, and to do all that such trust means. So far as Ali Brothers are concerned, there is no proof of their guilt before the public, and they have emphatically repudiated the charge of having corresponded with the enemy. Most Mohammedans think what the Ali Brothers think on the situation.

I feel that for other reasons, also, I could not effectively serve on the Conference. I have just read the Home Mail papers. They deal with the Secret Treaties. The revelations make painful reading. I do not know that I could call the Allies' cause to be any longer just, if these treaties are truly reported. I do not know what effect the news will produce on the Mohammedans of India. The Government will best serve the Empire, if they were boldly to advise His Majesty's Government to recede from the false and immoral position they placed themselves in by these treaties. No one will be more glad than I would be, to find that my reading of the papers is totally incorrect.

There will be no domestic peace in India, so long as local Officials administer affairs, as they have been doing in Kaira. I am sure the Viceroy does not wish that people should not resist injustice and tyranny. I do hope that the contemplated spoliation in Kaira will be stopped at once, and the just demand of the Kaira people will be complied with.

I would like to warn the Government against accepting or initiating conscription. I hope it will never flourish on the Indian soil. But in any case, it ought not to be introduced until all voluntary efforts have been honestly made and have failed. You will admit that the leaders have, with remarkable restraint, hushed all the tales of forcible recruitment that is reported to have gone on hitherto. I venture to think that the danger point has been reached.

Lastly, a thorough education in Home Rule has now so widely penetrated the masses, that nothing short of very substantial evidence of the near advent of Home Rule will secure the real co-operation of the people.

You will now understand and, perhaps, appreciate my reluctance to speak or to serve on the Committees. I can best demonstrate my good wishes by abstaining from the Conference.

Will you please place this letter before the Viceroy at the earliest possible opportunity?

Yours sincerely,
M.K. Gandhi”

After the letter was completed, Malaviyaji came up. He thought the letter rather too strongly worded, but could not suggest any improvement except the one of adding 'and oblige' at the end of the letter. Bapu, however, rejected the suggestion. Andrews started for 'Metcalff House' to hand the letter personally to Hill. Bapuji and I accompanied him. Seeing us walking, Malaviyaji, who had left earlier, got down from his carriage and joined us. Various subjects were discussed on the way. Malaviyaji said that he makes his son read to him, 'Secret of Success' and 'Plain Living and High Thinking' and he himself quotes apposite verses from the Mahabharata during the reading. The statement drew a smile from Andrews. Malaviyaji saw it and felt constrained to give us a harangue upon the excellence of the books. After a short walk with us, he separated from us to pay a visit to a friend. While Andrews often spoke of the letter in the highest terms such as 'splendid' and 'Magnificent', Bapuji remarked, when Pandit Malaviyaji was no longer with us.

*"I am sure Panditji has not liked the letter. It is good that he came after the letter was finished. Otherwise, we would never have finished it at all. He would have us wash it to nothing."

Malaviyaji rejoined us and the chats touched various ordinary matters. We reached 'Metcalff House' and Andrews went in to hand over the letter to Hill. On his return to us, Andrews gave us a detailed report:

*"I encountered Hailey on the way. He asked what I was about at that late hour. I said I wanted to see Sir Claude Hill. He offered to take me there. He went in and told Sir Claude that I was waiting outside. Sir Claude came and hastily told me, "Well, Mr. Andrews, I am so busy, I cannot give you a minute." I said, "I do not want a minute. I wanted to deliver this letter into your own hands. It is a very important letter and I hope you will read it tonight."

27-4-2018

Bapu did not attend the Conference and sent a copy of the above letter to Maffey. In a covering letter he wrote:

*"The development the whole situation has since undergone, in my opinion, renders the discharge of the (Ali) Brothers, more than ever imperative. After considerable hesitation and deep thought, I have come to the conclusion that I cannot take part in the Conference, and serve the cause for which it has been called. My reasons are set forth in my letter to Sir Claude Hill, copy of which I beg to enclose herewith. I do not know whether His Excellency would still like to see me about the Brothers. I am in Delhi upto the 29th and can naturally prolong my stay, if necessary."

This letter was sent at 11 a. m. Within a short time came Maffey's reply, which stated that the Viceroy wanted Bapuji to interview him at 3 p.m. So the interview did take place after all and it lasted for 2 hours. "Don't wreck the Conference by keeping out of it. You may, if you like, wreck it from within. You can place all your views and facts before your friends, and try to persuade them to your view. But do you think anyone will agree with you? If you don't attend the Conference, your absence will have a very bad effect on India," – this was the gist of the Viceroy's plea.

Then the question of the Secret Treaties came up. The Viceroy said, "Are you sure that the Treaties have really been made? You can't say anything before hearing the other party." In his reply Bapu put before the Viceroy everything about that paragraph in his letter quite honestly.

"I do not read the papers and am usually ignorant of events. But Andrews gave me several issues of "The Nation", and from them I came to know of these Treaties. Both Andrews and I felt that your attention must be drawn to them, and I wrote about the matter. I have no special information beyond what is given in those issues. It is true, I admit, that we must hear what the Cabinet has to say about it."

28-4-2018

A serious conflict raged in his mind all through the morning on the question whether he should or should not attend the Conference. To Andrews he said:

*"The spirit of chivalry in me gets the better of the spirit of justice. I was simply cut up when he (the Viceroy) said, "You will be alone in India some day. There will be none to agree with you or follow you. Try to persuade your friends about what you say, and you will see what I say."

Before going to the Conference, Bapuji sent Andrews to Sir William Vincent to get an appointment fixed with him. Andrews was made to wait for quarter of an hour in a bathroom. Then he said he could give Andrews about a minute only. He did not even shake hands with him, but straightway launched with, *"Well, Mr. Andrews, what can I do for you?" Bapuji saw him at 10 a. m. To Bapuji also he was curt: *"I cannot give you a single minute. What has the Brothers' question to do with the recruitment question?"

*Bapuji said, "It has a lot to do. The whole question of recruitment will be solved by the release of the Brothers."

*Sir William: "Well, what have you done for the war? So far as I know, you have simply given a lot of trouble to the local authorities."

*Bapu: "I did a lot of work in England. I offered to do similar work here, but the offer was refused."

*Sir William: "Goodbye."

That was all. The interview ended and Bapuji came back.

Attended the Man-Power Committee of the Conference, but spoke not a word there. When he returned from the Conference in the evening, he decided to send a letter to the Viceroy after the end of the Conference, as he had sent one before its commencement. The letter was drafted. It was a remarkable letter containing a demand for the grant of self-government to India and the repeal of the Arms Act as well as the Press Act immediately. The letter was discussed at Malaviyaji's residence late till the midnight hour. Malaviyaji had agreed to sign the letter then, but in the morning he retracted and refused to sign it. In the absence of Malaviyaji's signature, Bapuji decided not to send the letter to the Viceroy, though 17 others had signed it. Then he thought of speaking in Urdu at the Conference, since he was asked to propose

a resolution. So he sent Andrews to get the necessary permission. The Viceroy not only gave it, but sent the following message with it: *"Please assure all your friends that I have already done what I possibly could do. The Scheme submitted will not be exactly the Congress-League Scheme,[1] but will substantially be like it. I hope to-morrow there will be no bargaining, no huckstering therefore. The whole world – especially all in England - will be watching with anxiousness what happens to-morrow, everybody's eyes are fixed on to-morrow, and I do hope that there will be no huckstering."

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1. The Indian National Congress and the Muslim League had jointly sponsored a scheme of reforms, including an agreed (political) solution of the communal question. But the Government afterwards weaned away the League from it, and then foisted their Montague-Chelmsford Scheme, known shortly as the Montford Scheme, including their own communal solution.

29-4-2018

Simply with two sentences spoken in Urdu in support, he proposed the resolution that stood against his name. Malaviyaji came to see him in the afternoon. He talked on eugenics, as treated in the stories of the Mahabharata and the Puranas[1], about Sri Krishna and Satyabhama, Pundarik and Samba, fruits of observing *brahmacharya* for 12 years continuously and about love, joy and innocent living among birds and monkeys.

Referring to Malaviyaji's speech at the Conference, Bapu said, "He is now a spent force."

At the Conference hall, Bapu had talked, with Sir Claude Hill also, who then felt ashamed of his conduct yesterday.

He began to prepare a letter to the Viceroy, part of which he dictated to me. At night he and Andrews continued to revise it till 1 a.m. the next morning.

Before going to the Conference, he had written the following letter, intimating his decision to attend it, to the Private Secretary to the Viceroy:

*"In fear and trembling, I have decided, as a matter of duty, to join the Conference. After the interview with His Excellency and subsequently with you, I feel I could not do otherwise."

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1. Semi-historical and mythological Sanskrit books, giving religious precepts through stories, so as to make them easy to understand by the masses.

This was the reply he had received:

*"The Viceroy does not believe in your 'fear and trembling.' Nor do I.

His Excellency is very glad, indeed, to hear that you will join the Conference. I have written to Sir Claude Hill to inform him that you will join the Man-Power Committee which meets at 11 a. m."

While the letter to the Viceroy was being written at night, a letter from Mr. Maffey was received:

*"Dear Mr. Gandhi,

I now find that in the morning's rush, I did not read the end part of your letter, and only dealt with the first question – your speech. If I may deal with that, may I say that I know that the Viceroy felt very much touched by your presence, by the simple words you said, and the way you said them.

I am so glad that you see scope for definite work ahead. It is all wanted and you will not regret it. Standing out for rights is not always the best way of getting them. If you can believe in us, fight for us and don't be impatient with us.

We leave tonight, but if at any time I can be of service, let me know.

Yours sincerely
Maffey"

Bapu's reply:

*"It was very kind of you, in spite of your overwhelming work, to re-read my letter and find time to answer it. Pray convey my thanks to His Excellency for his kindly sentiments.

I am preparing two letters for you which will follow you to Simla. I hardly think they shall be ready before you leave. One of them will contain definite suggestions, in which you may use my services, and the other will simply complete my views on the situation.

My trust in you is not to be easily shaken. I entirely endorse what you say about rights. But I have no business to inflict a long letter on you.

Always feel that I am committing a sin when I write to you.

Yours

M. K. Gandhi"

30-4-2018

The revision of the letter which was again taken up in the morning continued all the day through right upto the evening. Andrews went through every word and dotted the 'is' and crossed the 'ts'. The letter that emerged after all this scrutiny and revision, astounded all of us by its excellence. Rudra, Andrews and others lavished praises and called it 'magnificent', 'splendid' etc. It was decided that Rev. Ireland should proceed to Simla by the night train and hand it personally to the Viceroy. He was offered Rs. 70/- but contenting himself with the Inter Class fare, he accepted only Rs. 20/-. The following two letters – to Sir William Vincent and Mr. Maffey – were also written that same evening and sent:

*"Dear Mr. Maffey,

I would like you please to read the letter to the Viceroy and wire to me at Nadiad whether His Excellency has any reason why it may not be published. It is intended to counteract forces of darkness. I am simply besieged with inquiries as to my position. The people are befogged. Dame Rumour is doing all the mischief she can. I want to overtake her. You will forgive me for my apparent impatience.

The other enclosure contains my offer. You will do with it what you like. I would love to do something which Lord Chelmsford would consider to be real war-work. I have an idea that, if I became your Recruiting Agent-in-Chief, I might rain men on you. Pardon me for the impertinence.

The Viceroy looked pale yesterday. My whole heart went out to him, as I watched him listening to the speeches. May God watch over and protect him and you, his faithful and devoted Secretary. I feel you are more than Secretary to him".

*"Dear Sir William Vincent,

I ruffled you on Sunday. But I really came to further the object for which you have overworked yourself. I merely came to tell you that the release of the Ali Brothers was calculated to encourage recruiting. If I did not believe this, it would have been sinful for me to expect you to give me a single minute of your time.

You asked me whether I had brought the authorities a single recruit. I suggest to you that it was not a fair question, and one might truly serve the Empire and yet not bring a single recruit.

I hope you will not resent this letter, but accept it as an honest explanation of a visit which you so hastily misunderstood."

That same day he came to know that the Poet (Rabindranath Tagore) was going to Australia, or somewhere out of India, and was taking Andrews with him. After deep cogitation Bapu wrote the following letter to him and sent it with Andrews, who left for Calcutta:

*"Dear Gurudev,

"Much as I should like to keep Mr. Andrews with me a little longer, I feel sure that he must leave for Calcutta tonight. I know you want his soothing presence by you, whilst you are keeping indifferent health. And you must have him while you need him. We are on the threshold of a mighty change in India. I would like all the pure forces to be physically in the country during the process of her new birth. If, therefore, you could at all find rest anywhere in India, I would ask you and Mr. Andrews to remain in the country, and kindly to lend me Mr. Andrews now and then. His guidance at times is most precious to me.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. Gandhi"

The principal letter, which Bapu wrote to the Viceroy, was acclaimed as 'classic' by those present. Bapu himself said that it contained the quintessence of *dharma*, of Satyagraha and of his other ideals. When the Government's permission was received, it was published in the Press.

Here is the text of that remarkable letter:

*"Sir,

Delhi

April-29-2018

As you are aware, after careful consideration, I felt constrained to convey to Your Excellency that I could not attend the Conference for reasons stated in my letter of the 26th instant. But after the interview you were good enough to grant me, I persuaded myself to join it – if for no other cause than certainly out of my great regard for yourself.

One of my reasons for absentation – and perhaps the strongest – was that Mr. Tilak, Mrs. Besant, and the Ali brothers, whom I regard as among the most powerful

leaders of public opinion, were not invited to the Conference. I still feel that it was a grave blunder not to have asked them, and I respectfully suggest that the blunder might be partially repaired, if these leaders were invited to assist the Government by giving it the benefit of their advice at the Provincial Conferences which, I understand, are to follow. I venture to submit that no Government can afford to disregard leaders who represent large masses of the people, as these do, even though they may hold views fundamentally different. At the same time, it gives me pleasure to be able to say that the views of all parties were permitted to be freely expressed at the Committees of the Conference. For my own part, I purposely refrained from stating my views, either at the Committee – on which I had the honour of serving – or at the Conference itself. I felt that I could best serve the objects of the Conference, by simply tendering my support to the resolutions submitted to it – and this I have done without any reservation. I hope to translate the spoken word into action), as early as the Government can see its way to accept my offer, which I am submitting simultaneously herewith in a separate letter. I recognize that, in the hour of its danger, we must give – as we have decided to give – ungrudging and unequivocal support to the Empire, of which we aspire, in the near future, to be partners in the same sense as the Dominions overseas. But it is the simple truth that our response is due to the expectation that our goal will be reached all the more speedily on that account – even as the performance of a duty automatically confers a corresponding right. The people are entitled to believe that the imminent reforms, alluded to in your speech, will embody the main, general principles of the Congress-League Scheme, and, I am sure, that it is this faith which has enabled many members of the Conference to tender to the Government their whole-hearted co-operation.

If I could make my countrymen retrace their steps, I would make them withdraw all the Congress resolutions, and not whisper “Home Rule” or “Responsible Government” during the pendency of the war. I would make India offer all her able-bodied sons, as a sacrifice to the Empire at its critical moment; and I know that India, by this very act, would become the most favoured partner in the Empire, and racial distinctions would become a thing of the past. But, practically, the whole of educated India has decided to take a less effective course, and it is no longer possible to say that educated India does not exercise any influence on the masses. I have been coming into most intimate touch with the ryots, ever since my return from South Africa to India, and I wish to assure you that the desire for Home Rule has widely penetrated them. I was present at the sessions of the last Congress, and I was party to the resolution that

full Responsible Government should be granted to British India, within a period to be fixed definitely by a Parliamentary Statute. I admit that it is a bold step to take, but I feel sure that nothing less than a definite vision of Home Rule – to be realized in the shortest possible time - will satisfy the Indian people. I know that there are many in India who consider no sacrifice too great in order to achieve the end; and they are wakeful enough to realize that they must be equally prepared to sacrifice themselves for the Empire, in which they hope and desire to reach their final status. It follows, then, that we can but accelerate our journey towards the goal by silently and simply devoting ourselves, heart and soul, to the work of delivering the Empire from the threatening danger. It will be national suicide not to recognize this elementary truth. We must perceive that, if we serve to save the Empire, we have in that very act secured Home Rule.

Whilst, therefore, it is clear to me that we should give to the Empire every available man for its defence, I fear I cannot say the same thing about financial assistance. My intimate intercourse with the ryots convinces me that India has already donated to the Imperial Exchequer beyond her capacity. I know that in making this statement I am voicing the opinion of the vast majority of my countrymen.

The Conference means for me, and I believe for many of us, a definite step in consecration of our lives to the common cause. But ours is a peculiar position. We are today outside the partnership. Ours is a consecration based on the hope of better future. I should be untrue to you and to my country, if I did not state that hope in the plainest language. But I do not bargain for its fulfilment. But you should know it. Disappointment of the hope means disillusion.

There is one thing I may not omit. You have appealed to us to sink domestic differences. If the appeal involves the toleration of tyranny and wrong-doing on the part of officials, I am powerless to respond. I shall resist organized tyranny to the uttermost. The appeal must be to the officials that they do not ill-treat a single soul, and that they consult and respect popular opinion, as never before. In Champaran, by resisting an age- long tyranny, I have shown the ultimate sovereignty of British justice. In Kaira, a population that was cursing the Government now feels that it, and not the Government, is the power when it is prepared to suffer for the truth it represents. It is, therefore, losing its bitterness, and is saying to itself that the Government must be a Government for the people, for it tolerates orderly and respectful disobedience where injustice is felt.

Thus, Champaran and Kaira affairs are my direct, definite and special contribution to the war. Ask me to suspend my activities in that direction, and you ask me to suspend my life If I could popularize the use of soul-force, which is but another name for love-force, in the place of brute-force, I know that I could present you with an India that could defy the whole world to do its worst. In season and out of season, therefore, I shall discipline myself to express in my life this eternal law of suffering, and present it for acceptance to those who care. And if I take part in any other activity, the motive is to show the matchless superiority of that law.

Lastly, I would like you to ask His Majesty's Ministers to give definite assurances about Mohammedan States. I am sure you know that every Mohammedan is deeply interested in them. As a Hindu, I cannot be indifferent to their cause. Their sorrows must be our sorrows. In the most scrupulous regard for the right of these States, and for the Muslim sentiment as to places of worship, and in your just and timely treatment of the Indian claim to Home Rule, lies the safety of the Empire.

I write this, because I love the English Nation, and I wish to evoke in every Indian the loyalty of the Englishman.

I remain,

Your Excellency's faithful servant,

M. K. Gandhi.”

The other letter which Bapu submitted along with this one requested the Government to utilize Bapu's service in the recruiting campaign. His experiences of the Ambulance Corps he had raised in South Africa and in England, were adduced therein to show his fitness for the work he was requesting the Government to entrust him with.

1-5-2018

Left Delhi. Owing to indisposition, he kept lying on his berth all through the journey, but wrote the following letter to Harilal (his eldest son):

"I had got your letter in Delhi. I wonder what I should write in reply. Man behaves according to the impulses of his nature. But it is the very *dharma*, the '*purushartha*' (effort which every man as a human being should put forth) of everyone of us to gain mastery over them. Make that effort, and all your faults will be forgotten and forgiven. You state very emphatically that you have not committed any defalcation, and I will believe you, but the world will not. You must, therefore, silently bear with the world's scorn and be careful and wary in future. Try to change the world's view about you. Your boss is the world for you. Don't be afraid of having to appear in a court of law, or of its possible judgment. If you accept my advice, don't engage a pleader at all, but put all your cards on the table before the opposing lawyer.

You had with you a valuable diamond, but with your over- adventurous and impatient nature, you lost it. You are no longer a baby. It is not that you have tasted as yet only a little of the sweets and bitters of the world. If you are surfeited, retrace your steps. Never lose courage on any account. Truth itself is God. Our virtues and vices are not just dead but charged with life and they bear fruit. You have so far led a thoughtless and self-willed life. Wish you turned a new leaf, and became thoughtful and restrained now.

Something really great was accomplished at Delhi in my stride. You will have some idea of it from the Press. I am too busy, but Mahadev will manage to find time to write more fully. He satisfies my need for you. But I cannot yet wrench myself from a feeling of fondness for you and from the wistful thought, 'How happy would I have been, if you were by my side in his stead?' If others had not become my sons and soothed my feelings, I would have simply died of the pain of separation from you. But without any need to dislodge them, your place with me is always vacant and waiting to be filled, if only you decide to become my son in its true sense.

Blessings,

Bapu."

2-5-2018

Arrived at Nadiad in the morning. Talks about happenings in Delhi. Left for Bombay the same night.

3-5-2018

Arrived in Bombay in the morning and saw Mrs. Besant. She agreed to support Bapuji in his view regarding unconditional support to the Government in its campaign of recruitment for the army. Attended in the evening a meeting of the Congress Committee. Khaparde, Tilak and others strongly advocated the view, 'Give us swaraj and take our help'. Bapu made a touching appeal in favour of co-operation without any pre-conditions:

*"The Empire is passing through a crisis. I am taking the most sordid view of the situation. We have stated our terms sufficiently. We need not repeat those terms. We must raise our own army and, if need be, our army will be able to defy the British Government itself for which it is being raised. Whether we help or no, they are going to raise their 5 lacs of men. Why not then anticipate them, and offer them an army of our own selection? I, who know the trying conditions, think that I should have the whole recruiting in my own hands, and thus save our young men all the misery and hardship of which we hear so much. We ought not to trifle with the situation. The necessity for deliberate action on our part is greater now, as Shastriar said, but I will even go further. It is India that will decide the situation. If India perishes, the Empire perishes. We do not mind the Empire perishing, but we do mind our country perishing. The leaders should require the peasant to leave the plough and to go to the War. This is no time for passing halting resolutions. I would suggest that, if you can share my feeling, you should decide to form a Recruiting Committee and, before it starts work, you should say to the Government that they would make the situation easy by following our recommendations. That would be business-like position. When we are on our trial, when Home Rulers are on their trial, we ought to be in earnest. I am putting before you what is surging in my breast. If you realize that our country is lost to us, and we will be under a domination, before which we will have to repeat our history (of subjection), we ought to be in earnest, and help our level best to save the situation."

The second resolution was about the Kaira struggle. Everyone gave Bapuji a *carte blanche* to pass any resolution he liked in the matter. So the resolution was framed and all the members voted for it. But just then, Sri Srinivasa Shastri raised a point of order that such an important resolution could not be passed immediately, as due notice was not given previously. The President, C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer, admitted that Shastriar's objection was technically correct since it was not possible to give a week's notice, but, he added, he was putting the resolution from the Chair. Bapu then said he wanted to withdraw the resolution under those circumstances. He repeated his request more than once, but nobody minded him and all bawled out, "We accept the resolution." With pain pictured on his face, Shastriar then got up and humbly declared, "I am sorry I cannot give my assent to the resolution." On his return home at night Bapu commented, "Shastriar was at his highest and best today. "It was evident his heart was lacerated at having to differ, but he is a holy man and he got up to raise his voice of protest in his own honourable way." Bapu even wrote a letter to him at night:

*"Your 'No' had a real value to me. The 'A yes' had no value at all."

"And Shastriar said, when he read the letter", reported Sri Amritlal Thakkar to us, "Only a Gandhi could write this letter." This is a noteworthy instance of one who is not only honest to himself, but can also rejoice at seeing the same virtue even in an opponent.

The mail brought us today the Viceroy's permission to publish Bapu's letter to him. I went round the city to give copies for publication to the different papers here. I had stretched myself last night on the floor of the terrace, under the open sky, and fallen asleep. Bapu woke me up, and made me sleep on a four-poster inside. This was the second visible expression of his love for me, and I was reminded of the first at Baroda station.

4-5-2018

Dictated and finished within one hour and a half the translation of his letter to the Viceroy. Revised his reply[1] to the Government Press note, and circulate its copies for publication. Left for Bijapur by the night train.

5-5-2018

Reached jaipur in the afternoon. A few lawyers of Ahmednagar saw him in the train, as we were passing from Hutgi to Bijapur. They discussed the discontent that had arisen among the ryots from the Government's proposed requisitioning of their lands, for the installation of an Australian or American Company there. The lawyers showed Bapu the petition they had submitted and other relevant correspondence. “But don't you think", suggested Bapu, “that the central point is missed here (in the petition), viz., that the ryots are unjustly robbed of their property and that they must not be robbed for some other's benefit?” The interviewers saw a new light. Bapu advised them, “Instead of passing resolutions, the ryots must be taught to know their rights and, if they really feel that their rights are sacrificed, they must be asked to submit a monster petition to the Government. This petition must state clearly that the ryots are determined not to give up their possession, and that the Government must choose whether to send them to jail or to let them retain it. But before doing all that ..... must be approached and what he has to say in the matter known. If his explanation is unsatisfactory, his doings behind the scene may be exposed.”

A gentleman— the sub-editor of “The Maratha” – came to see Bapu to discuss with him the proposal to launch Satyagraha against the Government's cancellation of the passports for England issued to the Home Rule Deputation. Bapu explained to him the principles of Satyagraha; to wit, the Satyagrahi must be steadfast in his resolve not to accept defeat and to adhere to truth and non-violence, it should be such as can be offered by a large number of men, and no question of Satyagraha arises unless the opponent's action is brutal, tyrannical, immoral and unjust.

The Subjects Committee met at 9 p. m. The question of giving help to the Man-Power Committee also cropped up. Bapuji agreed to clarify the next morning his stand at the Delhi Conference, but while doing so, he observed,[2] “If I had a blank card, I should move for a single, simple resolution. I would resist the introduction of any condition with all my might."

After 9.30 p.m. a ‘Depressed Class Conference’ was held. It was at the very pressing request of Shinde[2] that Bapuji attended it. After many resolutions were passed, Bapuji was asked to propose a resolution late at nearly 12 midnight. It was meant to give the support of the Depressed Classes to the Congress-League Scheme, and to request the Government to give a niche to them also in their Reform Scheme. Before proposing his resolution Bapuji surveyed the audience and asked, “How many

Depressed Class members are there in this Conference?" He put the question thrice, but none stood up. Somebody at last said, "There's not a single member." The remark provoked Bapu to say in Hindi:

"What then are we doing here all this time till this late hour of 12? We are like parrots who repeat, 'Narayan, Narayan', (Lord, Lord) at some other's bidding without understanding what the word means. I appeal to Mr. Shinde to give up organising such Conferences and immerse himself in some solid constructive work for the Depressed Classes. It is impossible to get redemption from the sin of untouchability except by the purification of the heart. It is only intense sincerity, not put-up shows, that can achieve anything. We pass so many resolutions in favour of the removal of untouchability, but with practically no results. In order to prevent the passing of a previous resolution by a unanimous vote, somebody here had got up and protested that this was an airy, unpractical Conference. I agree and say the same thing.

When, in the agenda, I read the resolution in favour of the Congress-League Scheme, I had thought 'Surely, this resolution would be supported by some Depressed Class members', but there is not even one Depressed Class member here. What can be the effect of passing that resolution at such a Conference then? What weight will it carry with Mr. Montague? I simply cannot propose this resolution. We have no right to pass it here. We must not bring it in this Conference. It is quite enough and more, if we discard pretences and become straight-forward. We no longer practise the '*varnashrama dharma*' (duties pertaining to the four chief castes and the four stages of life), as enjoined by our scriptures. The Brahmin has given up his functions and duties as a Brahmin, and so has the Kshatriya (the warrior) and so the Vaishya (the businessman). And still we stick like a leech to what was never sanctioned by our religion – this untouchability! We are not fit for Swaraj.

Men like Lord Sydenham are sure to fling at our face the question, "How are you, who are clamouring for Swaraj for yourselves, going to deal with the untouchables?" And, in answer, we will have to hang down our heads in shame. He who demands Swaraj must give it first to others. 'He who wants equity must come with clean hands' – that is the legal maxim. I appeal to you all to close this foot-light show and, with all the sincerity of the heart, pray to God at this midnight hour that our sins may be washed off and our callousness be transformed into brotherly love."

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1. Reference to the Government Press-note dated 24-4-'18, which stated that no appointment of an independent tribunal in respect of the Kaira situation was called for. See Appendix I-2 for this reply.

2. One of the earliest high caste champions of removal of untouchability for which he devoted his whole life.

6-5-2018

Everyone knew that Bapu was going to express this morning his views on the Delhi Conference, and was eagerly awaiting his turn to speak. Bapu declared:

*"I have committed a serious indiscretion. A friend came and said that I was unnecessarily creating a disturbance in Bijapur which is divided into two camps. I did not know the real position. I have not come to throw the apple of discord and to accelerate the feelings of the parties. Lokamanya[1] Tilak must be here to guide you and me. I am but a child of three in politics. I have yet to see, to consider and to learn things. I apologise for creating a disturbance. As I propose to put into practice the programme I have mapped out, I should not be anxious to ascertain the feelings running in all parts of India. But as you are all come here with preconceived notions, I cannot discuss my position here. I would like to exchange views and understand your feelings and deciding motives and reach the backs of your minds. But I shall prefer to come here in a calmer atmosphere, and shall only then come to steel your hearts when we are not cramped with resolutions before us. I think Mr. Kelkar[2] has taken the most reasonable position, and that at this stage we must accept the Congress Committee's Resolution."

Bapu then proposed a resolution in favour of the abolition of the indentured labour system. We left Bijapur in the afternoon. He felt tired and lay down for a long time on his berth in the train.

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1. Loka—People; manya – respected or revered. Lokamanya (respected by the people) was the title conferred on Tilak Maharaj by the people, in appreciation of his services.

2. Editor of Lokamanya Tilak's paper, 'Maratha'.

7-5-2018

Reached Bombay in the morning. Spent the day in visits to many people. He enjoyed his meal specially today as it was prepared by the loving hands of Avantikabai. Left Bombay by the night train. A very happy letter from the Bihar Government was received in the mail today in reply to Bapu's letter re. Swami Satyadev. It was a long letter showing reasons for the Swami's internment, giving details about his lectures which the Government regarded as objectionable and telling Bapu what the Government proposed to do about him now. It ended with the statement that the Lieutenant Governor of Bihar was thankful to Bapu for keeping the Swami under his control.

8-5-2018

Nadiad. Talks. Wrote letters.

9-5-2018

I wrote a letter to Bapu and sent it through Vallabhbhai, who brought back to me Bapu's immediate reply:

“Bhaishri Mahadev,

I never dreamt that you would misinterpret my proposal and consider as a vote of censure against you what I had said solely out of my deep faith and confidence in you. You are so entwined around me that I did anticipate that it would be a wrench and a shock to you to have to go away to Champaran. But it passes my comprehension how you could even imagine that in making that proposal I played a trick on you because I considered you unfit for the work here and wanted to get rid of you. On the contrary, I thought of you for the work there, as I had considered you the only fit person who could fulfil all my hopes. I also believed that the work which Durga would be expected to do there was not beyond her capacity. Perhaps it was an over-estimate but that was my view. Now let me hasten to tell you that all your fears about my estimate of your worth are entirely imaginary and baseless. Far from it, it was my high esteem for the abilities of both of you that was at the back of my suggestion of sending you there. I had already spoken to Ravjibhai and Devdas of the inconvenience I would

have to suffer owing to the consequent lack of your assistance. You have established your position here so well that you have become almost irreplaceable. There was no exaggeration but simple truth in what I wrote to Polak about you. I have chosen you for my colleague because I found in you just the right man for my political work, and for your efficiency in other matters and for your character. You have not disappointed me at all. And what is more is the fact that you prepare khichri (rice and lentil cooked together) for me with such inordinate love! More when we meet."

10-5-2018

Arrived in Ahmedabad at night.

11-5-2018

I received a chastening sermon for my foolish letter of the 9th: "I had never imagined that you would misunderstand me so woefully. You have done me a grave injustice. You have condemned me, a person reputed to be the bravest in India, as a coward. Could I not have told you plainly, what you imagined I let you know in a roundabout crooked way? You couldn't see the simple fact that I had prepared myself to undergo the sacrifice which your absence would entail on me. I was quite certain that you would succeed at any place where I sent you and in any kind of work I entrusted you with. I had suggested your name under the belief that you possessed that all round fitness. Your letter only proved that you did not."

"When you said that Narhari couldn't be spared but I could be," I faltered, "I felt I was hardly needed here."

Bapu: "That's true. The Ashram School needs Narhari. How could he be sent away? And for me, it is not quite impossible to do without a secretary. I would certainly be inconvenienced, but I might carry on. No other person could be your substitute in the amount and quality of your output, but as I am not unaccustomed to do my work single-handed, your absence would not bring it to a standstill. Only, with you to help me, I could put in double work – and that sacrifice I had made myself ready to undergo."

Wrote letters for the mail in the afternoon. Visited the city in the evening.

There was an important letter to Miss Esther Farring in the mail today:

*My dear Esther,

I have your letter. I shall – we shall – look forward to your coming to the Ashram during X'mas. The main buildings will then have been ready and the weather will be delightful.

I hope you have read my letter to the Viceroy, as also my letter in reply to Mr. Pratt's speech. They contain in the briefest form my views on Government and the philosophy of life, and the one to the Viceroy showed in the vividest form the view I take of the law of love and suffering. 'Passive Resistance' expresses the idea in the crudest form. Indeed, I dislike the use of the phrase 'a weapon of the weak' for it. It totally misrepresents the law of love. Love is the epitome of strength. Love flows the freeliest only when there is entire absence of fear. Punishments of the loved ones are like balm to the soul.

Will you not try an absolute fast for your liver? You may drink boiled water copiously and, if that is not enough, you may drink orange-juice diluted with water. If you feel weak and faint, lie in bed, better still, take a cold hipbath, i.e., sit in a tub with your legs and the upper part of the body out of water. It is most invigorating. There is nothing like fasting for liver-complaints.

Yours sincerely,
Bapu"

12-5-2018

Ahmedabad. The Gujarat Sabha passed last night the resolution giving unconditional support to the recruitment campaign.

13-5-2018

Meeting at Dhundhakua. Straight back to Ahmedabad from there. Ba and Durga accompanied Bapu in the trip. Durgadas Advani came last night.

14-5-2018

We put up at Narhari's house in Kathlal. Bapu had a sun-stroke. Lay down the whole day in a wet-sheet pack.

15-5-2018

Bapu was a little displeased with me for sending to “The Bombay Chronicle” my report of his speech at Dhundhakua without first showing it to him. That was his reaction to a ‘bad' report sent by Khandwala. There were some noteworthy letters sent in today's mail.

To Dr. (Pranjivandas) Mehta:

“What shall I write about the Kaira struggle? It has a very remarkable significance. It passes everybody's comprehension how such a big fight could be waged with only a paltry 2 or 3 thousand rupees by way of travelling expenses. About twenty five thousand rupees must have been collected, but they were all returned to the respective donors and I have to say ‘no’ to many an offer of monetary help still coming. If I accepted contributions, the spirit of the fight would be vitiated, immorality would creep in, and the people instead of rising higher would sink lower. Refusal to take any amount from outside has saved me from all these dire consequences, and enabled me to keep the battle on a high moral plain. The whole of India understands and backs the struggle, but Sri Shastriar does not, and that is a matter of regret for me. But in course of time he too will support it. He is a man of high principles and I am not worried over him. At least to my mind the struggle is perfectly righteous. I have not a shred of doubt about it.”

Dabholkar's letter: He is opposed to the Resolution on un-conditional co-operation with the Government in its recruitment campaign. Unasked boons, he says, may be true of heaven but not of this sordid earth, and, therefore, putting forth our demand as an essential condition is a must. Even after reading Bapu's published letter to the Viceroy thrice, he scents ‘policy’ in it.

Reply:

“I have your letter. I thank you for putting your views so frankly before me. I wonder how you could discern, ‘policy’ in it, when I wrote it in all honesty. Every word in it is the expression of my sincere belief. You are right in summing up my view as one in favour of self-immolation. I do believe that if we can offer the voluntary sacrifice of lakhs of men, Swaraj is ours this very day. If that letter cannot show you how such self-immolation can bring that result, I cannot succeed through this letter in making you see the point. I, therefore, request you to read and re-read that letter and ponder over

every word of it till you understand it. I assure you the effort will not be wasted. I have not written that letter in haste. It has been finalised after serious efforts at perfection in thought and language, and has been written in all sincerity and for the one object of serving the beloved land. That it does not quite clearly express what I really mean, or is even ambiguous, shows to my mind my own defectiveness to that extent in my mortification. If the country understands properly the spirit of my plan for Swaraj and implements it fully, then, I am quite certain, it means the advent of Swaraj automatically and a thousand other achievements besides. To say 'Give us Swaraj first and then we'll fight for you', seems at least to me want of proper understanding of what Swaraj really means. I do not consider that I am morally bound to put before the public all the letters I write to the Viceroy, because I am a representative of the people. In the course of my long public career as a leader, there have been many achievements, which I consider as valuable and yet which have remained, and will always remain, hid from the limelight. My first letter to the Viceroy was intended solely for him. Knowing him to be a gentleman, I poured forth before him in all friendliness several deep sentiments of my heart, which I can never expose to the public gaze. The courteous but bitter language I used in it would do a lot of harm, if the people came to read it. I have already published from the letter all that was possible. The second letter to him was about what I proposed to do and, as compared with the first, there is nothing of any value in it."

Hanumantrao's letter: His request to Bapu to answer the bitter attack of "The Hindu" on Shastriar's speech at the Viceroy's Conference. "The Hindu" said in substance that the speech was worthless, and that the country did not recognise Sri. Shastriar as its leader.

To him Bapu wrote:

*"The Hindu" comments on Mr. Shastriar's speech are damnable, and I think the best answer to them is not to notice them. Mr. Kasturi Ayangar is a man who is not to be convinced by any appeal to reason or sense of justice. He has his own notions and sticks to them with an obstinacy I have rarely seen in any other man. Those who know Mr. Shastriar are not affected by "The Hindu" comments. Those for whom Mr. Kasturi Ayangar's word is gospel truth will listen to no correction. His (Shastriar's) unapproachable character and his scholarly attainments may be trusted to take care of themselves, and to bear down in the end the obsession of his bitterest enemies. I

think Mr. Shastriar will give a good account of himself when anyone else is weighed in the balance and found wanting, and I think he knows this and he is supremely happy in the consciousness of it. You and I, therefore, have no cause to feel perturbed over the vagaries of Mr. Kasturi Ayangar or for that matter of anybody else. But all of us have to conspire and, if possible, compel him to look after his body which, I hold, is not beyond repair."

The general meeting of the "Gujarat Sabha" was held at night. I could not attend it. It passed the resolution of unconditional co-operation with the Government.

On his return from the meeting Bapu took Khandwala to task for his 'bad' reporting. He made in passing some significant observations on newspaper-reporting:

'Is that what you call covering a movement? What do you do all the day long? You get plenty of time to prepare lively reports. Day-to-day reports must look like a running commentary. There must be a linking up of the second day's report with the first, of the third with the second and so on, so as to make of all of them an interesting chapter in history. I forget the name – Russel probably but his reports on "The Expedition To Peking" were so picturesque that the readers used to be thrilled. Then there was Edwin Arnold who has written letters entitled, "Japan By Land And Sea". They too are as charming. You have no reason to believe that you cannot be another Russel or Arnold. They were not born with their skill in the presentation of facts. It was effort that made them great. To be true to yourself and the public, you must write something like this for tomorrow's despatch:

*"I am sorry to have been carried away by a stray report and to have sent you a letter, which should have led you to frame such an extravagant headline as, "Growing Estrangement between the Raiyat and the Sarkar."

The next day he himself prepared for Khandwala a draft on similar lines.

16-5-2018

Returned to Nadiad in the morning. Left for Sandesar from there. A splendid meeting. About 2000 men and 500 women were present. Wonderful reception and Bapu's equally delightful speech in response. But we were not present. It is certain that we miss something glorious –either an event or a speech—whenever we commit some folly.

17-5-2018

Ahmedabad. Left by the night train for Champaran. We – Durga and myself – had a fleeting meeting at the Station. Then she went to Navasari and I to Champaran.

18-5-2018

In the train. Before reaching Bayana station, he wrote two letters, in ink, one to Maffey:

"In full confidence that the request contained in my letter of the 29th will be accepted, I am busy making recruiting preparations. But I shall not commence work before I have your reply."

The other to Maganlalbhai on the greatness and grandeur of love. No copy could be made.

19-5-2018

In the train. Malaviyaji saw us at Allahabad. I was forced to take a bath, as he made someone pour a whole pitcher of water over me. When Bapu got into the train, he asked me, "Have you got the water-tank filled?" That idea had not struck me. "Must I have to remind you of even such little things? You ought to anticipate our travelling needs. The people here are serviceable, and a word from you would have saved us this inconvenience. Whenever I get out of the train, you must see to it that our needs for the onward journey are provided for. This is the first lesson you must learn." I kept silent. Reached Bankipur at night.

20-5-2018

The next day we started for Motihari. On the way to it, as we were getting on board the steamer after detraining, I received a lecture for being late in coming to our starting railway station. “What did you do after 5 in the morning?” After disembarking we had to take another train. Bapu had a nap in it. We reached Motihari at 3.30 p.m. The public rushed towards him like an invading army, but it was a quiet in-formal reception. The evening was spent in talks with various persons including the Swami. The whole attitude of the Swami has changed. His behaviour showed veneration and devotion for Bapu. Even for me, his former indifference and neglect have been replaced by great respect and regard.

21-5-2018

Rajendrababu[1] came from Patna. Bapu's talks with Gorakhbabu in his presence. Bapu saw Haycock also who told him:

*“You have, I think, come to wind up your business in Champaran.''

Bapu replied:

“It would be wound up with my death.”

Bapu also told him that he was going to start recruiting campaign for the Army. In the afternoon, he explained to the Swami the import of his fast at Ahmedabad and the distinguishing features of the struggle there. I related to the Swami Bapu's achievement at the Delhi Conference. Rajendrababu unburdened his heart before me at night. We started for Bhitiharva at the small hour of 2 a. m.

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1. Dr. Rajendraprasad, who was afterwards honoured as the first President of the Indian Republic.

22-5-2018

Arrived in Bhitiharva. On the 21st Bapu had written a letter to Dr. Dev in which, referring to his (Dr. Dev's) completing the construction of the school-building at Bhitiharva within a very short time, he had said, “I have been hearing from people here the story of your exploit”. We reached Bhitiharva in the morning. Bapu had long talks with Dr. Dev and others. The sight of the school-building delighted Bapu's heart very much. Talk with the school children. He tried to impress upon their minds the need for this triple cleanliness: “In order to be good boys and girls, our body must be clean, our heart must be clean and our clothes must be clean”. Bapu quoted these two couplets about Bharat from Tulsidas's Ramayana, and asked the teacher to explain them to the children:

सियराम प्रेम पियूष पूरन होत जनमु न भरत को |
मुनिमन श्रगम जम नियम समदम बिषम ब्रत श्राचरत को ||
दुःख दाह दारिद दम्भ दूषण सुजस मिस श्रपहरत को |
कलिकाल तुलसी से सठन्हि हठी राम समुख करत को ||

His ardent love for Ram and Sita
Filled his heart and mind;
And Bharat performed tapasya[1]
Of the sternest kind.
Strictly observed the vows of Yama[2],
Niyama[3], Shama[4], Dama[5];
And made it easy for our race
To see Ram face to face.
What else but Bharat's birth could save
This Tulsi a sinner grave
From the world of woe and squalor and sin
And Grace for him could win?

He explained the genesis of the school, and exhorted the children to be like their *guru*, who loved to sacrifice his personal interests and was not ashamed to do manual labour, though a respectable lawyer himself.

At night Bapu told me, “Those *chhandas* (a special form of couplet) of Tulsidas are sublime. Did you read them carefully? I can never read Ayodhyakand (a section in Tulsidas's Ramayana, dealing with the banishment of Rama) without tears.

Then he talked of his proposal to have a Central Office at Motihari: “We don't possess even a building there, but we must have not only a building but an extensive ground around it of our own. You know, I suppose, of a cathedral. There are separate sections for every department and, as the work expands, new structures are built. West Minster Abbey dates from the era of Alfred the Great, but new rooms and wings have been constantly added, and the Abbey is an ever-expanding institution. That must happen to our Central Office. One of the two – either Rajendrababu or Brijkishorebabu – must prepare himself to stay on the premises.” To Gorakhbabu he said, “You must take an oath to buy the land for the Office before the month ends." This seemed to me a too fantastic demand and I grinned. But he laughed back and retorted: “All my deeds have been exactly like that. They look absurd at first.” What I had felt was, ‘What's this tall talk of our own land and building and continuous expansion, when even the office-rent is so hard to find!’ But his silencer and the result turned the tables against me, and it was I who proved myself craven-hearted and a doubting Thomas in the end. We reached Betia at night.

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1. Mortification; 2. & 3. rules of behaviour for an aspirant; 4. Serenity 5. self-control.

23-5-2018

From Betia to Motihari, where we arrived in the afternoon. There were two long letters in the mail from Andrews about the arrest of Pearson (his friend and co-worker for India's cause and also a Professor in Tagore's Shantiniketan). All his efforts to get him released had failed, and Andrews wrote in exasperation and annoyance:

*"I had one of the greatest disappointments of past years. I went to the Viceroy and he gave me a blank refusal; he would not make any inquiry etc. etc."

"I saw Maffey and he spoke at once of you, and spoke of the difficulty in knowing quite how to answer your letter. He said everything has been made provincial': "I have written to Lord Willingdon, etc. etc." I told him that I had seen some of the leaders in Bengal and believed they were very keen to have you there. Then he said that you were a very difficult man to get on with, and he was afraid that some point would crop up and there would be a split-up. I need not tell you that my back was up and I defended you – I hope quite quietly and kindly – but it seemed to show me where the hesitation lay. He instanced Kaira and smiled at the thought of your calling it a war-work. Then I was up in arms again and told him all about it, and he was shaken when I told him Lord Willingdon's position; but he ended: well, all I can say is, if I had been the Collector and someone had come in and interfered with my assessment. I would have resisted him to the death."

"The Viceroy was quite irritable about my Mohammedan suggestions, which were very, very moderate and quietly worded –much quieter than the paper I showed you – but they seemed to get his back up and he said, 'We must get on with the war' – which seems now a panacea for all stupidity and lack of vision and neglect of hard, solid thinking. He did not mention you at all."

"This last week – thinking of Willie (Pearson) – has been a great strain and I have been feeling it very much."

Bapu's reply:

*"I did not feel moved when I read of Willie's arrest. I sympathise too with the Viceroy's feelings. Why should he be called upon to investigate matters of this nature when there is a deadly war going on? Willie and we should meekly suffer. There is no principle at stake in Willie's case. There is no question of race-prejudice and none of public feeling. Some must be content to be imprisoned for their views or actions. What is necessary is to correspond with Willie. He will fight his way to freedom, if he needs

it. To be anxious about him is to do him injustice. I feel sure that he is happy where he is. (I think that public agitation is unnecessary). If you feel like me, you would write a manly letter to the Viceroy for worrying him. I sometimes feel that many of these Englishmen who go through the terrible strain of war without collapsing must be yogis. They would be fit for *moksha* (salvation), if their yoga was employed for a better cause."

For the next mail he wrote three letters – to Macpherson for the Swamiji's case, to Reade and to Khorshedbehn. Left for Badharwa at 3 p.m., but it turned out to be a waste of trouble since cholera had suddenly broken out there. We returned at 11. p.m.

The purchase of land (for the Central Office) at Motihari was settled and even the preparation for laying the foundation begun. Bapu felt extremely happy at the news.

24-5-2018

Wrote a letter in the morning for the transfer of the property to the names of the Trustees and for permission to build on it. There was some talk of a need for giving *baksheesh* for both the purposes. Bapu said that one of the conditions for being a Trustee was that, in case there was any trouble, every Trustee must set up a camp for his stay and thus fix himself on the land, go ahead with the construction of the building and, as often as it was pulled down, build it again and again, but must never yield to bribery or pressure. The Trust-deed was then written.

A memorable letter to Hanumantrao:

*"What I want you to do is not to sever your connection with the Society (Servants of India Society), but remaining in the Society do the Hindi work. I would like Mr. Shastriar (the President) to permit you to go to Allahabad, stay there a year and learn Hindi fairly well, then return to Madras and side by side with your other work spread a knowledge of Hindi among the Telegu people. The fact of your having studied Hindi will enlarge the scope of your work and enable you, if the occasion arose, to work among the masses outside the Madras Presidency. I do not know whether you have noticed it. I have. There is almost an unbridgable gulf between the Dravidians and the other Indians. The shortest and the most effective bridge is undoubtedly the Hindi language. English can never take its place. When Hindi becomes the common language among the cultured classes, the Hindi vocabulary will soon filter down to the masses. There is something undefinable about Hindi, which makes it the easiest language to learn, and somehow or other there is a license taken about Hindi grammar, such as I have not known to be taken about any other language. The result is that the learning of Hindi becomes largely a matter of memory only. Hence do I say that for doing national work a knowledge of Hindi is an absolute necessity. What can be better than that a member of the Society would give himself a training in Hindi? Mr. Gokhale once told me that he wanted a knowledge of Hindi to be obligatory on the part of all the members, and that he wanted Hindi to be the language spoken at the Society's meetings. He added that the Tamilians and especially Mr. Shastriar presented the greatest difficulty. He was too old to learn it.

You seem to think of the Satyagrahashram as something apart from the Society. But I do not. During the last days of Mr. Gokhale's life on this earth, his wish was that I should open a branch in Gujarat, and bring to life a province which appeared to be politically dead. It fills me with pride to know that I have played a humble part in

carrying out the programme. It is a matter not of much moment that the Satyagrahashram cannot be recognised as a branch. The work is there. In so far as it is good, in my estimation the credit is the Society's, the failures are due to my limitations and need not be shared by the Society. When, in the fullness of time, I have got over my limitations, the Ashram will merge in the Society. Till then, even if you wanted to come to the Ashram, I would not admit you except as a loan from the Society. So you see that in thinking of you as a candidate for learning Hindi, I have not even conceived the possibility of your severance from the Society?

Yours sincerely,

M. K. Gandhi"

My diary-notes have gone irregular since we left Champaran. Events that happened in the interval:

At Patna station a stranger fanned Bapuji for a very long time, who then fell asleep in the train. The stranger got down at his destination without taking with him his thin cotton mattress, as Bapuji's feet lay on it, and he was afraid lest Bapuji might wake up in his attempt to slide the mattress from under his feet. From his talk with us before he alighted, we suppose he is a low grade servant in the police department and of very ordinary means. When Bapu got up, he felt deeply concerned and exclaimed, "See how many a Sir Gibby can be found among men of no note who render silent service!" I too was really moved. I can't remember to have done one single act of such a really selfless service in all my life," I said to myself.

But I am mentioning this incident to show the bewildering variety of human nature. We were talking about the mattress in the morning and a Marwari passenger was quietly listening. When he was about to get down at the Mughalsarai station, he said, "Why not give it (the mattress) away to me? You don't need it, I am sure!" Bapu was emphatic in reply. "Never. The mattress shall be sent back to the owner."

Bapu got into reminiscent mood. The case that took him to South Africa called for an expert knowledge in casting accounts. "When I was listening to the opposing lawyer speaking of this item credited and that debited, I shuddered inwardly and wondered how was I going to be able to fathom the mysteries of accountancy! I spent the night tossing in bed with the same persistent worry, and made a grim resolve to learn up all the intricacies of the subject. I asked my client to provide me with two

accountants. Whenever I couldn't understand any point, I would not mind trying the patience of my teacher and would put my difficulty before him not once, but twice, thrice, and as often as necessary till I was completely clear about it. In the end. I could place my case before the judge so well that I won."

After a glance at the construction of our compartment he said, "Mahadev, I would have become one of the most proficient mechanicians, if I had cared to. Whatever object I chance to look at, my eye immediately perceives it inside out, and I can detect the flaws and merits of the mechanism. I go so far as to believe that, if I had begun medical practice, I would have risen to the topmost rank in India, the best of doctors would have taken down their hats before me, and my example would have stopped many doctors from malpractices. Even as matters stand at present, I don't think anybody could beat me in diagnosis. All the doctors to whom I have entrusted my cases have been astounded at the correctness of my diagnosis and my careful nursing. I did intend to go in for the doctor's profession, but father objected. "Not our line, that dirty grovelling business – handling of dead bodies", he said. I had even begun studying anatomy, biology and physiology, but the daily sight of the dissection of live frogs turned me away from the study. I feel it is not very necessary, even for the higher study of the science, to dissect living creatures."

Then, after some time, he earnestly pressed upon me to take from the Ashram coffers full compensation for my money stolen in Bombay. He pleaded in a variety of ways to show to me the propriety of accepting the amount in order to remove my qualms. But my heart cried out against accepting the money. So he dropped the matter and I was saved.

As we were returning from the lecture, which Bapu had delivered at Patna the other night, I had a talk with Mazhar-al- Huq in which I had expressed my doubts about re-incarnation. Referring to that statement Bapu said, "Mahadev, I never imagined you were that sort of man. I, for one, would not call a man a Hindu, if he does not believe in re-incarnation."

"Call me a non-Hindu or a Christian or whatever you like", I answered; "but why should I hide what I honestly feel? It's a question of conviction. If I can be satisfied about the truth of the theory, I would become a believer".

As I began to give reasons for my disbelief, Bapu cut me short and said, "There is no need to argue. Don't you see that every moment millions of beings are born and millions die? That itself suggests that there must be re-incarnation."

I submitted, "Could any man ever think of becoming a horse or a horse a man, according to the dictum **या मतिः सा गतिः** (As a man thinketh, so he becometh after death), which is one of the props of the theory of re-incarnation?" He replied, "But that's not quite to the point. Just the same, Anna Kingsford used to say that she felt that many Frenchmen would be born as tigers after their deaths. What does that statement show?"

"Nothing," I affirmed; "if it shows anything, it only means that Anna Kingsford got a severshock at the wicked deeds of those people –and she expressed her feelings of shame and disgust in strong language." Bapu kept gravely silent. At last I told him. "I will try to believe in the theory". He then said, "He who does not believe in it cannot have any real faith in the regeneration of fallen souls. At least that man who wants to serve society ought to possess that faith." "To that extent I suppose the theory to be true," I replied, "and when I am fully convinced, I will accept it whole-heartedly." Then I showed him the dialogue between Gottfried and Christopher from "John Christopher Vol. II" and said, "Is this not what you want of me – 'to have faith, to observe, and to pray?' He said, 'Yes'. Then bringing the talk to a close he said, "You must read 'Life Beyond Death' by Arnold."

28-5-2018

We arrived at Nadiad. Stayed for two days. Spent most of the time in sundry correspondence. Delivered beautiful speeches at two places. Both of them have been published.

30-05-2018

Went to Ahmedabad. In consultation with Pragji it was decided that I should persuade Durga (Mrs. Mahadevbhai) to agree to our going to Champaran. It was also fixed that Mr. and Mrs. Pragji should accompany us. I gave ..... the message to him at night which I was entrusted with, and explained to him the truth of the saying **कामातुराणां न भयं न लज्जा ।** (The man consumed with lust has no fear and is lost to all sense of shame).

1 to 8-6-2018

I left for my home at Kaliawadi in the morning and stayed there till the 8th. The correspondence between Bapu and me, however, continued. During my absence from him the following was published in the Press: Letter to Maffey, Statement to the Press on South Africa, Letter to Sir George Barnes, Clarification of the Kaira Struggle and Statement to the Press on the same. A telegram was also sent to the Government of Bihar urging Swamiji's release. Durga did not accept the proposal to go to Champaran. Bapu's letter to her.

8 to 12-6-2018

Bapu left for Bombay by the night mail. I too joined him in Bombay the next morning. Conference with Tilak. Bapu's letter to the Governor (of Bombay) conveying his decision not to speak on any resolution at the Governor's Conference and not to take part in the Man-Power Committee. Interview with the Governor the next day. His boast, “My speech will excel (Lord) Chelmsford's.” Row at the Conference. Letter to the Governor at night. Saw Chandawarkar. Left for Poona the next day. That incident the Servants of India Society (details given below). Shastriar's speech at night, which was preceeded by the formal opening of “Poona Anath Vidyarthi Bhavan” (Home for Destitute Students, Poona) and of “Chinchwad, Anath Vidyarthi Bhavan” (a similar Home at Chinchwad). Kelkar was the President. It was a delightful speech.

Early in the morning we started. Though Bapu felt very sleepy in the Poona Mail and the compartment was crammed rather too full and though he himself was suffering from hemicrania (a kind of neuralgic headache), he did not fail to tell me what he wanted to.

“You did not act wisely yesterday. Why did you tell ..... that you were given a permission to attend the Annual Celebration of the Society (Servants of India Society)? All you should have stated was simply this: According to the rule of the Society, outsiders are not allowed.”

"But would it not be a lie? It was Dr. Dev who gave me and Devdas the permission," I asked.

Bapu: "No, you would not have been required to tell a lie at all. There was nothing wrong in telling him, “You can't go there since the rule forbids.” He would never then have inquired of you whether you were going there or not. Had you

confined yourself to pointing out the rule to him, you could have avoided the surge of bitter resentment and 'hinsa' (violence in thought) in his heart and even saved the Society from his ill- feelings. It was simply because Dr. Dev had expected that you would keep silent about the permission given to you, that he (Dr. Dev) had asked you to convey to ..... the refusal of permission to him. But I demurred. Was that a gentlemanly act on the part of the Society? Certainly not." "Why not?" Bapu answered. "I may be accompanied by any number of men and they may be holding a variety of views friendly or otherwise. How can the Society admit all of them, just because they happen to come with me? Shastriar, of course, is able to defend himself for all that he said yesterday. But all members may not possess that capacity. In their morning meeting, besides, each one of them was going to speak frankly about his work and its difficulties. How could they allow an unfriendly outsider to know all their ins and outs? You, they knew, very well – as a detached onlooker – and trusted you as a man of principles. So they would let you in. But it's all right. I am not saying all this to reprove you. What I mean to say is that it would have been better, if you had been a little more discreet."

Left for Ahmedabad by the night train.

14-6-2018

Arrived in Nadiad. I went to Ahmedabad. Left for Bombay the same night.

15-6-2018

Interview with the Governor. Infructuous. Sat late till 1 a.m. dictating his speech for the next day. Forceful speech.

16-6-2018

Conference in Bombay. Tilak felt insulted. A protest meeting was held. Bapu agreed to preside on condition that he must be allowed to co-operate with the Government on his own terms. The meeting supported Bapu and was quite successful, but afterwards Shankarlal Banker's views appeared to be in favour of offering obstruction to the Government – not co-operation with it. "How can men like us retain any faith in this Government even after the last Conference? The people are in no mood to help the Government. But you are our leader. We can't do anything without you. You must now lead us in this matter also; otherwise, I will give up my connection with the League (he was a Secretary of the Home Rule League in Bombay) and cling to you." That was the purport of his letter.

Reply:

"I have received your letter. I would never stoop so low as to advise you to give up the League and join me, but I would certainly wish you to remain in the League and in that position turn its attitude in the right direction. The stand it has taken up at present appears to you to be quite right and justified, but to me it looks dangerously bad. If the League does not participate in recruitment, it will be tantamount to going back upon its own resolutions passed in Bombay. If all the members of the League hold the view that no member can retain his membership after he joins the recruiting campaign, then these Bombay resolutions should not have been passed by them, and I should not have been given the Presidential chair. In tolerating my presence and guidance, the League has accepted at least this principle: the work of recruiting is left to the individual discretion of members.

To imagine that I put faith only in the English people is to misunderstand me. My faith covers the whole of humanity, to human nature as such. There is no human

being on earth without a grain of honesty. It is our duty as brother-humans to develop that quality in him. If in our attempt to do so he plays false to us, it is he who will have to bear the evil consequence of his misdeed, not we.

And take it from me that the mentality of the people is not what you suppose it to be.

I will explain to you all this still further when we meet. I believe it the duty of every Leaguer in the whole of India to plunge headlong into this campaign. Side by side with that support to the Government, they must carry on any agitation they like against its misdeeds. If that is done, both the objects will be served. If the Home Rule League does nothing about recruitment, it will receive a severe set-back.

Vande Mataram,

Mohandas."

17-6-2018

Came to Nadiad. Informal meeting to explain the importance of the recruitment work.

18-6-2018

Ahmedabad. His speech in Bombay has come in papers to-day. Meeting of the Gujarat Sabha in the evening. Completely foolish talks. Bapu felt disgusted.

19-6-2018

War Conference in the Ashram. The same topic was discussed during his evening stroll.

20-6-2018

Narhari (Editor of these Diaries) offered himself for recruitment. Tears in Manibehn's (Mrs. Naraharibhai's) eyes. Returned to Nadiad at night.

21-6-2018

Drafted an 'Appeal for Recruiting.' Excellent pamphlet. Office work. Bapu opened the recruitment campaign by holding the first meeting for it today in Nadiad. Delivered a powerful speech. I am asked to translate the pamphlet.

Indulal's[1] endless monologue at night – about anecdotes of Shastriar, about Banker, about Bapu. His very high opinion for Shastriar's eloquence and for his devotion and humility. He recalled Shastriar's speech at the Annual Celebration of 1916, when he (Shastriar) said that he for one could never replace Gokhale, and that it would take years for a second Rama to come forward and lift the mighty bow left by that second Shiva (Gokhale), as did the first Rama at the Swayamvara[2] of Sita inaugurated by Janaka (Sita's father).

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1. Sri Indulal Yagnik, now an Opposition leader in Gujarat.

2. A gala assembly of suitors which a king used to call at his capital, in order that his daughter – the princess – might make her own choice of a husband (swayam – by the self, vara – the chosen, i. e. husband.)

22-6-2018

Spent the day in Ahmedabad. As I had missed the train, I remained in Nadiad. Bapu returned at night.

23-6-2018

Began to revise my translation in the morning. He was very quick at it and did half the revision before 9 a. m. Talk with Subedar who had come on a visit. After reading all the papers Subedar had brought, Bapu said, "As a party outside the dispute I cannot but feel that Harilal has really committed the crime. Without minding his relationship with me, you may file a suit against him." Bapu wrote to Narottam Seth also to the same effect. He finished the revision of the translation in the afternoon. I made copies. Copious letters in the evening.

His talk with Subedar:

"This (modern) city-civilization does not appear to me as a civilization at all. That is Swaraj (Self-rule) where every village is a republic and the Centre is a federation of these many republics. To me for one every king appears a robber. Our history is the history of brigands. Even the biographies of kings like Pratap do not inspire me. They were only giant bandits. They had a definite objective to gain and for that they performed exploits. The masses in India have always tried to appease all kinds of kings, good, bad and indifferent. They have even offered consecrated food to beasts and worshipped serpents. All this to serve some selfish end. Whatever the kind of civilization, city or village, that is real civilization in my view, in which THE FORCES OF NATURE ARE USED WITH RESTRAINT. I feel that the country is heading for destruction, the speedier as the cities grow in size and number. My attempt to stop this exodus from villages is like the play of a child that holds a piece of straw in the falling waters of a cascade to stop the fall. But I like to indulge in that childish play."

Subedar ridiculed Bapu's statement: "The British nation can claim credit for many virtuous deeds," which appears in the pamphlet "An Appeal for Recruiting." Bapu explained: "I am as fully aware of all the crimes committed by that nation as of its good acts. What I plead is this: They are certain to reap the whirlwind from the wind they have sown, but those misdeeds do not entitle us to thwart them from getting the reward of their righteous actions. I for one would forgive even a murderer and wish him to enjoy the benefits of whatever good deeds he may have done. That nation (The

British) has indeed committed wicked deeds, but in its heart of hearts it disapproves of them and is averse to doing the wrong thing. That is why denunciators of its crimes have arisen from the nation itself. And it is the British nation which has shown an alacrity for self-reform. It was an Englishman – Sir Henry Campbell – who came forth on his own to grant independence to the Union of South Africa. England again is the land from which emanated the great reforms that have changed the face of Europe. Though there was not a sign of revolt in South Africa, that Campbell chucked Lord Millner out and roused the conscience of the British nation. He expelled the Chinese at the cost of lakhs of rupees and made South Africa a Union of Free States. Many White mine-owners raised a hue and cry on the question of the Chinese specially, but the British nation remained firm. And there are many such instances of British generosity. But all this does not mean I want the British nation to be deified and worshipped. I only say that we must not overlook its credit side. And I put you one straight question. What is really at the back of your mind? All your talk of desiring to be partners in the Empire is bunkum, so long as you are not prepared to fight in its defence. Let us be honest to the public and put in action what we proclaim we must do. Silence is a golden virtue. Speak before the public only when you must, when you cannot help speaking out – and then every word from your lips will be like the gift of a ripe fruit, tasteful and nourishing. Tilak himself has no hatred for that nation. It was an unforgettable speech that he delivered at the Hindi Rashtrabhasha Parishad (Conference for making Hindi the national language), in which he sang the praises of the British people. I had talked even to the Viceroy of his learned and wise speech and told him that if I were in his place, I would win over a man of Tilak's stamp. The speech indicated not only perfect balance in its eulogy of the Englishman, deep scholarship and masterly treatment of the subject, but also a language which could never be borrowed but only well out from within. It was the ripe fruit of his deep and sober reflection and the conviction arising out of it. As I was listening to him and saw the sparks of intellectual fire issuing out of him, I felt, ‘One need not despair of our motherland. She continues to be the unexhausted mine of invaluable gems’. He did not blow his Swaraj-trumpet there. He traced the history of the current languages right from the start of mutual talk through the birth of human speech, and showed the need of a common language for India for internal intercourse. When he was dilating upon the history of philology, he paid a worthy tribute to the Englishmen and said, “The Englishmen have done us service in various ways, but one of the greatest of them is their regeneration of regional languages.”

Though immersed in the heavy work of recruitment, Bapu does not miss the chance of sending to Devdas instructions for the Hindi class which Devdas was conducting. At the same time he does not fail to explain to him the meaning of his recruitment campaign:

"I see that you are doing creditable work for the spread of Hindi. You must have received the instructions which I sent you yesterday. Begin teaching them (the students) grammar at once. They will find it interesting. In the very beginning of their study, it is advisable that they should be taught the different forms the words take. These forms may be compared and contrasted with those in Tamil. And let me have some idea of the ages of your students and their progress so far in their own studies.

The first pamphlet of an appeal for recruitment has been out. I am sending you three copies. It has also been translated into English. You may read it and let me know your reactions. I have been seeing the ahimsa...dharma (the duty of non-violence) in an altogether different and sublime light. At the same time I continue to detect my own imperfections and defects. My austerity falls far short of the needs of this great work. The knowledge which men used to gain through the experience of the Self, as a result of their hard spiritual strivings, was a million times greater than what they gain in modern times through experiments. Even if you analyse thousands of individual drops of water and find that every one of them is composed of two parts of hydrogen and one of oxygen, you cannot necessarily come to the conclusion that these two gases, mixed thus, always form water, because the principle arrived at through such analysis is inferential knowledge. But if I took two parts of hydrogen and mixed them with one of oxygen and then proved that water was formed that way, that is unexceptionable knowledge, and that is experiential knowledge also. No matter if water can be made in other ways, I showed through that single experiment that the mixture of those two gases in that particular proportion is bound to form water. We often make inference our light to guide us in our attitudes and actions. And usually no harm is done. But it is in the case of the Himalayan undertakings that we find the weakness of inferential knowledge and the superiority of the knowledge arrived at through the experience of the Self. And that is the real reason why *yama*, *niyama* etc. are so indispensable in life. Their observance is the only ladder with which one can scale the heights of experiential knowledge.

Blessings,
Bapu."

Bapu wrote the following covering letter to Horniman (Editor, "The Bombay Chronicle") when he sent his classical pamphlet, "An Appeal for Recruiting" to him.

*"I wonder whether I shall succeed in engaging your pen in behalf of my appeal herewith. I shall value it. I need it. I do feel that we shall truly serve the common cause, if we help the Government with sepoys and yet give battle on their wrong doings. The two can go side by side. The stupidity of administrators makes recruiting difficult. That need not dismay us. We ought to do our best. That is how I read the resolutions of the protest meetings.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. Gandhi."

Vithalbhai's (V. J. Patel) question whether it was advisable for him to join the Home Rule League.

Reply:

"Bhaishri Vithalbhai,

I have your letter. I for one would suggest that you should better remain out of the League and do whatever service you can individually. The Home Rule League is at present in an unenviable position, not because of any pressures from outside, but from its own many internal troubles. They (the Leaguers) have not been able to make their choice –whether to plump for obstruction or co-operation. They have harassed the Government more than enough by now. What is now needed is to abstain from agitation and do some constructive work. Till that change is made, the League's power of serving the country is not going to develop any further. If you want to join the League with the definite object of turning its activities into the channel of solid service, not agitation merely, you may certainly join it. But your entry into the institution with a view to crossing swords with everyone – small or big – will be very unwelcome and harmful to the Leaguers. It is, to my mind, nothing but downright bad faith to join an institution just in order to wreck it. If you can pick up the art of keeping up good health, even that will be a great service to the country.

How do you view Vallabhbhai's[1] new profession? He has become a Recruiting Sergeant.

Vande Mataram,

Mohandas."

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1. Sardar Vallabhbhai was Vithalbhai's younger brother.

Mohandas Nagji wrote a letter to elicit from Bapu his views – on widow-marriage because 'differing and often conflicting views are afloat in the people's minds.'

"As regards widow-marriage, I hold it necessary for both a widow and a widower to refrain from marrying. The fundamental basis of Hinduism is control of the senses. Self-restraint has a definite place in all religions, but in Hinduism it has been raised to the high rank of an indispensable virtue. A second marriage in that religion must take place only in exceptional cases. These are my views on principle. But at present child-marriages continue to be performed unhampered, and Hindu males go on indulging in one marriage after another without shame or constraint. So long as this unjust state continues, if a child-widow wants to marry, her wishes should be respected and no attempt should be made to stop her. I would not, however, sow the seed of a desire for a second-marriage in the mind of even a very young child-widow, but if she chooses to marry, I would not consider it a sin on her part.

Mohandas Gandhi."[1]

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1. Gandhiji's views did materially change in favour of widow-marriage as his later writings indicate, but he remained to the end a staunch advocate of celibacy and self-restraint as seen here.

Ever since the Champaran fight, very friendly relations had been established between Reverend F. Z. Hodge and Bapu. His letter regretting the fact that they could not meet during Bapu's re-visit of Champaran, gives us a good glimpse of his noble nature:

*"I know you will never forget Champaran (the ending 'ya' is often dropped) and we shall look forward with pleasure to securing you back again some day. The work you have done here will abide, and the value of it will become more and more evident as the days go by. I can feel the stirring of a new life, an wakening sense of manhood, that fills me with hope for the future. This I regard as the direct outcome of your

mission, and I pray that your labours elsewhere may bear the same rich fruit. I trust it will be possible to keep the schools going. They are lights set in the darkness and it would be a thousand pities were they extinguished. Please tell all your workers who may come that they will find an open door and a cordial welcome at the Mission. We are all comrades in the same great cause. I should like to keep in touch with you, but hardly dare ask you to write, knowing the busy life you lead, and yet if you could send an occasional line, I should be of all men most fortunate. We regard Mrs. Gandhi and yourself as belonging to our circle of inner friends and I trust you will not regard this a presumption on our part. Our home is open to you, and we fully intend to come and see you in the Ashram some day. Wherever you go, our prayers attend you and I hope you will pray for us sometimes. You know the difficulties in Champaran and can pray with understanding. I trust things will straighten out in Kaira. As far as I can judge, the situation is steadily improving in Champaran and I do not think the move to bring in the Maharaja of Benaras, whether it succeeds or not, will affect the trend of the current.

I trust you are both keeping well. Is Devdas with you? John Ernest has returned to school, but Donald is here, lively as ever; I am thankful to say we are all flourishing.

With kindest regards,

F. Z. Hodge."

Bapu's reply:

*"Pray accept my heartfelt thanks for your kind letter. We do regard ourselves as members of the inner circle of your family. It was a joy always to be able to pass a few hours with you. I am taking the liberty of sending your letter to Babu Brijkishore for its reference to my co-workers, as also for the warning that we may not allow the schools to languish. You know that Dr. Deva before he left put up a pucca building in Bhitiharwa. I am finding it most difficult to secure a lady teacher. But I do not despair of finding one. I would so like you to visit the schools now and then. You should ask Babu Gorakhprasad to find you a conveyance.

Devdas is now in Madras conducting a Hindi class for the Tamils.

The Kaira quarrel was settled some time ago. Did you read my letter announcing the settlement? I am now commencing a recruiting campaign.

Please remember us both to Mrs. Hodge. I hope she has entirely regained her former strength.

I trust the boys will have left off their shyness with me when I next meet them. It is my intention to visit Champaran at least once in three months.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. Gandhi."

And this to Miss Schlessin[1] *the same day:*

*"Dear Miss Schlessin,

The long expected letter has come. We have all been looking forward to a letter from you.

Of course, Phoenix is not going to be sold. You can have 5 acres of ground in the centre. I like your dream, specially as it includes a visit to India.

It delights me to find you getting tired of the type-writer."

* * * *

I have not asked Ramdas to become a tailor, not that there is no poetry in tailoring. Ramdas may become a living *sartor resartus*. But he is a curious boy. He wants to gain all kinds of experiences. If he becomes a poet, he will be one not of words and in words but of action and in action. Ramdas is a visionary. And I like visionaries. I hope you will guide him, steer him and befriend him. I wish you would live with Manilal for a while. You could carry on your studies there. How are the Vogels, the Phillips and the Dokes? Do you ever meet them? Where is Mac Intyre? What do you think of the community? Do you meet Thambi?[2] What has come over him? There are questions which I should expect discussed in your letters. But something is better than nothing.

My life has become very complex. You must have read, at least, my important public letters. Now I am entering upon a big recruiting campaign. My work has involved constant railway travelling. I am longing for solitude and rest. They may never be my lot. Mrs. Gandhi has developed remarkably. She has beautifully resigned herself to things she used to fight. But I must not describe things. You must see them for yourself.

With love,

Yours,

M. K. Gandhi."

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1. She worked at first as Bapu's typist in South Africa, but soon won Bapu's complete confidence and rendered yeoman service in the South African Struggle. Bapu was never tired of fondly recollecting her exceptionally high spirit of self-sacrifice, her fearlessness, honesty and ability.

2. He has been mentioned by Gandhiji for his active part in the South African Struggle

To Mr. West:

*"Dear Mr. West,

I was glad to receive your note. I wish you will not worry about your financial affairs. Albert is a brother to me. Nothing can shake my trust in him. If I despaired of Albert, I should have to despair of the world. I have already written to him. I know that he has done what was best in the circumstances. I am glad, too, that both you and Sam are now able to have suitable education for the children. I wonder if Hilda remembers me. I do not know what has come over Manilal. He had such high regard for all of you and had so much affection showered on him by you all. He has developed a suspicious nature. I still think that he will be soon himself again. I know that your love will turn away his suspicion. I hope you will make advances to him, reason with him, speak to him and win him over. I cannot bear the idea of Manilal having an evil thought about you.

We are just now building new premises for the Ashram. I wish you were here to watch the progress of the buildings. The ground is beautifully situated. Maganlal is doing it all. He is doing what Albert was doing there, whilst Phoenix was building. For him there is no pleasure outside the Ashram.

With love to you all,

Yours,

M. K. Gandhi."

24-6-2018

In Ahmedabad. Wrote letters in the morning. Met the Ashram teachers in the afternoon. In a captivating style all his own he asked the Ashram boys individually what his favourite subject was. Somebody said, “Weaving”. Some other, “Sanskrit.” Neelkanth was for drawing and painting, and Krishnadas liked mathematics. But Bal (Kaka Kalelkar's younger son) spoke out, “But I for one love to play.” Bapu then talked about Ramayana and the lesson one should draw from it. Then he touched upon the effect of our habits on the growth of the body, and explained to the children what a difference it meant to the stomach and the lungs if one sat with the back straight or stooping. From the talk about physical health, he came to the subject of, mental health and made some noteworthy observations: “You may embroider any design of your choice on the cloth, but its texture must necessarily be of good yarn close-woven and clean. What I mean by ‘texture’ is your basic character. The design you weave on it may be of any pattern you like – any branch of learning you have an aptitude for – mathematics, languages, science or any other, -- but none of these designs is of any use in keeping the basic texture clean and unsullied. It is only by self-restraint and by good thoughts, good company and good books, that you can keep the texture clean.”

Started from the Ashram in the evening. Ba accompanied him. I started later and had to run to catch them up. “Mahadev”, he said rather sadly, “It is more difficult to solve the worldly problems of family life than even the political questions of the country. Here is Ba. Chanchi[1] has come and gives her company, but even then she yearns to stay with me at Nadiad.” I told Bapu that Chanchibehn and Parvati were very unhappy and were shedding tears (over Harilal's possible fate). “Everyone is bewailing his or her personal sorrow”, Bapu commented in reply” “but we have the sorrows of all to worry and weep over. And if we did so, twenty-four hours of the day would fall too short.”

“How helpless and dependent is woman!” I sighed. “She has but to bear with her husband, no matter how he bungles in life, and suffer the consequences of his misdeeds.”

Bapu: “But that is so with woman all the world over. I don't see any cause for regret in it. That is the very nature of womankind. She cannot do without some support and she delights in her dependence upon some other person. That is the very breath of her life. We men may earn and cudgel our brains for troubles outside the home and tell the wife, “You need not worry over those questions; be at ease and bring up the

children and keep them happy." And that is quite the natural order of things. The she-goat is mild and helpless by nature, but does that make her unhappy? Looked at from your angle, even her menses and her act of procreation are physically painful to woman but can they be regarded as an infliction upon her?"

"No" I admitted, "but her helpless dependence is not as natural as all that." "It is," reaffirmed Bapu. "Is it not true that no woman can do without some stay or support? Even such a brave lady as ..... does require somebody to lean on. No woman can carry on without the help of some man."

I cited Mrs. Besant's example. "What an instance!" Bapu rebutted. "All her life she has been hunting for support, and now the man she has sought out is of a calibre that has only lowered her own value."

"Who?" I queried, "Sir Subramanya Iyer?"

Bapu: "Not he. He himself is under (Mrs.) Besant's thumb. I speak of C. P. Ramaswami. She has surrendered herself lock, stock and barrel to him. He makes her dance to his piping. And he is brazen-faced enough to say, "This is what I say in the matter. What do you mean by raising objections? And the matter ends. She tamely submits. What a fall, from Bradlow, and Olcott, and Madam Blavatsky, to *this* C. P. Ramaswami!"

Bapu's vigorous speech at night at the protest meeting in Ahmedabad organised by the Home Rule League. All other speeches were entirely worthless. While returning to Nadiad he observed in the train: "Were I the Governor, I would send all the speakers to jail at once – so nasty was the tone of their speeches."

There was a funny incident at the Ahmedabad station. Broker had come to the station to see Bapu off. He told him, "Will you not do something, sir, for these poor third class passengers?"

Vallabhbhai caught him. "Begin to travel third and things will improve." Just by way of a banter, he then added : "You blow away 40 rupees per day in your cigars and spend a lot over this and that. What a fine thing, if you travelled third and saved all that money for better uses?"

"Don't rail at my habits," Broker defended himself. "My cigar sometimes fetches me a thousand rupees in a moment. And so do I earn thousands over my tea-cups and ice-cream plates. They are indispensable for my way of life. But that's a personal

matter. How does it affect you? If you need money, you have but to ask. I'll give it to you, whatever you want it for."

That tickled me to intervene: "Well, then, give us a thousand rupees for the recruiting campaign." Hardly had I finished, when he took out a thousand-rupee note from his pocket and actually handed it to me! And then he said "Pooh! What are a thousand to me, when I have already earned thousands and thousands? Don't worry. Do take away the money. And let me tell you one thing you don't know. I had entered into a little business in the name of the Ashram. Had been patient and abided my time, the Ashram would have got 2,000 rupees. But I did not. I was too hasty and got only a hundred and five. Take that also." And he took out another 105 rupees. I was at once reminded of George Elliot's characteristic line:

"A merry heart goes all the day."

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1 Their eldest son Harilal's wife.

26-6-2018

Left for Ras on the recruiting drive. Reached there in the afternoon. Very stirring speech. About 2000 persons must have gathered. Some very elevating sentiments about the fight. “Who can be taught the principle of non-violence? How can he, who does not even know how to kill and be killed, follow that sub-lime principle? Can a dumb man appreciate the power and self-control of the vow of silence? We have been so emasculated that, since a long time, we have lost all power of giving a fight. We must acquire that invaluable power again. Even our sages of old coveted it. They used to undergo severe austerities and take solemn vows in order to gain the boon of divine weapons which conferred the power to conquer. It is very necessary that our men and women must regain this lost bravery and the spirit that knows no defeat. Recruitment offers them the chance.”

We reached Vasad station in the evening, too late to catch the train and we had to sleep on the platform. Vallabhbhai could not sleep in that uncongenial surrounding, but Bapu slept like a log.

27-6-2018

To Mehmadabad by the early morning train. Accompanied by the whole congregation of the members of the Gujarat Sabha he walked to Kaira. Saw Pandya ('Dunglichor' Mohanlal Pandya) and other released prisoners. Procession in their honour. Bapu's speech in the courtyard of the Dhannashala.[1] After the speech was over, he told me in a tone of deep gravity: *"We stand on the threshold of a twilight—whether morning or evening we know not. One is followed by the night, the other heralds the dawn. If we want to see the dawning day and not the mournful night, it behoves everyone of us who are Home Rulers to realize the truth at this juncture; to stand for it against any odds and to preach and practise it at any cost unflinchingly."

The pilgrims then left for Navagam. The day was scorching hot and the road full of rough stones. Our carriage rattled on with uncommon bumps. "Sorry, no nap for you today", regretted Vallabhbhai, but Bapu was proof against disturbances and fell sound asleep almost immediately after he got into the carriage! Three villages lying on the way gave us a cordial reception. We reached Navagam at 6 p. m. As in royal processions of Indian States, the drummers were mounted on camels and looking to the population of the little town, it must be termed a grand procession. The people seemed very enthusiastic. Bapu's speech was on a level that the village-folk could understand and appreciate.

From Navagam the same night to Barejdi. Bapu slept the whole night on an ordinary bench on the platform like any third class passenger. The next halt of our pilgrimage was at Nadiad. From there to Kathlal in the afternoon. Shankarlal Parikh had organized a magnificent procession to welcome Bapu. They had come with their *pakhaj* and other musical instruments. The chorus:

"O, come! Let's join and celebrate
This gracious visit of Gandhi the Great."

could often be heard in their songs. All other arrangements too for Bapu's stay and the public meeting were perfect. "Who but a Walter Scott could give a vivid and glowing description of this exuberance of simple unsophisticated hearts?" I said to myself wistfully when I saw that glorious sight and decided forthwith to read Scott. The procession ended at Pandya's house. As women in England kiss their loved ones in public without feeling shy, I saw Pandyaji's old sister, aged 66, giving him two loving pats on his cheek in the presence of us all. The sight made me envy Pandyaji and the thought struck me, "Really it's worth undergoing the hardships of a jail-life,—if only to

be rewarded in the end with such loving pats!" It was arranged that Bapu should have his rest at Shankarlal Parikh's house. The place presented a very neat appearance and the furniture and other things revealed a highly cultured taste. Everything in Kathlal gave one the impression of very good organising powers. In the evening a public welcome was given to Pandyaji on his return from jail. The address was placed on a dainty plate and presented to him. Bapu's speech referred to one thing chiefly the use of the word 'shishya' (disciple) in Shankarlal's speech on the occasion:

"I know I seem to honour myself when I give this warning to you all; but, even at the risk of being misunderstood, I must say that I do not deserve to be anybody's *guru* and I can never be a *guru* of others. How can he be a guru, who is himself in search of a worthy spiritual guide and master? I ask you to think a million times before you call yourself my disciple or for that matter of anyone else. A disciple worth the name transgresses not a single word of his guru. If, moreover, I want to be a guru, I must first claim to be totally faultless, and that is not my claim. Then again I am supposed to live in the clouds. I am so marked out as a man apart, that everyone thinks that nobody can put into practice what I say. But this Pandya came only the other day to learn the ABC of Satyagraha and in such a short time he has secured the M. A. degree!" The people drank in every word of his speech.

Instead of sleeping for the night at Shankarlal Parikh's house, Bapu insisted on sleeping on the station platform and went there late at 11 p. m.

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1. A quadrangular guest-house providing free temporary lodging. This is a common feature in Indian villages.

29-6-2018

Public meeting at Nadiad to give an address to Bapu. He wrote heaps of letters even before it was 3 p. m. Even about Harilal he did not mince matters and wrote: "The boy does not appear to be innocent even to me. If you want to do what I would like you to, you should file a suit against him in a law-court." The procession in Bapu's honour started at 3 p. m. The Nadiad Municipality then gave him an address. Bapu, in reply, highly eulogised *sevadharma* (the duty of serving others). He also paid a public tribute to Vallabhbhai for his excellent record as his Lieutenant Commander in the Kaira struggle. He then pointed out the fact that the service which the children of the orphanage (Nadiad Hindu Anathashram where he stays) as well as its scavenger gave to him was real service, because it was silent service inspired out of a sense of loving duty and nothing else. Those, he added, whose object in life is to win public applause are likely to commit graver crimes and to be more harmful to the nation than those who are out for amassing money.

At night also the only subject of his talks was recruiting. A long letter to Andrews.

30-6-2018

I prepared the meals and wrote a report of the visit to Ras. Bapu wrote letters. Indulal translated the report in English. After going through the translation Bapu said, "You people have not yet picked up the art of translation. If I begin to correct this, I shall have to transform its root and branch." And this to Indulal specially: "Dear brother! Translation is no ordinary matter. It is an art by itself and only long practice can teach us the skill."

1-7-2018

Visit to the Satyagrahashram. Death of .....'s (an Ashramite} mother. 'If his family wanted to go home on that account,' Bapu thought, 'it would be merely to abide by an old custom and would mean to the Ashram an expense of Rs. 80/- after their travelling alone. Public money could not be spent away like that. The family should not to be permitted to go home.' Bapu revealed to me this trend of his thinking as he was taking his meal the next day.

2-7-2018

Nadiad. Letter from Andrews. Quoting from a letter written seven years ago, he said that he was afraid that Bapu's activities were getting to be more and more overwhelmed by politics, and that Bapu was, therefore, likely to fall from his high spiritual estate. I too supported Andrews: "I also have somewhat the same kind of uneasy feeling." Bapu answered back, "Andrews does not understand my ideal. He imagines that my politics are like his. But despite all these multifarious activities, I am personally enjoying deep peace within. Only yesterday I taught the Ashramites the lesson of greater self-restraint."

Deodhar sent Bapu a report of 'Poona Sevasadan' (Service-Home at Poona) for the last eight years. Bapu wrote in acknowledgement:

*"My dear Deodhar,

I thank you for sending me your report of the Sevasadan work. It is a monument to your industry, nationalism of a constructive type and your love for service. The progress is indeed phenomenal. There is probably nothing quite like it in all India. If you have a lady teacher I want one, even two, to replace Avantikabai and Anandibai in Champaran.

And now for suggestions. A smattering knowledge of English is worse than useless. It is an unnecessary tax on our women. When we cease to make use of English where we ought not to use it, believe me, the Englishmen will talk to us in our own language, as they ought. Lord Chelmsford was quite pleased when I spoke at the Conference in Urdu. By all means teach a select few ladies all the English you can, so that they might translate the best English thought to their own sisters. This is what I call economy of language. I would, therefore, replace English by Hindi. The latter will liberalise the Deccan woman, who like the rest of her sisters, is to day parochial, and it will add to her usefulness as a national worker.

Harmonium is only a stage removed from the concertina. I should give them the *vina* and the *sitar*. These are cheap, national and infinitely superior to the harmonium. Lastly, I would like everyone to learn cotton-spinning and hand-weaving to the exclusion of fancy work. Through the instrumentality of two workers, I have got 100 *retias* (spinning wheels) working, providing a livelihood for probably 300 women. When India regains her natural calm and quiet, definitely mills will be a thing of the

past. We shall then find our Ranis (queens) spinning yarn of the finest count, as they used to before. I would like you to hasten that day. Believe me, we shall soon have a surfeit of these things.

The ordinary tendency is to move with the times. We, who must continually elect and select, may not always follow the time spirit; we may, we should, anticipate the future. He who runs may see if he would also think, that the future is with handi-craftsmanship. Anyway, you cannot go wrong by encouraging the women to go in for hand-spinning and weaving. They will be helping to clothe the naked.

I have given you more than you bargained for. Many thanks for giving Amritlal and Kesariprasad. Tell Mrs. Deodhar I shall expect her to come and stay in the Ashram for a few days.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. Gandhi”

And this letter to Dr.Mehta:

"Bhaishri Pranjivan,

It is long since I wrote to you. I was carrying on so far with the money that I got locally and did not go abegging. But now I am in a pressing need. The construction work (of the Ashram buildings) is going on and I have already spent away Rs. 40,000/-. And Rs. 60,000/- more will have to be spent, since 150 men and 20 handlooms have to be accommodated. Cloth-production is increasing by leaps and bounds. The strike at Ahmedabad has brought me in contact with many members of the weavers' communities. Nearly 300 women have already begun to spin. Yarn producticn will come to two maunds (80 lbs.) per day, I suppose, within a short time. All these women were totally unemployed so long, but now they are getting their daily bread. About 30 persons, weavers by caste, who stay outside the Ashram, are now back to their profession. Some of these are dheds (an 'un-touchable' community). They had become labourers, but now they are self-respecting men with a steady independent profession to stand upon. I see a great future for the hand-weaving industry, and I think it will play a significant part in national uplift. But I require a substantial amount of money for resuscitating it. It appears I shall have to spend Rs. 10,000/- as a preliminary expense for the purpose. The national school also is of equal value. Even today, I think, the students of the school are superior to outsiders studying in the same standards. I find that this school is going to require Rs. 1000/- per month, though the present expenses are less. If I engaged myself in both these activities the results would indeed be much better, but even without me I see that they are flourishing. I wish you gave a large amount immediately and donated enough every year to fill up the deficit whatever it comes to. If you can do so, I will be free from worry. Of course, if you do not approve of these activities, I cannot ask and you must not give anything. But, if you think that they deserve to be supported give your donation, I pray, without stint.

You must be keeping in touch with my recruiting campaign. I think this to be the most difficult and the most important of all my activities. If I could succeed in it, the attainment of real Swaraj is but a corollary.

Vande Mataram,

Mohandas"

This was a day of rest and quiet. Bapu spent the time in writing out many letters and called for Ramanbhai's[1] 'Raino Parvat' and 'Hasya Mandir' for perusal.

Letter to Devdas:

"I am so glad you are regular in correspondence. I too wish to be as regular, but you must not look forward to my letters with eagerness. Today, however, there is no letter from you. It was a pleasure to read your report of the dialogue about Mr. Natesan. You may do with it as you think best. The work you are at present engaged in is so momentos that it is perhaps not possible for you to realize all its possible repercussions at the present moment. Only a very clever and experienced teacher of riper years is usually employed for a work of your type. Even if such a one could be found, the question stands whether in a city like Madras a sufficient number of students would be forthcoming to take advantage of his presence. You will be solving a question of great national importance, if you succeed in giving, and the people of the Madras Presidency in receiving, the gift of the knowledge of Hindi. That would mean constructing a bridge that joins Madras with other parts of India. An iron bridge over the spacious Ganga requires less skill and patience than you need to build that cultural bridge. All your innate and acquired proficieney will have to be requisitioned to make Hindi for beginners easy and pleasant to learn. To be able to do so, you must go through books on Hindi, Gujarati, English and Tamil grammar, whenever you find time. From them you are sure to get some clues to enable you to teach your students in a way by which they can learn much from a little trouble on your own part. You can, for instance, give them many words derived from the same root. It is easier to remember all the co-related words that way, than as individual unconnected words. I have already written to you to provide for the stay of some Northerners who intend to study Tamil and you may broach the subject to Natesan, Hanmantrao and others. Revashankar Sodha and Chhoturam have come back to the Ashram. That increases my responsibility, but I am glad of their return. Harilal has left Rajkot and will pass by Nadiad tonight. News has come of the death of .....'s mother. I wish you wrote a letter of condolence to him. I opened among the Ashramites a very sacred discussion about that news. I call it 'sacred' because everyone gave his or her view honestly, politely and as guided by his sense of religious duty. This was how I mooted the question: "Now ..... will want to go home to be present at the condolence congregation of his relatives. That will mean an expense of rupees 80 to

the Ashram. Can, or rather should, the Ashram bear it? The man who has dedicated his life to his country, who has adopted the anchoretic creed of selfless humanitarian service, can never be bereft of his mother because all women, old enough, are his mothers. His father too never dies as each one of his elders is a father to him. Service is his wife and it is impossible that she can die. All others in the world are his sisters and brothers. It would be for him simply unreasoning obedience to an old custom, if he goes to the condolence congregation of only that mother who gave him birth. Should the Ashram money be wasted over observing that custom and knowing to the world? Without raising any opposition every-one quietly agreed that the amount must not be spent. Santok and Ba also were present. However, it was decided in the end that this rule should not be enforced in the present case and it should be left to the discretion of ..... and ..... behn, whether they might go home or not. Most probably they will.

Do you read any papers there? May I send you some from here?

Blessings

Bapu"

`1. A well-known Gujarati writer and social reformer. The first is a drama on the classical style and the second is mainly a book of humorous pieces.

Bapu went to the station at night to meet Harilal. He had first gone there in the evening but Harilal did not pass by Nadiad in that train. 'I must go to see him' Bapu thought and went again to the station late at night. He found him sound asleep in a second class compartment. Harilal was not at all in the look-out for anyone who might want to see him at Nadiad. He had some talk with Bapu, but there was no warmth in it. Bapu came back sorely disappointed and grieved. "The very face of the boy has undergone a change and lost its colour" – that was his only comment followed by a sigh on his return. Only the previous day Bapu had written to Devdas, "All his (Harilal's) grace and sweetness have left him, but you must not feel worried or unhappy over it. It teaches us how low a man goes down when once he slides into sin or folly." Bapu, it seemed after this meeting, lost the last lingering touch of pride he had for Harilal as regards his independent spirit.

Bapu finished 'Raino Parvat.' It gave him as much pleasure as its first perusal would to any reader.

3-7-2018

Rest today also and its utilization in letter-writing as before. As he thought it an unwarrantable use of a public fund to spend Rs. 35 per month after a cook, it was decided to dispense with his services and begin self-cooking. He began reading 'Hasya-mandir.' I saw him thoroughly enjoying the humour of the book. He was flooded with many letters which questioned the moral propriety of his recruiting campaign. The correspondents wanted him to explain how a man wedded to the creed of non-violence, as he was, could ever exhort others to plunge into violent warfare. The letters on this subject, which Bapu has written to Andrews especially, are so many as to make quite a dissertation on the subject. And they deserve a publication in book form. Miss Farring also had once written:

*"I have read your letter to the Viceroy. I cannot understand how it can give full credit to your feelings as a passive resister or, if I may put it in another way, how can one who believes firmly, and has given his whole life for the sake of exercising passive resistance always and everywhere ask others to join the war and fight?"

Bapu's reply:

"What am I to advise a man to do who wants to kill but is unable owing to his being maimed? Before I can make him feel the virtue of not killing, I must restore to him the arm he has lost. I have always advised young Indians to join the army, but had hitherto refrained from actively asking them to do so. Because I did not feel sufficiently interested in the purely political life of the country and in the war itself. But a difficult situation faced me in Delhi. I felt at once that I was playing with the greatest problem of life in not tackling the question of joining the army seriously. Either we must renounce the benefits of this State or help it to the best of our capacity to prosecute the war. We are not ready to renounce. Indians had a double duty to perform. If they are to preach the mission of peace, they must first prove their ability in war. This is a terrible discovery. But it is true. A nation that is unfit to fight cannot from experience prove the virtue of not fighting. I do not infer from this that India must fight. But I do say that India must know how to fight. Ahimsa is the eradication of the desire to injure or to kill, Ahimsa can be practised only towards those that are inferior to you in every way. It follows, therefore, that to become a full Ahimsaist, you have to attain absolute perfection. Must we all then first try to become Sandows before we can love perfectly? This seems to be unnecessary. It is enough, if we can face the world without flinching.

It is personal courage that is an absolute necessity, and some will acquire that courage only after they have been trained to fight. I have put the argument most clumsily. I am passing through new experiences. I am struggling to express myself. Some things are still obscure to me, and I am trying to find words for others which are plain to me. I am praying for light and guidance and am acting with the greatest deliberation. Do please write and fight every inch of the ground that to you may appear untenable. That will enable me to find the way.

Yours,
Bapu"

The same day he wrote a letter to Maganlalbhai asking him to make the working of the Ashram regular and disciplined. He pointed out incisively the instance of the books:

''There should be no dalliance now in bringing the books from ·····'s place to the Ashram. Other things lying with her must also be brought immediately. We seem to have taken a bad advantage of her goodness. Just because she does not speak out and insist on their removal, we stick to our old ways of procrastination. I wish you now did what you would, if she gave you a 24 hours' notice for their removal. Nothing so good as giving ourselves such notices to shake off our lethargy."

Commenting at night on 'Raino Parvat' Bapu said: "Ramanbhai has spoiled his dramatic presentation by introducing the character of Vinavati. The drama has become at its end almost a propagandist pamphlet in favour of widow-marriage. The play itself is excellent no doubt, but this defect does creep in. He rose in the play to a great height of splendour, but fell from there at the end."

4-7-2018

Quiet today also till noon. Thakkar and Swami saw him. Brain-fagging discussion all the day long with the Swami on violence vs. non-violence. There was an intelligent, discerning and courteous letter from Prabhudas (a student of the Ashram school) today. He gives his impressions of the behaviour of his teachers during their tour to Mt. Abu. He has given a very life- like picture of the situation.

Reply:

"Chi. Prabhudas,

I have read your letter very carefully and with deep interest. You have done a very wise thing in speaking out what you feel. I am charmed with your letter as the language is quite polite, and your submission reveals the dignity of an independent spirit. It shows what courage you possess.

* * * *

I did not know some facts at all. I had a hazy idea of the others, but your letter has shed a light that makes them distinctly visible. My apprehension of them was not clear enough to enable me to take any remedial action. The information you have given me arms one with the knowledge to do so.

* * * *

If I am made a dupe, we (the Ashram) lose nothing. You, for instance, have suffered nothing as regards your progress in your strength of character or in your studies. No harm is done to us, if only we hitch our waggon to the star of spiritual greatness. The man who keeps his home hygienically clean has no fear of plague getting into his door. At least it cannot stay there for long, if it ever manages to steal into it. In the same way, if we keep ourselves morally clean, the plague of wickedness cannot remain in us for long, even if it succeeds in silently creeping into us at times. You must have observed that the faults of all those who have become closely connected with me have come to light soon or late.

With your permission, I wish to send your letter to all those you refer to. They will not vent their anger on you and they must not. We want you and others in the Ashram to give out what you feel and think. If possible, I will stay there for two nights

and return here by the following morning train, so that we may have sufficient time to discuss the Ashram affairs.

Blessings,

Bapu"

Letter to Mrs. Besant:

*"I search "New India" (Mrs. Besant's paper) in vain for an emphatic declaration from you in favour of unconditional recruiting. Surely it must be plain that if every Home Ruler became an active Recruiting Depot, we would ensure the passing of the Congress-League Scheme with only such modifications as we agree to. I think this is the time when we must give the people the lead and not await their opinion. I would like to see you with your old fire growing the stronger in face of opposition. If we supplied recruits, we should dictate terms. But if we wait for the terms the War may close, India may remain without a real military training, and we should be face to face with a military dictatorship. This is taking the most selfish view of the situation, and self-interest suggests the course I have ventured to place before the country as the only effective course. I know you will not consider my letter as a presumption.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. Gandhi"

*"Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I do wish you would make an emphatic declaration regarding recruitment. Can you not see that if every Home Rule League became a potent Recruiting Agency, whilst at the same time fighting for constitutional rights, we should ensure the passing of the Congress-League Scheme, with only such modifications, if any, as we may agree to? We would then speak far more effectively than we do today. "Seek ye first the Recruiting Office and everything will be added unto you." We must give the lead to the people and not think how the people will take what we say. What I ask for is an emphatic declaration and not a halting one.

I know you will not mind my letter.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. Gandhi"

Bapu has these days only one subject to talk about with all those who come to see him – recruitment. The chief points in that discussion are:

Meaning of Swaraj: Enjoyment of complete freedom without giving up the British connection. If we helped Britain in this War, we would gain the upper hand over Britain instead of Britain ruling over us as at present. It is very necessary that we take military training. "I have not come across a single individual in India who follows in practice the creed of non-violence as faithfully as I. I claim to be saturate with love. Nobody knows as many sins, as also the virtues, of the Englishman as I and as clearly as I. I would teach that man the art of violence who wants to learn how to fight and kill. If I can do nothing in this matter (of recruitment), you may take it as a proof that my spiritual endeavour is still not sufficiently rigorous for the purpose. He who does not know how to die without killing must learn the art by knowing first how to kill and face death."

There was a letter from an advocate, Ranga Iyer by name (now a Swarajist leader). When he met Bapu in Delhi, he had promised to hold 40 meetings in the mofussil in support of the Kaira Satyagraha. His letter expressed his regret at his failure in holding the meetings, as well as his congratulations to Bapu on the success of the struggle.

Reply:

*"Dear Mr. Ranga Iyer,

I thank you for your congratulations. I shall not misunderstand your inability to hold numerous meetings in the villages. I know how difficult the thing is. And yet without our penetration into the villages our Home Rule Schemes are of little value. With the people really at our back we should make our march to our goal irresistible. That we do not see such a simple truth is the saddest part of the tragedy being enacted in front of us. If you would get out of it, you would even at the risk of closing your paper learn Hindi and then work among the villages. I know you have laboured valiantly for your paper. But it was labour almost mis-spent. We must give the fruits of our Western learning to our millions, whereas we, circulating ideas among ourselves describe like the blindfolded ox the same circle[1] and mistake it for motion forward.

Yours sincerely

M. K. Gandhi"

1. The indigenous oil-pressing mill requires a blind-folded ox to turn round and round in a circle in order to rotate a long wooden pole in the centre which crushes the seeds.

5-7-2018

Day of rest to-day also. Read Morley (Recollections) Vol. II. There was a letter from Raojibhai's father in which he poured all the agony of his heart.

To him Bapu simply wrote:

"Bhaishri Manibhai,

I have received your letter, but I cannot help you. Time never fails to do His work and He will soothe your feelings."

To Devdas:

"I am worrying over your health. You know what is almost a tenet with us. Illness has to be given no quarter. To save ourselves from illness what is wanted is self-restraint and nothing else. It is impossible that our health can go down, if only we are careful about two things: temperance in eating and sufficient physical exercise."

To Natesan who was tending Devdas:

*"So Devdas is now receiving at your hands a nurse's attention and care. I had hoped that Devdas would not behave so indecently as to fall ill. Pray thank Dr. Krishnaswami on my behalf for attending to Devdas. I hope for your sake that he will soon be himself again. I understand your mother's scruples. If you were strong enough, she would waive them in favour of Devdas and that would be a precedent for the future. You saw how nobly she behaved over Naicker? You doubted your own ability to carry her with you. It is a habit into which we reformers have fallen never to think of beginning with our own homes. We now find it difficult to mend ourselves. What was intended to be a letter of thanks has ended in a sermon. Please pardon the offence. I know you will wire, if there is anything serious with Devdas.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. Gandhi."

Shastriar has witten to him:

*"I see from 'The (Bombay) Chronicle', your effort bids fair to be a great success."

Bapu's answer:

*"I do not know what report you have read in 'The Chronicle'. There is an official Recruiting Agent who has the effrontery to be my namesake. It may be a glowing report of his which you may have read. So far I have not a single recruit to my credit – apart from the co-workers who are all under promise to serve or to find substitutes. The task is most difficult. It is the toughest job I have yet handled in my life. However, it is yet too early to forecast any result.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. Gandhi"

6-7-2018

In answer to the question of Andrews, “How could you, a votary of non-violence, exhort others to take up arms and join this war?” Bapu wrote to him:

*“As for my offer, you know that in my letter to Maffey I have said I should kill neither friend nor foe. Regarding those who want to fight but will not – either out of cowardice or spite against the British – what is my duty? Must I not say, “If you can follow my path, so much the better, but if you cannot you ought to give up cowardice or spite and fight?" You cannot teach Ahimsa to a man who cannot kill. You cannot make a dumb man appreciate the beauty and the merit of silence. Although I know that silence is most excellent, I do not hesitate to take means that would enable the dumb man to regain his speech. Do not believe in any government – but Parliamentary Government is perhaps better than capricious rule. I think it will be clear to you that I shall best spread the gospel of Ahimsa, or Satyagraha, by asking the ‘Himsak’ (militant) men to work out their ‘Himsa’ in the least offensive manner; and may succeed, in the very act, in making them to realise the better worth of Ahimsa. If I have not made the position clear, you should try, if you can, to come down.”

Then he wrote another letter to him on the same subject. I have not been able to copy it. But this, his latest letter on the subject, gives Bapu's views in full. It was written today:

*“My dear Charlie,

I have your letters. I prize them. They give me only partial consolation. My difficulties are deeper than you have put them. All you raise I can answer. I must attempt in this letter to reduce my own to writing. They just now possess me to the exclusion of everything else. All the other things I seem to be doing purely mechanically. This hard thinking has told upon my physical system. I hardly want to talk to anybody. I do not want even to write anything, not even these thoughts of mine. I am, therefore, falling back upon dictation to see whether I can clearly express them. I have not yet reached the bottom of my difficulties, much less have I solved them. The solution is not likely to affect my immediate work. But of the future I can now say nothing. If my life is spared, I must reach the secret somehow.

You say, “Indians as a race did repudiate it, blood, but 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 even, not even in my favourite Tulsidas, which is much superior in spirituality to Valmiki. I am not now thinking of those works in their spiritual meanings. The incarnations are certainly described as blood-thirsty, revengeful and merciless to the enemy. They have been credited with having resorted to tricks also for the sake of overcoming the enemy. The battles are described with no less zest than now, and the warriors are equipped with weapons of destruction such as could be possibly conceived by the human imagination. The finest hymn composed by Tulsidas in praise of Rama gives the first place to his ability to strike down the enemy. Then take the Mohammedan period. The Hindus were not less eager than the Mohammedans to fight. They were simply disorganised, physically weakened and torn by internal dissensions. The code of Manu prescribes no such renunciation that you impute to the race. Buddhism conceived as a doctrine of universal forbearance signally failed, and if the legends are true the great Shankaracharya did not hesitate to use unspeakable cruelty in banishing Buddhism out of India. And he succeeded. Then the English. There has been compulsory renunciation of arms, but not the desire to kill. Even among the Jains the doctrine has signally failed. They have a superstitious horror of bloodshed, but they have as little regard for the life of the enemy as any European. What I mean to say is that they would rejoice equally with anybody on earth over the destruction of the enemy. All then that can be said of India is that individuals have made serious attempts with greater success than elsewhere to popularise the doctrine. But there is no warrant for the belief that it has taken deep root among the people.

You say further: “My point is that it has become an unconscious instinct, which can be awakened any time as you yourself have shown.” I wish it was true. But I see that I have shown nothing of the kind. When friends told me here that Passive Resistance was taken up by the people as a weapon of the weak, I laughed at the libel, as I called it then. But they were right and I was wrong. With me alone and a few other co-workers, it came out of our strength and was described as Satyagraha, but with the majority it was purely and simply passive resistance which they resorted to, because they were too weak to undertake the methods of violence. This discovery was forced on me repeatedly in Kaira. The people here being comparatively freer talked to me without reserve, and told me plainly that they took up my remedy, because they were not strong enough to take up the other, which they undoubtedly held to be far moremanly than mine. I fear that the people, whether in Champaran or in Kaira, would not fearlessly walk to the gallows or stand a shower of bullets and yet say in one case,

'We will not pay the revenue' and in the other, 'We will not work for you.' They have it not in them. And I contend that they will not regain the fearless spirit until they have ..... received the training to defend themselves. Ahimsa was preached to man when he was in full vigour of life and able to look his adversaries straight in the face. It seems to me that full development of body force is a *sine qua non* of full appreciation and assimilation of Ahimsa.

I do not agree with you that India with her moral force could hurl back from her shores any combination of armies from the West or the East or the North or the South. The question is 'How can she cultivate this moral force?' Will she have to be strong in body before she can understand even the first principle of this moral force? This is how millions blaspheme the Lord of the Universe every morning before sunrise:

"I am challengeless Brahma, not a collection of the five elements, earth etc."

'तद् ब्रह्म निष्कलमहं न च भूतसंधः'

"I am that Brahma whom I recall every morning as the Spirit residing in the innermost sanctuary of my heart."

'प्रातः स्मरामि हृदि संस्फुरदात्मतत्त्वम्'

"by whose grace the whole speech is adorned and whom the Vedas have described as 'Neti', 'Neti'."

'वाचो विभान्ति निखिला यदनुग्रहेण

यन्नेतिनेतिवचनैर्निगमा श्रवोचुः|'

I say we blaspheme the Lord of the Universe in reciting the above verse, because it is a parrot recitation without any consideration of its grand significance. One Indian realising in himself all that the verse means is enough to repel the mightiest army that can approach the shores of India. But it is not in us today, and it won't come until there is an atmosphere of freedom and fearlessness on the soil. How to produce that atmosphere? Not without the majority of the inhabitants feeling that they are well able to protect themselves from the violence of man and beast? Now I think I can state my difficulty. It is clear that before I can give a child an idea of Moksha, I must let it grow into full manhood. I must allow it to a certain extent to be even attached to the body and then, when it has understood the body and so the world around it, may I easily demonstrate the transitory nature of the body and the world and make it *feel*

that the body is given not for the indulgence of self but for its liberation. Even so must I wait for instilling into any mind the doctrine of Ahimsa i.e. perfect love, when it has grown to maturity by having its full play through a vigorous body. My difficulty now arises in the practical application of the idea. What is the meaning of having a vigorous body? How far should India have to go in for a training in arms-bearing? Must every individual go through the practice, or is it enough that a free atmosphere is created, and the people will without having to bear arms etc. imbibe the necessary personal courage from the surroundings? I believe that the last is the correct view, and, therefore, I am absolutely right as things are in calling upon every Indian to join the army, always telling him at the same time that he needs doing so not for the lust of blood, but for the sake of learning not to fear death. Look at this from Sir Henry Vane: I copy it from Morley's Recollections (Vol. II): "Death holds a high place in the policy and behaviour of great communities of the world ..... It is the part of a valiant and generous mind to prefer some thing before life, as things for which a man should not doubt, nor fear to die ..... True natural wisdom pursueth the learning and practice of dying well, as the very endof life and indeed he hath not spent his life ill that hath learnt to die well. It is the chiefest thing and duty of life. The knowledge of dying is the knowledge of liberty, the state of true freedom, the way to fear nothing, to live well, contentedly and peaceably..... It is a good time to die when to live is rather a burden than a blessing, and there is more ill in life than good." "When his hour came, Vane's actual carriage on Tower Hill was as noble and resolute as his words," is Morley's commentary. There is not a single recruiting speech in which I have not laid the greatest stress upon this part of a warrior's duty. There is no speech in which I have yet said, 'let us go to kill the Germans.' My refrain is 'let us go and die for the sake of India and the Empire', and I feel that supposing that the response to my call is overwhelming and we all go to France and turn the scale against the Germans, India will then have a claim to be heard and then she may dictate a peace that will last. Suppose further that I have succeeded in raising an army of fearless men, they fill the trenches and with hearts of love lay down their guns and challenge the Germans to shoot them – their fellowmen. I say even the German heart will melt. I refuse to credit it with exclusive fiendishness. So it comes to this, that under exceptional circumstances war may have to be resorted to as a necessary evil, even as the body is. If the motive is right, it may be turned to the profit of mankind, and that an Ahimsaist may not stand aside and look on with indifference, but must make the choice and actively co-operate or actively resist.

Your fear about my being engrossed in the political strife and intrigues may be entirely set aside. I have no stomach for them, least at the present moment, had none even in S. Africa. I was in the political life because therethrough lay my own liberation. Montague said, 'I am surprised to find you taking part in the political life of the country.' Without a moment's thought I replied, 'I am in it because without it I cannot do my religious and social work' and I think the reply will stand good to the end of my life.

You can't complain of my having given you only a scrap of a letter. Instead of a letter, I have inflicted upon you what may almost read like an essay. But it was necessary that you should know what was passing in my mind at the present moment. You may now pronounce your judgment, and mercilessly tear my ideas to pieces where you find them to be wrong.

I hope you are getting better and stronger. I need hardly say that we shall all welcome you when you are quite able to undertake a journey.

With love,
Mohan"

7-7-2018

Visited the Ashtam last night. Spent the time in meeting the inmates and settling many internal questions of the Ashram. A Conference of the Ashramites was held to discuss Prabhudas's letter. Bapu elicited from those referred to in that letter their answers to Prabhudas's allegations. Arrived in Nadiad at night.

8-7-2018

Early in the morning he left for Navagam. It is ten and a half miles from Barejdi station, but he decided to foot out the distance. In the style of a soldier on march he held in his hand, as he walked, a round box con aining what Kallenbach would be so glad to eat and what could match chocolates i.e., sweet- balls made from groundnuts mixed with ghee and jaggery. He began to eat them and with a childlike joy observed: “I am going to take up the profession of a soldier. I have done many such things in Africa.”

Our talk on the way first touched upon Dolatram's[1] (Gujarati) drama ‘Amarsatra’. He said, “Mahadev, ‘Amarsatra’ is definitely a good play. The ‘shlokas’ (stanzas in Sanskrit) also which appear in the latter part are quite good. The plot is worthless, but the play is well-written.”

I demurred. "What can I say when I have not read it? But his style is sure to be clumsy.”

Bapu: “What's your idea of a clumsy style?”

I: “That style is clumsy where any thought which could have been expressed in a simpler language has been deliberately put in a language difficult to understand in order to show oneself off, where, in short, the style does not enhance the charm of the literary piece but becomes a brain exercise. And Dolatram Pandya has the reputation of being such a writer.”

Bapu: “No. Whatever is difficult to understand is not necessarily clumsy.”

I: “Dolatram is definitely wanting in that lucidity which Ramanbhai possesses.”

Bapu: “True, but I won't call his style clumsy simply because the language is difficult. We don't call a language clumsy merely because it takes some time and thought to understand the meaning.”

I: "That style is clumsy in which the language is deliberately made difficult without any need for making it so. Manilal's[2] language is difficult, but not clumsy. Then there is Govardhanram[3] who is ornate and high-flown, but he has been acclaimed as a classic writer of a chaste style."

Bapu: "All right. But has not Manilal often used difficult expressions where plainer ones would have sufficed equally well?"

"I don't think so," I insisted. The talk stopped there. Then I asked him, "Who, do you think among the English writers, has a clumsy style?"

Bapu: (after a little thinking): "We can't say. We have never been taught any clumsy writers."

I: "Not Johnson, I suppose?"

Bapu: "Certainly not."

"But" I put in with a meaning smile, "Austin's 'Jurisprudence' may be termed clumsy?" "I, for one, haven't felt it tedious. He has a style of his own, which I found very interesting" Bapu returned:

"Can you say" I objected, "It has the same felicity as Dicey (Dicey's 'Law of the Constitution')?

"No," he agreed. "You are right there. It (Jurisprudence) has not the smoothness and flow of Dicey."

Then after some time, "Have you read Stephens' 'Digest of Evidence'?" Bapu continued, "I am simply charmed with the book. We must reproduce in our language all these law books also. But our lawyers! Which of them ever wants to speak in Gujarati? They are blissfully ignorant of the fact that the translation of such splendid law books into Gujarati would give a great fillip to the people's awakening. And our noted literary writers have yet to see the light as to what they should really do. They will translate worthless books, but does it ever strike them that they should do something in this direction – something that would rouse the nation?"

I said, "I have decided to read Dolatram Pandya now – after our talk. It will be one of my top priorities. I was sure that you would take up that book. That was why I got it out from the Library for you."

Bapu remarked: "I will read all such Gujarati books as I can lay my hands upon. I have made up my mind to go through the worst trash, if it is writtn in Gujarati. But

with one exception. I cannot stomach the Gujarati translation of the Bible. The fact is that it goes against the grain to tolerate the same thing in poor language, what one has been delighted to read in a wonderful style for years together. The work of translating the Bible fell to the lot of foreign missionaries. The result was that a book that scales a towering height in spirituality and is at the same time a masterpiece in English literature turned out a parody of the original in Gujarati. But it has never dawned in the mind of a single leading Gujarati writer to translate that book. I wonder when any of them will get the inspiration!"

"But now let us close this subject and come to recruiting", he then said: "Did you read again my letter to Andrews? I want you to be a critic. Did you find no point whatsoever in it which would provoke you to take up the cudgels against me? I wish Polak were here with me today. He would fight every inch of the ground before conceding any of my points, compel me to think deeply and draw me out to a firm and final decision."

So I began to put forth my objections against his letter to Andrews: "Would the man who understands that the Indweller is apart from the body and who lives a life consistent with his knowledge, ever be swept off his feet by the infatuation of driving back the invading hordes of foreigners?"

Bapu: "No, he would not. But he would certainly possess the power to do so. It's a different matter whether he uses it or abstains."

I: "Do you mean to say that in this climate of foreign domination there is no individual in the whole of India who has realized the Self ? If that is your belief, the old quarrel between us raises up its head again. I for one have a deep-rooted conviction that there are such men. They are entirely indifferent about these mundane matters. They don't care a rap whether there is an invasion of India or a conflagration that burns it up."

Bapu: "There may be, I don't know. But I have my doubts."

I: "Am I then to understand you to mean that political serfdom blocks the way to Self-realization? You know you have asserted that you have entered the political arena to reach that goal?"

Bapu: "Yes, that's true in my case. I am prepared however to say that there may be individuals here and there in whose case political subjection may not come in the way of Self-realization. But what about the people at large?"

I: “I am speaking for stray individuals only. The public is never going to win spiritual freedom *en masse*.”

Bapu: “I agree. About the masses you are right. I hold, at the same time, the firm belief that it is impossible that even such a self-realized Master (jnyani), who has taken a vow of silence, can remain an unaffected witness and refuse to influence the atmosphere even with his thought, if he be in Ahmedabad in the midst of a revolution so ablaze as this one. I don't think there can exist men who remain so indifferent.”

“Let us then drop the subject, and agree to differ.” I replied. “There seems to be no meeting point there between us.” Then I said, “You call the maimed and decrepit as ‘bereft of senses.’ Do you think they have lost even the subtle senses along with their physical?”

Bapu: “No. I am talking only of those who are deprived of their subtle senses also. Even that man who has lost his hands and feet is not free from the cruel desire of killing others.”

I: “Then that point must be clarified. Can you say that with the loss of any of the senses even the hankering after enjoyment through them leaves the man?”

Bapu: “No, not at all. The impotent are consumed with lust even more than others.”

I: “Then I have another difficulty. I wonder how these people are going to imbibe in six months the courage you want them to possess. I am afraid even after returning from the Front, they will lapse into their old spinelessness.”

In the evening our talks took a different turn.

“Bapu,” I said, “I very much fear that after all your stress and strain the thing will end in smoke, we may not have to go to the Front at all. I feel they will not have any need of our recruits because the War will end before our preparations for going to the Front are complete."

Bapu: "What a happy consummation that, if things turn out as you say. But even that simple possibility we people are too blind to anticipate. Butmore than all this, it is the question of the Mohammedans that pricks me like a thorn. I wonder how I am going to be able to win them over to love and non-violence! They are steeped in hatred. I see my own weaknesses now more and more glaringly. I am feeling that I have begun this work without the necessary degree of spiritual power in myself for it.

If I had kept myself aloof and silent, there would have been no qualms and nothing to worry over. But I have been on many rostrums preaching non-violence and belauding its grandeur. If, from my sermons, somebody now takes it into his head to refuse to go to the War 'since Gandhi has taught him non-violence.' I would feel deeply distressed. For that reason alone I have taken up this work (of recruitment). I am out to show what real non- violence means."

After a seven miles' walk we reached Navagam. The people indulged in loud talks but no meeting could be held. His letter to Devdas (given further on) shows how he was affected by those talks. Then in the evening we walked back six and a half miles to reach the station (Barejdi). In the train Bapu read the (Montford) Reform Scheme, a copy of which was given to him by Indulal. After reading it Bapu remarked: "There's no doubt they (the Britishers) have made a strenuous effort (to satisfy India). The Scheme should be accepted. We can, if we have the capacity, use it to draw much power out of it and make a great progress. It will betray only our own weakness, if we refuse to accept the Scheme. Chelmsford deserves the credit for all this. For myself I have been doting on him since our first contact. What a fine thing if we criticised the defects in the Scheme and supplied recruits at the same time! The next day he wrote a letter to Jinnah in which he said:

*"What a grand thing it would be if we recruited and at the same time insisted on amendments in the Montford Scheme!"

He wrote many letters today, the first being this one to Maganlal:

"You may do whatever you should to keep Mu.[4] Khushalbhai and Devibhabhi[5] quiet and contented. I confess to an uneasy feeling that Prabhudas's and others' dining there is fraught with unhappy results. Keshu and Radha may be resenting it and feeling aggrieved. You may do what you think best after a careful and detached consideration over the matter which it deserves."

Letter from Harilal, accusing Bapu. He says that Bapu's letter to Narottam Seth shows how cruel Bapu is to his own son and that his present plight makes it impossible for him to be a recruit.

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1. Dolatram Kriparam Pandya, a poet and dramatist, was fond of using Sanskrit rather than the popular Gujarati words.

2. Besides being a playwright and a champion of orthodoxy, Manilal Nabhubhai Dwivedi was a distinguished philosopher with a large number of books to his credit.

3. Govardhanram Madhavram Tripathi was a profound scholar, chiefly known for his 'Saraswatichandra' in 4 volumes, wherein he uses the vehicle of the framework of a novel to give to Gujarat 'an encyclopaedia' of social, meta-physical, political and literary thinking. The first volume made quite a sensation on its publication.

4. Mu-Murabbi, a prefix of respect to an elder.

5. Bhabhi-brother's or cousin's wife.

Bapu's Reply:

"I have your letter. My letter is definitely 'cruel', if it is cruelty to say what I honestly feel. Even now I feel certain that the world will not believe in your innocence. Whatever you may have talked to him at Sakchi, Narottam Seth could never have formed from it the impression that you were going to use his money for speculation. You have gone on piling up blunder upon blunder. You were not content with losing 10,000 rupees. But it is no use arguing with you. May God give you the light! If I have erred, I am open to correction still. If you can, you may even now show me how and where I err.

Blessings,

Bapu,"

To Devdas:

"Mr. Natesan's wire has removed the anxiety which your silence was causing me. Now you have to spot the centre of your illness and take care that you do not fall ill again. What did your Hindi students do during your illness? Did any of them visit you? Did any continue their study?

I have not yet been able to secure even one recruit. That shows how low our country has fallen.

The press telegram you read in the papers there was a comedy of errors. There is some Government recruiting official who bears my name and his success was mistaken for mine. My failure in the recruiting campaign till now shows that the people are not prepared to follow my advice. They are quite willing to take service from me when I espouse acause which they like. But that is exactly what should be. It is from service that the duty and privilege of advice arises. Three years' service – and that too in scattered areas – is no service. All the same my recruiting campaign was the only right and possible course for me to take. I was in need of the mental satisfaction and

peace which the consciousness of having already begun to do my duty gives me. And the work does go on still. I only showed what the result was upto the present.

Blessings,

Bapu”

Dattatreya, son of Mr. Dabholkar a lawyer, presented Rs. 4/-, the amount of his first month's scholarship, to the Ashram with a covering letter to explain how he was able to send the amount.

Bapu's reply:

“Chi. Dattatreya,

Let me congratulate you for standing first in the Annual Examination of Standard V. As in your studies, I wish you to maintain the first rank in good character also.

I am glad you have contributed the first instalment of your scholarship to the Ashram. When I go there, I will explain to the boys and girls the full implication of a donation from one such as you. The fact that he imbues you with the benevolent spirit is a splendid heritage your father is bestowing upon you. You must develop that quality.

Blessings,

Mohandas Gandhi.”

17-7-2018

A compromise was arrived at with regard to the Reform Scheme. After delivering fiery harangues, both Mrs. Besant and Tilak agreed with the Moderate Party's stand. That was why Shastriar wrote the following letter:

*"I marvel at Mrs. Besant and Tilak taking up a position very near yours and mine after having written as they have done in the Press. I do not like all this talk about abstention from the Congress. I do not understand it."

Reply:

*"Dear Mr. Shastriar,

I am glad you were able to go to Bombay. I think it will be most valiant of you, if you can attend the Congress. I must confess I sympathise with the Panditji's (Pandit Malaviya) attitude, if it is truly reported of him. Indeed, for him it will be one of the boldest acts of his life to refrain from appearing on a Congress platform.

What I feel is this. How can I appear in an assembly which, I know, is to be misled and in which the principal movers do not believe what they say, and will *denounce* in the Press the very Resolutions for which they would have voted! I know there is the other side. But for the moment I lean towards abstention.

I hope you are keeping well.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. Gandhi"

Then this letter to Hanumantrao:

*"I have been thinking of writing to you for a long time, but my recruiting peregrinations have seriously interfered with my correspondence. Today happens to be an off day and is being devoted to letter-writing. I thank you most heartily for all you have done and are doing for Devdas. In every one of his letters Devdas has mentioned your affection for him. In his illness, he tells me, you have been a real friend. I shall now select Hindi candidates for Tamil tuition.

I know that my recruiting campaign was bound to pain friends for a variety of reasons, political as well as religious. But I know that both are wrong in their condemnation. My views have been before the country for a long time. But it is always

one's actions that matter, rarely his speech. But I may not, therefore, summarily dismiss their objections. They are honest in their statements and they criticise out of affection. It is my practice of Ahimsa and failure to get our people even to understand the first principles of Ahimsa that have led to the discovery that all killing is not Himsa, that sometime's practice of Ahimsa may even necessitate killing and that we as a nation have lost the true power of killing. It is clear that he who has lost the power to kill cannot practise non-killing. Ahimsa is a renunciation of the highest type. A weak and effeminate nation cannot perform this grand act of renunciation, even as a mouse cannot properly be said to renounce the power of killing a cat. It may look terrible, but it is true that we must by a well-sustained conscious effort regain this power and then, if we can only do so, deliver the world from the travail of Himsa by a continuous abdication of this power. I cannot describe to you in sufficiently telling language the grief I often used to feel, as I watched my failure to carry conviction about Ahimsa even to the members of the Ashram. Not that they were unwilling listeners, but I could perceive, as I now think plainly, that they had not the capacity for apprehending the truth. It was like singing the finest music to ears untuned to any music. But today practically everyone in the Ashram understands it, and is aglow with the expectation that Ahimsa is a renunciation out of strength and not out of weakness. It is not possible to make any distinction between organised warfare and individual fighting. There must be an organised opposition and, therefore, even organised bloodshed, say in the case of bandits. The noblest warrior is he who stands fearless in the midst of immense odds. He then feels not the power to kill, but he is supremely triumphant in the knowledge that he has the willingness to die when by taking to his heels he might easily have saved his life. I do believe that we shall have to teach our children the art of self-defence. I see more and more clearly that we shall be unfit for Swaraj for generations to come, if we do not regain the power of self-defence. This means for me a re-arrangement of so many ideas about self-development and India's development.

I must not carry the point further than I have done today. You are an earnest seeker. I am most anxious that you should understand this new view of Ahimsa. It is not a fall but it is a rise. The measure of love evoked by this discovery is infinitely greater than ever it was before.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. Gandhi”

18-7-2018

A letter to Anandshankar:

"Sujna Bhaishri,

I have your letter. From your vast and varied study of philosophy, could you not find out a single remedy that would give you unalloyed happiness and absolution from all human sorrows such as those you mention illnesses and deaths of our dear ones, the stunning fall of a window of a railway carriage on our hand or the striking of our foot against a stone? Or is it only an expert physician that can give you the panacea? You may answer this question not now, but only when we meet together after your recovery. And the mill-workers are patient by nature and they can and will wait. (Sri. Anandshankar was the arbitrator). If you believe that prayers are answered, do please pray to God that your hand may speedily regain its old efficiency. Let me add that many of the workers have already begun to draw not 35% but 50% increase in their wages. Ambalalbhai (a mill-owner) has told me that he is going to whisper something into your ears. He has already done so to me, but it would be best if you hear it from his own lips.

Vande Mataram,

Mohandas"

Jagjivandas N. Mehta, poor man, came here (Nadiad Anathashram) and fell a victim to fever. His purse also was stolen before he left.

Bapu's letter:

"I was sorry to learn that your coat with your purse in it was stolen here. It has been with you something like, "When troubles come, they come not single spies but in battalions." There is certainly some thief among the residents in this Anathashram. There had been two or three previous cases. Somebody ought to have warned you, but it never entered into anybody's head to do so!

You must have completely regained your health by now, I presume. I was able to find time only today to write to Jivrajbhai. I send the letter herewith. You may, if you approve of it, forward it to him.

It was only this time that I had some inkling into the character of your business. The way you have procured money for starting it appears to me fraught with evil. If you think my advice worth listening to, I may say you must immediately wind up your business, return the amounts to the contributors and find out some service for yourself. I can never imagine that you would find it difficult to get an employment. And if you want to lead a life of simplicity, the Ashram doors are open. But the offer should not be taken as an inducement. You may, if you like, do what the world calls *purushartha* (manly effort – for money here), but that should be done only if you have your own money to begin with. The longer you delay in doing what you must, the greater you will have to repent in the end.

Man suffers because he invites suffering. That is the universal rule. But the deeper I understand the trammels of your family, the more clearly I see that you people provide a most glaring instance of the rule. I wish you stopped that self-inflicted suffering and were content with only those troubles that fell to your lot. You must not put on yourself a burden heavier than necessary and must keep all your dealings and contacts above board. Bapa (Father) crushes himself with miseries of his own making. When he is leading a religious life, why should he be so beset with greed? And why should you give him any encouragement in his craze?

We would be happier than the Gods on high, if only we are as eager to serve the commands of the Voice within us, as we are to tow the line with public opinion. Happiness is standing at our doors waiting for our invitation. But we are too blind to recognise its presence and we go out seeking for it hither and yon. But why should you be among those who make this futile and weary search?"

And this to his wife:

"Dear sister,

Your sorrow was an unbearable sight to me. And yet, I could trace lines of innocent cheerfulness on your face, which I could not either on Bapa's or in Jagjivandas's. That smile has captured my heart and has impelled me to write the above letter to Jagjivanbhai. I pray, both of you may read it again and again and ponder over it till it soaks in, and then, you may start your *purushartha* hand in hand. That letter is for both of you."

22-7-2018

To Dr. Mehta:

*"It was not without deep cogitation that I took in hand this recruiting campaign. The work is as difficult as it is capable of bearing great results, and can only be compared with that of breathing new life into dead bodies. Just the same the effort has but to be made. It seems that the public is getting very good training through the campaign. Can you spare Jamnadas for the work?"

To Punjabhai:

"Sujna Punjabhai,

What we have been taking for religion is not real religion. In the name of Ahimsa we are practising Himsa of an ugly type. Afraid of the very sight of blood, we are everyday drying up our own blood with fear. It is impossible for the (cowardly) bania to practise the sublime principle of Ahimsa. Religion does not mean dry renunciation or feeding ants with corn-flour, as is the practice with some Jains. There can neither be *moksha* (absolution), nor even the perception of the Indweller without over-coming our infatuation for the tabernacle. If you are convinced of this truth, and if you desire to have a glimpse of the right path to Self-realization, you must identify yourself with the Ashram. You may supervise the construction work now going on and replace Maganlal immediately. I know you will need an attendant, you can have Parasram, but Maganlal must be relieved anyhow, I see. But first you must withdraw into yourself and find out whether your mind and heart accept my suggestion. Only when its propriety is as clear and as undeniable to you as daylight, should you join the Ashram.

If you have seen the light from what I have said, you will enjoy great peace of mind in the Ashram work. If there is only a superficial acceptance, you will soon

get tired. You three – yourself, Fulchand and Maganlal – may confer over my suggestion. But first you must make sure of your own ground.

Bhagawatsmarana,[1]

from Mohandas"

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1. 'Remembrance of the Lord.' A term of greeting among the devout.

To Mr. Polak:

*"I am undergoing a revolution in my outlook upon life. As it seems to me, some old cobwebs are falling away. But of this when I have more time."

There was a letter from Govind Malaviya, youngest son of Pandit Malaviyaji. It showed his distrust of the Reform Scheme and questioned the propriety of co-operation with the Government and of Bapu's recruitment drive.

Bapu's reply:

"It was a delight to get a letter from you. We can and we must give vent to all our pent-up emotion before one whom we regard as our elder. You have done the right thing in writing to me. I do not know what atrocities are perpetrated by the Government in their recruiting campaign. But the more harrowing they are, the greater the need for me to take up that work in my hands.

The Montague-Chelmsford Scheme appears to me very good as a basis for later improvement. Its defects can be repaired by agitating against them. But whatever the merits of the Scheme, I am convinced that we must take an active part in fighting this war. We do not join the Army in order to confer an obligation on the British nation, but to serve our country under the conviction that it stands to gain by our step. What shall I say of the miserable condition of India? I see clearly that the immediate attainment of true Swaraj is not possible for her. I believe that our enrolment in the Army is thrice blessed. We will imbibe courage and heroism, learn something of the art of warfare and, by aiding in their hour of trial those whose partners we intend to be, prove ourselves all the fitter for being accepted as such. So what we must do is to resist their atrocities on the one hand and on the other to share in their troubles. I wish you gave this question a deep and quiet consideration. I suggest that you send this letter to Devdas and discuss the subject with him, who will explain my view at greater length.

Your well-wisher,

Mohandas Gandhi"

A letter on the Reform Scheme from Balwantrai Thakore (a Gujarati writer) framed in English. He makes some suggestions including that of opening a Military College. “Responsible Government, to use a violent image, is like marriage” he adds.

Bapu's reply:

“I have got your letter. I see the necessity of moving for the introduction of a Section in our Criminal Procedure Code, – when we have our own Parliament, of course – to the effect that ‘if any individual, hereinafter called the first party, talks with or writes to another individual, hereinafter called the second party, even though this second party knows the regional language of the first party, then the offender, i. e. the first party, shall be awarded six months' rigorous imprisonment at the minimum.’ Please be good enough to let me know your view on this bill and also what should be done to him who commits the offence during the pendency of Swaraj.

I understand your view as to how military expenditure could be reduced. But you are counting the chicken before they are hatched. That question (military expenditure) hangs upon the circumstances that prevail when we get Swaraj. "Is ‘the realization of responsible self-government through progressive Stages’, not the right pronouncement?” You ask. I too think that Swaraj is a process of transformation, but the question is of the speed of the process. And an engagement necessarily precedes marriage. In England, moreover, the period of courtship is often very long. So your simile of marriage seems inapt from both (the moderate and the extremist) points of view. Revolution means immediate and complete transformation in any condition of the country. Such metamorphosis in political conditions has in the past never been brought about by peaceful methods. So the expression ‘a peaceful revolution’ is a contradiction in terms. But what India wants is both peace and revolution i. e., immediate or revolutionary change in her political condition. The question, therefore, is how both these ends could be served?

(My method of Satyagraha gives the answer).

I can quite understand your request that your letters may not be made public use of, and your wishes shall be respected. But let us hope that after a short time the situation will change and make it no longer necessary for anybody (any Government servant) to write “Private” at the top of his envelope.

I am here in a village today for some inquiry. I had some time to spare, and what better use could I put it to than in spending it on a joke with you? There is still some

work to do and I am here for some time. Since you are still doubtful about the propriety of the Satyagraha struggle in Kaira, I invite you to come here and remove your doubts by personal inquiry. To my knowledge you are the only one, still left, whose doubts have not yet been quelled.

Vande Mataram,

Mohandas"

Bapu is having a sabbath here in Navagarn. Instead of flocking to him as before, people avoid seeing him. They are very much afraid of his recruiting campaign. Bapu, therefore, kept himself cheerful by effort through sallies like the one quoted above. From Vallabhbhai's report that even the letter to 'Wilson was being read by the people here, Bapu was reminded of Sir Subramaniyam. Hence this letter to him:

*"I hope you will not regard this letter as a presumption on my part. I had long felt that your language was unrestrained and not worthy of a *yogi*. Your charges have appeared to me to be in many respects reckless. In my humble opinion you would have rendered much greater service to the country than you have, if you had been as unscrupulously truthful as you have been frank and fearless. In you an unguarded and and uncharitable expression would be an untruth. Your politics are not of the demagogue. They are religious. I beseech you to give the country a pure example of an Indian gentleman. It is in your power to do so."

24-7-2018

Navagam. Letter from Vinoba (Vinoba Bhave) saying that as Maharashtrian teachers cannot bring Bapu's ideals perfectly to fruition in Gujarat, a school should be opened in Maharashtra itself in order to utilize fully their services.

Bapu's Reply:

Your thought-provoking letter. My ideal is exactly what you state it to be. It is also completely true that no other than a Gujarati teacher can realize my ideal for a school in Gujarat. But when such a Gujarati teacher is not available, the use of a Deccani teacher need not be ruled out. Even for Gujarati boys, I would any day prefer a Deccani teacher with high moral principles to a Gujarati one without them. At least, at present, it is difficult to procure Gujarati teachers who would follow my ways. If you go away, Sanskrit would have to be dropped from the subjects for study, or Kaka Kalelkar (also a Deccani) would have to be asked to revert to teaching it. That is the sad state of the Ashram at present. So the only course left is for you to continue teaching Sanskrit and follow the Ashram ideal as best you can.

It is my earnest desire – my longing even – to enter into Maharashtra, but the time is not ripe. I do not possess the necessary fitness for it. We have not with us a sufficient number of Maharashtrians for that purpose. But can it not be a part of the Divine Scheme that you and Kaka and Mama must come into my inner circle? My happy relationship with Deshpande (one of the foremost to open a national school), my faith in the Servants of India Society, my inordinate love, call it fascination if you like, for Maharashtra, the great help the Maharashtrians rendered me in Champaran, the arrival of the musical artiste for the Ashram from Maharashtra, the impending admission of Mr. Kotwal's sister into the Ashram, acquaintance with Bhai Narayan Rao – this whole chain of events is to my mind an augury of something remarkable to be done in Maharashtra at my hands some future day.

But, “If God did not dispose,

What human beings propose,

Each would kill his foe, his friend retain ...”[1]

So, with all my earnest aspiration for it, who knows what is hidden in the womb of time?[2]

I will bear in mind your desire, but I see its impracticability just at present. That you are a 100% Ashramite is beyond the possibility of a doubt.

– Bapu,

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1. Gujarati lines by Narasinh Mehta, a foremost saint-poet of Gujarat and regarded as the father of modern Gujarati poetry.

2. What an irony of fate that while it was a Maharashtrian who killed Gandhiji, it is also a Maharashtrian, this same Vinobaji, the addressee, who is the most famous example of Gandhiji's spiritual ideals !

"Chi. Devdas,

This letter makes painful reading for you. Bhai Sorabji[1] died in Johannesburg after a short but severe illness. We have indeed overcome the fear of death, more or less, but a death such as this cannot but be distressing. The hope entertained by all of us that Sorabji would be a shield of South African Indians against their troubles and achieve great things has been dashed to pieces. The whole community is sunk in gloom as cables from South Africa clearly indicate. God's ways are inscrutable. Action never evaporates into thin air. However trivial, it never fails to bear its fruit, good or bad. And what we call 'accidents' are really no accidents at all. Only to us, ignorant human beings, they appear as accidents. Nobody dies before his due time. And what is death, but only the final transformation of a material object – the body – which always undergoes changes? Death does not cause entire obliteration. The Self within – the soul – is immortal. It is only the physical encasement – the body—that undergoes transformation, but the Soul is immutable. All this knowledge is quite enough to enable us to be at peace with ourselves. But it is such incidents that plumb the depth of our assimilation of that knowledge. As for Sorabji, he has joined the hallowed galaxy of the immortals. All his acts in life have only heightened the glory of his country. If we always discharge our duties properly, his departure from our midst would be no cause for helpless regret. Bereavement ceases to leave us desolate when the death of our dear one only spurts us on to a more vivid consciousness of our duty."

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1. Sorabji Shapurji Adajania proved himself a first rate Satyagrahi in the South African Struggle. He had made a deep study of the principle of Satyagraha and could, therefore, be a valuable adviser during the progress of the fight. Gandhiji says that the characteristic traits of Sorabji's advice were quiet decision, politeness, generosity and sobriety. He was chosen as a fit Satyagrahi to receive a scholarship donated by Dr. Mehta after

the end of the fight. The idea was to enable him to proceed to England, study law, return a barrister and, thus equipped, step into the shoes of Gandhiji as a leader of the South African Indians. He knew Gokhale already in South Africa, but in England he came in closer contact and won Gokhale's heart outright. Gokhale had even pressed him to join the Servants of India Society. He returned to South Africa, set up his practice and also began to serve his community. His simplicity, his guilelessness and his sociability soon made him a popular figure loved by one and all. The sudden death of this young man, so loving and so promising, in the prime of his youth – he was only 35 then – was a great shock to Gandhiji, as is but natural.

25-7-2018

"Bhaishri Raojibhai,

You were wise in writing to me. You may ask me whatever you like when we meet, but it is your letter that calls for a written answer, and that helps you in thinking over your problem. There is not a shred of doubt in my mind that you are fully discharging your duties towards Manibhai (Raojibhai's father) as well as towards your family. In fact, it is this conviction which enables me to bear your separation. If you stayed with them, I believe, you would only spoil your own and their interests. You cannot do any good to Vimla, if you live in Sojitra and do what Manibhai wants you to. But your voluntary banishment from your home is an act of spiritual austerity for you which will develop your strength of character and will thereby enable you to render really good service to the members of your family. It is a genuine Satyagraha—not a quarrel—which you have started against Manibhai, and no Satyagraha can ever be a morally wrong action. It is not your hatred against Manibhai that keeps you away from him, but your love. It was out of love that Mirabai bid a good-bye to her husband, and it was love that impelled Buddhadeva to leave his beloved and devoted wife as well as his dear parents to start on a journey unto the Unknown. Shivabhai's case is at par with yours. Suppose you returned from the War, hale and hearty, might not the state of your family have improved by then? Might you not be fitter then than now to look after your children? Our object in going to the War is not to enable us to enjoy more worldly comforts afterwards, but to bring to an end our own and the country's misery. Even an error committed in such an attempt does not turn out (morally) harmful in the end.

It is impossible that a meeting with me would lead to your, or for that matter, anybody's peace of mind. There is bound to be turmoil so long as we are engaged in washing out all the dirt from our character. What we really ought to aim at is not an arid peace of mind, but an inner quiet in the midst of an outer upheaval. When we wash our clothes, we beat them against the washing stone, but we know that our act means cleanliness and are, therefore, happy about the act.

Vande Mataram,

Mohandas"

"Chi. Maganlal,

Raojibhai has alarmed you and so have I Raojibhai. He read into a sentence of mine more than was meant.

There has been no change in my ideals. I have passed through many a bitter experience since my arrival in India, and yet my views have not undergone any change. We have only very little to learn from the West. The rot that I happened to observe at various places in our country has not brought about any change in my fundamental convictions, nor has this War set me thinking afresh. Only what was hazy and latent has become clearer to my view. Nothing has, as yet, induced me to think that we must adopt Western civilization, nor have I seen the necessity of taking to hard drinks or non-vegetarian food. What has cut me to the quick is the perception that the teachings of Swaminarayan[1] and Vallabhacharya[2] have made us completely unmanly. They deprived men of their power of self-defence. It was certainly good that their followers gave up drinking, smoking etc. But such renunciation is not an ideal by itself, it is only a means. If a smoker is a man of good character, his helpful company should be sought and his virtues emulated, while a non-smoker right from his birth ought to be shunned, if he is a profligate. The love taught by Swaminarayan and Vallabhacharya is effeminate sentimentality. True love cannot grow out of it. They had not even an inkling of the true spirit of Ahimsa. Ahimsa[3] is the stabilization of the fleeting urges of the mind. Ahimsa has to be practised primarily in the relationship of one man with another, but there is not even a scent of this chief characteristic of Ahimsa in the writings of these two religious leaders. They were born during the dark periods of our history and they could not overcome the limitations of their environments. Their influence has spread most widely in Gujarat. Tukaram and Ramdas too were religious leaders, but they influenced Maharashtra quite differently. There is '*purushartha*' (manly endeavour) in abundance in the Abhangas[4] of Tukaram and the Shlokas[5] of Ramdas and they too were Vaishnavas. Let us not mix up the two and misunderstand the teachings of Vallabha and Swaminarayan as the same as those of Vaishnavism. The Vaishnava faith is much more ancient. I have now begun to see, what I did not till now, viz., there can be Ahimsa even in Himsa. That is the great change in my thinking. Formally I did not fully realize the duty of physically stopping a taper from committing an atrocious deed, or of giving a finishing drug to a dog suffering from a disease that tortured him or of killing a rabid dog. There is real Ahimsa in all this Himsa. Such Himsa pertains to the body, not the mind. *Brahmacharya* means overcoming our passion and that is our ideal, but we do not bring up our sons in a way that would make them impotent. That

is the state of brahmacharya wherein a man has conquered the sexual urge, even though he remains physically quite virile. In the same way our children must be physically very strong. If they cannot completely give up mental Himsa, they can be taught to imbibe real Ahimsa by letting them commit Himsa, i. e., by allowing them to use their fighting power. The message of Ahimsa has been proclaimed by Kshatriyas (warriors) and delivered to Kshatriyas, not to poltroons.

I adhere to the difference I have shown between the West and the East, and it remains a great difference. Western civilization is self-willed, ours self-restrained. If we commit violence, it will be only when it becomes unavoidable and ,its object will be *lokasangraha* (public weal). The West will commit violence in order to exploit others and without any self-restraint. It is not a departure from my old ways, if I take part in parliamentary and other such institutions. My work there is only along my old line; since it is aimed at keeping these institutions under proper restraint. If you read my article on the Montford Scheme, you will see this point confirmed in it. I am not—and I can never be—interested in such activities and schemes. But I can propagate my ideals by taking part in them. When the time came for me to choose between remaining in that activity at the cost of my ideals or giving it up, I decided to get away from it. I think this answers your doubts. I cannot spend more than a day with you and cannot explain everything in that time. Hence I have written all this for you to meditate over and to ask for greater clarification, if doubts still persist. I am staying here at Navagam for some time more. I wanted to leave the place to-day, but indications show that I can't."

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1. Swaminarayan flourished in the twilight stage of the 19th century and his sect is almost wholly confined to Gujarat.

2. Vallabhacharya, though an all-India religious leader, has perhaps the largest following in Gujarat.

3. Gandhiji defines Ahimsa here in the exact words which Patanjali uses to define Yoga.

4. Special forms of poetic expression.

5. Sanskrit Couplets.

29-7-2018

When Maganlalbhai went to Allahabad, he left the charge of the Ashram to Punjabhai.

Letter to him:

"Sujna Bhaishri Punjabhai,

You have come to a sound decision. Every *vritti* (ripple in the mind) as well as *pravritti* (activity, because it comes forth from *vritti*) aimed at the attainment of *paramartha* (the Highest Objective) is in reality *nivritti* (subsidence of *vritti*; i. e. serenity) and hence a step to Moksha (final beatitude).

To serve others is to make an attempt to attain *paramartha*, because it needs *purushartha* (spiritual endeavour) to draw away one's concentration from one's own little self and fix it on the good of others. Service of the Ashramites to the best of your capacity should give you boundless joy. There is no day when some one or other in the Ashram is not suffering from illness. To look after these invalids and cheer them up with your visits, to play with the kids and keep them happy and cheerful—in these and such other activities, no cause can arise for a quarrel or for uneasiness. It is only this way that a man can know (i. e., realize) the Self. With just a little experience you will see the truth of what I say. Do please make it a daily practice to sit by the bedside of Bhuvarji and other patients."

Wonderful letter from Principal Rudra: His son was appointed a Second Lieutenant in the War. His son-in-law got first class in tripos in Natural Science. Sudhir's splendid work. Rudra is happy over this series of joyful events and invites Bapu to share the joy of the family.

Reply:

*"Dear Mr. Rudra,

I thank you for letting me share your happiness. Sudhir is a brick. Yes, he is doing good work, and so are the other boys, each in his own line. It is a result of orderly training.

While you approve of my recruiting campaign, Charlie is fighting it out with me. He thinks it is just likely that I am deluding myself. He thinks that this activity of mine may injure my service to the cause of Ahimsa. I have taken it up to serve that

very cause. I know that my responsibility is great. It was equally great when I was under the supine feeling that recruiting was not my line. There was a danger of those who put faith in my words at becoming or remaining utterly unmanly, falsely believing that it was Ahimsa. We must have the ability in the fullest measure to strike and then perceive the inutility of brute force and renounce the power. Jesus had the power to consume his enemies to ashes, but he refrained and permitted himself to be killed for he so loved (etc.).

Yours sincerely,

M. K. Gandhi"

"My dear Kastur,

I know you are pining away for a stay with me, but I feel that things which we must do have got to be done, and at present you must stay there and not with me. There are so many children in the Ashram. If you be a mother to them, you will no longer feel the pain of separation from your sons. In the autumn of your life, the least you may do is to expand your love. The more you shower your love on the Ashramites and the more devotedly you serve them, the greater will grow the fount of joy springing from within you. You must make it a rule to see the sick early in the morning and attend on them. You may yourself prepare the special diet that each may require or see that it is prepared. Then there are the Deccani sisters. You must mingle with them freely, fondle their children, take them for a walk with you, in short, do everything to create the impression in their minds that they are not kept out of your circle. You must also see that they gain in health.

You can moreover profit by Nirmala's company. Religious and other elevating talks will help you both. You can make her read Bhagwata[1] to you. She will enjoy the reading herself. If you thus engross your mind in the service of others, you will always feel happy and cheerful, I assure you. And, above all, you must see that Punjabhai is comfortably provided with as regards his food and lodging in the Ashram.

Mohandas"

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1. A devotional-cum-philosophical treatise dealing with the exploits of Lord Krishna.

A letter to C. F. Andrews:

*"My dear Charlie,

I must indulge myself again. I begin to perceive a deep meaning behind the Japanese reluctance to listen to the message of the prophet from a defeated nation. War will be always with us. There seems to be no possibility of the whole human nature becoming transformed. Moksha and Ahimsa are for individuals to attain. Full practice of Ahimsa is inconsistent with the possession of wealth, land or rearing of children. There is real Ahimsa in defending my wife and children even at the risk of striking down the wrongdoer. It is perfect Ahimsa not to strike him but intervene to receive his blows. India did neither on the field of Plassey. We were a cowardly mob warring against one another, hungering for the (East India) Company's silver and selling ourselves for a mess of pottage. So have we remained, more or less—more rather than less—upto today. There was no Ahimsa in their miserable performance, notwithstanding examples of personal bravery and later corrections of the exaggerated accounts of those days. Yes, the Japanese reluctance was right. I do not know sufficiently what the fathers of old did. They suffered, I expect, not out of their weakness, but out of their strength. The *rishis* of old stipulated that their religious practices were to be protected by the *Kshatriyas*. Rama protected Vishwamitra from the Rakshasas disturbing his meditations. He could later on dispense with this protection. I find great difficulties in recruiting, but do you know that not one man has yet objected because he would not kill? They object because they fear to die. The unnatural fear of death is ruining the nation. For the moment I am simply thinking of the Hindus. Total disregard of death in a Mohammedan lad is a wonderful possession.

I have not written a coherent letter today, but I have given you indications of my mental struggles.

Do you know that Sorabji is dead? He died in Johannesburg. A life full of promise has come to an abrupt end. The ways of God are inscrutable.

With deep love,

Yours,

Mohan"

To Devdas:

"It is all very well and delightful to live in a village in summer, but the question is whether it would be equally so in monsoon. For a fastidious man like myself, it would be a trial to go in that season from one place to another in a village. My repugnance for uncleanliness is heightening. If the latrine is even slightly dirty, I would feel uneasy. Even here, as I go out in open but quite secluded spots to ease myself, I carry with me a shovel. I dig a pit and after using it fill it up with the dug-out earth and only then return. I see that the neglect of this simple rule causes innumerable diseases and breeds millions of flies. And I also see that those who have not my nausea for unclean habits can quite enjoy village life even in monsoon. Last night two groups of devotional singers came to me. Their instruments must have cost them from 5 to 10 rupees only. There were *dholaks*, *manjiras*, *kartals*, and one-stringed tambours. With these simple and cheap instruments they created a heaven of delightful music. All their hymns sang only Sri-Krishna's glory. His unfailing supply of clothing to Draupadi (to save her honour). His infliction of humiliation on the proud prince Duryodhana by refusing to accept the latter's invitation to a princely entertainment, his preference to go self-invited to the low-caste Vidura and enjoy leafy vegetables that were immediately available, and other remarkable incidents of His life have been woven into poetry in such simple and sweet language that they cannot but wing the singer and the listeners to exalted heights of love and devotion. But why this exuberant outpouring of devotion for Sri Krishna? To me at least it seems that this extraordinary veneration must have arisen owing to His heroic spirit and benevolent and sympathetic heart. It was because of His pre-eminent powers that the small state of the Pandavas won the laurels of victory, the wicked Kauravas were destroyed and the suppressed subjects heaved a sigh of relief from tyranny. That was why poets were inspired to sing of His exploits and He became one of the Immortals. While He did not cringe to Duryodhana whose power and pelf could not tempt Him, He, the King of Dwaraka, heartily relished the few grains of rice presented to Him by the destitute Sudama, His brother-disciple long long years ago. That shows the vast expanse of His love and simplicity. In the depiction of the life of Sri Krishna, the poet has the last word in poetic and spiritual beauty. There is no doubt that a man of His profound intelligence and wisdom did really live in the past. I wish you could read the whole Mahabharata in its original language, Sanskrit. The perusal will give you that superb delight which I have been deprived of. But what have been doing? I began with village life and glided into the life of Sri Krishna! Last night's haunting music carried me away into the reflection on His life. To me it was

more charming than even our own Ashram music, as it was at once spontaneous and melodious. It was not loud music besides. The *dholak* etc. were played softly. The full moon provided an ethereal background. We were all sitting under a tree. They all wore rustic dresses, were squatting upon simple gunny-bag sheets and were peasants to the core. They had sweated the whole day and had then gathered for innocent and elevating recreation through God's remembrance. I addressed one of them and said, “Brother, you seem to be steeped in this enjoyment.” He said, “What better thing could we do, sir? Instead of wasting our time in idle talk, we use it in hymns and group singing.” They belonged to the Baraiya community and as such they would be usually looked down upon as boors, but they were not so in the least. They might be regarded as unlettered but certainly they were not uncultured. I felt that if the educated class identified itself with them and infused a new spirit, they were capable of proving themselves equal to any task they might be entrusted with. They have real knowledge par excellence. But we must know how to harness their energies. We are, however, like carpenters who quarrel with their tools. The letter has now grown fairly long. Send it to Manilal when you have done with it. I dont know when next I shall be able to write such a long letter. Today there is some time to spare and my brain is filled with thoughts, which I emptied partly. I could be said to have made you a partner of my heritage, if you too felt from this letter something of my joy last night. Just as we claim for a share in government from the British, so, if I could give you some share of what I have got, I would be released from my (moral) debt.

Blessings,
Bapu”

29-7-2018

Nadiad

"Bhaishri Kishorilal,

This letter is for you and Bhai Narhari. Whatever the gravamen of the charge, if any, of Bhai Narayanrao, re. want of emotional integration between the Gujaratis and the Deccanis in our Ashram, it is our duty to reform ourselves and remove the grievance. Ours is a field for the practical application of Ahimsa. The first step you must take is for you all to confer together and find out how far the accusation is justified. Our Gujarati women must make conscious and strenuous attempts to mix freely with their Deccani sisters in the Ashram. But the most essential thing is for the Gujarati children to be entirely free from any prejudice or discrimination against the Deccani children and chum up with them. You need not make a scare of what I say, but you must give it a quiet consideration and do the needful.

As regards your view about the prayers I submit this point for you to think over: We should not be so over-conscious of our inability as to make it impossible for us to undertake any work at all. Let us start the work of teaching with the capacity we possess and, by effort, go on removing the defects that we may come to detect in us. What would I do, with my little knowledge of Sanskrit, if it happens that I am required to teach it? I know quite well that it is a misuse of the word to call my knowledge of Sanskrit as 'knowledge'. But in the absence of an abler teacher, I would certainly take up the work and go on improving my grasp of the subject. It was this way that Parnell learnt up the intricacies of the procedure of the House of Commons and became a foremost leader of the Irish Opposition. But you always think only of your inability and are afraid to begin anything. Don't you think you would feel happier, if you employ in any work that falls to your lot all the capacity you possess and finish it the best way you can?

How should children be trained to gain strength and power? It appears, it is a very tough problem to teach them to defend themselves without their becoming aggressive and insolent. Till now they were only asked to meekly bear with any body's assault. Can the same teaching be given now? What would be the psychological effect of such advice? Would they grow to be brave and forgiving or turn out cowards? I confess the poverty of my intelligence to get at the right answer, and I wish you to use your brains in the matter. I must admit I am caught up in the tangle of various thorny questions of this sort arising from my perception of this new facet of Ahimsa. I have

not been able to discover a single master-key to all these intricate problems and that key has got to be found out. Should we ask our boys to give two slaps in return for the one given to them? Or should our boy be taught to bear with a slap from a weaker boy, but resist stronger one and dare to suffer severer thrashing? What should be done by a man when a government official beats him? When our boy is beaten should he bear the blows quietly and afterwards seek our advice? Or should he do what he thinks best then and there? And then bear the consequences whatever they be of his own independent thinking? These troublesome quandaries arise in the mind when we discard the old royal road in Ahimsa of turning the other cheek. But is this old way the right answer simply because it is the easier advice to give? Or shall we discover the correct solutions of these problems only when we venture to take untrodden paths of thinking which are necessarily beset with dangers and possible falls? Numerous streaks of foot-tracks verging in different direction—with some of them appearing to go even downward—meet the eye from the base of a Himalayan peak. But an experienced guide takes us right to the top through many ascents and descents. You can never reach the top of any hill through a straight and ever ascending track. Can the path to perfect Ahimsa be equally full of troubles and trials and rises and falls? Save me! O God! Save me!

Vande Mataram,

Mohandas."

*"My dear Millie,

Sorabji is no more. A cable has just arrived from Johannesburg giving the sad news. There is nothing striking about this death. Many like Sorabji have died before and now. But Sorabji has played such an important part in our lives that his sudden death comes like a rude shock. It is only one's faith in the indestructibility of energy and continuity of effort that reconciles one to activity in life. An event is a shock when we do not understand its purpose and its reasonableness. But in God's plan, I suppose, there is nothing unreasonable and nothing purposeless."

*"Dear Mr. Shastriar,

Thakore has just arrived. He tells me, you were again down with illness. You need a cruel doctor who would mercilessly order a complete fast and water treatment. But you can expect nothing but licenced murders from that most empirical of professions. Whenever I hear of your illness, I feel like shooting some doctor or other but my Ahimsa comes in the way. Happily for you and India, I have no parliamentary ambition. Otherwise I should introduce a Bill disqualifying people getting continuously ill from membership.

Here is a cable from Polak. I cannot understand its full significance. But I suppose there is no danger of the Scheme being rejected by the country."

31-7-2018

Nadiad

"Chi Manilal,

There is no letter from you for some time past. I am sending herewith a letter from Mr. Sam for your perusal and consideration. Whetever be his fault, I am afraid, you have unnecesarily vented your wrath on him and even exhibited strong ill-feeling. What I do not like is not the fact of your attempt to preserve your right, but the peremptory method of incivility you employed. You could have saved yourself from anger even while insisting on having the management in your hands. None of them (Sam and Mr. West) has gained in money by their stay with us. Nor has anyone of them misappropriated any amount. And what crime has Devibehn (sister of Mr. West), of all persons, committed? That Mr. West as well as Mr. Sam have lost the means to educate their children is an extremely unhappy result. I feel you have made them the scapegoat of your resentment against me. You have ceased even to visit them. You must never do like that. I think you must beg their pardon—but only if you see the propriety of the step yourself, not in order to please me. It will appear to me nothing but quite the right thing to do for you, if you insist on maintaining your independence in any work you take up. I believe I have given you many reasons for getting bitter against me. I wish you will forgive me for my acts. I ordered you about from one place to another and your regulareducation was put on the shelf. But you can forgive me from your heart only if you really feel that all this was unavoidable. I have spent my whole life in a struggle to know myself, and to find out what my duty really is. My work has been crowned with success and has conferred laurels on me, because I have put into practice whatever I believed, and have thus been saved from many a blunder. But on superficial thinking, on looking at my work from the worldly point of view, I have indeed spoiled your interests and done you harm. Just as I became myself the victim of my spiritual experiments, so did Ba and you, the sons. But Ba has seen the wisdom of my experiments, and so has earned a superior kind of wealth which no other woman possesses. You have not yet completely understood the propriety of my action, and hence there remains a sense of grievance in your mind and consequent bitterness of feeling. I still maintain now as before that no father could have discharged his duty towards his sons and served them as well as I have. I made you partners and inheritors of my spiritual experiences. What more can a father do? I could have become exclusive, ploughed a solitary furrow in the field of the search for truth and left you all

to follow the ways of the world. Had I done so, no connecting link between us would have remained, and ours would have been the same plight as of the sister whose name is Gokibehn. For myself, I could have done nothing else than what I have done, because I would have stuck to the search for truth and you would have been thrown out of the path, an eventuality not at all good for you. If you ponder over what I have stated here in a quite detached mood, you will succeed in allaying your present resentment against me. You may take a leaf out of Harilal's book. There has been a parting of the ways between him and me. Harilal's life is now totally cut off from mine. The father-and-son relationship could be said to really exist only when the lives of both are attuned to each other and each is a help and a prop of the other. I cannot now take any interest in Harilal's life and he cannot in mine. But he is more sinned against than sinning, because what leads his intellect astray is his *karma* (fate which is the resultant of the deeds of previous lives). I have no ill-feeling for Harilal, but the fact remains that the tie that used to bind us together has been snapped, and the sweetness of the relationship between father and son lost. But that is how in many cases the worldly life rumbles along. The only extraordinary feature in my case is the fact that I could not attract Harilal to my path of a truth-seeker and he dropped away from it. Out of sheer foolishness Harilal has thrown away about 30,000 rupees of his employer; has given in writing a statement that stains his name and has lost his job. He is not in jail simply because the world considers him my son. You have continued to align yourself with my way of life, but with an attitude of dissatisfaction. You think you cannot afford to get out of it, but you do not fully like to be in it. That is why you are fidgety. If you can somehow persuade yourself to be content with your walk of life, you can gain the peace of mind which, at present, you have not. It is certain that I have not intentionally spoiled your chances. Whatever I have done about you has been done out of the conviction that I was doing the right thing for you. Is this fact not enough to remove your grudge against me? I have been only pleased at the frank avowal of your views. The whole management must now have come into your hands, I suppose."

"My dear Kastur,

Your sorrow is my sorrow. Were it possible to take women with me, I would have certainly asked you to join me. But why should you feel so out of sorts at the idea of my physically going away from you? We have learnt how to remain happy even in separation. Moreover, if God wills, we will meet again. There are many good things to do in the Ashram, and if you concentrate on them you are certain to feel happy."

Nadiad

31-7-2018

*My dear Devi,

What a tragedy this death of Sorabji! I was feeling most comfortable about South Africa and hoping that now that Sorabji was there all would be well. My hopes have come to nothing.

I do not know what you all think of my recruiting activity. I am working all the time at it, my argument is briefly this: India has lost the power to strike. She must learn to strike before she can voluntarily renounce the power of striking. She may never renounce. Then she will be as bad as West, or better still the modernists. Today she is neither. The ancients in India knew the art of warfare—the art of killing—and yet reduced the activity to a minimum, and taught the world that it is better to refrain than to strike. Today I find that everybody is desirous of killing, but most are afraid of doing so or powerless to do so. Whatever is to be the result, I feel certain that the power must be restored to India. The result may be carnage. Then India must go through it. Today's condition is intolerable.

Yours,

Bhai"

6-8-2018

Letter re. the Ali brothers from their lawyer Mr. Ghate, requesting Bapu to pay a short visit to Mataji (their mother).

Bapu's Reply:

*"Dear Mr. Ghate,

Please assure Mataji as also our friends that I am leaving no stone unturned to secure a quick but perfectly honourable release. I know everything about Mr. Mohammad Ali's illness. And I wish I could hasten the discharge even on that ground. But I hate to go on making appeals to the Government till we lose their respect for us. I take it that in due course they (Mr. Mohammad Ali and friends) will get copies of my correspondence with Sir William Vincent through Mr. Shueb. Sir William talks of a tribunal of inquiry. I do not want to boycott it. Before throwing in a very big agitation I want to give the Government every opportunity of a proper and decent retreat. I hope the Brothers will, if called upon, appear before the Committee. Should, however, an agitation become necessary I shall certainly interview the Mataji before embarking upon it. I suppose that is what she desires.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. Gandhi"

A resolution was passed at a meeting held in Dhulia that a split in the Congress is suicidal. Dr. Dev's brother wrote a letter in support of the resolution while forwarding it.

Bapu's answer:

*"Dear Mr. Dev,

I have your resolution about the threatened split. I do think we are overvaluing a mechanical and unnatural unity. If there are two separate parties representing two different policies, why should they not have their separate and distinct platforms? Each may press its own policy for the country's acceptance. The people can only gain thereby. If one party goes stronger than another, the advent of Swaraj will not be retarded. If either is feeble or half-hearted, we should suffer and we shall deserve it too. The remedy lies in both becoming strong and firm. At the present moment there

is so much hypocrisy among us. This corrupts the people. No one will be deceived by a patched-up peace between the different sections.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. Gandhi"

"Chi. Santok,

How is it that Rukhi falls ill off and on? I know she was born weak, but the fact only means that greater care should be taken after her. Bringing up children is a great art. The parents have to practise austere vows and great self-denial. But even at the cost of all that trouble, I wish you made your children hale and hearty. I have already written to you that if you think the absence of turmeric is at the root of Rukhi's trouble, you may certainly introduce it in your diet or at least in the one prepared specially for her. If you can build her body thereby, we can give turmeric to others also. I wish you to make your children strong and healthy, even if you have to use some other condiments besides turmeric. Personally I think that Rukhi falls ill because she overfills her stomach or takes substances that do not agree with her. When she is convalescent, it will, I think, accelerate her recovery to full health, if she is given principally milk, rice and vegetables. For some time at least I fear she will not be able to digest wheat-bread. This is, of course, my own view. But your experience of her is certainly more reliable and has to be followed. All I wish is that somehow you must make her grow into a girl with an iron constitution.

Blessings,

Bapu"

"Chi. Ramnandan,

I have your letter. I can give you the railway fare for going to home only by debiting it to your account. I will send you the return fare, if I can get it from the recruiting officers when you are called. I cannot ask you to come back before the government calls you. You were present yourself at the talk on Shyamji's case. Though I can understand your desire, I feel that saddling the Ashram with the burden of your travelling expenses is bad in principle. I feel that no one who wants to continue the attitude and dealings of a worldly man should be admitted into the Ashram. But neither do I like to say 'no' to you nor to pay your travelling expenses. That is how I am on the horns of a dilemma. You alone can help me out of it. If you desire to go under conditions stated above, you may show this letter to Fulchandbhai who will give you your fare for going home."

"Bhaishri Pranjivan,

I began reading your article on vaccination today. I have almost finished it though some part has yet to be read. The article is rather too long. Unnecessary references have often been given. With all that the article shows deep study and labour and is valuable. You have given an excellent idea of the numerous sacrifices of children's lives made at the altar of a superstitious insistence on getting them vaccinated. But you could have given a still more impressive view of the horror. One Goddess of small-pox has been laid aside, but another and a more terrible one has raised her head. Your article must be printed as a pamphlet and sent to every municipality. If, in order to make it more useful to the public, you can cut off parts of it and shorten the article, or if you can write another smaller one giving your views in brief and if you give me permission to print it, I wish to propagate your view. If you can write an original but short article in Gujarati also, we will print it for circulation. I will complete the reading of your article either today or tomorrow, but I saw the need of sending the above suggestion immediately and hence this letter.

Please send me just now a few copies of this article. I want to send them to several doctors to get their opinions.

Vande Mataram,

Mohandas"

*"My dear Charlie,

I shall be good this time and not accuse you of crimes against the laws of God and man regarding health. But there is no doubt that you need a curator euphemistically called a nurse. And how I should like to occupy that post! If you cannot have a nurse like me who would make love to you but at the same time enforce strict obedience to doctors' orders. You need a wife who would see that you had your food properly served, that you never went out without an abdominal bandage and who would not allow you to over-worry yourself about bad news of the sickness of relatives. But marriage is probably too late. And not being able to nurse you myself I can only fret. I can do better if I pray and that is precisely what I am going to do. He must keep you well and free from harm, so that you may glorify Him in your strength, if such be His will.

I am quietly settling down to my task as if it was the most natural for me. The side issues do puzzle me but I shall soon cease to think about them. They are not before me for immediate solution. My life has never been fashioned thus. I have always declined to work out to my satisfaction all the possible deductions. I have taken up things as they have come to me and always in trembling and fear. I did not work out the possibilities in Champaran, Kheda or Ahmedabad, nor yet when I made an unconditional offer of service in 1914. I fancy that I follow His will and no other and He will lead me 'amid the encircling gloom.' It delights my heart to know that the Poet is himself teaching the boys. For me it is worth far more than his visit to America and I equally enjoy the idea of your sharing that burden of his. May God bless you both and keep you well. Do please convey my respects to Borodada.[1]

With love,

Yours,

Mohan"

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1. Elder brother in Bengali. Here Rabindranath Tagore's elder brother Dwijendranath, who was himself a great philosopher.

7-8-2018

Bapu's letters these days are a clear evidence of his eagerness for the well-being of one and all., Here is a fresh testimony :

*“My dear Hanumantrao,

I am sorry about your health. I know that the greatest desideratum is exercise. And when there is little exercise, the food ought to be low, free from much nitrogen and fat. Wheat, fruit, rice and vegetables – these ensure good health. They may fail to give vigour. The latter when wanted can be acquired by adding pulses including groundnuts. Can you not go to Bangalore or the Nilgiris? If you can but get invigorating climate you will soon pick up. Baths and mental rest will do something for you, but will not give you the original frame. You ought yet to grow.

Devdas tells me you have been very good to him. I know he will miss you when you go away. Take a Hindi book with you in preference to any other literature. Do write to me after you get the change wherever it is.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. Gandhi”

Shankarlal's telegram to Anasuyabehn. Petit has been made the Chairman of the Congress. Gandhiji must be persuaded to attend.

Bapu's letter to Shankarlal:

“I have read your wire to respected Behn (Anasuyabehn). I wish you did not worry over me so much. It is your love that impels you to urge my attendance. The sole reason for my attendance or absence will be the good of the country. If I keep away it will never be in a huff or out of anger. Are you prepared to press for my attendance even though I feel certain that the country will be better served by my absence?"

9-8-2018

Bapu began to go through Manilal Nabhubhai's works. He has already finished 'Kanta'. "The play is good," he remarked, "it shows powers of imagination, but there is an atmosphere of English literature about it and one hears echoes of one English piece or another. Tarala, for instance, resembles a character in an English play. One is reminded of Richard III or Macbeth – the former specially."

For 3 hours he continued his stroll on the evening of the 8th. Durga (Mrs. Mahadevbhai) joined him in the walk and he indulged in light talk with her: "You can keep pace with me, an old man now. But when I was in Africa and England I used to walk much faster but English girls beat me even then!" Then after some further walk he asked, "What do you think of the attitude of…….?" Our discussion in answer to this question, continued for 3 quarters of an hour. Then in one word he summed it up and called the attitude one of 'surrender'. The talk then drifted to Coates (a friend in South Africa); from it he recalled the incident of his being kicked by a policeman in front of the President Kruger's house. That led him to speak about Kruger himself. Bapu had a very high opinion for him. I compared Bismark's photo with that of Kruger. Immediately Bapu spoke out: "Can there be any comparison between the two? Bismark was vanity and cruelty incarnate and cherished the ambition of conquering the world! Kruger on the other hand was content to hold his own against a mighty power, but for that achievement he left no stone unturned. Nobody can approach him in fearlessness and tenacity of purpose. You can see strength of will depicted on the face in his photograph, but the lines of gentle nature are equally distinct." Then came the comparison with Gladstone's photograph. "His features do not indicate the iron resolution of Kruger. And how simple Kruger was! His house was an apology for one. The railings of the balcony on the first floor cried out for repairs and the building itself was weaker even than the Anathashram we have put up in. And there was nothing much to say of the street on which it stood, except that it was not a dusty pathway. He spent his whole life in extraordinary heroism. And what a terror Bismark inspired! But to Kruger the most insignificant man had an access for a free talk. Only the last action of his life I have not been able to understand. I mean his departure to England to ask for aid."

The talk turned: "I have often wished to tell you one thing, but I haven't. When you refer to me in any of your letters you must not use the word 'Mahatma.' There is no insult to me in avoiding the word. Even to Brijkishore Babu you must not write of

me as 'Mahatmaji,' no matter if any other use, say 'Gandhiji,' looks incivil and odd. 'Mahatma' smacks of over-modesty on the part of a 24 hour's colleague. Moreover, the word will certainly jar upon outsiders' ears."

Dayaljibhai came on a visit. In the morning Bapu had a twelve miles' walk. He wrote to the Viceroy for the removal of restrictions which the Arms Act impose:

This extract gives the essence of what he wrote:

*"I must not conceal from His Excellency the thoughts that well up within me. I meet these helpless men and women who were not always so utterly devoid of the martial spirit. I think that this condition must cause much searching of hearts among high-souled Englishmen." A letter of strong condemnation from Fulchandbhai (the Satyagrahashram accountant). The incurring exorbitant expenses of the Ashram are roundly denounced. The weaving department the school etc. have devoured large amounts with practically no results. The inmates are not resolute in following up the ideals of the Ashram, the teachers are not mature and well-balanced in judgment and are not sufficiently strong in character. The Ashram activities deserve a ruthless contraction.

Bapu's reply:

"It is good you have written. I wanted your criticism. Rather, you should have spoken out earlier. Your criticism is largely true. But if there had been no Ashram full of faults as it is, no national work would have been done. The Ashram offers an attraction to good men to join it. The mistakes which the Ashram has so far committed prove that even good men have many faults. Had there been no Maganlal, there would have been no Ashram. His defects are only an evidence of my own. I too am still a novice, a learner, and I have often said so in perfect honesty and awareness. The activities of the Ashram are at once my hobby and a field of my experiments (of truth). Scrapping and reforming are essential features of all experiments but only that way can we trace the source of all existence and it is only the seeker who can find. If persons like you do to the Ashram what oxygen does to the human body, the effect of the existence of carbonic acid gas in the Ashram body will be nullified. That gas is certain to be formed but it will be purified by the oxygen supplied by such as you.

As with the individual self (pinda) so with the universe (brahmanda). This is the Law. If you speak out to Maganlal and the teachers as frankly as you have done to me,

things will be straightened out. I only wish you did not get fed up with the Ashram. If your criticism steels your heart and impels you to gird up your loins to free the Ashram from all impurities, it will prove to be a blessing, since it will be constructive and fruitful. It should not dishearten you in any way.

We are not going to make any library now. The construction of the school-building is still a fat cry. I wish to be content at present with only the hostel building. In the weaving shed itself, we will build room to accommodate ourselves. I see the impossibility of doing away with the expenses after the teachers. But we will not have new teachers now except one or two whose addition seems to me necessary. Weaving and agriculture were introduced because the construction work was still going on. I am not at all sorry that we bought a very large piece of ground, but what pains me is our work in the weaving section. Its accounts must be like Caeser's wife above suspicion and so must its supervision be perfect. But that is exactly why Maganlal has been sent out.

Introduction of the Weaving of *dhotis* and *saries* is absolutely essential because they are prime necessities and among the buyers there are poor persons also. Besides, you can never make others totally ignore their sense of art and beauty. We are not going to neglect Khadi in any way. Our ambition is rather to recruit every weaver for our work. In this attempt some money may have even to be wasted.

This is only a cursory letter. I only wanted to show you the other side of the shield, besides the one you see. Both of us are right. Even a single man of high character can tilt the balance in favour of the Ashram's merits. I wish you cultivated that strength of character and used it for the Ashram's improvement.

We are certainly going to correct whatever is wrong about us and close that activity altogether which has deteriorated beyond repair. So was it done in South Africa and so in Champaran. We will not hesitate to do the same thing here, if we find it necessary. I have written away so much and yet so much remains to talk over!

Vande Mataram,

Mohandas”

To Deodhar:

*"Miss Winterbottom is an old lady of high culture. She takes a prominent part in many ethical movements. But, of course, Polak will be your guide, friend and philosopher. He will take you to all the Englishmen I know politically. Lest he forgets, remind him to take you to the Polytechnic, Barnardo's Home and allied institutions. Some of these at close quarters you may not quite like. You will, of course, approach them all with a critical eye. All is not gold that glitters. I wish you safe voyage, pleasant sojourn and a safe return.

I hope Mrs. Deodhar is better.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. Gandhi"

A long detailed letter to a man who had asked Bapu's advice on dietary:

"You will find answers to many of your questions, for instance, what fruits to take, if you read my book again. Experiments on the use of oil etc. are difficult to undertake. My experience tells me that not more than half an oz. of any oil should be taken. Olive oil is not available in these parts. Sesame oil (til oil) can be used instead, but while olive oil is entirely harmless, the former is not quite so. Dates and groundnuts are certainly difficult to digest but taken together with other dishes in a mean they can do us good. Almonds must be taken very sparsely. Many milk-products are not good for digestion. Groundnuts taken with guava etc. are fairly substantial but there is no good substitute for almonds. It is true that wheat is in a way a fruit, but in my book I have used the word 'fruit' in a limited sense and have taken care to give a definition of what I mean by 'fruit'. I may have written in it something about fruits being superior to vegetables, but I see that in India vegetables have to be taken. Pulses are hard to digest. Greater experience here shows me that for India the best diet is wheat and vegetables, but those who have to undergo strenuous physical labour may take pulses also. My opposition to the use of milk as spiritually harmful stands good, but in view of its merits as a tonic and of Indian conditions I think it impossible for us to give it up. For many years past I have myself ceased to take milk. In fact, I have taken a vow not to use it till death. But I cannot advise others to give up milk so long as I cannot find out an equally healthy and nourishing substitute. I had hoped that sesame seeds (til)

and groundnuts taken together would prove to be as good as milk – and in some respects they have – but, I find, they are defective in some essentials.

This is my advice to you. If you are keeping good health, you may take wheat, milk, rice etc. for your usual dietary and during the fasts of the eleventh[1] you may sustain yourself only on easily available fruits. You should also fast whenever your system gets out of order. As a daily physical exercise, you must go out for at least a 10 miles' walk in the early morning.

But one question has been left out still. It is much better to simply chew the seeds, like sesame seeds etc., than use the oils extracted from them. There is a likelihood of harm to the system if you take substances that contain more than one oz. of grease in all. Instead of giving up salt altogether I should advise you to drop it from your meals for two or three months in a year. I have begun to use salt for the last three days and am watching its effects. If you write to me, say after a month or two, I will let you know my experience.

Yours,

Mohandas"

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1. Hindu custom enjoins a fast on the eleventh day of both the bright half and the dark half of every lunar month.

After finishing the letter Bapu remarked, "It seems I must publish a supplement to my book "Guide to Health". I do not wish that everyone should read my book. I see that many readers misuse it. ……." "Thoreau excels Emerson. I see milk-and-water expressions in Emerson, whereas every sentence of Thoreau is an electric charge. His "Duty of Civil Disobedience" deserves to be read religiously every day. Our interest does not slacken even after a thousand readings."

10-8-2018

Telegram from Surendranath Banerji[1]:

*"Present political situation and attendance or abstention Special Session of Congress require special consideration and urgent decision. Invite your presence in Calcutta on 16th August at private conference of leaders different provinces."

Bapu sent a wire and the following letter in reply:

*"Dear Mr. Banerji,

I have your telegram redirected from Ahmedabad to where I am at present engaged in recruiting. A visit to Calcutta means at least a week simply in going and coming back. If I am to do my work at all satisfactorily, it is impossible for me to absent myself for such a long time, and at the present moment I dare not do so, for I have just heard from the Government that they have acceded to my proposal to open a training depot in Gujarat and to form a Gujarat Company. You will agree that I cannot leave this work.

But even if I could have come, I do not know that I would have rendered much assistance. I hold strong, and probably, peculiar views not shared by many of the leaders. I implicitly believe that if we were to devote our attention exclusively to recruiting, we should gain full responsible government in a year's time, if not sooner. And instead of allowing our utterly ignorant countrymen to enlist *nolens volens*, we should get an army of Home Rulers who would be willing soldiers, with the knowledge that they would be soldiering for the sake of the country, I do at the same time believe that we should declare our opinion about the Montague Chelmsford Scheme in unequivocal terms, we should fix the minimum of our demands and seek to enforce them at all costs. I consider the Scheme to be good in its conception. It requires much modification. We should have no difficulty in arriving at a unanimous conclusion. I should like a party in the country that would be simply pledged to these two

propositions, helping the government on the one hand in the prosecution of the war, and enforcing the national demand on the other.

I do not believe that at a critical moment like this we should be satisfied with a patched-up truce between the so-called Extremist and the so-called Moderates each giving up a little in favour of the other. I should like a clear enunciation of the policy of each group or party and naturally those who by the intrinsic merit of their case and ceaseless agitation make themselves a power in the land will carry the day before the House of Commons.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. Gandhi"

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1. A great Bengali leader and orator.

After this letter was finished I asked him if this same view of the situation has been submitted by him before all leaders (Moderates as well as Extremists) and in the same words. He replied, “Certainly. I have gone so far as to say to the Extremists, even if you can do only as much as I suggest, you need not mind if the Moderates abstain from attending the Congress.”

11-8-2018

Note from Prof. Jevons entitled “India's Part in the War.” He proposes increment in taxes in general and salt tax in particular. He also suggests that there should be unity in India to help it prosecute the war vigourously.

Bapu's reply:

*“Dear Prof. Jevons,

I have gone through your note. I like it in the main. We should supply as many men as may be needed and this, not through the official agency, but by Home Rule organisations. If we do this we have Home Rule. I do not agree with your financial side. The comparison between England and India is hopelessly misleading. England can afford. India is poverty-stricken. A few have enriched themselves during the war. But the masses? I have come in the closest touch with them in Kaira and Champaran. They have nothing. In Kaira the exorbitant demands of the Government have impoverished a people who were once rich and powerful. In Champaran the planters have sucked the life-blood out of the people. You talk of a rise in the salt tax and send a shudder through my body. If you knew what is happening to the people owing to the tax you would say, ‘Whatever else is done the tax must go today’. It is not the heaviness of it which oppresses, but the monopoly has artificially raised the price of salt and today the poor find it most difficult to procure salt at a reasonable price. To them salt is as necessary as water and air.

As for the publication of the note, I think it need not be. The Reformers have no faith in the Government and they feel that even now there is no honesty in their dealings with the people. It is a curious phenomenon. We do not trust you and yet we want you. It shows a consciousness of the wrongs done to the people but their utter incapacity to remedy them. Enslavement of the nation is thorough. The Englishmen have not deliberately meant it, but they could not have done more if they had. I only cling to England because I believe her to be sound at heart and because I believe that

India can deliver her mission to the world better through England. If I had not this faith, I so thoroughly detest her act of disarming India, her haughty and exclusive military policy and her sacrifice of India's riches and art, that I should declare myself a rebel.

I did not want to give you a long letter, but my pen would not be checked.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. Gandhi”

12-8-2018

Mr. Horniman (Editor, 'The Bombay Chronicle') requested Bapu to be the Chairman of the Reception Committee of "The Humanitarian Conference," and added, *"I write this to ask you NOT to refuse on any account."

Reply:

*"I have your peremptory letter. Though it was written on the 8th it was received yesterday. I suppose we have to put up with these vagaries of the Postal Department during this time of stress. Really I am recruiting-mad. I do nothing else, think of nothing else, talk of nothing else, and, therefore, feel ill-fitted to discharge any Presidential function save upon recruiting.

Will you not, therefore, excuse me?

Yours sincerely,

M. K. Gandhi"

Invitation from Behn Rasikmani, Secretary of the Hindu Stree Mandal (Hindu Women's Association), to Ba to preside over its Annual Celebration as well as their Dadabhai Jayanti (Birthday Celebration of Dadabhai Naoroji). Bapu's reply which was similar in spirit to what he gave formerly to Mrs. Dorothy Arundale on a similar request:

"I could read your letter to my wife only yesterday. There has, therefore, been some delay in the reply, which you will please forgive. Though each of us, is independent and enjoys equal rights, we have divided our functions for the sake of convenience. My wife, besides, was totally illiterate at the time we married. After a good deal of effort I taught her something but, owing to many reasons, not at all to my satisfaction. I am sorry, therefore, that your invitation cannot be accepted. My wife cannot prepare a lecture herself; nor, do I think, can she read well enough for the Presidential Chair a lecture written out for her. She has no knowledge of your activities besides and cannot tell me what she would like to put in her lecture. We, both of us therefore, beg to be excused by you all.

Vande Mataram,

Mohandas"

"Bhaishri Fulchandbhai,

We had a very important talk yesterday and if even a single person assiduously sees that my instructions are carried out, the Ashram can immediately attain the position which you so very rightly wish for it. The only individual who can do so is no one but yourself at present. You will, therefore, hold the necessary meetings and solve the questions that have arisen.

Upto 5-45 yesterday I was a wise man and gained something in health. With fear and trembling, however, I gave up the fast at that time and invited deep physical suffering on myself. I did not observe a proper restraint even in choosing the quality of food with which to taper off my fast and took 'ghens' (rice porridge). Had I sipped only awatery extract of some boiled vegetable, I would have been saved from the terrible consequence of my indiscretion. The result is that today I have not the strength even to stand up – much less to walk about. I have almost to drag myself to the latrine, where in passing the stools I have such excruciating pain that I would fain scream out. But despite all this agony I am happy. I see the full picture of the condign punishment immediately meted out to me. And I am certain that my pain will subside at 5-45 today. A twentyfour hours' punishment is definitely not too heavy for the blunder I committed in the manner of breaking the fast. And it is because I have fasted today that I expect to escape with that light punishment. You need not be anxious at all. I believe I shall be free from this trouble tomorrow and if I keep a careful watch on my diet henceforth, I am going to recover completely within 3 to 4 days.

Vande Mataram,

Mohandas"

17-8-2018

Terrible illness from Monday to Saturday. Acute dysentery. Only on Saturday he seemed to feel some relief. After 'The Times of India' report, "He can still do recruiting work" was read to him, he began to dictate letters : A long telegram to the Viceroy, a letter to the Private Secretary to the Governor of Bombay, a letter to the Collector and some others.

"Chi. Devdas,

I feel better today than ever before during the period of this illness. But I cannot leave my bed for some days more. It has been an agonising experience, all undoubtedly richly deserved. The punishment has only been exactly in accordance with the crime. You need not be anxious about me. There is nothing lacking in the attendance bestowed on me. Ten are eager to serve when one is required and everyone is pouring out all his heart's love on me. Your presence, therefore, is not a desideratum though, naturally, I cannot fail to remember you. Your service to me lies in your complete absorption in the work you are doing there. And that is the severe rule we have to abide by. We have consciously and deliberately to follow the difficult principle that even illness is no excuse for leaving the post of duty. In all this long period of torture I cannot recollect a single moment when I had lost the peace and composure of my heart. Ba has already come up here. Let us hope that I shall be more healthy than ever before and will henceforth practise our vow of control over the palate still more stringently.

Blessings,

Bapu"

Jamnadas did not declare at the general meeting the conditions on which Petit had agreed to preside and simply announced that the latter had consented. He defended his conduct afterwards when the fact came to light. Bapu's letter to him on the incident. Bapu had even remarked, 'It casts a slur on us.'

"Bhaishri Jamnadas,

Notwithstanding my keen desire to write to you earlier I have not been able to do so and today also I have but to dictate my letter, since I am still a bed-ridden patient. I have, however, recovered enough to be able to dictate, and there is no cause for anxiety.

I felt shocked when I heard of your incident. Purity of motive does not transform a lie into a truth. As an honest gentleman looks straight, but a thief's eyes are always roving[1] so truth has only one straight and narrow path to follow, whereas untruth meanders through various dubious and devious ways. It is a tangled web which an untruthful man weaves when he begins to deceive others and not only does he destroy himself ultimately, but, if he is a trustee, dooms to destruction his ward also, whom he has been appointed to protect. You will be able to see this maxim proved true up to the hilt from your own as well as a thousand others' experiences. Adherence to truth has never harmed and is never going to harm anybody. Are you going to deviate from that royal road? Why did you in this instance?

Vande Mataram,

Mohandas"

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1. Reference in the original to the Gujarati proverb which says a gentleman has only two eyes, but a thief has four.

A letter from Anandshankar to me showing his anxiety over Bapu's health. He asks why Bapu refuses the administration of any medicine. Bapu himself sent the following reply:

"Bhaishri Anandshankarbhai,

Your worry over my health indicates your love for me. This is the exact picture of my health: On Monday and even Tuesday I suffered like hell or if there is any stronger word for it like that. For those two days I was practically lost to all other consciousness except that of excruciating pain and there was an unintermittent urge to give out screams but with a strong effort of will I was able to suppress the urge and keep silent. On Wednesday I was at comparative ease and since then there has been a steady improvement. But total physical prostration persists and walking even a few steps is out of question. It is certain I shall have to be confined to bed for some days more. But I see that my recovery is now certain and hence your question about my refusal to take any medicine becomes redundant. If however, you really want to know my views on medicine, I shall be glad to explain them some other day. Any doctor will agree that it was impossible to cure in such a short time, an ailment so severe as mine by any allopathic remedy. I have given you these details so that you may not feel worried about me.

I have gone through your award. The mill-workers who were waiting for it like mad will heave a sigh of relief. I too was looking forward to it. Though in fact they have already begun to get 35% increase in their wages, I believed that your judgment would give them a solid support.

I must write to you about the cause of my illness. In my sick-bed I have often meditated over this line occuring in a hymn which we often sing in our prayers at the Ashram.

"Weird are the ways of Karma (fate), O Uddhava!"[1]

It is indeed true that we humans can sing only in that strain because our ignorance in some most essentjal matters is abysmal. But in fact the ways of Karma are not mysterious. They follow an easily understandable and straight path: as you sow, so you reap. We get exactly what we deserve in consequence of our acts. At every step I see my own fault all through the period of this illness. It would be sheer dishonesty if I did not confess that Nature had been kind enough to give me many

warnings. But I almost totally ignored them and committed one blunder after another. The punishment for the first offence was light, for the second heavier. A perfectly equitable increase in the severity of the punishment then went on with my obstinate persistence in error. I can see distinctly that there is none so merciful as Nature. And Nature is God. God is Love. And who has not suffered from the lash of love? This illness has been a very chastening experience.

Yours,

Mohandas"

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1. The line is from a song by Surdas where a Gopi (a cowherd woman devotee) addresses Uddhava a friend of Shree Krishna.

A letter on Kaira written in June by Gokuldasbhai[1] was received so late as today in August. Here are the principal sentences in it quoted verbatim:

*"I must admit that I considerably under-rated the power of combination of the Kaira agriculturists under the leadership of a gentleman of your high magnetic influence. The result valued in money may not be very big, but to my knowledge there was hardly any district in which the icon of authority was venerated and respected asmuchas in Kaira and you have done the greatest service to the country by smashing the icon within its own temple and exposing all its internal deformities. One can do nothing better than let the people perceive where is the real source of authority. I believe that the Government and the people will not easily forget the lessons you have taught."

(Compare with these sentiments his own speech at the Council to bid farewell to Lord Willingdon. What a travesty of truth in his statements on Kaira there! O, the *volte face*! – M.D.)

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1. Gokuldas Kahandas Parekh was then a member of the Legislative Council of Bombay to represent the Kaira District.

Bapu's reply:

"Sujna Bhaishri,

Your letter written in June was received here only two days back, as my address given there was 'War Conference, New Delhi'. You will now understand why you did not get from me even an acknowledgment of your letter. But its late delivery does not diminish in the least its great value to me. I always crave for your sympathy and support and I consider it a piece of good fortune that I have got them through the letter. It is my personal experience that the people of Kaira are capable of great achievements. I have learnt much and am lerning much from my public contact with the men and women of the district. I trust you are keeping well.

Vande Mataram,

Mohandas"

Mansukhlal Ravjibhai's letter on the present situation.

Reply:

"Bhaishri Mansukhlal,

I got your letter today. I am at present down with severe illness and confined to bed. Probably I will be all right in a few days. I do not fail to apply my own remedies and the mind is perfectly at peace. The knowledge that the illness is the just punishment of my own foolishness softens the intensity of the pain.

I think that the present state of our educated young men is pitiable. I have now attained a position to enable me to direct their energies in the right channel, but I feel that this is not exactly the right time to do so. They are mistaking through their infatuation, the darkness of their little knowledge as the light of wisdom and I am convinced that even God Brahma (one of the Trinity in Hinduism) cannot win them over to the light of the true path through the policies of Tilak and Mrs.Besant. Not only do both of these individuals give up moral principles in politics at times, but even consider the shelving as at once desirable and right. They have openly and deliberately accepted the motto **शठं प्रति शाठ्यम्** (policy of villainy to defeat the villain). It does not appear to me that, saturated as the educated young men are, with faith in this policy

of the two leaders, I can lead them to the right path. They may, and they will, learn something indirectly through my actions, speeches and writings. But if I go out to preach to them the principle I have imbibed they will simply refuse to accept it, and this refusal is but natural and right for them. Though the policy of Tilak Maharaj and Mrs. Besant is really very mistaken, there is no doubt that the work they have done for India is Himalayan. Their services are immeasurable. It is from them that the young men of India have learnt the mantra (religious chant) of national service. How can they suddenly give up these gurus? And I would be the last person to ask them to do so. All the same, a time is definitely going to come, when, while retaining their reverence for these leaders the young men of India will discard their leaders'policy to which I have already referred. That conviction arises from my faith in the ancient glorious culture of our country. It has given the palm of victory not to the Kauravas but to the Pandavas and has with staggering imagination powerfully charged the country with the noble idea that those five men were a match for the millions of the enemy, because the five were armed with the might of right and justice. It passes my imagination how the youth of such a cultured country can for long accept such a vitiated principle as **शठं प्रति शाठ्यम् |** I will, therefore, wait patiently and bide my time. I have been appealing to those two individuals themselves to give up their policy. But I must use my own technique to achieve such a transformation in our country's mentality. My method seems, at times, to be slow and tardy, but such patient waiting is unavoidable. Some things are achieved only behind the scene, and so they ought to be. I have decided not to attend the Congress this time for this same reason of my own technique. I do not wish to attend the Moderate Conference either. My very absentation will give a shock to the public, everyone will ask, 'Why?' and then, if necessary, I will give out my views.

The letter has now grown long enough. It is meant only for you in order to provoke your reflection over it. It is not to be published.

Vande Mataram,

Mohandas"

Early this month Bapu had delivered a speech on recruiting in Surat. The report of the speech, sent by somebody, to 'The Times of India,' created the impression that Bapu had passed some derogatory remarks against Tilak Maharaj. It was besides misrepresentation of many other statements that Bapu has made. He, therefore, wrote a letter to the paper strongly protesting against the garbled report. A Civilian, Mr. Handerson, an Englishman, wrote the following letter from Surat on reading it:

*"I am very sorry that when writing a short summary of the fine recruiting speech you made at Surat, I made a serious mistake. I am writing to you personally about the matter as I have great admiration for the splendid recruiting work you have been doing in the Kaira District (in which I spent a good many years) and elsewhere. I am, therefore, more sorry than I can say that, owing to a serious clerical error in the notes from which I prepared the summary, I made you say almost exactly the opposite of what you actually did say. I am always very careful not to make speakers say what they never dreamt of saying and do not as a rule try to give the substance of a speech I have not personally heard. I am very sorry I did not know you were going to speak at Surat. Had I done so I would have been present to hear you. I hope the next time you visit Surat I shall have the pleasure of meeting you and making your acquaintance. I can only say that I am sincerely sorry that I misreported you.

Yours sincerely,

Robert Henderson"

Reply:

*"Dear Mr. Henderson,

I am in my bed. I am passing through the severest illness of my life and I was incapable of sending you a letter earlier. I was charmed with your simple, frank, straightforward letter. I thank you for it. I rarely take notice of incorrections in my reported speeches. I have little opportunity even of reading them, but this in "The Times" was, I knew, calculated to doso much mischief that I felt I must correct the inaccuracies. I am glad I did so, for it has silenced the evil tongue and provided an opportunity of becoming acquainted with you.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. Gandhi"

Shankarlal Banker's letter about Jamnadas. He was sorry that after being persuaded to tender his resignation, Jamnadas withdrew it on Patel's advice.

Bapu's reply:

"Bhaishri Shankarlal,

I have your letter. I am not yet quite out of the wood. I am afraid my recovery will still take some time more. My malady was worse than I had thought, but you need not be anxious about it.

Jamnadas's withdrawal of his resignation does not appear to me to demand any reconsideration of my view. Bhai Vithalbhai (V. J. Patel) followed but his own nature when, under the honest impression of doing the right thing, he advised Jamnadas to withdraw his resignation. My advice remains the same. He must insist on his resignation, no matter what stir it causes. You cannot have forgotten what I told you. I do not wish that Jamnadas must give up all public work but he ought to relinquish his very responsible position. Therein lies his own good as well as of the public. And the Congress is not going to be harmed at all by the resignation. Why should we not think of the many injuries we have ourselves inflicted upon the Congress by our persistent blunder in discarding the path of truth all these many years? What greater harm can one honest action do now? If Bhai Jamnadas sticks to his resolve to resign, he will greatly enhance his power to serve the public. Be firm yourself and make Jamnadas also firm in his previous resolve to tender the resignation. My *pranams* (reverent bows) to Maji (Shankerlal's mother).

Vande Mataram,

Mohandas"

"Chi. Devdas,

I was happy to read the report of your two months' work in the Hindi class you are conducting. You seem to have loved the work so well that it appears as if you were ordained to do it and you have proved your efficiency to the extent of making it difficult to find an equally good substitute. At present I cannot think of anyone who can do it any better than you have done. May God keep you firm in your resolve to continue your work there, preserve your health and give you a long life, so that the Madras Presidency may resound with the glory of its achievement in uniting with the rest of

India. May the present yawning gulf between the North and the South be filled up, so that both the parts of India become woven into one single united nation! Whoever does that work of unity will immortalize himself through that single work alone. May you gain that immortal fame! You fully deserve it. And never on any account give up the work you have done so well. Go on increasing your knowledge of Hindi and gaining in spiritual stature. The man, who practises truth and *brahmacharya* (celibacy), embraces voluntary poverty and is brave and benevolent besides, possesses a prowess with which he can stamp himself upon the whole world. With the possession of that power it is easy for you to collect numbers of men eager to learn Hindi from you. How can I ever think of enrolling you as a recruit for the army, when I hold these views so strongly? And how can I ask your brothers also to join the army? Harilal has practically ceased to be a brother and it is impossible for Manilal to come over here. I have written to Ramdas to join the force if he can come. If since leaving the Ashram you no longer remember God every morning and evening, you must begin to do so at once. Never forget that prayer is your great support. That individual or nation which gives up without an adequate reason a healthy practice of a long standing stands to lose heavily. Morning and evening prayers provide us the sheet-anchor to save ourselves from being drowned in the mighty billows that surge around us in modern times—provided we understand their significance and consciously and intelligently perform them.

Blessings,

Bapu”

20-8-2018

A beautiful letter from Mr. Samarth: Even for our physical ailments there is no remedy so good as God's remembrance. Then he quotes a Sanskrit verse in support of his statement. He thinks a special Conference is necessary to get the country accept the Montford Scheme and requests Bapu either to go to Bombay to join in the deliberations over the matter or send through a letter his agreement with the proposed Conference.

Reply:

*"Dear Mr. Samarth,

Many many thanks for your letter. I do believe in the religious treatment and that is what I have applied in the main, but I believe also in Nature-cure and fasting. Nature-cure is hydropathy and enema. The only food I am taking is fruit juices, principally a single juice. I am free to confess that a Nature-cure means to that extent want of faith in the purely religious cure. I have not the courage to keep myself exclusively to the latter when I know that the disease is due to a breach of Nature's laws.

I am sorry I cannot be with you tomorrow, nor can I give my name to the movement. I wish to hold myself aloof from both the movements for I hold views which are acceptable to neither party. I feel that at the present moment all the leaders should concentrate their effort upon recruiting to the exclusion practically of every other activity. I know that the Extremists do not agree with me and I hardly think the Moderates go as far as I go. Whilst I accept the Montague Chelmsford Scheme in the main, to make it acceptable I should insist upon certain modifications, and my insistence would go to the length of wrecking the Scheme if the modifications are not accepted after exhausting every means at my disposal. To get the modifications accepted I should not, therefore, hesitate to use what has been commonly called 'passive resistance'. The Moderates will not accept this condition. I must, therefore, bide my time patiently and plough my own solitary furrow.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. Gandhi"

25-08-2018

Letter from B. Chakravarti: Bapu's letter to Surendranath Banerji is misinterpreted. He should, therefore declare that he is not opposed to the Congress.

Reply:

*"Dear Mr. Chakravarti,

I have your letter for which I thank you. I am abstaining from the Congress because I know that I hold views which are not acceptable to the principal leaders. Indeed, when I discussed my position with Mrs. Besant, she agreed with me that I should abstain. Nor am I going to attend the Moderate Conference. I belive that we should render the greatest service to the country by devoting ourselves exclusively to recruiting work. Neither party would be prepared to go the length that I go. Then I would accept the principles of the Montague-Chelmsford Scheme and definitely state the minimum of improvements I should require and fight for their attainment unto death. For this the Moderates are certainly not prepared and the Extremists, in so far as they may be prepared, are not in the sense I mean. I, therefore, feel that I should do nothing at the present moment. So far as the bringing together of the two parties is concerned, I should not do anything by doing violence to convictions and, therefore, I do not approve of any give and take. There are two definite parties in the country. They should put their programme boldly before the Government and the country and agitate for its acceptance. Then only in my opinion shall we make real headway. Just now we seem to be moving in a vicious circle.

Yours sincerely

M. K. Gandhi"

Tilak Maharaj's letter:

'I shall miss you very much, if you do not attend the Congress.'

Bapu's reply (in Hindi :

"I have your letter. I am grateful to you for your deep sympathy. With your warmth of heart could you feel any less concerned about my health? By God's grace I feel much better though I shall not be able to leave the bed for some days more. I had a harrowing experience of deep physical pain but now it has subsided.

I have no desire to attend the Congress. Nor do I wish to go to the Moderates' Conference. I see that my views differ from those of both the parties. I have shown you what they are. I think we shall be rendering a very great service to India if we concentrate all our energies on the recruiting work and send lakhs of Indians to the Front. You and Mrs. Besant do not agree with me there and I know that the Moderates also will not go with me as far as I. Then there is another difficulty. I think we must accept the Montague Chelmsford Scheme in principle, but quite clearly state what improvements we want in it and fight unto death to get them accepted by the Government. It is clear that the Moderate party will reject the principle of fighting altogether. If you and Mrs. Besant agree in principle, you will certainly not fight in the same spirit as I. Mrs.Besant has clearly told me that she is not a Satyagrahi. You look upon Satyagraha as a matter of necessity, as a weapon of the weak, not as I view it. I do not wish, therefore, to appear to agree with you and create a confusion. Nor do I wish to form a new faction and start an agitation in the Congress against you. I have an in-dubitable faith in my principle of Satyagraha as a weapon of the strong. I cannot but feel that when my spiritual striving rises to the necessary height, both you and Mrs. Besant will accept my principle. Till then I can patiently wait.

I am strongly against any attempt to bring about a compromise between the Moderate and the Extremist parties by the method of give and take. There are two clear-cut parties in the country. No harm could be done if the parties clearly stated their individual convictions before the public and the Government. That is why I do not like any patched-up agreement between the two.

May God help you in your work!

Yours,

Mohandas”

27-8-2018

Letter to Dr. Ray:

*"Dear Dr. Ray,

You may have heard of my illness. It was a very serious attack of dysentery. Though I seem to be convalescent, I am utterly prostrate with weakness. I can scarcely move out of my bed or even sit in it for any length of time. The great question is how to build up this broken up body. I have abstained from milk and its products for a number of years and vowed to do so for life. I, therefore, need a substitute for milk and butter. Hitherto I have found an excellent substitute in groundnuts, walnuts and such other nuts, but fats obtained from all these nuts are too strong for my delicate stomach. I need an exact vegetable substitute for ghee and milk. I have tried Kopra (coconut) milk and almond milk before now. The physiological action of these milks is totally different from cow's milk. Do you know any vegetable substitutes for ghee or butter and for milk? If you do, kindly name them, or better still, if you can procure them send them. I am told that up in the north they manufacture ghee out of *mahoua* seeds which is not the same as the ordinary ghee but is the same as olive oil. Please enlighten me if you can. It hurts me to think that my only letter of a recent date addressed to you should be of so utterly doleful and selfish a character. Forgive me if you can.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. Gandhi"

Bapu again wrote a letter to Sir William Vincent about the release of the Ali brothers.

29-8- 2018

He never felt better during all these days of illness than he does today.

To Dr. Pranjiwandas Mehta about the Congress:

"You have given me the news of Malaviyaji's latest attempts to bring about a compromise. The Press also gives the same news. I had always thought that Panditji would make some such efforts. But I am afraid that the result will be that the resolutions passed in the Congress will be tame and spiritless. Just a little thinking should show that it does not matter if our demands are not keyed very high, but there must be the ring of deadly resolve in whatever little we ask. The nation will rise higher and higher as it becomes more and more conscious that it has got the power to exact from the Government whatever it is bent upon having. This is not a fairy story but a down-to-earth practicable idea."

"Chi. Devdas,

After a good long wait, I had the delightful sight of two letters from you today. I am recovering and there is no cause for anxiety. Among all these days of illness, I feel the best today. In fact, I had never lost control over my health and was never worried about its possible end. What I was afraid of was the growth of physical pain, but never death. And when the torture grew unbearable, I would say to myself, "What a happy consummation if death released me from this pain." I may continue to be engaged in some activity or other till the end of my life, but that is not the point. It is a fact that I have never cherished any desire to prolong my life just to enable me to do a particular work. I may have yearned for 'moksha', but it is not so cheap as to be had for the asking. It is a prize awarded only to the deserving.

I consider your work so important that I think you must not leave it even in order to see me in my illness. And I am sure you can never imagine that I am not properly looked after. It seems impossible that I may have to go to France now. Most probably there will be no need to go to any Front at all. Every day brings news of a fresh victory for the Allies in France and I do not think they will take us there. But the picture will come out clear in a month or so. There is just a chance that we may be sent to Mesopotamia.

Anandshankarbhai has written a book which he calls "Hinduism for Children", but it is so well-written that even adults and old men can find it interesting and gain

much knowledge and wisdom. To me it appears to be a wonderful book. Bhai Mahadev reads it to me every morning and I go into raptures as I listen to it. I doubt if there are such many books in other languages, so small and yet so comprehensive. The book gives the essence of Anandshankarbhai's extensive reading and deep thinking. I wish you read it again and again. If you don't understand any reference to an incident quoted in it, you may ask me or someone else, but do not fail to learn the full significance. I am arranging to send the book to you. I find no improvement in your handwriting.

Blessings,

Bapu"

"Chi. Harilal,

I have got your letter. I am gaining in health and there is no cause for worry. I will, however, have to keep to bed for some days still. But there is nothing to want in the meticulous attention bestowed on me. No prince could have a more careful and comfortable nursing. I am very glad to learn that you have taken to cooking for yourself and that you like the work. It may turn out to be an elevating experience, and may provide a lesson to teach you the real values of life. You may then be impelled to repair your mistakes and write a new chapter in the book of your life in letters of gold. I wish you did so.

I shall be glad to hear from you regularly.

Blessings,

Bapu"

*"My dear Charlie,

I have suffered indeed, but no more than I have deserved to. I can trace definitely and directly the causes of this illness. They do me no credit and show how weak I am, in spite of all my attempts to overcome those weaknesses. This illness shows me all the more clearly how continuously we break the known laws of Nature. There is no temptation so difficult to overcome as that of the palate, and it is because it is so difficult that we think so little about it. In my opinion mastery of the palate means mastery of everything. But of this more later. I am steadily progressing. My peace has never been disturbed. Pray, do not have any anxiety about me. I would not have you leave Shantiniketan on any account whatsoever. I think both you and Gurudev are doing the finest work of your lives. You are now writing real poems. They are living poems. I wish I was in Shantiniketan sitting side by side with the privileged boys listening to Gurudev's discourses and also yours.

Yours,

Mohan"

30-8-2018

A second letter from Charlie. Reply:

*"Your love messages are all before me. They are like a soothing balm. The more I contemplate this illness the more deeply I realize what love of man to man must be and, therefore, love of God to man. I see nothing but the beneficent hand of nature, and it seems to me that what appear to us on the surface to be virulent visitations of nature are in reality nothing but so many acts of love.

I do wish you will not worry about me. It would be a calamity if on any account your glorious work of Shantiniketan were to be interrupted. I cannot describe to you what a great delight it is to me to hear about your and Gurudev's work in Shantiniketan and I must tell you I approach everyone of your letters with a shudder, lest anything might have interrupted this noble work of Gurudev. It would be a great relief to me to find that both of you had finished a full term teaching the boys without interruption and in full possession of your health.

Pray thank Borodada for his blessings which I value, and I thank Gurudev for his good wishes. Remember me to Mr. Rudra.

With love of us all

Yours,

Mohan"

31-8-2018

Anandshankarbhai's 'Hinduism for Children' is read every-day. Bapu could not help passing remarks like "perfect", "Wonderful storehouse of knowledge," etc. as the reading went on.

There was a fascinating letter from Mrs. Millie Polak. Mr. Polak himself admits that her letters are more charming than his own. Here is an extract:

*"I read that you were ill and am tremendously relieved to hear that you have recovered. I know you must feel it keenly when your body becomes master and not your servant. I hope you were properly looked after and all that was possible was done, so that you did not suffer unnecessarily. And I am glad, very glad that you are getting better. I should feel it irreparably, if anything happened to take your strength or health from you. Yes, I know death must come to us, and though it means but a crossing to another land for the one who goes, it leaves desolation to the human near to left. And anyway, you have to stay here for years yet. So keep hold of your body please, there is such lots for it to do.

With sisterly love,
Yours,
Millie"

An equally charming reply:

*"As I am writing this, I am watching the glorious rain descending in torrents before me. It will gladden the hearts of millions of men and women. There was a great dread of a most severe famine overtaking Western India. In the twinkling of an eye all that fear has gone. It has given place to boundless joy. This rain is a veritable deliverance for millions upon millions of cattle. There is probably no place on earth that is so dependent on rain as India. You will now understand what part this rain must have played in giving me health. I have suffered agonies—all due to my own follies. The punishment was adequate to the wrong done by me to the body. I made a faulty experiment. I was suffering from dysentery. Whilst I was getting over it, I ate when I should have refrained, and that brought on the inevitable crisis. I am so reduced in body that I have now to build anew. But there is no cause of anxiety. I am convalescent and regularly taking some nourishment and am daily increasing the quantity and I hope to be able to walk about in ten days' time. You ask me about nursing. Everything that human love can do for me has been done for me. It was my privilege and my pain to be on the sick-bed, privilege to find so much love rained on me, pain that I should need it all through my weakness and folly. The rich experiencing of love makes an added call on such service as I may be capable of rendering to humanity. But service to humanity is service of self and service of self is self-purification. How shall I purify myself? It is the question that has been agitating me throughout my sickness. Pray for me.

Bhai"

Letter from Andrews giving the glad tidings that there are now as many as 70 Gujarati and Marwari students in Shantiniketan. Tagore treats them with fatherly affection and cordially welcomes their parents when they visit the institution, etc.

Bapu's reply:

*"You have given me an agreeable surprise. I never knew that the Gujarati-Marwari Colony was so strong in Shantiniketan. If all these boys remain there their full time, what a link they must form between Gujarat and Bengal, and I have no doubt that if the poet continues as he has begun he will hold all the Gujaratis that are there to the end of their time and many more must follow. I do feel tempted to ask: Is there anyone looking after the sanitation of the place? Has water-supply been put in order?

For me I think I am getting on. Progress is necessarily slow. The body has almost to be built up anew. Naturally it takes time; especially when it has to be done out of 5 ingredients from day to day, and that without milk and its products. But I feel that I should be able to do so. I assure you neither recruiting nor Congress proceedings in the slightest degree worry me. I cannot say with you that I will not look at the papers about them. On the contrary, I am eagerly following the Congress proceedings. But I do not allow them to worry me. I know Mr. Rudra's anxiety for me. You will tell him all about my health and assure him that the joint prayers of you all cannot fail to give me health and comfort.

With love,
Yours,
Mohan”

To Devdas:

"I did not attend the Congress as, after my talks with Mrs. Besant and Tilak Maharaj, I scented unreality in the sessions. I thought that, instead of wasting our energies at this momentous occasion over vain disputation on the merits of the Montford Scheme, it was very necessary to find out and implement the measures by which we could get our demands accepted by the Government. I put these thoughts before those leaders and suggested that we had two big weapons with us. The first was to sacrifice ourselves in the War and thus to get the support of our conscience as regards our fitness for our demands. And when conscience gives us a clear verdict in favour of doing something, it arms us at the same time with an invincible power. Our second weapon is to make a firm resolve and stick like a leech to it even unto death. Both the leaders rejected these two principles of fighting. After this clear difference of views, I thought that while my attendance in the Congress was meaningless, my abstention is a fairly impressive declaration of my views. It was under this belief that I dropped the idea of going there.

Blessings,

Bapu"

A letter from Karsandas Chitalia (A Gujarati member of the Servants of India Society):

'Is the Society going to be defunct just because Gujarati members choose to leave it? What is it that makes it difficult for Gujaratis to continue the membership?'

Bapu's Reply:

"I too was sorry at the news of Mr. Kesariprasad's resignation. He was very eager to go to the Congress and had even talked with me on the matter. But I had advised him to suppress his feelings and accept the orders of his chief, if he forbade attendance. I am afraid he could not follow my advice, because discontent was brewing in his mind all the while and this order to stop him from going to the Congress was the last straw.

The Society cannot cease to flourishby the absence of Gujaratis or others. It is bound to remain alive and vigorous. A leader of Shastriar's character can never fail

to attract others. If God grants him long life, India will esteem him at his true value only in future. Various alluring activities that pander to individual whims are going on in this country and they have created an unnatural and improper dissatisfaction. But there is bound to be sad disillusionment in the end for those who succumb to these temptations. At that time a man like Shastriar will be remembered and the distressed will flock to him for solace and peace.

Vande Mataram,

Mohandas”

7-9-2018

"When Bapu declared yesterday his resolve to go to the Ashram (Satyagrahashram), Maganlalbhai suggested that he should stay on for about four days more. Immediately he answered, "I cannot stay here any longer. I find this atmosphere dry and suffocating. No prayers to God here to delight one's ears on waking up in the morning, as they do in the Ashram. Hymns and God's name are a music to my ears. I was missing it for many days past, but since 4 0'clock, when I got up today, my restlessness at this keenly felt want grew and grew till I could not help bursting into tears. And in the evening when we want some quiet inside and out, there is that Parsi woman opposite whose screeches of the violin crash the ears."

That was yesterday. This evening also he asked me, "Does she call it music when she scrapes her bow across the violin strings? And I can enjoy a song even from a vagabond in the streets." The charm is lost if I tell you and you sing, but I would indeed wish you to form the habit of singing on self-inspiration."

To Charlie:

*"My dear Charlie,

I am daily getting better. Please have no anxiety for me. Though we do not meet in the body, communion of thespirit is ever there. Just at present I am doing a bit of reading. The book I am reading is a collection of remarkable essays on religion by Prof. Anandshankar Dhruva of the Gujarat College. You have seen him. The essays are pure gold. He is one of the greatest Sanskrit scholars of this Presidency. These essays have given me great comfort, and they help me more fully to realize the meaning of communion of the spirit, and it is in that deeper and fuller sense that I use the expression regarding ourselves.

As I have said before, I would not have you leave Bolpur on any account whatsoever. Your work is there and nowhere else at the present moment.

Why did you write that wretched introduction of yours to the Hindi book on emigration to the Colonies? I have only just glancedat it and I feel that you have given an undeserved certificate. You do not want to give currency to inaccuracies, fulsome flattery and advertisements. I propose to go through the book carefully and note down for your edification some of the glaring inaccuracies contained in the work. There is really no merit in an author remaining unknown. He does not remain unknown to

those who he wishes should know him. The introduction does credit to your heart. You are an Indian and as Lord Willingdon will say, you are always afraid to say 'no'. I would far rather that you retained the English characteristics and said 'no' when it is 'no' which should really be said. I suppose it is sometimes the privilege of love sternly to say 'no'. I do not want to sermonise, but you must really reform yourself in this matter. Otherwise, I must pass on to you all the rascals I meet. You will then settle your accounts with Gurudev and them.

With love to you all,
Yours,
Mohan"

To Shankarlal Banker:

"Your letter to Anasuyabehn tells me that you have kept back from me many facts about your health. You need not have done so. I wish you did not take undue freedom with your body on the strength of doctors' medicines. Lifelong experiences have taught me the need of self-restraint ever more forcefully. To satisfy the craving of the palate I played fast and loose with the body and I am now suffering from the punishment I richly deserve. I believe that 99% of cases of ill health can be traced to this one cause of want of control of the palate. I admit it is no easy thing to get that control. But real human effort worth the name lies in getting that control. It is easier to defeat the whole world than the enemies ensconced in the self. He, therefore, who succeeds in overcoming the enemies within will find it easy to conquer the world without. The Swaraj (swaraj =self-rule) which you and I and everyone else have to gain is really no other than this 'self-rule'. But what is the use of sermonising? The essence of all teaching is this: You want to serve the country, and that you can do through the body. You cherish noble aspirations, but without adequate soul force the noblest aspiration is an airy nothing.

Vande Mataram,
Mohandas"

9-9-2018

In a letter about his health to Ranchhodlal Patwari Bapu adds:

"I will find out 'Pataka' and go through the article about untouchability. I wish to understand the views of the opposite party thoroughly, and if I find that it is they who represent the real *dharma*, not I, I will not hesitate even for a moment to change my views. All the arguments which I have so far been confronted with are based on the *dharma* which custom enjoins. I have never heard till now a single argument supported by *dharma* pure and simple. And it is nothing but the religious aspect of the question that has made me propagate the removal of untouchability. The question has nothing to do with politics.

The movement will necessarily have a political effect, but I never had an eye on it. I would also like to add that I do not stand for 'no respect whatsoever to the *dharma* of custom'. Religion, i. e. pure *dharma*, is unchangeable and infallible. But traditional *dharma* can be changed with the change of circumstances. It would be sheer immorality today if we followed some of the precepts given in Manusmriti.[1] We have quietly ignored them altogether."

To Devdas (after giving a gist of the letter to Dr. Ray and of the setback in health owing to the wrong quality of food taken):

"You know I have always been opposed to the use of pulses for weak constitutions. You also know that personally I fear that oils are difficult to digest. But all the doctors suggested *mung*, (the most digestible pulse) or its watery extract and also some oil for me. Owing to my vow not to take milk, it is difficult to rebuild a wrecked body without providing it some fat and protein. The fat and protein in milk are easily assimilated in blood but not the fat in oils. Every pulse contains protein, but that protein is indigestible. All the same I took both *mung* and oil. I now think that it was a mistake. Such mistakes are bound to happen in my search for a suitable substitute for milk. I see that oil of some kind or other is an unavoidable necessity. I have, therefore, to find out in what quantity it has to be taken so as to be digestible. In that search there are sure to be occasional set-backs in health."

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1. Code of Manu. Smriti: "The body of traditional or memorial law (civil or religious) given by human authors." Apte's Dictionary. 'Smriti' is opposed to 'Sruti'—'revealed knowledge' of the Vedas, Upanishads etc. and as is even traditionally regarded as inferior to Sruti.

Harilal's letter:

“I find that self-cooking is one of the ways of self-development, but it takes up much time."

Reply:

“It is certainly a fact that self-cooking takes one's time, but I believe that that time is not wasted. And it is usually not true to say that one could have put the time to a better use. More than that time is daily wasted by 95% of men. And even this percentage is a charitable estimate of the number of persons who waste it. The man who cooks by himself, when heavily pressed with work, finishes his cooking with almost incredible quickness. I will give you my own example. In England, when I had to study hard, I used to spend not more than half an hour all told for preparing my morning and evening meals. In the morning I used to make some porridge which took exactly 20 minutes. If I prepared something in the evening, it would be a soup, which required only a little watching and no stirring. So the only time I spent after the soup would be for mixing the ingredients. I would then put the mixture on the stove and, while sitting by its side to watch it, read some book. Occasionally students from Banaras visit me. I ask them what they do about their food. Most of the Brahmin students cook by themselves. One of them told me he prepared *khichri* (rice and lentil mixed) for the morning and took it with milk and some condiment. While he was eating *khichri*, he could easily bake his chapatis, which he took with milk in the evening. He would spend three quarters of an hour in all after cooking both his meals. This is an extreme case I know. I do not wish that you should have only such simple meals, but I give you this instance to show that one can comfortably manage to cook for oneself without spending much time over it. That student had a healthy and robust constitution because all the nourishment that the body needs, he got from *khichri*, milk or curd and some condiment. The man who can get excellent milk or curd can afford to care little for any other dish. You need not assume that I wish you to continue to cook for yourself for ever. But I have written all this in order that, if it came to that, you may do your own cooking without feeling uneasy and sighing over waste of time when you do so. What I really mean to say is this. There can be nothing to say against you if on re-establishing yourself you call Chanchi back to you and enjoy within limits the pleasures of the palate and other senses. Only you should take care never to repeat the mistake you have committed. I wish you did not hanker any more after getting rich very quickly.

Just think of Sir Ratan Tata who died, of Sorabji who sped off so suddenly, of Dr. Jivraj who is on his death-bed. Where the body is so prone to succumb and in so short a time, why all this rush and tumble? Why this craze for getting rich? You may certainly be as rich as you can by a determined effort in normal ways, but make a firm resolve not to give up the path of truth in your attempt to earn money. Instead of aiming too high, you may make a practicable resolve and you have my full approval for earning as much as you can.

Blessings,

Bapu"

Dr. Ray's letter: Some pulses contain several ingredients of milk such as casein, fat, milk, sugar etc. Green peas and masoor (a pulse) contain them in the largest measure. Mhoua-seed oil also contains them, but it is difficult to get a really good substitute for milk. If Gandhiji abstained from milk for economic reasons he should not do so, because many cows yield more milk than their calves can drink. He then quotes the Sanskrit injunction, 'Even hard drinks may be taken as medicine when necessary'. As an old friend he earnestly appeals to Gandhiji to begin taking milk.

Bapu's Reply:

*"The milk problem with me is not quite so simple as you have stated it. It is not regard for the calf that in my illness prevents me from taking milk, but I have taken a definite vow not to take milk or its products even in illness, and I feel that it is better to die than to break a vow knowingly and deliberately taken. Every consequence that I am taking today was before me when I took the vow. I knew too that it was most difficult to find a substitute for milk. Can you not refine some of our oils so as to make them easily digestible? You know that American chemists have done so with cotton-seed oil. Cotton-seed oil without being refined is not edible, but now people take it with impunity. I do not say that they have refined it to the extent I want, but that is a question of degree.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. Gandhi"

20-9-2018

Bapu's health is now very satisfactory. He has begun to walk to the prayer-ground. He even visited Durga in her sick-bed and delivered short speeches. And his correspondence work, of course, goes on. The national school of the Ashram has under-gone a total transformation. Sarojini Naidu is going to preside over the Students' Conferenee in Bihar.

Letter to her:

*"Dear sister,

From the inquiries you have made about me I know that you know about my humiliation, I mean my illness. I am getting better but am too weak yet to move about beyond a few minutes' stroll on the verandah. Much as I should like to be with you at Poornea, as the men there desire my presence, it is impossible for me to do so. I hope, however, that you are going to behave yourself and deliver your address in Hindi or Urdu, whatever the national language may be called. Let the young men learn through your example the value of cultivating their mother tongue, for to them Hindi or Urdu is not only the national language, but the mother tongue. Do let me have a line.

Yours etc.,

M. K. Gandhi"

Mr. Pundalik was subjected to Third degree methods in Bihar, but he remained unmoved and gave fearless and truthful answers to the Police Superintendent. Bapu's advice to him as to what he should do in future:

"Bhaishri Pundalik,

I read all your letters very carefully. The answers you gave were all excellent. The heroism that lies in quietly putting up with the insults of the Superintendent is greater than that in paying him back in the same coin. Your dignified forebearance will cause the Superintendent a hundred times greater suffering than your insulting replies would have done. He is simply eager to see you get excited and burst out into an unbecoming language.

Now about your questions. If you get a written notice from the Government to leave the Pathshala (school) or Bhitiharva, you may wire to me after leaving it. If the Superintendent calls you again for further questioning, you may continue to give him answers in the way you have done. Tell him the whole truth. There is absolutely nothing wrong in telling him all that I write to you. I have the fullest faith in your veracity.

M. K. Gandhi”

21-9-2018

A big article by Dr. Pranjivandas Mehta. From a speech by Mr. Montague, Dr. Mehta took the hint and immediately wrote out a big long article covering 33 pages in favour of granting Swaraj to Gujarat. He pleads for the fitness of Gujarat for Swaraj on the grounds of its excellence in arts and crafts, its political acumen, its religious-mindedness etc. Bapu commented, 'O, the Doctor! He never knows how to be brief and to the point. He simply ignores my advice in the matter.'

Bapu's reply to him by wire:

*"Consider article should not be published. If published, absolutely necessary omit reference about special fitness of Gujarat. Writing fully."

Letter to him:

"I have carefully gone through your article. I have sent you two wires, yesterday and to-day, about it. Your idea is excellent but there is no chance of its implementation in the present circumstances. No other province will support your contention. You may not know that Bengal is secretly working hard in order to be the first province to get complete Swaraj for itself. Which Gujarati will not be ready to try to make Gujarat lead all others in the enjoyment of Swaraj? Your suggestion was put by Mr. Sharma in a somewhat different form in the Central Assembly, but it was, I must say very undeservedly, laughed out by all other members. Montague respected it, however, but declared that it was not the business of British Officers to make such important changes. They should best be left to the consideration of the new representative councils going to be formed under the Montford Scheme. So much about your suggestion.

The arguments you have advanced to show the superiority of Gujarat will create only bitterness among other provinces. Your plea will raise a storm of controversy. Maharashtra can adduce stronger claims for Swaraj. Madrasis may declare that they have been steeped in the ways of the West and, therefore, none could beat them in the fitness for Swaraj. Gujarat on the contrary, has been generally looked down upon by others as a politically backward province, and the same arguments which you put

forth in our favour can be used against us. But there is also no reason to get disappointed with these counter-arguments. What is necessary is to think over the advisability of starting an activity for Swaraj of the kind you suggest in the present climate. After giving due consideration to all this, you may write to me what you think best. I am ready to put your idea into practice.

Vande Mataram,

Mohandas"

Today Bapu is in unusually high spirits. He began reading "The Pilgrim's Progress" to the Ashram children during the evening prayers:

"Well, dear children, who is the author of this book? John Bunyan. Do you know who he was? Like Prahladji,[1] he was a brave man, firm in his resolve, and made to suffer atrocities for upholding truth. He was confined to jail for many years. And as our Tilak Maharaj wrote 'Gita Rahasya' during the period of his incarceration, so did Bunyan write this book, 'The Pilgrim's Progress', in jail. Call it the soul's pilgrimage or progress or elevation – whatever you like—but he wrote this book on that subject.

As we have expositions of the Bhagawadgita, so this is in reality an exposition of the Bible. But it is more than even an exposition. It is really an allegory that clarifies the most beautiful portion of the Bible. The book is ranked very high among the master-pieces of English literature and is put almost side by side with the Bible itself. Bunyan has used such simple and charming language, that he is regarded in all countries where English language is spoken as the author of a wonderful book for children. But even greater than this is the fact which has been stated in its Introduction.

As Tulsidasji declares for his Ramayana, the Introduction states that everyone without exception will read the book in future. And it is really as charming as Ramayana. While elders are sometimes perplexed, little children take an absorbing interest in Ramayana. In the same way this book also is one that can captivate the hearts of children. But now, instead of dilating upon its virtues, we will enjoy the book itself. See! He says, "While I was groping in the dense forest of this world." Our seers also have called the world a dark and deep wood, and so does this author. He says, "While rambling in that dense jungle, he felt very tired and came across a deep cave. This fatigue was not of the body so much as of the soul. He had reflected deeply, learnt

many things from many wise men, but still he could not get at the truth he was seeking eagerly. He felt bewildered and was downcast, both in body and in spirit. Out of sheer exhaustion he fell asleep. And then he dreamt. Whom did he see in the dream? Do you know it, Rukhi? A man with tattered clothes. Now, dears, will you tell me what was Sudama's dress when he went to see Shree Krishna? Did he wear, as rich persons do, a dhoti with a fine silk border, a long coat with gold and silver threads, a costly charming crimson turban of the imposing Deccani style and a long folded strip of cloth with a golden border dangling fashionably from the shoulder? No, not at all. Sudama wore simply old and worn-out clothes, as did this man in the dream. Well, Rukhi, do you know what Sudama had put on? You may not be knowing it but I do because I was born in Porebundar, the town in which Sudama lived. And now, in what direction, was Sudama's face turned? Was he looking wistfully back at the home he had left? Certainly not. Sudama was on his way to meet his Lord and his eyes were riveted in that direction. In the same way this our pilgrim had set his face against the world and started on the road to an unknown destination.

And what was it that he was carrying on his shoulder? Do you remember, Rukhi, that labourer who used to come to our Ashram when we were staying at Kochrab carrying a bag, full 200 lbs. in weight on his back, and perspiring profusely? He used to be so bent down with the burden that it would be ridiculous if I asked him to stand straight. This pilgrim also was groaning under a heavy load. And he had a book in his hand. The book was no other than the Bible—his one support. As he read it, tears trickled down his cheeks. Do you know my dears, the story of Gopichand? As that king Gopichand was having his bath in the open marble-paved courtyard within the palace, his mother was looking down at him from the balcony overhead and tears from her eyes fell straight upon the body of the king. The king was surprised. ‘The day is bright and clear and whence these drops?’ he wondered. He looked up and saw that it was his mother's eyes that were raining tears on him. But why she was weeping so much, I will tell you some other day. What I want to say is that this pilgrim also was shedding tears like that mother of king Gopichand. The pilgrim has started on his journey to his Heavenly Father's abode. Ashram is neither more nor less than our own character in the aggregate. I wish that everyone of us, therefore, develops his strength of character so that the sum-total may grow big. Frequently I look into myself to find out how far I practise this vow of truth and I find many weaknesses in me. I do not know whether I shall be able to do away with all of them before the period of my life expires. The flaws in the Ashram and in you are really due to my own shortcomings and I appeal to you

all to pray to God to remove your defects and mine and to grant me success in the work I have undertaken. I will try my best to be fit for the love and devotion you have rained on me today. May God grant me strength enough to deserve it! May you too succeed in your respective fields of activity! I pray to God to enable us to help one another. What more can I say? Your love and devotion are bound to help you in your life's journey. So now you may leave me and immerse yourselves in your respective duties."

2-10-2018

Severe set-back in Bapu's health since early last night. The crisis continued throughout from the second to the tenth instant. Letters to Devdas, Harilal and Chhotelal. All through the period Bapu lived the life of the ideal man as depicted in the Gita. He studied the Second Discourse and specially chanted the verse **'विहाय कामान् य सर्वान्'**[1] etc. 200 times. He was actually enjoying the state of sublime peace narrated in it.

11-10-2018

Influenza raging in the Ashram. Shankarlal Parikh is the worst affected.Though weak himself Bapu wrote the following letter to Gangabehn as soon as he came to know of the illnesses in her family. "I could read only today your card telling me that you, Kiki and others had fallen ill. I was glad to learn, however, that by the grace of God you are all progressing. The body of the person who has chosen to follow the *dharma* of service must become as strong as steel as a result of his holy work. Our ancestors could build such tough bodies in the past. But today we are reduced to a state of miserable weakness and are easily infected by noxious germs moving about in the air. There is one and only one really effective way by which we can save ourselves from them even in our present broken state of health. That way is the way of self-restraint or of imposing a limit on our acts. The doctors say—and they are right—that in influenza our body is safest from any risk to life if we attend to two things. Even after we feel that we have recovered, we must continue to take complete rest in bed and have only an easily digestible liquid food. So early as on the third day after the fever has subsided many persons resume their work and their usual diet. The result is a relapse and quite often a fatal relapse. I request you all, therefore, to keep

to your beds for some days still. And I wish you kept me informed about the health of you all. I am myself confined to bed still. It appears I shall have to keep to it for many days more, but it can be said that I am getting better. The doctors have forbidden me even to dictate letters, but how could I have the heart to desist from writing to you? If it is inconvenient to stay there for long, and if you like it, you may certainly come over here. There are at present 10 beds in the Ashram, but only Bhai Shankarlal Parikh's case can be regarded as 'dangerous', though today even he seems to be on the road to recovery.

Vande Mataram,

Mohandas Gandhi"

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1. "The man who sheds all longing and moves without concern, free from the sense of 'I' and 'Mine'-he attains peace." Gita II-71. 'Gita According to Gandhi' by M. D.

31-10-2018

Ever since the death of Harilal's wife, Bapu has begun to write daily to him but today's letter is rather remarkable:

"I have your card. Nothing in particular strikes me today, which I would like to write to you. I have been thinking over and over again as to how you can become your old self and remain so. If I knew of any word of consolation that could restore your spirits, I would gladly say it at once. I do not know if you have seen the world as it really is. For myself I can say I perceive the world in its grim reality every moment. I find it exactly as our sages of yore have described it in order to alert us, and the realization is so vivid and clear that I feel no interest at all in this world. There is bound to be work as long as the body lasts, and so the only thing I love is to be engrossed in activities of the purest type. There is no exaggeration if I say that the self-restraint, which I practise in order to enable me to keep myself engaged in these activities, wings me to a heaven of supernal bliss. Man can enjoy real happiness to the extent that he understands and acts upon this method of gaining it. Even this grief can be deemed as a God-sent blessing, if it induces in you a state of mind that yearns and strives after this happiness. Please meditate over all this that has been written, if your mind can free itself from its present mood and think. All of us are keeping well. All the invalids are improving. I too feel better. I do not write a separate letter to Ba under the presumption that you must be reading to her all my letters to you."

5-11-2018

*"Dear Mr. Shastriar,

I thank you for your note and I fully understand and appreciate the spirit that has prompted it. I assure you that I take the greatest possible care I can of my health. It is no joke for a man who has rarely been laid up in bed to be made to have more than three months' experience of it. And if my sickness is still further prolonged, it will be due to my ignorance, or folly, or both. I cannot ascribe any relapse to want of skill or attention or to want of medical friends. They are helpless by reason of what to them are my crankisms. But they have become part of myself and give me the greatest comfort and joy even when I am suffering excruciating pain. Here is an extract about the late Dr. Deva from a letter from the Rev. F. Z. Hodge of Motihari. He is a missionary of exceptional independence and liberal thought. I hope you are keeping well or rather as well as you can under the strain that exacting public work imposes upon you.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. Gandhi"

18-11-2018

From my letter to him re. Bapu's behaviour in his illness. Maulana Mohmmad Ali wrote a letter to Bapu earnestly pleading against his vow of dietary restrictions. Bapus' reply:

*"Dear Friend,

It was a perfect delight to receive a letter from you after ages as it were. The letters from you all are evidence of your great affection for me for which I am deeply grateful and if, as some return for it, I could strain the letter of my vow and do what you suggest I should gladly do so. But there is no getting out of the self-imposed restraint. I should be false to God and man and to myself, if I disregarded the vow taken after the fullest deliberation. All my usefulness will be entirely gone if yielding to so many friends' advice, I reconsider my position. I regard this sickness as a time of trial and temptation for me and what I need is the prayerful support and encouragement of friends. I assure you that within the four corners of the restriction I take every precaution possible in order to preserve the body. Just now a medical friend has appeared on the scene who has undertaken to give me physical strength by massage, ice application and deep breathing. He thinks that in two months time I shall have put on sufficient flesh and weight to be able to move out and undertake mental strain. His treatment is rational and natural. What is more, I have confidence in it and with proper dietetic changes I do hope that the friend's prophecy will be fulfilled.

I have had the charges (against you) read to me. I have never read a weaker or a flimsier indictment and think that your reply will be decisive, straight and dignified. It is evident to me that the Committee has been appointed to furnish the Government with an escape. Anyway, we can now contemplate the findings of the Committee with complete indifference. Your defence is so overwhelmingly strong that if the Committee's finding is hostile, an agitation can be raised which will make India resound with indignation over the monstrous injustice under which you have laboured so long and so patiently. I wish I was with you in Chhindwada to assist in drawing up your reply, but that was not to be.

Please give my respect to Amma Saheb. I am pining to meet you all and to meet the children and come in closer touch with you. As I said at the Lucknow meeting, my interest in your release is quite selfish. We have a common goal and I want to utilize

your services to the uttermost in order to reach that goal. In the proper solution of the Mohammedan question lies the realization of Swarajya. However, more of this when we meet, as I hope we shall soon do.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. Gandhi"

Under the assumption that her operation would end fatally, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu had written what she thought was her last letter to Bapu. This is his reply written on the same day as the preceding letter:

*"Dear Sister,

I appreciated your little note. I observe that you have survived the operation. I hope that it will be entirely successful, so that India for many a year to come continue to hear your songs. For me I do not know when I shall be able to leave this sick-bed of mine. Somehow or other I cannot put on flesh and gain more strength than I have. I am making a mighty attempt. The doctors, of course, despair in face of the self-imposed restrictions under which I am labouring. I assure you that they have been my greatest consolation during this protracted illness. I have no desire whatsoever to live upon condition of breaking those disciplinary and invigorating restrictions. For me, although they restrict the body somewhat, they free the soul and they give me a consciousness of it which I should not otherwise possess. 'You can't serve God and Mammon' has a clearer and deeper meaning for me after these vows. I do not infer that they are necessary for all, but they are for me. If I broke them, I feel that I should be perfectly worthless.

Do let me have an occasional line from you.

Yours,

M. K. Gandhi"

26-11-2018

Chi. Harilal,

A message was sent to you yesterday intimating the condition of my health. Today I give more details.My health can be regarded as both 'good' and 'bad'. The feeling persists that there is no improvement in some essential matters. No complaint can rightly be made about my food. Friends advise me to go out for a change of air and I am inclined to agree with them. I am, therefore, thinking of going out and making the necessary arrangements. It would be good if you could come over here before I leave. Do tell me everything that is surging in your mind without any constraint. Am I not your father and so the right person to be perfectly frank with? I will be your friend in the true sense of the word, and where is the harm if we find there is a difference of views between us on any scheme you may be thinking of? We will discuss it threadbare and the final decision will rest with you. I can quite understand that your present state is like that of a man who is dazed and dreaming. Your responsibilities have increased, your trials have increased and so will the temptations that come your way increase. The very existence of the wife is a great sobering and restraining influence in the life of a married man. There is no longer that controlling force over you now. You are now on the cross-road and you have to choose which one to take. The first line of a hymn often sung in the Ashram is "God is the strength and succour of the weak." Man prays to God for help only when he sheds his egotism and is humble enough to realize his nothingness before God. In my sick-bed I have been realizing vividly how weak and contemptible we are, how filled with infatuation and hatred and what power the passion have to sweep us off our feet. I am often ashamed of the meanness of my mind. Many times it happens that I get disappointed with myself at the fact that my body is pampered so much and I wish its total extinction. From watching the states of my own mind I can gauge those of other minds also, and I will give you the fullest benefit of my experiences. You will learn therefrom as much as you have the capacity to assimilate. But all that is possible only if you come over here.

Blessings,

Bapu"

30-11-2018 to 6-1-2019

Went to Matheran for a change of air. After a 13 days' stay there he left it on 13-12-2018. In Bombay from the 14th onwards. Wrote the following letter to Andrews on 6-1-2019:

*"I suppose, I must get used to ups and downs and not feel any the worse for them, because it appears that before I have done with this protracted illness, I am likely still to have many ups and downs. Just at the present moment I seem to be all right. The hypodermic injections to which, I think, I must reconcile myself are producing the expected results. They are intended to whet my appetite and I must confess that my food today is the envy of a gourmand, both as to quantity and quality. But no one knows when I may have a set-back. I dare say a careful observer could even cast a table and prognosticate the next relapse and the others to follow. I am under the hands of a very eminent doctor. He wants to give 15 injections out of which he has given 4. The prospect before me is, therefore, by no means very pleasant and the needle-pricks are decidedly unpleasant. What are we not prepared to bear in order that we may live?

I observe that the Bishop of Calcutta is dead. It must be a great wrench for you, but I suppose as well that he is free from pain. So far as my convenience is concerned, your having sent Miss Farring to Bolepur was all right. But I did consider your action impulsive. As you assure me that she entirely filled your place, I can have nothing more to say. But I felt from Miss Farring's letter that she could not very well take the higher English classes, or for that matter, even the lower English classes at Shantiniketan. But I suppose there is nothing insurmountable for one possessing the faith that Miss Parting does abundantly and she has succeeded where thousands would have failed. Has she taken her discharge from the Danish Mission, because you talk of her coming to me after her finishing Bolpur? If she has got her discharge without causing any bad feeling, it is a great thing. I am in Bombay at least upto the 15th. I shall then have to consider the propriety of my going to Colombo. You need not worry about my election as a Congress delegate. I have not come to any final conclusion. When the actuality faces me I know that the way will be as clear to me as the blue skies. I am, therefore, 'careful for nothing'. I am not anxious to go as a deputy, but I shall not avoid the task, if I must perform it. I hope you are doing well.

Mohan"

9-1-2019

Letter to Dr. Pranjivandas Mehta:

"My health wanes and waxes like the digits of the moon. Only, it manages to escape from the total darkness of the new moon. I am now completely free from piles, but the trouble is that I have no appetite and the general debility persists."

10-1-2019

Letter to Andrews:

*My dear Charlie,

So you have been suffering from influenza. To me the marvel is that you can keep so well in spite of incessant wanderings. But I suppose God protects those whom He wants to use as His instruments, especially when they let Him do the guiding without any opposition. I, therefore, entertain no anxiety on your behalf. I feel certain that you may have all the strength you need for your mission. For me I am still going through ups and downs. I am not clear as you seem to be about the desirability of my going to England, either for the public work I may be able to do or for the sake of my health. I am, however, gradually feeling my way and taking it step by step."

To Maganlalbhai:

"My reveries during these days of illness have opened up such new vistas that I often long to tell you about them. But I can neither write nor dictate owing to the weakness of the body and the lassitude of the mind. The urge is strong today and hence this dictation. My conscience attests that it is not at all owing to any deficiency in my strength of mind or character that I have been making these changes in my diet. I have not been swept into them, but have deliberately made them out of my inner strength and after a detached reflection over the matter. The chief reason that has prompted me is the desire to satisfy you all and friends. I cannot bear to see the look in Ba's eyes. Very often her features appear like those of a cow intent on saying something, but incapacitated by dumbness and speaking through its appealing eyes. I do not fail to see the fact that there is an element of selfishness in that helpless look of Ba. All the same her humility coupled with her modesty conquers me. I am, therefore, impelled to yield to her wishes wherever possible. Only four days ago, Ba

was lamenting over the fact that I did not take milk and suddenly burst out, “you may not have cow's milk, but what's wrong with goat's milk?” It was a startling idea which set me thinking. The goat or any pain inflicted on it, was entirely out of my mind at the moment when I took the vow to abjure milk. I was then completely ignorant of the very fact that goat-milk also is used for human consumption. My vow was wholly confined to the use of cow's milk. Even the buffalo was not in the picture then. But to take buffalo's milk was tostab the spirit underlying my vow. There is nothing of the kind with regard to goat's milk. So I thought I should be able to comply with the appeals and protestation of friends to a great degree, if I took that milk. Though in a way my resolve to abstain from milk loses much of its substance after my knowledge about the harmlessness of goat's milk, yet it does not become entirely meaningless. Be that as it may, the point is that I am glad at this relief from the strictness of my vow, because the agony of my friends was increasing day by day and cables from Dr. Mehta were pouring in. There is little difference between cow's milk and goat's milk, if the goat is properly looked after and fed. The fact that in England the goat yields even more nourishing milk than the cow has been stated in several standard books on the subject. Indian goat's milk is regarded as lighter than the cow's, but this is a fact in favour of its use, not against it. But whether it is better than cow's milk or not, the point is that I can now say that I have taken all the steps I could towards the recovery of my health. I even allow the doctors to give me injections of iron, arsenic, and strychnine. If after so many concessions my health does not return to normal, it can never be legitimately argued that it will do so, if I give up the vow of confining my diet to five things only. So now nobody has any right to grumble against my obstinacy. We have only to patiently wait and watch the result of these so many changes. I have indeed thus given concessions to the body but every moment my conscience asks, ‘What is the meaning of this desperate effort to save oneself from death? Is life worth all that flurry? Is there any reform really so essential that one has but to keep oneself alive at any cost in order to strive for it?’ When I think of the plight of the great Kaiser, it seems to me that like our pieces on the chessboard man himself is but a helpless pawn in the game played by some invisible and powerful Personage.

He may strut all over the sphere of the earth, but in fact man is proportionately far smaller than an ant moving on the surface of a football, and like it man is always rushing into ignorance and doom. Despite these incessant thoughts, however, there has never been a shred of doubt in my mind as regards what we must do. As we cannot live without activity of some sort, there can be only one right channel along which it

should flow and that is the service of others. The man who engages himself in it can experience supernal peace. In our Ashram we must conduct such beneficent activities. Suggestions on weaving and sowing *jowar* have been sent to you and you may do what you think best about it, but let me know what you do about them. Let me repeat that you can employ a servant for the kitchen, if necessary

Blessings,

Bapu"

13-1-2019

It is now four days since the use of goat's milk as an experimental measure was begun. The ratiocination behind the change has been given in the above quoted letter. Today there was a fresh suggestion – that of the use of albumen water. Bapu frankly admitted: "I would certainly take it, if there was no possibility of others copying me in the matter. It has been quite clear to me that those who take milk can have no objection on moral grounds against albumen water. In fact it is more in consonance with the principle of vegetarianism than milk. For myself I am going to press anyone who needs albumen water to take it and have no qualms. It is only for the sake of the public good (lokasangraha) that I desist from taking albumen personally, because the people would simply copy me (blindly) as the Gita verse **यद्यदाचरति श्रेष्ठ**:[1] says.

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1. Gita-III-21. “Whatever the best man does is also done by other men; what example he sets, the world follows.” The Gita According to Gandhi, by M.D. p. 179.

16-1-2019

Formidable strike of mill workers in Bombay. Joshi (a labour leader) came yesterday and told Bapu, "I am going to request the Government to appoint an Arbitration Committee as soon as possible. Are you willing to work on it as a member, if you are appointed?" Bapu agreed to the proposal. The next day Bapu requested Mr. Jehangir Petit (a millowner) to come over to him and let him know the facts. Mr. Petit gave them solely from the view-point of the mill-owners: "We have already given them 35% increase. We did make huge profits formerly, but we are now working at a loss. It is true that the prices of corn etc. have gone up, but is not the idea of increasing the wages in proportion to the rise in prices quite impossible? And there is also the question of prestige. They have not cared even to let us know what their demands are. How can we grant any increase to those who go on a sudden lightning strike? The least they should have done was to give us some previous notice. And yet there are some mill-owners who are prepared even now to grant 10% and some others even 15% increase. But let it be clearly realized that we (mill-owners) are prepared to let the strike drag on for even 2 months. And who is going to make up for the daily loss of lakhs of rupees we are put to at present? Will the strikers agree to a reduction of wages when in future the prices go down? You must rather tell them, "Give up the strike and resume work. Trust us and we will secure for you 10 or 15% increase."

Bapu said today, "You know, I suppose, that Bishop Butler burnt all his writings except his 'Analogy'? What a good thing, if many publications get the same summary disposal! If I could have my way, the first books I would burn would be all the Law Reports. If somebody wrote something 300 years ago, even that is accepted as a precedence which has to be followed, no matter how worthless it be. There are no such embarassing Law Reports in France."

Bapu slowly plodded through a letter in his own hand to Ramdas:

"There is no doubt that Manilal is working very hard, and you must stay there with him for the present in order to help him. Gradually, Manilal will be able to raise the status of "The Indian Opinion." Once you begin the attempt with self-confidence, you also can write original articles. There is only one kind of knowledge necessary for success and that is the knowledge of facts. If you possess agricultural knowledge you can assuredly write good articles on the subject. Many persons fail as writers just because they scribble away articles without having any real knowledge of their subject. If you gain mastery over some simple subject and then begin to write on it, you are

sure to be a successful writer. You *could* have given a very good report of Sheth Kachhalia's death. With such small beginnings a habit is formed and then even weighty articles can be written. When Polak came to me, his articles at first were very long and insipid. After four months' experience he could write tolerably well and after a year he was an adept. The great difficulty with you is want of confidence in your own capacity. There is no reason to believe that you are a dunce. I am certain you have great innate powers and if only you begin to take interest in Reading and writing, the results are sure to be very good....."

17-1-2019

The following letter was received from Mr. Jehangir Petit in answer to his talk with Bapu.

*"With reference to our conversation of yesterday, I have to request you not to move in the matter. I incidentally mentioned to the mill-owners at our meeting yesterday the gist of our conversation, but they were all of opinion that the matter was one which should be settled and was capable of being settled by the employers and the employees themselves without any outside interference.

Yours sincerely,

J. B. Petit"

21-1-2019

Bombay: Bapu was operated upon for piles today. Slept till 8.30 p.m. Became unconscious then and began to rave. The last outburst during the delirium was very significant: “These two things are a ‘must’ for the Government. It has but to annul the Salt Act and nationalize the milk industry. It passes my understanding how such a cruel tax as this on salt was meekly accepted by the people. The whole country could have been inflamed to revolt against the Government at the time the law was passed. How could there be a tax on salt so indispensable to human life?”

After he came to his senses he began to dictate letters at 12 midnight. Narhari[1] had adversely criticised Bapu's amendment in his vow to abjure milk: “We are all glad to learn that you have begun to take goat's milk. But there is greater strength in giving up the vow straight away than in discovering new implications from it in order to discard it, stage by stage, etc."

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1. Narhari Parikh, Editor of the Diaries.

Bapu's reply:

“Bhaishri Narhari,

Early at 0.30 a.m. I am dictating this letter. My operation for piles was performed yesterday. Intense pain followed it and I was given an injection of morphia. That brought about stupor and then sleep. Right from 2 p. m. yesterday I slept upto 12 midnight. My brain is therefore now cool and I do not think I shall have any sleep for some time more. It is, besides, Mahadev's turn to keep vigil just now. I am therefore in a mood to dictate a reply to your letter:

“Everyone hopes that as a result of this operation I shall have no piles' trouble any more. In that case there is every chance of my rapid recovery. My stay here, however for a month or so is certain. Before I leave for some other place I will pay a visit to the Ashram. I wish you all not to worry over my health.

I am very glad to read your comment on the relaxation of my vow about milk. When a man feels that his friend is succumbing to weakness under the pressure of illness or any other cause, it is his duty to draw the friend's attention to the fact. So many temptations come in the way of a man's (spiritual) progress and Nature has

endowed such easy bypaths to entice him into self-delusion, that even a constantly vigilant person is sure to fall into a temptation, if he is morally weak or if his renunciations are not the outcome of a real apathy towards sense-pleasures (vairagya). That is why friends must be, as I have shown above, sentinels to guard each other's purity. I wish you all to perform that duty thoroughly. Therein lies your (moral) progress as well as mine. I do make it a point to consult Mahadev before making any important change in my life, but I have always had a feeling that my consultation with him does not yield the best results, as, owing to his all-absorbing love for me, he cannot fully discern my flaws, or, if he does, he simply over-looks them. I would have been gladder if you had written your comments in a letter direct to me (instead of to him). At least to thisex tent I am certain of myself: I can properly evalute the worth of an adverse criticism, because I have sufficient detachment for the purpose. Where, therefore, there is a disagreement between my view and that of anyone among you, I should be apprised of the fact. The information will not have a serious effect on my brain (even in this sickbed) and I shall be saved from the plight of being a judge of my own acts. Speaking for myself, I have no doubt that I have been able to keep to my vows very carefully and very successfully. Before I began to take goat's milk, I had given the matter a full 24 hours' consideration, and to me it is certain that whenever I have given any concession in the observance of any vow, I have done so for strong and justifiable reasons. There is no impelling urge in me to continue to live and, though 5 months have elapsed since I fell ill, my indifference to whether I survive the illness or not is as complete as before. When I took my vow it was impossible for any other kind of milk, except that of the cow or the buffalo to be present in my mind and in fact I was then thinking only of these two kinds. It was after deep reflection that I had taken this milk vow. I took it because I was deeply stirred at that time by the consciousness of the cruelty that the cow and the buffalo suffer from.[1] What was my duty under these circumstances? Should I understand the vow according to its plain and natural meaning or its suggestive and subtle implication? I think my interpretation should be as liberal as possible and I should accept the concessison that legitimately follow. But I am not going to admit that in taking goat's milk I am breaking my view even in a subtle manner. It is indeed true that the dietetic experiment of doing without milk does receive a serious set-back after my use of goat's milk, but a dietetic experiment is not the same as a spiritual practice. The self-restraint and spirituality that lay behind my abstinence from milk have been left completely unimpaired even by this *liberal interpretation*. The pressure of friends about the use of milk continued to increase as

days passed. Dr. Mehta was pouring upon me cables after cables. Thousands of brother-Indians were very irritated and unhappy at my 'perversity' during this illness. Though Ba did not always shed visible tears and openly bewail my insistence, her whole inner being was under great stress and strain. What should I do in this situation? There can be only one answer. Without departing one jot or little from my vow I must, within the four corners of its limits, give as much latitude to myself as I can. This much is enough for the present. There are many other arguments still, but I have given only the chief one. If it does not satisfy you and if you continue to see only weakness in my step, do send me your further comments. I shall be very glad if you consult others also and join their plea with yours. At present I am not going to discontinue milk even if I find that your objections are valid. Let not the fear, therefore, that I might give up milk deter you from stating your comments candidly.

I am very glad that you are paying particular attention to teaching Manibehn (Narharibhai's wife) the *three* Rs. If we can draw all our women out of their ignorance, we will achieve wonderful results."

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1. As regards his resolve to abjure milk, Gandhiji writes in his Autobiography:

"It was from Rayachandbhai that I first learnt that milk stimulated animal passion. Books on vegetarianism in English strengthene the idea, but so long as I had not taken the brahmacharya vow I could not make up my mind to forego milk. I had long realized that milk was not necessary for supporting the body, but it was not easy to give it up. While the necessity of avoiding milk in the interests of self-restraint was growing upon me, I happened to come across some literature from Calcutta, describing the tortures to which cows and buffaloes were subjected by their keepers. This had a wonderful effect on me. I discussed it with Mr. Kallenbach .....Mr. Kallenbach said, "We constantly talk of the harmful effects of milk. Why then do we not give it up? It is certainly not necessary." I was agreeably surprised at the suggestion, which I warmly welcomed, and both of us pledged ourselves to abjure milk there and then. This was at Tolstoy Farm in 1912"

Experiences, however, had made Gandhiji change his views on the use of milk. He has given his latest views in his book, 'Arogyani Chavi' (Key to Health), written in 1942 in the Agakhan Palace, where he was then confined. He has stated in effect:

"Though my views in favour of vegetarianism stand, experience compels me to admit that milk and its products—butter, curd etc.,--are an unavoidable necessity for the perfect sustenance of the human body. This is an important change in my views on the matter. I have done without milk, ghee etc., for six years. There was no lack of vitality on that account during the period. But owing to my ignorance I fell a prey in 1918 to a severe attack of dysentery. My frame was reduced to a skeleton, With determined insistence I refused to take any medicine, and took the same resolute stand against the use of milk or curd mixed with water. All efforts to re-build the body under these limitations failed. The doctor then put in: "But your vow could only refer to buffalo's or cow's milk. Why can't you take goat's milk?" My wife immediately backed the proposal and I relented. I must admit that the man who has foregone cow's or buffaloe's milk is really bound to eschew goat's

milk also, because the last also contains same kinds of (non vegetarian) substances as the former two. The difference is a matter of degree, not of kinds. So only the letter of my vow was preserved. As for its spirit, it was certainly killed. Be that as it may. Goat's milk was brought to me and I immediately took it. Quite a new vitality pulsated through my veins. I felt strong and got up from the bed. This and other experiences have forced me to turn in favour of the use of milk. But I have an unconquerable faith that among the countless varieties of vegetation on earth there must be some which can be a perfect substitute for milk or curd and still be without the latter's flaw as an animal food. But only the future can prove the propriety of my faith."

Another letter:

"Chi. Bali,[1]

I have your letter. I go through ups and downs in health. As I was having severe piles' trouble for about 4 days, I was operated upon yesterday. Time alone can show whether there will be no reappearance of the trouble. The children are all happy and cheerful. The day before yesterday Kumi[2] had taken them with her, but they were brought back before nightfall, as Harilal has specifically written that no change should be made in the children's place of sleeping. I am sorry I cannot comply with your wish. I have to be cruel enough to refuse your request to send them to your place. It is very necessary, moreover, that the children are not frequently shuttled to and fro. A teacher, has been engaged for them since yesterday. Manu[3] is recovering under the treatment given to her and she as well as Rami are growing satisfactorily. If, under these circumstances, you think exclusively of the interests of the children, you will not insist that they should be sent to you. But I wish you to visit the Ashram every month or two or every three months at the longest and indulge in fun and frolic with them. I shall have the pleasure of your company besides. The deaths of both Chhabalbhabhi[4] and Chanchal[5] have given you a deep shock, I know. If I could, by any means, shift upon myself the burden of your grief, I would gladly do so and release you from the life-long sorrow that has fallen to your lot. You are as good as a daughter to me and quite welcome to open your heart in your letters. Do write to me of and on. Ba sends her blessings."

On the 20th the employees of the Mulji Jetha Market, Bombay, offered a peculiar kind of Satyagraha *for enhancement in their salaries*. They lay down flat in rows of five or six so as to completely block the entrance into the Market and had for their placards, "You may as well tread on the stomachs of the poor and get in," prominently displayed. The leader of the strikers Mr. Jerajani resolved to go on a one-

day fast. When Gandhiji came to know of all this, he called him to his presence and rebuked him:

"I don't see any Satyagraha in what you have done. Satyagraha is not a weapon which can be used to exact what you want by force. That is Satyagraha wherein you attain your objective through the method of love. It cannot be justice pure and simple that you may get through the means you have employed. How can a hungerstrike prove the justice of your demands? Is it fair to imitate my action without getting my approval before hand? What you have done is not 'Satyagraha' but the very acme of 'A-Satyagraha' (anything but Satyagraha). It is Satyagraha if you do not resume work and let your employers engage whomsoever they may. That is the right course of action for you." Then Bapu asked, "For how many days have you resolved to go without food?" He was told that the fast was only for one day. Bapu then said, "Then it is all right. You may fast, but end it the earliest moment consistently with your declaration. My case was different. I had gone on a fast to stop 10,000 persons from lapsing from their vow.[6]

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1. Chi.—Chiranjivi-long-lived, a term of blessings used by a elder for a youngster. Bali was an elder sister of Chanehal behn, alias Gulab behn, wife of Gandhiji's eldest son Harilal bhai.

2. Kumi behn or Kamu behn was another elder sister of Chanchal behn.

3. Harilalbhai's children: Kanti (boy) , Rami (girl) , Rasik (boy) and Manu (girl).

4. Harilalbhai's mother in-law; Harilalbhai's father-in-law was Mr. Harilal Vakhatchand Vora, a leading lawyer in Rajkot (Sourashtra). He was a close friend of Gandhiji, was, like the latter, deeply interested in naturopathy and kept with him a good stock of books on the subject. It was from these books that Gandhiji began his study of naturopathy.

5. Mrs. Harilalbhai.

6. Reference to Bapu's fast during the mill-workers' strike at Ahmedabad, 1918.

24-01-2019

Bapu's talk raised a storm of controversy. The report in '*The Bombay Chronicle*' may be said to have excelled in misinterpretation. I had therefore to draft a letter to the '*Chronicle*' denying its statements and explaining what Bapu had said. Bapu commented on the draft: "Your letter does not include what I said about the propriety of the matter." I replied, 'You had spoken only about their hunger-strike, not about their lying prostrate to block the passages through the gates." Immediately Bapu said, "All right. Then make that fact clear in your letter and let it go."

25-1-2019

Letter from Miss Esther Ferring:

*"Do we take avow in order to help and strengthen our character? Does God require us to take any kind of vows? Can a vow not become fatal? I do ask you, Bapu, in all reverence, because I desire to get more light on the question. I believe that God suffers, because you are now suffering, Bapu, although you suffer with joy. But if God is a father and if God is perfect love, does it not then cause suffering to Him, when His children take a burden upon them, which they are not asked to carry? If you could explain me the deeper meaning of the vow it might help me in my own life."

Reply:

*"My dear Esther,

I shall try to answer your very pertinent question as fully as possible. A vow is nothing but a fixed resolution to do or abstain from doing a particular thing. During the Self denial Week the members of Salvation Army take a vow, to abstain from taking jam or other eatable for a fixed period. During Lent the Roman Catholics undergo certain privations. That is also a vow. In each case the result expected is the same, viz., purification and expression of the soul. By these Resolutions you bring the body under subjection. Body is matter, soul is spirit, and there is internal conflict between matter and spirit. Triumph of matter over the spirit means destruction of the latter. It is common knowledge that in the same proportion we indulge the body, we mortify the soul. Body or matter has undoubtedly its uses. The spirit can express itself only through matter or body. But that result can be obtained only when body is used as an instrument for the uplifting of the soul. The vast majority of the human family do not use the body in that manner. The result is triumph of the body or matter over the spirit or the soul. We, who know the soul to be imperishable living in a body which ever changes its substance and is perishable, must by making fixed resolutions bring our Bodies under such control that we may be able to use them for the fullest service of the soul. This idea is fairly clearly brought out in the New Testament. But I have seen it nowhere explained as clearly and fully as in Hindu scriptures. You will find this law of self-denial written in every page of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. Have you read these two books? If not, you should one of these days read them carefully and with the eye of faith. There is a great deal of fabulous matter about these two books.

They are designed for the masses and the authors have deliberately chosen to write them in a manner that would make them acceptable to the people. They have hit upon the easiest method of carrying the truth to the millions and the experience of ages shows that they have been marvellously successful. If I have not made myself sufficiently understood or written convincingly please tell me so and I shall endeavour again.

I have undergone an operation. Today is the sixth day. I do not know whether it is a successful operation. It was performed by an eminent surgeon. He is undoubtedly a very careful man. It would be no fault of his, if I have to continue to suffer pain inspite of the operation.

With love,

Ever yours,

Bapu"

26-1-2019

In the morning I went to Mr. Jehangir Petit's bungalow to suggest to him that Mrs. Polak should be paid her voyage fare to England from the Imperial Citizenship Association's fund. He was not there, but I saw Mrs. Jaiji Petit and had long talks with her. She made an excellent impression on my mind and I said to Bapu that I thought about her. He spoke out immediately, "O, she is a veritable angel! She has all the best qualities of the Parsi community and none of its faults. She is never conscious that she is a millionaire's daughter. As in this matter, in everything else she never fails to express her own independent view and then says, "I have had my say, and now you can do as you please." It is owing to this attitude that she has been able to get on with a man like Jehangir."

Freemasonry was the subject of our talk in the evening. He said, "There is no black magic worse than freemasonry, but in order to fight it we should have to go through a literature whose vastness passes our imagination."

27-1-2019

Dictated today the Introduction to Narhari's book.[1] Bapu then remarked, "I remember so many incidents of that struggle and with such vividness that I think no one else can reproduce the story of the fight as well as I. If I once begin to write, I can easily fill 1000 pages, and the narrative may grow into an epic. But I have no idea when, if at all, it will be written.[2] If we go to England and carry with us an abundance of material on the subjet we can do the work there during that period of leisure and rest."

Narhari's letter in reply to Bapu's on the question of the latter's vow about abjuring milk:

"There is certainly perfect charity of heart in your step (of taking goat's milk), but only the letter of the vow has been kept thereby. If we regard milk as akin to flesh (i. e. non-vegetarian food) goat's milk is quite at par with cow' milk."

Reply:

"Your letter has been read to me. I am very glad that you have frankly written what you think. I send his reply in the hope of getting a still more detailed exposition of your view. The broad meaning of my vow can be no other than what you say it is. Hence it was that on the very day when I began to take goat's milk, I declared, 'The real joy and zest in keeping the vow have now evaporated. I can no longer make experiments in milkless diet. Nor can I now be proud of the fact that I do not take a single non-vegetarian substance.' All the same even after listening to your letter I feel that my vow is not broken. I think that in the restricted meaning of the vow my interpretation is correct. The very idea of goat's milk was entirely out of my mind when I took the vow. *And I am prepared to go to the length of saying that the fact that there were big loop...holes left in my two vows shows the crystal purity underlying them.*

As regards my vow of taking only five articles in a day[3] I can rightfully have a concession when I stay in a foreign land and in the case of the milk vow the goat came to my aid with the kindness of a mother. There are many instances in our scriptures of vows being kept only in their literal and narrow sense. I can only now understand the propriety and sense in such concessions given by our scriptures.It is better to say of a man like myself that he kept the letter of the now than to say that he broke it. I suppose I can now carry on with goat's milk. But there are people, and there will be more of them, who assert that I cannot regain my old vitality in full, unless I take cow's milk.

But it is certain I am not going to take cow's milk even if their fear proves true. I will not, moreover, be able to get goat's milk wheresoever I go. That means that even the mere literal observance of the vow will not be easy or convenient. But the question whether it will be easy or difficult is not the issue between us. What we have think over is simply the question whether it is possible or not to interpet my vow in the way I do. If the interpretation is really allowable, it becomes my '*apad-dharma*'[4] to accept it and remove the deep mental pain of my circle of friends and save my body from destruction. To me no one gets the right to break his vow on the ground that he is pressed by some body else to do so. Only the personal realization that he had blundered or sinned in taking the vow entitles him to give it up. If even once a man is allowed to break his vow for any other reason, the very observance of vows would become a mockery of them and all the sanctity and grandeur in taking vows would vanish. But I see no harm at all in interpreting a vow in different ways and taking advantage of such liberal interpretation where necessary. A man is not cheating himself if he persuades his mind that he has kept his vow of eschewing salt on the eleventh of the lunar month (*ekadashi*) when he takes rock-salt on that holy day instead of the common salt. It is enjoined that salt must not be taken on that day, and weak as he is he cannot give up the saltish taste altogether. The man, therefore, who uses another saltish substanceas a substitute for common salt does observe at least some self-restraint in order to keep the *ekadashi* vow. There is a chance that in this way he may be led in future to giving up rock-salt also.

"I do not wish to prolong my reply now. You may think over what has been written here and if there is anything more you would like to write on the matter, you may do so at your convenience.

All of us will learn something from the exchange of such letters and if I am erring I shall see the light."

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1. "Vasahati Prashno," (Problems of the Indians Overseas). The book contains chiefly the translation of Gokhale's speeches on the problems of the South African Indians.

2. Later on Gandhiji was able to write the book. It is entitled "Satyagraha in South Africa".

3. Gandhiji took the vow of not taking more than five articles in a day and of refusing to eat anything after nightfall in 1915 during the 'Kumbha Mela' (a religious fair) Hardwar. He kept this vow till the end of his life. In this vow there was the reservation of taking more than five things in a foreign land. As during that long illness in 1918, he could not, despite the best efforts of doctors, put on flesh, they and Gandhiji's friends held the view that this vow blocked his progress. They had therefore suggested that Gandhiji should go abroad for

about 3 months and Gandhiji himself was inclined to do so. But the use of goat's milk brought results, his health began to improve and immediately afterwards the Rowlatt Bill agitation burst upon the country. He therefore gave up the idea of a sojourn abroad.

4. "A *dharma* (course of conduct here) allowable in times of extreme distress". (Apte's Dictionary)

Letter from Revashankar Sodha[1]:

"Please provide for my education, as I want to learn".

Reply:

"I am glad to know of your eagerness to learn and I wish to respect your desire, but just at present I have to curb it. Fondness for learning deserves to be overcome sometimes. I am pained at my very poor knowledge of Sanskrit. I cannot put in language my burning desire to learn up Marathi, Bengali and Tamil. But I had to restrain my longing in view of the successive undertakings that fell into my hands. I often wish very much to teach Devdas a lot and I know that he possesses an excellent grasping capacity. I have, besides, the faith that he is so constituted that he would put his knowledge to good use. With all that his study has been suspended since the work of teaching Hindi to our Madrasi brothers is a more important work for him. Then take Chi. Maganlal's instance. He has yet to go a very long way in academic studies. And all of us will agree that he can utilize his knowledge very profitably if he is well-read. That he has not been able to complete his education is a defect that catches my eye very often. All the same, ever since he joined me, I had to engage him in some other work and hence I have not been able to let him progress in his studies. I can give many such instances, but those already given are sufficiently many to satisfy you. Just at present we have to make the Ashram hum with so many essential activities, that it is necessary to engage as many persons in them as we can requisition. That is why I feel that you should, at present, do honestly and sincerely whatever work you are entrusted with and give the fullest satisfaction to those concerned. I am never, going to forget the question of providing for your education and when I think it is the right time for you to begin your study, I am not going to let the chance slip from my fingers. If you are not satisfied with my reply, do let me know your mind, I want to take work from you but only after keeping you satisfied. Be very careful about your health. I feel I am recovering. When the treatment I am undergoing at the doctor's hands is completed, the first place I will visit before going any where else will be the Ashram. But it will be

a month still before I can go there. You may, therefore, let me know your view in a letter to me. Do not put off writing under the assumption that you can have a hearty talk with me when we meet. And have no constraint or hesitation in telling me what you really feel."

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1. Son of Gandhiji's colleague in South Africa; he had come to India to stay in the Ashram.

28-1-2019

Bapu wrote the following to the Hon. Mr. Patel about the Bill[1] which he (Mr. Patel) has proposed: "Even after the fact that your Bill has raised a storm of opposition in the Hindu Society, do you think it necessary to press for its acceptance? I wish you come to see me to discuss the matter".

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1. To legalize inter-caste marriages among Hindus.

29-1-2019

Mrs. Besant visited Bapu ostensibly to inquire after his health, but really to know his attitude towards the Deputation to England she was sponsoring. Bapu said, "I can go there only as a free agent." She was quick to seize the chance. "Then it is only we who can send you as such. Why not go as a member of our Deputation? You may think over the proposal and let me know latest on the 14th." Panditji (Malaviyaji) then came in the afternoon. The same talk—about the Deputation. Bapu said, "How fine, if something happens to stop the Congress Deputation from going to England: The men we have chosen cannot reflect any glory on the Congress." Panditji demurred: "Not so. With both of us there, the others are bound to follow us." Many other topics were discussed.Bapu paid a return visit to Mrs. Besant at night. She told me, "Even two hours' stay in a stuffy place like the one where you put up gets on the nerves and becomes unbearable to hardest-worked men like us. Why are you keeping Mr. Gandhi under such uncomfortable surroundings? Had he been staying in a better place he would have recovered 25 days earlier." On our return, I reported Mrs. Besant's remarks to Bapu. "The most excellent among us", Bapu sighed, "do not understand what it is to have self-restraint. They cannot sacrifice physical comforts in the least. That is the plight to which we have fallen".

Daftari came to discuss the Patel (Inter-caste Marriage) Bill. The question arose whether the Hindu Law as it stands sanctions even sub-caste marriages. Dr. Tej Rahadur Sapru said that it does not. Bapu remarked, "Self-restraint is the fundamental basis of Hinduism, and it is only on this ground of self-restraint that I am opposed to the Bill".[1]

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1. At that time Bapu thought it want of self-restraint to contract a marriage even with a member of a different sub-caste. His views have undergone many transformations since then. He had begun later on to believe that the existence of caste is a great impediment to the progress of Hindu society and it must be destroyed. He had stopped attending a marriage between members of one and the same caste, and in his last years he would not take part even in an intercaste marriage where one of the couple was not a Harijan.

30-1-2019

Telegram from Syed Hussein of the 29th:

*"*Independent* appearing fifth February. Kindly send autographed message for publication first issue."

Bapu dictated the reply:

*"In wishing you success in your new enterprise I would like to say how I hope your writings would be worthy of the title you have chosen for your journal; and may I further hope that to a robust independence you will add an equal measure of self-restraint and the strictest adherence to truth ? Too often in our journals as in others do we get fiction instead of fact and declamation in place of sober reasoning. You would make The Independent a power in the land and a means of education for the people by avoiding the errors I have drawn attention to.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. Gandhi"

It was found afterwards that the editor could not muster up sufficient courage to publish the message.

Letter from Mr. O. S. Ghate (attorney for Ali Brothers) on the repressive Rowlatt Bills. Strong criticism against its detestable and disgusting features. Statement that owing to the forthcoming Bills the fate of Ali Brothers was now practically sealed. Tragic appeal to Gandhiji to do his best for their release as all their hopes now rested on his effort.

Reply:

*"I was glad to receive your letter although it is a doleful one. I was wondering why I did not not hear from you. My eye is fixed on Ali Brothers. I am simply waiting for the result of the Government inquiry. Nothing should be done until the report of that Commitee has been presented to the Government.

Is the inquiry over? If as a result of the inquiry the Brothers are not released the time for action will have arrived. The responsibility of taking such action as will be necessary,

I know, rests on my shoulders and if I am at all well I shall not allow a single moment to pass in taking action, and from the present state of my health I have every reason to hope that within a month's time I should be able to take up this work if it becomes necessary. My medical adviser expects me to take fully three months' rest outside India after he discharges me. But for the sake of this work I should certainly forego the three months' rest. I agree with you that the new Bill for the preservation of internal tranquility is damnable and no stone may be left unturned by us to kill the measure. But I strongly feel that because of its very severity it will never become law. I think that all the Indian members of the Imperial Courcil will strenuously oppose it. But all this is no reason for the country not taking up vigorous agitation. I am myself preparing to do my humble share in it. I am watching its course. There is no fear of its immediately becoming law. There will therefore be ample time to direct and develop the strongest possible agitation. In any event I would like the Brothers to keep absolutely clear of the agitation until they have gained their full freedom. I shall hope that they will take no action without consultation with me."

2-2-2019

“Chi. Devdas,

I was expecting your letter today, but there was none. I did not feel less sorry at our parting, but I saw that both your own interest and your duty lay in your leaving me for your work. I therefore suppressed my personal grief; which could only be due “to my infatuation for you, and insisted on your departure. When your work in Madras is over I will satisfy your aspiration for literary studies. But you should realize and remember the fact that very few others have gained as rich and fruiful experiences as you from the kind of life you have led. One should remain a student all one's life. If you make this view the guiding principle of your life, you will never feel yourself too old for learning anything..... Write to me regularly and do your evening prayers punctually without a break.”

16-2-2019

A long letter from Mr. Ghate about the Ali Brothers who are not yet released.

Reply:

*"I have your valuable letter. I have telegraphed to you saying that I had already written to the Home Member inquiring about the Government's decision. I passed that information on to Mr. Shuaib sometime ago and thought that in due course it would filter down to you and to our friends. At that time Mr. Desai was not by me and I restricted my correspondence as much as possible. At the time I wrote to Mr. Shuaib I said also that in the event of an unfavourable reply the fight must commence. I was then under the belief that my health would in a way permit of my undertaking that activity. Unfortunately it has become like a pendulum swinging to and fro and just at the present moment there is again a set-back and the doctors tell me that I dare not take any exertion for three months. I am however trying to speed recovery and I still hope that by the time I receive the reply from Delhi I shall be ready for work.

Your letter gives me a greater insight into the Rowlatt Bills. I detest them entirely and for me the Reforms will be useless if the measures are passed. I am carefully watching the progress of events in the country and I feel sure that the Brothers need not as yet take any steps about them. It is heart-rending, these domestic losses they have suffered. There is hardly a family left in India that has not lost some dear ones. One's feelings almost become blunt when the same news comes from everywhere with merciless regularity."

17-2-2019

Meeting of the principal Ashramites. Bapu's stern rebuke:

“There is discontent brewing in the Ashram on all matters. Why? Dissatisfaction at Maganlal's words and acts; at his partiality towards some inmates; outsiders, i.e. students who come from the city, have little respect for the Ashram school. What must I do in this context?

I have to put before you some very strict maxims to go by. I have not called the women inmates here, but they too are tired of the Ashram and are tempted to think of leaving it. I have already told them, “You can never gain from anywhere else what you have gained here”. You, too, are free to continue tostay if you can assimilate the hard lessons of the Ashram life. You must therefore think deeply before you decide whether to stay or leave. Despite your dissatisfaction why are you clinging to the Ashram, though many of you are not helpless? Because of your love or infatuation for me.

So the first maxim that can be deduced from the above is this: It is blind infatuation if one is so fascinated by the personality of a man as to refuse to give due consideration to the man's actions. I did come across persons with such blind infatuation in South Africa also. I had told them, “Phoenix is my creation. If it appears worthless to you, I too, am equally so.” If a man has no faith in my activities, it really means he has no faith in me. I claim to have a correct perception of the worth of a man, but at present I cannot prove my claim. If you have no faith in the activities of the Asrham or are dissatisfied with its working you can go away. Those who have come with the single purpose of dedicating themselves to the Ashram without any expectation of return can, of course, continue their stay; or those others may remain who have come to show Gandhi his folly or his errors. But I don't see among you man of the second type. All of you have come with an idea of getting and giving something. The Ashram will be estimated from the worth of all of us, and we cannot form a judgment about anybody's worth without taking his acts into consideration.

Phoenix is my biggest achievement in South Africa. But for it there would have been no Satyagraha there. If this Ashram ceases to exist, there is no possibility of a Satyagraha in India. It may be that I have committed a blunder in starting this Ashram. If it is really so, I ought to be shunned by all. I am going to proclaim to the whole country that it should judge me from this creation of mine, the Ashram, and not either from Kaira or Champaran (fights). If you find disorganisation, partialily etc. in the

Ashram, you will find the same defects in all my acts. I am the first among the Ashramites and the Ashram will continue to function so long I myself act upon its ideals. If I am unable to keep with me a single individual here, I will dive into my inner self to watch its working and try to offer the purest type of self-sacrifice I am capable of. Do not be dazzled by my other achievements. You must estimate my worth from that of the Ashram only. Maganlal is one of the creations in the Ashram. If I have detected fifty lakhs of vices in Maganlal I have also found a hundred lakhs virtues in him. Polak is a mere child before Maganlal. Polak has not suffered from half the wounds which Maganlal has bravely borne. Maganlal has sacrificed his previous occupation for coming over here. And he did it not for my sake personally but from the altruistic motive of leading a life of service. Do not imagine that Maganlal is a yes-man dancing to my piping. He has tied himself to the Ashram ideal and that is why he sticks. He had once made full preparations to bid me a good-bye.

I shall not, therefore, be able to continue the Ashram after dismissing Maganlal. If I drive him out, things would come to a pass when I would be the one inmate left in the Ashram. The activities I have to begin unavoidably require Maganlal's presence here. I have not seen any man who surpasses him in fitness. I know he is subject to anger and other imperfections, but taken all in all he is an excellent man. His honesty is beyond doubt. You must take it for a truth as indubitable as a Geometrical theorem that to the extent that Maganlal is faulty, I too am faulty.

If a quarrel arises with my brother or my parents, I will not tom-tom it and let others know of it. In the same way we must not carry to an outsider our complaint against an inmate of the institution in which we live. When a man begins to suspect the *bonafides* of another person or to hate him, he should cut off his connection with that man. When he thus leaves his associates one after another, he will find himself alone and unfriended in the world and then he will either commit suicide or come to his senses, and rectify his own perversions. Not only should you not speak out to an outsider your grudge against the institution in which you live, but you should not allow even your own mind to entertain it. The moment such a feeling enters the mind, you should kick it off. If you think of me as your guide and elder, you must bear in mind what I say and behave in a brotherly spirit with all Ashramites. During my presence here, you may take the liberty to do as you please, but after I go out, you must gather up your ranks and conduct yourselves in an exemplary manner. If there is want of unity among you during my absence, the fact betrays a defect in me and you must give me up.

I want to drive out this sense of dissatisfaction at the working of the Ashram in order to afford mental peace to Maganlal, or better still, in order to serve the country, because I have sacrificed Maganlal at the altar of national service.

There are two courses open for the disgruntled. Either they should themselves leave the Ashram or they should successfully persuade me into asking Maganlal to quit the Ashram. But I am not going to drive him out, so long as I am not convinced that he is sowing bitterness and hatred in the Ashram. The world has no other basis upon which to judge a man except his acts. A man is as good or as bad as the institution he creates. My close friend, Mr. Kitchen,[1] had made this same accusation, but no body stands comparison with Maganlal in the well-organised and efficient work he has put in".

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1. One of Gandhiji's colleagues in South Africa. Bapu says, "Herbert Kitchen was a high-souled Englishman and an electrician by profession. He worked with us during the Boer War," He was for some time editor of 'The Indian Opinion' also.

23-2-2019

Dictated a letter to Devdas:

"I have your letters. Without careful deliberation we must never give any promise to anybody; we may thereby be saved from the sin of bad faith. Harilal used to write a very niggling hand, but he made conscious efforts and improved his hand-writing. So now three brothers write neatly, but you are going from bad to worse. With very great difficulty Mahadev could decipher the Hindi letter you wrote on behalf of the Swamiji, and I found it impossible to go through it. While a good hand is a feather on a man's cap, a bad hand is no small defect. We thereby inflict a tedium and trouble on our elders and friends and even harm our activity. You know that I cannot decipher a cramp handwriting. I therefore earnestly request you to improve your hieroglyph.

I am keeping well. I take daily four pounds of milk in all, but in four instalments. We have kept two goats for the milk. For seven days I took nothing but that milk, but our 'Ice Doctor'[1] recommended today seven raisins with each feed. I cannot move about still, but the 'Ice doctor' believes that I will be able to do so in a few days. I propose to give him a third name 'Dudhabhai' ('Dudh' is Gujarati for milk. So 'Dudhabhai' can be translated as Mr. Milk,) because he is at present mad after milk treatment. He thinks that milk is the best possible food. So I told him, "You at least must live upon milk all your life". He is taking milk-diet at least at present. Let us see if he continues it in future.

I hope to be able to visit you by the end of March.

A meeting of the Satyagrahi warriors is going to be held on Monday in the Satyagrahashram. The final decision will be then made after a due consideration of the weapons and the stock of ammunition each one possesses. If you have read Shamalbhatt's (a mediaeval Gujarati poet) description of the War Conference which Ravana had held before his engagement with Rama's forces, Mahadevbhai will not need to write to you an account of Monday's meeting.

Manu has been regularly stealing fat from everybody except myself, and looks like a prize water-melon grown up in the Ashram. If anybody wants to instal Shree Ganapati[2] Manu can as well fill in His place, if only a trunk is brought from somewhere and attached to her nose. With increasing lustre she has become everybody's doll. Rasik[3] quite often exhibits his 'rasikata' by the rather free use of his cane-stick. Kanti is getting to be orderly and quiet. Rami's health continues to be indifferent. Ba's

time is all spent away in bringing up the children. I see that she sometimes feels tired and jaded. So she gets into a surly, irritated mood occasionally and just as, if a potter gets angry he twists a she-donkey's ear, his wife I suppose, must be letting off her steam by outbursts against the master of the asses.

After this indulgence in a light mood, I must, as an offset, give you some serious matter to think over.

"It is my firm belief that every Indian ought to know well his mother tongue and Hindi-Urdu, which is without doubt the only common medium of expression between lakhs of Indian belonging to different provinces. There can be no self-expression without this necessary equipment."

This is the translation of the passage you have sent. For your motto you may have the following written in Tamil: *Karaka Kasadara Karpavai*[4] Below it Swamiji will give you the Hindi for our Gujarati proverb 'tipe tipe sarovar bharay' (Little drops of water fill up a big lake), and below that in English: 'Constant dropping wears away stones'. The Tamil proverb is given on the first page of Pope's book. Find out the Telugu equivalent for it and put in that also.

If, before giving your Primer to the press, you send it here for suggestions, Kaka (Kaka Kalelkar) and others will go through it and offer them. And if you send a proof-copy before it is finally printed, it will be possible to suggest an artistic get-up of the motto, etc. You may not send it, if you think it necessary to publish it the earliest you can.

Surendra's comments about the school here were the same as about the one there. The first impressions of a kindly unsophisticated person are often extremely favourable and it is but natural that they should be so. Miss Moltin[6] has called Phoenix a heaven on earth but I am sure that if she had stayed there a little longer, her views would have undergone at least some change.

Enough for the day now."

Then he wrote in his own hand:

"Even the following can do for a nursery rhyme:

"Rasiklal Harilal Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi

Bakaree ... bandhi

Bakri dova diye ... nahi

Gandhi rota riye ... nahi."

(Rasiklal Harilal Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, kept a she-goat at home; the goat does not let him have its milk and Gandhi does not stop from crying.)"

– by Rasik, the great poet.

Blessings,

Bapu"

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1. Dr. Kelkar, a naturopath and an ardent advocate of ice treatment. The Ashramites, therefore, called him 'Ice doctor' which was thus his second name.

2. "Son of Shiva and Parv ati.....He is the God of wisdom and remover of obstacles; hence He is evoked and worshipped at the commencement of every important undertaking. He is usually represented in a sitting posture, short and fat, with a protuberant belly, and four hands, riding a mouse, with the head of an elephant." – Apte's Dictionary.

3. "A man of (or appreciator of) good taste, elegance, beauty or grace" etc. Rasikata means the quality of being of good taste etc.

4. "*Karka Kasadara Karpavai*=What you learn, learn faultlessly (and then act up to it)."-Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi Vol-XV p. 99.

5. A White supporter of Gandhij in South Africa.

Letter to Harilal in the same genial mood:

"To the Satyagrahis' Firm[1] which deserves the best and happiest similes ('Shubhopamalayak', an ancient Gujarati expression of address to begin a letter). Just as I was beginning this letter, I had to make my room a court of justice. The accused was Rasik, the complainant an innocent dog. Through its howls it had loudly complained that somebody had thrashed it. My inquiry revealed that Rasik seemed to be the culprit. The accused confessed the crime, and on further questioning, his previous offences also. I was reminded of Lord Shree Krishna and Shishupal. The Lord had forgiven a hundred misdeeds of Shishupal. The judge (myself) therefore took pity upon the accused, Rasik, and pardoned all his five crimes, but he was warned that he would not be allowed to go scot-free, if he committed the same offence again and that he would then be given a personal experience of the pain which a dog feels when he is stoned.

As I am writing this, Kantilal is holding the inkpot. He and Ramibehn are reading the letter as it is being written and trying to improve upon it! The accused also is crouching behind one of the legs of the four-poster. Little Manu was giving out her shrieks of laughter at intervals, but now she is crying in order to be lifted on to my bed. The scene reminds me of the childhood days of Jadibehn, yourself and the others.

Though I have to be confined to bed, you will see from the tone of this letter that I may be said to be doing well.

The air here is thick with talks of the impending Satyagraha, but Mahadevbhai will give you the full picture— or I myself may, if I can, write that much.

Blessings,

Bapu"

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1. Harilalbhai and his colleagues who had gone to jail in South Africa were nicknamed by Gandhiji, 'The Satyagrahis' Firm' by way of an appreciative joke.

Invitation to Bapu from Diwan Bahadur Vijayaraghavachariar[1] to visit Madras for the Satyagraha campaign. An excellent letter; copied below:

"Private

*Dear Sir,

Our mutual friend the Hon. Mr. Patel agreed to introduce me to you in January last and I hope he has not forgotten to oblige me. Now that under God's (grace?) you have quite recovered your health, the country most naturally looks up to you for guiding instructions at this crisis in our march towards freedom. Most unexpected events have complicated the political situation. The one all-absorbing question is what we should do for the double purpose of getting rid of the legislation (Rowlatt Bills) based on the report of the Sedition Committee and of permanently and fruitfully mobilising our ideas and ideals in the matter of the political Reform. In its unexpected helplessness the country is every where thinking of passive resistance and thinkers and leaders are called upon to accept the necessity to devise ways and means for carrying on the sacred campaign. Most of us here are intensely anxious to consult you before we could think of making up our minds. Could you think of visiting Southern India for a few days as early as possible and help us with your advice? Certainly, I could go to

you but all things considered we believe that it would be intensely useful if you could personally visit a few important centres this side than entrust your view to a single individual like myself. We are in distress and despair even. The unexpected activides in quarters, deemed to be the strength of nationalism and suspected to be (the centre of) disguised disloyal extremism,have greatly contributed and are contributing to our distress and depression. But it is our sacred duty to act courageously and to prayerfully use every means in our power sanctified by God to surmount these unholy and wicked obstacles. Pray do think of helping us at this vital moment.

I shall be glad of a reply directed to my permanent address. With the kindest regards,

I am,

Yours sincerely,

G. V. Vijayaraghavachariar".

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1. A Congress leader of Tamilnadu and afterwards president of the Indian National Congress held at Nagpur in 1920.

19-2-2019

Bapu's reply:

*"I appreciate your letter and it makes me feel like running to Madras immediately. I have been thinking of going there for a long time. The delicate state of my health has come in the way, as it still does. But unless the campaign starts immediately or unless I am obliged to go to Lucknow regarding the Brothers Ali, I would certainly take the earliest opportunity of visiting Madras. I do feel that unless the Bills are radically altered in the Select Committee, resistance of a most stubborn character ought to be offered. I detest the Bills not so much for their deadliness as for being the surest symptoms of a deep-seated disease from which the Government of India must be free, if we are to enjoy a real measure of freedom under the Reforms. I hope to write to you again very soon. We are having here a conference of the Gujaratis tomorrow to consider the question of Satyagraha. Passive resistance poorly expresses the meaning conveyed by Satyagraha."

There was a letter from Miss Schlesin for the grant of a loan to her of £. 150/-. Bapu had cabled Parsi Rustomji to give the amount to her. According to her nature, Miss Schlesin felt irritated at Bapu's procedure of sending her the money through Rustomji and wrote an angry letter but admitted, *"Your business-like promptness is however for once commendable."

Reply to her:

*"It was so good of you to give me credit, if only for once, for being business-like. My own opinion for myself is that I am the most business-like man upon earth and so long as no one can disillusion me I shall continue to derive pleasure from the belief and to have a stray certificate from you only adds to the pleasure. I knew I would wound your vanity, self-esteem, glorious womanliness, whatever you like to call it, by making a friend my carrier instead of a Bank, for the very simple purpose of lending you money: Had I taken your very impractical advice it would have taken me much longer to send you the money because you must know that I am living in India where we do things in a fairly leisurely manner befitting the climate and the surroundings. Here Bankers are not servants of their clients, but their masters except when the clients happen to belong to the ruling race and probably it would have cost you £.15 to send you £.150. You, with your poetical instinct, set no value on money, whereas I,

a simple prosaic business-like man, realize that it requires £. 150 to finish the education of someone. Therefore if I spend away £. 15 I waste one-tenth of that sum if I can avoid having to spend it. Q. E. D.

You shall certainly treat what you have received as a loan. I believe I have already told Mr. Rustomji as such, but I cannot swear as I cannot keep copies of my correspondence as a rule. And I shall accept repayment whenever you choose to send it, with compound interest if you like, provided that you do not borrow to pay me.

You will infer from what has preceded that my health is better.I am still bed-ridden. My heart is supposed to be weak and I may not undertake any great exertion. But the feel is all right and I am cheerful.

Devibehn[1] writes to me regularly and tells me that you rarely visit her? That is not how people treat their goddesses.[2] Or have women the privilege of acting differently?

Yes, Harilal has been sorely stricken. Chanchi (Mrs. Harilal) was far superior to him. I did not specially write to you as I felt my cable to Ramdas in reply to his was enough for all. At the time moreover I was too ill to think of writing to anybody. All Harilal's children are here and are playing about me while I am dictating this letter.

Passive Resistance is on the *tapis* regarding certain legislation that the Government of India are passing through the Council. The war council meets tomorrow at the Ashram. You may depend upon it that it won't be a bad copy of similar councils in which you were both an actor (or actress?) and a fairly intelligent spectatress. You won't therefore need from me a description of the council meeting.

I am surprised at your remark about the Ashram's (here) prohibiting the entry of women. We have so many women here in the Ashram. We are educating them all, including three girls. The latter ones no doubt are our own girls, but that is not our limitation. It is due to the disinclination of the people to send their girls under the conditions that we impose. It will delight your heart to see the transformation that the women undergo here after a few days' stay. The *purdah* and all other unnatural restraints fall away as if by magic. I know you will hug most of them when you come here. Only you will have to revive your knowledge of Gujarati.

Imam Saheb[3] is living here and naturally also his daughters and his wife."

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1. Sister of Mr. West who was working in 'The Indian Opinion'.

2. Miss Schlesin, who has been already introduced in the early part of the book as Gandhiji's typist in South Africa at first but a valued co-worker afterwards, was more or less a suffragette.

3. A Muslim divine who came from South Africa with Bapu to stay in the Ashram.

24-2-2019

A War Conference to consider the ways and means of offering Satyagraha against the Rowlatt Bills[1] was held at the Ashram last night. About 20 persons from outside also attended. Among them were Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Messrs. Horniman, Oomer Sobani, Shankarlal Banker, Vallabhbhai Patel and Indulal Yagnik. A long discussion took place. Bapu warned them all very seriously of the grave dangers to which they would expose themselves if they offered Satyagraha. But all of them were prepared and eager to offer it, come what might. The following pledge which every Satyagrahi was required to sign was therefore drafted:

The Satyagraha Pledge.

Being conscientiously of opinion that the Bills known as the Indian Criminal Law (Amendment) Bill No. I of 1919 and the Criminal Law (Emergency Powers) Bill No. II of 1919 are unjust, subversive of the principle of liberty and justice, and destructive of the elementary right's of individuals on which the safety of the community as a whole and the State itself is based, we solemnly affirm that, in the event of these Bills becoming law and until they are withdrawn, we shall refuse civilly to obey these laws and such other laws as a Committee to be hereafter appointed may think fit and we further affirm that in this struggle we will faithfully follow truth and refrain from violence to life, person or property.

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1. A summary of the text of the Bills with Gandhiji's Comments thereon is given in Appendix III.

25-2-2019

Dictated letters about the impending Satyagraha.

To Andrews:

*"My dear Charlie,

I have telegraphed to you today. I could not write the letter that I contemplated doing when I sent my first wire. I have been passing through perfect agony, doctors telling me that I should not undertake any exertion, the Voice within me telling me that I must speak out on the Rowlatt Bills and the Viceregal pronouncement. Conflicting views pressed themselves on me and I did not know what to do. Many friends have looked to me for guidance. How could I desert them?

We met yesterday at the Ashram. It was a good meeting. The desire was to take the plunge even if we were only a few. The last word rested with me. I felt that the cause was true. Was I to forsake them? I could not do so and remain true to myself. You know the result. The papers herewith will give you fuller information. God only knows how I felt the need of your presence whilst the soul was in travail. I am now quite at peace with myself. The telegram to the Viceroy eased me considerably. He has the warning. He can stop what bids fair to become a mighty conflagration. If it comes, and if the Satyagrahis remain true to their pledge, it can but purify the atmosphere and bring in real Swaraj.

Have you noticed an unconscious betrayal of the true nature of modern civilization in Mr. Wilson's speech explaining the League of Nations' Covenant? You will remember his saying that if the moral pressure to be exerted against a recalcitrant party failed, the members of the League would not hesitate to use the last remedy, viz., brute force.

The pledge is a sufficient answer to the doctrine of force. But this does not close the chapter.

I have received a long cablegram from Mr. Aswat.[1] The situation for the Indians in the (S. African) Union is very serious indeed. The lesson of the last struggle is practically lost upon them. If we here can render no help, Indians in the Union will be reduced to an absolutely servile state. If they through their weakness cannot offer Satyagraha we must all call upon the Government to redress the grievance and to offer Satyagraha if they proclaim their helplessness. You can't have hostile interests in the

same partnership. I have written to the Government and I am sending a Press letter today.

There is still a third chapter. The Committee that was appointed to advise the Government upon the case of the Brothers Ali reported two months ago. I have read the papers. There is nothing in the charge to warrant their detention. If they are still not released, this would be a third case for Satyagraha for me.

I am bearing the burden lightly enough because the last two have caused no struggle with my conscience. If the main struggle starts, I may tack on to it the last two and thus complete the trinity.

I shall eagerly await your telegraphic opinion and then a detailed written opinion to follow. You will not wonder when I tell you that the women at the Ashram have all voluntarily signed the pledge ....."

---

1. A Co-worker of Gandhiji in South Africa.

Another to Natarajan[1]:

*"I send you copies of the Satyagraha pledge and the wire sent by me to the Viceroy. I know you regard the Bills with the horror that I do. But you may not agree with me as to the remedy to be applied. I hope, however, that you will not summarily dismiss the pledge from your mind. If you do not provide the rising generation with an effective remedy against the excesses of authority you will let loose the powers of vengeance and the doctrines of the little Bengal cult of violence will spread with a rapidity which all will deplore. Repression answers only so long as you can overawe people. But even cowards have been known to exhibit extraordinary courage under equally extraordinary stress. In offering the remedy of self-suffering, which is one meaning of Satyagraha, I follow the spirit of our civilization and present the young patriot with a remedy of which he need never despair.

The papers are to be treated as confidential. After the receipt of a reply from the Viceroy I may be able to authorise publication. The wire to the Viceroy is not to be published at all. I have supptied you with a copy because I entertain much regard for your opinion. Will you please share this letter with Sir Narayan?[2]

You will presently see my letter to the Press on the South African situation. Perhaps there will be an agreement between you and me that if the Government proclaim their helplessness, we must offer Satyagraha and prevent the impending ruin of the countrymen in South Africa."

---

1. Editor, "The Indian Social Reformer" and a Liberal leader.

2. Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, also a Liberal.

Quite a similar letter to Sir Stanley Read[1]:

*"It is not without some hesitation that I am sending the enclosed papers to you. But I feel that the right course for me to adopt is not to withhold them from you. Probably you will totally disagree with me as to my opinion of the Bills as also the method proposed to be adopted for securing redress. I will not argue about the matter because I can carry the argument no further than I have done in my telegram to the Viceroy.

All the paper's are confidential.

I shall value your frank opinion in the matter."

---

1. Editor of "The Times of India."

And to Sir Dinshaw[1] *also*:

"You must have seen the Satyagraha Pledge as well as my telegram to the Viceroy, copies of both of which I had asked Mr. Shankarlal Banker to supply you yesterday. How can I even think of requesting you to join the fight? But I do pray for your blessings. I am not going to do anything in a hurry. The pledge will be published only after the receipt of the Viceroy's reply. I think that (mere) petitions and appeals to the Government will no longer satisfy the rising generation. They must be given some concrete programme of effective action. I for one am convinced that Satyagraha is the only means to successfully stop the youth from accepting the cult of the bomb. It is from that point of view that I can legitimately request you to lend your moral support to the proposed Satyagraha movement.

How can I sufficiently thank you for the concern you have always shown for my health? I am now better, though my heart is still weak. Perhaps this fight itself will act as a tonic and restore my health as it were in a spurt."

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1. Sir Dinshaw Wachha. One of the most aged leaders, an ex-President of the Congress and a Liberal.

26-2-2019

The following covering letter was sent to the Press along with the Satyagraha Pledge:

*"Sir,

I enclose herewith the Satyagraha Pledge regarding the Rowlatt Bills. The step taken is probably the most momentous in the history of India. I give my assurance that it has not been taken hastily. Personally I have passed many a sleepless night over it. I have weighed carefully the consequences of the act. I have endeavoured duly to appreciate Government's position. But I have been unable to find any justification for these extra-ordinary Bills. I have read the Rowlatt Committee's Report. I have gone through its narrative with admiration but its reading has driven me to conclusions just the opposite of the Committee's. I should conclude from the Report that secret violence is confined to isolated and very small parts of India, and to a microscopic body of people. The existence of such men is truly a danger to society. But the passing of the Bills, designed to affect the whole of India and its people, arms the Government with powers out of all proportion to the situation sought to be dealt with and is a greater danger. Besides the Committee utterly ignores the historical fact that the millions of India are by nature the gentlest people on earth.

Now look at the setting of the Bills. Their introduction is accompanied by certain assurances given by the Viceroy regarding the Civil Service and the British commercial interests. Many of us are filled with the greatest misgivings about the Viceregal utterance. I frankly confess I do not understand its full scope and intention. If it means that the Civil Service and the British commercial interests are to be held superior to those of India and its political and commercial requirements, no Indian can accept the doctrine. It can but end in a fratricidal struggle within the Empire. Reforms may or may not come. The need of the moment is a proper and just understanding upon this vital issue. No tinkering with it will produce real satisfaction. Let the great Civil Service Corporation understand that it can remain in India only as its trustee and servant, not in name but in deed, and let the British commercial houses understand that they can remain in India only to supplement her requirements and not to destroy indigenous art, trade and manufacture, and you have these two measures to replace the Rowlatt Bills. They, I promise, will successfully deal with any conspiracy against the State.

Sir George Lowndes simply added fuel to the fire when he flouted public opinion. He has read Indian history but seems to have forgotten it or he would have

known that the Government he represents has before now surrendered its own considered views to the force of public opinion.

It will now be easy to see why I consider the Bills to be an unmistakable symptom of a deep-seated disease in the governing body. It needs, therefore, to be drastically treated. Subterranean violence will be the remedy which will be applied by impetuous hot-headed youths who will have grown impatient of the spirit underlying the Bills and the circumstances attending their introduction. The Bills must intensify the hatred and ill-will against the State of which deeds of violence are undoubtedly an evidence.

The Indian covenanters by their determination to undergo every form of suffering make an irresistible appeal for justice to the Government towards which they bear no ill-will and provide, to the believers in the efficacy of violence as a means of securing redress of grievances, with an infallible remedy and withal a remedy that blesses those who use it and those against whom it is used. If the covenanters know the use of this remedy, I fear no ill from it. It is not for me to doubt their ability. They must ascertain whether the disease is sufficiently great to justify the strong remedy, and whether all milder ones have been tried. They have convinced themselves that the disease is serious enough and the milder measures have utterly failed. The rest lies in the lap of God.

I am,

Yours,

M. K. Gandhi”

Gandhiji issued the following instructions to the volunteers, who were taking signatures to the Satyagraha Pledge:

SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS

Volunteers shall read and explain the Satyagraha Pledge to every intending signatory before taking his signature to the vow. The Pledge is in three parts. The first lays down the objects of the Pledge. It declares that the signatories are of opinion that the Rowlatt Bills are "unjust, subversive of the principle of liberty and justice and destructive of the elementary rights of individuals". In order to be able to make this statement one must fully understand the Rowlatt Bills; hence it is the duty of the volunteers to explain the Bills clearly to the intending signatory. (The volunteers therefore must themselves carefully read the clarification of the Bills which has heen issued by the Satyagraha Sabha.)

The vow forms the second part of the Pledge. Here the signatory solemnly affirms that he will refuse civilly to disobey certain laws. Volunteers must explain to the signatory the full significance of the word "civilly". For instance, to break moral laws is not civil disobedience, nor is it civil disobedience to be discourteous to officials with whom one may have to deal, while disobeying laws. On the other hand the possession and distribution to the public of literature proscribed by the Government and which one sincerely believes to be harmless, would be civil disobedience. Volunteers must explain to the would-be signatory with the help of several such illustrations the full significance of the Pledge.

Volunteers must explain to every intending signatory that he must be prepared to bear every kind of suffering and to sacrifice, if necessary, both his person and property. He should also be made to understand that he must be prepared to carry on the struggle single-handed even if left alone. The volunteer must accept the signature only after satisfying himself that the signatory is prepared to take all these risks.

The third part of the pledge declares that the Satyagrahi will during the struggle fearlessly adhere to truth and *ahimsa*. For instance he must not misrepresent anything or hurt anybody's feelings. Volunteers must urge upon people (the) necessity of fully realizing the grave responsibility of adhering to truth and *ahimsa* before signing the Pledge. Volunteers must not speak of things they do not understand and must not hold out false hopes to anybody. If they find themselves unable to explain anything, they

must consult the Committee or refer the would-be signatory to it. *Ahimsa* includes *advesha* (absence of malice). Volunteers, therefore, must never, even unwittingly, resort to unfair criticism of the opponents of the movement. If in performing their duties they are obstructed by the police or others, they must not lose their temper, but most courteously explain to those opposing them their (volunteers') duty and their determination under any circumstances to perform the same.

GENERAL INSTRUCTIONS

1. Every volunteer taking signatures has to remember that a single intelligent recruit to Satyagraha is worth a hundred signatories who have not realized their responsibility. Volunteers must therefore never aim at merely increasing the number of the signatories.

2. The volunteer shall have to carefully read and understand the summary of the Rowlatt Bills and must explain the same to such would-be signatories as have not read the Bills or the summary.

3. In explaining the Pledge the volunteer must lay due emphasis upon the fact that the real strength, the true test of the Satyagrahi lies in his capacity to bear pain and must warn the signatory that resort to Satyagraha may lead to loss of personal liberty and property and ask him to sign the Pledge only if he is prepared for these sacrifices. If the volunteer is then convinced that the would-be signatory has made up his mind he will take his signature.

4. Volunteers must not accept the signatures of persons under 18 and of students. And even in the case of those over 18 he must make sure that the signatory has decided after careful consideration. Volunteers must not induce those persons to sign the pledge upon whose earnings their families are solely dependent for their maintenance.

5. After taking the signature, the volunteer must himelf take down the designation and full address of the signatory in neat and legible handwriting. If the signature is not legible the volunteer should copy it down neatly. He must note the date on which the signature is taken.

6. The volunteer must attest every signature himself.

18-3-2019 to 30-3-2019

Pilgrimage to Madras[1]

On 18-3-2019 Bapu delivered a speech before a mammoth meeting held on the Beach. He first made these introductory remarks:

"You will forgive me for saying the few words that I want to say just now sitting in the chair. I am under strict medical orders not to exert myself, having got a weak heart. I am, therefore, compelled to have some assistance from others and to get my remarks read out to you. I wish to say one word to you. Beware before you sign the Pledge. But once you do, you will see to it that you shall never undo the Pledge you have signed.

May God help you and me in carrying out the pledge."

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1. Mahadevbhai does not seem to have written his diary during the period of this pilgrimage. But he had preserved press cuttings reporting Bapu's speeches as well as Bapu's parting message sent to Mr. Rangaswami. In addition, he had jotted down on loose pieces of paper the answers Bapu gave to questions put to him at Tanjore. The above account of those days has been compiled from all that material. It was during this pilgrimage that Rajaji (C. Rajagopalachariar) first met Bapu. See for the account of the meeting the chapter headed 'That Wonderful Spectacle' in Gandhiji's Autobiography.

The following speech of Bapu was then read out to the audience by Mr. Mahadev Desai:

"You have no doubt attended many meetings, but those that you have been attending of late are different from the others in that at these meetings to which I have referred some immediate tangible action, some immediate definite sacrifice has been demanded of you for the purpose of averting a serious calamity that has overtaken us in the shape of what are known as the Rowlatt Bills. One of them, Bill No. I, has undergone material alterations and its further consideration has been postponed. In spite, however, of the alterations it is mischievous enough to demand opposition. The second Bill has probably at this very moment been finally passed by the Council, though in reality you can hardly call the Bill as having been passed by the august body when all its non-official members unanimously and in strong language opposed it. The Bills require to be opposed not only because they are in themselves bad, but also because Government, who are responsible for their introduction, have seen fit practically to ignore public opinion and some of its members have boasted

that they can so ignore that opinion. So far it is common cause between the different schools of thought in the country.

Duty of the Covenanters

I have, however, after much prayerful consideration, and after very careful examination of the Government's standpoint, pledged myself to offer Satyagraha against the Bills, and invited all men and women who think with me to do likewise. Some of our countrymen, including those who are among the best of the leaders, have uttered a note of warning, and have even gone so far as to say that this Satyagraha movement is against the best interests of the country. I have naturally the highest regard for them and their opinions. I have worked under some of them. I was only a babe when Sir Dinshaw Wachha and Babu Surendranath Banerji were among the accepted leaders of public opinion in India. Mr. Shastriar is a politician who has dedicated his all to the country's cause. His sincerity and his probity are unequalled. He will yield to no one in the love of the country. There is a sacred and indissoluble tie binding me to him. Naturally I am drawn towards the signatories of the two Manifestoes.[1] It is not therefore without the greatest grief and much searching of heart that I have to place myself in opposition to their views. But there are times when you have to obey a call which is the highest of all, i. e., the Voice of Conscience, even though such obedience may cost many a bitter tear, nay, even more, separation from friends, from family, from the State to which you may belong, from all that you have held as dear as life itself. For this disobedience is the law of our being. I have no other defence to offer for my conduct. My regard for the signatories to the Manifesto remains undiminished, and my faith in the efficacy of Satyagraha is so great that I feel that if those who have taken the Pledge will be true to it, we shall be able to show them, when we have come to the end of our struggle, that there was no cause for alarm or misgivings. There is, I know, resentment felt even by some Satyagrahis over the Manifestoes. I would warn Satyagrahis that such resentment is against the spirit of Satyagraha. I would personally welcome an honest expression of difference of opinion from any quarter and more so from friends because it puts us on our guard. There is too much recrimination, innuendo and insinuation in our public life, and if the Satyagraha movement purges itself of this grave defect, as it ought to, it will be a very desirable thing. I wish further to suggest to Satyagrahis that any “resentment of the two Manifestoes would be but a sign of weakness on our part. Every movement, and

Satyagraha most of all, must depend upon its own inherent strength, not upon the weakness or silence of its critics.

Power of Satyagraha

Let us therefore see wherein lies the power of Satyagraha. As the name implies, it is an insistence on Truth which dynamically expressed means Love; and by the law of love we are required not to return hatred for hatred, violence for violence, but to return good for evil. As Shrimati Sarojini Devi (Mrs. S. Naidu) told you yesterday, the strength of Satyagraha lies in a definite recognition of its intrinsic true religious spirit and action corresponding to it, and when once you introduce the religious element in politics, you revolutionize the whole of your political outlook. You achieve reform then not by imposing suffering on others who resist it, but by taking the suffering upon yourselves and so in this movement we hope by the intensity of our sufferings to affect and alter the Government's resolution not to withdraw these objectionable Bills. It has however been suggested that the Government will leave the handful of Satyagrahis severely alone and not make martyrs of them. But there is here in my humble opinion bad logic and an unwarrantable assumption of fact. If Satyagrahis are left alone, they have won a complete victory, because they will have succeeded in disregarding the Rowlatt Bills and even other laws of the country and in having thus shown that civil disobedience of a Government is held perfectly harmless. I regard the statement as an unwarranted assumption of fact, because it contemplates the restriction of the movement only to a handful of men and women.

My experience of Satyagraha leads me to believe that it is such a potent force that, once set in motion it ever spreads till at last it becomes a dominant factor in the community in which it is brought into play, and if it so spreads, no Government can neglect it. Either it must yield to it or imprison the participators in the movement. But I have no desire to argue. As the English proverb says, 'the proof of the pudding is in the eating'. The movement, for better or for worse, has already been launched. We shall be judged not by our words but solely by our deeds. It is therefore not enough that we merely sign the Pledge. Our signing it is but an evidence of our determination to act up to it, and if all who sign the Pledge act according to it, I make bold to promise that we shall bring about the withdrawal of the two Bills and neither the Government nor our critics will have a word to say against us. The cause is great, the remedy is equally great; let us prove ourselves worthy of them both."

1. The first was signed by Sir Dinshaw Wachha, Surendranath Banerji, V. S. Shrinivas Shastri and other Moderate leaders and the second by the Madras Moderates.

The following are Bapu's answers to questions put to him at the meeting of public workers held in Tanjore on 24-3-2019:

Ques.: Is 'passive resistance' the same thing as 'Satyagraha' or are they different? Can we say that the distinction lies in the fact that the first is a political force while the second is a religious one? A friend says that in 'Satyagraha', 'Satya' means truth and 'agraha' is anger (Satyagraha =Satya+agraha) and so the whole word means righteous indignation. Is he right?

Ans.: I am glad you have drawn my attention to this matter. During the Kaira struggle I had made it a rule for all speakers there that everyone should write down his intended speech and send it to me before delivering it, so that none could say anything about Satyagraha without my approval of its interpretation. You are quite right when you say that when some new idea is put before the people, they understand it only partially, mix up their own views in it and thus completely distort the original idea.

The distinction I have drawn between 'Satyagraha' and 'passive resistance' is not my recent discovery. I had found out the difference between the two concepts as early as during the South African Struggle. In the first phase of that struggle I found it always difficult to explain the meaning of the word 'Satyagraha' to the audience of Englishmen. And I had realized that there was great danger of the movement being misunderstood by allowing it to be called 'passive resistance'. I was then Editor and Proprietor of *The Indian Opinion*. I declared a prize to be awarded to one who suggested a word or phrase that most happily expressed the principle behind our struggle. A colleague[1] suggested a word that I saw was nearly perfect. I coined the word 'Satyagraha' by a minor change in his suggestion. The word means firm adherence to truth. Truth is one side of the coin the other side of which is 'love'. Love is the dynamic form of truth. The 'passive resistance', we read of in the history of England, has always been considered as a weapon of the weak. The 'passive resister' there does not believe in the principle of eschewing violence or fraud. Satyagraha, on the other hand, is the weapon of the strongest. A Satyagrahi is more powerful than the mightiest leader of an armed force. You know of the 'passive resistance' of the

suffragettes. They had undoubtedly resorted to violent means. I have personally met Mrs. Pankhurst[2]. I have no words to describe how exceedingly delighted she felt at my account of what we did in South Africa. A well-disposed and benevolent mine-owner in South Africa who did not know of the distinction I made between 'Satyagraha' and 'passive resistance' once declared, "The Indian brothers are weak and they have only this remedy left with them". I had to give him a detailed explanation of the principle of Satyagraha in my reply. We deny altogether the possibility of there being any violence in Satyagraha. 'Passive resistance' is simply a political weapon to be used when circumstances warrant, while Satyagraha is woven into the very fabric of our religious life. We use it in our everyday life also. One of the fundamental bases of Satyagraha is the principle that the methods we employ to end quarrels in a family must be used also in the political field to settle differences between the Government and the people.

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1. It was Mr. Maganlal Gandhi (Gandhiji's nephew) who suggested the word 'sadagraha', where 'sad' stands for 'sat' i.e. truth.

2. A well-known *suffragette* leader of the passive resistance movement in England.

Ques.: Where do we draw a line between the application of its principle in the affairs of a family and those of a State?

Ans.: We need not stretch the comparison very far. The head of a family does use a stick at times. You cannot therefore say that the head of a State also is entitled to use rough methods. In my view the relationship between the State and its people is not exactly at par with that between father and child. We do use expressions which indicate parent-and-child relationship between the ruler and the ruled. Manu (author of 'Manusmriti', code of conduct—religious, legal, political etc., made by Manu) supports the idea, but I differ. The example which is completely pertinent to this question is that of Prahlad. The laws which his father had made for the State went against the Voice of his Conscience. He could have opposed his father by violent means. But he said, "I will resist you non-violently—by civil disobedience. Against your might I will pit my love. Instead of chanting your name I will chant Ramnam (God's name)". There is another point. I go to the Viceroy and discuss things with him but I do not regard him as equal to my father. I do respect him, but because I think that the country's interests can be served through him. If, on the whole, his administration

tends to India's welfare, I will bear with his government despite its other faults. But what should I do when, all things considered, I find that the country goes from bad to worse under his regime? Were I a believer in violence, I would collect as many materials of warfare as I could and use them against it. But being a Satyagrahi, I have taken to civil disobedience against its laws. Now there are laws and laws. Some are based on eternal moral principles. I may, of course, always respect such laws. But there are others which have no bearing on moral conduct, and which are made only for the facility of the State. I may break the laws of this second type, even though they may be very helpful to the State because it is through them that the State is imposing its rule over me.

Ques.: Who is going to discriminate between the two types of laws you have mentioned?

Ans.: I myself.

Ques.: But should there not be a unanimity of opinion in such a weighty decision?

Ans.: No. Suppose Hiranyakashipu had five thousand sons. Would Prahlad have waited for the approval of the remaining 4,999 sons? And would he have postponed chanting Lord Vishnu's name till then?

Ques.: Then this is a question of individual conviction.

Ans.: Yes. If you get other persons' approval and co-operation, it is well and good. But if you don't, you have to march alone to reach your goal and be ready and prepared for death as a possible consequence. Take the instance of the Rowlatt Bills. When these two bombs exploded in my homeland, I earnestly beseeched Lord Chelmsford to see that those Bills were not passed. I hold him in respect. He is by no means a weak and vacillating individual. I was pained, at first, at the fact that he refused his co-operation. But the non-violent spirit in me woke up soon after. I thought, ‘What can the poor man do? He has but to conduct the administration with the help and support of the I. C. S. (Indian Civil Service) officials. He is simply squeezed under the heavy pressure of the steel-frame of the Civil Service.’ Then arose the second thought. With a heart so weak as mine’ it was foolhardiness to venture to bear the burden of such a gigantic movement. I consulted friends. They were all in full agreement as to the ultra-wickedness of the Bills. And all of them had full faith in

Satyagraha also as the only remedy. One of them even said, “Why should we wait for others to join us?" I was immensely pleased to find this enthusiastic response and we all took the plunge.

Ques.: How are you going to offer Satyagraha against the Rowlatt Acts? They will never apply the Acts against men of your type.

Ans.: When the Government does some wicked action I should not sit on the fence and desist from opposing the Government under the excuse that particular action is not going to affect me personally. We must mobilise all our forces against an attempt to send our country to rack and ruin. We can disobey other laws also.

Ques.: But which other laws may we break?

Ans.: I have selected some laws of a character that may help us reach our goal at the cost of minimum disturbance to our society. First of all I am going to tackle the question of proscribed literature. The Government has foolishly confiscated some good books. I have resolved to spread and distribute that kind of banned literature which appears to me quite clean from the Satyagrahi point of view. The second law I have in mind is the law of the registration of newspapers. This Press Act is one of the blackest Acts in the Statute-book. It has enervated our journalists and the whole country. The journalists have learnt to resort to ambiguous language and veiled insinuations in order to escape from the application of the Act and the whole country has begun to catch the infection. All this is morally very degrading. I do not expect to get these Acts repealed by our disobedience of them, but there is this consideration also: our newspapers must not be full of 99% of useless, and only 1% of good—and that too doubtfully good—material. So let our paper be only of one page, but it must contain healthy and clean literature. That is my view.

The Salt Tax and the Revenue Act are also in my mind. We have committed a heinous sin against the nation, I feel, by our meek submission to the Salt Tax. We would have long revolted against it, if we had not been a downtrodden people. That Act has been pricking me like a thorn for a long time, ever since I was in South Africa. But I was then like a bird with its wings clipped.

Ques.: But who will manufacture salt if the Government stops its production?

Ans.: We will produce it. Before the Government made salt monopoly, we used to have enough of it for our consumption. It must be supplied to the public as freely as water. Kaira has taught us many good lessons in the matter of land revenue

collection. Kaira was one of the most beautiful districts in India owing to its rich farm produce. But now it is deteriorating, because the Government squeezes from the ryots every pie it wants. And to add insult to injury they say, "The Government takes all that money because it is needed for the good of the people."

Ques.: But what should *we* do? We may refuse to pay the land revenue, but where is the necessary unity among us? All our lands would be simply sold away.

Ans.: When Hampden refused to pay the 'Ship-money Tax',[1] he did not wait for his people's co-operation and unity. No government will tolerate an interruption in its smooth working by anybody. This government also is certain, therefore, to measure its strength with us. All the same a government becomes helpless when even an entirely unknown person (like Hampden) is bold enough to resist it on righteous grounds.

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1. According to an old custom the King of England could requisition for his navy as many private ships as he wanted. The custom then changed and money was given in place of ships by people living on coastal areas. This was called 'Ship-money'. But Charles I, being always in stress owing to his quarrels with the Parliament, imposed the tax on the whole country. A country gentleman named Hampden opposed the payment on the ground that the tax was an encroachment upon the Englishman's liberty and was also unjust. Discontented as the people were against the King's unjust and insolent behaviour, they rallied round Hampden. He had opposed the 'Forced Loans' also which the King exacted from farmers about 5 years ago (after this event) and he did not subscdbe anything for the Loan. The King therefore arrested him and he was tried in a court. He was convicted and jailed by judges who were the King's proteges but the whole country was roused and the King was compelled to set Hampden free and even to repeal the Ship-money Tax.

Ques.: But would it not take a very long time to make the government accept the propriety and justice of our resistance?

Ans.: No. The Government quietly accepts it. It is only because I am a Satyagrahi that my contact with the Government continues. Where would I have been, if I had been a believer in violent methods?

Ques.: Was not the South African Satyagraha a very simple affair compared to ours?

Ans.: No. Perhaps the people there will call this our fight an easy affair.There was in South Africa so much of internecine bickering, of groupism with all its evils, of sons at variance with their fathers and so on. Then there were among them quite a good number of murderers, robbers and thieves. There were also the Pathans there

who knew no other law than that of a stab for a stab. But all of them were bound by the pledge of non-violence and they did behave properly.

Referring to his proposal of a (24 hours') fast he said:

“I have found out one means which every body can adopt to show his sympathy with the cause. It also teaches one self-restraint and discipline.

Besides its religious effect the fast can be utilised to give to the people a clear idea of the harmful nature of these Rowlatt Bills. In order to enable me to fast, I shall have to explain my reasons to my wife, my children and my servants. That way everyone can be enlightened about the wicked provisions of the Bills. If, moreover, people observe a strike for the day, everyone can attend the meetings that are going to be held all over the country.”

The following message from Bapu was published on 24-3-2019:

“Satyagraha, as I have endeavoured to explain at several meetings, is essentially a religious movement. It is a process of purification and penance. It seeks to secure reforms or redress of grievances by self-suffering. I, therefore, venture to suggest that the second Sunday after the publication of the Viceregal assent to Bill No. II of 1919 (i. e., 6th April) may be observed as a day of humiliation and prayer. As there must be an effective public demonstration in keeping with the observance, I beg to advise as follows:

(1) A twenty-four hours' fast counting from the last meal on the preceding night should be observed by all adults, unless prevented from so doing by consideration of religion or health. The fast is not to be regarded, in any shape or form, in the nature of a hunger-strike, or as designed to put any pressure upon the Government. It is to be regarded, for the Satyagrahis, as the necessary discipline to fit them for civil disobedience contemplated in their Pledge, and for all others, as some slight token of the intensity of their wounded feelings.

(2) All work, except such as may be necessary in public interest, should be suspended for the day. Markets and other business places should be closed. Employees who are required to work even on Sundays may only suspend work after obtaining previous leave.

I do not hesitate to recommend these two suggestions for adoption by public servants also. For though it is unquestionably the right thing for them not to take part

in political discussions and gatherings, in my opinion they have an undoubted right to express on vital matters their feelings in the very limited manner herein suggested.

(3) Public meetings should be held on that day in all parts of India, not excluding villages, at which resolutions praying for the withdrawal of the two measures should be passed.

If my advice is deemed worthy of acceptance, the responsibility will lie in the first instance on the various Satyagraha Associations for undertaking the necessary work of organisation, but all other associations too will, I hope, join hands in making this demonstration a success.

M. K. Gandhi"

After visiting Tanjore and Trichinopoly Bapu proceeded to Madura. Speaking at a public meeting there Bapu said:

"The Government have committed a double wrong and it is your duty, my duty and that of every man and woman in this country, to undo the wrong by every legitimate means in his or her power. We have exhausted all the orthodox measures in order to gain the end. We have passed resolutions; we have petitioned and our representatives in the Imperial Legislative Council have endeavoured their best to secure a withdrawal of this legislation but all our attempts have failed. And yet we must somehow or other undo this wrong because it is like poison corroding the whole of the body politic. When the national conscience is hurt, people whose conscience is hurt seek redress either through methods of violence or through methods which I have described as Satyagraha. I think that methods of violence prove in the end to be a complete failure. They are moreover wholly unsuited to the genius of our people. Methods of violence are not consistent with human dignity. It is no answer to say that all Europe today is saturated with strong belief in brute force. True *paurusha*, true bravery, consists in driving out the brute in us and then only can we give freest play to our conscience. The other force which I have described in various places as Satyagraha, soul-force or love-force is best illustrated in the story of Prahlad..... "

As Gandhiji had to go to Bezwada he sent the following written message for the meeting which was being held in Madras on 30-3-2019 in the evening:

"Dear Mr. Rangaswami,[1]

I am sorry that I shall not be with you for this evening's meeting, as I must take the train for Bezwada in order to keep my engagement with our Andhra friends. But

before my departure, I would like to put in writing my impressions of the tour through the southern part of the Presidency, which I have just completed, and to answer some criticism made and doubts raised by friends.

I have visited Tanjore, Trichinopoly, Madura, Tuticorin and Nagapatam; and taking the lowest estimate, the people addressed by me must not have been less than thirty thousand. Those who have a right to give us warnings or to express misgivings, and have just as great a love of the motherland as we claim to, have pointed out the danger that, however well-meaning we may be, and however anxious we may be to avoid violence, the people who may join the movement under an enthusiastic impulse would not be able to exercise sufficient self-control and may break out into violence, resulting in needless loss of life and, what is more, injury to the national cause. After embarking upon the movement, I began addressing meetings at Delhi. I passed then through Lucknow, Allahabad and Bombay to Madras. My experience of all these meetings shows the advent of Satyagraha has already altered the spirit of those who attend the Satyagraha meetings. In Lucknow, upon an innocent remark by the chairman as to the manifesto signed by some of the members of the Imperial Legislative Council disapproving of our movement the audience cried out “Shame! Shame!”I drew their attention to the fact, that Satyagrahis and those who attend Satyagraha meetings should not use such expression and that the speeches at our meetings ought not to be punctuated with either marks of disapproval or approval. The audience immediately understood the spirit of my remarks and never afterwards made any demonstration of their opinion.

In the towns of this Presidency as elsewhere, whilst it is true that the large crowds have refrained from any noisy demonstration out of regard for my health, they have fully understood the necessity of refraining from it on the higher ground. The leaders in the movement have fully understood the necessity for self-restraint. These experiences of mine fill me with the greatest hope for the future. I never had any apprehension of the danger our friends fear; and the various meetings I have described have confirmed my optimism. But I venture to state that every precaution that is humanly possible is being taken and will be taken to avert any such danger.

It is for that reason that our Pledge commits the signatories to the breach of only those laws that may be selected for the purpose by a committee of Satyagrahis; and I am glad that our Sind friends have understood their Pledge, and obeyed the prohibition of the Hyderabad Commissioner of Police to take out their inoffensive procession, for it is no part of the present movement to break all the laws of the land,

the breach of which is not inconsistent with the Pledge. A Satyagrahi is nothing if not instinctively law-abiding, and it is his law-abiding nature which exacts from him implicit obedience of the highest law, i. e. the Voice of Conscience, which over-rides all other laws. His civil disobedience even of certain laws is only seeming disobedience.

Every law gives the subject an option, either to obey the primary sanction or the secondary; I venture to suggest that the Satyagrahi by inviting the secondary sanction only obeys the law. He does not act like the ordinary offender who not only commits a breach of the laws of the land, whether good or bad, but wishes to avoid the consequences of that breach. It will be seen, therefore, that everything that prudence may dictate has been done to avoid any untoward results.

Some friends have said, “We understand your breach of the Rowlatt legislation, but as a Satyagrahi there is nothing for you in it to break. How can you however break the other laws which you have hitherto obeyed, and which may also be good?” So far as the good laws are concerned, i. e., laws which are based on moral principles, the Satyagrahis may not break them, and their breach is not contemplated under the Pledge. But there are other laws that are neither good nor bad, neither moral nor immoral. They may be useful, or may even be harmful. These laws one obeys for the supposed good government of the country. Such laws are laws framed for purposes of revenue, or they are political laws creating statutory offences. These laws enable the Government to continue its power. When therefore a Government goes wrong to the extent of hurting the national fibre itself, as does the Rowlatt legislation, it becomes the right of the subject, indeed it is his duty, to withdraw his obedience to such laws, to the extent it may be required to bend the Government to the national will.

A doubt has been expressed during my tour, and by friends who have written to me, as to the validity in terms of Satyagraha of the entrustment of the selection of the laws for breach to a committee. For, it is argued that it amounts to a surrender of one's conscience to leave such selection to others. This doubt betrays a misunderstanding of the Pledge. A signatory to the Pledge undertakes, so far as he is concerned, to break if necessary all the laws which it would be lawful for a Satyagrahi to break. It is not however obligatory on him to break all such laws. He can therefore perfectly conscientiously leave the selection of the laws to be broken to the judgment of those who are experts in the matter and who in their turn are necessarily subject to the limitations by the Pledge. The worst that can happen to any signatory is that the selection may not be exhaustive enough for him.

I have been told that I have been diverting the attention from the one and only thing that matters, viz., the forthcoming Reforms. In my opinion the Rowlatt legislation, in spite of the amendments which, as the Select Committee very properly says, do not affect its principles, blocks the way to progress, and therefore the attainment of substantial reforms. To my mind the first thing needful is to secure a frank and full recognition of the principle that public opinion properly expressed shall be respected by the Government. I am no believer in the doctrine that the same power can at the same time trust and distrust, grant liberty and repress it. I have a right to interpret the coming Reforms by the light that Rowlatt legislation throws upon them; and I make bold to promise that if we do not gather sufficient force to remove from our path this great obstacle in the shape of the Rowlatt legislation, we shall find the Reforms futile as a whitened sepulchre.

Yet another objection to answer. Some friends have argued, "Your Satyagraha movement only accentuates the fear we have of the onrush of Bolshevism." The fact, however, is that if anything can positively prevent this calamity descending upon our country, it is Satyagraha. Bolshevism is the necessary result of modern materialistic civilization. Its insensate worship of Matter has given rise to a school which has been brought up to look upon material advancement as the goal and which has lost all sense of appreciating the finer things of life. Self-indulgence is the Bolshevic creed, self-restraint is the Satyagraha creed. If I can but induce the nation to accept Satyagraha only as a predominant factor in life, whether social or political, we need have no fear of the Bolshevic propaganda. In asking the nation to accept Satyagraha, I am asking for the introduction in reality of nothing new. I have coined a new word for an ancient law that has hitherto mainly governed our lives, and I do prophesy that if we disobey the law of the final supremacy of the Spirit over Matter, of Truth and Love over brute force, in a few years' time we shall have Bolshevism rampant in this land, which was once so holy."

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1. Chairman of the meeting.

31-3-2019

Left Bezwada by the night train. Missed the connecting train as our first train was late in reaching the junction in the morning.

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APPENDIX

I
1. The Press Statement on the Kaira situation.
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APPENDIX I — 1

THE PRESS STATEMENT ON THE KAIRA SITUATION

Nadiad,

March 28, 1918

The Issue

In the district of Kaira, the crops for the year 1917-18 have, by common admission, proved a partial failure. Under the revenue rules, if the crops are under four annas, the cultivators are entitled to full suspension of the revenue assessment for the year; if the crops are under six annas, half the amount of assessment is suspended. So far as I am aware, the Government have been pleased to grant full suspension with regard to one village out of nearly 600, and half-suspension in the case of over 103 villages. It is claimed on behalf of the ryots that the suspension is not at all adequate to the actuality. The Government contend that in the vast majority of villages, crops have been over six annas. The only question therefore at issue is, whether the crops have been under four annas or six annas, as the case may be, or over the latter figure.

Tyrannical Talatis

Government valuation is in the first instance made by the Talatis assisted by the chief men of the villages concerned. As a rule, no check on their figures is considered necessary, for it is only during partial failure of crops that Government valuation of crops may have to be challenged. The Talatis are as a class obsequious, unscrupulous and tyrannical. The chief men are especially selected for their docility. The Talatis' one aim is naturally to collect full assessment as promptly as possible. We sometimes read accounts of assiduous Talatis having been awarded '*pugree*' for making full collection. In applying to the Talatis the adjectives I have given, I wish to cast no reflection on them as men. I merely state the fact. The Talatis are not born; they are made; and rent-collectors all the world over have to cultivate a callousness without which they could not do their work to the satisfaction of their masters. It is impossible for me to reproduce the graphic description given by the ryots of the rent-collectors which the Talatis chiefly are.

Government Estimate biased

My purpose in dealing with the Talatis is to show that the Government's valuation of the crops is derived in the first instance from the tainted source and is presumably biased against the ryots. As against their valuation, we have the universal testimony of ryots, high and low, some of whom are men of position and considerable wealth, who have a reputation to lose and who have nothing to gain by exaggeration except the odium of Talatis and possibly higher officials. I wish to state at once that behind this movement there is no desire to discredit the Government, or an individual official. The movement is intended to assert the right of the people to be effectively heard in matters concerning themselves.

Careful Inquiry

It is known to the public that the Hon'ble Mr. G. K. Parekh and Mr. V. J. Patel, invited and assisted by the Gujarat Sabha, carried on investigations, as also Messrs. Deodhar, Joshi and Thakkar of the Servants of India Society. Their investigation was necessarily preliminary and brief and, therefore, confined to a few villages only. But the result of their inquiry went to show that the crops in the majority of cases were under four annas. As their investigation, not being extensive enough, was capable of being challenged, and it was challenged, I undertook a full inquiry with the assistance of over 20 capable, experienced and impartial men of influence and status. I personally visited over 30 villages and met as many men in the villages as I could, inspected in these villages most of the fields belonging to them and after a searching cross-examination of the villagers, came to the conclusion that their crops were under four annas. I found that among the men who surrounded me there were present those who were ready to check exaggerations and wild statements. Men knew what was at stake if they departed from the truth. As to the *rabi* crops and the still standing *kharif* crops, I was able by the evidence of my own eyes to check the statements of the agriculturists. The methods adopted by my co-workers were exactly the same. In this manner 400 villages were examined and with but a few exceptions, crops were found to be under four annas, and only in three cases they were found to be over six annas. The method adopted by us was, so far as the *kharif* crops were concerned, to ascertain the actual yield of the whole of the crops of individual villages and the possible yield of the same village in a normal year. Assuming the truth of the statements made by them, this is admittedly an absolute test, and any other method that would bring about

the same result must be rejected as untrue and unscientific; and as I have already remarked, all probability of exaggeration was avoided in the above-named investigation. As to the standing *rabi* crops, there was the eye estimate and it was tested by the method mentioned above.

The Government Method

The Government method is an eye estimate and, therefore, a matter largely of guess-work. It is moreover open to fundamental objections which I have endeavoured to set forth in a letter to the Collector of the District. I requested him to treat Vadthala – well-known and ordinarily well-to-do village of the district with the railway line passing by it and which is near a trade centre—as a test case and I suggested that if the crops were in that village proved to be under four annas, as I hold they were, it might be assumed that in the other villages less fortunately situated, crops were not likely to be more than four annas. I have added to my request a suggestion that I should be permitted to be present at the inquiry. He made the inquiry but rejected my suggestion and, therefore, it proved to be one-sided. The Collector has made an elaborate report on the crops of that village which, in my opinion, I have successfully challenged. The original Government valuation, I understand, was twelve annas, the Collector's minimum valuation is seven annas. If the probably wrong methods of valuation to which I have drawn attention and which have been adopted by the Collector are allowed for, the valuation according to his own reckoning would come under six annas and according to the agriculturists it would be under four annas.

Need for Impartial Inquiry

Both the report and my answer are too technical to be of value to the public. But I have suggested that, as both the Government and the agriculturists hold themselves in the right, if the Government have any regard for popular opinion, they should appoint an impartial committee of inquiry with the cultivators' representatives upon it, or gracefully accept the popular view. The Government have rejected both the suggestions and insist upon applying coercive measures for the collection of revenue. It may be mentioned that these measures have never been totally suspended and in many cases the ryots have paid simply under pressure. The Talatis have taken away cattle and have returned them only after the payment of assessment. In one case

I witnessed a painful incident – a man having his milch buffalo taken away from him; and it was only on my happening to go to the village that the buffalo was released; this buffalo was the most valuable property the man possessed and a source of daily bread for him. Scores of such cases have already happened and many more will no doubt happen hereafter, if the public opinion is not ranged on the side of the people. Every means of seeking redress by prayers has been exhausted. Interviews with the Collector, the Commissioner and His Excellency have taken place. The final suggestion that was made is this:

Proposals to the Government

Although in the majority of cases, people are entitled to full suspension, half suspension should be granted throughout the district except for the villages which show, by common consent, crops over six annas. Such a gracious concession may be accompanied by a declaration that the Government would expect those who have ready means voluntarily to pay up the dues, we, the workers, on our part undertaking to persuade such people to pay up the Government dues. This will leave only the poorest people untouched. I venture to submit that acceptance of this suggestion can only bring credit and strength to the Government. Resistance of popular-will can only produce discontent which, in the case of fear-stricken peasantry such as of Kaira, can only find an underground passage and thus demoralize them. The present movement is an attempt to get out of such a false position, humiliating alike for the Government and the people.

Law Abused

And how do the Government propose to assert their position and so-called prestige? They have a Revenue Code giving them unlimited powers without a right of appeal to the ryots against the decisions of the Revenue Authorities. Exercise of these powers in a case like the one before us, in which the ryots are fighting for a principle and the authorities for prestige, would be a prostitution of justice, of a disavowal of all fair-play. These powers are:

(1) Right of summary execution.

(2) Right of exacting a quarter of the assessment as punishment.

(3) Right of confiscation of land, not merely *Royatwari* but even *Inami* or *Sanadi*.

(4) Right of keeping a man under lock-up.

These remedies may be applied singly or all together, and unbelievable though it may seem to the public, it may be mentioned that notices of the application of all these remedies but the last have been issued. Thus a man owning several hunderd acres of land in perpetuity and valued at thousands of rupees, paying a small assessment rate, may at the will of the authority lose the whole of it, because for the sake of principle he respectfully refuses voluntarily to pay the assessment himself and is prepared meekly but under strong protest to penalities that may be inflicted by law. Surely vindictive confiscation of property ought not to be the reward for orderly disobedience which, properly handled, can only result in progress all round and in giving the Government a bold and a frank peasantry with a will of its own.

Appeal to the Public

I venture to invite the Press and the public to assist these cultivators of Kaira who have dared to enter on a fight for what they consider is just and right. Let the public remember this also that unprecedentally severe plague has decimated the population of Kaira. People are living outside their homes in specially prepared thatched cottages at considerable expense to themselves. In some villages mortality has been tremendous. Prices are ruling high of which, owing to the failure of crops, they can but take little advantage and have to suffer all the disadvantages thereof. It is not money they want so much as the voice of a strong, unanimous and emphatic public opinion.[1]

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1. The Hindu, 1-4-1918.

APPENDIX I — 2

REPLY TO THE COMMISSIONER MR. PRATT

The Crux of the Struggle

Sir,

The publication of the summary of the Commissioner's Gujarati address to the Kaira cultivators necessitates a reply in justice to the latter as also the workers.

I have before me a verbatim report of the speech. It is more direct than the summary in the laying down of the Government policy. The Commissioner's position is that the revenue authorities' decision regarding suspension is final. They may and do receive and hear complaints from the ryots, but the finality of their decision cannot be questioned. This is the crux of the struggle. It is contended on behalf of the ryots that, where there are, in matters of administrative orders, sharp differences of opinion between local officials and them, the points of differences are and ought to be referred to an impartial committee of inquiry. This, it is held, constitutes the strength of the British Constitution. The Commissioner has on principle rejected this position and invited a crisis. And he has made such a fetish of it that he armed himself beforehand with a letter from Lord Willingdon to the effect that even he should not interfere with the Commissioner's decision. He brings in the War to defend his position and adjures the ryots and me to desist from our cause at this time of peril to the Empire. But I venture to suggest that the Commissioner's attitude constitutes a peril far graver than the German peril, and I am serving the Empire in trying to deliver it from this peril, from within. There is no mistaking the fact that India is waking up from its long sleep. The ryots do not need to be literate to appreciate their rights and their duties. They have but to realize their invulnerable power and no Government, however strong, can stand against their will. The Kaira ryots are solving an Imperial problem of the first magnitude in India. They will show that it is impossible to govern men without their consent. Once the Civil Service realizes this position, it will supply to India truly Civil Servants who will be the bulwark of the people's rights. Today the Civil Service rule is a rule of fear. The Kaira ryot is fighting for the rule of love. It is the Commissioner who has produced the crisis. It was, as it is now, his duty to placate the people when he saw that they held a different view. The revenue of India will be no more in danger because a Commissioner yields to the popular demands and grants concessions than the administration of justice was in danger, when Mrs. Maybrick was reprieved purly in

obedience to the popular-will, or the Empire was in danger because a corner of a mosque in Cawnpore was replaced in obedience to the same demand. Had I hesitated to advise the people to stand against the Commissioner's refusal to listen to their prayer, instead of taking the open and healthy course it has taken, their discontent would have burrowed under and bred ill-will. That son is a true son of his father, who rather than harbour ill-will against him, frankly but respectfully tells him all he feels and equally respectfully resists him, if he cannot truthfully obey his commands. I apply the same law to the relations between the Government and the people. There cannot be seasons when a man must suspend his conscience. But just as a wise father will quickly agree with his son and not incur his ill-will, especially if the family was in danger from without, even so a wise Government will quickly agree with the ryots, rather than incur their displeasure. War cannot be permitted to give a licence to the officials to exact obedience to their orders, even though the ryots may consider them to be unreasonable and unjust.

Sabre-rattling

The Commissioner steels the hearts of the ryots for continuing their course by telling them that for a revenue of four lakhs of rupees, he will for ever confiscate their hundred and fifty thousand acres of land worth over 3 crores of rupees, and forever declare the holders, their wives and children unworthy of holding any lands in Kaira. He considers the ryots to be misguided and contumacious in the same breath. These are solemn words:

"Do not be under the impression that our Mamlatdars and our Talatis will realize the assessment by attaching and selling your movable property. We are not going to trouble ourselves so much. Our officers' time is valuable. Only by your bringing in the monies shall the treasuries be filled. This is no threat. You take it from me that parents never threaten their children. They only advise. But if you do not pay the dues, your lands will be confiscated. Many people say that this will not happen. But I say it will. I have no need to take a vow. I shall prove that I mean what I say. The lands of those who do not pay will be confiscated. Those who are contumacious will get no lands in future. Government do not want their names on their Records of Ryots. Those who go out shall never be admitted again."

I hold that it is the sacred duty of every loyal citizen to fight unto death against such a spirit of vindictiveness and tyranny. The Commissioner has done the

Ahmedabad strikers and me a cruel wrong in saying that the strikers knowingly broke their vow. He was present at the meeting where the settlement was declared. He may hold that the strikers had broken their vow (though his speech at the meeting produced a contrary impression), but there is nothing to show that the strikers knowingly broke their vow. On the contrary, it was entirely kept by their resuming their work on their getting for the first day wages demanded by them, and the final decision as to wages being referred to arbitration. The strikers had suggested arbitration which the millowners had rejected. Their struggle in its essence was for a 35% increase in their wages or such increase as an Arbitration Board may decide. And this is what they have got. The hit at the strikers and me is, I regret to have to say, a hit below the belt.[1]

Nadiad,

April 15, 1918.

Yours, etc.,

M. K.GANDHI

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1. *The Bombay Chronicle*, 17-4-1918.

APPENDIX I — 3

MESSAGE TO THE KAIRA SATYAGRAHIS

I am glad you have quietly and respectfully listened to Mr. Pratt's lecture. It is only such polite conduct that behoves a Satyagrahi. Unfortunate circumstances have compelled us to disobey the Government order as regards payment of revenue dues. But we must never on that account be indifferent to our duty to pay due respect to Government officers. What we want to free ourselves from is fear and slavery, not courteous behaviour. Insolence must be altogether tabooed by us. Good manners are an indispensable feature of Satyagraha.

The Commissioner, Mr. Pratt, pointed out in his speech what your rights and duties were. His advice in both the matters is quite proper, but he neglected to mention one supreme duty, and the right it conferred, which every man by virtue of the mere fact that he is a man possesses. It is man's sacred duty to do nothing out of fear. When therefore an attempt is made to frighten him into doing something it is his right to resist the attempt. It is in pursuance of that universal right of man that the Kaira ryots are respectfully disregarding the order of the Government. We believe that since the crop output this year is less than four annas, the Government should grant us suspension. If therefore we pay up the revenue dues which ought in justice to be suspended, we would do so, simply out of the fear of the sale of our movable property or the confiscation of our lands. If we yield to such fear we would lose our humanness. It is only under that fear that nearly 80% of farmers have paid up their dues. The remaining 20% have therefore to uphold the prestige of the whole class of 100% of ryots. He who has lost his humanness cannot even be sincerely loyal. The quality that specially distinguishes man from beast is his capacity to put forth brave efforts for self-elevation. And this is a fight to prove that we possess the quality.

The British Constitution does not lay down the principle that the people should follow like sheep the orders of the revenue or any other department of the Government even if those orders are not modified in response to public petitions. Nor is such slavish obedience a feature of British politics. It is the birthright as well as the duty of the subjects to resist a Government Order which they conscientiously consider as unjust or oppressive. That behaviour which is right for the solution of differences among members of a family is equally right for differences between the king and his subjects, and conflicts arise between the latter two when this healthy principle is set

aside. The subjects become clandestinely disloyal, the king becomes suspicious and distrustful: But we must never fail to remember an important point when we take a firm resolve to disobey the orders of a Government. We cannot affirm fanatically that a particular order of the Government is nothing but unjust. Though on our part we may be convinced that it is so, there is still a possibility of its being just in reality. Hence, as differences in private affairs, between individuals or groups are solved through arbitration, a dispute between the king and the people must also be settled by the same method. That was what the kings of old used to do and that is what the British Government always does. Only, the latter gives the name "Commission" or "Committee" to the board of arbitrators it appoints. And in order that the prestige of the Government could be maintained, the findings of that Commission are not vested with legal authority but are supposed to be mere recommendations whose implementation rests on the will of the Government. All the same the final outcome in political disputes is always exactly the same as in ordinary disputes which are resolved by legal judgments. It is impossible to govern a country without respecting public opinion. But if the king does not appoint an independent tribunal in the form of a "Committee" or a "Commission", what steps should the people take? Among those peoples where brute force rules supreme, there is violence and counter-violence since the people attempt to secure justice through armed resistance. For myself I can assert that it is my experience that this method of violence is useless. And I believe that all the gospels of the world have unanimously condemned this method of snatching justice by violence. It is certain, moreover, that we do not apply this method for the settlement of family quarrels. The straight course therefore is that, instead of inflicting any injury on others, we should ourselves bear patiently and without anger and malice all the sufferings that come to us in the wake of our disobedience to an unjust order of the Government. That course serves many good purposes. If in the end we are proved to be in the wrong our sufferings serve us right. But if we are on the side of truth and justice, the opposite party, i.e. the Government, is certain to be moved with pity and it cannot but remove our grievance and do us justice in the end. This view has the backing of all the gospels of the world and it believes like them that truth always succeeds in the end. In fact we frequently experience in life the working of this principle of the inevitable victory of truth. The people of Kaira are thus out to suffer for truth or dharma.

Lest we weaken in our resolve, we have bound ourselves down with a solemn vow. No nation ever rises without taking resolves and a vow is nothing more than an

inflexible resolve. The manwho cannot be resolute is like a rudderless boat tossed hither and thither in an ocean till it meets its doom.

The Commissioner avers that our vow is improper and taken without due consideration. As shown above, it is not at all unjust because resistance to an unjust order is a sacred right vested with every human being. Nor is our vow taken hastily and without serious reflection, as everyone who has taken it knows. Let the heavens fall but this solemn vew taken after great deliberation is not going to be rescinded.

I am sorry that Mr. Pratt's reference to the mill-workers' strike is contrary to facts. By alluding to it in the way he has done, he has also committed a breach of courtesy, justice, decorum and friendship. I hope that this has happened unconsciously. If anyboby in the world ever adhered to a pledge, it was the mill-workers of Ahmedabad. They had always maintained that they would be prepared to accept any wage that the arbitrators fixed. It was just because the millowners refused to accept this principle of arbitration that a demand for an increase of 35% in wages was made by the workers during the strike. But even after this demand the workers had never abrogated the principle of arbitration. They kept their vow by taking 35% increase for the first day and then agreeing to abide by any decision that the arbitrators, appointed for the dispute, arrived at after full inquiry. During the interim period it was settled that the middle figure between the mill-owners' offer of 20% and the workers' demand of 35% increase must be accepted by both the parties and a retrospective effect of the arbitrator's decision was to be giveneven for the interim period. The spirit of the vow was thus maintained. Be it as it may, one thing is certain. Unlike what Mr. Pratt alleges, the millworkers have never deliberately broken their plighted word. He is, of course, free to hold the view that the mill-workers went back on their vow. That is his private business. What really matters is the conviction of the millworkers themselves. They have no doubt that they have kept their vow. Mr. Pratt misrepresents this conviction which was clearly evidenced at the meeting of the workers. He was present in person at the meeting where the terms of the cessation of the strike were declared and explained to the millworkers. They were shown how their vow was maintained and they warmly welcomed the clarification. Mr. Pratt was an eye-witness of the scene of the enthusiastic response of the mill-workers to the proposals for ending the strike. Besides, he had himself said the following at that meeting:

"I am very glad that a compromise has been settled between you and the millowners. I am fully convinced that so long as you take Gandhi Saheb's advice and follow it you will stand to gain in life and get justice. You must bear in mind that Gandhi Saheb and his associates—both men and women—have suffered much for you, taken great trouble and showered their love on you."

When despite his own exhortation to the workers, Mr. Pratt talks of the breach of the vow, I must humbly say that I cannot understand him.

The Commissioner has issued many threats. He has even said that he will see to it that they do not remain empty threats. That means that he will confiscate the lands of all those who have taken this pledge and will deprive even their heirs of the right of property to the land. This is a very cruel and stern threat. I believe that behind it is his deep-seated anger. When the Commissioner's anger is somewhat cooled he will be sorry for having uttered such a cruel threat. He seems to regard the relationship between the Government and the people as similar to that between parent and child. If so, has anyone seen in the whole history of the world any instance of parents having turned their children out of their homes for having resisted them in a non-violent manner? The pledge you have taken may be a mistaken one, but there is in the pledge neither rudeness, nor insolence, nor threat of force. I am still unable to understand how punishment of this serious nature could be meted out for taking a pledge in a more or less religious spirit for ones own development. Such a punishment the country will not tolerate nor will it ever be acceptable even to British politicians. The British public would be horrified at it. If such gross injustice is possible in the British Empire, I will unhesitatingly become a law-resister. But I have far greater faith in British political good sense than has the Commissioner. And I will repeat what I said to you before, that I consider it impossible that you should lose your lands for action undertaken with such pure motives. Nevertheless, we must be ready also to lose our lands. On the one hand there is your pledge, and on the other there is your property. Compared to the value of your pledge, the total value of your property is as nothing. The heritage of your adherence to your pledge which your children will receive will be worth hundreds of rupees. For therein lies the real way for India to rise. I am convinced that you will never depart from the role you are privileged to play, and I pray to God that He may give you strength to adhere to your pledge.

(Nadiad, 17-4-2018)

APPENDIX I — 4

REPLY TO THE GOVERNMENT PRESS—NOTE

ON THE KAIRA CRISIS

Sins of the Press-Note

The Government Press Note[1] on the Kaira trouble is remarkable for the sins both of omission and commission. As to the paragraph devoted to Messrs Parikh and Patels' investigations, I wish only to say that, at the interview with His Excellency the Governor, the Commissioner challenged the accuracy of their statements. I immediately suggested the appointment of a committee of inquiry. Surely, it was the most proper thing that the Government could have done, and the whole of the unseemly executions, the removal of the cultivators' milch cattle and their ornaments, the confiscation orders etc., could have been avoided. Instead, as the Press Note says, they posted a Collector "of long experience." What could he do? The best of officials have to move in a vicious circle. They have to carry out the traditions of a service which has made of prestige a fetish and which considers itself to be almost infallible, and rarely admits its mistakes.

With reference to the investigation by Mr. Devdhar and his co-workers, the Press Note leaves on the reader the impression that the Commissioner had responded to their suggestions. At the interview at which I was present, he challenged the report they had submitted to him and said distinctly that whatever relief he granted would not be granted because of the report, which, he said in substance, was not true in so far as it contained any new things, and was not new in so far as it contained any true statements.

I cannot weary the public with the tragedy in the Matar Taluqa. In certain villages of the Taluqa which are affected by the irrigation canals, they have a double grievance: (1) The ordinary failure of crops by reason of the excessive rainfall, and (2) the total destruction of crops by reason of overflooding. In the second case, they are entitled to full remission. So far as I am aware, in many cases it has not been granted.

It is not correct to say that the Servants of India Society stopped investigation in the Thasra Taluqa because there was no case for *enquiry*, but because they deemed it unnecessary, so their report says, as I had decided to inquire into the crops of almost every village.

1. This was issued on April 24, 1918.

Crop Estimate

The press Note is less than fair in calling my method of inquiry "utopian". I do adhere to my contention that, if the cultivators' statements may by relied upon, my method cannot but yield absolutely reliable results. Who should know better than the cultivator himself the yield of his crops? I refuse to believe that lakhs of men could consipre to tell an untruth when there was no great gain in view and suffering a certainty. It is impossible for thousands of men to learn by heart figures as to the yield—actual and probable— of even ten crops so that the total in each case would give less than a four-anna crop. I contend that my method contains automatic safeguards against deception. Moreover, I had challenged the official *annawari* alike of *kharif* and *rabi* crops. When I did so, the *rabi* crops were still standing. I had, therefore, suggested that they could cut the *rabi* crops and test the yield and thus find the true *annawari*. I had suggested this specially of Vadthal. My argument was that if the cultivators' *annawari* of such *rabi* crops was found to be correct and the officials' wrong, it was not improper to infer that the cultivators' valuations regarding the *kharif* crops were also right. My offer was not accepted. I may add that I had asked to be allowed to be present when the Collector visited Vadthal which was taken as a test village. This request was also not accepted.

The Note is misleading inasmuch as it states that, in arriving at my *annawari*, I have not taken into account the *rabi* crops or the cotton crop. I have taken these crops into account. I have simply questioned the logic of the official system. The reason is obvious. If out of a population of one thousand men, only two hundred men grew *rabi* crops, it would be highly unjust to the eight hundred men to force up their *annawari* if without the *rabi* crops their crops showed only four annas or under.

Grave Errors

I am surprised at the gross inaccuracies in the paragraph devoted to the crops in Limbasi. In the first instance, I was not present when the official inquiry was made, and in the second instance the wheat, which is valued at Rs. 13,445, included wheat also from two neighbouring villages, so that out of the crops estimated at Rs. 13,445

three assessments had to be paid. And what are Rs. 13,445 in a population of eighteen hundred men? For the matter of that, I am prepared to admit that the Limbasi people had a rice crop which too gave them as many rupees. At the rate of forty rupees per head per year to feed a man, the Limbasi people would require Rs. 72,000 for their food alone. It may interest the public to know that, according to the official *annawari*, the Limbasi wheat alone should have been worth Rs. 83,021. This figure has been supplied to me by the Collector. To demonstrate the recklessness with which the Press Note has been prepared, I may add that if the Limbasi people are to be believed, the whole of the wheat crop was on the threshing floor. According to their statements, nearly one- third was foreign wheat. The Limbasi wheat, therefore, would be under Rs. 9,000. The official *annawari* is ten annas. Now, according to the actual yield, the wheat *annawari* of Limbasi was eleven annas against the official ten annas. Moreover, a maund of wheat per bigha is required as seed and the Limbasi cultivators had 3,000 maunds (Rs. 3 per maund equals Rs. 9,000) of wheat on 1965 bighas; i.e., the wheat crop was a trifle over the seed. Lastly, whilst the crop was under distraint, I had offered to the Collector to go over to Limbasi myself and to have it weighed so that there might be no question of the accuracy or otherwise of the cultivators' statement. But the Collector did not accept my offer. Therefore, I hold that the cultivators' figures must be accepted as true.

Who Advised Satyagraha?

Merely to show how hopelessly misleading the Press Note is, I may state that the Gujarat Sabha did not pass a resolution advising passive resistance. Not that it would have shirked it but I felt myself that passive resistance should not be the subject of a resolution in a Sabha whose constitution was governed by the rule of majority, and so the Gujarat Sabha resolution left it open to individual members to follow there own bent of mind. It is true that most of the active members of the Sabha are engaged in the Kaira trouble.

I must repudiate totally the insinuation that I dissuaded payment by people who wished to pay. The figures given in the Press Note showing the collection in the different Talukas, if they prove anything, prove that the hand of the law has hit them hard and that the fears of the *ravanias* and the *talatis* have proved too strong for them. When after confiscation and sales under execution the Government show a clean bill and no arrears, will they contend that there was no case for relief or inquiry?

I admit that the suspension is granted as a matter of grace and not as a matter of right enforceable by law,* but the concession is not based on caprice, but is regulated by properly defined rules, and the Government do not contend that if the crops had been under four annas, they could have withheld suspension. The sole point throughout has been the difference as to *annawari*. If it is true that, in granting concessions, the Government take into account also other circumstances, e.g., in the words of the Press Note, "the general economic situation", susgension is doubly necessary this year because of the plague and high prices. The Collector told me definitely that he could not take this last into account. He could grant suspension only under the rules which had reference only to crops and nothing else.

I think I have shown enough here to warrant a committee of inquiry and I submit that, as a matter of principle, it would be worth-while granting the inquiry even if one cultivator remains with an arrear against him, because there is nothing found to attach and the Government might be reluctant to sell his lands. The people challenged the accuracy of *talati* figures. In some cases there are *talatis* themselves ready to come forward to show that they were asked to put up the *annawari* found by them. But if the inquiry is now held to be unnecessary, why do the Government not grant suspension, especially when, admittedly, there is only a small number left to collect from and more especially when, if suspension is granted, well-to-do cultivators are ready to pay.

It is evident now that Government have surrendered the question of principle for which the Commissioner has stood.

The Viceroy has appealed for the sinking of domestic differences. Is the appeal confined only to the ryots or may the officials also yield to the popular-will, when the popular demand is not immoral or unjust and thus produce contentment?

If distress means starvation, I admit that the Kaira people are not starving. But if sale of goods to pay assessment or to buy grain for food be an indication of distress, there is enough of it in the District. I am prepared to show that hundreds have paid their assessment either by incurring debts or by selling their trees, cattle or other valuables. The most grievous omission in the Press Note, however, is that of the fact that collections are being made in a vindictive spirit. The cultivators are being taught a lesson for their contumacy so called. They are under threat to lose their lands worth 3 crores of rupees for an assessment of 4 lakhs of rupees. In many cases a quarter of

the assessment has been exacted as a penalty. Is there not, in the above narrative, room for a doubt that the officials may be in the wrong?[1]

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*The Government-note said: "The Government regret their inability to accept the pressing request which Mr. Gandhi and others are making for an independent inquiry. The agriculturists really cannot claim to have the land revenue suspended or remitted. They can only ask for relief as a matter of concession; but even if we were to assume that the Government is prepared to appoint such a committee, it is clear that such an inquiry can be of little use, for final authority must vest in the Land Revenue Department."

1. The New India, 9-5-1918.

APPENDIX I — 5

LETTER TO THE PEOPLE OF KAIRA

Satyagraha Camp,

Nadiad,

June 6, 1918.

To

The Brothers and Sisters of Kaira District,

The struggle that the people of the district of Kaira entered upon on the 22nd of March last, has come to an end. The people took the following vow on that day:

"Knowing the crops of our village are less than 4 annas, we requested the Government to suspend the collection of revenue assessment till the ensuing year, but the Government has not acceeded to our prayer. Therefore we, the undersigned, hereby solemnly declare that we shall not, of our own accord, pay to the Government the full or the remaining revenue for the year. We shall let the Government take whatever legel steps it may think fit and gladly suffer the consequences of our non-payment. We shall let our lands rather be forefeited, than by voluntary payment allow our case to be considered false or our self-respect compromised. Should the Government, however, agree to suspend the collection of the second instalment of the assessment throughout the district, such amongst us as are in a position to pay will pay up the whole or the balance of the revenue that may be due. The reason why those who are able to pay still withhold payment is that, if they pay up, the poorer *ryots* may in a panic sell their chattels or incur debts to pay their dues, and thereby bring suffering upon themselves. In these circumstances, we feel that for the sake of the poor, it is the duty even of those who can afford to pay, to withhold payment of their assessment."

The meaning of this vow is that on the Government suspending collection of the revenue from the poor, the well-to-do should pay the assessment due from them. The Mamlatdar of Nadiad at Uttersanda, on the 3rd of June issued such orders, whereupon the people of Uttersanda, who could afford, were advised to pay up. Payments have already commenced there.

On the foregoing order having been passed at Uttersanda, a letter was addressed to the Collector stating that if orders like the one in Uttersanda were passed

everywhere the struggle would come to an end, and it would be possible to inform His Excellency the Governor on the 10th instant—the day of the sitting of the Provincial War Conference—that the domestic difference in Kaira was settled. The Collector has replied to the effect that the order like the one in Uttersanda is applicable to the whole district. Thus the people's prayer has at last been granted. The Collector has also stated in reply to a query about *Chothai* orders that the orders will not be enforced against those who may voluntarily pay up. Our thanks are due to the Collector for this concession.

We are obliged to say with sorrow that although the struggle has come to an end, it is an end without grace. It lacks dignity. The above orders have not been passed either with generosity or with the heart in them. It very much looks as if the orders have been passed with the greatest reluctance. The Collector says:

> "Orders were issued to all Mamlatdars on the 25th April that no pressure should be put on those unable to pay. Their attention was again drawn to these orders in a proper Circular issued by me on the 22nd of May and to ensure that proper effect was given to them the Mamlatdars were advised to divide the defaulters in each village into two classes, those who could pay and those who were unable to pay on account of poverty."

If this was so, why were these orders not published to the people? Had they known them on the 25th April, what sufferings would they not have been saved from! The expenses that were unnecessarily incurred by the Government in engaging the officials of the district in affecting executions would have been saved. Wherever the assessment was uncollected the people lived with their lives in their hands. They have lived away from their homes to avoid attachments. They have not even enough food. The women have suffered what they ought not to have. At times, they have been obliged to put up with insults from insolent Circle Inspectors, and to helplessly watch their milch buffaloes being taken away from them. They have paid *Chothai* fines and, had they known the foregoing orders, they would have been saved all the miseries. The officials knew that this relief for the poor was the crux of the struggle. The Commissioner would not even look at this difficulty. Many letters were addressed to him but he remained unbending. He said, "individual relief cannot be granted, it is not the law." lt Now the Collector says:

> The orders of April 25, so far as it related to putting pressure on those who were really unable to pay on account of poverty, were merely a re-

statement of what are publicly known to be the standing orders of Government on that subject."

If this is really true, the people have sufferred deliberately and through sheer obstinacy! At the time of going to Delhi, I (Gandhiji), wrote to the Commissioner requesting him to grant or to issue orders to the above effect so that the good news could be given to His Excellency the Viceroy. The Commissioner gave no heed to the request.

"We are moved by the sufferings of the people, we perceive our mistake and in order to placate the people we are now prepared to grant individual relief", the officials could have generously said all this and endeared themselves to the people, but they have obstinately avoided this method (of winning them over). And even now relief has been granted in a niggardly manner, involuntarily and without admission of any mistake. It is even claimed that what has now been granted is nothing new. And hence we say that there is little grace in the settlement.

The officials have failed to be popular because of their obstinacy, because of their mistaken belief that they should never admit being in the wrong and because of their having made it a fetish that it should never be said of them that they had yielded to anything like popular agitation. It grieves us to offer this criticism. But we have permitted ourselves to do so as their friends.

But though the official attitude is thus unsatisfactory, our prayer has been granted and it is our duty to accept the concession with thankfulness. Now, there is only 8 per cent of the assessment remaining unpaid. It was a point of honour with us till now to refuse payment. Conditions having materially altered, it is a point of honour for a Satyagrahi to pay up the assessment. Those who can afford, should pay without causing the Government the slightest trouble and thus show that where there is no conflict between the dictates of conscience and those of man-made law, they are second to none in obeying the law of the land. A Satyagrahi some-times appears momentarily to disobey laws and the constituted authority, only to prove in the end his regard for both.

In making a list of those who are unable to pay, we should apply a test so rigid that no one can challenge our findings. Those whose incapacity for payment is at all in doubt should consider it their duty to pay. The final decision as to the incapacity for payment will rest with the authorities, but we believe that the judgment of the people will have its full weight.

By their courage the people of Kaira have drawn the attention of the whole of India. During the last six months they have had full taste of the fruits of observing truth, fearlessness, unity, determination and self-sacrifice. We hope that they will still further cultivate these great qualities, will move forward on the path of progress, and shed luster on the name of the Motherland. It is our firm belief that the people of Kaira have truly served their own cause, as well as the cause of Swaraj and the Empire.

May God bless you!

We remain,

Always in your service,

M. K. Gandhi

Vallabhbhai J. Patel.

APPENDIX II — 1

A RECRUITING APPEAL

(*Bulletin No. 1*)

Sisters and Brothers of the Kaira District,

You have only recently finished a great Satyagraha struggle and come out victorious. You have displayed so much courage, tact and other good qualities in that fight, that I venture to advise you and earnestly press you to engage yourself in an even more important work of service to your Motherland.

You have shown how the people can oppose the Government without giving up courtesy, how they can pay due respect to the officials but still resist their orders and get what they want by peaceful means. And now I give you a chance to show to the world that you bear no hatred towards the Government though you fought a bitter fight against it only recently.

You are all Swarajists, and some are even members of the Home Rule League. 'Home Rule' itself implies maintenance of connection with the Empire as one of its partners. At present we are subjects of the Empire. We do not enjoy the rights and privileges of the Englishman. Our position is not like that of Canada, South Africa and Australia which are veritable parts of the Empire. India is a 'dependency'. We want the same rights as the Englishman enjoys, the same Colonial Status that S. Africa etc. have, and we want to have an Indian Viceroy at the head of our government. In order to acquire this status we must gain the power to defend ourselves and for that to arm ourselves and fight. We can never be respected as equals of the Englishman, as long as our safety depends upon our protection by British arms and we are afraid of their police force and soldiery. We must, therefore, learn to bear arms and gain the power to protect ourselves from any aggression. *It is, therefore, our duty to join the army if we want to learn that art very quickly*.

There can never be a friendship between a coward and a brave man. We are stigmatised as cowards. If we want to remove this stain, it is but meet that we show heroism on a battlefield by seizing this chance of recruitment.

It is certain that we want to be a partner in the Empire. Since it is so, we must, at any cost even at that of death, join in the defence of the Empire. If the Empire is destroyed, with it topple down all our hopes of freedom and equal partnership.

The easiest and the straightest way, therefore, of winning Swaraj is to stand shoulder to shoulder with the Britishers in the defence of the Empire. We have not the economic strength to help it by munificent donations. Besides, it is not money alone that wins a war. It is stupendous man-power that turns the scale. And India alone can create an impregnable wall of men against the German onslaught. If the Empire wins principally through the Indian army, it is clear that we can gain whatever rights we demand.

Some may object that the Britishers will play false with us afterwards, if we do not insist on getting our rights just now. Even in that case we can win them with the same power that we shall have acquired through the successful defence of the Empire. You cannot become its partner by harassing it. Harassment of the Empire at this critical hour can never bring for us the rights which its service can. Distrust of the rulers of the Empire is distrust of our own power and is a sign of weakness. Our rights must not depend upon the weakness or generosity of the rulers, but upon our own fitness, our own inherent power.

The Indian States are helping the Empire and they have their reward. And the rich are solidly supporting it and they too get the return they want. Neither of these have made any pre-conditions. Then there are the Indian soldiers who are fighting in order to maintain their families and to prove themselves worth their salt. They are awarded honours and prizes. All these classes belong to India but they cannot be called Swarajists. Swaraj is not their aim in life. It is not patriotism, nor the good of the country that impels them to help the war-effort. It is possible that if we entertain hatred and enmity towards them Empire, the men at its helm may employ all these three classes of Indians to crush us.

If we want Swaraj it is our duty to help the Empire and we too are certain to have our reward. If our intentions are honest, the Government will respond with equal honesty. Supposing for a moment that the intentions of the Government are malafide, even then we must have faith in the purity of our own motives. There is no heroism in being good to those who are good to us. Heroism lies in returning good for evil.

“The Government does not grant us Commissions in the army, does not repeal the Arms Act, does not even open Military Colleges to train Indians. How then can we help it?” The objections are valid.

The Government commits a serious blunder in not introducing these reforms. The English people can rightly claim credit for many virtuous deeds. May God reward

them fully in return. But the heinous crime, which in the name of the English people the English administrators have perpetrated in disarming India, will wash off all their good deeds unless officialdom wakes up to the crime betimes. God forbid, but if India comes to grief and if she passes under the tutelage of some other Power, her concentrated cry of distress will harm the British nation so seriously that it will be stained with shame and disgrace and the world will spit upon it for emasculating the thirtythree crores of Indians. But I believe that Britain's statesmen have realized this dire possibility and are even quite awake to it. Only they cannot at once transform the situation that they have themselves created. Every Englishman, the moment he sets his foot on the Indian soil, is taught to keep himself proudly aloof from Indians and remain always conscious of his own greatness and superiority. This over-bearing attitude is in their very air. Officials at the top are trying to free themselves and their subordinates from this climate, but they do not succeed in clearing the mists. Were this not a time of crisis, we would have fought with them. But to sit tight and wait for the grant of Commissions at such time is to cut the nose to spite the face. It may happen that we may go on waiting for the Commission order and let the opportunity to help the Empire slip through our fingers.

Even if the Government's motive in refusing or delaying the grant of Commissions etc. to us is to prevent us from helping the Empire through recruitment and other ways, we must, it is my conviction, make it a point to join the army.

The Government wants five lakhs of men as recruits to meet the challenge of the present times and is going to get them by any means. But if we provide these men ourselves, we would cover ourselves with glory, render valuable service and save our own people from the reportedly harsh and improper ways in which the recruiting campaign is conducted at present. It would be no small power that we would gain, if all recruiting work comes into our hands.

From the above facts and arguments it will be seen that in helping the Empire by joining the army, we gain fitness for Swaraj, learn how to defend our country and recover to some extent our lost manliness.

I have faith in the innate goodness of the English nation. I must admit, it is only on that basis that I give the above advice. I believe that though that nation has done us much harm, it is to our advantage to remain in the Empire. Between the virtues and vices of that nation, to me for one it appears that the balance tilts in favour of its virtues. It is indeed painful to remain as subjects under the British people. The

Britishers have the serious vice of making their subject peoples lose their self-respect. But they have also the virtue of treating their equals with great respect and loyalty. We have also seen that nation has often helped some other peoples subjected to foreign rule. If we become partners with them, we can take much and give much and this respectable status is likely to do great good to the world. If I did not possess this faith in the *bonafide*s of the Britisher and if I felt it desirable to be totally independent of him, I would not only advice my countrymen not to help the British but would even instigate them to an open revolt and rouse national consciousness by inviting on myself the suffering and punishment of a rebel. At least at present we are not in a position to stand on our legs, independently of any other nation's help. I believe that our good lies in acquiring the position of partnership within the Empire, and in my tours I have seen that all Home Rulers believe likewise. The hope I entertain from the Kaira District and Gujarat is not for the recruitment of a few hundereds but of thousands. If Gujarat wants to remove the stain of spineless, it must contribute thousands of recruits. In my conception of this would-be army of Gujaratis every class should be included. The educated and advanced classes as well as the illiterate and backward, Patidars, Barias, Vaghris and all others will, I hope, stand shoulder to shoulder in that army. As long as the educated and cultured classes—the elite do not come forward to join the army, it is useless to hope for any response from other classes. I hope all healthy adults among the educated classes will join the army. They will be employed, if not in actual fighting at the Front, in numerous departments of work pertaining to a war. They can, for instance, nurse the wounded soldiers. I hope that those parents who have sons of a mature age will never hesitate to send them as recruits. It should be not at all a matter of grief but one of joy for a brave man to sacrifice his son in a war. The son's sacrifice at this crisis will be regarded as national service for the cause of Swaraj.

It is my appeal to the women not to feel nervous about this appeal for recruitment, but to hail it enthusiastically. Their personal safety and the protection of their honour depend on the response to this appeal.

There are 600 villages in the Kaira District with an average population of more than a thousand. If each village gives at least 20 recruits, the district can contribute an army of 12,000 men. The population of the district is seven hundred thousand and so 12,000 men came to 1.7% of the whole population. Death annually claims a higher toll in percentage than this figure. If we are not prepared to pay even this price for the Empire, and for Swaraj, no wonder we would prove ourselves unfit for freedom. If the

recruits die on the battle-field they will make themselves, their village and their country immortal and twenty others will step into the dead men's shoes and defend the country.

If we really want to do this work, we cannot afford to be slow and lethargic. I appeal to the men and women of every village to select the strongest among their men and send their names to the recruiting centre. Meetings will be held in important villages to appeal to you for recruitment and to clarify the many points that will arise from the appeal. Volunteers also will move from village to village for the same purpose.

The following gentlemen have joined in this work:

Messrs. Vallabhbhai Jhaverbhai Patel (Bar-at-Law), Krishnalal Narsinghlal Desai (M. A., LL.B.), Indulal Kanhaiyalal Yagnik (B. A., LL. B.), Hariprasad Pitambardas Mehta (Proprietor, "The Hitechhu" Press), Pragji Khandubhai Desai, Mohanlal Kameshwar Pandya, Ganesh Vasudev Mavlankar (B. A., LL.B.) Kalidas Jashkaran Jhaveri (B. A., LL. B.), Fulchand Bapuji Shah, Gokuldas Dwarkadas Talati (B. A., LL. B.), Shivabhai Bhailalbhai Patel (B. A., LL. B.), Raojibhai Manibhai Patel and several others.

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi[1]

Nadiad, dated 22.6.2018

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1. Translated from the '*Prajabandhu*' (Ahmedabad) dated 30-6-2018.

APPENDIX II — 2

RECRUITING APPEAL

(*Bulletin No. 2*)

It is a month today since the first bulletin was written. My colleagues and I have had many enlightening experiences during the period. Meetings were held at various places such as Nadiad, Karamsad, Ras, Kathlal, Jambusar etc. Hundreds of men and women were approached and frank talks were held.

I beg to submit here the impressions we have gained through our expenences. Hardly a hundred men have enrolled themselves as recruits. When I compare the result with the time spent, a month, and with the many tours undertaken, I feel that this number is very small. If, on the other hand, I think of the present wretched condition of the people, I am surprised at even this number. Those who had never joined in any physical fight, who had never even brandished a walking stick against anybody have enrolled themselves. If then the class of physically and mentally fit but ignorant persons are persuaded to join, we can supply an unending array of soldiers.

The present times have clearly brought out the faults of the 'knowing' men. I use the word 'knowing' and not 'educated' purposely. If men and women of this class do their duty properly, they can successfully influence those classes which are illiterate but constitutionally fit to be soldiers. My experience reveals one great weakness of the *elite*. They do not possess sufficient national consciousness and do not take enough interest in national work. That is why the recruiting campaign becomes a difficult job. Those of them, therefore, who happen to read this bulletin must enrol themselves and exhort the illiterate and politically unconscious classes to do the same, if, of course, they have faith in this programme.

But I have seen some among them who do not believe in this work. This bulletin is specially meant to remove their doubts. I request them to read it carefully. It is a wise man's business to chalk out his line of action after a careful consideration of the actually prevailing situation. We must on no account help the British if we really wish to sever our connection with them but I know of only a very few who say that they want to cut it off. And everyone can clearly see that even they cannot do so right to-day. Be that as it may, our salvation lies in helping the British just now. To help them is to help ourselves. Where our interests are identical with theirs, it is sheer folly to remember old scores and refuse to help the other party. If our village is attacked by

dacoits and the whole village is in danger, we will forget all our internal feuds and animosities and rush to the rescue of our enemies within the village to drive away the outsiders. Exactly similar is the situation that faces us in this war to-day. Opposition to the common danger is not only the need of the hour but our imperative duty. Then there is another question that is raised: "How could it be our *dharma* to get our best men killed in the war? All the Swarajists will be exterminated and how can we then fight and win Swaraj?" Were this argument not advanced by some of the intelligentsia, I would have called it simply rediculous. If the whole of India contains only 5 lakhs of Swarajists, it is clear we are not fit for Swaraj. But then the doubting Thomas says, "Whatever the number of Swarajists, the intelligent among them who actively agitate for Swaraj are definitely less than 5 lakhs, and these would all be swept off." At first sight the statement is a convincing argument. Only, one important point is overlooked here. In the process of creating an army of 5 lakhs of men determined to lay down their lives, 50 lakhs will have come to know the implications of 'Swaraj', 'war' etc. We wish to raise the tempo of 5 lakhs of men to such a pitch that they would enrol themselves consciously and of their own free will. They will have consulted their friends and relatives before they do. These 5 lakhs will thus leave behind them lakhs of men with the same fiery enthusiasm as they possess. But the real point behindthese objections is the fact that we have lost the power to fight altogether and with it all our bravery. We do not possess even the capacity to protect our women. In the name of *dharma* we have put on the shelf our *karm*a (duty). We cannot face depredators even in broad daylight. It is only India among all the countries of the world where you can meet with the sight of 8 men raiding a population of 1000 and coolly looting and robbing the thousand without having to put up a fight. Not that the Indian villagers are physically so weak as to be unable to drive out the dacoits. But death is a nightmare to them. "Why should one risk his life by plunging in such a fight? Let the robbers have a free hand. It is the Government's business to deal with them and why bother oneself to meddle in what is the Government's function? Let us save our bones". This is their mentality and they keep to their homes. These 'philosophers' remain passive and indifferent witnesses if the neighbours' house is burnt, if he is dishonourd and disgraced, or if he is robbed of his property. So long as this pseudo-philosophy is not uprooted from the Indian soil, there is not going to be any real peace in the country. It is an intolerable sight for a man of self-respect to see his village saved only by the Government policemen or privately employed *chowkidars*. A splendid chance offers

itself to save ourselves from this tragic plight. Recruitment will teach us how to bear arms, fire us with national consciousness and enable us to protect our villages.

'What will happen to our wives and children?' is the question on everybody's lips. Over and above food and clothing, the soldier gets a minium salary of Rs. 18 and his position and pay are raised according to the worth he displays. Besides, the Government provides for the maintenance of his wife and children, if he dies in the war. If he returns home, he is rewarded with prizes and honours. I believe that everything considered, the profession of a soldier is more paying than many others.

"But these advantages, you talk of, are only the monopoly of the Englishman. Which Indian ever gets them?" This also is an argument I have heard from many. To them I will say that it is impossible for anybody to cheat us of the rights which Englishmen enjoy, even after a stupendous army of 5 lakhs of men is raised by our exertions. If that differentiation persists even then, it would only mean the weakness of those 5 lakhs and their leaders. An army of 5 lakhs, once created, is bound to gain equality with the British army and secure all the rights the latter enjoys. The very formation of that huge phalanx carries with it, as an inevitable consequence, the conferment of those rights.

"You say we must enlist without any pre-conditions. Others advise us to do so only after securing the promise of the grant of our rights. And there are others still who say we are not at all bound to help in the war and that we need not unnecessarily waste our energy and harm ourselves. We are lost in the maze of these three bewildering advices. To us, therefore, it seems that wisdom lies in sitting tight and doing nothing." In my opinion this is the language of the coward. As time passes, parties will be formed and they will hold varying views. You will have to sift them all, form your own views and act upon them. Let us not forget that you and we all have taken a solemn oath to win Swaraj. If for nothing else, for that sacred vow we must join the army. If we do not, I for one, go to the length of considering our indifference a breach and betrayal of our pledge. Moreover, there is every danger of our being left out from taking part in the war and of the consequent postponement of the implementation of the Swaraj Scheme, if we insist at present on pre-conditions. In our very admission into the ranks automatically lies the safety of our country and of the grant of Swaraj. All parties are unanimously of the view that no harm whatsoever is going to be done to the attainment of Swaraj, if we enlist ourselves in the army. Considering the pros and cons of all the three views, therefore, I believe that the one

that supports recruitment is the best. I hope the residents of the Kaira District will do their duty and give their names for enrolment in the army to the volunteers in the district or send them direct to the Ashram.

I hope our women will help in this work. I know of some of them who stop their husbands and sons from joining the army. If they only reflect a little more seriously, they will find that it is in their own interest to let their husbands and sons become brave men. And it is undoubtedly to the good of the country.

Nadiad,

Yours in service,

22-7-2018

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi

(*Translated from the 'Prajabandhu' dated 4-8-2018*)

Appendix III

SUMMARY OF THE ROWLATT BILLS

(*With Gandhiji's comments*)

These Bills have come to be known as the Black Bills. A strong agitation has been going against them all over India, and the Bills have been felt to be so oppressive that Satyagraha has been started against them ... The Satyagrahis have declared in their Pledge that these Bills are unjust, that they are subversive of the principle of the liberty of the subject and destructive of the elementary rights of an individual. It is necessary to prove to the people the propriety of these adjectives and the evidence must be in the Bills themselves—so that (they may see how) submission to laws which deserve such epithets is forfeiting one's humanity and accepting slavery, and those who form such an impression after going through the summary below owe it as a duty to sign the Satyagraha Pledge. Bill No. 2, as its preamble suggests, goes further than the ordinary criminal law. The second Bill seems to us to be the more dangerous of the two and a summary of it is, therefore, given first.

SUMMARY OF BILL No. 2 of 1919

The object of the Bill is to make provision that the ordinary criminal law should be supplemented and emergency powers should be exercisable by the Government for the purpose of dealing with dangerous situations.

Section 1. This Bill may be called the Criminal Law Emergency Powers Bill.

It extends to the WHOLE of India.

Section 4. Where the Local Government is of opinion that any person should be tried in accordance with the provisions of this Act, it may order any officer of the Government to prefer a written information to the Chief Justice against that person.

Such order may be made in respect of any (scheduled) offence EVEN IF SUCH OFFENCE WAS COMMITTED BEFORE THE ISSUE OF THE NOTIFICATION in the *Gazette* bringing the Act into force in a particular area.

Section 5, provides that, upon such information being served, the Chief Justice shall nominate three of the High Court Judges for the trial of information.

Section 9. After the charge is framed, the accused shall be entitled to ask for an adjournment for a period not exceeding ten days.

Section 10 provides that the court is bound to arrange for the evidence of each witness to be recorded only in summary.

Comment: Even a layman will readily see that recording only the summary of evidence can lead to serious miscarriage of justice. No judge can know in advance, before all the witnesses have been examined, what weight to attach to which part of evidence.

Section 11. The court, if it is of opinion that such a course is necessary in the public interest or for the protection of a witness, may prohibit or restrict the publication or disclosure of its proceedings or any part thereof.

Section 12. No question shall be put by the court to the accused until the close of the case for the prosecution. Thereafter, and before the accused enters on his defence, the court shall inform the accused that he is entitled, if he so desires, to give evidence on oath on his own behalf, and shall at the same time inform him that if he does so he will be liable to cross-examination.

If the accused states that he desired to give evidence on oath, the court may put any question to him the reply to which may prove his guilt.

Section 15. If in the course of the trial, the accused is discovered to have committed any offences other than the one he is charged with, he may be charged with and convicted of these as well.

Section 17. The judgment of the court shall be final and conclusive and no High Court shall have authority to revise any order or sentence of the court.

PART II

Section 21. Where, in the opinion of the Local Government, there are reasonable grounds for believing that any person is, or has been actively concerned in any movement of the nature referred to above, it may give all or any of the following directions: That such person

(a) shall execute a bond for good conduct for a period not exceeding one year;

(b) shall remain or reside in any area specified in the order;

(c) shall notify his residence and any change of residence as ordered;

(d) shall abstain from any act which, in the opinion of the Local Government, is calculated to disturb the public peace or is prejudicial to the public safety;

(e) shall report himself to such police officer and at such periods as may be specified in the order.

Comment: Under this Section, an order of this kind may be passed against any person merely on suspicion and without a trial.

Section 25: When the Local Government makes an order as above, such Government shall, as soon as may be, forward to the investigating authority to be constituted under this Act a concise statement in writing setting forth all particulars relevant to the order and the grounds for making it.

The investigating authority shall then hold an inquiry IN CAMERA, summon the person in question at SOME stage in its proceedings and hear any explanation he may have to offer, provided that the investigating authority shall not disclose to the person any fact the communication of which might endanger the public safety or the safety of any individual, and provided further THAT NEITHER THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT NOR THE PFRSON IN QUESTION SHALL BF ENTITLED TO BE REPRESENTED AT SUCH INQUIRY BY A PLEADER.

The inquiry shall be conducted in such manner as the investigating authority considers best suited to elicit the facts of the case and, IN MAKING THE INQUIRY, SUCH AUTHORITY SHALL NOT BE BOUND TO OBSERVE THE RULE OF THE LAW OF EVIDENCE.

On completion of the inquiry, the investigating authority shall report its conclusions to the Local Government.

Section 26. On receipt of the report of the investigating authority, the Local Government may discharge the order made by it or may make any other order which it is authorized to make; any order so made shall recite the conclusions of the investigating authority and a copy of the order shall be furnished to the person in question.

No order made as herein provided shall continue in force for more than a year from the date on which it was made, though on the expiry of such an order the Local Government may renew it for a further period of one year. An order may also be

discharged at any time by the Local Government, or altered or substituted by any other order without reference to the investigating authority mentioned above.

Comment: This means that the Local Government may issue any order at its discretion, and that even the nominal investigating authority will serve no useful purpose.

Section 27. Any person who fails to comply with an order as above shall be punishable with imprisonment for a term which may extend to six months, or with fine which may extend to a thousand rupees, or with both.

PART III

Section 33. Where, in the opinion of the Local Government, any person has been or is concerned in such area in any offence of that kind, it may make in respect of such person any order authorised in part II and may further order (a) the arrest of any such person without warrant; (b) the confinement of any such person in such place and under such conditions and restrictions as it may specify; (c) the search of any place specified in the order.

An officer executing an order for the search of any place may seize and dispose of anything found in such place, which he has reason to believe is being used or is likely to be used for any purpose prejudicial to the public safety.

Section 36. Where an order has been made under Section 33, the provisions of Section 22 to 26 shall apply in the same way as if the order were an order made under Section 21.

Comment: See comment on Sections 22 to 26.

PART IV AND V

On the expiration of the Defence of India Act, every person who was held prisoner under Section 37 (at the time of the expiration of the Act) and who has in the opinion of the Local Government been concerned in any scheduled offence, and every person who is (on such expiration) in confinement in accordance with the provisions of the Bengal State Prisoners Regulation, 1818, shall be deemed to be in prison under (the provisions of) part III above.

No order under this Act shall be called in question in any court, and no suit or prosecution or other legal proceedings shall lie against any person for anything which is in good faith done or intended to be done under this Act. All powers given by this Act shall be in addition to any other powers conferred by or under any enactment.

BILL No.1 of 1919

The object of this Bill is to amend the Indian Penal Code and the Criminal Procedure Code so as to put effective curbs on activities dangerous to the State. It creates a new offence, as under:

Any person found in possession of a seditious document or intending to publish or circulate such document will, unless he proves that it was in his possession for a lawful purpose, be punishable with imprisonment extending to a period of two years or with fine, or with both.

Comment: This means that, if any book or paper believed to be seditious is found in the pocket of any innocent youth ignorant of its contents, he would be taken to be guilty unless he proves that he was carrying it for a lawful purpose. This new offence alters one of the fundamental principles of the British justice inasmuch as, instead of the prosecution having to prove the guilt of the accused, it is the latter who will have to establish his innocence. If I am charged with anything, how can I prove that I am not guilty? This can only mean that I shall be in jail.

When trying offences against the State mentioned in the Indian Penal Code, the court is free to order, if it thinks fit, that the accused, even after he has served the sentence of imprisonment passed on him, should execute a bond of good conduct for two years thereafter. Any person who, having been served with a restraint order, under the provisions of this Bill, to report, subsequent to his release, his place of residence and any change therein, may be directed by the Local Government by an order in writing to abide by any of the following conditions:

(a) the person in question must not enter or reside or stop in any specified area;

(b) he should confine himself to a particular part of British India;

(c) he must not address any public meeting called to discuss issues which might lead to breach of the peace or public excitement or to circulate any

written or printed information relating to such issues or to extend support to any political matter.

Comment: This means that, even after a person has suffered enough for an alleged offence, he may not expect to be free from harassment by the Government.

ALTERATIONS MADE BY SELECT COMMITTEE

Its report was published on March 1. We list below the important changes which follow from the part of the report which has received the approval of a majority. It has not been signed by the Hon'ble Pandit Malaviya, the Hon'ble Vithalbhai Patel and the Hon'ble Mr. Khaparde. The Hon'ble Mr. Surendranath Banerji, the Hon'ble Mr. Shastriar and the Hon'ble Mr. M. Shafi have appended a minute of dissent in which they have suggested several important changes.

The Committee (mainly composed of officials) points out that, though it has made a few changes in Bill No. 2, it has hesitated to alter its basic principles.

The Committee has recommended that the Bill be limited to three years.

The Select Committee has recommended that it should apply only to the offences of waging war and inciting rebellion against the State (not to all the scheduled offences).

Under Section 10, the Judge was required to record a summary of the evidence, Now the evidence will have to be recorded in full either by the Judge or by a clerk appointed by him.

Under Section 21, the Government is authorized to demand a bond of good conduct without showing any reason. Now it will be required to state the reason and make out a case.

Under Section 26, the accused could be detained for a period extending to three years. Now the Government will have power to do so for a period extending to two years and the case will have to be referred to the investigating authority on every occasion.

Section 33 seemed to imply that the accused could even be confined with the ordinary criminals. It is now made clear that he will have to be kept apart.

Comment : It must be admitted that the alteration suggested by the Select Committee do effect some improvements in the original Bill, but they leave the basic principle of the Bill untouched, and the Bill can be used to harass people so much that, as the Hon'ble Mr. Shastriar has pointed out, even the members of the new Councils with enlarged powers which are to come into being will tremble while making any comments and be able to avail themselves of their nominal freedom only by turning themselves flatterers. If this is true as regards members of the Legislature, what will be the condition of the defenceless, ignorant people? It is the duty of every thinking Indian to save the people from this danger, a duty one can discharge only by offering Satyagraha.[1]

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1. The Collected works of Mahatma Gandhi Vol. XV P. 110 to 118, summarised.

About this Volume

This Volume (I) of 'Day- to-day with Gandhi' gives us a glimpse of the working of Gandhiji's mind during 13-11-1917 to 30-3-1919. It contains Gandhiji's social, political, religious and moral views, along with the reports of many important interviews and correspondence of historical importance. During this period Gandhiji carried out two non-violent struggles, one at Ahmedabad and the other at Kaira.

Some of the important features of this volurne are as follows:

1. Ahmedabad mill-workers' strike and Gandhiji's fast.
2. Kaira Satyagraha struggle.
3. Satyagraha against the Rowlatt Bills.
4. The philosophy of Satyagraha and Ahimsa (Non-violence).
5. Thoreau's Civil-Disobedience.
6. Recruiting campaign by a votary of non-violence.
7. Vinoba's historical letter to Gandhiji.

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