

1. TELEGRAM TO THAKURDAS KHUSHALDAS¹

[After April 28, 1931]

WHEN PEOPLE WON'T LISTEN TO REASON YOU MAY FOR THE TIME
BEING LET THEM DO WHAT THEY LIKE.

A. I. C. C. File No. 3-A, 1931. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and
Library.

2. TO THE CULTIVATORS OF KHEDA

[April 29, 1931]²

I had written in *Navajivan*³ That no cultivator⁴ is obliged to pay
revenue by incurring debt. I write the following further to clarify the
matter.

1. Whether the cultivator has gone on 'Hijarat' or not if he
has suffered substantially by reason of satyagraha movement such a
satya-grahi Cultivator is not obliged to pay revenue by incurring debt.

2. The duty of all other cultivators—those who have not taken
part in the satyagraha movement and those who have not suffered
substantially—is to pay the revenue even if it becomes necessary to
incur debt for such purpose.

3. The cultivators covered by item I should realize that in my
opinion their interest lies in keeping the Truce. I shall make every
endeavour to get suspension of their land revenue up to next year but
if I fail the peasants will have to undergo considerable suffering and
this suggestion does not apply to those who are not prepared to
undergo such suffering.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 3-5-1931

¹ Secretary, District Congress Committee, Mirpurkhas (Sind), who in his letter
dated April 28, had sought Gandhiji's views on Mirpurkhas cloth merchants' decision
to sell sealed foreign cloth against the Congress directive and the counter-decision of
satyagrahis to resort to picketing and hunger strike.

² From *The Hindu*, 30-4-1931

³ Dated 19-4-1931; vide "To The Satyagrahi Farmer", 19-4-1931

⁴ In a translation of the item found in Home Department Political file the word
"Khatedar" has been used.

3. LETTER TO CHARU PROBHA DEVI

BORSAD,
April 29, 1931

DEAR CHARU PROBHA,

I was delighted to have your letter. You would certainly not reject the company of the young men who may not hold the same view on non-violence that you and I do but you will expect to convert them by your affection and still more by proving the efficacy of your own method in daily conduct. You will not expect me to give you long letters. No apology is needed for faulty English. Why should we be ashamed of making errors in a foreign tongue? What, however, I would like you to do is to pick up Hindi and begin to write in Hindi. Hindi you can learn in a very short time.

BAPU

CHARU PROBHA DEVI

RAJBARI [BENGAL]

From a photostat: G. N. 8701

4. LETTER TO C. F. ANDREWS

[AS AT] SABARMATI,¹
April 29, 1931

I have had so many letters² from you but I have seemingly neglected you. The fact is I have had no time. Karachi washed me out completely. The fatigue has not yet left me entirely. I am obliged to sleep two or three times during the day so as to keep me fresh for work that I must do.

I hope your sister is better if not completely restored. Anyway I am glad you are by her side. Please give my love to her.

You have taken it for granted that I am going to London. I am not at all sure and I am certainly not going if there is no Hindu-Muslim solution. There is no immediate prospect. And then the Settlement itself runs the risk of being broken to pieces in Gujarat. Of course I am making every endeavour to see that it is honoured by the officials here. But it is an uphill fight and you know how tender the

¹ Gandhiji was at Borsad up to May 11 when he left for Simla. This address was given in this and in other letters for convenience of reply.

² Written from the United States and England

officials are over revenue matters. If I do come and if I have the choice, I would like to accept Muriel Lester's invitation. If however you think that it would be better not to do so and to occupy Ghanshyam Das's hostel you will please see her.

And now for the Transvaal question. It is becoming more and more difficult day after day. Unless India comes to her own in the near future, I see no prospect of improvement in the situation. Of course the resident Indian population will somehow drag on its existence there. They have sufficient resourcefulness but it would be living from hand to mouth. However we must do all we can. Yours I know is just now the largest share. I have become almost incapacitated for that work. But when we meet we must discuss the situation and I might be able to find out some effective method of dealing with it.

I hope you are getting your copy of *Young India*. This letter is merely a supplement to that weekly letter.

C. F. ANDREWS, ESQ.

From a photostat: S. N. 17024

5. LETTER TO C. VIJAYARAGHAVACHARIAR

BORSAD,

April 29, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

Ghanshyam Das Birla asks me to write to you if it is only a few lines. I have failed because up to last week I had practically ceased to deal with voluminous correspondence that comes daily. Pyarelal and Mahadev dealt with it as they liked and I knew that in that pressure you did not expect anything from me. And now that I have a few moments to dictate some letters what shall I say to you? Why do you think that because you had no acknowledgments, your wires and letters were not considered? They were. But the unfortunate fact is that your suggestion could not be accepted. The legality of the convictions¹ was discussed threadbare by jurists like Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru with the Viceroy and you know what great influence he had with him. But it was all of no avail. The Congress therefore had to take up the only attitude that was open to it. I would ask you please therefore not to be sensitive. Remember that we have a new generation of men and women dominating the Congress. They brush aside legal forms. They

¹ Of Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev and Rajguru

have found by experience how powerless these forms have proved for advancing freedom and they have by bitter experience realized how powerful they have been for curbing freedom. Why will you not therefore be satisfied with blessing these young men and women knowing that they are, on the whole, on the right track[?] This of course does not mean that you should not continue to give the Congress and especially me the benefit of your advice. But that you should do without expectation of its being always followed. I hope, in spite of old age creeping on you, you are well and able to follow the vast changes that are taking place in the country.

Yours sincerely,

SYT. C. VIJAYARAGHAVACHARIAR
THE ARAMA, SALEM

Copy to Sjt. Ghanshyam Das Birla

From a photostat: S. N. 17022

6. LETTER TO R. B. GREGG

[AS AT] SABARMATI,
April 29, 1931

MY DEAR GOVIND,

I have your letter and I read your letter to Mira. I quite understand and appreciate all the anxiety shown by you in your letter to her. I do not know that I shall be going to London at all and I shall certainly not go if the way is not clear for me to deliver my message. That it is not likely to be accepted just now I have realized all along. But had the Congress not accepted the offer to discuss terms, the Congress would have put itself in the wrong. As it is we are safe either way. It will be great, good and grand if peace can be made permanent through negotiation. I shall therefore leave no stone unturned to reach that state but it will be equally good and grand if the negotiations proved fruitless. Then India will be put upon her mettle and will have to show her capacity for further suffering. There is no question of my being invited to parties, feted and lionized. I can eat nothing and thank God my Ioin-cloth will protect me from being exhibited as a specimen in Barnum's show. If therefore I go to London I go for solid business and to drink in the deep affection of chosen friends there. I refuse to speculate. I would go where the light leads me in the fullest faith that all will be well if I follow it.

Do not believe the rumours about my intended visit to America. Much as I should like to visit that great country I know that my time is not yet and I do not want to come as a nine day's wonder.

Love to you and Radha.

Yours sincerely,

BAPU

R. B. GREGG, ESQ.
543 BOYLSTON ST.
BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS

From a photostat: G. N. 4663; also S. N. 17023

7. LETTER TO JAMNADAS GANDHI

BORSAD,

April 29, 1931

CHI. JAMNADAS,

How is it that you do not write to me at all? I cannot write to you, but I do think about you. What is your present state of mind? How are Father and Mother? How is the school? Write to me and describe some of your experiences in jail. What kind of person is the new ruler? Ask Purshottam to write to me.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C. W. 9291. Courtesy: Jamnadas Gandhi

8. LETTER TO PRABHUDAS GANDHI

BORSAD,

April 29, 1931

CHI. PRABHUDAS,

I have gone through your letter of 19th February 1931, the budget of the Magan spinning-wheel and the khadi scheme. My desire of setting up an ashram in Almora still persists. I believe we can pay upto Rs. 15,000/- if we get a good house. Write to me if you come across a good place at a reasonable price. I may like to buy it.

I would certainly need a person to run this ashram. At present, I have only you in mind. You must decide to stay there. Finding fault

with others is a great sin and leads to self-deception. One should not vie with others. You should utilize whatever you have received as your share and derive pleasure out of it.

I have not received your.... ¹If it is in the Ashram, I will have it sent to me. Many improvements have been made in “my” spinning-wheel. Let there be more and call for the sample then. Two persons are behind it—Laskshmidas and Keshu.

I find your budget for the Magan spinning-wheel all right. Draw that much money if Chhaganlal and Narandas sanction it. Even if they do not, send me your spinning-wheel if you want to. I will try to learn from Padma or anyone who knows how to ply it.

Your khadi scheme is no doubt impracticable. Its conditions are very difficult. Give it up for the time being. Do whatever you can by raising men and money there. These are my views. I am sending this letter to Chhaganlal. He will send it to you after reading it. Let me know if he has made any changes.

Today 1 am in Borsad. Who knows about tomorrow?

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original S.N. 32974

9. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL GANDHI

April 29, 1931

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

Now for the last eight days or so, I am able to write a few letters. That is to say, I have that much time, mainly after the morning prayers. That is true of today also. I can say that my health on the whole is good. I do not have any after-effects of fever now. Whatever after-effect I had, was from exhaustion. Even now I need rest. I can take that while working and I am doing that.

I have your letter. I have your earlier one also. It is good news that both of you are keeping well. I am happy that you have got the work of your liking. I do not at all like . . .² Vijapur. He has not even thought about it. I feel like writing to Diwan directly. Do you think it

¹ A word here is illegible in the source.

² A few words here are illegible in the source.

is necessary? The owner of the neighbouring land died but his heirs would be there. Find out.

I have come to Borsad as there is a danger of Government reprisal here. With me are Ba, Mirabehn, Mahadev, Pyarelal and a young man from Utkal. We will have to stay here for a few days. I will decide after that. I will have to go either to Mahabaleshwar or Simla or Nainital.¹ I do not foresee my going to Europe.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : S.N. 32868

10. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

BORSAD,
April 29, 1931

BHAI GHANSHYAMDAS,

I have your two letters. I send you a copy of the letter² I have written to Vijayaraghavachariji.

What shall I write about the Hindu-Muslim problem? The Nawab of Bhopal is doing something. Whenever you have an opportunity of rendering service to a Muslim you should do so. It does not mean financial assistance. Financial assistance of course has to be rendered in the case of a deserving but poor Mussalman. And it is also our duty to try and remove the rowdyism among Hindus. The atrocities committed by Hindus in Cawnpore and Kashi do not help the Hindu religion, but undoubtedly harm it.

I have as yet no idea whether I am to go to England or not. The situation here is rather serious.

Do go to America. It will certainly do some good.

Do whatever is possible for the boycott of foreign cloth.

I am well.

BAPU

From Hindi: C. W. 7885. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

¹ Gandhiji went to Simla on May 13 and thereafter to Nainital on May 18, 1931.

² *Vide* "Letter to C. Vijayaraghavachariar", 29-4-1931

11. THE LOIN-CLOTH

A critic has fallen foul of my remark made before the meeting of the Federation of Chambers of Commerce at Delhi that the Indian civilization must not be allowed to be wiped out by the inroads from the West. The critic has confused Indian civilization with the loin-cloth and then condemned it.

Mr. Churchill has been kind enough gratuitously to advertise my loin-cloth to the whole world. It has therefore become the fashion to laugh at it as the said critic has done. Let me then explain what it means.

In 1921 Maulana Mahomed Ali was arrested at Waltair whilst he and I were going on a tour to the South.¹ He was torn from Begum Mahomed Ali who was travelling with us. I was deeply moved, she bore the separation bravely and attended meetings in Madras. I left her at Madras and went as far as Madura. On the way I saw in our compart-ment crowds that were wholly unconcerned with what had happened. Almost without exception they were bedecked in foreign fineries. I entered into conversation with some of them and pleaded for khadi. For I had no other way open to me to secure the release of the Ali Brothers save through khadi. They shook their heads as they said, "We are too poor to buy khadi and it is so dear." I realized the substratum of truth behind the remark. I had my vest, cap, and full dhoti on. When these uttered only partial truth, the millions of compulsory naked men, save for their *langoti* four inches wide and nearly as many feet long, gave through their bare limbs the naked truth. What effective answer could I give them, if it was not to divest myself of every inch of clothing I decently could and thus to a still greater extent bring myself in a line with the ill-clad masses? And this I did the very next morning after the Madura meeting?²

Here then there is no question of loin-cloth civilization. The adoption of the loin-cloth was for me a sheer necessity. But in so far as the loin-cloth also spells simplicity let it represent Indian civilization. It is a mingling of the cultures represented by the different faiths and influenced by the geographic and other environment in which the cultures have met. Thus Islamic culture is not the same in Arabia, Turkey, Egypt and India but it is itself influenced by the conditions of

¹ *Vide* "Message to Bomba Citizens", 14-9-1921

² Held on September 22, 1921; *vide*

the respective countries. Indian culture is therefore Indian. It is neither Hindu, Islamic nor any other, wholly. It is a fusion of all and essentially Eastern. I had in mind that culture. And every one who called himself or herself an Indian is bound to treasure that culture, be its trustee and resist any attack upon it.

European civilization is no doubt suited for the Europeans but it will mean ruin for India, if we endeavour to copy it. This is not to say that we may not adopt and assimilate whatever may be good and capable of assimilation by us as it does not also mean that even the Europeans will not have to part with whatever evil might have crept into it. The incessant search for material comforts and their multiplication is such an evil, and I make bold to say that the Europeans themselves will have to remodel their outlook, if they are not to perish under the weight of the comforts to which they are becoming slaves. It may be that my reading is wrong, but I know that for India to run after the Golden Fleece is to court certain death. Let us engrave on our hearts the motto of a Western philosopher, "Plain living and high thinking". Today it is certain that the millions cannot have high living and we the few who profess to do the thinking for the masses run the risk, in a vain search after high living, of missing high thinking.

Young India, 30-4-1931

12. HE LIVES BY DYING

Sjt. G. V. Ketkar writes of an example of great bravery which is worthy of record:

Sjt. Purushottam, who was popularly known as Babu Gayadhani, was a young worker of Nasik. For the past few years he was working as assistant Secretary of the Gulabwadi public gymnasium of Nasik. He was also occasionally taking part in Congress and swadeshi propaganda. On the 4th of April a house in Nasik caught fire. Babu Gayadhani took leading part in the work of quenching the fire. On learning that there were children in the house he rushed in without caring for consequences and rescued all the children. He re-entered the house to save the cattle also. Unfortunately the fire had spread all over the house and burning beam crashed over his head. He was badly burnt and bruised all over his body and was taken to the civil hospital where he succumbed to his injuries on the 11th instant."

His parents, if they are alive, should be proud of their brave son. Babu Gayadhani lives through his glorious death.

Young India, 30-4-1931

13. THE GUJARAT FARMER

“Give a dog a bad name and hang him.” Say that the Gujarat farmer is contumacious and sell him out. In a Press interview¹ I said some days ago that it was unfortunate that Mr. Benn was misled into saying that the Gujarat farmer was not playing the game; in other words, he was not paying up. When the suggestion was first made I was startled, for I had faith that the Gujarat farmer though hit hard would carry out the terms of the Settlement to the full extent of his ability. The Settlement expects nothing more.

The complaint made to me in Delhi was that whereas large sums were collected in Bardoli and Valod before 28th February, only Rs. 3,212 were collected during the fortnight ending 15th March. The implication was that since the Settlement very little was paid.

Now, the Settlement was announced on 7th March. Sardar Vallabhbai and I reached Bardoli on 14th March. It is clear that nothing could be expected before we arrived in Bardoli and explained the position to the farmers and they could return to their homes. Here, however, are the figures of payment:

Revenue Collections in Bardoli and Valod

DATE	BARDOLI	VALOD
Collections before		
15-3-31	Rs. 2,500-0-0	Rs. 20,000—0-0
On 16th March	..	
17th,,	200-0-0	..
18th,,	400-0-0	..
19th,,	200-0-0	136—0-0
20th,,	..	228—0-0
23rd,,	500-0-0	379—0-0
24th,,	1,700-0-0	1,114—0-0
25th,,	800-0-0	364—0-0
26th,,	1,000-0-0	..
27th,,	1,000-0-0	117—0-0

¹ *Vide* “Interview to the Press”, 18-4-1931

	30th	„	2,000-0-0	2,229—0-0
	31st	„	1,500-0-0	1,949—0-0
	1st	April	4,000-0-0	1,361—0-0
	DATE		BARDOLI	
VALOD				
	2nd	April	Rs. 2,000-0-0	Rs. 1,208—0-0
	7th	„	10,000-0-0	1,829—0-0
	8th	„	900-0-0	2,246—0-0
	9th	„	2,200-0-0	2,429—0-0
	10th	„	5,500-0-0	1,379—0-0
	11th	„	6,800-0-0	1,700—2-3
	13th	„	20,000-0-0	6,932—11-9
	14th	„	6,500-0-0	1,455—15-9
	15th	„	10,028-0-0	1,011—12-7
	16th	„	11,446-0-0	2,791—5-4
	17th	„	7,622-0-0	3,736—0-0
	18th	„	9,981-0-0	5,545—14-0
	20th	„	11,518-0-0	6,349—11-0
	21st	„	7,365-0-0	1,856—11-0
	22nd	„	6,162-0-0	3,421—6-6
	23rd	„	4,456-0-0	1,090—4-0
	24th	„	9,000-0-0	4,006—10-7
	25th	„	7,129-0-0	1,162—3-5
	26th	„	..	5,500—0-0
			<hr/>	<hr/>
			1,54,407-0-0	83,528-12-2

I claim that the Bardoli farmers have done exceedingly well and this in spite of the fact that the forfeited lands had not yet been returned, that some of these had even been sold, that the old Patels and Talatis had not been reinstated, that all the prisoners had not been released and that prosecutions against them were still pending.

But here I must draw the curtain. I may say that great difficulty is being experienced in establishing friendly touch with the local officials. The result is that many things that should have long ago been done on behalf of the Government are still not done and though there is no unwillingness to pay, threats of coercive measures are kept hanging like Damocles's sword over the heads of the people. The process has begun with Kaira. They do not seem to realize that there is peace now, provisional though it is, between the people and the Government and that efforts are being made to make enduring what is

today only temporary and provisional.

The difficulties in the way are enormous. But I have pledged my word to Lord Irwin that so far as it is humanly possible, I shall prevent the Truce from breaking. The Settlement has been called a gentleman's agreement. I know that Lord Irwin was sincerely anxious to see that it was fully carried out by the Government's agents as he testified more than once that I was to see it being as fully carried out by Congressmen.

It has hurt me to take the public into confidence even to the extent I have done. But I feel that I can no longer suppress the fact that there are ominous signs on the horizon. A satyagrahi has no weapon at his disposal but that of public opinion and suffering. Let the public read no more into this article than the natural meaning the written word conveys. I shall hope and pray that next week I may be able to report that the threatenig cloud has lifted.

Young India, 30-4-1931

14. OUR DUTY TO THE VILLAGERS

The intensive political struggle of last year brought out prominently the importance of foreign-cloth boycott in the fight for national freedom. That the boycott programme has been in a measure effective, is evidenced by the fall in the import of foreign cloth. We have reason for satisfaction in the results achieved, but let us not in our satisfaction at the measure of success gained, forget the true purpose and implications of the boycott programme. Let us remember that our nation lives in the millions of village homes and the true and primary aim of the boycott programme will be missed if the boycott is not worked in such a way that the benefits accrue pre-eminently to the villagers. If it is to benefit them it can only be by the nation according to khadi a position above all other indigenou cloth.

In order to do this it is necessary for us to revise our taste. We must take to coarse, thick khadi. The cotton grown in India is mostly short stapled and can yield only low count yarn. The spinners who have been spinning generally only for themselves or the neighbourhood are accustomed in most of the areas only to the spinning of coarse yarn and it is difficult therefore at once to raise the count of yarn spun. This is the case with practically the whole of North India. In the Punjab, Rajasthan, U. P., Bihar, and Bengal, where lakhs of

unemployed or partlaily employed charkhas exist, only thich khadi is being woven. A limited quantity of fine and medium khadi is available in the South, but even there the largest quantity is only made of low count yarn. The activities under the auspices of the All-India Spinners' Association, much as they have grown, have not touched even a tenth of the known and definitely ascertained facilities for production in these provinces. There are practicially no limits to the possibilities of thick khadi production and if only the nation can give its reasoned preference to thick khadi, it can to a very large extent take the place till now occupied by foreign cloth and the fruits of the national programme will go to benefit the vast majority of the population of the country and not merely the moneyed few.

This general plea for khadi from the point of view of the boycott is further strengthened by one peculiar feature of the economic situation of the country in the current year and the year that is past. The abnormally low prices of cotton and indeed of all agricultural produce, have caused great distress in the villages. The prices prevailing do not, in many cases, fully meet even the cultivation and other expenses. The smaller cultivators of cotton, therefore, have sought to earn something more on their cotton by plying one or two spinning wheels in their homes. The cultivators of other agricultural produce have also similarly sought to add to their scanty income by spinning. The result is that in many parts of the country spinners from surrounding villages in great numbers flock to the nearest khadi depots offering the yarn for sale. The output of hand-spun yarn even before last year was very much more than what the existing depots could manage. But now the position has become more difficult still. With their very limited capital resources the depots are unable to take in all the yarn and have therefore to turn away many of the spinners. If the demand for khadi can be increased the consequent increased turn-over may enable the depots to afford a greater amount of relief to the spinners. More private capital may also flow into khadi, as to some extent it did last year. Both from the general viewpoint of the boycott, therefore, as well as the affording of immediate relief for present distress the duty of the country to give preference to khadi is obvious.

If large numbers of people, even if they feel it difficult to wear a khadi dhoti or sari because of its heaviness, choose only khadi for their other requirements—towels, shirting, coating, and bed sheets, carpets, and the like—it will become possible not merely to absorb all

the hand-spun yarn that is produced today but also many times the present output. It requires only a proper exercise of imagination to realize all the possibilities. And if we would adapt our dress to the climatic requirements and the resources of villagers, we would discard the many articles, reduce the size of the dhoti or sari, change the turban for the cap and in the bargain secure greater comfort and greater cleanliness, not to speak of the great reduction in the cost of clothes.

Young India, 30-4-1931

15. WHAT IS THE TRUTH?

Sjt. S. D. Nadkarni of Karwar writes a letter from which I take the following:

I have just noticed that in a letter addressed to you and already published in the Press Mr. Mushir Hussain Kidwai, one of the leaders of the 'All-Parties Muslim Conference', referring to the minority problem in Egypt, says: 'In my opinion, the attitude of the Hindus here should be what Zaglul's was in Egypt, i.e., they should sign blindfolded the demands of the minority. . . .'

Without concerning myself here with any other statement made by Mr. Kidwai in his letter to you, I should like to draw your attention to the true fact about the one above, where a parallel is sought to be drawn from Egyptian politics. The enclosed excerpt from a leading article in the *Servant of India* of August 15, 1929, whose writer had to deal with a similar statement made about that time by Sir Ibrahim Rahimatoola, will show you how the truth about affairs in Egypt (where the Muslims are the majority, and the native Christians called Copts are the minority) is just the opposite of what your correspondent Mr. Kidwai would have you believe.

Every single statement in the excerpt, I am sure, can be vouched for by reference to any work on contemporary history or any standard work of reference.

From the excerpt referred to by Sjt. Nadkarni, the following relevant parts are taken:

Indeed Sir Ibrahim seems to have misread history. Look, for instance, at what he says about Egypt. In pleading for a generous treatment to be meted out by the majority community to minority communities, he cites the example of what Saad Pasha Zaglul did to the Christians in Egypt. He appears to think that Zaglul's sensitive regard for the rights and interests of the Copts persuaded the latter to accept the rule of the Moslems. The facts, however, are just the

contrary. It is the throwing in by the Copts of their lot unreservedly with the nationalists in Egypt that has persuaded the Muslims to treat them so liberally as they have done. The Copts were not entirely free from persecution before. The improvement was solely due to the fact that they were not only not hostile or indifferent to the national campaign for freedom, but took a very prominent part in the Wafd. This was a very wise policy for the Coptic community to follow, to which they owe the inclusion of Copts in the Ministry.

I give the extract for what it is worth. I have verified neither the statement made in the extract nor the one to which it purports to be an answer. Nor am I interested in it except for the sake of truth.

As a satyagrahi I believe in the absolute efficacy of full surrender. Numerically Hindus happen to be the major community. Without reference therefore to what the Egyptian majority did they may give to the minorities what they may want. But even if the Hindus were in a minority, as a satyagrahi and Hindu I should say that the Hindus would lose nothing in the long run by full surrender.

To this argument a retort has thoughtlessly been made, 'Why then do you not advise India to surrender to the English? Give them the domination they want and be happy.' The hasty retort ignores the vital fact that I have not advised surrender to the bayonet. In the code of the satyagrahi there is no such thing as surrender to brute force. Or the surrender then is the surrender of suffering and not to the will of the wielder of the bayonet. A satyagrahi's surrender has to come out of his strength, not out of weakness. The surrender advised by me is not of honour but of earthly goods. There is no loss of honour in surrendering seats and positions of emoluments. There is loss of honour in haggling about them. Let the Englishmen give up the bayonet and live in our midst as simple friends and I should plead for them. The law of surrender and suffering is a universal law admitting of no exceptions.

Young India, 30-4-1931

16. LETTER TO PADMA

BORSAD,
April 30, 1931

CHI. PADMA,

I got your letter. I had certainly not forgotten you. But I was helpless. I am glad that you are trying to learn verses from the *Gita* by

heart. How many rounds do you spin in an hour on the Magan spinning-wheel? For how many hours at a stretch can you spin?

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati original : G.N. 6118

17. LETTER TO MANGALA S. PATEL

BORSAD,

April 30, 1931

CHI. MANGALA,

I have your letter. I would certainly like to write to everyone if I had even a moment's leisure. True, I get a little time here. I wrote to Durga because Anandi had written that she wanted a letter from me.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 11093. courtesy: Pushpa Naik

18. INTERVIEW TO "FOX MOVIE TONE NEWS"

BORSAD,

[April 30, 1931]¹

The following is the full text of the interview intended for the Talkie that the *Fox Movietone News* and the Associated Press of America had with Mahatma Gandhi at Borsad. The copy has been corrected by Gandhiji before releasing for publication, says *The Bombay Chronicle*.

Mr. Gandhi prefixed the interview with the following remarks:

I do not like this kind of thing, but I shall reconcile myself to it, if not more than a few minutes have to be given: Although I know this sort of enterprise will advertise you, which is your primary object, I know also that it will serve to advertise the cause which I represent—India's independence. I do not discount the value of propaganda. I have been described as the greatest propagandist in the world. I may deserve the compliment. But my propaganda is unlike the ordinary. It is that of truth which is self-propagating. Truth abhors artificiality.

You will therefore excuse me for declining to pose for you from which, apart from the reason I have given above, I am debarred by a solemn vow I made in 1905.

¹ From *The Hindu*, 1-5-1931

He therefore declined to give a sitting in a suitable courtyard. The interview took place in his room.

Q. Mr. Gandhi, *Fox Movietone News* and the Associated Press of America, which combined, reach an audience of several hundred million people throughout the world, have sent us their representatives across the Seven Seas from New York to India to see if you will be good enough to give the American people, through the medium of *Fox Movietone News*, a message of greeting and friendship. As you probably know, there is a great deal of interest and sympathy in the United States for India's struggle for independence, because America itself had a similar struggle for liberation 150 years ago.

A. I appreciate all the interest and sympathy America has shown in our struggle, and I hope we shall be able to retain the friendship and goodwill of the American people to the end of our struggle.

Q. When do you expect to visit America?

A. Much as I should like to visit your country, I have absolutely no notion about it except that I should not like to visit America until the present struggle for India's freedom has proved demonstrably successful.

When do you expect to leave for London for the second Round Table Conference?

About this also, I have no idea, except that I don't expect to go to London unless the Hindu-Muslim communal question is satisfactorily solved. Of course, if there should be a break in the present Truce, I will not go to London at all.

Have you given Lord Irwin any written message for the British Prime Minister?

It is wholly wrong to say I gave Lord Irwin any such message for Mr. MacDonald.

Do you expect England will grant all your demands at the second Round Table Conference?

It is more than I can say.

But you are really hopeful England will this time grant your demands?

All I can say is I am an optimist.

If England does not give you what you want, what course of action will you follow?

Of course, Civil Disobedience and all other phases of satyagraha, (obedience to the principles of truth) are always at our disposal.

sal. But Whether we shall resort to these weapons immediately, or what other steps we shall take, it is not possible to say offhand at present.

Are you prepared to go back to jail if England refuses to grant your demands?

I am always ready to go to jail in the cause of India's freedom.

Are you willing to die in such a cause?

That is a bad question.

If England should accede to your demands, do you intend to have complete prohibition in the new Indian State?

Yes, I expect to see absolute prohibition enforced in the new Indian State.

Do you intend to abolish child-marriages when the new Indian State is established?

I should very much like to see child-marriages abolished even before that time.

Do you expect in the new Indian State to exterminate the present caste system which makes social outcastes of India's so-called sixty million "untouchables"?

Most decidedly.

Do you intend to abolish the present system of Indian widows living lives of strict seclusion and celibacy?

There is nothing now to prevent widows from remarrying if they so wish. It is likewise wholly wrong to say, or to suggest, that Indian widows in general live in seclusion.

I refer to the system of widows living in *purdah*.

The system of *purdah* is in fact confined to a very small number of the middle-class people, and that too not over the whole of India.

In the new Indian State, do you expect there will be complete communal social unity and harmony between Hindus and Muslims?

I certainly look forward to seeing complete social harmony and unity established between these two great branches of the Indian family in the new State.

If the King of England invites you to dinner at Buckingham Palace when you attend the second Round Table Conference, will you dress in native Indian attire or will you appear in European dress?

It would be a discourtesy to the King for me to appear in any dress other than my customary Indian apparel. If the weather permits, I shall dress in England exactly as I do in India, that is, in loin-cloth.

Mr. Gandhi, you have frequently said that you number among the British people some of your best friends and partisans. Will you be kind enough to give a brief message of greeting to those friends and other members of the great British public, through *British Movietone News*, which reaches a vast audience throughout the British Empire?

I am glad to be able to say that the circle of my British friends is increasing. It could not be otherwise, as the present satyagraha movement, however much it may be mixed with dress, is nothing but a movement for promoting the establishment of goodwill with those against whom we seem to be fighting. Therefore, I have no misgivings as to the ultimate result.

Will you give to the world a new Decalogue, or a new Ten Commandments in the light of present-day needs?

That is too big an order.

The Hindu, 5-5-1931

19. TELEGRAM TO H. W. EMERSON

BORSAD,
May 1, 1931

MR. EMERSON
HOME SECRETARY
SIMLA

I OBSERVE THERE IS INSPIRED AGITATION AGAINST ABDUL GAFFAR KHAN OF CHARSADE. HE LEFT ON ME AT KARACHI IMPRESSION FOR BEING QUITE SINCERE IN HIS PROFESSIONS OF NON-VIOLENCE. IF THERE ARE COMPLAINTS AGAINST HIM WOULD LIKE TO HAVE THEM SO AS TO ENABLE ME APPROACH HIM. BELIEVE HIM AMENABLE REASON. IT WOULD BE EMBARRASSING IF HE WAS ARRESTED WITHOUT GIVING ME OPPORTUNITY GETTING EXPLANATION FROM HIM. LORD IRWIN'S WISH THAT I SHOULD NOT GO TO FRONTIER PROVINCE IS ADDITIONAL CAUSE ANXIETY FOR ME. FEEL SURE MY PRESENCE THERE MUST HAVE SOBERING EFFECT. AS TO PUNJAB GOVERNOR'S SPEECH¹ COULD YOU SEND SPEECHES WRITINGS OR PARTICULARS OF ACTIVITIES HE HAD IN MIND WHEN HE GAVE PUBLIC WARNING.

GANDHI

A.I.C.C. File No. 16-B, 1931. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

¹ Following the agitation over the execution of Bhagat Singh the Governor of the Punjab, on April 25, 1931, had issued a warning that the ordinary law about incitement to violence would in future be vigorously enforced against Congressmen as well as others.

20. LETTER TO G. N. COLLINS

[May 1, 1931]¹

DEAR MR. COLLINS,

I had hoped to be able to write to you about the various cases I had in mind. But I am sorry I am not yet ready. I write this therefore purely about Mr. Rajwade's case.

You told me he was not discharged because he had incited to violence. I have now got the certified record of the case and the writing on which the case was based. The charge-sheet has 'committing an act which is to the prejudice of good order and of public safety and evading arrest'. There is no violence here.

I have read the writing in the original Marathi. It is an unvarnished report of the events. So far as I can see, there is not a trace of incitement to violence in the report. In my opinion, therefore, the case clearly falls within the Settlement.

If there is any other writing placed before the court you will please let me have it. If there is nothing more, I hope Mr. Rajwade will be discharged without delay.

Yours sincerely,

A.I.C.C. File No. 16-C, 1931. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

21. LETTER TO LAKSHMINARAYAN GADODIA

BORSAD,

May 1, 1931

BHAI LAKSHMINARAYANJI²,

I have your letter. I am grateful to you for the help you extended to Ramanandji. Have you seen his work?

Give me the news about the foreign-cloth trade.

What is the dispute in the Congress Committee about?

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 5617

¹ From the addressee's reply of May 9 on behalf of Home Department Government of Bombay

² A noted business man of Delhi

22. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS¹

BORSAD,
May 2, 1931

There was no Patel who had not expressed the desire to resume service and there was no question of giving an assurance of working faithfully. That assurance was implied in the resumption of service. Such terms were, at the beginning stages of the settlement, issued to Patels, and on complaint being made by me, they were withdrawn.

If 25 per cent of forfeited lands has not been returned, because owners had not paid land revenue, it is a distinct breach of clause 17 B of the Settlement, because forfeited lands have to be returned unless there is reasonable ground for supposing that there is any contumacy on the part of the holder. It is common ground that there is no question of contumacy in Bardoli or any of the effected districts.

It is wholly wrong to suggest that there is lack of discipline in any of the Congress camps and whilst I have pressed every one of the Congress workers to implement the terms of peace as zealously as they fought during the struggle I have had no occasion to admonish any of the workers.

On the contrary, it gives me great joy to find complete response to every one of the instructions given to the workers. I have no knowledge of any worker in Congress organizations, especially in the districts of Surat and Kaira on which Vallabhbhai Patel and I are concentrating attention, having been dismissed for embezzlement of Congress funds except one unfortunate case.

The Bombay Chronicle, 4-5-1931

23. TELEGRAM TO HARIBHAU UPADHYAYA

BORSAD,
May 2, 1931

HARIBHAU
"TYAGBHUMI"
AJMER

YOUR TELEGRAM. HAVE NO CONFIDENCE ABOUT MY TELEGRAM UDAIPUR.² LET JAMNALALJI OR MALAVIYAJI INTERVENE.

GANDHI

From a microfilm : S.N. 17049

¹ This was issued to contradict certain reports which had appeared in a Bombay newspaper.

² *Vide* "Letter to Haribhau Upadhyaya", 6-5-1931.

24. *LETTER TO MANAGER, OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS,
BOMBAY*

BORSAD,
May 2, 1931

DEAR SIR,

I thank you for your letter. I do not know how far Mr. Andrews's volumes¹ would be affected by your suggestion. Personally I have no objection to your publishing a selection of extracts. You perhaps know more than I do about the first difficulty. So far as the proposed book is concerned I would like you to expand your suggestion so as to enable me to give it fuller consideration.

Yours faithfully,
M. K. GANDHI

THE MANAGER
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
BOMBAY

From a photostat : G.N. 5685

25. *LETTER TO J. C. KUMARAPPA*

BORSAD,
May 2, 1931

MY DEAR KUMARAPPA,

I quite agree with you that Mr. Wadia² should have some work given to him. Here is another letter also for your consideration. I hope your work is making steady progress. I would like your report to be a text book on the subject.³

BAPU

Encl. 1
SYT. J. C. KUMARAPPA
CONVENER, CONGRESS SELECT COMMITTEE
ON INDO-BRITISH FINANCIAL SETTLEMENT
65 ESPLANADE ROAD, BOMBAY

From a photostat : G.N. 10093

¹ *Mahatma Gandhi's Ideas* (1929) and *Mahatma Gandhi : His Own Story* (1930)

² Prof. P. A. Wadia

³ *Vide* also "Bahadurji Committee's Report", 23-7-1931.

26. LETTER TO SAILENDRA NATH GHOSE¹

[AS AT] SABARMATI,
May 2, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I do indeed know what a life of exile means both from my own experience and that of others. I admit that my own experience has not the same value as yours for the simple reason that mine was a self-imposed exile but I can easily make it a rule of three and imagine that if my self-imposed exile meant much to me how much more must enforced exile be to friends like you. If things shape themsel-ves properly, exiles won't have to remain away at the outside beyond a year. As for my rumoured visit, there is nothing in it and therefore we need not discuss it any further. I must not visit America till the experiment here has become a proved success.

Yours sincerely,

SAILENDRA NATH GHOSE, ESQ.
31 UNION SQUARE, NEW YORK CITY

From a photostat : S.N. 17046

27. LETTER TO MARTIN C. MILLER

[AS AT] SABARMATI,
May 2, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter for which I thank you. In reply to your question I can say that I have profited much by a prayerful reading of the Sermon on the Mount. I regard Jesus to have been one of the greatest teachers of the world. I do not believe in his exclusive divinity.

Yours sincerely,

MARTIN C. MILLER, ESQ.
THE CLEVELAND GRAPHITE BRONZE CO.
CLEVELAND (U.S.A.)

From a photostat : S.N. 17047

¹ Ghose was President of the Indian National Congress of America, New York city

28. LETTER TO UPTON CLOSE

[AS AT] SABARMATI,
May 2, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your two letters, the last one dated 8th April. My visit to America must still remain a rumour and your anticipation of what is likely to happen if I come to America makes me still more nervous. At the present moment therefore I must not think of even tentatively discussing arrangements about an event which is not likely to happen in the near future.

Yours sincerely,

UPTON CLOSE, ESQ.
NEW YORK CITY (U.S.A.)

From a photostat : S.N. 17048

29. LETTER TO KARAMCHANDANI

BORSAD,
May 2, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter¹. I share your feelings about the Garhwali prisoners and if I can get them discharged today I should do so. I need not therefore argue about our views. But I can say broadly that any one whose conscience tells him to disobey certain instructions or orders is certainly at liberty to do so, but is also expected to suffer the consequence. You will excuse the delay in replying to your letter.

Yours sincerely,

SYT. KARAMCHANDANI
KARACHI

From a microfilm : S.N. 17050

¹ In this the addressee had pleaded the case of the Garhwali soldiers who had disobeyed orders and had been sentenced to various terms of imprisonment.

30. LETTER TO LALJI PARMAR

May 2, 1931

CHI. LALJI,

I got your letter. Be patient. I am inquiring into the matter. If you wish, you may come over here.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 3291

31. LETTER TO GULAM RASUL QURESHI

BORSAD,

May 2, 1931

CHI. QURESHI,

I had both your letters. I wanted detailed news about Imam Saheb's health. It is good you have given it. Follow Dr. Rajabali's instructions. It will certainly be good if Imam Saheb goes to Mussoorie or some such place. If he does, accommodation will be no problem. But any arrangement Dr. Rajabali makes is bound to be the best. Our relations with him are such that we may accept any services from him. Please do keep me informed about Imam Saheb's health.

Is Amina going on with her Urdu?

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 10805. Courtesy: Gulam Rasul Qureshi

32. LETTER TO KISHORELAL MASHRUWALA

May 2, 1931

CHI. KISHORELAL,

How can you be released so soon? If all of us applied what Tolstoy said the way you want to apply it, we should all be the plight of the man in the ghee-and-water story. Should a drink addict not make a resolve to give up drinking? Should one given to pleasures of the flesh go on with his ways? It only means that one should not vainly attempt to scale the mountain of one's cravings. But the resolve was hardly yours. If at all, it was mine—and Jannalalji's. But while

the resolve was made by us, the blood had to be supplied by you. But hasn't the pain now subsided? I must now have a letter from you every day.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 10719. Courtesy: Gomatibehn Mashruwala

33. A TWENTIETH CENTURY SATI (?)¹

I

I hope that the incident as reported in the Press is not true and that the lady in question died through illness or through accident, not by suicide. A sati has been described by our ancients, and the description holds good today, as one who ever fixed in her love and devotion to her husband signalizes herself by her selfless service during her husband's lifetime as well as after, and remains absolutely chaste in thought, word and deed. Self-immolation at the death of the husband is not a sign of enlightenment but of gross ignorance as to the nature of the soul. The soul is immortal, unchangeable and immanent. It does not perish with the physical body but journeys on from one mortal frame to another till it completely emancipated itself from earthly bondage. The truth of it has been attested to by the experience of countless sages and seers and can be realized by anyone who may wish to even today. How can suicide be then justified in the light of these facts?

Again true marriage means not merely union of bodies. It connotes the union of the soul too. If marriage meant no more than a physical relationship the bereaved wife should be satisfied with a portrait or a waxen image of her husband. But self-destruction is worse than futile. It cannot help to restore the dead to life, on the contrary it only takes away one more from the world of the living.

The ideal that marriage aims at is that of spiritual union through the physical. The human love that it incarnates is intended to serve as

¹ The Gujarati original of this appeared in *Navajivan* 3-5-1931. This is a translation by Pyarelal, with the following introductory note: "A lady correspondent from Ghatkopar having invited Gandhiji to express his opinion on an alleged case of sati that was recently reported in a Bombay vernacular paper Gandhiji has delivered himself on the subject in an article in the *Navajivan* as follows." *Vide* also "Opinion Unchanged", 17-5-1931.

a stepping-stone to the divine or universal love. That is why immortal Mira sang : “God alone is my husband—none else.”

It follows from this that a sati would regard marriage not as a means of satisfying the animal appetite but as a means of realizing the ideal of selfless and self-effacing service by completely merging her individuality in her husband's. She would prove her satihood not by mounting the funeral pyre at her husband's death but she would prove it with every breath that she breathes from the moment that she plighted her troth to him at the *saptapadi*¹ ceremony, by her renunciation, sacrifice, self-abnegation and dedication to the service of her husband, his family and the country. She would shun creature comforts and delights of the senses. She would refuse to be enslaved by the narrow domestic cares and interests of the family, but would utilize every opportunity to add to her stock of knowledge and increase her capacity for service by more and more cultivating renunciation and self-discipline, and by completely identifying herself with her husband, learn to indentify herself with the whole world.

Such a sati would refuse to give way to wild grief at the death of her husband but would ever strive to make her late husband's ideals and virtues live again in her actions and thereby win for him the crown [of] immortality. Knowing that the soul of him whom she married is not dead but still lives she will never think of remarrying.

The reader will here be perhaps tempted to ask, “The sati that you have pictured is a being untouched by passion or animal appetite. She can have no desire for offspring. Why should she marry at all?” The reply is that in our present-day Hindu society, marriage, in a vast majority of cases, is not a matter of choice. Again, there are some who believe that in our ramshackle age marriage is necessary as a shield to virtue and as an aid to selfrestraint. And as a matter of fact, I personally know several instances of persons who, though at the time of the marriage, were not free from animal passion later on became imbued with the ideal of absolute chastity and found in their married life a powerful means for realizing their ideal. I have cited these instances to show that the ideal of sati that I have depicted is not merely a counsel of perfection that has no place outside the world of

¹ Seven steps

theory but something that has to be lived up to and realized in this very matter of fact world of ours.

But I readily concede that the average wife who strives to attain the ideal of sati will be a mother too. She must therefore add to her various other qualities mentioned above a knowledge of rearing and bringing up children so that they might live to be true servants of their country.

All that I have said about the wife applies equally to the husband. If the wife has to prove her loyalty and undivided devotion to her husband so has the husband to prove his allegiance and devotion to his wife. You cannot have one set of weights and measures for the one and a different one for the other. Yet we have never heard of a husband mounting the funeral pyre of his deceased wife. It may therefore be taken for granted that the practice of the widow immolating herself at the death of her husband had its origin in superstitious ignorance and the blind egotism of man. Even if it could be proved that at one time the practice had a meaning, it can only be regarded as barbarous in the present age. The wife is not the slave of the husband but his comrade, otherwise known as his better half, his colleague and friend. She is a co-sharer with him of equal rights and of equal duties. Their obligations towards each other and towards the world must, therefore, be the same and reciprocal.

I therefore regard the alleged self-immolation of this sister as vain. It certainly cannot be set up as an example to be copied. Don't I appreciate at least her courage to die?— I may perhaps be asked. My reply is 'no' in all conscience. Have we not seen even evil-doers display this sort of courage? Yet no one has ever thought of complimenting them on it. Why should I take upon me the sin of even unconsciously leading astray some ignorant sister by my injudicious praise of suicide? Satihood is the acme of purity. This purity cannot be attained or realized by dying. It can be attained only through constant striving, constant immolation of the spirit from day to day.

Young India, 21-5-1931

34. NOTES

TO CORRESPONDENTS¹

Letters rain down on me. Even if I am in absolutely good

¹ A similar item "To Private and Personal Correspondents," under "Notes", also appeared in *Young India*, 7-5-1931.

health, I can neither read all those letters immediately nor can I reply to them. In my present delicate state of health, it is impossible to cope with those letters, to attend to the Settlement, to write for *Navajivan* and *Young India* and do other jobs. Hence only a select unnumber of letters are put up to me and from among these I reply immediately to as many as I can and deal later with the rest. I am not happy about this situation. I know that my correspondents expect timely replies. But my helplessness is my defence. My correspondents can help me and my co-workers. They should oblige me by abiding by the following conditions :

1. They should not write letters unless absolutely necessary.
2. They should not use lead pencils for writing.
3. They should not write long letters.
4. They should not repeat the same arguments again and again.
5. As far as possible, they should not argue at all.
6. They should write in a beautiful hand.

These rules are simple and all stem from non-violence. My handwriting is very poor. I have full experience of what difficulties readers find in deciphering it. To do anything which causes hardship to others implies violence. Hence everyone can see that bad handwriting constitutes violence. The same can be said in regard to the other conditions. The above rules have permanent application and, in my present state of health, they are doubly relevant. Be that as it may, if my correspondents receive no replies, they should not conclude that this is due to lack of civility.

‘THERE IS NO BASIS FOR UNITY’

The second question¹ posed by the same correspondent is as follows:

There is imperfect reasoning underlying this question. Distinctions such as those which have been described are there for other reasons even in countries like England and the United States of America; despite this there is political unity in those countries. Moreover, it is only in cities that some of the distinctions mentioned above are to be found. There are no distinctions in villages. What is

¹ Not translated here. The correspondent had pointed out the artificial separation of Hindus and Muslims in various fields and suggested that these barriers be broken. For the first question, *vide* “Power of Ahimsa”, 7-5-1931

required is not the so-called unity achieved through schools, gymkhanas or through games and sports. Unity of hearts is all that is necessary. If this cannot be had, all else is futile; if this is accomplished, nothing else is necessary.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 3-5-1931

35. LETTER TO COLLECTOR¹, KHEDA DISTRICT

May 3, 1931

It is a common cause between us that the people should pay revenue to the utmost of their capacity. I know that in defining the word "capacity" there may be a difference, or there is a difference as I now see from your letter. During our talk I thought that you agreed that no one need borrow money in order to pay the revenue dues. I am carrying out that healthy formula. I know that it has not been carried out before, and may not be carried out in future. In any case, for this exceptional year, I think that there is no way out of it, as I hope to show conclusively in due course. This of course, does not mean that those who wish to pay by borrowing should be prevented by me from doing so. Only I could not take it upon me to press them to do so.²

The Bombay Chronicle, 8-10-1931

36. LETTER TO JAMES T. RUTNAM

BORSAD

May 3, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

I am publishing your letter and a brief reply to it in the forthcoming issue of *Young India*³. I hope that the reply will satisfy you and those friends who had any misgivings about my attitude.

Yours sincerely,

JAMES T. RUTNAM, ESQ.

ST. XAVIER'S

NUWARA ELIYA (CEYLON)

From a microfilm : S.N. 17028

¹ Mr. Perry

² In reply, the addressee wrote : "I agree with you about borrowing on interest. We do not exclude arrangements amongst friends or the like."

³ *Vide* "Foreign Missionaries Again", 7-5-1931

37. LETTER TO HARIDAS T. MUZUMDAR

[AS AT] SABARMATI,
May 3, 1931

MY DEAR HARIDAS¹,

Your letter of 26th March² and the snatch from your diary have come upon me as a surprise. Your certificate could not be worth much if a cablegram containing a garbled report of my doings or even an act of mine truthfully reported which you could not understand should create such a revulsion in you as to undo your previous certificate. Do you see the terrible implication, namely, that your first certificate was based upon just as hasty calculation as your recantation? But more surprising still is your protestation that your personal loyalty remained as deep, intense, whole-hearted and unquestioning as it was a year ago. Do you not see the flat contradiction between this statement and your latest opinion of me? Surely your loyalty had no other foundation than your estimate of me and when your estimate had to be revised your loyalty became baseless. If you have kept copies of your letters you will understand more fully than I can convey the implications of your letters. However there is this consolation for me that I have survived ruder shocks than you have given.

Yours sincerely,

HARIDAS T. MUZUMDAR, ESQ.
EDITOR, "INDIA TODAY AND TOMORROW"
20 VESEY STREET, NEW YORK (U.S.A.)

From a photostat : S.N. 17053

¹ Dr. Haridas T. Muzumdar, author of *Gandhi the Apostle* (1923); *Gandhi versus the Empire* (1932); *Gandhi Triumphant* (1939), *Mahatma Gandhi : Peaceful Revolutionary* (1952), *Mahatma Gandhi : A Prophetic Voice* (1963) and *The Grammar of Sociology : Man in society* (1966). He visited India during the Lahore Congress, 1929, stayed with Gandhiji at the Sabarmati Ashram during January-March 1930 and accompanied him on the Dandi March. He was also with Gandhiji during the Round Table Conference.

² Not available; the addressee, it would appear, had written a strong letter accusing Gandhiji of letting down the people by agreeing to attend the Round Table Conference without securing an imparital inquiry into police brutality.

38. LETTER TO KISHORELAL MASHRUWALA

Sunday, May 3, 1931

CHI. KISHORELAL,

I have your letter. Doctors have divided their work into so many branches that sometimes they make great mistakes which we never know about. A specialist in ear diseases does not understand diseases of the chest, and a throat specialist does not understand inflammation of the stomach. As a result a number of doctors lay siege to the same body and make a mess of the patient's condition. But on the whole they are honest and so it is better to die at their hands.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 10720. Courtesy: Gomatibehn Mashruwala

39. LETTER TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA

BORSAD,

May 3, 1931

CHI. BRIJKRISHNA,

I continue to get your letters. My health is all right, but the programme is uncertain. I have no knowledge as to when and where I may have to go. The diet consists of milk, dates and any fruit available locally. I am unable to take more than $1\frac{1}{2}$ lb. of milk. My weight is 103 lb.

How are you and how is your brother-in-law?

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 2389

40. TELEGRAM TO FRAMROZE B. GARDA

BORSAD,
May 4, 1931

SARDAR FRAMROZE GARDA¹

NAVSARI

HEAR POSSESSION NOT YET GIVEN OWNERS OF LAND YOU KINDLY RESTORED. PREPARATION FOR CULTIVATION MUST SOON BEGIN. WOULD LIKEYOU THEREFORE GIVE IMMEDIATE POSSESSION. CASES TOO NOT YET WITHDRAWN. HOPE DELAY NOT DUE NONPAYMENT AGREED AMOUNT. YOU KNOW THAT PAYMENT IS ASSURED. IF YOU HAVE ANY COMPLAINTS WOULD GLADLY INVESTIGATE. PLEASE WIRE REPLY.

GANDHI

A.I.C.C. File No. 16-C, 1931. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

41. LETTER TO DR. SYED MAHMUD

BORSAD,
May 4, 1931

DEAR DR. MAHMUD,

I was anxiously awaiting your letter. I am thankful you have absolved me from having to write to Mr. Hasan Imam.² Of course I have been following your movements. I am not going to shower congratulations till I see some definite shape being given to the work. If it is to be lasting it must touch the masses. And you will not touch the masses until you fulfil two conditions :

1. Your programme must appeal to the Mussalman mass mind. It must therefore be in their interest.
2. You must have an army of workers to give effect to it.

Why do you say I have broken the contract? Have I spoken or written about the question anything in contravention of the contract? I could not very well reject Bhopal's well intentioned advances. And after all he was to hae sent for you all to discuss the possibilities. Since our meeting in Bombay, I have heard nothing from him. Nor have I

¹ Vide "Notes" sub-title Sold Lands", 7-5-1931

² Vide "Letter to Dr. Syed Mahmud", 19-4-1931

seen the Big Brother¹ save for half an hour in Bombay. Mrs. Naidu brought him and I greeted him as warmly as before. Beyond this I have done nothing save liberal praying even as I said to a newspaper reporter. Of course I saw the Mullaji too at his request. Did I do wrong?

Yes, the old widow's² condition must be pathetic in spite of her bravery. I suppose you see her daily. Please give her my loving regards. Is Sarup³ there?

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

[PS.]

I may have to go to Simla about 11th instant.

From a photostat : G.N. 5080

42. LETTER TO TAN YUN-SHAN⁴

[AS AT] SABARMATI,

May 4, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

You must come again whenever you like.

My message to the Chinese students is : "Know that the deliverance of China is through ahimsa pure and unadulterated."

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat : G.N. 9673; also *The Sino-Indian Journal—Gandhi Memorial Number*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 37

¹ Shaukat Ali

² Motilal Nehru's widow

³ Vijayalakshmi Pandit

⁴ The addressee had met Gandhiji at Bardoli and requested him to bless the Chinese students with a message. The message "was widely published in almost all the important Chinese Journals and was appreciated, not only by the students, but by the whole people".

43. LETTER TO DALAI LAMA¹

[AS AT] SABARMATI,

May 4, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your gift. I am sorry I cannot understand your language. My desire and hope is that Tibetans should understand and follow the secret of the message of ahimsa given by Lord Buddha.

Your friend,

M. K. GANDHI

HIS HIGHNESS THE LAMA

TIBET

From a photostat : G.N. 9674. Also C.W. 6208. Courtesy : Mirabehn

44. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

May 4, 1931

CHI. NARANDAS,

There will be one more burden on you. Jamnadas will tell you about Ratilal². When he arrives there, lodge him in the bungalow. If he gets out of control, there will be no option but to put him in chains. Call in Dr. Kanuga and Dr. Haribhai. Pay them their fees and do as they advise. Dr. Haribhai may keep Ratilal in his own hospital or may get him admitted to the asylum, as he thinks best. It is possible that he will come round. All the same, it will be necessary to be careful about

¹ Tan Yun-Shan had brought a letter from the 13th Dalai Lama of Tibet. It was written in Tibetan and no one could read it. Gandhiji said that he would acknowledge the message in Gujarati so that the Dalai Lama might enjoy it without understanding it. According to Mirabehn's note this is an English rendering of the Gujarati original which is not available.

² Son of Dr. Pranjivan Mehta, who had become demented

him. See that no knife or other sharp instrument is within his reach at any time. If necessary, appoint some person to keep watch over him. It does not matter if you have to engage a person especially for that and pay him. I don't wish that you should have to spend much of your time over this, but you have to accept the responsibility. Perhaps Ratilal may respond to love. If Champa¹ accompanies him, I don't think she will be able to stay with him. If she comes, let her stay in the Ashram. But she may certainly stay with him if she herself has the courage to do so.

The second problem is about Lakshmi². She has been so brought up that she will not be happy if she is married to an *Antyaja*. Fortunately Maruti wishes to marry her. Read Lakshmidas's letter and let me have your opinion. From a moral stand-point, the proposed step seems to me justified and even necessary. Even then I wish to have your independent opinion.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati : M.M.U./I.

¹ Ratilal's wife

² Dudhabhai's daughter adopted by Gandhiji

45. LETTER TO KISANSINH CHAVDA

BORSAD,
May 4, 1931

BHAI KISANSINH,

I got your letter. I read no new argument in it. All the objections which you urge have been answered several times in *Young India* and *Navajivan*. All that I can do now is to discuss the question briefly with you if you come and see me some time. I cannot spare the time for this before the month of June. I would advise you meanwhile to think again over what I have been writing.

Vandemataram from

MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati : C. W. 9295. Courtesy : Kisansinh Chavda

46. LETTER TO JAMNADAS GANDHI

May 4, 1931

CHI. JAMNADAS,

Arrange to deliver the accompanying two letters to the addressees. I have sent a long telegram to the Doctor and also written to him. Write to me regularly. It would be good if you write to the Doctor. I have mentioned you in my letter and telegram to him.

Write to me about Manu after ascertaining the facts. If you have seen Kelly, write to me about him too.

Blessings from

BAPU

From Gujarati : C.W. 9320. Courtesy : Jamnadas Gandhi

47 LETTER TO SHARDA C. SHAH

BORSAD,
May 4, 1931

CHI. SHARDA,

Can you expect my letter without writing me one yourself? Right now, all of you can write to me even if I do not write.

Anandi is not here. What are your five classes and who teaches you?

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 9900. Courtesy : Shardabehn G. Chokhawala

48. LETTER TO GULAM RASUL QURESHI

BORSAD,
May 4, 1931

CHI. QURESHI,

I have your letter. How did Imam Saheb's health deteriorate so suddenly? Was there any change in food? At his age he should eat only a measured quantity of food however good his deception may be. Write to me daily.

Is Amina going on with her Urdu?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 10822. Courtesy: Gulam Rasul Qureshi

49. LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR

Silence Day, May 4, 1931

CHI. LILAVATI,

I have your letter. You are too sensitive. You should not be angry over what Gangabehn¹ wrote. It is better she expresses herself instead of keeping her feelings bottled up. Understand her love and her service. You should continue to work patiently and remain quiet. Do not get into argument with anyone. Do not brood too much.

¹ Gangabehn Vaidya

Reflect over what you read and remain cheerful. Do keep writing to me.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original: Pyarelal Papers. Courtesy: Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

50. LETTER TO H. W. EMERSON

BORSAD,

May 4, 1931

DEAR MR. EMERSON,

I have taken some time in getting a reply to the various charges about Bihar of which you were good enough to send me copies. I now send you Babu Rajendra Prasad's summary of the enquiry that he caused to be made into all the allegations. I am not burdening you with the report itself. I would be pleased to send it to you if you would care to follow up the summary.

I send you also a copy of the complaints made by Babu Rajendra Prasad with reference to the implementing by the local government of the various clauses of the Settlement. Technically, about the lawyers, I know that the Government cannot be held responsible. But there are ways.

Yours sincerely,

H. W. EMERSON, ESQ.

HOME SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

SIMLA

[May 5, 1931]

[PS.]

This was dictated yesterday. Today is my silence day. I have your kind letter of 2nd instant. By mistake the first Bihar statement was not given to my typist. I am therefore sending the original. Please return.

You have said 'about 11th' for my coming to Simla. 11th is a Monday. Will it be enough if I reach Simla on 13th instant? Please wire the latest date. I want to finish the Kaira affair so far as I am concerned, if it is at all possible. But, of course, I will interrupt the work if my early presence is necessary.

A.I.C.C. File No. 16-B, 1931. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

51. LETTER TO FLORENCE ROSENBLATT

[AS AT] SABARMATI,

May 5, 1931

DEAR YOUNG FRIEND,

I have your good letter. You should possess your soul in patience. Whatever good you might have seen in my life you can adopt even being there and it would be as good as seeing me, indeed much better. What you can do effectively for India is to put in a good word whenever anybody talks uncharitably about India and her people and in order to be able to put in that good word with confidence, you have to find time to study the Indian struggle. You can then speak with authority.

Yours sincerely,

FLORENCE ROSENBLATT
BROOKLYN, NEW YORK (U.S.A.)

From a photostat : S.N. 17029

52. LETTER TO V. T. KRISHNAMACHARYA

BORSAD,

May 5, 1931

DEAR DIWAN SAHEB,

In Vijapur there is an industrial institution called Udyogalaya. I procured through the good office of your predecessor a plot of ground for founding a centre for spinning and weaving especially through women and it was registered in the name of a lady co-worker. She has now retired from that work and so far as she is concerned the legal right has been transferred to the trustees of the Satyagraha Ashram. One of the trustees is working in the Udyogalaya. He has tried to get the land transferred in the name of the trustees of the Satyagraha Ashram. After waiting a long time the officer concerned has rejected the application. He has given, so far as I am aware, no reasons for it. At one time it seemed that by giving an undertaking that the institution will have nothing to do with politics there would be no difficulty about the transfer. Then, I believe, there was a change of officer. Of course, from its very conception according to my own method of work like my activities in other Indian States, this institution has been kept out of politics altogether. It remained so during the last struggle. As you may be aware, the

Baroda State has been receiving the help of the All-India Spinners' Association for village reorganization through the spinning-wheel. The Vijapur activity is also a kindred activity. Could I trouble you to interest yourself in this matter and if you are satisfied about the facts presented by me, could you please order transfer of the land in the name of the above-mentioned trustees? At the present moment this land is given by the State for a nominal sum for benevolent purposes. But I would like to buy it right out if the State has no objection. It was offered before. I may add that we have buildings on this land which have cost over Rs. 12,000. Through the institution we are supporting several poor women of Vijapur by giving them spinning work and we are supporting a colony of weavers and carders. The institution engages in no other activity. I am sorry to have to trouble you over a matter which may appear to be trifling. But it is not so to me as a guardian of the several interests entrusted to my care.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

V. T. KRISHNAMACHARYA, ESQ.
DIWAN OF BARODA
BARODA

From a photostat : S.N. 17030

53. LETTER TO BOYD TUCKER

BORSAD,
May 5, 1931

MY DEAR BOYD,

I was delighted to have your letter and to find that you were having a little respite from the heat of India's plains. Of course there is no truth in the rumoured visit to America. But as soon as the rumour went abroad, I got a peremptory cablegram signed by Mr. Page, Dr. Sherwood Eddy, Rev. Holmes, Dr. Ward and others warning me against going to America.¹ They say emphatically that I would be exploited if I went there and that I would serve the cause better from a distance than by appearing in the midst of the people of America. All this, mind you, in the cablegram. And by this mail I have received a letter from an unknown American friend who, whilst appreciating my work and message, pleads with me not go to America. I do feel

¹ *Vide* also "Notes" sub-title "A Cry in The Wilderness", 14-5-1931

exactly like these friends. Therefore even if I went to London and could spare a few weeks I should not care to go in the teeth of these warnings from friends whose opinion I respect. Would not yours coincide¹ with theirs after further reflection?

Now about London. There is no probability of my going there so long as the Hindu-Muslim problem remains unsolved. Even if I went there, whilst I should value your society, I do not know of the use I could make of your services. Andrews is already there and as you know he will take possession of me body and soul. I have a letter from him in which he takes my London visit for granted, has appointed himself as my chap-rasi, tells me where I should stay. There is again Henry Polak who was in my office in South Africa for years. Then there is Muriel Lester. Therefore if you went with me to London you would not go as Secretary. Then I must not forget Mira. She will of course be with me. But of course everything is premature. I felt that you should now all about the appointments should the visit come forth. I was glad you were with me in Karachi. I was only sorry that I was not able to have long chats with you. That you continually lost your things was certainly bad but that would be no disqualification for taking you with me. I could have much better use for you than to make you keeper of my belongings.

BOYD TUCKER, ESQ.

C/O POSTMASTER

SRINAGAR (KASHMIR)

From a photostat : S.N. 17031

54. LETTER TO RAJENDRA PRASAD

BORSAD,

May 5, 1931

DEAR RAJENDRABABU,

In order to save time I am dictating this letter. I have sent copy of your letter addressed to the Secretary, All-India Congress Committee, as also your two statements to the Government, and I expect to go to Simla next week where I shall discuss the Bihar affairs

¹ The source has "Would you not coincide".

together with the others. I shall therefore write to you after a visit to Simla. I hope you are keeping good health. How is Brijkishore Babu?

SYT. RAJENDRA PRASAD

SADAQUAT ASHRAM

DT. PATNA

From a photostat : S.N. 17032

55. LETTER TO C. F. ANDREWS

[AS AT] SABARMATI,

May 5, 1931

This is to write to you about Reginald Reynolds. His address is Turner's Court, Benson, Near Oxford. He is disconsolate towards the Set-tlement. The engagement with the girl whom he was to marry is broken. His pecuniary condition is bad. My whole heart goes out to him. I do not think that my reply to his letter in *Young India*¹ has given him any satisfaction. I would like him to know that all is well and that the Settle-ment is not a surrender of principle. I would like you to go to him, argue out the matter with him and otherwise help him and draw him out of his seclusion. He is as good as gold and is very brave. Perhaps all that I have written to you is superfluous and that you have met him and had already known more about him than I have told you. But I could not restrain myself and you can sympathize with me having done such things much more often than I do. Gujarat still absorbs my attention to the exclusion of everything else. Implementing the Settlement in the teeth of official sullenness, unwillingness and even opposition is a very difficult business. It tries even my patience but I hope not to be baffled. The atmosphere is already somewhat clearer. I expect next week to go to Simla over this and other matters arising out of the Settlement as also over the Round Table Conference. We are no nearer Hindu-Muslim solution and till that barrier is removed there is no question of my going to London.

C. F. ANDREWS, ESQ.

From a photostat : S.N. 17033

¹ *Vide* "An Englishman's Dilemma", 16-4-1931

56. LETTER TO NANIBEHN JHAVERI

BORSAD,
May 5, 1931

CHI. NANIBEHN¹,

I got your letter. We should be satisfied if you somehow recover your health. Where is Gangabehn now? How is she?

You have selected a good number of books. Amritlal Maniar's books are worth reading.

Pannalal may write to me again and again if his questions have not been satisfactorily answered.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 3112

57. LETTER TO MAHAVIR GIRI

May 5, 1931

CHI. MAHAVIR,

I got your letter. In writing, the case terminations should not be separated from the stem. The constituent parts of a compound phrase also should not be written separately. Hence, one should write, not *charan kamal man*², but *charankamalman*. Do you write your daily diary? Are you learning the *Gita* by heart?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 6228

58. LETTER TO RAMDAS GANDHI

BORSAD,
May 5, 1931

CHI. RAMDAS,

I got your letter. You may by all means go to Almora. But you will get three hundred rupees only. Ask Manibhai to give the amount to you and debit it to my account. Show this letter to him. If, afterwards, you find the amount not enough, write to me. Do not

¹ Wife of Pannalal Jhaveri, manager of the dairy in the Ashram

² Literally, 'at the lotus feet'

spend much on warm clothes. There also, it is not so cold in this season. Moreover, you will get some warm clothing even there. Some warm thing to cover yourself with will suffice. I may have to go to Simla next week.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

59. MESSAGE TO PEOPLE OF BHUTAN¹

BORSAD,

May 5, 1931

I am glad to meet you. I hope the people of Bhutan will fully understand the message of truth and non-violence and act according to it.

The Bombay Chronicle, 6-5-1931

60. MESSAGE ON KHADDI²

BORSAD,

May 5, 1931

People ask me why I am khaddar-mad. There are seven lakhs of villages. A large number of these villages are living in a condition of semi-starvation. There is no employment for them for nearly six months in the year. It is necessary to find for them some supplementary occupation. We must give them an occupation they are used to. Such an occupation is hand-spinning. If hand-spinning is to be introduced in the villages, it is but natural that we should be expected to wear khaddar. Hence it is that I have become khaddar-mad.

The Bombay Chronicle, 6-5-1931

¹ It was given in Hindi when the brother of the King of Bhutan presented Gandhiji with two small boxes of gold and silver and a few pieces of hand-woven cloth.

² Given to an Indian film company first in Hindi and then in English

61. TELEGRAM TO FRAMROZE B. GARDA¹

BORSAD,
May 6, 1931

SARDAR FRAMROZE GARDA
NAVSARI

RECEIVED SURPRISING WIRE. DO I UNDERSTAND YOU REPUDIATE AGREEMENT. HAVE ASKED YOU NATURE HARASSMENT CONCRETE CASES.

GANDHI

A.I.C.C. File No. 16-C, 1931. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

62. TELEGRAM TO SIR COWASJI JEHANGIR

[May 6, 1931]²

SIR COWASJI JEHANGIR
NEPEAN SEA ROAD
BOMBAY

SARDAR GARDA WIRES PRACTICALLY REPUDIATING AGREEMENT ON VAGUE CHARGES CONTINUING HARASSMENT. HAVE ASKED HIM GIVE SPECIFIC INSTANCES. PLOUGHING SEASON APPROACHING.

GANDHI

A.I.C.C. File No. 16-C, 1931. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

63. LETTER TO HARIBHAU UPADHYAYA

BORSAD,
May 6, 1931

BHAI HARIBHAU,

I get your letters. But I have not yet got your acknowledgement of the telegram I sent you.³ You should have sent one. The telegram only stated that I would not be able to wire to someone in Udaipur as I knew no one there, and suggested that Malaviyaji or Jamnalal might do so. You have written to Ram at any rate. That was good. I do not even know where Manilal is. I had addressed a telegram to him, to which there has been no reply.

¹ In reply to the addressee's telegram which read : "Sorry nothing can be done in the matter. Behaviour of people even after negotiations most harassing."

² *Vide* the preceding item

³ *Vide* "Letter to Haribhau Upadhyaya", 2-5-1931

You are put in a difficult situation. It is possible that the State may pay no attention to your complaint. Though Trench¹ will not be able to appreciate the letter which you have written to him, you did well in writing it. It will do no harm. If the people's grievance has not been redressed you should, since you have accepted their leadership, cross the border and court imprisonment. If the peasants remain truly non-violent, they are bound to win. Of course the question will remain how far non-violence can be observed in taking possession of land. What will the people do when the State police come to dispossess them of the land? Will they oppose them? Will they remain there squatting? Several questions arise here. I have found that the non-violence observed in such cases is merely physical. Do what you think right in the light of the circumstances prevailing there, no matter if what you believe to be non-violence appears to me violence. We can do nothing more than act sincerely according to our lights. If everything was as clear to me as daylight I would not have thrown on you the responsibility for deciding. From what is happening in the States, for similar things are happening in the other Indian States too and in British India, it seems to me that the effect of all that happened during the last struggle was only temporary and not enduring. That experiment in non-violence was on a mass scale, but it was not, or did not remain uniformly pure in quality. Our non-violence was the non-violence of the helpless. I do not feel unhappy about this. Nothing more than that was possible. The foregoing criticism has no other aim but to help us to understand the real facts about the nature of the struggle.

I understand what you say about *Tyagbhumi* and also about advertisements. Do what is possible.

Ramnarayan ought to go somewhere and take complete rest. See that he gives up work. Perhaps he will have fewer difficulties if he goes to Almora. Wherever he goes he may be sure that he will get some opportunity for service.

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

Immediately after the morning prayer.

From Gujarati : C.W. 6073. Curtesy : Haribhau Upadhyaya

¹ Revenue Commissioner of Udaipur State

64. LETTER TO ABBAS TYABJI

BORSAD,
May 6, 1931

MY DEAR BHRRR¹,

I have not received your letter sent to the Vidyapith. I suppose it will come to me in due course. I am delighted that you have had a successful operation. I hope this will be the last. How long will they keep you in the hospital? I am in BORSAD up to Monday at least. I might then have to go to Simla.

I have now got your Vidyapith letter. I am writing to the Gaikwar. I wonder if it will be too late. I must not go to Baroda just yet.

Yours,

BAPU

SJT. ABBAS TYABJI
K.E.M. HOSPITAL
BOMBAY

From a photostat : S.N. 9575

65. LETTER TO YOUSUF HUSSAIN

[AS AT] SABARMATI,
May 6, 1931

DEAR YOUNG FRIEND,

I was delighted to receive your letter of 10th March. You will forgive me for not having acknowledged it earlier. I have been so busy and constantly on the move. Young students can certainly do a great deal for the country. First of all they can wear khadi and thus support the poor people who spin and weave in their own homes. They can also do hand-spinning and carding themselves. They will thus add to national wealth and, when they have finished their studies, become competent village workers. Young students can also promote goodwill between the two communities by making friends with one another and doing all kinds of mutual service and, at times of tension,

¹ A form of greeting used between Gandhiji and the addressee whenever they met or wrote to each other

risking even their lives in serving and saving those who may be in danger.

Yours sincerely,

YOUSUF HUSSAIN, ESQ.

MUSLIM UNIVERSITY

ALIGARH

From a microfilm. S.N. 17035

66. LETTER TO H. HARCOURT

[AS AT] SABARMATI,
May 6, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter. You will forgive me for sending you a belated reply but I was helpless. I am not able to say that the Round Table Conference has established lasting goodwill between the two nations. But it can do a great deal of good if the representatives of both the nations are determined to come to an agreement. I am quite aware and I am thankful that I have a very large circle of unknown friends in the British Isles.

Yours sincerely,

H. HARCOURT, ESQ.

LONDON S.E. 19

From a photostat : S.N. 17036

67. LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

[AS AT] SABARMATI,
May 6, 1931

Here is a letter from Chinnapavu of Coimbatore. He refers to you in his letter. Please tell me all about him and his activity. I would like you to deal with this letter by writing to him. Can it be true what he says about the treatment of *Adi-Dravidas* in Singanallur?

Encl. 1

SJT. C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

TIRUCHENGODU (S. INDIA)

From a photostat : S.N. 17037

68. LETTER TO H. RUNHAM BROWN

[AS AT] SABARMATI,
May 6, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter of 4th February. You will excuse me for not acknowledging it earlier. It was practically impossible to do so. I think that Prof. Einstein's suggestion is sound. And if it is right for those who do not believe in war to refuse war service, it follows that they are entitled at least to the sympathy of war resisters even if the latter are too weak to follow the example of those who suffer for their conscience's sake.

Yours sincerely,

H. RUNHAM BROWN, ESQ.
11 ABBEY ROAD, ENFIELD
MIDDLESEX, (ENGLAND)

From a photostat : S.N. 17038

69. LETTER TO KHAN CHAND DEV

[AS AT] SABARMATI,
May 6, 1931

DEAR LALA KHAN CHAND,

I have your letter. I am in correspondence with the Government in all these matters and I am likely to go to Simla to discuss every one of them. At the present moment, therefore, I can only advise you to keep me informed of what is going on there. I would advise you also not to start picketing and even stop picketing if absolute peacefulness cannot be ensured. There should be no rowdyism. I do not now what truth there is in the Punjab Governor's charge that there has been wild speaking. Are you able to control the Punjab Press? I know that there is often violent writing. I would not like anybody connected with the Congress to speak or write violently. Our case is weakened by such writing or speaking.

Yours sincerely,

LALA KHAN CHAND DEV
PUNJAB PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE
BRADLAUGH HALL, LAHORE

From a microfilm : S.N. 17039

70. LETTER TO GULZARI LAL NANDA

BORSAD,
May 6, 1931

MY DEAR GULZARI LAL,

You should firmly tell Mr. Gidney that there is absolutely no coercion used. But you have the right of fixing conditions of membership. What the Settlement requires is that picketing shall be absolutely peaceful, which it admittedly is. And in no case can the Government connive at direct breaches of liquor laws. I am likely to have to go to Simla next week in connection with the breaches of the Settlement alleged to have taken place on the part of the Government as well as of the people. Please therefore give me all the particulars. I have got the sections you have sent me.

SJT. GULZARI LAL NANDA
TEXTILE LABOUR ASSOCIATION
LABOUR OFFICE
LAL DARWAZA, AHMEDABAD

From a microfilm : S.N. 17040

71. LETTER TO KONDA VENKATAPPAYYA

[AS AT] SABARMATI,
May 6, 1931

MY DEAR VENKATAPPAYYA,

Plesase read the enclosed. Tell me all you know about Needu¹ or enquire and let me know. Is he responsible for all this misfortune himself? I am anxious to help him if only for the memory of Anna-purna². But you have to guide me.

Encls. 2

SJT. KONDA VENKATAPPAYYA
GUNTUR (MADRAS PRESIDENCY)

From a microfilm : S.N. 17041

¹ Maganti Bapi Needu; *vide* the following item.

² Needu's wife who had died in 1927; *vide* "A Good Servant Fone", 27-10-1927

72. LETTER TO MAGANTI BAPI NEEDU

[AS AT] SABARMATI,
May 6, 1931

MY DEAR NEEDU,

My whole heart goes out to you in your trouble though, if you will take it calmly and correctly it will be your making. It is not prosperity but adversity that makes a man. Prosperity spoils him. And after all, if you belong to the starving group, you are one of the many millions. But I know that this philosophy, however correct it is, will bring you no solace. Before therefore I can make a concrete suggestion, you must let me know what your minimum requirements are, and in fixing this, do not think of what you have been materially but think of what you should be.

In fact in doing this you will have to be courageous and even apparently heartless. You are telling me you have to support your own people and Annapurna's. This is absurd. You have to support those who may be physically maimed and therefore incapable of doing anything for themselves. You have no such in either family. Nor must they be pampered. They must all, men and women, work for their living and if they will do so, you will find that the problem is satisfactorily and honourably solved. Now you know what I want from you. Give me a letter full of particulars and it shall receive prompt attention.

Yours,
BAPU

SJT. MAGANTI BAPI NEEDU
ELLORE (WEST GODAVARY DT.)
MADRAS PRESIDENCY

From a photostat : G.N. 8826; also S.N. 17042

73. LETTER TO K. KELAPPAN NAIR

[AS AT] SABARMATI,
May 6, 1931

MY DEAR KELAPPAN,

I have your letter. Please continue to send me full report of whatever irregularities you may notice. I might have to go to Simla to discuss all these things. Meanwhile you must use all the tact you are capable of using.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. K. KELAPPAN NAIR
KERALA PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE
MATHRUBHUMI BUILDINGS
CALICUT

From a microfilm : S.N. 17043

74. SPEECH AT BOCHASAN

May 6, 1931

I thank you all for giving me the honour of laying the foundation of this Vidyalaya. This institution has been named “Vallabh Vidyalaya” and hence it has become the duty of all—the present and future managers of the Vidyalaya and those who will receive education here—to imbibe Vallabhbhai’s virtues and to teach others to do the same. Vallabhbhai is an embodiment of sacrifice; Vallabhbhai is synonymous with courage; Vallabhbhai stands for heroism, for removal of distinctions between high and low. Vallabhbhai does not regard Patidars as high and the others as low because they are Bhangis, Baraias and Patanwadias.¹ To disprove these distinctions, the laying of the foundation has been entrusted to me.

Bhai Narahari has stated in his speech that for the most part the children of Dharala Thakores, and Patanwadias will receive education in this Vallabh Vidyalaya. I put aside my work and came here only to meet the Dharala Thakores. Ever since I made your acquaintance, I have recognized you as Thakores [leaders]. Those brothers among you who attended the mammoth meeting at Vadtal² will remember

¹ Names of certain backward communities in Gujarat

² *Vide* “Speech at Public Meeting, Vadtal”, 19-1-1921

that I had described you all as Dharala Thakores. Just as Kaliparaj¹ became Raniparaj, the Dharalas became known as Thakores. You have only benefited from the great struggle, even though some of you purchased the lands of others, proved faithless to the people, and vacillated. But, can one forget the fact that in Bochasan the Baraia brethren are with the people? That way, no one can claim that the Patidars are a hundred per cent on the side of the people. If all Muslim brothers here did not stand by the people, they have done so in other parts of the country.

There is element of compulsion or force in our struggle, it is a voluntary fight. Hereafter whenever we have to fight, all will join in. I wish the temporary Truce with the Government to become permanent. Let the Truce end in our winning complete swaraj. Complete swaraj means a government in which we can run our own administration. If the dream entertained by Sardar Vallabhbhai, my many comrades and myself comes true, then that government will belong to the Patidars, the Dharala Thakores and the Bhangis also. It will belong to the Muslim brethren too. That government will not belong to any one community, but to all the men and women, boys and girls, of India. That alone is to be called complete swaraj. A government other than this is no government. None should hope that the government should be his and not of the Muslims and the Bhangis. That will indeed be the government of the thirty crores of people of India. If all of them do not receive a fair deal, that will not constitute swaraj at all. Therefore the Vidyapith thought that the job would be only half done if they did not serve the backward classes. Dharala Thakore brethren come to see me. They cannot even sign their names. But I do not care if they do not know how to sign their names, they should know what is swaraj. You ought to know what our duty to the people is, why we should spin, why we should wear only khadi and why we should not wear cloth made even by mills in our country. What a sad and shameful thing it is if you do not know all this! If you do not know this, how can our administration run? The Dharala Thakores, the Bhangis and all other communities can participate in our administration. It is for this that Shamalbhai is here. You may say that the Patidars have exploited you to the uttermost limit. Perhaps there may

¹ A Scheduled Tribe in Gujarat

be some truth in it. There may not be unity between the Patidars and the Dharala Thakores in all matters. But an organization of youths has arisen from among the Patidars themselves which has deemed it its duty to serve you. They believe in serving others first and themselves afterwards.

You few Dharala Thakore brothers who have come here, please carry my message to everyone in his home. The Patidars and we are not adversaries. If you have considered them as your enemies, forget it. The Patidars and the Dharalas are both brothers. Only just now I was introduced to a brother who had presented yarn to me. He used to drink liquor and even offer it to others—but he has given it up and is making others follow suit. Everyone ought at any rate to give up liquor and also thiev-ing and looting. Have you ever seen a thief becoming a million-aire? None has become a rich man through theft. And even if anyone has done so, ultimately he has remained a beggar only. One cannot, like the merchant, become a millionaire through theft. Nothing is to be gained through theft, looting, violence, etc. But if we want to live in t his world cleanly and thus present ourselves at God’s court, take it for certain that our hands, legs, eyes, ears and hearts ought to be pure. Else we would not be fit to remain in His court. In order to make all this possible, the Vallabh Vidyalaya has been established. It is my hope that Shamalbhai will complain to me that there are so many children of the Patanwadias and Dharala Thakores that the school is too small to accommodate them. In this Vidyalaya, those who have no money are going to be fed and clothed. But none should take wrong advantage of it. It is my desire that those who have money should study even by paying fees and there will come a time when I shall have to say that I shall set up as many schools as you require. You may know that we have a plentiful supply of teachers and we shall get them from anywhere. We shall teach boys and by and by even girls. But all that depends on the extent to which you give encouragement to the Vallabh Vidyalaya.

You have asked for my blessings. Them you certainly have. But you have them on the condition that you impart lustre to this Vidyalaya and its name. The Patidars also should benefit by it and should disgrace neither the Vallabh Vidyalaya nor my name. I do not care for the sort of Vidyalaya which may prove a millstone round my neck and be a burden to me. Education liberates us, frees us from bondage, helps us to shine, adds to the country’s wealth, enriches character; our boys and girls become smart and intelligent thereby. This Vidyalaya has been established with this end in view. May this end be realized. I express gratitude to all those who have given

donations for this Vidyalyaya and have offered lime, labour and other types of help. What we build with our own money will shine forth better than what we do with money got from the rich men of Bombay.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 10-5-1931

75. INTERVIEW TO THE PRESS

BORSAD,

May 6, 1931

Interviewed by the Associated Press correspondent regarding the resolution passed by the Manchester Royal Exchange, Mahatma Gandhi said :

The resolution of the Manchester Royal Exchange is partly based on misapprehension. There is no hostility towards Britain in the present movement but, on the contrary, the Congressmen are trying against heavy odds to promote goodwill as far as it is possible under the present circumstances. It is not sufficiently realized what tremendous step the Congress had taken in lifting boycott of British goods.

The boycott of foreign cloth should not be mixed up with British goods. It is a misnomer to call boycott of foreign cloth as boycott. That name therefore has been intentionally omitted from the Delhi Settlement. I use the word boycott even for the exclusion of foreign cloth because it has become a current popular expression. Nobody, however, mistakes its purpose. The exclusion of foreign cloth does produce political consequences but it is a predominantly economic and social proposition and an economic necessity for the semi-starved millions. Instead therefore of agitating against the permanent movement of economic uplift, if the leading men in Lancashire will find out ways and means of disposing of their manufactures in other countries where they are wanted, they will save much time and really promote goodwill between the two countries.

I regard the attempt to suppress peaceful picketing as fruitless. Surely Lord Irwin did not accept peaceful picketing of foreign cloth and liquor shops without sound reasons and anyone who studies this question as patiently as he did cannot but come to the same conclusion as Lord Irwin.

The Hindustan Times, 8-5-1931

76. NOTES

SOLD LANDS¹

To sell a farmer's land and that for a song is vivisection. The sale of forfeited lands in Gujarat was such an operation. The clause in the Settlement about these lands was for Sardar Vallabhbhai the biggest bite to swallow. But he swallowed it because ultimately he shared my faith that the lands could not long be withheld by the buyers from the original owners and in any case they were bound to be restored when the full settlement was attained. It must be said to the credit of the buyers that they are one by one realizing the necessity of restoring the lands they made the mistake of buying. The reader already knows how through the kind intervention of Sir Cowasji Jehangir, Syts. Nariman, Vimadalal and Modi, Sardar Garda has agreed to restore to the original holders the lands bought by him in Bardoli Taluka and how Syt. Cowasji of Kukadbeda and Thakur Khumansing of BORSAD have returned lands bought by them without asking for a refund of money paid by them. The latest instances are those of Sheth Virchand in Bardoli and Thakore of Dehvan in BORSAD. The Thakore would not think of having even the price paid by him returned to him. He had paid Rs. 1,200 for nearly 120 acres of good land. Three poor Dharalas too returned eleven acres which they had bought for Rs. 48 stating in their letter addressed to me that they were sorry that being poor they had to ask for the refund of the actual amount paid by them although they recognized that they should not ask for it. It reflects credit on all these buyers for their having patriotically returned the lands. I say patriotically for there was no pressure save that of silent public opinion brought to bear upon these buyers. Their friends certainly approached them but there was no threat or coercion employed by anybody. Healthy public opinion has an influence of which we have not realized the full significance. But we are not yet out of the wood. There are yet tough buyers who have not come forward. But I have little doubt that if the workers don't lose patience and the Settlement does not otherwise break down, they will also respond to the influence of that opinion. Public opinion becomes intolerable when it becomes violent and aggressive.

I am happy to be able to inform the reader that otherwise too the things in Gujarat seem to be moving, though very slowly, towards a settlement. How we are implementing the Truce in Gujarat

¹ A similar note also appeared in *Navajivan*, 3-5-1931

on behalf of the Congress is partly told by Mahadev Desai in his weekly letter.¹

At this juncture, it is necessary for me to add that it is not dharma for a satyagrahi to harass anyone. He should wish well even to those who hate him. Sardar Garda is afraid that the farmers may harass him. He was even complaining of harassment. I have told him that I would look into the matter if he sent me the details of any specific complaint, and I have also assured him that no satyagrahi will harass him. I have no doubt that the farmers will fully honour this assurance which I have given on their behalf. If we wish to win swaraj without delay, it is our dharma to live amicably with everyone and win everyone's heart. It should not be forgotten that this includes the official class as well.

POLICE TYRANNY

A correspondent asks: "Do you advise taking legal proceedings against the police or other officials for their lawlessness during the struggle?"

Whilst this is provided for in the Settlement, I cannot advise such proceedings except where the lawlessness persists in some shape or other and where it is possible to produce conclusive evidence of the past lawlessness. But generally speaking, we must, in view of the Settlement try to bury the dead past and hope and work for a lasting settlement.

IN THE NAME OF 'CASHMERE'

Sjt. Kotak of the A. I. S. A., Kashmir, writes:²

People have by now begun to know real khadi from the base imitation. Fine woollen things come only from Kashmir, and so it has become the fashion nowadays to palm off foreign woollens as cashmere, i.e., fabrics hand-spun and hand-woven in Kashmir.

Can you not do anything to stop this fraud?

Let those who go in for fine wollens and silks take note of the warning. One moral is to trace every article to its source. This can only be done by confining one's sales to things manufactured in one's own neighbourhood. But this is not always possible. The next thing therefore is to buy from certified stores or from those whose managers are personally known to us. Swadeshi dharma like every

¹ The paragraph that follows is from *Navajivan*.

² Only extracts are reproduced here.

other dharma is difficult to observe. Lovers of swadeshi must never therefore mind the trouble of knowing the history of every piece of cloth and for that matter every article they use. While khadi is both the centre and the circumstance of swadeshi, there is much else to fill in the intervening spaces. A person who, using khadi, gives himself or herself the license to buy everything else foreign does not know the spirit behind khadi and discredits it.

Young India, 7-5-1931, and *Navajivan*, 3-5-1931

77. POWER OF AHIMSA ¹

A correspondent writes a Gujarati letter of which the following is a translation²:

If I have anywhere referred to India having received the fullest support from world opinion, it should be set down as an unconscious exaggeration. I should like to be shown such a statement of mine if I have made one. For myself I have absolutely no idea of having made any such statement.

The correspondent, by comparing the condition of unarmed India pitted against the British military power to that of a defenceless woman thrown at the tender mercy of a ruffian, has done an injustice to the strength as well of non-violence as of woman. Had not man in his blind selfishness crushed woman's soul as he has done or had she not succumbed to 'the enjoyments' she would have given the world an exhibition of the infinite strength that is latent in her. What she showed in the last fight was but a broken and imperfect glimpse of it. The world shall see it in all its wonder and glory when woman has secured an equal opportunity for herself with man and fully developed her powers of mutual aid and combination.

And it is wrong to say that a person is unarmed in the sense of being weak who has ahimsa as his weapon. The correspondent is evidently a stranger to the real use or the immeasurable power of ahimsa. He has used it, if at all, only mechanically and as an expedient for want of a better. Had he been saturated with the spirit of ahimsa, he would have known that it can tame the wildest beast, certainly the wildest man.

If, therefore, the world's blood did not boil over the brutalities

¹ A similar article also appeared in *Navajivan*, 3-5-1931 under the heading "Why Did Not Their Blood Boil?"

² Not reproduced here

of the past year, it was not because the world was brutal or heartless but because our non-violence, widespread through it was, good enough though it was for the purpose intended, was not the non-violence of the strong and the knowing. It did not spring from a living faith. It was but a policy, a temporary expedient. Though we did not retaliate, we had harboured anger, our speech was not free from violence, our thoughts still less so. We generally refrained from violent action, because we were under discipline. The world marvelled even at this limited exhibition of non-violence and gave us, without any propaganda, the support and sympathy that we deserved and needed. The rest is a matter of the rule of three. If we had the support that we received for the limited and mechanical non-violence we were able to practise during the recent struggle, how much more support should we command when we have risen to the full height of ahimsa? Then the world's blood will certainly boil. I know we are still far away from that divine event. We realized our weakness at Cawnpore, Benares, Mirzapur. When we are saturated with ahimsa we shall not be non-violent in our fight with the bureaucracy and violent among ourselves. When we have a living faith in non-violence, it will grow from day to day till it fills the whole world. It will be the mightiest propaganda that the world will have witnessed. I live in the belief that we will realize that vital ahimsa.

Young India, 7-5-1931

78. DANGERS OF DEMOCRACY

There is no human institution but has its dangers. The greater the institution the greater the chances of abuse. Democracy is a great institution and therefore it is liable to be greatly abused. The remedy therefore is not avoidance of democracy but reduction of possibility of abuse to a minimum.

The Congress has become a vast democratic body. It reached a high water-mark during the past twelve months. Without being technically on the register millions took possession of it and added lustre to it. But goondaism also entered the Congress to a much larger extent than hitherto. It was inevitable. The ordinary rules prescribed for the selection of volunteers were practically set aside during the last

¹ *Navajivan*, 3-5-1931; also published an article on the same subject, under the title "A House Divided Cannot Stand".

stage of the struggle. The result has been that in some places goondaism has made itself felt. Some Congressmen have even been threatened with disaster if they will not give the money demanded of them. Of course, professional goondas may also take advantage of the atmosphere and ply their trade.

The wonder is that the cases I have in mind are so very few compared to what they might have been, regard being had to the great mass awakening. My conviction is that this happy state is due to the Congress creed of non-violence, even though we have but crudely followed it. But there has been sufficient expression of goondaism to warn us to take time by the forelock and adopt preventive and precautionary measures.

The measures that suggest themselves to me are naturally and certainly a scientific and more intelligent and disciplined application of non-violence. In the first place if we had a firmer faith in non-violence than we have shown not one man or woman who did not strictly conform to the rules regarding the admission of volunteers would have been taken. It would be no answer to say that in that case there would have been no volunteers during the final stage and therefore there would have been a perfect failure. My experience teaches me to the contrary. It is possible to fight a non-violent battle even with one satyagrahi. But it, i.e., a non-violent battle, cannot be fought with a million non-satyagrahis. And I would welcome even an utter failure with non-violence unimpaired rather than depart from it by a hair's breadth to achieve a doubtful success. Without adopting a non-compromising attitude so far as non-violence is concerned, I can see nothing but disaster in the end. For, at the critical moment we may be found wanting, weighed in the scales of non-violence, and may be found hopelessly unprepared to meet the forces of disorder that might suddenly be arrayed against us.

But having made the mistake of indiscriminate recruiting how are we to repair the mischief in a non-violent way? Non-violence means courage of the highest order and therefore readiness to suffer. There should therefore be no yielding to bullying, bluff or worse, even though it may mean the loss of a few precious lives. Writers of threatening letters should be made to realize that their threats will not be listened to. But at the same time their disease must be diagnosed and properly treated. Even the goondas are part of us and therefore they must be handled gently and sympathetically. People generally do not take to goondaism for the love of it. It is a symptom of a deeper-

seated disease in the body politic. The same law should govern our relations with internal goondaism that we apply in our relations with the goondaism in the system of government. And if we have felt that we have the ability to deal with that highly organized goondaism in a non-violent manner, how much more should we feel the ability to deal with internal goondaism by the same method?

It follows that we may not seek police assistance to deal with the disease although it is open, during the Truce, to any Congressman to seek it precisely in the same manner as any other citizen.

The way I have suggested is the way of reform, conversion, love. Seeking police assistance is the way of punishment, fear, want of affection if not actual disaffection. The two methods therefore cannot run together. The way of reform appears at some stage or other to be difficult but it is in reality the easiest.

Young India, 7-5-1931

79. FOR 'FOLLOWERS'

A friend sends me the following:

It will be very helpful if you will kindly guide your followers about their conduct when they to engage in a political controversy. Your guidance on the following points is particularly needed:

- (a) Vilification so as to lower the opponent in public estimation.
- (b) Kind of criticism of the opponent permissible.
- (c) Limit to which hostility should be carried.
- (d) Whether effort should be made to gain office and power.

I have said before in these pages that I claim no followers. It is enough for me to be my own follower. It is by itself a sufficiently taxing performance. But I know that many claim to be my followers. I must therefore answer the questions for their sakes. If they will follow what I endeavour to stand for rather than me they will see that the following answers are derived from truth and ahimsa.

(a) Vilification of an opponent there can never be. But this does not exclude a truthful characterization of his acts. An opponent is not always a bad man because he opposes. He may be as honourable as we may claim to be and yet there may be vital differences between him and us.

(b) Our criticism will therefore be if we *believe* him to be guilty of untruth to meet it with truth, of discourtesy with courtesy, of bullying with calm courage, of violence with suffering, of arrogance with

humility, of evil with good. 'My follower' would see not to condemn but to convert.

(c) There is no question of any limit to which hostility may be carried. For there should be no hostility to persons. Hostility there must be to acts when they are subversive of morals or the good of society.

(d) Office and power must be avoided. Either may be accepted when it is clearly for greater service.

Young India, 7-5-1931

80. FOREIGN MISSIONARIES AGAIN

DEAR MAHATMA,

. . . A friend of mine gave me a copy of the *Madras Catholic Leader* of the 26th March, and it is there that you are reported to have given expression to the . . . remarks. . . . "Every nation's religion is as good as any other. Certainly India's religions are adequate for her people. We need no converting spiritually."

I am a Christian, but I certainly am against Christianity being brought as an instrument of Imperialism. But as a message of love and fellowship, who will deny it a place in Indian life? In this great struggle for swaraj, are we not fighting for liberty, liberty to worship our God as we please, liberty to convince our fellows who are willing to be convinced by us, liberty to be convinced by our fellows who can convince us? . . . Is India so bigoted as to think that within her are confined all the riches of the world, all the treasures of knowledge and human experience? . . .

Religion, I deem, is a matter between an individual and his own conception of right conduct. Religion belongs to the great realm of thought and personal experience which knows neither boundaries nor nations. . . . But I would like to know, if you made those remarks, what you meant by them, or I confess they are a mystery to me.

ST. XAVIER'S

NUWARA ELIYA, CEYLON

11th April, 1931

I remain,

Yours respectfully,

JAMES P. RUTNAM

I do not know that in reply to this letter¹ I need do more than refer the writer to my article in *Young India*.² It might be as well to add that in mentioning Hinduism, Islam, Zoroastrianism, etc., as India's religi-ons, I had no desire to claim them as India's exclusively

¹ Of which only excerpts have been reproduced here.

² Vide "Foreign Missionaries", 23-4-1931

or to exclude Christianity. The issue was Christianity on the one hand claimed as the one true religion and other religions on the other being regarded as false. In joining issue I contended that the great world religions other than Christianity professed in India were no less true than Christianity. It was thus neither relevant nor necessary for me to assert before Christian missionaries and their protagonists that Christianity was true. Moreover, with my known partiality for the Sermon on the Mount and my repeated declarations that its author was one of the greatest among the teachers of mankind I could not suspect that there would be any charge against me of underrating Christianity. As for Christian, Indians, I count among them many warm friends and I have had no difficulty whatsoever in establishing friendly touch with the Christian masses wherever I have gone. Nor is there any fear of my estranging even the foreign missionaries among whom I claim many personal friends. The attack against me has therefore surprised me not a little especially because the views I have now enunciated have been held by me since 1916, and were deliberately expressed in a carefully written address read before a purely missionary audience in Madras and since repeated on many a Christian platform. The recent criticism has but confirmed the view, for the criticism has betrayed intolerance even of friendly criticism. The missionaries know that in spite of my outspoken criticism of their methods, they have in India and among non-Christians no warmer friend than I. And I suggest to my critics that there must be something wrong about their method or, if they prefer, themselves when they will not brook sincere expression of an opinion different from theirs. In India under swaraj I have no doubt that foreign missionaries will be at liberty to do their proselytizing, as I would say, in the wrong way; but they would be expected to bear with those who, like me, may point out that in their opinion the way is wrong.

Young India, 7-5-1931

81. LETTER TO H. W. EMERSON

[AS AT] SABARMATI,
May 7, 1931

DEAR MR. EMERSON,

I thank you for your letter of the 30th.¹ I can fully understand what Sir Malcolm Hailey says and nothing would please me better than to find that my visit to him is rendered unnecessary by the cultivators getting the relief which they need.

I thank you too for your enquiry about my health. There is now nothing wrong with it. I still need some rest which I am taking as far as possible in the circumstances.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

H. W. EMERSON, ESQ.
HOME SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
SIMLA

Home Department, Political, File No. 33/XI & K.Ws 1931 p. 170. Courtesy :
National Archives of India

82. LETTER TO R. M. MAXWELL

[AS AT] SABARMATI,
May 7, 1931

DEAR MR. MAXWELL,

I thank you for your letter of the 4th instant. I shall await your further letter. May I however remind you that your receipt of a copy of the revised notice referred to in your letter will only enable His Excellency to deal with one matter whereas my original letter² covers several matters out of which unlicensed liquor selling is becoming more and more urgent daily because it seems to be increasing. His Excellency will perhaps agree that this is a manifest breach of the Settlement.

There is one other matter which I wish to add. There is the

¹ *Vide* "Letter from H. W. Emerson", 30-4-1931

² *Vide* "Letter to R. M. Maxwell", 22-4-1931

Young India press¹ still undelivered. The district officer suggests that the Manager should himself remove the press from where it is lying, I believe, in Bombay and a portion in Ahmedabad. The district officer in Kaira suggests a like procedure for a motor and a bicycle lying somewhere in Kaira. Cl. 16(a) of the Settlement clearly contemplates the return of movable property seized in connection with the movement. It does not say that the seized property is to be taken on application by the person but it is to be returned, and if it is not irrelevant to mention it here, I may inform you that the word 'returned' was chosen after discussion. I may also add that, whilst I do not know anything about the condition of the *Young India* press and other seized property, I do know that the motor-car, and the bicycle seized in Kaira are admittedly in a broken-up condition. It is also common ground that, when they were seized, they were in good order and condition. The district officer in Kaira in reply to my letter in connection with these articles says as follows in his letter :

Reference the delivery of a motor-car and cycle. Government have issued orders that ordinarily the owner of property attached under the ordinance should be asked to remove the property from the place where it is and that Government cannot undertake to undergo expenditure in restoring it. I have no funds to which I could debit the cost of towing the car—I understand it is not in running order—to Nadiad. I shall be in Kaira tomorrow morning and suggest that the owner should have it removed from my office there. If he thinks he has a right to recover from Government the cost of removal and reconditioning, he should send in his bill to Government and no doubt Government will call for a full report on the whole circumstances, and the matter can be thrashed out, but at present there is a which statemate results in the car still suffering depreciatin.

I venture to suggest that these articles should be returned in the same condition in which they were at the time of seizure. I do not know that the officials of the Government had any authority or right to use these articles. But even if they had and if they broke them, at the time of return they should be in good order and condition. I would like the Government to give these two matters prompt attention. Unlicensed liquor is causing daily havoc amongst those who are gradually being weaned from the drink habit and the detention of the

¹ Which had been forfeited during the Civil Disobedience Movement of 1930 for non-payment of security under an ordinance of 27th April, reviving the powers of the Press Act of 1910. *Vide* also "Letter to H. W. Emerson", 2-6-1931.

seized articles which are of daily use is causing a loss and inconvenience to the owners.¹

Yours sincerely,

R. M. MAXWELL, ESQ.

PRIVATE SECRETARY TO H.E. THE GOVERNOR OF BOMBAY

MAHABALESHWAR

A.I.C.C. File No. 4, 1931 Part I, pp. 27-8. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

*83. LETTER TO G. V. KETKAR*²

[AS AT] SABARMATI,

May 7, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. In order to enable me to give a decisive opinion I should certainly like to have Shankar Rao's version also. But subject to that reservation I have no hesitation in agreeing with you that all parties should be represented on Congress Committees by agreement or there should be an open honest election without any

¹ In his reply dated May 13, Maxwell stated : "You have suggested that the word "returned" in clause 16(a) of the Agreement should be interpreted to mean "taken back to the place where the property was seized". In the absence, however, of any such explanation in the terms of the Settlement itself, the Government are unable to attach to the word in question any but its ordinary meaning, viz., "given back", and, while they are ready at any time to carry out the agreement in this sense, they do not feel justified in throwing on the taxpayers the expense of transporting the articles from the places where they now are. I am to say that your further contention that the Government are responsible for delivering such articles in the same condition in which they were seized, does not appear to be warranted by anything in the terms of the Settlement. On the contrary clause 16(c) of the Settlement expressly says that "compensation will not be given for deterioration". I am to add that under section 4(3) of Ordinance IX of 1930 even property seized but not forfeited may be used in such manner as the Magistrate may direct. The motor-car and cycle now in question were, however, actually forfeited and had they been sold or destroyed, the original owners would have had no further claim to them, since clause 16(a) of the Settlement agrees to the return of seized moveable property only if it is still in the possession of Government. I am therefore to express the hope that you will now make arrangements to take delivery of these forfeited articles without more delay, since it will not be possible for Government to be responsible for their custody indefinitely if those interested do not choose to avail themselves of clause 16(a) of the Settlement.

² Grandson (daughter's son) of Lokamanya Tilak

wire-pulling. You should show your letter and my reply to Shankar Rao and let him say whatever he likes in opposition to my opinion if he wants to oppose it. I would like to see the happy relation established in Maharashtra between the two parties¹ not only to continue unbroken but to grow in strength.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

SRI G. V. KETKAR
THE KESARI AND THE MAHRATTA OFFICE
568 NARAYAN PETH
POONA CITY

From a photostat : G.N. 7962. Also C.W. 981. Courtesy : G.V. Ketkar

84. LETTER TO KHAN CHAND DEV

[AS AT] SABARMATI,

May 7, 1931

DEAR LALA KHAN CHAND,

Here is copy of a complaint received by me from the Central Government. Will you please make a detailed enquiry and let me know the result as early as you can?

Yours sincerely,

Encl. 1

LALA KHAN CHAND DEV
BRADLAUGH HALL, LAHORE

From a microfilm : S.N. 17058

85. LETTER TO G. RAMACHANDRAN

[AS AT] SABARMATI,

May 7, 1931

MY DEAR RAMACHANDRAN,

It was a perfect pleasure to receive a letter from you after such a long time. I did indeed enquire about you from so many persons by

¹ Responsivists and Non-co-operationists

word of mouth as also through letters. I did know that you were resting in some prison. Do come and see me whenever you wish and can.

SJT. G. RAMACHANDRAN
NARAYANATH HOUSE
TAIKAD
TRIVANDRUM

From a microfilm : S.N. 17059

86. *LETTER TO H. W. B. MORENO*

[AS AT] SABARMATI,
May 7, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I shall certainly deal with the subject in the pages of *Young India*¹ as you desire and therefore need not give you a detailed reply. The original of which you have enclosed a copy was never received.

Yours sincerely,

H. W. B. MORENO, ESQ.
GENERAL PRESIDENT
THE ANGLO-INDIAN LEAGUE
9 MARSDEN STREET, CALCUTTA
From a microfilm : S.N. 17060

87. *LETTER TO K. S. NAGARAJAN*

[AS AT] SABARMATI,
May 7, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

Your letter of the 11th March has been on my file all these long weeks but the delay was inevitable.

If you are really free from any animal passion, you have a right to retain that freedom. You should share your opinion and your condition with your wife. If she on her part cannot restrain her animal appetites, seeing that there has been no consummation of marriage, she should be free to regard the present marriage as no marriage at all

¹ *Vide* "Anglo-Indians", 14-5-1931

and to marry where she likes. If she is afraid of public opinion you should offer to help her to defy public opinion and in every way make her way smooth and easy. I am satisfied that in no case are you called upon to share the bed with your wife if you have really no desire.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. K. S. NAGARAJAN
233 LOYOLA HOSTEL
CATHEDRAL P.O., MADRAS

From a photostat : S.N. 17062

88. LETTER TO JAIRAMDAS DOULATRAM

BORSAD,
May 7, 1931

MY DEAR JAIRAMDAS,

This letter¹ is for your information. If you have anything to say you will please guide me.

Yours sincerely,

GANDHI

Encl. 1

SJT. JAIRAMDAS DOULATRAM
SWARAJ ASHRAM, BARDOLI

A.I.C.C. File No. 273, 1931. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

89. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

BORSAD,
May 8, 1931

It is astonishing how ignorant responsible Englishmen, like Mr. Grey², are as to the real condition. I have to impute ignorance to Mr. Grey as I could not bring myself to believe that he was wilfully distorting the real condition. The Delhi Agreement tabooed threats, intimidation and coercion of every form in connection with picketing

¹ From Vatan G. Gidwani, President, District Congress Committee, Mirpurkhas (Sind). He had mentioned that one Thakurdas, who had styled himself as Secretary of the Congress Committee, was inciting cloth merchants to revolt against the Congress decision to boycott foreign cloth.

² Acting Chairman, Master Cotton Spinners and Manufacturers' Association

which has to be absolutely peaceful. I insisted that this condition was carried out and it is being carried out in a vast majority of cases. If a *bona-fide* case of intimidation, coercion or threat is made out I will have no hesitation in every such case in advising and insisting on suspension of picketing. I know how important it is from our own stand-point to carry out the Agreement in the strictest manner possible.

The Bombay Chronicle, 9-5-1931

90. TELEGRAM TO COWASJI JEHangIR (JUNIOR)

BORSAD,
May 8, 1931

SIR COWASJI JEHangIR (JUNIOR)
NAPEAN SEA ROAD
BOMBAY

THANK YOU FOR EXHAUSTIVE TELEGRAM¹. MAKING IMMEDIATE INVESTIGATION. CAN GIVE YOU DEFINITE ASSURANCE NO [HARM] WILL BE DONE TO SARDAR GARDA OR HIS MEN.

GANDHI

A.I.C.C. File No. 16-C, 1931. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

91. LETTER TO GANGABEHN VAIDYA

After Morning Prayers, Friday, [May 8, 1931]²

CHI. GANGABEHN,

I got you letter.

Do not grieve over the death of Kaku's³ brother. Such tragedies will always occur in this world. The body is rightly compared to a glass bangle. It takes less time for the body to perish than for a glass

¹ This read : "Garda complains harassment since Agreement. On twenty-seventh his men abused while taking cotton vakharias gin. On twenty-eighth Babla people scared away labourers threatened to burn huts and inmates. On twenty-ninth stones thrown from back of his bungalow Navsari same time lorry full of men threw stones from front proving concerted action. His son jeered hooted at Sabsorn showing militant attitude. Wiring Garda to send further specific instances. Earnestly request that if allegations true such harassment should immediately stop. Letter follows."

² From the reference in the last paragraph to his forthcoming visit to Simla

³ Purushottam D. Saraiya, addressee's grandson

bangle to break. If we preserve such a bangle with care, it will remain intact for thousands of years, but the body never lasts for more than a hundred years. And it is rarely that one lives even that long. Kaku's brother may have passed away, but the soul which dwelt in his body has not perished. It had no brother, or rather all were its brothers. When, therefore, there are deaths among relations, instead of letting ourselves be swayed by ignorance we should cultivate greater capacity for endurance, greater disinterestedness towards the world and greater knowledge . . .¹ (This death has no connection whatever with the fact of Kaku having strayed from the path of dharma. Do not remind Kaku of what he did). Let Kaku remain there now and work and earn. He may take up voluntary work if and when he feels inclined to do so.

I shall leave for Simla on Monday. Come and see me before that. I see no need for you to go to Bombay, but you may certainly go if you cannot restrain yourself.

Blessings from

BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro—6 : G. S. Gangabehnne, p. 53. Also C.W. 8774. Courtesy : Gangabehn Vaidya

92. LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

CAMP BORSAD,

May 8, 1931

MY DEAR JAWAHARLAL,

I had your telegram and now I have your letter of 30th ultimo but not the previous letter. There is certainly no urgent need about your returning. From your telegram I have gathered that you were all A1 in spite of the chill of which you write to me in your letter. What you read in the papers about a break-down was not without foundation but just now in Gujarat there is no immediate danger of a breakdown. I am going to Simla next week to confer with Mr. Emerson about several outstanding matters and he says in his letter that incidentally there would be meeting with the Government about the Round Table Conference. He expects me also to go to Nainital on or about the 18th. I do not know how things are progressing in the U.P. just now. But it will be as well for me to go to Nainital. Of course you were quite right in writing to me on the Hindu-Muslim question as

¹ Omission as in the source

frankly as you have done. I should have felt hurt if you had done less. You have a perfect right to unburden yourself without the least fear of being misunderstood by me. Of course I do not plead guilty to your charge. I have always taken good care to say that I was speaking for myself. So long as we have not evolved a concrete policy how could I help expressing my own personal views? But the occasions have not been many when I have let myself go. I quite agree with you that Dr. Ansari's proposal about arbitration consisting of the many names he suggests is highly unpractical. Nothing of course has come out of it. Dr. Mahmud's fear is absolutely baseless. I did see Bhopal at the latter's instance and when he discussed the Hindu-Muslim question I naturally said that he might call in Shaukat Ali and his other friends and then summon me to Bhopal if he thought that there was anything to be done. I could not say to him that he was not to move at all. That same day Mrs. Naidu brought Shaukat Ali to Mani Bhuvan and I related the conversation I had with Bhopal. Nothing more has happened. I have made no movement and have written not one single line beyond saying that I was praying, which I am literally doing. I wrote last week as much to Dr. Mahmud¹ when he complained that I had broken the pact that I was to be dumb. When you return completely restored, we must have a meeting of the Working Committee and if we can evolve a formula for the guidance of all Congressmen, nothing will please me more. Personally I think that we shall not be able to evolve any formula just now and I am more and more driven to the idea I adumbrated before you on the day of your departure or the day previous. When you reach Bombay of course you will first of all seek me out wherever I am. It is highly likely that I shall be by that time in BORSAD or Bardoli.

No going to London without Hindu-Muslim unity.

Love to you all.

BAPU

PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

NUWERA ELIYA

CEYLON

From Gandhi-Nehru papers, 1931. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library.

¹ *Vide* "Letter to Dr. Syed Mahmud", 4-5-1931

93. LETTER TO DARCY LINDSAY

SABARMATI,
[AS AT] *May 8, 1931*

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter of the 24th April. The matter you refer to is very delicate. There is a romance around the life of Bhagat Singh. He was no coward. From all enquiries made by me I find that he was a man of spotless character and of great daring. He exercised also great influence on some young men. Somehow or other he had developed a belief that political assassination had its use. It was impossible not to notice the execution, I believe quite unwise, of Bhagat Singh and his comrades, whom the execution made martyrs. I have no doubt whatsoever that the execution has surrounded these lives with a halo which they would not otherwise have had. The only thing therefore that was possible and that the Congress was bound to do was to pass a resolution¹ condemning murderous deeds as also the execution and at the same time appreciating the bravery and sacrifice underlying such deeds. I however quite agree with you that there is undoubtedly a great deal of thoughtless approval of political murder. But many of us are doing everything we can to counteract the growth of the violent revolutionary movement. Whilst it is being held under check, I fear that the spirit that is at times breaking out in violence will not altogether die till India comes to her own. I am not publishing your letter because the end both you and I have in view is not likely to be served thereby.

Yours sincerely,

SIR DARCY LINDSAY
MANDELIEU CANNES, A.M.
[FRANCE]

From a microfilm : S. N. 17064

¹ *Vide* "Resolution on Bhagat Singh and Comrades", 29-3-1931

94. *LETTER TO LIVINGSTON & DOULL*

[AS AT] SABARMATI,
May 8, 1931

DEAR SIR,

With reference to your letter of the 3rd March last, I enclose herewith power of attorney from duly signed by me in favour of Mr. Doull.

Yours faithfully,

Encl. 1
MESSRS LIVINGSTON & DOULL
SOLICITORS & NOTARIES
DURBAN, NATAL

From a microfilm : S. N. 17065.

95. *LETTER TO ABDUR RAZZAQ MALIHABADI*

[AS AT] SABARMATI,
May 8, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

I was delighted to receive your letter. Of course I wish the Egyptians full independence and all the prosperity that their ancient and fertile land deserves. I do not know the precise nature of the boycott movement in Egypt and therefore you will excuse me for my inability to express any opinion on it.

Yours sincerely,

ABDUR RAZZAQ MALIHABADI, ESQ.
304 NEW CIRCULAR ROAD, CALCUTTA

From a microfilm : S. N. 17066

96. *LETTER TO KUSUM DESAI*

May 8, 1931

CHI. KUSUM,

I got your two letters. If you were not satisfied with those letters, neither was I. I did not understand what you wished to say. But I will not harp on the subject. I understood something and I will content myself with that.

See that your picketing does not become mechanical. If you are convinced of what I said, act upon it. Through your picketing, enter the homes of addicts. How long will you go on working like an automaton?

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

I shall be leaving this place on Monday.

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G. N. 1821

97. LETTER TO PANNALAL JHAVERI

May 8, 1931

CHI. PANNALAL,

My letter to Nanibehn must have been given to you to read. I don't think that the Vidyapith course is for persons like Nanibehn and Gangabehn, though I see nothing wrong in their desire and would let them satisfy it without raising any objection. They lack self-confidence and long to acquire something more, but do not know what. If they go on trying like this they will discover one day what it is, for their hearts are pure. On Monday I shall leave this place for Simla.

Blessings from

BAPU

SHRI PANNALAL
THEOSOPHICAL COLONY
JUHU, SANTA CRUZ, BOMBAY

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G. N. 3113

98. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

BORSAD,

Friday, May 8, 1931

CHI. PRABHAVATI,

I got your letter. I feel like writing to Jayaprakash about you. It will be good if you have a frank talk with him once. As long as you have not completely recovered, you ought to stay with me. The state of your health from time to time is closely connected with that of your mind. If you stay with me, probably both your body and mind

will grow strong and then you may be fit enough to live with self-confidence anywhere. Do what seems best to you.

I will leave this place on Monday and proceed to Simla. You don't require my address while I am there. If you write only my name on the letter, it will reach me the soonest. If you address it C/o the Congress Committee, the letter may be delayed a little. I am likely to stay in Simla for five days.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G. N. 3409

99. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

BORSAD,

May 8, 1931

CHI. NARANDAS,

I got your two letters.

I felt a weight off my mind to know that you approved of my suggestion regarding Lakshmi. Kaka and Vallabhbhai are also of the same opinion as yours. I have yet to hear from Vinoba and Kishorelal. I was not at all pleased by Dwarkanath's bill. I have kept it back and written to him strongly about it. I will let you know after I hear from him. You need, therefore do nothing about it for the present. The general suggestion you have made concerning such bills does not require to be acted upon immediately.

I understand what you say about Shankarbhai. I wholly agree with your decision. Don't mind what Bhagwanji thinks about it. You will have to pay Rs. 35 to that Punjabi vaid¹. All of them charge their fees in this way. If all the patients improve, the fee charged by him will not seem excessive. All the same, we should know on what basis he charges his fee. You, therefore, did right in writing to Chandrashankar about it. Don't put too many persons under his treatment at a time. Watch how he treats each case and then proceed further. I shall be leaving for Simla on Monday. No address is necessary for writing to me there. I have replied to Pragji. Rukhi² and Benarsi³ have arrived.

¹ Physician practising the Ayurvedic system of medicine

² Rukmini, Maganlal Gandhi's daughter

³ Benarsilal Bazaj, Rukmini's husband

The latter is returning today. Rukhi will stay on today at any rate. I may send her by some train tomorrow.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati : M.M.U./I

100. LETTER TO JAMNADAS GANDHI

BORSAD,

May 8, 1931

CHI. JAMNADAS,

I have the Doctor's telegram : "Since Jamnadas and Nanalal are looking after Ratilal, he should stay at Rajkot till he gets well and may then go to Sabarmati. I am sorry that Champa was beaten." I wonder how the Doctor came to think that you and Nanalal look after Ratilal. Tell this to Nanalalbhai too. It is likely he sent a telegram to Nanalal. Tell me in detail in what circumstances Champa was beaten.

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

I am leaving this place on Monday evening for Simla.

From a copy of the Gujarati : C.W. 9321. Courtesy : Jamnadas Gandhi

101. LETTER TO KISHORELAL MASHRUWALA

May 8, 1931

CHI. KISHORELAL,

Do not be in a hurry to get up and walk so long as the wound is not healed. The diet should be such as would give you clear motions. I intend to marry Dudabhai's¹ Lakshmi to Maruti who has been brought up by Lakshmidas². I consider it my duty to do so. A girl brought up in the Ashram from her childhood must not be married to an *antyaja*.

Blessings from

BAPU

¹ Dudabhai M. Dafda

² Lakshmidas P. Asar. The marriage of Lakshmi and Marutidas, a South Indian orphan boy, took place on March 14, 1933; *vide* also "Message on Wedding of Lakshmi And Maruti", 8-3-1933

[PS.]

Gangabehn gave the news of Manu's¹ sudden death.

From the Gujarati original: C. W. 10718. Courtesy: Gomatibehn Mashruwala

102. LETTER TO MRIDULA SARABHAI

BORSAD,
May 8, 1931

CHI. MRIDULA,

I do hope that you will find time to go to Simla for a few days. Both Papa and Mummy were of course anxious and hoping that you would go and be with them at least for a week.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C. W. 11180. Courtesy: Sarabhai Foundation

103. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

BORSAD,
May 8, 1931

CHI. JAMNALAL,

Tell the people of Karnatak² that they have already contributed much to the struggle; they must also now take part in the constructive work. Much still remains to be done for khadi; the boycott of foreign cloth is for the sake of khadi. Had the boycott not had the purpose of serving the poor, at least I would not have been as absorbed in it as I am now.

Some friends from Karnatak are possessed with the idea that Karnatak should form a separate province. Why do they worry? The Congress has already formed a province of Kannada-speaking people, it will come into being when we have *purna swaraj*.

¹ Manu Damodar Saraiya, Gangabehn Vaidya's grandson; *vide* also "Statement to T. B. Sapru and M. R. Jayakar", 5-9-1930.

² The sixth Karnatak Provincial Conference commenced on May 26, 1931 at Hukeri, District Belgaum, under the presidentship of Jamnalal Bajaj; for the text of the message, *vide* "Message to Karnatak Provincial Conference", 18-5-1931

I am happy that Lingayats and others have come together. It is as it should be.

MOHANDAS

[From Hindi]

Panchven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, pp. 73-4

104. INTERVIEW TO THE PRESS

BORSAD,

May 8, 1931

Regarding the report published in a Bombay paper about the refusal by Sardar Garda to return the confiscated lands purchased by him in Bardoli Taluk, Mr. Gandhi, interviewed, said that the report was correct, but added that so far as he knew there was no obstruction deliberate or otherwise on the part of men who had strict instructions not to interfere with those who might be removing crops from the fields in question. He had undertaken to enquire into every complaint that might be made by Sardar Garda. He had asked for specific instances and not one was supplied to him. He was therefore pained and surprised at Sardar Garda's attempt to evade or repudiate the agreement which after full deliberation he had entered into. Mr. Gandhi had at ready brought the matter to the notice of Sir Cowasji Jehangir¹ who was the principal negotiator.

Asked whether Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel had asked the people of Bardoli Taluk not to pay unauthorized arrears, Mr. Gandhi said it was not a question of Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel asking people not to pay arrears. It was a question of inability on the part of people to pay. The fact was it was really difficult to pay even the current year's dues in many cases. In affected areas of both Surat and Kaira districts, they were obliged to ask for suspension even in some cases in respect of current year's dues. The chief thing to aim at was not insisting on pound of flesh but to see that the political movement for non-payment of taxes was discontinued in a *bona-fide* manner and people paid whatever they could under the circumstances.

The Hindu, 9-5-1931

105. MESSAGE TO HINDUSTANI SEVA DAL

[Before May 9, 1931]²

Camping for Congress volunteers should mean greater dedication, greater self-purification, greater service of the poor, greater

¹ Vide "Telegram to Sir Cowasji Jehangir", 6-5-1931

² The report was published on this date.

skill in hand-spinning and carding, greater skill in dealing with repairs to various machines required for spinning, ginning, carding, etc.; and above all, greater regard for truth and ahimsa. A Congress volunteer in camp should mean cleaning up of surrounding villages.

M. K. GANDHI

The Bombay Chronicle, 9-5-1931

106. MESSAGE TO LABOURERS, KARACHI

BORSAD,

May 9, 1931

I am clear that the movement initiated by Mr. Gajadhar is mischievous and unpractical and therefore must not be encouraged.¹

The Hindustan Times, 11-5-1931

107. LETTER TO CHIMANLAL SHAH

BORSAD,

May 9, 1931

CHI. CHIMANLAL,

Can you say positively that cod-liver oil has benefited Sharda visibly ? You can ascertain by nothing her weight, etc. I have heard doctors praise cod-liver oil with great enthusiasm, though I have not come across much evidence of its value.

You should send for Annapurna when you can summon courage to do so. Remain in contact with her through letters. The only fear can be lest she should turn out to be a bad type. Even if you have such fear, you should not be guided by it provided you can get proof that at present she is all right. That way, there is risk in all things. According to Bhartrihari, the only state in which one can live free from fear is that of non-attachment. True non-attachment is that taught in the *Gita*, and it is cultivated by giving up interest in the fruits of action. In the present case too, if your duty lies in letting her come and in discarding all fear about the result of such a course, you should shed that fear and do the duty.

¹ *Vide* also "Danger Looming", 14-5-1931

If Shakribehn remains absorbed in work, she will be able to recover peace of mind.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : S.N. 24371

108. THE PROBLEM OF FOUR LAKH DHARALAS

With this heading, someone has written the following letter¹ under the pseudonym, “A Dharala” :

This letter certainly is full of bitterness, even after I have cut out certain sentences which were very venomous. The handwriting is very well formed and the language is very sophisticated. Hence I guess that it has not been written by a Dharala Thakore but by a person who has an animus against Patidars. Be that as it may, the letter calls for some clarification.

DHARALA THAKORES²

Although the letter has a good deal of venom towards the Patidars, nevertheless there is some truth in the complaints listed in it. The failing which is found all over India is also there among the Patidars, viz., those who are more knowledgeable and richer enjoy a superior status and misuse it vis-a-vis those who are ignorant and poor. The feeling of superiority and inferiority is certainly involved in this. The greatest barrier to our progress, to our attainment of swaraj, is the fact that those who are better off do not become the protectors of those who are not so well placed. However, having admitted this with regard to the Patidars, I must say that there is much exaggeration in this letter. Some years ago, about fifty thousand Dharalas had assembled in Vadtal and the Patidars had helped this effort. It was these who since then made the Dharalas known as Thakores. Today at all places in Gujarat the Patidar youths are destroying the idea of superiority and inferiority and many aged Patidars are helping them in it. Young Patidars are engaged in many kinds of service. They do not recognize any distinctions between Patidars and others. Their field of action is as wide as India.

¹ Not translated here

² The source consistently has “Thakars”, which is evidently a misprint.

SHRI RAVISHANKAR'S SERVICES

The correspondent had to admit that Shri Vithalbai, Durbarsaheb Gopaldas, Shri Dadubhai and others looked upon the Dharala Thakores with a feeling of equality. Even a little child knows that to the Sardar all are equal. He wishes to serve all who are poor, whether they happen to be Brahmins or Bhangis, Gujaratis or Madrasis, and it is because the people have recognized this virtue in him that he has been made the Congress President. This correspondent regards Shri Ravishankar's services as nominal. I do not know who renders true service if this very incarnation of sacrifice renders merely nominal service!

VALLABH VIDYALAYA

Although the above has been founded, I admit that much still remains to be done for the Dharala Thakores and such other communities. However, as the spirit of service grows, the unity among the various communities will become greater day by day. The school whose foundation stone was only recently laid in Bochasan¹ and which has been named as Vallabh Vidyalaya—this too is for the sake of the Dharala Thakores.

Hence I would request the above correspondent not to add to mutual bitterness but rather seek and suggest ways which would promote friendliness among all. From the manner in which he wields his pen, it seems that he has the ability to do so. I invite him to put it to good use.

PATIDARS

A few words to the Patidars. They should look deep within themselves and rid themselves of any impurity which may be there. They have shown great courage and sacrificed much. They should find out any failings which they may still have and get rid of them.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 10-5-1931

109. NOTES

HYPOCRISY DURING ELECTIONS

Only a handful voted at the elections to the Provincial Committee held in Bulsar. The elections had to be held because there

¹ *Vide* "Speech at Bochasan", 6-5-1931

were factions. Voters have to be habitual wearers of khadi. Now a friend writes thus about the kind of khadi-wearers these voters were :¹

How great is the disrespect towards the Congress if after a year's fierce struggle and after knowing how important a place khadi occupies in the boycott of foreign cloth, and ordinary rule of the Congress is violated in this manner! How will these members of the Congress fare during a crisis? Such hypocrisy sullies the fair name of the Congress. How are the elections so important that voters have to pretend that they abide by this rule? And however important they may be, how can work of any value be done through the practice of untruth?

It is likely that at other places in Gujarat also and in the whole country, wherever there are many candidates and keen rivalry, similar practices may have been resorted to. If there are such laxity and such hypocrisy in regard to the reputation of the Congress, it can be guessed with the help of the three how much this will increase on attainment of swaraj. In the elections following swaraj, there will be greater temptations because money will be involved then. I believe that such conduct is shameful and harmful for us. It will benefit neither us nor the country.

If we are averse to wearing khadi, if we do not believe in the necessity of khadi, why should we not start a movement for getting the clause regarding khadi deleted from the Congress regulations ? If the khadi clause remains, we should abide by it. If that clause meets with disapproval or if many members of the Congress are not willing to respect it, they should try to get it removed through an agitation.

KHADI AND THE DESH SEVIKA SANGH OF NADIAD

Shrimati Kashibehn and Shrimati Gangabehn have written the following to the Taluka Committee on behalf of the Nadiad Desh Sevika Sangh.²

Whatever injustice has been done to the women of Nadiad through my article should be removed. Along with it, let me draw their attention to one matter. The correspondents say in their letter that fifteen women have been using pure khadi in the past and still continue to do so while working for the Congress. If this is the case,

¹ The letter is not translated here. It had described how voters wore borrowed khadi clothes at the time of elections.

² The letter is not translated here. It denied the accusation in Gandhiji's note on "Women Volunteers and Khadi", 26-4-1931

how many women wear khadi regularly? For those who believe in khadi, it is not a dress to be worn only on certain occasions—not a uniform, but something which should be habitually worn. Swaraj cannot be secured or the poverty of the starving masses cannot be removed by a few persons wearing khadi on certain occasions. That can be achieved only when khadi takes root in every home. Hence I hope that not only Nadiad but also all other towns will take to wearing khadi exclusively.

TWENTY-FOUR CAPS AND THREE SHIRTS

What would we say of a man who believes that crores of Indians are starving and half-naked and who at the same time somehow puts on twenty-four caps on his head and three shirts, one on top of the other? Should we not say that, although he is compassionate, his kindness is misguided?

Despite this, we come across many such persons. On reading this sentence, hasty persons will burst out laughing and some will think me a fool. However, there is no reason either to laugh or to think me stupid.

Let us consider the Kathiawari dress. It consists of a dhoti, a long shirt, a short shirt and a turban. In view of the climate there, so many clothes are not at all needed. Two short shirts can easily be made out of a single long shirt. Twenty-four caps can easily be made out of a twelve yard turban. Hence it cannot be regarded as an exaggeration but is rather the bare truth to say that such a person is wearing twenty-four caps and three shirts. Those reasonable Kathiawaris who understand this straightforward matter and who are kind-hearted will suggest a remedy for my perplexity.

This question is not directed towards politicians. They will defeat me with many arguments, namely, that they have to attend at the ruler's court, etc. Neither is this question meant for employees of the agencies. Like Drona and Bhishma, they will point to their stomachs and may even go so far as to sing the lines of Shamal¹ :

Stomach it is that makes us slaves

Who dance to the tune the piper plays.

This question is addressed to those who are free of such bondage. They should either give me a satisfactory answer or spare those twenty-three caps and two shirts for the poor.

¹ A seventeenth-eighteenth-century Gujarati poet

MARRIAGE CONDITIONS

The common custom in regard to marriage in the Anavil community is that the bride's father has to pay a handsome sum to the bridegroom's father. In the Bardoli swaraj Ashram, there is a gentleman named Shri Dayalji Gulabbhai who lives under the care of Shri Lakshmidas. He had married once and had lost his wife. That was some time ago and he has no children. He thought of marrying again. He felt, however, that he should not marry during struggle. When the Settlement came about, he was inclined to yield to desire. A father was prepared to marry his daughter to Shri Dayalji by paying him a sum of Rs. 800. He may have been momentarily tempted, but was later able to overcome the temptation. He will now marry a seventeen-year old girl named Shantabehn. As the conditions on which this marriage is to take place are both worth knowing and worth copying, I give them below :

The dowry will be accepted in the form of yarn instead of cash. And that yarn weighing eight and a quarter pounds should be spun exclusively by members of the family.

Not more than twenty-five persons in all consisting of fifteen persons from the bride's side and ten from the bridegroom's side (including men, women and children) should be invited and all of them must be clad in khadi.

Everyone should eat food cooked in a common kitchen and the meal should consist only of dal, rice and vegetables. As it is summer, there would be no harm in taking buttermilk. They would stop the custom of offering ghee to Brahmins.

Whereas no gifts in the form of cash from relations or as dowry will be accepted, giving of religious books will be permitted.

After the marriage takes place, those present will be allowed to take fruits or sherbet instead of betel-leaves and areca-nuts. Tea will not be served at all.

By way of dowry, only such things as a spinning-wheel, carding-bow, *takli*, or carpet or something to sit upon should be given.

Such edible items as sweet balls and *puris* or any such articles of food should not be accepted in any form.

At the wedding ceremony, the bride and the bridegroom will wear garments made of yarn spun with their own hands. No clothes will be bought for this purpose. Likewise, if anyone wishes to make a present, he would be permitted to give only yarn spun by him.

At the time of the wedding, the bride will wear no ornament other than a single piece of each item symbolizing her state of married happiness. Later, she may accept anything, which anyone wishes to give.

The interval between arrival and departure for the wedding will be three days during which the ceremony will be performed.

Bangles made of hand-spun yarn should replace those made of gold.

The marriage ceremony will be in accordance with Ashram practice. Gandhiji's articles on the shastric rites regarding marriage vows and his speeches will be read out. The officiating priest too will be clad in pure khadi and will accept no fee.

No band will be played and, while devotional songs may be sung, no vulgar wedding songs will be allowed.

Shri Dayalji and the bride's father are signatories to this. The wedding will take place on the 13th. Even ordinary marriages in the Anavil community involve large expenses, hence it is no small matter that in this marriage only the religious ceremony has found a place and khadi is compulsory for the bride and the groom as well as for the guests present to bless the couple and the priest. *Dhardhaman* implies dowry. The bride's father provides all household articles by way of dowry; whereas in this marriage only the implements needed for spinning may be given, if so desired. Let us hope that this example will be copied and such marriages will become a common practice among all communities and that the couples, united under such auspicious circumstances, will turn out to be true servants of the country.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 10-5-1931

110. KHADI IN KAIRA

Shri Gopaldas Purushottam Desai sends the following account of khadi activity in Patlad—Nadiad:¹

Some corrections are required in the above note and figures. Where information has to be given regarding the actual state of affairs and where the figures are not beyond our capacity to get, no conjectures should be made. No meaning can be deduced from the sentence, "about 50 to 75 spinning-wheels are being plied". The number may be below 50 or it may exceed 75. It is likely that the figure is actually below 50. Hence where the number can be easily counted, the exact figure should be given and neither one more nor

¹ The letters are not translated here.

one less. Moreover, the various qualities of khadi produced in Patlad—Nadiad should be mentioned as also the count of the yarn. Mention should also be made of how much khadi has been received from other places. There should be a comparative statement of figures showing yarn spun for a living and that spun for becoming self-sufficient. Amongst the latter kind of spinners, there should be a break-up of the number of men and women. How much yarn they spin on an average should be indicated. Do they spin only for themselves or for others as well? Alongside the statement that the workers numbered 151, how much they had earned should also have been mentioned. There should be sub-divisions even amongst them. All this accounting without details cannot be regarded as scientific and no conclusions can be drawn therefrom.

With regard to the above figures, it may be noted that the figures for Petlad and Nadiad are given separately. It may be said in general that the figures for Nadiad are about half of those for petlad. It is for Nadiad to say why this is so.

Let me now turn to Limbasi. Shri Vithaldas writes from there as follows:¹

Along with this, the names of those in whose homes the spinning-wheel is being plied have been mentioned. In regard to this report also, the above criticism should be regarded as applicable to the extent it is relevant. The reference to a dearth of spinning-wheels should put us to shame. At every place, we should develop the capacity to make spinning wheels. One or two samples should be obtained from Bardoli and spinning-wheels should be made everywhere. Moreover, this recommendation is far more applicable to places where inmates of the Ashram happen to be living. What kind of wood should be used for making spinning-wheels and other information should be obtained from Bardoli. All should remember that the workshop there is not meant for earning money but is a training centre. Hence everyone can get the necessary information from there. A time will come when people will demand spinning-wheels and *taklis* in every home. If even then we continue to depend on Bardoli, Satyagraha Ashram and such other places, our work will certainly come to a stand-still. Even the largest single factory cannot provide crors of spinning-wheels. This is neither necessary nor desirable. The meaning of the khadi movement and its special feature is that every process

¹ The letters are not translated here.

involved in its production can be carried out in every village. Khadi is not an enterprise that supports a single activity, but it feeds many activities. Hence every one of its limbs should blossom forth in every village.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 10-5-1931

111. LETTER TO SHANTA PATEL

May 10, 1931

CHI. SHANTA,

I got your letter. The fact that you find the rules and the work there too much for you shows that, when you were living outside, you did not lead a disciplined life. Your desire to remain like a child is certainly good, but being like a child does not mean remaining lazy, it means being innocent and pure in mind. You are certainly not pure in mind. Are you innocent? If you are not, you should strive to be. It is a dangerous thing that you like very much to mix with boys, and not with girls. This will some day bring about your fall. Have a look at the world around. If all the girls wished to live as you wish no girl would have the company of another girl. Do you think you can jump about and play with boys as freely as you can with girls? It is dangerous for you to wish to cross the bar which God has created. Think over this and try to understand it. Show this letter to Premabehn and discuss it with her, and then reply to me. Obey her and help her in her work.

Your letters will not be read by anyone by whom you do not wish them to be read. Anandi will not accompany me. She is still at Bardoli.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 4059

112. LETTER TO GANGASHARAN SINGH

BORSAD,
May 10, 1931

BHAI GANGASHARAN SINGHI,

I have your letter. Success must come where Rajendrababu is the leader. Boycott of foreign cloth, propagation of khadi and the boycott of liquor and other intoxicants are of the utmost importance for us today.

Yours,
MOHANDAS GANDHI

SHRI GANGASHARAN SINGH
CONGRESS COMMITTEE, AMAHRA
P.O. NIHATTA, DIST. PATNA, BIHAR

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 11008

113. LETTER TO LAKSHMINARAYAN GADODIA

May 10, 1931

BHAI LAKSHMINARAYANJI,

I have your letter.

I saw the letter from Alexander Drew. Your reply is pertinent. I regard this loss as gain. The condition of the Congress committees is everywhere poor.

There is much risk in picketing the ships bringing foreign cloth. We shall see what is possible and proper if the struggle is renewed. The best work is to work among the masses.

I am proceeding to Simla tomorrow (Monday). The halt at Delhi will be for about three hours. Jamnalalji will be accompanying me.

Yours,
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 5621

114. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

May 11, 1931

CHI. NARANDAS,

I am writing this letter at midnight at Bardoa station. Champa came and saw me here. I think Ratilal will not come at present. I shall be in Simla for about five days; and then in Nainital for five days. I expect to return to Borsad round about the 25th.

Buy the land at Bidaj. I was sorry to hear about Hanumansingh. Can you tell me how his condition became what it is? Keep him mostly on fruit.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati : M.M.U/I

115. LETTER TO MRIDULA SARABHAI

May 11, 1931

CHI. MRIDU,

I am writing this at the Baroda station after midnight. So do not expect a full reply.

I shall try to follow your suggestion with regard to the mills.

Nobody has prompted me regarding your going to Simla. When I was at Ahmedabad the matter was discussed. He had told me that you would not accompany him but might go subsequently. You have been constantly in my eyes. So I felt like writing to you and am writing. I do hope you will go. We may meet there if you come early.

Khurshedbehn should also go there if she can make it. Nargisbehn has already advocated her case to me. Perinbehn came later on and she also mentioned the matter. Pass on this message on my behalf.

If there is need to write more I shall write later provided I find the time. I do not have your letter with me right now.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C. W. 11111. Courtesy: Sarabhai Foundation

116. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

[On or after *May 11, 1931*]¹

CHI. NARANDAS,

Since you are not likely to feel the burden, I have no worries on that account. I see that you will continue to have guests and visitors. See that those who come are well looked after. Try to dissuade people who may wish to accompany me.

Shri Malik is the Municipal Engineer there. He will visit the Ashram in a day or two and advise you how to pump more water. Take him to see Chandrabhaga too. I have talked to him about Parnerkar. Cultivate Shri Malik's acquaintance and introduce Parnerkar also to him.

How is Purushottam? Has he agreed to go for a change of air? If he had been in better health, I would have certainly, taken him with me. You may write to me for my opinion on any matter if you think it necessary to do so.

Blessings from

BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro—9 : Shri Narandas Gandhine, Pt. I, p. 273. Also C.W. 8189.

Courtesy : Narandas Gandhi

117. INTERVIEW TO THE PRESS

May 13, 1931

Asked by the Associated press representative for any 'story', Mr. Gandhi remarked:

You can write about the flowers and garlands that you see in the car.

At the octroi post, the car stopped for a minute when a letter from Mr. Emerson, Home Secretary, was handed to Gandhiji.

Gandhiji, interviewed by a representative of the Associated Press of India who stood on the running board of his car, stated that he had received no invitation from the Viceroy but from the Home Secretary. He would stay in Simla for two or three days, possibly longer, and then proceed probably to Nainital.

¹ From the reference to Gandhiji taking Purushottam with him, most probably to Simla

Q. Will you be going to London?

A. I cannot say yet.

Q. What about the prospect of communal settlement?

A. I have been far too absorbed in affairs in Borsad and therefore could not tell you.

Q. You might have known of the proceedings of the Conference at Bhopal?¹

A. No.

Q. Do you expect to attend the informal meeting in Simla of Indian members of the Federal Structure Committee?

A. I have no notion.

The Hindu, 14-5-1931

118. NOTES

‘A CRY IN THE WILDERNESS’

I take the following passage with slight changes from a communication in my file :

Protection of indigenous cloth by exclusion of foreign cloth and foreign yarn from the country—this is vague and gives room for suspicion. The starving millions living in the villages cannot be fed by the Indian mills. For the last four months the demand for khadi has been going down steadily and that for mill-cloth is increasing. The reason is that Congress organizations are supporting the Indian mill-manufacture. Gandhiji’s cry of boycott through khadi is a cry in the wilderness. Therefore the real position of the Congress with regard to khadi must be made clear.

I have had a similar complaint from other sources too. There is no doubt that the Congressmen think that because the Congress is having help from and dealings with mill-owners, Congressmen are free to use mill-manufactures in the place of khadi or at least to use either optionally. Such however is certainly not the case. The Congress policy in this matter remains unchanged. The Congress expects everyone under its influence to use hand-spun and hand-woven khadi to the exclusion of all other cloth. Any laxity in this observance is not only bound to harm khadi and therefore the villages but it is also bound to harm boycott of foreign cloth. It will be found that in the end the boycott will be possible only through khadi. The success

¹ On May 10 and 11. The Nawab of Bhopal had invited the leaders of the All-India Nationalist Muslim Party and the All-India Muslim Conference to work out an agreed formula on the question of electorates.

hitherto obtained is due to khadi. This is not to say that the indigenous mills have played no part in the campaign against foreign cloth. But it is contended that the mills came in when the owners realized that khadi was doing it, that khadi had shown the way, that khadi had brought about the psychological change. What is however the most important to remember is that boycott of foreign cloth will not be worth the tremendous energy that has been put into it if it was designed merely to stimulate the dividends of a few hundred thousand shareholders. It is a national necessity only because through khadi the crores of money saved through boycott of foreign cloth will be distributed among the millions of villagers. It is therefore necessary for men and women belonging to the Congress not to slacken their effort for khadi.

RUMOURED AMERICAN VISIT

An American friend says in the course of a letter¹ dated 6th April that

. . . This evening an Associated Press despatch from New Delhi, as given in the *Boston Transcript*, reports that 'Mahatma Gandhi is considering a visit to the United States, etc.. . . .

The soul of India has greater tasks than can be performed through physical presence in the United States at this time. . . .

Whether I represent the soul of India or not is a debatable point. But with reference to the American visit I have felt exactly like my correspondent. The work in India, if it has any spiritual value, will affect America and every other country outside India far more than the physical presence. Indeed when the spirit is free the physical case often becomes a hindrance rather than a help. The invisible effect of the spirit free must be a million times greater than that of the spirit limited by the earthly tabernacle. Much therefore as I should love to visit America, the voice within warns me against feeding the wish. Happily other friends like Rev. Holmes, Mr. Kerby page, Dr. Sherwood Eddy, Dr. Ward sent me a cable² about the same time the above letter was posted warning me against the visit. They thought that I would be exploited without serving the cause at the present juncture. I feel sure that these friends are right. Those friends therefore who have been pressing me to go to America would please excuse me till the time is ripe, if it ever is for me to go to their great country.

¹ Of which only extracts are reproduced here

² *Vide* also "Letter to Boyd Tucker", 5-5-1931.

Meantime let them dispel, if they will, the ignorance and the misrepresentations that prevail in abundance about Indian affairs in their land.

Young India, 14-5-1931

119. DANGER LOOMING¹

The public know little of what took place in Karachi the other day. A half-cracked man like me by name Gajadhar Shau from Central Provinces but as little known there as in Karachi took it into his head that he could establish swaraj in a few days. He collected all the unemployed and other labourers, promising them two rupees per day and delivered an ultimatum to the merchants and moneyed men that they should stop export and import business, stop the manufacture of mill-cloth, collect one crore rupees in a fortnight and utilize it for giving employment to all who were in need at a level wage of two rupees per day through the spinning-wheel and the like. Meetings were held and fierce resolutions were passed. Keys of safes were demanded. The indefatigable Mayor of Karachi met the men and in a lucid moment Sjt. Gajadhar said he would stop his activity if I disapproved of it. This was good enough for Sjt. Jamshed Mehta and his friends and Sjt. Gajadhar who by this time had become a Mahatma came to me as also later Sjts. Sidhwa and Isherdas. I recognized in Sjt. Gajadhar an old correspondent who always tried my and my co-workers' patience by sending long letters and even wires. We became friends on sight. I had to give him nearly two hours I could scarcely spare. The upshot of it all was that he promised to stop his activity though I did not carry conviction to him. Whether he will carry out his promise remains to be seen. Even if he does not, the workers of Karachi will be able to deal effectively with any crisis that may arise.

But the incident of Karachi is a portent. If the acts of Congressmen are not firm and absolutely correct, there is every danger of the Congress and all other healthy activities being swallowed up by the onrushing floods for want of the necessary embankment of discipline. Storms and floods there always will be. But discipline is to disorder what bulwarks and embankments are to storms and floods.

The awakening of the masses hitherto drugged into sleep by ignorance and despotism can easily prove their own undoing together with a wreckage of the social structure. The attempt of the Congress is

¹*Vide* also "Message to Hindustani Seva Dal", 9-5-1931

to reform the social structure, remove abuses and at the same time help the masses to occupy the position of which they have been long deprived.

Behind the crazy demand of Sjt. Gajadhar Shau there was a substratum of truth. Unemployment there undoubtedly was and still is in Karachi as elsewhere, as throughout the 7,00,000 villages of India. No society can long endure that harbours or creates an army of unemployed. There is something wrong in such society. There must therefore be some occupation always available for those who will work. The Karachi scheme asked for employment through the charkha. Unfortunately the author knew no more perhaps about the charkha than the name. But I do believe that in its extensive meaning so as to include all the cotton processes from picking to weaving and washing, colouring and tailoring, it does provide permanent and unlimited occupation for the city-dwellers as well as the villagers. This does not exclude other occupations. But this one thing may be adopted anywhere and everywhere.

One thing we must rigidly guard against and that is free kitchens. Free kitchens are a dangerous institution designed to manufacture paupers. Public kitchens may be run wherever they are a felt want. Everyone can work for a meal and be sure of getting a cheap clean meal in healthy surroundings. It is necessary for us to learn that it is a sin to give a free meal to one who is fit to do any remunerative work at all.

Young India, 14-5-1931

120. 'NO CHANGE OF HEART'

This heading has no reference to change of heart among the rulers. It refers to absence of change of heart among ourselves according to the following impeachment¹ of a Sindhi correspondent.

I believe that the complaint about foreign cloth is substantially correct. There is not in the cities at least that real change of taste such that the people will not touch foreign cloth whether it comes from England, Japan, France or elsewhere. Though the intellect admits the desirability of abjuring foreign cloth, the heart yearns after the

¹ Not reproduced here. The correspondent had complained that the old love for foreign cloth was still alive and blamed Gandhiji for having a soft corner for the mill-owners. *Vide* also "Foreign Cloth and Other British Goods", 23-4-1931

fineries which only come from foreign countries. Love of self predominates over love of the country or rather love of the semi-starved millions.

Picketing of foreign-cloth shops has but a limited use. The real thing is the education of the masses in these matters. Better even than education is the example of workers and better still is teaching the people how to produce cheap khadi through self-spinning. In practice all the three methods will go together. There must be therefore imparting to the people a knowledge of the economics of boycott through khadi. People should know from well-chosen illustrations how khadi can bring and has brought prosperity to the villages. People should come in touch with sincere workers who are habitual wearers of khadi and should be enabled to know how to prepare their own khadi in their own villages. Congress workers should therefore have a competent knowledge of the boycott and khadi literature, they must be honest wearers of khadi and they must know the cotton processes sufficiently so as to be able to instruct those who would know how to gin, card, spin or even weave.

Those therefore who realize that boycott of foreign cloth and manufacture and use of khadi are permanent institutions of the highest economic value will welcome the Settlement which enables them to know how far the people have been converted to the national ideal. Our real strength must lie in the people doing in normal times the things they did in abnormal times under the severe pressure of public opinion or worse.

One word as to the mills. I have no tender spot in me for our mills. They are well able to take care of themselves. They have still many limitations to overcome. They have not yet put the national interest before that of the agents, owners and share-holders. But after having said all this I would like the correspondent to test the truth of the fact that they have striven this time to respond to the national call be it to ever so small an extent. And this apart from the financial aid they might have given to the movement. I should count that help of no import, if they did not regulate prices and production. I believe that they made an honest attempt in that direction.

Much however has yet to be done by them. They have not yet frankly recognized the premier place khadi has in national economy. They have not net organized the foreign cloth merchants for change

of their trade to swadeshi, they have not yet learnt the inestimable value of regarding themselves as trustees for the whole nation including the mill-hands. But this change will come if the Congressmen will play the game. conversion, not coercion, must be the aim.

Young India, 14-5-1931

121. ANGLO-INDIANS

Dr. H. W. B. Moreno writes :¹

I can noly say that every community would be on a par with every other under the swaraj Constitution. I invite the attention of all the minorities concerned to the Fundamental Rights Resolution² of the Congress. So far as the Working Committee could, it took care to see that the rights of minorities were fully secured under that Resolution. That Resolution is now before the Congress Committee with a view to strengthening it. All those who have useful suggestions should send them to the Committee for consideration.

But I know that this is not what Dr. Moreno wants. He wants to know where the Anglo-Indians will come in specifically. My answer is they would come in where their merit would take them. There would most decidedly be nothing to prevent them from occupying the highest position that any other Indian may be capable of occupying. The fact however is that the AngloIndians as a class have occupied or attempted to occupy the position of rulers. They have not as a class taken part in the national movement. They have isolated themselves in their favoured position. Under swaraj there will be no favoured position for anybody. Hence like the Englishmen whose cry for equality means retention of favoured position the Anglo-Indians may feel aggrieved that they would be at a disadvantage under swaraj if they did not have the present favoured position guaranteed.

I hope however that Dr. Moreno has no such favouritism in view. If I know him correctly, I expect he seeks information about the sub-merged Anglo-Indians. Of them I can say with confidence that I should be surprised if they did not in common with the submerged of the other communities find themselves in a better position than they

¹ The letter is not reproduced here. The correspondent wanted to know what the position of the Anglo-Indian community would be under the new constitution for India.

² *Vide* "Resolution on Fundamental Rights and Economic Changes", 31-3-1931

are in today. Anyway, there are enough Congressmen who are pledged to the abolition of all unjust privileges, all unnatural inequalities. If the condition of the masses is found to undergo rapid improvement under swaraj, the Anglo-Indian poor must share it to the fullest extent possible. The Congress aims at swaraj for the whole nation and not a section. And it will fight on till that end is achieved. I therefore invite all the minorities to join the national movement and to hasten the advent of the happy day. Let it not also be said of any of them that in the hour of the nation's trial, they stood aside and came in to enjoy their share of the happiness. They will get the share but they will not relish it even as a man who has not toiled for his meal cannot enjoy it though it is placed before him.

Young India, 14-5-1931

122. THE ALLAHABAD CONGRESS HOSPITAL : AN APPEAL

In June last year Pandit Motilal Nehru visited Bombay and saw the good work that the Congress hospital was doing there. He was impressed by this and, on his return to Allahabad, he expressed a desire that a similar hospital be started in Allahabad also. . . . Largely owing to the generosity of friends in Bombay, some funds and material were collected for the proposed hospital. On Pandit Motilalji's discharge from prison, the hospital was formally started in a wing of Swaraj Bhawan. . . .

The limited funds collected have now been exhausted and the committee had to consider whether it should continue the hospital or not. . . .

This appeal for financial assistance is therefore being issued in the hope that there will be a generous response to it. The question of having a permanent hospital in Swaraj Bhawan has not been decided yet. But the committee would like to have sufficient funds for the carrying on of the hospital for at least three years. The estimated expenditure on the hospital, if it is run on its present limited scale, is rupees one thousand a month. . . .

KAMALA NEHRU

MOHANLAL NEHRU

RAMAKANT MALAVIYA

May 11, 1931

I hope that the foregoing appeal¹ will receive a quick response from the public. It has been purposely not signed by any except those who are connected with the management of the hospital, because it is not to be in any way considered as a national

¹ Of which only extracts are reproduced above

memorial. But the appeal is not the less important on that account. Thirty-six thousand rupees to carry out a wish of Pandit Motilal Nehru is a paltry sum. I hope, therefore, that there will be no delay and no hesitation in responding to the appeal made by Shrimati Kamala Nehru and her co-signatories. The reader should know that from the commencement of the hospital she has been its soul. The public may wonder why the appeal treats the hospital as a temporary thing. The idea is to watch how the institution works and by actual experience to know what will be the real need. Moreover, whilst everything is in the melting pot, it was thought that the wisest course would be for the time being to be satisfied with meeting the daily need.

Young India, 14-5-1931

123. FOR THE DANDI PILGRIMS

All the fellow pilgrims who undertook the march to Dandi on 12th March 1930¹ being scattered all over and not being in constant touch with me, it is necessary to remind them through these columns that they are still under the same discipline and vows that they took before beginning the march and after. They are therefore expected to keep an accurate diary of the day's work from day to day, to attend to the two prayers, to keep their wants as low as possible and therefore to keep their diet as simple as possible and to do the daily sacrificial spinning. Those who are living in villages can conduct village schools, teaching the children in addition to a knowledge of the three R's, hand-spinning and other processes of cotton, insisting on their attending to personal hygiene and village games and athletics, doing village cleaning themselves, seeking at the same time the assistance of the villagers and their children and collecting and tabulating all the necessary information about the villagers. The workers would also find out those using foreign cloth and intoxicating drinks and drugs and try to wean them from both by paying them friendly visits and otherwise creating public opinion in the villages in these matters. They will wherever possible and necessary organize peaceful picketing. Of course they would seek to remove untouchability. The workers should send to Sjt. Chhaganlal Joshi a report every month of their work including an abstract from their diary. Needless to say they are

¹ *Vide* "Persons who Accompanied Gandhiji on the Dandi March", 12-3-1930 "Letter to Malcolm Hailey", 23-5-1931

expected to keep an accurate account of every pice they may spend and receive.

While these instructions are meant for and binding on the original pilgrims, they may serve as a guide for all the national workers as well in cities as in villages. There will be naturally some changes in the cities. There is no Hindu-Muslim quarrel in the villages but national workers in cities have to add this essential service to the others.

Young India, 14-5-1931

124. HOW THEY ARE TAUGHT

A correspondent who gives his name and address writes from Wilmington, North Carolina.¹

The newspapers tell of your efforts together with many others of your nation for mocomplete independence, which is good in itself, but they also give accounts of Indian life and that show that you lack understanding what freedom really is and upon what it rests in the beginning. . . .

India is trying for independence by her very endeavour from God's Rule as well as from a Christian nation, whereas the greatest enemy of India are the majority of Indians, who neither thoroughly understand God's Holy Will or even her Christian neighbour, England.

Just as it was an act of charity and goodness on the part of God to provide more ample clothing for the fallen and erring parents of ours, mine as well as yours, so is the endeavour of England and others to provide for India more cloth only as an act of Christian charity and goodness. . . .

India should first of all seek ample clothing and education on the Holy Will of God as narrated in Holy Scripture as a base to obtain independence. . . .

The greatest enemy of India causing the most oppression and suffering is ignorance on your own part and that of the people, not England. . . .

I have made hardly two alterations in the text for easier reading. The correspondent addresses me "Dear friend in Jesus Christ". His sincerity is as clear as his ignorance. The reason why I publish the letter is to show how even in the enlightened West people can be mistaught. In this letter there is ignorance of history and, if I may venture to say so, ignorance even of the Bible. This letter represents teaching of one type.

A correspondent from New York the other day sent me cuttings

¹ Only extracts are reproduced here.

showing how events in India were misreported and misrepresented. The correspondent warned me against being deceived by the attention paid to me by American Pressmen here into believing that the whole of America was bubbling with enthusiasm for us. He implied that for one sympathetic message or article there were ninety-nine prejudiced articles or reports belittling everything Indian.

Reginald Reynolds cites a third variety. He thinks that the English people from their infancy have no chance of knowing the truth about India. False history is dinned into the ears of boys and girls. The table talk too about India is no better. Of this type of teaching we here have also some experience. We know what history we learn in schools and what we have to unlearn by bitter experience. We are taught to imagine the blessings and virtues of British rule; we learn, as we grow, to know the contrary. Our greatest enemy is therefore ignorance spread often wilfully to prejudice us. It is true that we have also to clean our own stables but not in the sense and the manner suggested by the Wilmington correspondent.

Young India, 14-5-1931

125. 'JUDGE LYNCH DECIDES'

A correspondent writes :

I am taking the liberty of enclosing herewith a small cutting from the *Literary Digest* which will speak for itself. I wonder what you think of the whole shameful affair? I dare say you meet many an American visitor or interviewer who often demand of you a message to their country or invite you to their continent. Would it be too much to ask of you to give them a message to see that such atrocities as lynching of a hapless and coloured race are put a stop to?

The cutting he referred to has the above heading and reads as follows:¹

This does make sad reading. If we had no faith in the ultimate Good, we would lose all hope. I have faith and therefore hope that this lynching will yield place to proper justice. I do not pretend to the influence over American opinion that the correspondent credits me with. But I have no doubt that the people of that continent are fully alive to the evil and are trying their best to remove this blot on American humanity.

Young India, 14-5-1931

¹ The report is not reproduced here. It described how a Negro was lynched.

126. LETTER TO SYED AZMATULLAH

May 14, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter¹. I can only give you my assurance that I shall do my best to promote Hindu-Muslim unity. What I am striving for is a heart unity. The solution of the constitutional question rests in many other hands than mine.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat : S.N. 17034

127. LETTER TO HENRY NEIL²

May 14, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your characteristic letter³. Only I am not going to America in the near future.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat : S.N. 17072

128. LETTER TO S. RANGOORAM

AS AT SABARMATI,

May 14, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. It is not at all certain that I am going to London. The odds are that I am not. But if I do, personally I would like to accept the offer of Miss Muriel Lester who has an institution of hers somewhere in the East End. But as I do not know the ins and outs I have simply left it with Mr. C. F. Andrews who is fortunately now there and who knows all about me. Naturally I would love to accept your offer also but I have already told Miss Lester that if the political

¹ The addressee had written : "If only you make it known to the Muslims that you would accept the other thirteen points of Mr. Jinnah, if separate electorates are given up, I assure you the Muslims would adopt a more accommodating attitude and agree to joint electorates. . . ."

² Judge Henry Neil, founder of the Centenarian Club

³ The addressee had written : "I would like to be of service to your campaign for freedom. Especially if you should come here."

exigencies do not come in the way and if any reception committee that might be formed also does not come in the way and the choice rests with me, it shall be to live in her institution. Now you know my inclination. You will do what you like in consultation with Mr. C. F. Andrews or the committee that may be formed.

Please do not ask me to send anything for your magazine if only because I do not know what it is to be like. But you must forgive me also because I hardly get time to cope with the regular correspondence. I do not therefore like to take up even small things that may occupy only a few minutes because it is an aggregate of few minutes that makes a cycle.

Yours sincerely,

S. RANGOORAM, ESQ.
INDIAN STUDENTS CENTRAL ASSOCIATION
LONDON S.W. 3

From a photostat : S.N. 17073

129. LETTER TO SURESH CHANDRA BANERJI

AS AT SABARMATI,
May 14, 1931

MY DEAR SURESH,

I have your letter. I do not see anything on the horizon to warrant the hope that peace will be established as a result of the Round Table Conference. On the contrary, as I have said openly, nature seems to be against us. I hold it to be impossible practically to get the constitution we want without a heart unity amongst the different communities. That unity is not likely to be forthcoming in the near future. There are many other things too that are against us. But as God confounds man's hopes and out of his disappointments brings forth hope, it is difficult to say precisely what is going to happen. My business-like answer to you therefore is you should hope for the best, prepare for the worst, but a satyagrahi's preparation for the worst and the best is always the same. You would still be spreading the gospel of the wheel. You would still be nursing the needy sick. You would still be looking after the pauper children and things of this kind are the best preparation for civil disobedience and the like when they come. Have I made myself quite clear to you? If not, tackle me again. Your

own particular business is to become well. I have the extra Rs. 1,000 in mind. About the rest you will discuss with Jamnalalji when he comes to Calcutta which he will do some time or other. I am likely to be back in Borsad at the end of the month.

DR. SURESH CHANDRA BANERJI

ABHOY ASHRAM

COMILLA (BENGAL)

From a photostat : S.N. 17074

130. LETTER TO HARIBHAU UPADHYAYA

FIRGROVE, SIMLA

May 14, 1931

DEAR HARIBHAU,

Bapuji has received your letter of the 10th. He has already expressed his opinion about writing to Bhopal. As far as I remember the letter he wrote you was posted on 6-5-31 from Borsad¹. But your letter does not contain even an acknowledgement. I too had written to you a separate letter. In that letter I had suggested that you should inform Bapu of the latest and up-to-date position in regard to repression in princely states. That too you have disregarded. What does all this mean?

Your letter of the 10th was shown to Jamnalalji as per Bapu's instructions. On pursuing it he remarked that Bapuji had already written regarding Bhopal, that he does not consider it proper for him to write to Nawabs and Rajas about such matters in the present circumstances. But Jamnalalji himself had written to Bikaner and he will do whatever else is necessary.

About satyagraha, he does think that it was launched in haste but now it cannot be remedied. He wishes to repeat the warning that we should guard against any kind of mistake or violence on our part.

Yours,

PYARELAL

From the Hindi original: Haribhau Upadhyaya Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

¹ *Vide* "Letter to Haribhau Upadhyaya", 6-5-1931.

131. SPEECH AT PUBLIC MEETING, SIMLA

May 14, 1931

You will like to hear why I have come to Simla and what talk I am having with the Government. I cannot tell you everything, but I can tell you that I came to hold consultation with regard to the complaints on our side as well as on the Government side with regard to the Settlement arrived at between Lord Irwin and the Congress. These consultations still continue. What I have to emphasize is that if you are Congress *sewak*¹ and want to serve Hindustan, then it is your duty to observe that Agreement irrespective of whether the Government observes it or not.

After we have fulfilled our obligation, and if after that we find the Government has not fulfilled it we can take whatever step we like. We know that whatever settlement has been arrived at is conditional, but if we can use the settlement for some work, we should do it.

As a *satyagrahi*, if we get an opportunity for service as a result of understanding, we should welcome it. That opportunity came your way through the Settlement.

The Karachi Congress practically unanimously adopted it. Now our duty is what I have described. Do not think that after this Settlement we have to go to war. We should, on the other hand, do everything to see that we are not led to war and that the Settlement should become permanent, so that we may get *purna swaraj*.

You know the conditions that have been imposed by Congress on such of your delegates as will go to London to attend the Round Table Conference. But if, as the result of settlement, we cannot get complete *swaraj*, it is our ill-luck, and if our efforts towards a permanent settlement fail, we should be ready for a fresh struggle.

But there are two points more which I wish to emphasize besides the Settlement. If we wish to achieve what we want at the Round Table Conference, we must be properly equipped and that equipment is that all the people of India—people who are born here and have made India their home, whether Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Christians, Parsis and others—should unite in the demand for *swaraj*. Unless we bring about such an understanding among ourselves my going to London is useless. Therefore we should all make such efforts as would make for unity among all communities in this country.

¹ Volunteer

But I do not want unity on paper. If we write out a pact on paper, unity is not thereby achieved. The unity I want is the unity of heart and for that unity I always pray. And when that unity is achieved you will gain such strength as will give us success.

I am afraid my voice is not reaching you all and that you are feeling upset by rain. Let me pray to God that we may be saved a second struggle and that this Settlement may lead to final success.

As regards work, you have the Congress resolution before you and you have every scope for work in respect of the spread of khaddar and boycott of liquor. I thank you all.

The Hindustan Times, 16-5-1931

132. HOMAGE TO K. T. PAUL

SIMLA,

May 15, 1931

I had the privilege of knowing Mr. K. T. Paul. The nearer I came to him the more I respected him. His Christianity appeared to me to be broad and tolerant. It not only did not interfere with his being a thorough nationalist, on the contrary, in his case it seemed to have deepened his nationalism. And in nationalist circles it will always be remembered, to the credit of the deceased, that he stoutly opposed the demand for any special concessions for Christian Indians in the forthcoming constitution, believing as he did that character and merit would always command not only proper treatment but respectful attention. His death especially at this time in the life of the nation is a distinct loss to the country.

From a photostat : S.N. 17075

133. CABLE TO "EVENING STANDARD"

[May 15, 1931]¹

Replying to *The Evening Standard's* question whether he is coming to London, Mr. Gandhi has cabled that it is contingent on certain circumstances, two of which are a satisfactory working of the Settlement and the solution of the communal question.

Young India, 21-5-1931, and *The Hindu*, 16-5-1931

¹ Reported from London on this date

134. LETTER TO S. SATYAMURTI

AS AT SABARMATI,
May 15, 1931

MY DEAR SATYAMURTI,

I have your letter. So far as I know there is no chance of my going to London. Several things have to happen before I could consent to go.

Yours sincerely

M. K. GANDHI

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

135. INTERVIEW TO THE PRESS

SIMLA,
May 15, 1931

Mahatma Gandhi said his conversation was healthy and good and he was not seeing the Viceroy again in Simla. He would be seeing Mr. Emerson, the Home Secretary, again tomorrow and leaving Simla for Nainital positively on the 17th, Sunday.¹

Mahatma Gandhi refused the answer the question if he was more optimistic regarding his going to London and the general political situation, and added :
Fro any further information you must go to the Viceregal Lodge.

While walking towards Sir Fazl Hussain's residence, he was asked whether he would favour Simla as the seat of the Swaraj Government. He replied:

We must go down five thousand storeys to the plains, for government should be among the people and for the people.

The Hindustan Times, 17-5-1931

¹ For the report of the interview with H. W. Emerson, *vide* "Note by H. W. Emberson on Interview Between Himeself and Gandhiji", 18-5-1931

136. TELEGRAM TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL

SIMLA,
May 16, 1931

SARDAR VALLABHBHAI
BARDOLI

IF YOU HAVE HEARD FROM JAWAHARLAL SUGGEST YOUR HOLDING MEETING NINTH BARDOLI OR ANY OTHER PLACE YOU MAY THINK FIT. PROCEEDING NAINITAL TOMORROW.

BAPU

A.I.C.C. File No. 273, 1931. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

137. LETTER TO KHAN CHAND DEV

AS AT SABARMATI,
May 16, 1931

DEAR DR. KHAN CHAND,

I was glad to receive your exhaustive note and it came just in time. There will be difficulty about the release of the remaining prisoners. I must now ask you to give me copy of judgment and evidence in each case if it is at all possible or have a note prepared there on each case showing why you consider that the prisoners concerned fall within the Settlement. You must give me also a full description about the cases still pending.

Yours sincerely,

DR. KHAN CHAND DEV
BRADLAUGH HALL
LAHORE

From a microfilm : S.N. 17082

138. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

AS AT SABARMATI,
May 16, 1931

DEAR SATISBABU,

I have your two letters. Hemprabha Devi's condition makes me feel anxious. Please keep me informed.

Your description of the squabbles¹ there makes one sad and your reading of Subhasbabu sadder still. I am glad you are entirely keeping out of party affairs. The *Mussalman* cutting has not given me satisfaction. The translations of *Rashtravani* are good. I think you ought to add salt to your food. I had long chats here with the authorities on matters arising out of the Settlement. They are fairly satisfactory. I am now going to Nainital and then reach Borsad about the end of this month.

SYT. SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

KHADI PRATISHTHAN

SODEPUR (BENGAL)

From a photostat : S.N. 17083

139. LETTER TO A. FENNER BROCKWAY

AS AT SABARMATI,

May 16, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your cablegram which has been redirected to me here. I am not replying by cable as my opinion remains the same as I explained to you in a previous letter. I gave you only one reason preventing me from going to London. But I should have mentioned another also namely the work of the Settlement. Though I am receiving help at the centre, local authorities are giving great deal of trouble in implementing the Settlement and they are accusing local Congressmen of breach on their part. I have ample evidence and I am investigating every case of breach on the part of individuals, but in the vast majority of cases Congressmen have fully implemented the Settlement. I am making no mention whatsoever of breach on the part of the authorities whilst I am still negotiating with them and in the hope that things will be put right in the near future. But this thing practically takes away all my time and keeps me in India.

Yours sincerely,

FENNER BROCKWAY, ESQ.

RICKMANSWORTH

HERTS. (ENGLAND)

From a photostat : S.N. 17084

¹ Between Subhas Chandra Bose and J. M. Sen Gupta over the affairs of Bengal Provincial Congress Committee; *vide* footnote to "Telegram to J. M. Sen Gupta", 4-6-1931.

140. LETTER TO RAMLAL SINGH

AS AT SABARMATI,
May 16, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. Perhaps you do not know that I am under a vow¹ not to live at the Ashram until a full settlement is made and India has got what she wants. If you would stay at the Ashram notwithstanding this fact, I would like you please to write to the Manager of the Ashram and I have no doubt that he will admit you for the few weeks' stay.

Syt. Vithalbhai Patel's address is: C/o Thomas Cook & Son, London.

Yours sincerely,

THAKUR RAMLAL SINGH
KANTIT ESTATE
P.O. BIJAIPUR (MIRZAPUR)

From a microfilm : S.N. 17085

141. LETTER TO K. NATARAJAN

AS AT SABARMATI,
May 16, 1931

DEAR MR. NATARAJAN,

You will please excuse me for the delay in acknowledging your letter. You know the reason why. The statement imputed to me is a pure invention. The conclusion that the British regime is an evil was arrived at after laborious studies fortified by painful experiences. I have set forth the whole process in *Hind Swaraj* as also in *My Experiments with Truth*. It was good of Mr. Bittman that he refused to believe the report without verification. I may add that I do not even remember the meeting with Bishop Azariah. I return Mr. Bittman's letter.

Yours sincerely,

Encl. 1

SYT. K. NATARAJAN
"INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER" OFFICE,
BOMBAY

From a microfilm : S.N. 17086

¹ *Vide* "Speech at Prayer Meeting, Sabarmati Ashram", 11-3-1930

142. NOTES

HOW TO END DARKNESS?

A graduate asks:¹

This is partly true. In a letter which is lying along with the above, I find the following: “Amongst us, the expenses incurred on the death of a person have been completely stopped, there is less of weeping and wailing, marriages are becoming simpler, and less expensive.” This is not surprising. Such reforms ought to come about at the end of a great sacrifice. What, however, is surprising is that despite the sacrifice, despite correct understanding of the situation, untouchability has not been totally uprooted. At many places the untouchables are still prohibited from drawing water from the village well, their children cannot freely attend all public schools, caste distinctions and considerations of high and low still persist, mutual quarrels still take place, girls continue to be sold, young men continue to expect to receive cash from a girl’s father.

What is the reason for this?

Our attention is directed outwards, we do not look within ourselves. We find it exciting to fight the Government. We adopt those reforms which are absolutely necessary for carrying on that struggle and continuing it. But we find no excitement in fighting against ourselves, in carrying on a peaceful war against society, or we find it less exciting to do so.

Who will end this laxity?

Volunteers, graduates of the Vidyapith, women volunteers and *vanarsena* ² “But if the salt hath lost its savour, wherewith shall it be salted?” The volunteers—both men and women—find this work uninteresting. They do not realize that swaraj cannot be won if these tasks are not done, or even if it is won, it cannot be preserved. It is clear as daylight that swaraj is nothing but the development of all sections of the people. Hence if the rural workers now come forward in large numbers and carry out these tasks silently and with determination and diligence, darkness will disappear and dawn will break.

¹ The letter is not translated here. It had complained that the people continued to be ignorant in spite of a year of struggle.

² Literally, “monkey-army”—name given to volunteer bands of children during the Civil Disobedience Movement.

BHAGINI SEVA SANGH

Shri Karsandas Chitalia and Shrimati Surajbehn Manilal have jointly decided to set up an organization under this name. Thanks to the efforts of Shri Karsandas, the Bhagini Seva Mandir was built and opened in Vile Parle. He has now issued a pamphlet for the establishment of the Sangh. Whoever wishes to read the whole of it should obtain a copy from Shri Karsandas. It gives the following information about the Sangh:¹

Women who have the following qualifications can join it:²

The pamphlet concludes as follows:³

I wish Shri Karsandas success in this enterprise.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 17-5-1931

143. OPINION UNCHANGED

Commenting on the article entitled “A Twentieth-Century Sati (?)”⁴, Shri Mathuradas Devram writes as follows :⁵

I have published this letter for the sake of fairness. My opinion re-mains unaltered even after having known all these facts. The facts as they were published have been corroborated and so my grief is all the greater and my opinion has been strengthened. This is an example not of love but of strong emotion. What does man not do when overcome by emotion? If that very woman had survived, she could have perpetuated her husband’s memory by her dedicated life. Having died, she did not accompany her husband. It is an error to believe that the relationship ends as soon as the body perishes. But even if that were at all true, she could not preserve that relationship. Just as her husband’s body was reduced to ashes, hers too was reduced to ashes; hence along with the departure of the one, the other too followed suit. In this pathetic incident, I find nothing at all praiseworthy. I hope that even this woman’s relatives do not consider this suicide as the act of a sati. Rather than teach women to love their

¹ These excerpts are not translated here.

² *Ibid*

³ *Ibid*

⁴ *Vide* “A Twentieth Century Sati (?)”, 21-5-1931.

⁵ The letter is not translated here. It had described and justified the action of the woman who had burnt herself on the pyre of her husband.

husbands blindly, we should liberate them and show them through our conduct that the soul in a woman has equal rights with the soul in a man.

Now about Shri Mathuradas's last question. In the sentence "A woman who is a sati will participate in the function of procreation within limits," the phrase 'a woman who is a sati' has been used to denote a woman of good character whose husband is alive. My ideal is to make husbands and wives practise total celibacy. If that is not possible, my purpose was to say that both should, within limits, participate in the function of procreation. That is to say, sexual union between the two should be permitted only for the sake of this function and that too for the limited number of children that both desire. This, in my opinion, is limited self-restraint.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 17-5-1931

144. PUBLIC EXPENSE¹

No province in India has enjoyed such privileges in the matter of public funds as Gujarat. The Gujarat Provincial Congress Committee has never found its exchequer empty. Nor have its district or taluk branches ever been left to want the funds that they needed. It has been my conviction for years that such affluence cannot be good for any public institution. There comes a point in the life of every institution that has a prestige in public, when it experiences this plethora of funds and all the risks and dangers attendant on it. At that time, if it does not take care and does not spend like a miser, it is bound to come to grief. Because an institution happens to have plenty of funds it does not mean that it should anyhow spend away every pie that it possesses. The golden rule is not to hesitate to ask for or spend even a crore when it is absolutely necessary and when it is not, to hoard up every pie though one may have a crore of rupees at one's disposal.

I am afraid that this golden rule has not been always followed by the Gujarat Committees. In fact I should not be surprised if I discovered the existence even of a certain laxity in this respect. I would therefore suggest to every Taluka and District Congress

¹ The original Gujarati of this was published in *Navajivan* on May 17. This is a translation by Pyarelal.

committee in Gujarat to hold a close scrutiny into its accounts and to relentlessly apply the axe wherever it is found to be necessary. We may not build a pucca building when a thatched cottage would do. We may not use a motor-car when a bullock-cart would serve the purpose and we must avoid the bullock-cart when the journey can be made on foot. Similarly the rigidest economy should be exercised in regulating the expenses of feeding the workers. The best course would be for all Congress organizations to get their account books inspected by some experienced person who knows how to economize public expenditure and to invite criticisms and suggestions from him for future guidance. Ten years ago there used to be a golden rule in Gujarat that every District, Village or Taluka Congress Committee was expected to raise sufficient funds at least for its needs and to deposit them with the Provincial Congress Committee. The practice remained in force for some years and then fell into abeyance. Now all district organizations draw upon the Provincial Committee for funds. This is a dangerous situation. What guarantee is there that the exchequer of the Provincial Congress Committee will always remain brimful? Nor is it right for the Provincial Congress Committee to entertain such an ambition. It is therefore high time that the good old rule were revived. We may rest assured that funds will automatically come when there is good work done and there is need for them. Only we shall have to cultivate sufficient self-confidence and faith in our mission. It would be worth while to draw attention here to the rule laid down by the Congress in this connection. The All-India National Congress does not supply funds to the provinces; it is the latter that are required to contribute ten per cent of their income to the central organization. Why should not this rule apply to the provincial organizations as well? And why should not the districts be made to contribute ten per cent or a fair proportion of their income to provincial organizations? It is simply ridiculous for the provinces to be required to finance district organizations. In fact it is almost like a person trying to walk on his head instead of naturally on his feet. Such topsyturvydom cannot last for long.

“But what about times of emergency?” some doubting reader will perhaps, here, ask. “Do these rules of economy prescribed by you apply even when the country is in a state of war?” My reply is : “Certainly they do, even more when war is going on than when all is safe and well.” God forbid, but should fighting have to be resumed, we shall need to have the capacity to carry on with the minimum of

funds or even without funds. It is a fundamental principle of satyagraha that the tyrant whom the satyagrahi seeks to resist has power over his body and material possessions but he can have no power over the soul. The soul can remain unconquered and unconquerable even when the body is imprisoned. The whole science of satyagraha was born from a knowledge of this fundamental truth. In the purest form of satyagraha there should be no need for conveyances, carriage fare or even of doing *Hijrat*¹. And in case *Hijrat* has to be performed it will be done by journeying on foot. The *Hijratis* would have to be satisfied with whatever hard fare falls to their lot and keep smiling when even that fails. When we have developed this ‘be careful for nothing’ attitude, we shall be saved from many a botheration and trouble and freedom will dance attendance upon us. Nor should one suppose that a ‘careful for nothing’ person shall have always to be starving. God that provides the little ant its speck of food and to the elephant his daily one maund bolus will not neglect to provide man with his daily meal. Nature’s creatures do not worry or fret about tomorrow but simply wait on tomorrow for the daily sustenance. Only man in his overweening pride and egotism imagines himself to be the lord and master of the earth and goes on piling up for himself goods that perish. Nature tries every day by its rude shocks to wean him from his pride but he refuses to shed it. Satyagraha is a specific for bringing home to one the lesson of humility. We have travelled so much distance during the last year, we have gone through so much suffering and had so many rich experiences that we ought to have sufficient faith in us to be able to feel that if we throw ourselves upon God’s mercy untroubled by doubt or fear, it would be well with us.

Young India, 21-5-1931

145. LETTER TO BHUPENDRA NARAYAN SEN

AS AT SABARMATI,

May 17, 1931

MY DEAR BHUPEN,

I have your letter. You will see the use I have made of your reference to Habu’s mother². Why have you not got her name? You should have known her age also and had a snapshot. Just now my

¹ Emigration enjoined on Muslims when faced with religious persecution

² Vide “A Woman’s Sacrifice”, 21-5-1931

movement has again become uncertain. I do not know when I shall go to Bardoli. But as soon as I am fixed up somewhere for some time, both of you may certainly come and stay with me.

Yours sincerely,

SYT. BHUPENDRA NARAYAN SEN
KHADI MANDAL
CALCUTTA

From a microfilm : S. N. 17087

146. LETTER TO A. SUBBIAH

AS AT SABARMATI,

May 17, 1931

MY DEAR SUBBIAH,

I got your letter just as I was moving from Borsad. Since then there has been no time before now. I understand your difficulties. I am therefore sending your letter to Rajaji and asking him to relieve you as soon as he can. This is unfortunate but it is inevitable. I agree with you that you must be with Seshan and you owe a duty to Lalita also. Your indifferent health is an additional reason for relieving you. I shall be in Borsad about the end of this month. We are leaving Simla this afternoon to go to Nainital which we reach tomorrow, Monday. If your health permits, you will not leave Rajaji till he is otherwise suited and you should leave him with the intention of returning to him whenever you are free and he needs you.

SYT. A. SUBBIAH
GANDHI ASHRAM
TIRUCHENGODU (S. INDIA)

From a microfilm : S. N. 17089

147. LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

AS AT SABARMATI,

May 17, 1931

Here is a letter from Subbiah. I think you should relieve him at the earliest opportunity. The question is what you will do.

Somebody had sent Mr. Emerson your printed circular of instructions. He was most enthusiastic about it and asked me specially to congratulate you on his behalf. I had a very busy time here, also

profitable but exasperating. Local Governments have responded only up to a point. Evidently they have not liked the Settlement. To get them to implement the Settlement is therefore like drawing the lion's teeth. All the grace is therefore lost.

With Lord Willingdon we exchanged courtesies, renewed the old acquaintance and the work being finished I am now off to Nainital to meet Sir Malcolm Hailey over the U. P. troubles. More from Mahadev if he has been writing to you. Do write if you have the time, but not otherwise.

Encl. 1

SYT. C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR
GANDHI ASHRAM
TIRUCHENGODU (S. INDIA)

From a microfilm : S.N. 17090

148. INTERVIEW TO THE PRESS

May 17, 1931

Mahatma Gandhi stated that he was on the whole satisfied with his visit and he was able to understand that so far as the Central Government was concerned they were trying to give effect to the terms of the Delhi Pact. He reiterated his attitude that he would go to the London Conference if the communal question was solved and if there was a satisfactory working of the Pact throughout India.

As for the communal problem itself he recognized there was a good deal of mistrust but after Bhopal discussion; he was more optimistic.

QUESTION. Supposing you or the Congress do not attend the Round Table Conference and the Conference produces a constitution which is approved by Parliament. What would be the attitude of the Congress?

ANSWER. I may speak on behalf of the Congress that it will examine the scheme and if good, will certainly work it.

Q. Do you believe in self-determination?

A. Yes.

Q. Would you allow any province to exercise self-determination and separate herself from India?

A. I shall fight through reason but shall not impose my will by force of arms.

Pressed regarding his views on the communal problem, he reiterated his position that if the Sikhs and Mohammedans presented agreed demands, he would accept them unhesitatingly¹.

¹ What follows is from *The Statesman*.

When asked whether he did not think it a pity that nation-wide progress should wait for local settlements, he said:

Well, if we can look after the pennies, we can look after the pounds too. Why do I insist on this? These local settlements are like the straws which show the way the wind is blowing, and that wind may turn the weather-vane even of the Round Table Conference—even perhaps veer it right round.

Q. *The Bombay Chronicle* says: “Need we repeat that the most effective method speeding up the work of the Round Table Conference and making it completely successful, is to intensify the boycott of foreign cloth?” That obviously means that *The Bombay Chronicle* regards the boycott as a political weapon and as a discriminatory weapon, because a boycott of Japanese cloth could hardly speed up the work of the Round Table Conference. Don’t you think that that sort of talk is inconsistent with both the spirit and the letter of the Delhi Agreement?

A. I have not seen the article from which you have quoted. But I can say broadly that it would be inconsistent both with the spirit and the letter of the Pact to think of the foreign-cloth boycott as a political weapon. Foreign cloth includes Japanese cloth just as much as British cloth, if not much more at present, for the simple reason that it ousts khadi and Indian mill cloth far more effectively than British cloth. The economic and social reasons for the boycott are all-sufficing.

Q. How far are you prepared to go to conciliate the British Conservatives’ anxiety about safeguards?

A. To the utmost extent, consistent with the interests and honour of India.

In answer to the question whether he thought the local difficulties in respect of the Agreement would be removed, say by July, Gandhiji replied:

That I can’t say. But of course, I hope so, and I have hopes that they will.

Q. And the Hindu-Muslim question? What do you think of the steps taken at the Bhopal meetings of Muslims?

A. They are encouraging, and both the Muslim parties are evidently doing their best to arrive at unity among themselves. But, of course, when I speak of the Hindu-Muslim question I mean the entire communal question. When the Hindu-Muslim side of the matter is brought up, the Sikhs, for instance, will have their say. There will be difficulties. I hope that they will not prove insurmountable.

Q. So you will really go to Round Table Conference, whether early or late, when those two problems are out of the way?

A. Yes, certainly. And I shall be very pleased to go, because I hope that when I get to England I shall find the British people not uninterested in what I have to say and open to conviction by what I tell them. Or, at the worst, I hope I shall persuade them that I am only a harmless lunatic.

Q. And Lord Rothermere?

A. Oh yes. . . . even Lord Rothermere.

The Hindustan Times, 20-5-1931, and *The Statesman*, 19-5-1931

149. MESSAGE TO KARNATAK PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE ¹

[May 18, 1931] ²

The resolution on fundamental rights is the most important resolution of the Congress. It shows what kind of swaraj the Congress wants to achieve. That swaraj is the poor man's swaraj or *Ramarajya*. Rama symbolized justice and equity, Rama symbolized truth and charity.

The resolution insists on religious toleration, which means, that no one will be prevented from discharging his religious obligations, and the State shall favour no religion.

Justice and equity mean the establishment of just and equitable relation between capital and labour, between the landlord and the tenant. The landlord and the capitalist will cease to exploit the tenant and the labourer but will studiously protect his interests.

Not that these things will be there as a matter of course as soon as we get the powers. I only mean that they will follow as the natural consequence of truth and non-violence if swaraj is achieved by those means. The question is whether we are following truth and non-violence. *Ramarajya* cannot be the result of truth and non-violence followed as a mere temporary expedient or policy. *Ramarajya* can only come out of truth and non-violence pursued as a creed. Could a son ever fulfil his filial duties as a policy? Policy is essentially a temporary expedient which one might alter as circumstances altered.

¹ *Vide* also "Letter to Jamnalal Bajaj", 8-5-1931

² According to Mahadev Desai, Gandhiji wrote this message "last Monday". May 18 was a Monday.

It is easy enough to follow truth and non-violence so long as no sacrifice or suffering is involved, but he who adheres to them in all circumstances even at the cost of life follows them as a creed. It is time truth and non-violence were a creed and not policy with us Congressmen.

Let us therefore find out what parts of the resolution we can enforce even now. If we do not enforce the things that can be enforced today, swaraj will be meaningless, for we will not suddenly do after swaraj things which we can do but will not do today.

The resolution states that there shall be no untouchability under the swaraj constitution. Have we cast out the canker of untouchability? The resolution says under the swaraj constitution there shall be no facilities for the licensing of liquor and drug shops. Have we cast out the drug and drink evil from our midst? The resolution goes on to say that under swaraj all foreign cloth would be banned from India. But have we given up our infatuation for foreign cloth and become khaddar clad? Similarly under swaraj, according to this resolution, Hindus and Mussalmans and Christians will live together like true blood brothers. Have we cleansed our hearts of distrust and suspicion of one another? Under swaraj, which the resolution pictures, there shall be no hatred or ill-will between the rich and the poor. Have the rich identified themselves with the poor, and have the poor ceased to have ill-will toward the rich? Under the swaraj constitution we want the maximum monthly emoluments of officials not to exceed Rs. 500. But do those who are getting more today devote the balance to philanthropic purposes? Have our millionaires adjusted their standard of living to this scale of payment?

It is difficult to give a decisive reply to these questions today. We are today slowly groping our way towards our ideal of *Ramarajya* or the Kingdom of Righteousness. This resolution is intended to keep this goal constantly before our eyes and to stimulate our endeavours to attain it.

Young India, 28-5-1931

150. LETTER TO PRABHASHANKAR PATTANI

May 18, 1931

SUJNA BHAISHRI,

I got your letter. Your complaint is entirely justified. I have written to Bhai Fulchand. Need I give you a time to see me? If fact you do not come at all. You have a right to come and see me wherever I may be and whenever you may wish to. I am going today from here to Nainital, and from there I shall go to Borsad, where I shall reach by the 27th instant. You may come here. The air and water of the place are good and the accommodation also may be said to be fairly good.

Vandematram from

MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5916. Also C.W. 3231. Courtesy : Mahesh Pattani

151. LETTER TO SHARDA C. SHAH

May 18, 1931

CHI. SHARDA,

I have your letter. Do not spoil your handwriting. Read the translation of a poem on handwriting by Ramdas Swami which I had sent. Send me a copy of it. I shall publish it in *Navajivan* some time.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati : C. W. 9901. Courtesy : Shardabehn G. Chokhawala

152. TELEGRAM TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL¹

NAINITAL,
May 18, 1931

TO

SARDAR VALLABHBHAI
BARDOLI

SUGGEST YOUR SEEING COLLECTOR ALSO COMMISSIONER. AM WIRING
SIMLA. HOPE REACHING BORSAD ABOUT TWENTYFIFTH

BAPU

A.I.C.C. File No. 273, 1931. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

153. LETTER TO JAMNADAS GANDHI

NAINITAL,
May 18, 1931

CHI. JAMNADAS,

We have just arrived here. Prabhudas and Dhiru have come with me. I got your telegram. If Prabhaskar agrees to take Ratilal under his care and Ratilal is willing, where is the need to consult me in the matter? We have of course to think how to meet his expenses. Discuss the matter with Nanalal and then write to me. I understand from Champa that at present she obtains the money she requires for her expenses from Nanalal. Did you write a detailed letter to the Doctor? The problem is becoming more and more complicated. Have a talk with both Ratilal and Prabhaskar and then write to me. I expect to reach Borsad about the 25th inst.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati : C.W. 9322. Courtesy : Jamnadas Gandhi

¹ In reply to the addressee's telegram which read : "Harassment peasants Valod Mahal continues. Pending cases not withdrawn still. Confiscated lands not returned in spite offer current year revenue. Yesterday police posted several places prevent peasants entering their fields. Wire programme."

154. LETTER TO V. A. SUNDARAM

NAINITAL,
May 18, 1931

MY DEAR SUNDARAM,

I had no time to give you a letter for the Austrian friends. Here is the letter now as also a *hundi*¹ for Rs. 1000 on Jamnalaji's firm in Bombay. If you do not go to Bombay you can cash it anywhere. You need not pay any discount. If it is demanded you should return the *hundi* to me and tell me where you would have the money.

When will you be going? The money is earmarked for the European visit and no other purpose.

BAPU

From a photostat : G.N. 3203

155. LETTER TO DUDABHAI

NAINITAL,
May 18, 1931

BHAI DUDABHAI,

I have decided to give Lakshmi in marriage to a non-Antyaja. It seems necessary to me to do that. Let me know what you think in the matter. It will do if you send your reply to the Ashram.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 3243

156. LETTER TO MAHAVIR GIRI

May 18, 1931

CHI. MAHAVIR,

I got your letter. I am glad that you have changed your mind. You should remain where you are and learn to study. Take the help of Shivabhai and others whenever it is available. Write to me from time to time. Tell me how you have planned your study. One should learn to study by one's own effort. If a person has sufficient zeal to increase his knowledge he finds out for himself what and how to study.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 6229

¹ A bill of exchange or draft

157. LETTER TO PREMABEHN KANTAK

NAINITAL,
May 18, 1931

CHI. PREMA,

I liked your letter very much indeed. I see that during the journey you had observed things intelligently. I should like Kisan also to send me a description of her experiences. She may write either in English or Marathi.

Take great care of Lakshmi. My idea is to marry her to a non-*Antyaja*. She should be able to take her place in such a family. She should know cooking and also how to run a home. She should know how to keep accounts. It would be excellent if she knew a little Sanskrit. Even if she does not know Sanskrit she should be able to recite the prayer verses and verses from the *Gita* with correct pronunciation.

All girls should know this. We ought not to neglect their education. Write to me in detail. Let me know your experience regarding Lakshmi.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10254. Also C. W. 6702. Courtesy: Premabehn Kantak

158. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

May 18, 1931

CHI. VASUMATI,

Though there is no letter from you, I am writing this letter as today is my silence day. Have you started working among the people of Nagarwada and other places? I suppose you are now required to report yourself only once to the police station. I hope to reach Borsad about the 25th instant.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9323. Also C. W. 539. Courtesy: Vasumati Pandit

159. LETTER TO FULCHAND K. SHAH

NAINITAL,
May 18, 1931

BHAI FULCHAND,

Pattani Saheb writes to tell me that at the Bhavnagar session you had resolutions passed on the policy of the Jamnagar State, and also indulged in criticism of that State. This is against our policy. If you agree with this view, you should write in the matter to Pattanji. Bhavnagar gives us many facilities and I do not wish that they should be misused.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C. W. 2843. Courtesy: Shardabehn Shah

160. LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR

NAINITAL,
May 18, 1931

CHI. LILAVATI,

I have your letter. Khurshedbehn will certainly want to have you, but I think it is better that you remain at the Ashram for the present and get trained. Your mind will become steady only when you find some quiet atmosphere at the Ashram. Take care of your health. Profit from Premabehn's company. Abide by the instructions of Narandas. Be sure that it will be to your benefit.

Blessings from
BAPU

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

161. TELEGRAM TO JAIRAMDAS DOULATRAM¹

NAINITAL,
May 19, 1931

JAIRAMDAS DOULATRAM
HYDERABAD (SIND)

ABSOLUTELY PEACEFUL PICKETING ORIGINAL SHOPS MAY CONTINUE
BUT NOT FOR FINES.

GANDHI

From a photostat: S. N. 17103

162. LETTER TO N. R. MALKANI

AS AT SABARMATI,
May 19, 1931

MY DEAR MALKANI,

I have your letter. I know nothing about the proposal to appoint you Secretary of the Sind branch of the A. I. S. A. Shankerlal does not worry me over the working of the Association. When he needs any opinion from me he writes. I am glad you have overhauled the Hyderabad Khadi Bhandar. I do not understand the opening of a central bhandar at Karachi. Are there not two or three going even at present including the one on behalf of the Meerut Ashram by Kikibehn? If there are these bhandars going on, would it not be an interference with the existing bhandars? You will do what Shankerlal suggests. If the Karachi project falls through or even if it does not, I would certainly like your settling down in a village. I attach far greater importance to it than to city work. But you can settle down in a village only if Syt. Choithram and Jairamdas agree. I have always felt that house to house propaganda is far more effective than picketing if the former is done systematically and persistently. I wish I could read and understand your translation.

BAPU

SYT. NARAINDAS R. MALKANI
C/O THE SIND PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE
HYDERABAD (SIND)

From a photostat: G. N. 898

¹ In reply to the addressee's telegram in which he had described how in Mirpurkhas seals had been broken and fresh foreign cloth had been surreptitiously introduced and had asked for telegraphic instructions whether "under above circumstances original shops may be picketed also if picketing permissible for recovery fines". *Vide* also "Letter to Jairamdas Doulatram", 7-5-1931

163. LETTER TO QUMER AHMED¹

AS AT SABARMATI,
May 19, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter. I would welcome anything that will remove the present deadlock. But what I notice is that the heart is lacking.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G. N. 5119

164. LETTER TO DENNIS C. TROTH²

NAINITAL,
May 19, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter for which I thank you. I am very sorry to inform you that I have no time to write the article you want.

Yours Sincerely,

From a microfilm: S. N. 17003

165. LETTER TO SAILENDRA NATH GHOSE

NAINITAL,
May 19 [1931]³

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter. I appreciate your anxiety for me to visit America but I cannot summon enough courage for the visit as yet and you will have observed that many friends dissuade me from such a visit. You must have seen even my going to London is an uncertainty.

Yours Sincerely,

From a photostat : S. N. 17013

¹ The name of the addressee is supplied from the G. N. register.

² Professor of Education and Psychology, State College, Pennsylvania, U. S. A.

³ The year is inferred from the contents of the addressee's letter in which he had written: "What America may mean to the coming negotiations between you and the British Premier will be understood by you only when you will come to this country. The importance of America can be judged from the fact that all the biggest guns of the British—Churchill, Baldwin and a host of lesser figures will be coming to this country next fall to speak on India. . . . For the success of your negotiations—for the interests of India—it is absolutely desirable that you make up your mind to come to this country after the London Conference. . . ."

166. LETTER TO DURGA PRASANNA CHATTERJEE

NAINITAL,
May 19, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter¹. I have no power to help you in the matter referred to by you. But let me point out to you that to gain representation is surely not the way to deal with the undoubtedly critical economic situation in Bengal.

Yours Sincerely,

From a microfilm: S. N. 17071

167. LETTER TO GULSHAN RAI

NAINITAL,
May 19, [1931]²

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter³ and the cuttings which I shall read with attention.

Yours Sincerely,

From a photostat: S. N. 17076

¹ The addressee had written to Gandhiji for "directions as to the best course the poor Bengali merechants should adopt in their utter helplessness so far as their position is concerned in relation to the ensuring Indian Constitutional Reform measures, Franchise Committee and the Second Round Table Conference. . . ." He felt that "the absence of a competent representative from Bengal. . . has put the Bengali mercantile community in a sad plight. . . ."

² The year is inferred from the addressee's letter which is dated 15-5-1931.

³ The addressee had enclosed for Gandhiji's perusal his articles published in *The Tribune* on the separation of Burma, Dismemberment of the Punjab, and the Minority or Communal Problem. He had written. "It is my conviction that the communal problem in the Punjab and Bengal will never be solved unless effective majority is assured to the Muslims in these two provinces. It would be better under the circumstances to constitute Chittagong, Dacca, and Rajshahi Divisions of Bengal in to a separate province. In that ase Muslims will be about 70% in East Bengal, and Hindus will predominate in West Bengal. Similarly if Ambala Division is separated from the Punjab, the Muslims population in the rest of the Punjab would be raised from 56% to 65%. If the Muslims got effective majority in the newly constituted provinces of Punjab and East Bengal, I am sure they will have no difficulty in accepting joint electorates."

168. LETTER TO DR. GOPICHAND BHARGAVA

NAINITAL,
May 19, 1931

DEAR DR. GOPICHAND,

I have your letter¹ of 16th instant. I had to discuss a similar question with Mr. Emerson. I found that under ordinance 9, there was no question of compensation. I am afraid therefore that there is no prospect of getting any compensation.

Yours Sincerely,

From a microfilm: S. N. 17078

169. LETTER TO BODHRAJ

AS AT SABARMATI,
May 19, 1931

DEAR LALA BODHRAJ²,

I have your letter³ about Lala Lok Nath. Could you send me a copy of the full record of his case. I shall then see what can be done.

Yours Sincerely,

From a microfilm: S. N. 17079

¹ The addressee had passed on to Gandhiji the information received from the manager of Peshawar Khadi Bhandar that in 1930 the Government had confiscated all the goods, cash registers and cash box containing Rs. 198 and personal effects of the manager and that even after the Settlement only one-fourth of the goods and the broken cash box had been returned. He had requested Gandhiji to take up this matter with Emerson.

² President, Congress Committee, Multan city

³ The addressee had informed Gandhiji about the continued incarceration of Lok Nath of Multan who had refused to give a bond of good behaviour while Sham Dass convicted in an identical case had been released after the Settlement.

170. LETTER TO M. I. DAVID

AS AT SABARMATI,

May 19, 1931

DEAR MR. DAVID,

I have your letter of the 14th. I see that you are pushing forward your programme of goodwill. You know that you have my sympathy in your laudable endeavour and just now I feel that I can best serve the common purpose by saying nothing in *Young India* that might in any way hamper you. The letter to Lord Irwin of young Europeans, I am ashamed to have to confess, I had not seen. I am therefore thankful for the copy you have considerably sent me. It is undoubtedly a good letter. Lord Irwin's reply is worthy of him.

The proposed manifesto is still, I suppose, a private document. The reference to fair trade and living conditions requires a closer examination. I suppose you are aware that Indians in great Britain do not enjoy the rights 'the manifesto assumes they do enjoy. There can be no comparison between the Indian demands in South Africa and the European demand in India. The Indian in South Africa suffers from social, commercial and legal disabilities and is treated as an inferior being. The Indian demand therefore is to rise to a status of equality. The European in India enjoys in every walk of life a position of privilege and his demand for equality is tantamount to the retention of the privileged position. When, therefore, India comes [in] to her own, Europeans are bound to feel the pinch if they are not satisfied, that to be just, the position of privilege must be surrendered. Apart from this the European in Free India has not only nothing to fear but his resourcefulness and his ability will always make him a desirable citizen.

Yours Sincerely,

M. I. DAVID, ESQ.

FORT, BOMBAY

From a photostat: S. N. 17095

171. LETTER TO SUKHENDUBIKAS CHAUDHURI

AS AT SABARMATI,

May 19, 1931

Can I make public use of your letter? Can you prove the facts related?

SYT. SUKHENDUBIKAS CHAUDHURI

PATIYA, DT. CHITTAGONG

From a microfilm: S. N. 17096

172. LETTER TO C. VIJAYARAGHAVACHARIAR

AS AT SABARMATI,

May 19, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

Though your postscript tells me that you expect no acknowledgment to your latest letter, as I have a few moments I want to say that you ought not to be distressed by what you think is want of regard for you on the part of either myself or the other members of the Working Committee. What really is the case is that they do not see eye to eye with you on the things that are today agitating the country. And how shall you blame those who cannot see eye to eye with you even though they may wish to do so?

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

SYT. C. VIJAYARAGHAVACHARIAR

FAIRYFALLS VIEW

KODAIKANAL OBSERVATORY P.O.

From a photostat : S. N. 17098

173. LETTER TO KIRBY PAGE

AS AT SABARMATI,

May 19, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter. I deeply appreciated the cable sent by you and other friends. Without the cable too I had no intention of going to America just yet¹. But of course your cable and the letters since received have shown that my disinclination was well-grounded.

Yours sincerely,

KIRBY PAGE, ESQ.

NEW YORK (U.S.A.)

From a photostat : S. N. 17099

174. LETTER TO BOYD TUCKER

AS AT SABARMATI,

May 19, 1931

MY DEAR BOYD,

I have your letter. I understand more fully the reason for your wanting to accompany me to London should I go there. At the present moment however there is neither any prospect of going to London nor to America, to America much less. I shall certainly publish your letter² regarding missionary enterprise.

BOYD TUCKER, ESQ.

C/O POSTMASTER

SRINAGAR (KASHMIR)

From a photostat : S. N. 17100

175. LETTER TO K. T. MATHEW

AS AT SABARMATI,

May 19, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter. I do remember having received the letters and documents mentioned by you. I made no original sugges-

¹ *Vide* also "Notes", sub-title A Cry in the Wilderness", 14-5-1931

² *Vide* "Christian Missions", 28-5-1931

tion. Members of the rival organizations saw me and I certainly approved of the idea of amalgamation of the two. Whether it was to be under the auspices of the Congress or not was a matter for the Amalgamation Committee to decide. There seems to me to be nothing in your letter to warrant a different opinion.

Yours sincerely,

K. T. MATHEW, ESQ.
GENERAL SECRETARY
ALL INDIA STATES SUBJECTS' CONFERENCE
KUNNAMKULAM (COCHIN STATE)

From a microfilm : S. N. 17101

176 . LETTER TO NIRANJAN PATNAIK

AS AT SABARMATI,
May 19, 1931

MY DEAR NIRANJAN,

I have your letter. I hope you will soon be free from your pecuniary troubles.

There is just now not even a prospect of my going to London, still less the idea of building up a secretariat. Nor have I pictured to myself the number of secretaries to be taken with me. I do not recall the remark imputed to me by you and if I did, it must have been more by way of a joke than anything else. What could an Utkal Secretary do in London? The real redistribution will take place here and not in London.

Yours sincerely,

SYT. NIRANJAN PATNAIK
C/O UDYOGA MANDIR
BERHAMPUR, B.N.RLY.

From a microfilm : S. N. 17102

177. LETTER TO H. W. EMERSON

NAINITAL,
May 19, 1931

DEAR MR. EMERSON,

I have received the enclosed account of a lathi charge in Ludhiana¹ from a member of the Ludhiana Congress Committee. Of course it has been given to me for publication. Although it has no direct connection with the Settlement I feel that its spirit should prevent such occurrences. If you agree with me, you will please enquire. I shall await your reply before publishing the details. An eye-witness came all the way from Ludhiana to Kalka to describe the whole scene.

Yours sincerely,

Encl. 1

H. W. EMERSON, ESQ.
SIMLA

A.I.C.C. File No. 16-B, 1931. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library.

178. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

NAINITAL,
May 18/19, 1931

CHI. NARANDAS,

We have just arrived at Nainital. But, today being my silence day, I have some peace. I am, therefore, trying to attend to part of the correspondence which has accumulated. I read Purushottam's letter. I should know who the lawyers are. Are you sure that connections with them have not been broken off in haste? I cannot judge from here. I suppose whatever is necessary has been done about Purushottam's demands.

Keep me informed about the success or failure of the Punjabi vaid.

I think we shall return to Borsad some time about the 25th. I shall know more definitely on Wednesday.

Prabhudas and Dhuru have arrived. Rambhau is yet to arrive.

Blessings from

BAPU

¹ On May 16, 1931; *vide*, "Is It Crumbling?", 9-7-1931.

[PS.]¹

Rambhau arrived yesterday evening.

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro—9 : Shri Narandas Gandhine, Pt. I, pp. 252-3. Also C.W. 8161. Courtesy : Narandas Gandhi

179. LETTER TO MADHAVJI V. THAKKAR

May 20, 1931

CHI. MADHAVJI,

I got your letter, and also Surendra's. The news is painful, but cases like this are bound to occur at a time of awakening such as the present. We cannot inform the authorities, as that might lead to the punishing of innocent people. Informing the authorities would have been a breach of trust, and I cannot, at the moment at any rate, think of any case or example in which breach of trust becomes a duty. It is one thing when a man puts confidence in us and confesses a crime, another when we come to have indirect information regarding anybody's crime. In certain circumstances it may be our duty to make use of the information indirectly received, but no such duty arises in this case at all. Hence your job at present is to bring about a reformation, by whatever means, among those now engaged in terrorism.

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

I will leave for Gujarat in two or three days, or it may be even tomorrow.

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G. N. 6815

180. SPEECH AT NAINITAL

May 20, 1931

Replying to the address Mahatmaji referred to his interview with the Governor² and said that at such a time as this a man in his position could not say as much as the public might be expecting from him. He further said that non-violence was their duty so long as the Congress did not decide otherwise. He further asked the citizens what they had done towards the propagation of khaddar which they had

¹ This was added on May 19.

² *Vide* "Sir Malcolm Hailey's Note on discussions with Gandhiji", 20-5-1931

promised to do two years before. He urged upon them the importance of khaddar towards helping the attainment of swaraj, without which, he said, India could not be free. He impressed upon them that by merely going to the Round Table Conference he could not achieve all that the Congress was fighting for unless the people stuck to their duties which is the precedent condition for the attainment of swaraj.

The Hindustan Times, 22-5-1931

181. CONGRESS VOTERS

A correspondent asks :

At the time of elections to Congress Committees

1. Can a Congress candidate register original Congress members and himself pay the four-anna fee ?
2. In order to obtain votes can a candidate send conveyances at his own expense to the voters ?
3. In order to influence voters can a candidate give feasts to voters?
4. Can a voter take part in voting although he is not a habitual wearer of khadi?

These are very relevant questions. My answer to the first three questions is that although the practice would be very reprehensible, I very much fear that there is nothing in the constitution and there are no bye-laws preventing it. My answer regarding the fourth is an emphatic 'no'. Thus therefore though a candidate can, if he wishes, pay the registration fee on behalf of the members and send them conveyances and give them feasts in order to induce them to vote for him I do hope that for their own sakes and for the sake of the Congress and the country candidates will refrain from resorting to any practice that might amount to bribery or an improper inducement. I have never been able to understand this craze for membership of Congress Committees, and Congress Committees formed in such a manner instead of being instruments of service can easily become those of mischief and disservice. So far as the habitual wearing of khadi is concerned there is no doubt that the rule is more often broken than observed. It is a remarkable phenomenon that habitual wearers of khadi, and they are thousands, do not care to appear on the Congress register and those who are on the Congress register do not, in many cases, take the trouble of wearing khadi. One reason for the laxity is that partisans are brought in at the eleventh hour nominally to become members and to disappear from view as soon as the elections are over. New lists are made at new elections or even bye-elections. In

spite of this tragic fact, the Congress is daily growing in power. It is becoming more and more popular. It attracts more and more crowds. Its mandates find ready acceptance from the vast mass of people. This phenomenon can only be explained on the supposition that though the Congress has indifferent representatives, somehow or other it represents and voices the wants and aspirations of the people who remain unaffected by the improprieties of the representatives and support the Congress merely for what it stands for without looking into or caring for the quality of its representatives. If my analysis is correct, the moral is obvious. The Congress will cease to be the power it is if the reprehensible practices referred to by the correspondent do not cease. Congress workers will not always be indifferent.

Young India, 21-5-1931

182. NOTES

PICKETING

Congressmen should know that the Government of India have been receiving complaints from the provincial Governments that picketing is not always peaceful. I do not know how far these complaints are justified. But we cannot be too strict in the observance of our part of the Settlement irrespective of how the authorities implement their part of it. Let us realize that the stricter we are, the greater will be our prestige and strength. I therefore repeat what I have said before:¹

1. There should be no coercion direct or indirect.
2. There should be no show of intimidation, hence not more than say five pickets should work at one and the same place at a time.
3. There should be no more than courteous entreaty and distribution of literature.
4. There should be no fine levied by Congress Committees for breach of promises by foreign-cloth dealers.
5. There should be no hooting of purchasers of foreign cloth.
6. There should be no cordons formed to surround the would-be purchasers.
7. There should be no lying down to block the passage of customers or trolleys carrying foreign cloth.

If there are those who think that picketing under such restrictions will be of no avail, they may give it up and run the risk of

¹ *Vide* "My Notes", sub-title To Workers

foreign cloth being sold under their noses. It is better that foreign cloth is sold than that, in order to prevent its sale, we should break the letter or the spirit of the Settlement.

Boycott of foreign cloth will ultimately succeed only when the Congress message has penetrated the masses and the khadi spirit permeates them. The real work of propaganda and production lies in the villages.

We should remember too that boycott of foreign cloth is pursued for its great economic and social consequence. And it is just as necessary to boycott Japanese or Italian cloth or yarn as it is to boycott British cloth or yarn. Indeed it is more necessary to boycott Japanese cloth because it offers greater competition both to khadi and indigenous mill cloth. We have no ill-will against Japan. We pursue foreign-cloth boycott because it is an economic necessity for the nation.

What I have said about the method of picketing applies equally to liquor picketing. That too depends for its ultimate success in penetration into the home of the drinkers.

SETTLEMENT PRISONERS

I have been receiving complaints from many provinces saying that there are still unreleased prisoners covered by the Irwin-Gandhi Settlement. These are claimed by the Governments concerned as not covered by the Settlement. The only way relief can be obtained in such cases is to study the records of each case. I would therefore ask all Committees who have sent me lists to examine the cases themselves and where they are satisfied that the record shows violence (not merely technical, or incitement thereto), they should for the time being omit their names. Where the local examination shows that there is no violence or incitement proved, they should send the record to me and I shall go through such records myself and wherever necessary obtain the opinion of some philanthropic counsel and press for their release. Let it be remembered that according to the strict interpretation of the relevant clause of the Settlement we shall have to go simply by the record although those who know may be certain of the innocence of any particular prisoner. Of those against whom the record gives no proof of violence, we can demand release. Such was Sjt. Rajwade's case.

The other prisoners and their friends may derive satisfaction

from the assurance that in the event of a final Settlement their release is a certainty and in the event of a breakdown in spite of all efforts, they will find their old companions returning to them. For the result they will not have to wait long.

POORMAN'S SALT

I regret that as yet the public do not know how the salt law relief clause of the Irwin-Gandhi Settlement is being worked. I have suggested to the authorities that they should issue definite instructions so that the people concerned may know where they stand. My suggestion has been accepted by the authorities. The public therefore may expect publication of the instructions in the near future.¹

THAT AMERICAN VISIT²

Dr. Harry Ward writes

May I add a word to the cable which, with others, I sent you today. First let me emphasize the fact that the reason I previously gave against your coming to this country still holds now, and with increased force. Our papers have become increasingly sensational and you would be misrepresented by them, as well as exploited by the sensation-hunting section of our population. Thus your power to help us toward a better way of life would be seriously diminished, if not defeated. But the other reason against your coming is more important. I am sure that it would injure and not help the cause of India in your negotiation at London. There is under the surface a deep English resentment against the United States. This is due to her economic decline and our position of financial dominance. This feeling quickly seizes upon any utterances about British policy as a means for its expression. Thus a perfectly harmless appeal that some of us signed to MacDonald last year to meet with you face to face and seek an adjustment, was the occasion of much criticism of those who signed it, and of America in general, from British ministers of religion. Also there has been much complaint in British papers concerning our sympathy with the nationalist cause. Because British propaganda no longer dominated the situation here we have been told that we were only the victims of clever propaganda from nationalist sources. You can see at once, therefore, that any manifestation of sympathy with India which your presence here might evoke, would work strongly against you at London.

¹ *Vide* "Salt", 28-5-1931

² *Vide* also "Notes" sub-title Remoured American Visit", 14-5-1931

HOW HE SPENT HIS GOOD FRIDAY

Father Elwin writing to Mirabeen says :

I thought I might tell you how I spent my three hours on Good Friday. I did not go to Church but spent the time in my cell spinning. I am sending a little of the yarn—very poor I am afraid—but it is a token. While spinning I meditated on the crucifixion. It seemed to fit in very well—the cry of desolation of God’s poor stretched on the cross of exploitation, the age-long “I thirst” of those to whom the charkha with its message of love can bring relief, the wonderful patience of the poor—“Father, forgive them for they know not what they do.” The charkha then seemed to be the dual symbol of our union with the poor and our union with God. It would be very good if people would generally keep Good Friday in this way. It was a real experience of purification.

I have examined the yarn sent by Father Elwin. It is by no means poor in quality as he thinks. It is quite weavable. The count is somewhere near 20. Nevertheless, I agree that it is poor for the sprit of love and dedication that lay behind the sacrificial act. But no amount of love or dedication can make up for the want of regular and long practice. If therefore I have agreed with the self-abasing verdict of Father Elwin I have done so not by way of criticism but to tell those who might be induced to turn to the spinning-wheel that they will not be satisfied with merely drawing the thread, for the thread thus drawn will not be yarn, even as any angle drawn will not be a right angle. Just as all right angles must be 90 degrees so must all yarn be even and strong enough to be easily weavable. The count does not matter. A spinner who draws an even and strong thread will automatically draw at least a six count and if his wheel is good and his spindle straight and fine, he will draw without difficulty anything between 10 and 20 counts. I commend Father Elwin’s experience to all who love and would identify themselves with the semi-starved millions of India.

Young India, 21-5-1931

183. A NOTE

NANITAL,
May 21, 1931

It is my firm view that Rani Vidyavati should not involve herself with the editorship of any paper.

From the Hindi Original: Rani Vidyavati Papers. Courtesy: Gandhi National Museum and Library

184. IN 1828

Sjt. Satis Chandra Das Gupta of the Khadi Pratishtan is editing a Bengali newspaper called *Rastravani*. He recently unearthed a letter addressed to the Editor of *Samachar Darpan* which was published in Bengali in the twenties of the 19th century. As the letter was of great importance showing how the charkha was being slowly destroyed and how it was valued by women in those days, he has published it in his paper and sent me its translation. I am sure, it will be read with interest by all who are at all interested in the khadi movement. Here is the letter :¹

The representation of a spinner

To the Editor, *Samachar*

I am a spinner. After having suffered a great deal, I am writing this letter. Please publish this in your paper. . . .

When my age was five and a half *gandas* (22) I became a widow with three daughters. My husband left nothing at the time of his death. . . . I sold my jewellery for his *shraddha* ceremony. At last as we were on the verge of starvation God showed me a way by which we could save ourselves. I began to spin on *takli* and charkha. . . .

The weavers used to visit our houses and buy the charkha yarn at three *tolas* per rupee. Whatever amount I wanted as advance from the weavers, I could get for the asking. This saved us from cares about food and cloth.

In a few years' time I got together seven *ganda* rupees (Rs. 28). With this I married one daughter. And in the same way all three daughters. . . .

Now for 3 years, we two women, mother-in-law and me are in want of food. The weavers do not call at the house for buying yarn. Not only this, if the yarn is sent to market still it is not sold even at one-fourth the old prices. I do not know how it happened. I asked many about it. They say that *Bilati*² yarn is being largely imported. The weavers buy that yarn and weave. I had a sense of pride that *Bilati* yarn could not be equal to my yarn, but when I got *Bilati* yarn I saw that it was better than my yarn. I heard that its price is Rs. 3 or Rs. 4 per seer. I beat my brow and said, "Oh God, there are sisters more distressed even than me." I know that all men of *Bilat* are rich but now I see that there are women there who are poorer than me. I fully realized the poverty which induced those poor women to spin. They have sent the product of so much toil out here because they could not sell it there. It would have been

¹ Only extracts are reproduced here. Concerning a doubt raised as to the authenticity of the letter, *vide* "Letter to Satis Chandra Das Gupta", 2-6-1931

² Foreign

something if they were sold here at good prices. But it has brought our ruin only. Man cannot use the cloth out of this yarn even for two months; it rots away. I therefore entreat the spinners over there, that, if they will consider this representation, they will be able to judge whether it is fair to send yarn here or not.

SHANTIPUR

A representation from a
suffering spinner
Samachar Darpan

The reader will not fail to observe the nobility of the writer who in her blissful ignorance felt that yarn was spun by the hands of her *Bilati* sisters poorer than herself and therefore felt for them. Alas, her belief was baseless. She could have stood her own if the foreign yarn had been hand-spun. She could have stood her own even against the foreign yarn, if behind it there had been no policy of determination to capture the Indian trade and kill the national village industry.

Young India, 21-5-1931

185. A WOMAN'S SACRIFICE

During the great awakening that took place last year amongst women there were heroines whose mute work the nation will never know. Now and then however one gets information of such village work. Here is one such sample sent by a friend:¹

When our Congress camp was declared illegal and locked up by the police we shifted to the hut of a poor Mahishya woman—Habu's mother of Baradongal. We have read of Gorki's mother. We saw her incarnate in Habu's mother. Night and day she used to cook for us workers. She nursed the sick amongst us. She consoled those that were troubled in heart and thus became real mother to us who would otherwise have felt motherless. We had graduates and M.A.s amongst us proud of their educational gifts but all of us were compelled to call Habu's mother our own. Her sacrifice and great devotion to duty commanded that homage from us.

Young India, 21-5-1931

¹ *Vide* "Letter to Bhupendra Narayan Sen", 17-5-1931.

186. TELEGRAM TO CHAMPABEHN

NAINITAL,
May 21, 1931

CHAMPABEHN
CARE RASHTRİYASHALA
RAJKOT

VERY SORRY ABOUT RATILAL. AM ARRANGING ABOUT SPECIALIST GOING
RAJKOT SEE RATILAL.

BAPU

From a microfilm : S. N. 17108

187. TELEGRAM TO DR. MEHTA

NAINITAL,
May 21, 1931

DOCTOR MEHTA
CARE SIR MANUBHAI
SIMLA

RATILAL SON DOCTOR MEHTA OF RANGOON COMPLETELY DEMENTED
BOISTEROUS UNRULY. HAS TO BE KEPT IN CHAINS. HE IS IN RAJKOT. IF
YOU KNOW ANY SPECIALIST AND THINK WORTHWHILE PLEASE ASK
HIM PROCEED RAJKOT EXAMINE RATILAL. HIS FEES WILL BE PAID.
WIRE REPLY NAINITAL.

GANDHI

From a microfilm : S. N. 17115

*188. TELEGRAM TO SECRETARY, CONGRESS COMMITTEE
CHITTAGONG*

NAINITAL,
May 21, 1931

SECRETARY
CONGRESS COMMITTEE

IMPOSSIBLE GIVE OPINION WITHOUT KNOWING FULL FACTS.

GANDHI

From a microfilm : S. N. 17116

189. LETTER TO DR. SYED MAHMUD

CAMP NAINITAL,
AS AT SABARMATI,
May 21, 1931

DEAR DR. MAHMUD,

I know you are doing most valuable work. I am not going to discuss with you how mass work can be most effectively done if only because I hardly scrape together a few minutes to attend to correspondence. I shall therefore reserve it for discussion when we meet.

As you see, I am writing this from Nainital where I saw the Governor yesterday. No final conclusion was reached about the revenue matters.

I leave for Gujarat in two or three days if not earlier. The earliest we shall meet, I suppose, will be when the Working Committee meeting takes place early next month. But of course you can anticipate that date and meet me whenever you like. You need no appointment. Do you?

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

DR. SYED MAHMUD
BAR-AT-LAW
CHANRA (DT. SARAN)

From a photostat : G. N. 5109

190. LETTER TO MOHAMMED ISMAIL KHAN

AS AT SABARMATI,
May 21, 1931

DEAR NAWAB SAHEB,

I thank you for your letter of 19th instant. I have not seen the report you refer to in your letter. But I may state my position thus:

So far as I am concerned I should endorse without hesitation any solution that Mussalman friends as a whole may present but that by itself would not solve our difficulties. Our difficulties could only be solved by either Hindus and Mussalmans settling with the Sikhs or Hindus settling both with Mussalmans and Sikhs. But so far as I am personally concerned I should endorse any solution presented by

Sikh friends as a whole as I would the Mussalman claim. But if there is a conflict between the Sikh and the Mussalman claim, then my endorsement of the claim of each would be of little value. I have therefore assumed that whatever Mussalman friends or Sikh friends present as a final claim would take note of the other party. If you find any flaw in this, you will not hesitate to let me know. All I want is an honourable settlement wholly satisfactory to the Mussalmans, to the Sikhs as also to all other communities who may wish a communal solution.

As to your other question supposing that I survive the future constitution and am allowed to have any hand in its working I would have no solution on any but strictly national lines and I would so work the constitution that I should disarm all suspicion.

So far as the Europeans are concerned, the question is not what privileges they should get by reason of their being in a minority but what privileges they will surrender so as to be on a par with us. Am I clear?

I would ask you to believe me to be the same man whom you were good enough to have as your guest in Meerut in those days when for the moment we had begun to think that we were but children of the same mother having the same aspirations and having full trust in one another.

Yours sincerely,

NAWAB MOHAMMED ISMAIL KHAN SAHEB
MUSTAPHA CASTLE, MEERUT

From a photostat : S. N. 17107

191. LETTER TO MAHARAJ KUMAR OF VIZIANAGRAM

AS AT SABARMATI,
May 21, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter. As I expect to deal with the subject discussed by you in the pages of *Young India* I need not send you a detailed reply.

Yours sincerely,

MAHARAJ KUMAR SAHIB OF VIZIANAGRAM
VIZIANAGRAM PALACE, BENARES

From a microfilm : S. N. 17108-a

*192. LETTER TO SECRETARY, CONGRESS COMMITTEE,
CHITTAGONG*

AS AT SABARMATI,
May 21, 1931

THE SECRETARY
CONGRESS COMMITTEE
CHITTAGONG

DEAR SIR,

In reply to your telegram I have sent you the following:

Impossible give opinion without knowing full facts.

Subject to any change that might have to be made after knowing further facts I can say that punitive tax imposed for anything done since Settlement would be no violation thereof. Nor refusal to pay such tax will necessarily be violation of Settlement. But those who will embark upon no-tax campaign will do so after fullest consideration and on their own sole responsibility.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm : S. N. 17109

193. LETTER TO S. G. VAZE

AS AT SABARMATI,
May 21, 1931

MY DEAR VAZE,

You never failed to send me the usual anniversary notice and I have ever failed to attend the function. The fact however that I have never been able to attend the function, I am sure, will not be interpreted by any of the members to mean that I have ceased to be one of you. Though our views may be as poles asunder, though we may not seem to be working together on the same platform, I have always felt that we are at heart one, being disciples of the same guru.

Yours sincerely,

SYT. S. G. VAZE
SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY
POONA

From a photostat : S. N. 17111

194. LETTER TO KRISHNA DAS

AS AT SABARMATI,

May 21, 1931

MY DEAR KRISHNA DAS,

Your old familiar handwriting shows that you have made remarkable progress. You will not be in a hurry to regain original strength. You must have no temperature at all. At the end of this dreadful sickness you should be stronger than you were before. Continue to write to me regularly. We all leave here for Borsad at the latest on Sunday.

SYT. KRISHNA DAS

SHAKTI ASHRAM

P.O. RAJPUR

(DT. DEHRA DUN),

From a microfilm : S. N. 17112

195. LETTER TO JAIRAMDAS DOULATRAM

AS AT BORSAD,

May 21, 1931

MY DEAR JAIRAMDAS,

You will see the enclosed. Do the needful and tell me who the writer is. Can the allegations be true?

SYT. JAIRAMDAS DOULATRAM

SWARAJ ASHRAM

BARDOLI

From a microfilm : S. N. 17113

196. LETTER TO A. FENNER BROCKWAY

AS AT SABARMATI,

May 21, 1931

DEAR MR. BROCKWAY,

Evidently you have made up your mind that I am coming to London. But as yet I see no sign on the horizon warranting even the hope that I shall be with you soon. But if I am, of course I should love

to be with the members of your society and to engage in an informal heart to heart conversation.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

A. FENNER BROCKWAY, ESQ.
126 SHEPHERD'S BUSH ROAD
LONDON W. 6

From a photostat : S. N. 17114

197. SPEECH AT POLITICAL SUFFERERS' CONFERENCE

KUMAON,
[*May 21, 1931*]¹

You must have seen the resolution regarding the declaration of fundamental rights passed by the Congress. There are a few items in it such as the reduction of military expenditure to one half, which cannot be achieved before swaraj, but there are other items such as compulsory primary education, ban on foreign cloth, equality of rights and opportunities, for which we should not wait till the establishment of swaraj. We should establish these conditions just now and this will bring us nearer swaraj. We can open schools in every village, manufacture and encourage khaddar and make wars on untouchability.

(Here Mahatmaji referred to each item in the declaration of rights as published in an old issue of *Young India* seriatim.)

Referring to the maximum pay of the public servants, Mahatmaji said as follows :—

You should not think that this proposal is meant to remain on paper. This will be enforced when swaraj is obtained. This was added to the declaration of rights after full and careful consideration. I am old and even if I die, Jawaharlal is certain to enforce it. But it is unjust to suppose that old people die before young men, because it is not God's law. Let me assure you that this proposal will be enforced. In Japan, which is an independent country, the maximum pay of public servants is Rs. 500.

Ours is a country where the average income per individual is about Rs. 40 and this includes crores of millionaires. So anyone who

¹ From the *Hindu*, 21-5-1931

lives on more than Rs. 500 lives on loot. We regard this amount as insufficient because seeing the exploitation of the foreigners and the life they lead, we want to copy them.

It is said that lawyers and industrialists will earn more than Rs. 500 per month. I say they should not earn more than Rs. 500 per month. If they do so in a country like ours they will be living on loot. They should pay the surplus back to the country.

The Hindustan Times, 31-5-1931

198. TELEGRAM TO VICEROY

Important [On or before *May 22, 1931*]¹

I am grateful for your telegram of 21st received through His Excellency the Governor of the United Provinces then directly. I should be . . .² to visit London even upon this subject and explain to responsible statesmen that whilst insisting upon making India free, Congress wishes to live on friendliest terms with the English people. But for reasons given to Your Excellency I am unable to take part in the Round Table Conference. Though open to conviction, I still retain the opinion that I could not usefully serve on the Conference unless communal settlement is reached. Moreover, being directly responsible for the settlement between Government and Congress I could not leave India whilst anxious difficulties are experienced regarding its working. I still remain the sole representative on behalf of Congress.

GANDHI

From a photostat : C.W. 9367. Courtesy : India Office Library

199. TELEGRAM TO JAMNADAS GANDHI

TAKULA, NAINITAL,

May 22, 1931

JAMNADAS GANDHI

RAJKOT

DOCTOR KADAM OF THANA WILL REACH RAJKOT EXAMINE RATILAL DO NEEDFUL. ESTABLISH COMMUNICATION WITH HIM.

BAPU

From a microfilm : S. N. 17122

¹ The telegram was quoted by the addressee in his telegram of May 22, 1931 to the Secretary of State for India.

² Omission as in the source

200. TELEGRAM TO RAMBHOROSELAL

TAKULA, NAINITAL,
May 22, 1931

RAMBHOROSELAL
CARE ARATHDHAR
BURDWAN

SEND FULL PARTICULARS PANDIT GOVINDBALLABH PANT.

GANDHI

From a microfilm : S. N. 17123

201. TELEGRAM TO MOHANLAL SAKSENA

TAKULA, NAINITAL,
May 22, 1931

MOHANLAL SAKSENA
CARE CONGRESS
LUCKNOW

HUNGERSTRIKE SEEMS WHOLLY UNNECESSARY. RIGHT OR WRONG
EVERYBODY SHOULD SUBMIT DECISION SUPERIOR COMMITTEES.

GANDHI

From a microfilm : S. N. 17125

202. INTERVIEW TO THE PRESS

NAINITAL,
May 22, 1931

In the course of an interview to the Associated Press today, Mahatma Gandhi declared that he was unable to make any statement yet regarding his plans for going to London.¹ His views in respect of the Federal Structure Committee meeting in London on the 29th June were in the hands of the Government of India and there the matters stand.

The Hindustan Times, 24-5-1931

¹ The other delegates, including the princes, had agreed to sail on 13-6-1931.

203. CABLE TO V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI¹

TAKULA, NAINITAL,
May 23, 1931

SASTRI
CARE KALOPH²
LONDON

YOUR KIND JOINT CABLE. IN ABSENCE SOLUTION COMMUNAL QUESTION HERE HAVE NO CONFIDENCE ATTENDING ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE. MOREOVER SOME LOCAL GOVERNMENTS' ATTITUDE SETTLEMENT MAKES MY LEAVING INDIA DIFFICULT IF NOT IMPOSSIBLE BUT IF SATISFACTORY WORKING SETTLEMENT CAN BE ATTAINED AND IF I AM INVITED FOR DISCUSSION AND EXPLAINING CONGRESS POSITION WILL GLADLY SAIL ON SHORT NOTICE.

GANDHI

A.I.C.C. File No. 273, 1931. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library.

204. LETTER TO MALCOLM HAILEY

TAKULA, NAINITAL,
May 23, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

I have now completed my summary investigation. I have had the benefit of the advice of those taluqdars who were able to come to Nainital. I feel and perhaps you will agree that I must give some guidance to the *kisans*³. I could not tell them to accept as sufficient the relief proposed to be given by the Government. Everything I have examined goes to show that it is wholly inadequate to meet the exceptional situation that faces the *kisans*. I propose therefore to do the next best thing possible. In the absence of response by the Government to any of the proposals made by me, I propose to tell the *kisans* what in my opinion is the least that they should pay, throwing

¹ This was in reply to a joint cable from V.S.S. Sastri, C.F. Andrews and H.S.L. Polak saying : “. . . If communal minorities problem insoluble immediately India we urge it be brought here where atmosphere better. Failing everything else in last resort impartial arbitration still possible. We therefore convinced prompt announcement affirmative decision your earliest arrival urgently desirable. . . ”

² Telegraphic address of H.S.L. Polak

³ Peasants

the responsibility upon them of paying more wherever it is possible for them to do so. I have accordingly drafted a manifesto¹ which I enclose herewith. If you think that its publication will in any way embarrass the Government and if Your Excellency will show me a better way I shall gladly adopt it if it is at all possible for me to do so. And if you will have me to wait upon you in this connection I would gladly do so.

I have arranged, unless you have me to do otherwise, to leave Nainital this afternoon at 3 p.m.²

*I remain,
Yours sincerely,*

Encl. 1

HIS EXCELLENCY SIR MALCOLM HAILEY
GOVERNOR OF U.P., NAINITAL

A.I.C.C. File No. 16-E, 1931. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

205. TO THE KISANS OF THE U.P.

NAINITAL,
May 23, 1931

During the late struggle, in some districts, the non-payment of taxes was being organized as part of Civil Disobedience for the attainment of *purna swaraj*. But by reason of the Settlement between the Congress and the Government Civil Disobedience was discontinued and therefore also the non-payment of taxes.

But there was then deep economic distress among you. Bad as your condition was even in normal times, the unprecedented fall this year in the prices of the crops usually grown by you made it infinitely worse. And Congress workers reported that many of you were utterly unable to pay in full the rents due by you. In several districts inquiries were made in a few hundred villages disclosing a serious state of affairs. It was found that the price of your gross produce had fallen to such an extent that the sales were not enough to pay the rents. It was in this connection that I came to Nainital to see H. E. the Governor. His Excellency gave me a patient hearing and we fully discussed the situation. He was sympathetic. I told him that some Congress

¹ *Vide* the following item.

² For the addressee's reply, *vide* "Letter from Sir Malcolm Hailey", 23-5-1931

workers had assured me that the relief hitherto announced by the Government of the U.P. was hardly equal to the actual distress. And I submitted certain proposals which he kindly promised to consider.

I was bound meanwhile to tender you such advice as it was in my power to do. I have passed many an anxious hour discussing the situation with many co-workers. I have had the benefit of a frank and free discussion with important talukdars who were good enough to respond to my invitation to see me. I am glad to be able to say that they were in general agreement with the proposals suggested here under.

Concentrated work was done in the following among other districts: Agra, Muttra, Allahabad, Rai Bareilly, Gorakhpore, Cawnpore, Lucknow, Pratapgarh, and Etawah. And for these it has been found that there should be a remission for the year 1338 Fasli of eight annas in the rupee in the case of statutory and non-occupancy tenants and four annas in the case of occupancy tenants. This general formula should be subject to variation as may be required by local conditions.

I have been told that in some districts the tenants are in a position to do with less reduction. Some districts again were hard hit by local calamities. The suggested reduction would naturally therefore not apply to the districts that might be able to pay more than what is suggested here, nor to those whose condition may be under the level found in the foregoing districts. Indeed even in the districts mentioned those of you who are able to pay more ought to do so. The Congress expects every tenant to pay as early as possible all the rent he can, and in no case as a general rule less than eight annas or four¹ annas as the case may be. But just as even in the same district there may be cases in which a larger payment is possible, it is equally possible that there may be cases in which less than eight annas or four² annas can only be paid. In such cases I hope the tenants will be treated liberally by the zamindars.

In every case you will see that you get against payment a full discharge from your obligation for the current year's rent.

I understand that several tenants were ejected during the struggle and others have been ejected since. Not to restore these to their holdings would be clearly against the atmosphere sought to be created by the Settlement. I have every hope, therefore, that against payment on

¹ A slip for 'twelve'; *vide* "A Correction", 11-6-1931

² *ibid*

the scale suggested here the ejected tenants will be fully restored without any penalty.

I am hoping that payment will begin at once. It may be that you are not able to pay the full eight annas at once. In that case I trust you will get suspension, and that no coercive processes will be issued whether for the unpaid balance or for arrears if any, till the next harvest.

I would like to suggest to the Government, in view of the loss that your inability to pay the rents in full will cause to the zamindars, that they get a proportionate reduction in the revenue payable by them to the Government.

Lastly let me warn you against listening to the advice, if it has reached you, that you have no need to pay the zamindars any rent at all. I hope that you will not listen to such advice, no matter who gives it. Congressmen cannot, we do not seek to injure the zamindars. We aim not at destruction of property. We aim only at its lawful use.

It has been suggested that you will listen to the Congress when Congressmen tell you not to pay anything at all, but you will not listen to the Congress when it asks you to pay according to your ability. The opportunity has now come for you to falsify the calumny.

You have complained of very harsh treatment by or on behalf of some landlords. The Congress is trying and will try to investigate all your complaints, plead with the landlords and even advise legal relief where such becomes imperative. But let it be also owned that sometimes some *kisans* too have gone astray and committed murderous assaults. These acts spoil the fair name of *kisans*, harm their cause and impair the usefulness of the Congress for service. For in the ultimate end you are the Congress. The Congress is incomplete in so far as it represents you insufficiently.

Please remember that the Congress aims at reaching *purna swaraj* through Truth and Non-violence. And it will fail in so far as the *kisans* fail to observe these two cardinal principles. You are millions. When millions become untruthful and violent, it will mean self-destruction. You will therefore suffer injury without retaliation. You have now perhaps learnt that the best way of resisting injury is never to injure the injurer, but ever to refuse, no matter how much suffering the refusal costs us, to do his will when we know it to be wrong.

I am,

Your friend and servant,

M. K. GANDHI

Young India, 28-5-1931

206. LETTER TO MALCOLM HAILEY

May 23, 1931

DEAR MR. HAILEY,

With reference to the Etawah case wherein the Congress Secretary was supposed to have circulated after the date of the Settlement notice amongst tenants advising them not to pay any rent at all I have made full inquiry and find that such notice was circulated in February last, but none after the Settlement. On the contrary a general notice withdrawing the notax agitation was circulated throughout the province on behalf of the Provincial Congress Committee. This matter was brought to the notice of Pt. Govind Ballabh Pant by the Chief Secretary and on the day that he received the intimation he made inquiries. The Secretary, Babu Gaya Prasad, immediately wrote in reply giving the information above mentioned. Moreover he is no longer occupying position of General Secretary of the Local Committee in Etawah. It would be perhaps interesting to know how the police came by the notice and came to the conclusion that it was being circulated after the date of the Settlement.¹

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

A.I.C.C. File NO. 16-E, 1931. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

207. SPEECH AT ZAMINDARS' MEETING, NAINITAL²

[May 23, 1931]³

The Congress will stand by you certainly. But you will have to make your life correspond to your surroundings. In Bengal some years ago I was the guest of a zamindar who served me my milk and fruit in gold bowls and plates. The good host naturally thought that he was doing me the greatest honour by placing before me his costliest plate He could not know what was passing through my mind. 'Where did he get these golden plates from?' I was asking to myself, and the answer I got was: 'From the substance of the ryots'. How then could I

¹ In his reply dated 29-5-1931, Hailey confirmed these facts and regretted the inconvenience caused by his wrong report.

² Extracted from Mahadev Desai's "Weekly Letter"

³ From the *Hindustan Times*, 25-5-1931

reconcile myself to those costly luxuries? I would not mind your using gold plates provided your tenants were comfortable enough to afford silver plates, but where their life is one long-drawn-out agony, how dare you have those luxuries? You will remember, how, fifteen years ago, on the occasion of the opening of the Hindu University, I shocked the Rajas and Maharajas by a reference to their glittering pomp and glory, and raised quite an uproar.¹ My views are the same today; only experience and life among the humble folk have confirmed them all the more.

Young India, 28-5-1931

208. LETTER TO V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI

[After *May* 23, 1931]²

MY DEAR BROTHER,

I had your touching cable. I have sent you a reply to soothe you. I am not shirking the R.T.C. But it is not possible through a letter to give you an idea of the difficulties that face me. Provincial governments are trampling the Settlement under foot. Repression is raising its spiked head. If you have the patience to follow the pages of *Young India* you can learn something of what I mean. I have published as yet not one tenth of what is happening. The question then may be: Can I leave India when trouble is brewing here? But I am in touch with Simla.

Letters of Srinivasa Sastri, p. 215

209. NOTES

REGARDING PICKETING

I extract the following questions from two letters :

1. Can fasting be resorted to while picketing those who break the seals of cloth which has been sealed?
2. Does fasting have a place in peaceful picketing?
3. If those against whom peaceful picketing is being carried on do not listen to reason, can social boycott be practised against them?
4. Can picketing be called off if a person promises not to import fresh foreign cloth and his old stock has already been sold out?

¹ *Vide* "Speech at Benares Hindu University", 6-2-1916

² *Vide* "Cable to v. S. Srinivasa Sastri", 23-5-1931

5. Should there be picketing against those who sell both foreign and Indian cloth?

6. Should we boycott those who have sealed up their stock of foreign cloth and promised to pay a certain fine if they break the seal? Should we sit a *dharna*¹ before them?

The answers to these questions would be as follows :

1. Fasting can be resorted to only in regard to those who are closely associated with the person picketing, who have given a pledge out of the love resulting from that relationship and then broken it.

2. The reply to this is contained in the rule mentioned above.

3. Social boycott, which would imply denying the individual the services of the dhobi, the barber, the vaid, etc., should not be practised. But one is permitted to cut off relationship with such individuals by way of going to their homes for feasts on occasions such as marriages, and indeed one should do so. In short, they should not be harassed. The pain which they feel when we do not go to their homes for meals cannot be regarded as harassment.

4. It is our dharma to withdraw picketing if we are sure about the pledge.

5. Certainly.

6. We cannot resort to picketing if someone does not pay the fine, but we can do so if he sells foreign goods. With regard to boycott, refer to reply No. 4². *Dharna* does not mean self-torture to press one's point.

ONE ADVANTAGE OF BOYCOTT

I take the following extract³ from letters received by me:

I hope that these women have given up foreign cloth and started wearing khadi. Whether they have started doing so or not, the basic fact is that they have learnt simplicity along with the boycott of foreign goods. Everyone has got the experience that our craving for enjoyment increases with the acceptance of foreign goods and the idea gains ground that clothes are meant for adornment rather than for the purpose of covering our body. Our newspapers are not yet full of items on fashion but if we glance at English newspapers, we shall

¹ Squatting and fasting for the redress of a grievance

² This should perhaps be 3.

³ Not translated here. It described the simplicity of women in a particular household.

see every day under the heading “fashion” pictures of new types of dresses together with alluring descriptions of them.

Hence, along with the giving up of foreign cloth we also rid ourselves of the glamour for false fashion and for this very reason khadi though expensive becomes inexpensive. A woman who used to wear separate saris while she is at home, while going out, while paying social calls, while visiting the temple, or who thus has four or five saris for daily wear now makes do with a single khadi sari and, therefore, easily saves a lot of money. When a person wearing a turban made of twelve yards of *mulmul*¹ starts wearing a khadi cap made of half a yard, however expensive khadi may be, he would easily save some money.

DISHONESTY OF BUSINESS MEN

An experienced gentleman makes the following compliant:²

There is nothing in this that is not well known. If business men had thought only of the good of the country, they would never have imported foreign cloth at all. To a large extent, dishonesty is implicit in all business. Merchants dealing in foreign cloth catch the eye because their business is widespread and, like a huge serpent, it has coiled itself around India and is gradually crushing her. No one can escape from that grip. We have now become conscious of how we are being crushed and hence we have started criticizing merchants dealing in foreign cloth and that is only proper. This awakening provides a remedy for the abovementioned and many other similar dishonest practices. Picketing is the ready remedy. The true remedy lies in reaching the villages. All such questions as, for instance, whether a particular cloth is Indian or foreign, whether it is made in a mill which is boycotted or not, whether this khadi contains warp which is mill-made or hand-made, etc., will automatically disappear when the villagers spin yarn in their own homes, get it woven by their own weavers and start using such khadi. And hence I tell you for the thousandth time that the remedy for all deceit lies in khadi that is woven from yarn spun by yourselves. Just as adding jaggery makes a thing sweet, likewise, if we spin fine yarn, we get finer and cheaper khadi.

¹ Thin variety of plain muslin

² The letter is not translated here. It reported various ways in which foreign cloth was passed off as Indian cloth.

There can be no other cloth which is as cheap or cheaper and, if there is such cloth, it deserves to be discarded as it is stained with the blood of the poor.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 24-5-1931

210. *LETTER TO H. W. EMERSON*

AS AT SABARMATI,

May 24, 1931

DEAR MR. EMERSON,

I have just arrived at Muttra and have to wait for the Frontier Mail for a about five hours. Local People have given me a version of what happened in a village called Bijhari near Muttra on 20th instant. I en-close herewith a copy of the statement they have given me. 18 men were arrested under warrant. The gravamen of the complaint however is that the police acted far in excess of their authority. There is no complaint against the warrant itself. It was perfectly right for the authorities to arrest the men if in their opinion they had done anything wrong.

I am going to Bardoli and I am likely to be there for at least two or three days.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

Encl. 1

H. W. EMERSON, ESQ.

HOME SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

SIMLA

Home Department, Political, File No. 33/9, 1931. Courtesy : National Archives of India

211. LETTER TO H. W. EMERSON ¹

AS AT SABARMATI,
May 24, 1931

DEAR MR. EMERSON,

I enclose herewith a copy of the report² received from Lala Duni Chand of Ambala, who is a prominent pleader in that part of the world. I would esteem a line from you even by wire as to whether you propose to take any action in the matter. Duty perhaps demands that I should take public notice of this action on the part of the Magistrate unless it is possible for you to get some relief. If the facts are as stated by Lala Duni Chand, the action on the part of the Magistrate denoted by these facts is surely against the spirit of peace which it was the prime object of the Settlement to establish.

Yours sincerely,

Encl. 1

H. W. EMERSON, ESQ.

SIMLA

A.I.C.C. File No. 16-B, 1931. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

212. LETTER TO H. W. EMERSON

AS AT SABARMATI,
May 24, 1931

DEAR MR. EMERSON,

I have your three letters forwarding me extracts from reports received by you from Surat, Assam and the U. P. They are having attention.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

H. W. EMERSON, ESQ.

Home Department, Political, File No. 33/9, 1931. Courtesy : National Archives of India

¹ *Vide* also "Letter to H. W. Emerson", 19-5-1931

² In which Duni Chand had stated ". . . I proceeded to Ludhiana on the afternoon of 18th May, 1931, to enquire into the happenings of the 16th May which had been reported to you at Kalka, . . . I am sorry to say that most of the officials at Ludhiana probably consider the Irwin-Gandhi Settlement as a scrap of paper. . . In my opinion there should be an independent enquiry by the representatives of the Government and the public not only into the happenings at Ludhiana but also into the general policy of the local authorities that has been hitherto pursued. . ."

213. *LETTER TO GOSIBEHN CAPTAIN*

AS AT SABARMATI,
May 24, 1931

I am waiting at Muttra Junction for the Frontier Mail to take me to Surat and thence to Bardoli. I have received your letter here. Did I say that even sewn pieces will be taken up? I do remember having said so about cut pieces. But let me have the number of people who want to get rid of cut pieces or sewn pieces together with the quantity and the market price.

I am glad the two sisters have at last gone to Panchgani for a little bit of rest and pure air. What about yours?

I reach Bardoli tomorrow noon.

MRS. GOSIBEHN CAPTAIN
78 NAPEAN SEA ROAD
MALABAR HILL, BOMBAY

From a microfilm : S.N. 17138

214. *LETTER TO HORACE G. ALEXANDER*

AS AT SABARMATI,
May 24, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter for which I thank you. Of course I passed on your cable to Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan as soon as I received it. Now that I know more about what you meant you may depend upon my doing all I can. One thing I am going to do is to put myself in correspondence with Capt. Barnes.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

PROF. HORACE G. ALEXANDER
144 OAKTREE LANE
BIRMINGHAM

From a photostat : G.N. 1410

215. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

AS AT SABARMATI,
May 24, 1931

DEAR SATIS BABU,

I have your sad letter about Bholanath Sen¹ I have read all about the murder. I knew that both the picture and the writing were wholly inoffensive. But the complaint was that there was any portrait of the Prophet printed at all. Or course it is a silly complaint but anything is good enough to inflame the simple minded Pathan. In the face of such tragedies I know nothing so efficacious as prayer and utter silence when we can present no visible remedy. If the Hindu heart can be melted, the thing becomes easy. But before it can melt, you and I and perhaps thousands like us will have to give our lives and in order that they may become a pure sacrifice, we have to endeavour to become purer day by day, or better put, less impure day by day. Your description of the Bengal state of affairs is also sad. I am today in Muttra waiting for the Frontier Mail taking me to Surat. Most probably Subhasbabu will travel as far as Surat. I have not yet seen him. This is being dictated at the station. I am going to Bardoli on the Sardar's orders. My destination is Borsad but when I shall be able to go there I do not know.

Subhasbabu is with me on the train.²

Love.

BAPU

SYT. SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA
KHADI PRATISHTHAN
SODEPUR (NEAR CALCUTTA)

From a photostat : G.N. 8033

216. LETTER TO CAPTAIN BARNES

AS AT SABARMATI,
May 24, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

Prof Horace Alexander writes to me a long letter with reference to the troubles, he says, you are having in your work in Peshawar.

¹ A book-seller who was murdered in Calcutta on 7-5-1931 for selling the book *Prachin Kahani*.

² This line is in Gandhiji's hand.

Prof. Alexander tells me that you and Mrs. Barnes are real friends of India, but that things take place in your district which are not all as they should be. I would like you, if you could, to tell me all you know personally, not for publication, but for my private use and guidance. You will take my word when I tell you that the whole of my effort is directed towards establishing real peace in the land and in making people see that the way to progress lies not through bluster and violence but through quiet work and non-violence.¹

Yours sincerely,

CAPT. BARNES
PESHAWAR

A.I.C.C. File NO. 16-C, 1931. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

217. *LETTER TO NIRANJAN PATNAIK*²

May 24, 1931

MY DEAR NIRANJAN,

I have your telegram about Syt. Narasinha Sahu. You must give me full particulars about him including record of trial.

From a microfilm : S.N. 17105

218. *LETTER TO PERCY LACEY*

AS AT SABARMATI,
May 24, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your message received on my arrival at Muttra. I have purposely refrained from sending you a wire for there was no hurry about dealing with your message. Should I go to London I would certainly make it a point to visit Lancashire and demonstrate to the people of Lancashire that I personally and the Congress have no ill-will against Lancashire and that the Congress would do all in its power to help Lancashire. I would therefore naturally avail myself of and esteem the powerful help Of the *Manchester Guardian* in facilitating my work in Lancashire. You will please keep the contents

¹ *Vide* also "Letter to Captain Barnes", 19-6-1931.

² In reply to the addressee's telegram which read : "Of Vizagapatam Agency State prisoners in Rajahmundry jail Narasinha Sahu released rearrested interned Bimlipatam Agency Regulation."

of this letter from the Press but you are at liberty to show it to friends and undoubtedly pass it on to the *Manchester Guardian*.

Yours sincerely,

PERCY LACEY, ESQ.
HOTEL CECIL
SIMLA

From a photostat : S.N. 17128

219. LETTER TO PREMNATH BAZAZ

AS AT SABARMATI,
May 24, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. What young men can do is to make up their minds to marry only widows and if they cannot secure widows in the Pandit caste, they should travel outside if only by way of satyagraha. But if they are desirous of restricting themselves to their caste they should reason with the caste elders and give them notice that they would go outside the caste if they did not merely permit but encourage widows to remarry.

Yours sincerely,

PT. PREM NATH BAZAZ
CHONDHPORA
SRINAGAR (KASHMIR)

From a photostat : S.N. 17129

220. *LETTER TO WALTER B. FOLEY*

AS AT SABARMATI,
May 24, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter and the two articles.

I would indeed be delighted to meet you if it is at all convenient for you to go to Surat or Anand. Generally I am to be found between Borsad near Anand and Bardoli. I received your letter while waiting for the Surat train at Muttra Junction. I am not likely to be anywhere between Lahore and Calcutta in the course of next month.

Yours sincerely,

WALTER B. FOLEY¹, ESQ.
3. MIDDLETON STREET
CALCUTTA

From a microfilm : S.N. 17130

221. *LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI*

AS AT SABARMATI,
May 24, 1931

Here is another letter for you to read and deal with. I would like you to answer it directly. I have not acknowledged it. Please let me know whether there is any truth in the statement made.

Encl. 1

SYT. C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR
GANDHI ASHRAM
TIRUCHENGODU (S. INDIA)

From a microfilm : S.N. 17131

222. *LETTER TO JOHN BITTMANN*

AS AT SABARMATI,
May 24, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter. If I visit London I would love to visit Denmark and other places, but I am not sure when I shall be able to do so. I am sorry to hear about Menon's misfortunes. But Esther

¹ Editorial Secretary, the Methodist Episcopal Church, Calcutta

ought not to worry about his failure. Please tell her with my love that I expect greater faith and therefore greater pluck from her and please ask her to write to me.

Yours sincerely,

JOHN BITTMANN, ESQ.
PT. 55, GRONDALSVEJ
COPENHAGEN

From a photostat : S.N. 17132

223. LETTER TO ATUL PRATAP SINHA

AS AT SABARMATI,
May 24, 1931

MY DEAR SINHA,

I thank you for your letter offering your service should I come to London. At the present moment I see no chance of my coming but if I do, you will seek me out. I am sorry I cannot recall the incident narrated by you in your letter.

Yours sincerely,

ATUL PRATAP SINHA, ESQ.
VICE-PRESIDENT, INDIAN STUDENTS CENTRAL ASSOCIATION
BROMPTON ROAD, LONDON S.W. 3

From a photostat : S.N. 17133

224. LETTER TO CARL J. BRUNSKOG

AS AT SABARMATI,
May 24, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

My answer to your question is:

One way to promote world peace is to help India to attain her own through truth and non-violence.

Yours sincerely,

CARL J. BRUNSKOG
LILLA NYGATAN 4
STOCKHOLM

From a photostat : S.N. 17134

225. LETTER TO J. N. SAHNI

AS AT SABARMATI,
May 24, 1931

MY DEAR SAHNI,

I have heard that you had published a report of that interview. I must confess that I was grieved. Of course the proper thing for you was not to assume or receive consent either from Malaviyaji or Anasuyabehn because it was a matter in which I alone could have judged. I do not think that any very great harm has been done. But these little mistakes repeated by so many newspapers make up a heavy indictment and betray bad taste. These domestic conversations do not admit of reporting. They lose their weight and influence by reporting. Anasuyabehn has also written to me about it. She is deeply grieved and she tells me that there are many mistakes. But I do not think that anything is to be gained by publishing corrections. The best thing therefore is to forget all about it and the amends you can make is not to repeat such a mistake not only in connection with myself but in every case. I think the mistake will have been well made if the point I have made is quite clear to you.

Yours sincerely,

SYT. J. N. SAHNI
"HINDUSTAN TIMES", DELHI
From a microfilm: S.N. 17136

226. LETTER TO ISHWAR DAS NAYYAR

AS AT SABARMATI,
May 24, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. As I am continuously travelling I cannot encourage you to see me. Staying with me is out of the question. But you can certainly stay at the Ashram for some time and feel your way there. If you accept my suggestion, You should write to the Manager and receive his permission before going there.

Yours sincerely,

SYT. ISHWAR DAS NAYYAR
HOUSE PROPRIETOR
PURANA BAZAR
GUJARAT¹

From a microfilm : S.N. 17137

¹ A town in West Punjab (Pakistan)

227. *LETTER TO SHANTA PATEL*

BARDOLI,
May 25, 1931

CHI. SHANTA,

I got your letter. I had the same thing in mind that you now explain to me. But I still advise you to try to mix with girls and be satisfied with playing with them. Be as much as possible with Prema-behn and secure a good certificate from her. Help younger girls, teach them, for instance. Pay attention to Pushpa's diet. She should eat less rice than she does.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G. N. 4060

228. *LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI*

BARDOLI,
May 25, 1931

CHI. NARANDAS,

I arrived in Bardoli this morning. I had intended to go to Borsad, but came here. How can a mere servant have this way? You may not perhaps have read the accompanying letter from Bhagwanji. What is Hariyomal's complaint? It seems that we have not, after all, been able to cultivate contact with the thieves. How could we do that since we have not gone into villages? Whenever thieves trouble us, I feel sorry about our failure to do so. It seems the Punjabi vaid's treatment has not benefited Kusum and others.

I have sent a wire to Rajkot advising that Ratilal should be removed to Thana. I shall be here for a few days at any rate.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Is Valji still in Bombay? And in a hospital?

From a microfilm of the Gujarati : M.M.U./I

229. LETTER TO ANASUYABEHN SARABHAI

BARDOLI,
May 25, 1931

CHI. ANASUYABEHN,

I had got your long and beautifully descriptive letter at Nainital and the one about Sahni¹ in Mathura. Now matters cannot be remedied, but norms of discretion were violated in publishing the report. Our newspapermen have still not learnt that such things ought not to be reported. I have written to Sahni.² But it will be better if you write the following:

“DEAR LADY WILLINGDON,

“Perhaps you have not seen the enclosed garbled report of the pleasant meeting between you and Mrs. Gandhi. I hasten to assure you that I had no hand in the publication. I know the writer. He is now sorry for the bad taste shown in publishing a private conversation of a domestic nature. Without my knowledge that he was a newspaperman, he overheard the conversation I was having with Pandit Malaviyaji about our meeting of which I shall always have pleasant recollections.

“The sari you want is being made and will be sent to you early.

I am,

*yours sincerely,”*³

She would like it if you wrote along these lines. If you want to make any changes in the draft, then do so. I am returning the clipping.

It was a good thing that you were able to accompany Ba yourself. That is how it was in Nanital. Lady Chinubhai⁴ (Junior) had escorted Ba.

I have reached Bardoli. From here I shall go wherever the Sardar or Fate takes me. Has Mridula arrived?

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original: S. N. 32796

¹ J. N. Sahni of *The Hindustan Times*

² *Vide* “Letter to J. N. Sahni”, 24-5-1931

³ The draft of letter to Lady Willingdon is in English.

⁴ Wife of Sir Girijaprasad Chinubhai

230. *LETTER TO MANAGER, OXFORD UNIVERSITY
PRESS, BOMBAY*

AS AT SABARMATI,
May 26, 1931

R. E. HAWKINS, ESQ.
MANAGER, OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
NICOL ROAD, BOMBAY

DEAR SIR,

Owing to my journeys and preoccupations I have not been able to reply to your letter of the 7th May earlier. The suggestions made in your letter, I like. I have personally never copyrighted any of my publications. I left Mr. Andrews free to do what he liked with his condensation. But if there is any permission to be had from Mr. Andrews or his publishers you will please get it from them. I note what you say about the royalty. When you have actually decided to publish the proposed book in accordance with your letter, I would expect the manuscript for inspection and revision where necessary.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat : G. N. 5686

231. *LETTER TO COWASJI JEHANGIR*¹

AS AT SABARMATI,
May 26, 1931

DEAR SIR COWASJI,

You will please forgive me for not having sent you an earlier reply. I returned to Bardoli only yesterday from Nainital where and at Simla I was so overwhelmed with local work that I had no time to frame my reply to you or to Sardar Garda. I am now sending you a copy of my reply to Sardar Garda² which will speak for itself. I am sending you also a copy of his letter to me. At best his allegations are vague and even these are really denied by the people. But the complaint he could legitimately make could only be about matters happening after his promise to restore the land. That should be after

¹ In reply to the addressee's letter in which he had mentioned certain specific complaints of Sardar Garda and pleaded with Gandhiji that "all kind of harassment shall immediately stop . . ."

² *Vide* the following item.

the receipt of Rao Bahadur Bhimbhai's letter or so after the 25th April when we had the first conversation. If we were to take the 25th April as the date you will see that there is only one paragraph devoted to the happenings thereafter. It says : "On 28th April Babla people again scared away our labourers and cartmen that came from my *bet*. So also a Rajput family on the 3rd instant. With other threats they were told that their abodes would be burnt down together with the inmates."

These allegations I have carefully enquired into and I have statements on oath made by the people concerned repudiating them. If, however, this investigation does not satisfy you, I am quite willing that you should nominate someone on your behalf who would investigate these two complaints.

As to Bhikhabhai who is said to have refused to take up his bungalow, I understand that he denies having made the statement ascribed to him. But even if he did not, how could we interfere in such matters?

With reference to the other complaint in your letter I was painfully surprised to find this sentence: "I desire to draw your attention to other cases of harassment of Parsis which have been brought to my notice." This presupposes that you have taken the harassment of Sardar Garda for granted and you have generalized from two incidents yet unproved an indictment, I do not know against whom, for harassment of Parsis as a class. As a matter of fact throughout the last 12 years of intense political work the relations between the Congress and the Parsis have been of the happiest character. How can there be then any question of harassment of Parsis? And even if it can be proved, should the harassment of the lady¹ whose case you have mentioned affect Sardar Garda's promise of restoration of land which on his own showing he bought for a song. I am however anxious to give you all the satisfaction I can that there is no desire whatsoever on the part of Congress organizations to harass Parsis. In the lady's case there is an impeachment of Syt. Bharucha who has investigated the matter. In view of the fact that there are two contrary allegations by two Parsis of position, I can only ask you to name some person who would make the investigation and report to you. Pending

¹ Miss. Contractor who had foreign and country liquor shops at Thana and Ghatkopar.

receipt of your letter on this point, I am staying any further investigation into the lady's complaint.

Yours sincerely,

Encls. 2

SIR COWASJI JEHANGIR
READYMONEY MANSION
CHURCHGATE STREET
FORT, BOMBAY

A.I.C.C. File No. 16-C, 1931. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

232. *LETTER TO FRAMROZE B. GARDA*¹

AS AT SABARMATI,
May 26, 1931

DEAR SARDAR GARDA,

I am sorry that owing to my absence from Gujarat and other preoccupations I was not able to reply to your letter earlier. You will notice from your complaint that except two, the other complaints refer to times prior to your decision to restore the land to the original owners. With reference to the two incidents which you mention as having happened on the 28th April and 3rd instant. I have enquired into your allegations and the people point blank repudiate them. You have again mentioned some other cases before the 25th April which are before the courts. The rest I have enquired into. Although they are alleged to have happened before the 25th April, the allegations are denied by the people concerned. Of course you do not hold Congressmen responsible for things that may happen to your land in the Baroda territories through your tenants with whom Congressmen have no dealings of concern.

As a matter of fact it was up to you to have withdrawn the cases which are before the courts after the settlement with you. I cannot help therefore saying that you have shown absolutely no reason for going back upon your plighted word. In any case I suggest that your proper course was to seek redress for any wrong done to you after your promise of restoration by means of arbitration or other-wise but not to repudiate the promise made after the fullest deliberation.

Yours sincerely,

SARDAR FRAMROZE GARDA
NAVSARI

A.I.C.C. File No. 16-C, 1931. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

¹ *Vide* also "Letter to Framroze B. Garda", 6-5-1931

233. *LETTER TO U. GOPALA MENON*

AS AT SABARMATI,
May 26, 1931

MY DEAR GOPALA MENON,

I have your letter. I know all about the case of M.P. Narayana Menon. I had a letter addressed to Lord Irwin by some missionary friend given to me to be delivered to Lord Irwin which I gladly did and asked him to endeavour to secure Narayana Menon's release. I have no doubt about the justice of the case. Unfortunately the talk with Lord Irwin took place only two days before he left Delhi. It is highly likely therefore that he was able to do nothing. Now as you say Sir. C. P. Ramaswami Iyer knows the case well you have to knock at his door continually.

I cannot give you any definite opinion upon the proposed Temple Entry Satyagraha unless I know what the other side has to say. The objection you have raised is certainly worthy of consideration. Beyond this I do not feel able to go.

Yours sincerely,

SYT. U. GOPALA MENON, B.A., B.L.
CALICUT

From a microfilm : S. N. 17143

234. *LETTER TO JUGAL KISHORE*

AS AT SABARMATI,
May 26, 1931

MY DEAR JUGAL KISHORE,

I have your letter of the 14th instant. On my way back to Bardoli I had to pass nearly five hours in Muttra and I saw the friend who was with you. What is his name Both he and I after discussion agreed that I should take no public notice of your appeal till you were ready with the programme for making the Mahavidyalaya self-reliant by a definite date not distant. But I gave him a letter addressed to the Trustees in accordance with the terms we had discussed before.

I missed you at Muttra.

PROF. JUGAL KISHORE
PREM MAHAVIDYALAYA
BRINDABAN

From a microfilm: S. N. 17144

235. *LETTER TO MAGANTI BAPI NEEDU*

AS AT SABARMATI,
May 26, 1931

MY DEAR NEEDU,

I have your touching letter. You are unnecessarily despondent. There is no occasion for despondency. I could see that you will have to support your father, mother and child. I therefore suggest your going to Sabarmati Ashram. Rs. 33 per month will be paid for these dependents. You won't have to pay anything for your boarding and lodging at the Ashram. If you take to the Ashram life your problem is easily solved, and of course you serve the country by the mere fact of your living at the Ashram for the simple reason that the whole of the Ashram activity is national activity. If you do not know what Ashram life is in detail you should ask Narayana Razu who lived there, I think, for over a year. So many other men also from Andhra Desh have off and on lived in the Ashram.

Yours sincerely,

SYT. MAGANTI BAPI NEEDU
ELLORE (WEST GODAVARI DT.)

From a microfilm : S. N. 17145

236. *LETTER TO SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE*

AS AT SABARMATI,
May 26, 1931

Here is a letter from Patiya, Chittagong District. I telegraphed¹ to the writer to ascertain whether I could make use of his name and whether he could vouch for the facts. The telegram was not delivered for want of sufficient address. I wrote² to him also, but there is no reply as yet. If the facts mentioned in the letter are true, the matter is serious. But you can inquire and take such action as it is necessary. I hope you had a nice time in Ahmedabad.

SYT. SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE
C/O BENGAL PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE
CALCUTTA

From a photostat : S. N. 17146

¹ *Vide* "Telegram to Secretary, Congress Committee Chittagong", 21-5-1931

² *Vide* "Letter to Secretary, Congress Committee Chittagong", 21-5-1931

237. *LETTER TO L. R. GURUSWAMY NAIDU*

AS AT SABARMATI,
May 26, 1931

MY DEAR GURUSWAMY,

I have your letter describing the difficulties of picketing. If you have correctly described your picketing there seems to me to be nothing wrong about it and that the action of the authorities was not only contrary to the terms of the Settlement but in my opinion also illegal. Please continue to give me information about any further development I would like you also to keep in touch with Syt. Rajagopalachari to whom I have sent your letter.

Yours sincerely,

SYT. L. R. GURUSWAMY NAIDU
PRESIDENT, TALUQ CONGRESS COMMITTEE
KOILPATTI (Madras PRESIDENCY)

From a microfilm : S. N. 17147

238. *LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI*

AS AT SABARMATI,
May 26, 1931

Here is a letter from L. R. Guruswamy Naidu of Koilpatti Taluq Congress Committee. I enclose also a copy of my letter¹ to him. You should vigorously move in the matter if the facts are correctly set forth in Guruswamy's letter.

I expect to see you in Bombay on the 9th.

SYT. C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR
GANDHI ASHRAM
TIRUCHENGODU (S. INDIA)

From a microfilm : S. N. 17148

239. *LETTER TO SHANKERLAL BANKER*

AS AT SABARMATI,
May 26, 1931

MY DEAR SHANKERLAL,

With reference to the suggestion of Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya advising purchase of the site and building at Masulipatam I agree to

¹ *Vide* the preceding item.

the proposal if the purchase price is anywhere between five and six thousand rupees.

SYT. SHANKERLAL BANKER
MIRZAPUR, AHMEDABAD

From a microfilm : S. N. 17149

240. *LETTER TO DR. M. A. ANSARI*

AS AT SABARMATI,
May 26, 1931

DEAR DR. ANSARI,

I have your telegram. I thought that you had agreed that if the communal question was not solved the Congress should not be represented at the Round Table Conference. Why do you now agree with the suggestion made by Sastri, Andrews and Polak?¹ But whether you do or not, you have to consider my own want of confidence in myself if I went without the solution. What can I ask and what strength can I put forth in the national demand if we are a house divided against itself? But I have in my reply to the cable said that if I was invited to go to London to discuss things apart from the Round Table Conference I would gladly go if the Settlement was being properly worked.

Have you seen the announcement made by Maulvi Mohammad Yakub? I do not know what the papers have reported about my statement about the necessity of the Sikhs joining any solution that might be arrived at. Do you see any escape from it?

There was much left over to talk about at Simla. I am looking forward to the 9th June when we should be able to resume the conversations.

Dr. M. A. Ansari
1 Daryaganj
Delhi

From a photostat : S. N. 17150

¹ *Vide* "Cable to V. S. Srinivasa Sastri", 23-5-1931

241. *LETTER TO ABBAS TYABJI*

AS AT SABARMATI,
May 26, 1931

I have your cheerful letter. I returned to Bardoli yesterday on Sardar's orders and under those orders I am here at least for a few days. About the 3rd or 4th June I may be still here or in Borsad unless I am suddenly called away somewhere else. You see I am not my own master. There is the Sardar as also the Sarkar and between the two I am having a fine time.

I never received even an acknowledgement of my letter to the Maharaja. Do you suggest my writing to him again? If you do, please let me know his address. Why don't you see the Dewan yourself? I am glad Rehana has gone to Matheran. She must benefit by the rest.

SYT. ABBAS TYABJI
CAMP BARODA

From a photostat : S. N. 17151

242. *LETTER TO SECRETARY, INDIAN ASSOCIATION, IRAQ*

AS AT SABARMATI,
May 26, 1931

THE SECRETARY
INDIAN ASSOCIATION IN IRAQ
P. BOX NO. 71, RESIDENCY ROAD
BAGHDAD

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your printed letter of 28th April last. I do not know anything of the previous ones. They were probably received whilst I was in jail. I wish your Association every success. Will you give me some idea of the number and the profession of Indians resident in Iraq and will you also tell me whether the relations between you and the Arabs are perfectly cordial?

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm : S. N. 17152

243. *LETTER TO HARDAYAL NAG*

AS AT SABARMATI,
May 26, 1931

DEAR BABU HARDAYAL NAG,

Although you are perhaps the oldest member of the Congress you are proving your youthfulness now and again by favouring me with letters. Your latest I do not propose to publish. The communal question is there whether we like it or not. And if we cannot settle it I cannot put forth the national demand with the strength that a solution of the communal question would give me. Do you not see this fundamental objection to participation by the Congress in the Round Table Conference? If there is to be a Swaraj Constitution there has to be a solution of the communal trouble.

I hope you are retaining the same vigour as before.

Yours sincerely,

SYT. HARDAYAL NAG
CHANDPUR (BENGAL)

From a photostat : S. N. 17154

244. *LETTER TO L. J. BURGESS*

AS AT SABARMATI,
May 26, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter. Though I should perhaps word the third proposition differently I have no hesitation in endorsing the general tenor of all the three propositions. I have never said that other nations' religion is as good as any other. I am trying to send you the two numbers of *Young India* which contain my views on the question. There never was any question of legal interference on my part with religious liberty.

Yours sincerely,

L. J. BURGESS, ESQ.
SALT HILL
DARJEELING

From a photostat : S.N. 17155

245. *LETTER TO RAGHUBIR SINGH*

AS AT SABARMATI,
May 26, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. My answer to your first question is that if your mind really hankers after the degree or the knowledge that the college course gives you in physics you should rejoin the college.

As to the help to your friends I think that you are entitled to and even bound to help them if they are starving but not to further their aims. In no case [may] even you disclose their names to the police.

Yours sincerely,

SYT. RAGHUBIR SINGH
C/O BENGALI SAREM
COLLECTOR'S OFFICE
MEERUT

From a microfilm : S. N. 17156

246. *LETTER TO M. G. DATAR*

AS AT SABARMATI,
May 26, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. If I omitted the Tilak Vidyalaya in my speech in Ahmedabad the omission was certainly not intentional.¹ I simply took the names as they came to me. I do know the contribution of the Nagpur Tilak Vidyalaya. My purpose was not to single out a particular national organization but to emphasize the fact that national educational organizations were the real thing.

Yours sincerely,

SYT. M. G. DATAR
HEADMASTER, TILAK VIDYALAYA
NAGPUR

From a microfilm : S. N. 17157

¹ *Vide* "National Universities", 18-6-1931.

247. LETTER TO SURENDRA SINGH

AS AT SABARMATI,
May 26, 1931

DEAR SARDAR SURENDRA SINGH,

You will pardon me for not having acknowledged your letter of the 30th April earlier. It will be difficult for you to convince me that the present administration really guarantees protection at critical times. I am at one with you in deploring the decline of spirituality in the national life. And I am quite at one with you that we cannot have too much of selflessness or discipline. I am trying all I can to secure these.

Yours sincerely,

SARDAR SURENDRA SINGH
LAHORE

From a photostat : S. N. 17158

248. LETTER TO MANMOHANDAS P. GANDHI

May 26, 1931

BHAI MANMOHANDAS,

I am helpless. I have not been able so much as to glance at your book¹, thanks to constant travelling and pressure of other work.

1. How much cotton is imported from foreign countries for fine-count cloth?
2. Is it necessary to import that cotton?
3. Does the import harm the interests of indigenous cotton?
4. Does the growing of cotton harm or benefit the soil?
5. Would it be better to grow food crops instead of cotton?
6. Would it improve the soil?

Think over these questions and let me have your replies.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G. N. 13

¹ *Pardeshi Kapadni Same Harifai Kem Karvi*, a Gujarati translation by the author of his English work; *vide* "Preface to "Pardeshi Kapadni Same Harifai Kem Karavi" ", 25-2-1931

249. *LETTER TO PRABHAVATI*

BARDOLI,
May 26, 1931

CHI. PRABHAVATI,

I could not write to you from Nainital, but I did get your letter. I understand your difficulty. In what manner do you serve father-in-law? It would be very good indeed if he lets you serve all the time. That will keep your mind engaged and if, in consequence, the fainting fits stop, your health will improve. I completely forgot to write to Narandas about sending money to you, though of course he knows about it. Has there been any difficulty about the matter? Write to Narandas and request him to send you any sum you require. For some time I shall be staying in Bardoli.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G. N. 3413

250. *LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT*

BARDOLI,
May 26, 1931

CHI. VASUMATI,

I had your letter. Let me know about the effect of the vaid's medicine. What does he give you by way of medicine? For what is Maitri being treated? Tell Mahavir and Maitri to write to me. When is Gangabehn expected to come? For the present I shall have to stay here. Ramdas and Nimu have reached Almora. Rambhau has returned to the Ashram.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : S. N. 9324. Also C.W. 570. Courtesy :
Vasumati Pandit

251. LETTER TO LAKSHMIBEHN KHARE

BARDOLI,
May 26, 1931

CHI. LAKSHMIBEHN,

I suppose Rambhau has returned there. Don't get angry with him or beat him. Let him follow his own inclinations. If he does not like to study, he may do some manual work or learn some craft. There will be no harm either if he concentrates on cultivating his gift for music. Try to discover the bent of his mind and let him do what he chooses. No one else will be able to look after him or reform him better than you can. Be patient with him. Let me know what he decides to do.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : C. W. 278. Courtesy : Lakshmibehn Khare

252. LETTER TO FIROZABEHN TALEYARKHAN

BARDOLI,
May 26, 1931

DEAR SISTER,

It was only yesterday I came here. I have your letter. You may come over whenever you wish. I shall spare some time [for you].

Vandemataram from

MOHANDAS GANDHI

PS.

The train to Bardoli starts from Surat.

SMT. FIROZABEHN TALEYARKHAN
CUMBALLA HILL
BOMBAY

From Gujarati : C.W. 9774

253. TELEGRAM TO PRABHASHANKAR PATTANI

BARDOLI,
May 27, 1931

SIR PRABHASHANKAR PATTANI

BHAVNAGAR

THANKS WIRE. COME BARDOLI WHENEVER YOU CAN.

GANDHI

From a photostat : G.N. 5915. Also C.W. 3230. Courtesy : Mahesh Pattani

254. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

BOMBAY,
Silence Day [Before May 28]¹, 1931

CHI. NARANDAS,

I remember your asking me to write to you on silence day and that is why I am writing this letter. Otherwise I really have no time.

Tell the inmates of the Ashram that they should not be very eager to receive letters from me. I have talked and reasoned much and what I taught I have practised as well as I could; let them assimilate as much as they can. We have with us those three shields to protect us, the *Anasaktiyoga*, the *Bhajanavali* and the *Ramayana*. I believe, and I want you all to believe, that the constant reading of these with faith will be a greater source of strength than letters from me or than living with me.

If the Punjabi vaid succeeds in his treatment of Jamna and Kusum, we shall have made a discovery. If he does indeed, we should put Radha and Anandi, too, under his treatment.

How does Santok keep now ?

I have still not been able to find time for writing about the swadeshi vow.

Blessings from

BAPU

¹ From the reference to the discourse on the swadeshi vow, despatched on May 28; *vide* "Letter to Narandas Gandhi", 29-5-1931

[PS.]

I have received a request from Rajkot that I should arrange for a companion for Ratilal who would look after him. Can you think of anyone? The person will of course be well paid.

I am leaving for Borsad today. For the present, therefore, write to me there.

BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro— 9 : Shri Narandas Gandhine, Pt. I, p. 250

255. TO THE U.P. ZAMINDARS

In another column will be found my manifesto to the U.P. *Kisans*.¹ I know that H. E. the Governor does not quite like it inasmuch as it goes beyond the relief given by the U.P. Government. But the advice given to the *kisans* in the manifesto is an honest attempt to express their capacity for payment. I am hoping, therefore, that if the *kisans* pay according to the suggestion made in the manifesto, the zamindars and the local Government will accept the payments in full discharge of the *kisans*' liability. But under the land revenue system prevalent in the U.P. the brunt will in the first instance fall upon the zamindars. I am hoping that the Government will grant proportionate relief to the zamindars who accept the tenants' terms.

To the zamindars I can give my assurance that I endeavoured to study the rural condition as much as it was possible for me to do. With the authoritative figures before me, it was impossible to offer better terms. Here are the two tables of prices :

Index Nos. of the prices of the Principal Food-grains (Wheat, Barley, Gram, Rice and Bajra) on the basis of 1873=100

Year	Prices	Year	Prices
1880	118	1906-10	195
1881-85	100	1911-15	194
1886-90	119	1916-20	272
1891-95	128	1921-25	294
1896-1900	166	1926 300	
1901-05	136	1931 (May, U.P.)	132

¹ *Vide* "To the *Kisans* of the U. P. 23-5-1931

TABLE II

Year	Price per maund in Rupees	Year	Price per maund in Rupees
1880	1.5	1906-10	3.56
1881-85	1.68	1911-15	3.31
1886-90	2.08	1916-20	4.63
1891-95	2.22	1921-25	4.73
1896-1900	2.75	1926-28	4.9
1901-05	2.34	1931 May	2.3

They show that from 1915 there is 50% drop in the prices of staples. These prices go back to 1886. That means that within living memory they have never been so low as now. And if one were to go to the level of rents in those days, the tenants would have to pay much less than 8 as. or 12 as. as under the manifesto. It is admitted that the condition of the tenants has at no time been prosperous during recent years. Indeed an inquiry made in over three hundred U.P. villages in the eastern province shows that the price of the produce at the present rate does not even cover the rents payable. This makes no allowance for the cost of cultivation. I am prepared to admit that the inquiry was not made by experts. It therefore lacks scientific precision. But such as it is, it is revealing enough to make one pause and think.

Mr. Hooper, once a Settlement Officer, is said to have given the following landlords' definition of the U.P. tenant :

One who is ready to live on one meal a day, and in native phrase to sell his wife and children to pay the highest possible rent for his holding, who submits to any cesses it may please his landlord to demand, and who is always willing to work for him without payment, to give evidence for him in court and speaking generally, to do any conceivable thing he is told.

The description is not flattering to the zamindars. But since Mr. Hooper's time the zamindars' ideas have undergone revolution. Many of them are sympathetic to their tenants. They try to make common cause with them. But the process has to be much faster than it has been. With the great awakening among the *kisans* there must be growing dissatisfaction with their lot, and a growing assertion of their rights.

I would like the zamindars to recognize the correctness of the *kisans'* position and make a corresponding change in their own outlook. The present crisis will be somehow tided over. But it would be wrong to go to sleep after it is over.

The zamindars would do well to take the time by the forelock. Let them cease to be mere rent collectors. They should become trustees and trusted friends of their tenants. They should limit their privy purse. Let them forgo the questionable perquisites they take from the tenants in the shape of forced gifts on marriage and other occasions, or *nazarana* on transfer of holdings from one *kisan* to another or on restoration to the same *kisan* after eviction for non-payment of rent. They should give them fixity of tenure, take a lively interest in their welfare, provide well-managed schools for their children, night schools for adults, hospitals and dispensaries for the sick, look after the sanitation of villages and in a variety of ways make them feel that they, the zamindars, are their true friends taking only a fixed commission for their manifold services. In short they must justify their position. They should trust Congressmen. They may themselves become Congressmen and know that the Congress is a bridge between the people and the Government. All who have the true welfare of the people at heart can harness the services of the Congress. Congressmen will on their part see to it that *kisans* scrupulously fulfil their obligations to the zamindars. I mean not necessarily the statutory, but the obligations which they have themselves admitted to be just. They must reject the doctrine that their holdings are absolutely theirs to the exclusion of the zamindars. They are or should be members of a joint family in which the zamindar is the head guarding their rights against encroachment. Whatever the law may be, the zamindari to be defensible must approach the conditions of a joint family.

I like the ideal of Rama and Janaka. They owned nothing against the people. Everything including themselves belonged to the people. They lived in their midst a life not above theirs but in correspondence with theirs. But these may not be regarded as historical personages. Then let us take the example of the great Caliph Omar. Though he was monarch of a vast realm created by his great genius and amazing industry, he lived the life of a pauper and never considered himself owner of the vast treasures that lay at his feet. He was a terror to those officials who squandered people's money in luxuries.

Young India, 28-5-1931

256. NOTES

MAHARAJA SAHEB OF MAHMUDABAD¹

The untimely death of the Maharaja Saheb of Mahmudabad removes one whose wisdom was needed at the present juncture in the life of the nation. He was genuinely anxious to promote Hindu-Muslim unity, and could be relied upon to give sound advice on national matters. I tender my respectful condolences to the deceased's family.

POISONOUS JOURNALISM

I have before me extracts from journals containing some gruesome things. There is communal incitement, gross misrepresentation and incitement to political violence bordering on murder. It is of course easy enough for the Government to launch out prosecutions or to pass repressive ordinances. These fail to serve the purpose intended except very temporarily, and in no case do they convert the writers, who often take to secret propaganda, when the open forum of the Press is denied to them.

The real remedy is healthy public opinion that will refuse to patronize poisonous journals. We have our journalists' Association. Why should it not create a department whose business it would be to study the various journals and find objectionable articles and bring them to the notice of the respective editors? The function of the department will be confined to the establishment of contact with the offending journals and public criticism of offending articles where the contact fails to bring about the desired reform. Freedom of the Press is a precious privilege that no country can forgo. But if there is, as there should be, no legislative check save that of the mildest character, an internal check such as I have suggested should not be impossible and ought not to be resented.

NAVAJUVAN BHARAT SABHA

A member of this Sabha asked me at Muttra Junction whether I had suggested that no Congress member should be a member of that body or *vice versa* I told him that so far as I knew I had never expressed any such opinion. He immediately announced the purport of my reply to the young men on the platform, and said that some Congress member had ascribed such opinion to me, that it was wrong and that now every Congressman was free to join the Sabha as every

¹ A leading nationalist Muslim who died on May 23

member of the Sabha was free to join the Congress. That I had expressed no such opinion as was ascribed to me did not certainly imply that all Congressmen should or were free to join the Sabha. Every Sabha has its own rules. And I should be sorry to find Congressmen joining any of these Sabhas or for that matter any other institution without first ascertaining the condition of membership, the men composing it and the methods of its working. Certainly no one can be bullied into joining an institution. The Navajuvan Bharat Sabha will flourish if it shows a record of constructive service of the nation, never otherwise.

RIVAL CONGRESS COMMITTEES

Whilst at Nainital I heard of rival Congress Committees in the U.P. and elsewhere. I heard too of election disputes in several places. This is a bad sign. There must be something wrong in a place where such unhealthy rivalries take place. The hunt for office in Congress Committees is also a very ugly sign. A Congress office is or should be an opportunity for service. And where service is the motive, there can be no unhealthy rivalry. A man or a woman can easily do service without needing, or hunting for office. Wise servants of the nation will find it more profitable to stand out than to enter into unhealthy competition. Nor need one form a separate organization for the sake of service. Why do I, for instance, need an organization, if I want to teach the children of my village or street, or to sweep it, or to nurse my neighbours, to carry on khadi propaganda or to do kindred acts, all of which promote national well-being and keep me going the whole time?

CONGRESS AND COMMUNALISM

A correspondent asks whether a Congressman who openly identifies himself with communal conferences, and other communal propaganda can hold any office under the Congress organization.

I do not think there is any rule prohibiting the election of any Congressman to any office because of his communalism. But if the Congress is to remain a purely national organization, and is to be absolutely just to all and guardian of weak minorities, Congressmen will never elect those who are known for their communal bias or tendency.

Young India, 28-5-1931

257. CHRISTIAN MISSIONS

I gladly publish the following from Rev. B. W. Tucker:¹

I am in full agreement with you in your protest against the methods employed by Christian missions in their efforts to gain proselytes through education, medical services and the like. Education when used for such purposes is really no education at all, but merely the perpetuation of the present substitute for education initiated by the Government, which no honest missionary, familiar with educational experimentation in the lands from which he comes would tolerate for a minute if his primary interest was education rather than proselytizing. While not denying the right of the sick to relief from their sufferings, it might not be altogether unfair to presume, that it has been proselytizing zeal rather than lack of intelligence that has caused missionary doctors to specialize in hospitals of healing to the neglect of preventive medicine and health work. All humanitarian work must necessarily suffer if men are not dealt with with a single eye to their welfare and development as personalities, and this cannot be the case when they are looked upon merely as candidates for conversion into another social or religious grouping.

. . . It is the spirit of the age, that one's devotion to religion and God should find an immediate return in increased material prosperity, which is the negation of all spiritual religion. . . . In fact the whole Christian community have had their character vitiated by this sort of thing. . . . In no walk of life can the principle be justified that the end justifies the means, but least of all in religion where sincerity must reign supreme.

. . . Jesus had the same passion for social solidarity that has ever characterized Hindu religion at its best. While he was a devout Jew, he was never a communalist, and set his face sternly against everything, which hindered men from realizing their universal brotherhood. For this reason he was opposed to the nationalism of his day, even as you have been opposed to the current tendency towards a divisive nationalism in India. I believe that if modern Christian missions are to be true to their Lord and Master, they will eschew all efforts to proselytize and thus tear men away from their social order with the consequent lack of the sense of responsibility for the advancement of that social order.

. . . This Government has demanded that the non-British missionary not only remain neutral in such vital matters as the economic and political evils of this country, but has compelled him to give a pledge, which the Government has interpreted to mean that the missionary shall actively support the Government. . . . In my

¹ Only extracts are reproduced here.

own case they objected even to my attending political meetings as a visitor, frankly admitting that they had no charge of moral obloquy to make against me, but that the Government interpretation of the pledge I had given would not allow me even this privilege. It is a standing indictment of the alliance of Christian missions in India with the world's greatest collective evil, imperialism, that they have acquiesced in this arrangement.

It is for this reason that I am pleased that you have signified that you would not perpetuate this evil in a swaraj government by creating any legal enactment compelling missionaries to withdraw if they failed to give up their proselytizing activities. No government can afford to abridge freedom of religion in this way. . . .

While I am sympathetic with your criticism of the exclusive claim of Christianity as the superior religion, I must protest against the implications of your statement that the religions of India are adequate for her. . . .

I can have nothing to add to this letter. But I must adhere to the statement to which Rev. Tucker takes exception and which is, "Religions of India are adequate for her." This surely means nothing more than that she does not need to change them. But as the context of the article in which the statement occurs shows, it does not mean that the professors of the respective faiths have nothing to learn. If there is sympathetic contact established between the various faiths and no evil designs suspected, each can gain a great deal from the rest. What is resisted is the idea of gaining converts and that too not always by fair and open means.

Young India, 28-5-1931

258. PANCHAYATS

Panchayat has an ancient flavour; it is a good word. It literally means an assembly of five elected by villagers. It represents the system, by which the innumerable village republics of India were governed. But the British Government, by its ruthlessly through method of revenue collection, almost destroyed these ancient republics, which could not stand the shock of this revenue collection. Congressmen are now making a crude attempt to revive the system by giving village elders civil and criminal jurisdiction. The attempt was first made in 1921. It failed. It is being made again, and it will fail if

it is not systematically and decently, I will not say, scientifically, tried.

It was reported to me in Nainital, that in certain places in the U.P. even criminal cases like rape were tried by the so-called Panchayats. I heard of some fantastic judgments pronounced by ignorant or interested Panchayats. This is what comes to me from far off Assam:

It has been ascertained that the Congress Committee at Chaparmukh has set up a sort of rival administrative machinery there for the trial and disposal of civil and criminal cases. There are a few branch offices in the neighbourhood of Chaparmukh which dispose of similar business. At Chaparmukh office registers are being maintained for civil and criminal cases. It is understood that fines are imposed in criminal cases, and decrees are passed in civil suits, and that in a few cases attachments of property have been made or attempted in execution of decrees.

This is all bad if it is true. Irregular Panchayats are bound to fall to pieces under their own unsupportable weight. I suggest therefore the following rules for the guidance of village workers:

1. No Panchayat should be set up without the written sanction of a Povincial Congress Committee;
2. A Panchayat should in the first instance be elected by a public meeting called for the purpose by beat of drum;
3. It should be recommended by the Tehsil Committee;
4. Such Panchayat should have no criminal jurisdiction;
5. It may try civil suits if the parties to them refer their disputes to the Panchayat;
6. No one should be compelled to refer any matter to the Panchayat;
7. No Panchayat should have any authority to impose fines, the only sanction behind its civil decrees being its moral authority, strict impartiality and the willing obedience of the parties concerned;
8. There should be no social or other boycott for the time being;
9. Every Panchayat will be expected to attend to;

- (a) The education of boys and girls in its village;
- (b) Its sanitation;
- (c) Its medical needs;
- (d) The upkeep and cleanliness of village wells or ponds;
- (e) The uplift of and the daily wants of the so-called untouchables;

10. A Panchayat, that fails without just cause to attend to the requirements mentioned in clause 9 within six months of its election, or fails otherwise to retain the goodwill of the villagers, or stands self-condemned for any other cause, appearing sufficient to the Provincial Congress Committee, may be disbanded and another elected in its place.

The disability to impose fines or social boycott is a necessity of the case in the initial stages. Social boycott in villages has been found to be a dangerous weapon in the hands of ignorant or unscrupulous men. Imposition of fines too may lead to mischief and defeat the very end in view. Where a Panchayat is really popular and increases its popularity by the constructive work of the kind suggested in clause 9, it will find its judgments and authority respected by reason of its moral prestige. And that surely is the greatest sanction any one can possess and of which one cannot be deprived.

Young India, 28-5-1931

259. SALT

Simla has issued the following welcome communique:

Since the conclusion of the Settlement between Lord Irwin and Mr. Gandhi, the Government of India have been engaged in settling the details of arrangements and regulations in various districts to give effect to clause 20 of the Settlement, which related to the collection and manufacture of salt by local residents in villages immediately adjoining the areas where salt could be collected or made. These details in all cases are now practically completed, and the general manner in which effect is to be given to the arrangement may be stated as follows:

1. Clause 20 is intended to benefit the poor classes. It will be open, therefore, to those in villages adjoining the salt areas to make or collect salt for domestic use and sale in their respective villages.

NOTE: Domestic use shall include use for manure, cattle or fishcuring by individual fishermen.

2. For this purpose villagers may make salt pans or beds.

3. There should be no sale of salt for purpose of trade outside the villages. It follows, therefore, that such salt can be carried only on foot and not in carts or such other conveyances.

4. Wherever manufacture of salt under the foregoing clauses is permitted, salt pans will not be directed or otherwise interfered with by Government officers, and regular watches will be withdrawn.

5. The concession will be withdrawn from the villages where it is found that it is abused. Wherever it is discovered that salt is manufactured or collected in quantities above the requirements of a particular village, the abuse of the concession will be presumed.

I hope that workers will understand and carefully explain these instructions to the villagers, so that the limits are not overstepped.

Young India, 28-5-1931

260. TO DESHSEVIKAS

May 28, 1931

When I was in Bombay, I wished to meet the *deshsevikas*. I tried to find time to do so, but I could not meet all of them. Finally, the women contented themselves with writing a letter signed by all. Till today, I have not been able to write even a few lines to express my

gratitude to them. It is true that I was unable to find time to write while travelling, but the fact is that I also forgot to write when I could have done so. I hope these women will forgive me. Some account of the work done by the *deshsevikas* did appear in the newspapers and, as I received two or three newspapers while in prison, I could get some idea of their work. My heart used to dance with joy on reading about their ceaseless service and their fearlessness. It is my hope that, with the very same enthusiasm, these women will do hereafter the more difficult constructive work and bring credit to themselves and to the country. The world has certainly been astonished at what Indian women have achieved in the past twelve months. But their task does not end there. This is merely the beginning.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 31-5-1931

261. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

May 28, 1931

CHI. PRABHA,

I got your letter. If the marriage cannot be celebrated before the end of June, you should come away just now and return afterwards for a week for the marriage. According to me, every day should be treated as an auspicious day on which a marriage can be celebrated. If, however, the marriage cannot be celebrated soon and if Father and Mother willingly permit you to come away, you should do so immediately. But you may stay on for the whole of June if they are likely to feel hurt. You may go to Sitabadiyara, too, and stay there for some time and do your duty to the family. If you have to stay on, you should write to uncle¹, Babaji and Vinoba about it and get their permission. I, on my part, will also speak to them. You alone know all the relevant circumstances for deciding whether you should stay on there; you should, therefore, do what seems best to you in the light of the circumstances there.

Write a strong letter to Jayaprakash in regard to the pain from which he suffers. If you stay on there, take an opportunity to meet him.

Keep up some study.

Gangabehn gave birth to a daughter. The child lived for a day

¹ Jamnalal Bajaj, according to *Bapuna Patro—10: Shri Prabhavatibehnne*

and died.

Amtulsalaam feels rather unhappy. I cannot say whether she will continue to stay here till you return.

Why have you asked for slivers to be sent to you from here? Of course I will send them, but you yourself ought to card cotton. If the effort gives you pain in your hand, you should teach some others to card. Is there no one even in Chhapra who spins? And if a person spins, cannot he card? Wherever we stay, we should do our best to obtain slivers locally.

What is your weight?

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I will leave on the 29th and return on June 3.

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 3412

262. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

BARDOLI,
May 28, 1931

CHI. NARANDAS,

I got your letter. Write to Hanuman Singh's relations and tell them that his death has both grieved me and made me happy. His body had wasted away and it is good that it has perished. The soul which dwelt in that body is immortal. Since I knew him personally, I was bound to feel grieved at his passing away, but such grief ought to be suppressed. I, therefore, felt the pain only for a moment. Let the relations, too, feel in the same way. Translate this into Hindi and send it to them along with a copy of the Gujarati. Who is the Shankarrao who was bitten by a snake? How is he now? How did he come to be bitten by a snake? Did it get under his foot in the river or did it bite him unprovoked?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati : M.M.U./I

263. *LETTER TO V. G. DESAI*

BARDOLI,
May 28, 1931

BHAISHRI VALJI,

Did you in any way benefit from your stay in the hospital? Or, are things just as they were? Don't let your constipation remain. If you come over here as soon as you get this letter, we will banish your constipation altogether.

I have written to Bhai Mohanlal about your article.

It seems that the Foreword did not reach you after all. Here is another :

“These eleven points have been explained so clearly that everybody may understand them. If every reader, having understood these points, immediately starts acting upon as many of them as he finds practicable, how very near would swaraj be?

MOHANDAS GANDHI”

Though I send you this Foreword, I wonder whether the eleven points have not become twenty now. Why won't you write about all of them? But in this matter you know better.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : C.W. 7414. Courtesy : V. G. Desai

264. *LETTER TO JAMNADAS GANDHI*

BARDOLI,
May 28, 1931

CHI. JAMNADAS,

I have your letter of the 22nd; but the earlier one has not yet reached me. I fail to see why you are reluctant to write to the Doctor. Why should you feel any hesitation in explaining the facts as they are? I see nothing odd in your wish to ask Lallubhai to accompany you when you take Ratilal to Thana. He must be a strange man who, though he has enough money, refuses to spend it at such a time. For whose sake should he hoard and save? I did get the telegram about Anna, and I replied to say that he would not be able to go. It is possible, however, that he want on his own.

How is the State being ruled? What happened to that petition in regard to drinking?

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

At present I am here only.

From Gujarati : C. W. 9323. Courtesy : Jamnadas Gandhi

265. LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR

BARDOLI,

May 28, 1931

CHI. LILAVATI,

Received your letter. Do come if you can get leave, I am going to be at Bardoli for the time being. You have to find peace by your own efforts. Do not mistake for real the peace you get through hectic activity.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

266. INTERVIEW TO THE PRESS

BARDOLI,

May 28, 1931

Interviewed in connection with the report appearing in a Bombay paper saying that an ugly situation was again developing in and around Bardoli, Gandhiji declared :

I urge upon the public to disbelieve all sensational statements and be unruffled by them. It is news to me that the peasants have no intention to pay the land revenue. I do know that the peasants have been paying to the utmost of their ability all the time and are still paying. I hope to be able shortly to make a public statement to show how punctiliously correct Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and other workers in the Civil Disobedience Movement have been in implementing the Delhi Settlement.

The Hindustan Times, 30-5-1931

267. LETTER TO R. M. MAXWELL

BARDOLI,
May 29, 1931

DEAR MR. MAXWELL,

I thank you for your several letters which I hope to deal with as fast as time permits me. But I must make time to reply to your latest, i.e., of the 25th instant and the previous one, i.e., of the 24th instant.

I do not know what there can be in the *prabhat pheris* to object to. Though they took form during the Civil Disobedience campaign they were in themselves quite innocent. I do not know how far they disturb the peace of citizens. During my recent travels, I found them more or less in vogue in the other cities too. I can understand prohibition of inflammatory songs. But I do not know that the Government will be right in interfering with this innocent and beautiful institution which reminds citizens of their duty towards their Creator in early morning.

With reference to the Seva Dals the practices they go through are not new. They have for years been going through them without any interference. If there is anything specific that is objected to, I would like it to be specified. I am unable without further information to endorse the suggestion that 'these camps do not wholly reflect the spirit of the Settlement and that they are calculated in some degree to delay the restoration of normal conditions and feelings'.

As to the other letter, i.e., about liquor sales it comes upon me with painful surprise.

If whilst liquor picketing is recognized as legitimate, the Government counteract it through several practices even considered illegal, and contend that such practices are not in contravention of the Settlement, I venture to suggest that nothing that the Government may do or may not do need be deemed to be in contravention of it.

But your letter tells me that the present practice of sale out of ordinary hours and outside ordinary places of sale is perfectly legal. This I must confess is a revelation for which I was wholly unprepared. It means that the Collectors are guided by no legal restrictions or regulations that the public need know. Indeed if such is the condition of liquor law or rather if the sale of liquor is governed by no law save the will of Collectors, the sooner the public is informed of the fact the

better for it. And it will be a serious matter for the Congress Working Committee to consider.

His Excellency will permit me to say that he is evidently unaware of the fact that picketing in Ahmedabad has been accepted by the previous District Officer and the Superintendent of Police as the most peaceful and inoffensive. His Excellency is also evidently unaware of the fact that the picketing was started by the Labour Union in the interest of labour long before the Civil Disobedience campaign was inaugurated. It has been admired by strangers from the West who have visited Ahmedabad.

His Excellency will pardon me for saying that the opening of the last paragraph of your letter betrays amazing ignorance of the working of picketing in Ahmedabad. I state here for his information that the Labour Union including the drinkers are thankful for this watch and it is the Union that has borne the expenses. It was surely His Excellency's duty to be sure of his facts on which undeserved reflections upon the conduct of an honourable body of men and women are based.

The suggestion contained in the last sentence that such picketing cannot be peaceful implies a reflection on Lord Irwin who negotiated the Settlement which reflection I am sure His Excellency could never have intended.

In conclusion I repeat my humble opinion that if the practice of liquor sales now going on in Ahmedabad continues, the continuation will be in breach of the spirit if not the letter of the Settlement.

I am,
Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

A.I.C.C. File No. 4, 1931, part II. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

268. LETTER TO GANGABEHN JHAVERI

May 29, 1931

CHI. GANGABEHN,

Chhaganlal informs me that you have come to Nadiad. I also hear that you wish to see me. You may come whenever you wish. I shall not be required to go to Borsad for some time. Send the accompanying letter to Navin wherever he is.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 3114

269. LETTER TO PADMA

BARDOLI,
May 29, 1931

CHI. PADMA,

I met your father in Nainital. Do you write to him? How is your health now? Write to me and give me all the news about yourself.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 6119. Also C.W. 3471. Courtesy : Prabhudas Gandhi

270. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

BARDOLI,
May 29, 1931

CHI. PRABHAVATI,

You must have received my letter. For some days, I could get no time to write to you. I did write to Narandas, however, about sending you money. I shall most probably be in Bardoli up to 7th June. Write to me here and give all details. My health is good. The diet remains the same, milk and fruits.

Blessings from

BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro—10 : Shri Prabhavatibehnne, p. 48.

271. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

BARDOLI,
May 29, 1931

CHI. NARANDAS,

I sent yesterday an article¹ for *Navajivan* on the swadeshi vow. It will be one of the discourses on the Ashram vows, that is, the discourses included in the series *Mangalprabhat*. With this is a letter for Dahibehn Sonabhai. She was a member of the Stri Swaraj Sangh,

¹ *Vide* "The Law of Swadeshi", 18-6-1931

Udwada Bazaar, but had asked for permission to resign from it. She may not, therefore, be in Udwada. Send the letter to her, wherever she is.

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

I had sent from jail a translation of Ramdas Swami's couplet¹ about handwriting. If you can find it, send it to me. I am not enclosing Dahibehn's letter. She is at Udwada.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati : M.M.U./I.

272. LETTER TO MANGALA S. PATEL

BARDOLI,

May 29, 1931

CHI. MANGALA,

I had your letter. But I can write only when I find time, is that not so? I shall search for the poem of Ramdas Swami² and publish it in the *Navajivan*. You must then write as instructed in it.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C. W. 11094. Courtesy: Pushpa Naik

273. LETTER TO SUMANGAL PRAKASH

BARDOLI,

May 29, 1931

CHI. SUMANGAL,

I had your letter, but have so far never had time to answer it. I came to know afterwards that the two of you had come to the station at Moradabad to see me. But I was then asleep.

It will be good if Kanta can be admitted to Dakshinamurti. It will also be good if she studies at home and sits for the examination of the Karve Institute.

¹ *Das Bodha*, XIX. 1

² Maharashtrian saint-poet

It was difficult to have the ban lifted from the proscribed books. . .¹ It seemed to be going beyond propriety to mix with the matter things which were to be decided in a matter of months.

I do hope you are now getting *Young India* and *Navajivan*.

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

Are you now fully recovered in health?

From a photostat of the Hindi: Sumangal Prakash Papers. Courtesy: Nehru memorial Museum and Library

274. LETTER TO CHANDRAKANTA

BARDOLI,

May 29, 1931

CHI. KANTA,

I have your letter. I have written about you to Brother and so I will not repeat it here. You should never worry about my health. It is all right. Keep to me. How is your health?

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: Chandrakanta Papers. Courtesy: Gandhi National Museum and Library

275. LETTER TO MANGALA S. PATEL

*Silence Day, [After May 29, 1931]*²

CHI. MANGALA,

I have your letter. Your handwriting is passably good. But there are too many blotches. Do you remember Ramdas Swami's song I sent you in this connection?³

Blessings from

BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati : C. W. 11103. Courtesy : Pushpa Naik

¹ Omission as in the source

² From the contents; *vide* "Letter to Mangala S. Patel", 29-5-1931.

³ For Gandhiji's references to Ramdas Swami's stanzas on the importance of good handwriting, *vide* "Letter to Hari-Ichchha Desai", 10-8-1930 and "Letter to Vinodbala", 27-9-1930

276. *LETTER TO K. F. NARIMAN*

AS AT SABARMATI,
May 30, 1931

MY DEAR NARIMAN,

I enclose herewith a copy of the latest from Sardar Garda and my reply. Unless you still think there is any use negotiating please follow up the suggestion made by you in your letter to Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel about legal procedure. If there is no cause of action and if there is to be no further negotiation, let us forget the matter at least for the time being.

Yours sincerely,

Encls. 2

SYT. K. F. NARIMAN

C/O BOMBAY PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE

CONGRESS HOUSE, GIRGAUM BACK ROAD

BOMBAY

From a photostat : S.N. 17165

277. *LETTER TO F. KOTHAWALA*

BARDOLI,
May 30, 1931

DEAR MR. KOTHAWALA,

I now send herewith a note on allegations against Patel Jehangir of Varad. If an impartial open inquiry is held, full evidence will be led before the tribunal in support of all the allegations. There is no objection on the part of the people to the inquiry being entirely open.

Moreover, according to my information, Patel Jehangir holds a liquor license which, in my opinion, should be an effective bar against the holding of a Patelship. As the allegations made against this Patel are serious and as complaints about his high-handed treatment of the villagers continue to come in I request an early public investigation or an early removal from the office he holds. I must add that the question of undesirability is raised without prejudice to the general question, namely, that the temporary appointments, no matter of what duration, are, in my opinion, only temporary in terms of the Settlement and in no sense permanent,

especially when it is known that these appointments are for so many years or until further orders.

Yours sincerely,

Encl. 1

F. KOTHAWALA, ESQ.
COLLECTOR OF SURAT DT.
BARDOLI

A.I.C.C. File No. 16C-1931. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

278. LETTER TO FRAMROZE B. GARDA

BARDOLI,
May 30, 1931

DEAR SARDAR GARDA,

I have your letter. If you will not accept arbitration in the matter of your complaints, I do not know how to give you satisfaction. The matter must now pass into lawyers' hands and if they advise that the letter written by you undertaking to restore the lands in question to the original holders against the consideration named by you gives sufficient cause of action, law must take its course.

Yours sincerely,

SARDAR FRAMROZE GARDA
NAVSARI

A.I.C.C. File No. 16-C, 1931. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

279. LETTER TO RATILAL

BARDOLI,
May 30, 1931

BHAI RATILAL,

I got your letter. Work patiently and overcome your difficulties. Do have a discussion with Narandas about weavers.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 7166

280. *LETTER TO FULCHAND K. SHAH*

BARDOLI,
May 30, 1931

BHAISHRI FULCHAND,

I have learnt about the Dhrol¹ incident. My own view is that you should now forget all about the demand for the national flag. If you like, two or three of you may come to see me. It seems to me that many things are being done in haste. On your side, the right course at present is to apply yourselves exclusively to the boycott of foreign cloth through propagation of khadi, and to the campaign against drinking. Besides, there is no dearth of social reforms which need to be brought about.

Take every step after careful thought.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 9193. Also C.W. 2844. Courtesy :
Shardabehn Shah

281. *LETTER TO NARAYAN MORESHWAR KHARE*

May 30, 1931

CHI. PANDITJI,

I got your letter.

As for the boys and girls living in the Ashram who have joined the Vidyapith, I have already communicated my views to Kaka. Briefly, they are as follows : Though there is not much to justify the view that the students who had joined the movement should not return to the Ashram I would not oppose it either. The question is, what can they do if they cannot work elsewhere? Ordinarily, the Vidyapith would be the only choice. But we got alarmed when others, too, began to give up manual work and go away. It may also have happened that, under the pretext of exercising self-control and not returning to the Ashram, the students satisfied their desire for joining the Vidyapith. But we cannot hold back a flood. So I let the students do what they liked. There is a long history behind all this. It is difficult to say how far the students' action is inspired by their desire to join the Vidyapith and how far by a clear sense of duty. Ask me if

¹ A town in Saurashtra

you fail to follow anything in this. Show this letter to those who had doubts in the matter.

Write to me from time to time and inform me how Rambhau is faring.

I have followed what you say about Chi. Gajanan. There is no harm in letting him satisfy his love of painting. It is very good indeed that, at the same time, he also does spinning, etc.

I was eager to revise the draft of *Mananvishi* while I was in jail. But I was released before I could do so, and found myself again in the thick of affairs. Now print the thing off as it is. I have already given you one “meditation” to be added.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : C.W. 215. Courtesy : LakshmiBehn Khare

282. LETTER TO GANGABEHN VAIDYA

BARDOLI,

May 30, 1931

CHI. GANGABEHN,

Why do you feel so unhappy? After all, no great tragedy has struck you down. There is no law that no one shall die young. Moreover, you and I have not one child, but countless children. Some of them will die and others will be born to take their place. Why, then, keep count of who dies and who lives? We should do our best to serve those who happen to be near us. It will then be the same to us that someone lives and another dies.

If the secretary has made the necessary arrangements, we need not think about the matter any further.

Cultivate non-attachment.

Blessings from

BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro – 6 : G. S. Gangabehnne, pp. 53-4. Also C.W. 8775. Courtesy : Gangabehn Vaidya

283. *LETTER TO KASTURBHAI LALBHAI*

BARDOLI,
May 30, 1931

BHAISHRI KASTURBHAI,

The delay in implementing the resolution of the Swadeshi Sabha to take over the foreign goods lying with the merchants of Ahmedabad seems to me dangerous. Cannot the matter be settled soon? I am writing a letter to somewhat the same effect to Chimanlal also.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original : S.N. 33145

284. *LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA*

BARDOLI,
May 30, 1931

BHAI GHANSHYAMDAS,

I saw your letter to Mahadev. You have sent the correct reply to Polak. I had sent an almost similar reply¹ to the cable from those gentlemen. Even now I hold that my going would be pointless until the Hindu-Muslim problem is resolved. But, to go to meet the members of the Cabinet and other people is another thing.

Subhasbabu met me again and we had a long talk. But it is difficult to say anything; I saw Sen Gupta's letter in the newspapers yesterday. Let us see what happens on the 9th. I have asked Subhasbabu too to come over.

Yours,
MOHANDAS

From a copy of Hindi : C.W. 7886. Courtesy : G. D. Birla

¹ *Vide* "Cable to V. S. Srinivasa Sastri", 23-5-1931

285. TELEGRAM TO WILLIAM SHIRER ¹

[On or after May 30, 1931]²

WILLIAM SHIRER
CECIL HOTEL
SIMLA

YOUR WIRE. ALL REPORTS UNAUTHORIZED BEING UNINTELLEGENANT ANTICIPATION. SO FAR AS I CAN SEE ABSENCE COMMUNAL QUESTION BLOCKS MY WAY PARTICIPATION ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE. DELICATE SITUATION AND IRWIN-GANDHI SETTLEMENT MAKES MY IMMEDIATE LEAVING INDIA DIFFICULT. APART FROM THESE DIFFICULTIES I AM ANXIOUS ATTEND ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE AND TAKE FULL SHARE DELIBERATIONS AND PRESS CONGRESS DEMAND. AM THEREFORE SEEKING WAY OUT OF DIFFICULTY. BUT IF COMMUNAL QUESTION IS NOT SOLVED HERE AND SETTLEMENT DIFFICULTY IS OVER AND IF I AM REQUIRED TO PROCEED TO LONDON TO EXPLAIN CONGRESS POSITION TO RESPONSIBLE STATESMEN AND PUBLIC IN GREAT BRITAIN I HAVE TOLD FRIENDS I SHOULD HOLD MYSELF READINESS PROCEED LONDON. IN SHORT I AM ANXIOUS SECURE PERMANENT PEACE BY NEGOTIATION CONSISTENTLY WITH FUNDAMENTAL POSITION CONGRESS.

From a photostat : S.N. 17167

286. THE LAW OF SWADESHI³

Swadeshi is the law of laws enjoined by the present age. Spiritual laws, like Nature's laws need no enacting; they are selfacting. But through ignorance or other causes man often neglects or disobeys them. It is then vows are needed to steady one's course. A man who is by temperament a vegetarian needs no vow to strengthen his vegetarianism. For, the sight of animal food, instead of tempting him would only excite his disgust. The law of swadeshi is ingrained in the basic nature of man but it has today sunk into oblivion. Hence the necessity for the vow of swadeshi. In its ultimate and spiritual sense swadeshi stands for the final emancipation of the human soul from its

¹ Correspondent of Chicago Tribune

² The addressee's telegram, to which this is a reply is dated May 30.

³ The Gujarati original of this appeared in *Navajivan*, 31-5-1931. This is a translation by Pyarelal.

earthly bondage. For, this earthly tabernacle is not its natural or permanent abode, it is a hindrance in its onward journey, it stands in the way of its realizing its oneness with other lives. A votary of swadeshi therefore, in his striving to identify himself with the entire creation seeks to be emancipated from the bondage of the physical body.

If this interpretation of swadeshi be correct then it follows that its votary will as a first duty dedicate himself to the service of his immediate neighbours. This involves exclusion or even sacrifice of the interests of the rest but the exclusion or the sacrifice would be apparent only. Pure service of one's neighbours can never, from its very nature result in disservice to those who are remotely situated, rather the contrary. 'As with the individual so with the universe' is an unfailing principle which we would do well to lay to heart. On the other hand a man who allows himself to be lured by 'the distant scene' and runs to the ends of the earth for service, is not only foiled in his ambition but fails in his duty towards his neighbours also. Take a concrete instance. In the particular place where I live I have certain persons as my neighbours, some relations and dependents. Naturally, they all feel, as they have a right to, that they have a claim on me and look to me for help and support. Suppose now I leave them all at once and set out to serve people in a distant place. My decision would throw my little world of neighbours and dependents out of gear while my gratuitous knight-errantry would more likely than not disturb the atmosphere in the new place. Thus a culpable neglect of my immediate neighbours and an unintended disservice to the people whom I wish to serve would be the first fruits of my violation of the principles of swadeshi.

It is not difficult to multiply such instances. That is why the *Gita* says: "It is better to die performing one's duty or *swadharma*, but *para-dharma*, or another's duty, is fraught with danger."¹ Interpreted in terms of one's physical environment this gives us the law of swadeshi. What the *Gita* says with regard to *swadharma* equally applies to swadeshi also, for swadeshi is *swadharma* applied to one's immediate environment.

It is only when the doctrine of swadeshi is wrongly understood that mischief results, e.g., it would be a travesty of the doctrine of swadeshi, if to coddle my family I set about grabbing money by all

¹ III. 35

means fair or foul. The law of swadeshi requires me no more than to discharge my legitimate obligations towards my family by just means, and the attempt to do so will reveal to me the Universal Code of Conduct. The practice of swadeshi can never do harm to anyone and if it does it is not *swadharma* but egotism that moves me.

There may come occasions when a votary of swadeshi may be called upon to sacrifice his family at the altar of universal service. Such an act of willing immolation will then constitute the highest service rendered to the family. "Whosoever wants to save his life will lose it, and whosoever loses his life for the Lord's sake will find it," holds good for the family group no less than the individual. Take another instance. Supposing there is an outbreak of the plague in my village and in trying to serve the victims of the epidemic I, my wife and children and all the rest of my family are wiped out of existence, then in inducing those dearest and nearest to join me I will not have acted as the destroyer of my family but on the contrary as its truest friend. In swadeshi there is no room for selfishness, or if there is selfishness in it, it is of the highest type which is not different from the highest altruism. Swadeshi in its purest form is the acme of universal service.

It was by following this line of argument that I hit upon khadi as a necessary and the most important corollary of the principle of swadeshi in its application to society. 'What is the kind of service,' I asked myself, 'that the teeming millions of India most need at the present time, that can be easily understood and appreciated by all, that is easy to perform and will at the same time enable the crores of our semi-starved countrymen to live, and the reply came that it is the universalization of khadi or the spinning wheel alone that can fulfil these conditions.

Let no one suppose that the practice of swadeshi through khadi would harm the foreign mill-owners. A thief who is weaned from his vice or is made to return the property that he has stolen is not harmed thereby, on the contrary he is the gainer consciously in the one case, un-consciously in the other. Similarly if all the opium addicts or the drunkards in the world were to shake themselves free from their vice, the canteen keepers or the opium vendors who would be deprived of their customers could not be said to be losers. They would be the gainers in the truest sense of the word. The elimination of the 'wages of sin' is never a loss either to the individual concerned or to society;

it is pure gain.

It is the greatest delusion to suppose that the duty of swadeshi begins and ends with merely spinning so much yarn anyhow and wearing khadi made from it. Khadi is the first indispensable step towards the discharge of swadeshi dharma towards society. One often meets men who wear khadi but in all other things indulge their taste for foreign manufactures with a vengeance. Such men cannot be said to be practising swadeshi. They are simply following the fashion. A votary of swadeshi will carefully study his environment and try to help his neighbours wherever possible by giving preference to local manufactures even if they are of an inferior grade or dearer in price than things manufactured else-where. He will try to remedy their defects but will not give them up because of their defects and take to foreign manufactures.

But even swadeshi like any other good thing can be ridden to death if it is made a fetish. That is a danger that must be guarded against. To reject foreign manufactures merely because they are foreign and to go on wasting notional time and money to promote manufactures in one's country for which it is not suited would be criminal folly and a negation of the swadeshi spirit. A true votary of swadeshi will never harbour ill-will towards the foreigner, he will not be moved by antagonism towards anybody on earth. Swadeshim is not a cult of hatred. It is a doctrine of selfless service that has its roots in the purest ahimsa, i.e., love.

Young India, 18-6-1931

287. LIMITS TO FREEDOM

Some Digambar¹ Jains have asked the Sardar how, in the face of the Congress resolution passed at Karachi regarding fundamental rights and duties, assuring religious freedom under swaraj, anyone can object to Digambar Jain sadhus roaming about naked in accordance with their religion. The Sardar had replied that religious freedom could not imply that an act which appeared indecent to many or hurts their feelings was permissible. And he had said it was his opinion that despite being sadhus, if they went about naked, it was bound to hurt people's feelings.

I feel that the Sardar could have possibly given no other reply. I myself believe that the ideal state for all human beings is nakedness.

¹ Literally, those who regard the sky as their garment

But an ideal human being would always be innocent and free of passions or desires. Without such innocence, anyone roaming about naked would be regarded as a sinful man.

There is no reason to conclude that because Digambar sadhus are known as sadhus they would necessarily be free of all passions. Even if they are so, it is their dharma to keep within the bounds of social decency. A few Jains may understand the state of these sadhus. But society by and large will fail to comprehend it and its feelings will be hurt. These naked sadhus have no need to visit cities. If they have, they should observe the minimum bounds of decency prescribed for citizens. Instead of doing that if they insist upon entering cities in a naked state, or if the *shravakas*¹ insist upon this, in my opinion it would be regarded as *adharmā*². I myself am fond of the state of nakedness. If I were living in a lonely forest I would remain in that state, but in this world full of passions, there is little likelihood of this becoming the commonly accepted practice. For the preservation of morality even great men of every persuasion have to cover their private parts; it is their dharma to do so. Freedom, both individual and religious, has always had and will always have many limits. Religion does not hanker after rights, it hungers for restraints and restrictions. Anyone who knows religion and practises it does not think in terms of his rights. Nudity cannot be one's duty. It is one's duty to abandon all possessions. That is a dharma of the mind. If anyone puts any burden on me, that is not possession. But it becomes so if I start enjoying that burden. The sadhu who bears the burden of the loin-cloth for the preservation of the social order does not violate the principle of non-possession but rather exercises selfcontrol. The sadhu who insists upon going about naked without worrying about the feelings of society is self-willed. The following dictum of the *Gita* is pertinent in this context: "For me there is naught to do in the three worlds, yet I am ever in action. If I were not to perform my task, these worlds would be ruined; I should be the cause of chaos and of the end of all mankind."³ Sadhus should not do anything which would harm the people. Let society never encourage them to do so.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 31-5-1931

¹ Lay followers of Jainism

² Violation of dharma

³ III. 22-24

288. NOTES

DISTINGUISHING SWADESHI FROM FOREIGN GOODS

The following question¹ has been received regarding this subject:

No royal road has been found for distinguishing foreign from swadeshi cloth. A picketer should acquaint himself well with this distinction. And hence the general advice is that no one should purchase from uncertified shops. These certificates are of two kinds: Those issued by the All-India Spinners' Association in regard to khadi and those issued by the Swadeshi Sabha in respect of cloth manufactured by Indian textile mills. I do not know if this second type of certificate has yet been issued. But khadi exclusively is the simpler way out. Where falsehood has become almost universal, the sentiment for khadi alone will stand the people in good stead. Untruth has entered even the domain of khadi, or, in other words, deceit is being practised with regard to it also; yet there is minimum room for deceit in it. Moreover, those who spin at home have nothing to fear.

Then the question will arise as to what a picketing *sevika*² should do. If she shares my faith in khadi, she would regard picketing as a means for carrying on propaganda for khadi and, while turning the customers away from shops selling foreign cloth, she would direct them towards those selling khadi. If the latter do not take this course, she will remain patient and have faith that there is no other way to boycott foreign cloth. And even if there is one, it is futile; moreover, it is also well worth remembering that there is no special merit in boycotting foreign cloth. Such boycott is both useful and necessary for khadi propaganda. The woman picket who realizes this basic truth will not be insulted—because she will not feel insulted—or perplexed. She has somehow to carry on khadi propaganda for the sake of the poor. Other activities involve fear, insult, dishonesty and result in no benefit to the poor.

BUYER'S OBSTINACY³

The answer to this question should be regarded as having been

¹ Not translated here

² A woman volunteer

³ This was in reply to a question how to satisfy a customer who insisted on a particular kind of khadi only.

included in the above. If the customer is obstinate, we should be a hundredfold so. The customer's obstinacy has no ground, ours has a strong one. "The khadi that he wants" cannot mean that he should get khadi as soft as satin made in Paris at the very same price. Anyone who wears khadi has no other alternative but to wear khadi whether coarse or fine. We should remember that we cannot satisfy all people. It is not our job to satisfy everyone; rather, everybody should suit himself to the needs of the poor, that is, be satisfied. Khadi alone is the refuge of the afflicted. We should be patient even with those who disregard it.

SUCH PICKETS ARE TOO FEW¹

If the number of women pickets is five and there are five hundred shops, let them deal with only five shops or even with only one. Propaganda for khadi is a matter of dharma and not policy. Hence regardless of whether there is only one picket or many, that dharma must be performed. It will be good even if only one shopkeeper relents. It is not as if in this matter an individual shopkeeper did not have to act till all shopkeepers acted and gave up selling foreign cloth. Even if only one gives up, the five women should continue picketing, thinking that the work has progressed to that extent. Seeing them picketing, other women will come forward. If their picketing produces an effect on one merchant, there is a likelihood of its having an effect on the others also. If this does not happen, the merchant who relented will have no cause for regret. If trading in foreign cloth is a sin, although others may continue to be sinful he who has realized that this practice is sinful will give it up. It has always been thus. If I had waited for everyone, propaganda for khadi could never have been done. A Herculean task calls for Herculean courage.

"It is because of his courage that Columbus discovered a new world," says a poet. But Columbus's courage was exhibited for his own pleasure. It was not intended to serve anyone. Underlying it was his desire to discover a new world and to amass the wealth to be found in it. In order to do so, he navigated the seas; then how much more courage should we show in order to cloth the crores of naked people of

¹ This was written in reply to a correspondent who had observed that picketing was going to prove infructuous from the practical point of view.

India? The *sevika* who shares Columbus's faith and has his patience will continue her work even if she is alone. Day by day she will gain new strength and new faith, and will think of new ways of doing her work or, the "Kindly Light" will point out new paths to her. Meanwhile, she would sing:

"One step enough for me."

POOR MAN¹

This question implies disparagement of khadi or one may say it implies ignorance of the importance of khadi. Has it been raised because it is supposed that producing khadi is an easy job or one for which only a few persons are needed? Khadi work is a great science which has so far been imperfectly studied. Let as many people, young and old, as may wish, take up this work; there cannot be too many of them. How many men will be required in order to meet the needs of seven hundred thousand villages? Khadi work is so vast that even if a hundred thousand men give eight hours a day to it, some work will still remain undone. In this very issue, there is a brief account of the production and sale of khadi in Gujarat alone. A glance at this should give everyone an idea of how many men are required for khadi work.

But I am aware that there is another question behind the above question, viz, khadi work is all very well, but if a man finds it uninteresting, what should he do? Such men should remove the filth in villages; they should instead of making speeches for that purpose, take up a broom and clean up roads and latrines, stop garbage heaps from forming and spread rules of sanitation among the people. Although the women will do picketing, they will need much help in doing so; that help should be given by men; if the men are competent enough, they should sit under trees in villages and without any books run schools for children as also start night schools for adults. For anyone who is bent on serving, the field is limitless. And everyone should realize that, when the time for launching the struggle comes again, the strength for it will be generated only through such activities.

¹ This was in reply to a question whether, during the Truce period, since women were assigned the work of boycott of foreign cloth and prohibition of liquor, men were expected to do any other work besides producing khadi.

Even the violent soldiers of the world have acted in this manner and continue to do so. It is only the mercenary soldier who, when not engaged in fighting, becomes a drain because he eats bread which he has not rightfully earned. He is therefore a nuisance as he is busy seeking pleasures and is a burden to the earth. We have seen from history that Garibaldi and his soldiers tilled the land when they were not fighting. The Boers were farmers by profession and when the time for fighting came, right from General Botha down to the poorest Boer, they gave up their plough shares and showed such courage on the battlefield that it astonished the world—this I have seen with my own eyes. If soldiers who believe in violence preserve their fighting strength by doing such constructive work, I cannot understand why the non-violent soldiers of India in this age should find it difficult to do constructive work. Every reader should remember that a great deal of penance and constructive work lay behind the enthusiasm which was generated last year.

IF POISON IS MIXED WITH MILK?¹

Just as milk in which even a drop of poison has fallen is fit to be shunned, so, in my opinion, should we have nothing to do with a shop selling foreign cloth along with Indian cloth. Just as a person who drinks pure milk at a brewer's shop will be regarded as a drunkard, so too a customer who buys swadeshi cloth at a shop selling foreign cloth will be misunderstood. Is there any dearth of shops dealing only in swadeshi cloth? Even if there are only a few such shops and those are not in our neighbourhood, we should go to these wherever they are located. For those who are picketing, the way is straightforward: they should warn people who approach shops selling foreign cloth and turn them away, if possible. I have recently received even this question whether swadeshi goods can be bought at a liquor shop if they are being sold there. I didn't hesitate to reply immediately that the answer was in the negative.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 31-5-1931

¹ This was in reply to the question whether customers could be asked to abstain totally from buying cloth from shops which sold both foreign and Indian cloth.

289. *LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM*

May 31, 1931

MY DEAR AMTUL,

If you are not keeping well, you should live on only milk and fruit. I can understand your delicacy of feeling about money matters. I am writing to Narandas about this. Do continue to write to me and pour out your heart to me. I want you to grow mentally, morally and physically in the Ashram.

BAPU

From a photostat : G.N. 239

290. *LETTER TO M. REBELLO & SONS*

May 31, 1931

GENTLEMEN,

I have your letter of 22nd instant¹. I have no copyright in my portraits but I am unable to give the consent you require.

Yours faithfully,

From a microfilm : S.N. 17120

291. *LETTER TO ALLEN W. SAYLER*

AS AT SABARMATI,

May 31, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

Mirabai has shown me your letter to her. I see several difficulties in your coming to the Ashram. A passport is necessary and it is highly likely that conditions will be attached to your passport. Therefore my advice to you is for the present to suspend the idea of coming to India to settle down with me but to follow the rules of the Ashram there and live the life as close to the Ashram life as possible in the circumstances. It is highly likely that then the way will be open for you to come to India without restrictions of any kind whatsoever.

If you are not getting *Young India* there you can look up the file in the University office.

Yours sincerely,

ALLEN W. SAYLER, ESQ.

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

From a photostat : S.N. 17168

¹ The addressee had asked Gandhiji's permission to use his photo as their trade mark for roofing tiles.

292. *LETTER TO KIRAN SANKAR ROY*

AS AT SABARMATI,
May 31, 1931

DEAR KIRAN BABU,

I have your letter. The Working Committee will go into the whole of the affair as Subhasbabu has lodged a formal complaint. You may depend upon my taking my full share in the investigation and assisting the conclusions of the Committee. I am not writing separately to Sisir Babu who has sent me a separate letter.

Yours sincerely,

SYT. KIRAN SANKAR ROY
44 EUROPEAN ASYLUN LANE, CALCUTTA

From a microfilm : S.N. 17169

293. *LETTER TO ANAND KISHORE MEHTA*

AS AT SABARMATI,
May 31, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter of the 27th instant which you have marked “*Reminder*”. I am not aware of the receipt of a previous letter. I am sorry to have to tell you that I cannot sympathize with the object of your memorial, much less give my name to he Committee. If I had any influence over the Committee I should advise its disbandment.

Yours sincerely,

SYT. ANAND KISHORE MEHTA
GENERAL SECRETARY, THE ALL-INDIA
BHAGAT SINGH, RAJGURU, SUKHADEV
MEMORIAL COMMITTEE
ANARKALI, LAHORE

From a microfilm : S.N. 17170

294. *LETTER TO SHRIRAM SHARMA*

AS AT SABARMATI,
May 31, 1931

DEAR SIR,

I have your letter. You do not tell me why the Congress workers were arrested. In any case there is nothing in the Settlement to prevent Government from undertaking prosecutions for offences, fancied or

real. If the offence alleged was not committed, it is open to the arrested workers to be defended by pleaders.

Yours sincerely,

SYT. SHRIRAM SHARMA
GENERAL SECRETARY
DISTRICT CONGRESS COMMITTEE
ROHTAK (PUNJAB)

From a microfilm : S.N. 17171

295. LETTER TO R. S. RAJWADE

AS AT SABARMATI,
May 31, 1931

Not for Publication

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter. I learnt about your release when I was in Simla. It did cause a great trouble before the authorities could be moved but it was a pleasure because your case seemed to me to be so clear.

Yours sincerely,

SYT. R. S. RAJWADE
KARMAYOGI OFFICE
574 SOUTH KASABA
SHOLAPUR

From a photostat : S.N. 17172

296. LETTER TO KRISHAN GOPAL DUTT

AS AT SABARMATI,
May 31, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

I have not answered your telegram because I did not know how to. Now that I have got your letter I am able to answer your questions.

- (1) Since picketing is to be peaceful free of all coercion, there is no question of insistence on sealing up the present stock.
- (2) But if a cloth merchant declines to sign your pledge it is open to you to picket his shop even though it may contain swadeshi cloth.

- (3) Naturally you would picket the shop of a merchant who breaks his pledge, but you may not impose any fine.

Yours sincerely,

SYT. KRISHNA GOPAL DUTT
CITY ROAD, SIALKOT CITY

From a microfilm : S.N. 17173

297. LETTER TO V. B. HAROLIKAR

AS AT SABARMATI,
May 31, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

Here are the answers to your questions:

- (1) Yes, if the purchase is made from certified producers. But in every case it would be advisable to make large purchases through the all-India agency.
- (2) I should consider A.I.S.A. certificate as necessary in every case.
- (3) Congress Committee would relentlessly enforce the khaddar condition whilst it is part of the constitution.
- (4) The relevancy of the fourth question, I do not understand, because it is open to the Congress, if it is not obligatory, to picket foreign-cloth shops provided of course that picketing is absolutely peaceful and free of all coercion direct or indirect.

I hope I have answered your question clearly.

Yours sincerely,

SYT. V. B. HAROLIKAR
CITY CONGRESS COMMITTEE
28 SUKRAVAR PETH
POONA

From a microfilm : S.N. 17174

298. LETTER TO C. Y. CHINTAMANI

AS AT SABARMATI,
May 31, 1931

MY DEAR FRIEND,

You are fishing for a compliment but I am not going to give it to you if only because it would be a repetition of what I have told you before. But you are quite right in thinking that I do not read newspapers. Even the local ones I read for a few minutes and that too grudgingly. Leading articles, as a rule, escape me. You did well therefore in sending me the *Leader* cutting. An inoffensive paragraph in *Navajivan* by Mahadev Desai has been made much of. I can only give you my assurance that I am not going lightly to declare war. I know what it would mean to Lord Irwin. The relations between us so developed during the negotiations that the very consideration that a declaration of war would hurt Irwin to the quick would alone make me wait a thousand times before embarking on any such step. But I can tell you in confidence that many occasions have arisen when, if I was so minded,¹ I might have broken up negotiations with local authorities. But I have exercised and am still exercising immense patience. In any case I am not going to take any step without giving an ample opportunity to the Viceroy to review the situation and taking the public into confidence. It goes without saying that I would do nothing without first getting the sanction of the Working Committee.

So far for the peace or war part of your fears. The communal question is a horse of another colour. My position was made clear to Lord Irwin times without number and I made it clearer still at the farewell interview in Bombay. He greatly sympathized with my position. As you know, the Congress demand is far above what the Round Table Conference has hitherto discussed. If we do not reach a communal settlement, I could not make the demand with any confidence in myself. But my non-participation in the Conference need not mean war. Failure to arrive at a settlement cannot be debited to the British Government though the question at all arises because of the present system of administration. But I need not carry the matter any further. In this matter too I am feeling my way and if I at all can, I would certainly attend the Conference. I have come to no irrevocable decision. If the way at all opens up before me I will go to

¹ The source has "easy minded".

London without the slightest hesitation. Do please write to me whenever you feel inclined.

Yours sincerely,

SYT. C. Y. CHINTAMANI
C/O THE "LEADER"
ALLAHABAD

From a photostat : S.N. 17175

299. LETTER TO H. W. EMERSON

AS AT SABARMATI,
May 31, 1931

DEAR MR. EMERSON,

I enclose herewith copies of the correspondence that has taken place between the Bombay Government and myself.

Yours sincerely,

Encls.

H. W. EMERSON, ESQ.
SIMLA

A.I.C.C. File No. 16-B, 1931. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

300. LETTER TO V. G. DESAI

BARDOLI,
May 31, 1931

BHAISHRI VALJI,

Do bring Dudhibehn with you. According to your plan, you will reach here on Wednesday, that is, on the 3rd. I am scheduled to leave here on the 7th.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : C.W. 6415. Courtesy : V. G. Desai

301. LETTER TO DUDABHAI

BARDOLI,
May 31, 1931

BHAI DUDABHAI,

I got your letter. "A non-*Antyaja* Hindu" does not mean a Bhangi, it means a Hindu who is not an *antyaja*. The man I have in view is a Brahmin brought up in Gujarat. As the Ashram does not recognize distinctions of caste and community and as it is necessary to abolish the class of *Antyajas* from Hindu society, I really think that it would be good if Lakshmi could be married to a non-*Antyaja*. I am certainly very glad to know that Lakshmi is not eager to get married just now. I hope I told you about a house near Amreli.

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

The visit to Amreli was prompted by this hope.

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 3244

302. LETTER TO RUKMINI BAZAJ

BARDOLI,
May 31, 1931

CHI. RUKMINI,

I got your letter. How am I to give you courage? We do not always get in this world what would satisfy us. We have to live in the world, but without attachment to anything. In no case should you think that your troubles are the result of your having married in a non-Gujarati family. If you have patience, everything will surely adjust itself. You should spend some time with me. I will look for such an opportunity. Remain calm meanwhile. I shall meet Radha on the 8th in Bombay, when I shall be able to decide where she should stay and what she should do. One cause of worry was over with the news that Santok had recovered her health.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 9058

303. LETTER TO PREMABEHN KANTAK

May 31, 1931

CHI. PREMA,

Why do Lakshmi and Padma keep falling ill? Do you think that they are careless about taking medicines, etc.? If Padma continues to get fever, she will lose her health. Who is specially responsible for looking after her? No child in the Ashram should feel the absence of his or her parents. How is Krishnakumari? Write to me about the others too.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 10255. Also C.W. 6703. Courtesy : Premabehn Kantak

304. LETTER TO VITHALDAS JERAJANI

BARDOLI,

May 31, 1931

BHAI VITHALDAS,

Of course you are always in my thoughts. I have been inquiring after your health too. How did you get this disease? Don't insist on returning to work immediately. First get all right. If necessary, go for a change to a place like Deolali.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : S.N. 9777

305. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

BARDOLI,

May 31, 1931

CHI. NARANDAS,

Some effective measures should be taken about Lakshmi and Padma. Request Dr. Kanuga to examine them both. If they do not recover even under his treatment, we shall have to think further what to do.

The vaid's treatment does not seem to have helped Ba much. She seems to benefit rather by the water and the soda bicarb which she

takes. She believes that the medicine merely suppresses the cough.

Both the Gangabehns and Vasumati are here for a few days.

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

I wrote to Mathew yesterday to tell him that if he wished to come and if he could be spared the Ashram, he might come. Read my letter to Amtulbehn and explain to her the position regarding her money.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati : M.M.U./I

306. LETTER TO SHARADA G. CHOKHAWALA

SIMLA,

[*May-August 1931*]¹

CHI. SHARADA,

Have you stopped writing letters to me because I have stopped writing? I have stopped writing because I am not in prison. I must be in prison to write letters regularly. Should I go to prison, or will you write even otherwise ?

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C. W. 9960. Courtesy: Sharadabehn G. Chokhawala

307. LETTER TO SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

SWARAJ ASHRAM,

BARDOLI,

June 1, 1931

SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

WOODBURN PARK

CALCUTTA

ADVISE YOU SEE SEN GUPTA AND OFFER SUBMIT MATTERS
ARBITRATION IF MUTUAL ADJUSTMENT IMPOSSIBLE. CANNOT ADVISE
COUNTER PUBLIC MEETING OR PROPAGANDA. AM WIRING SEN
GUPTA SUBMIT ARBITRATION.

GANDHI

From a photostat : S.N. 17178

¹ From the contents. Gandhiji was in Simla in May, July and August in 1931; *vide* also letters to the addressee in

308. TELEGRAM TO J. M. SEN GUPTA

SWARAJ ASHRAM,
BARDOLI,
June 1, 1931

SEN GUPTA
ELGIN ROAD
CALCUTTA

INTERNAL DIFFERENCE MUST BE COMPOSED. PLEASE AGREE SUBMIT
MATTERS ARBITRATION IF MUTUAL ADJUSTMENT IMPOSSIBLE.

GANDHI

From a photostat : S.N. 17176

309. TELEGRAM TO MURARILAL

SWARAJ ASHRAM,
BARDOLI,
June 1, 1931

DOCTOR MURARILAL
CIVIL LINES
CAWNPORE

YOUR WIRE¹. DEEPLY GRIEVED BUT CAN ONLY SUGGEST PARTIES
SUBMITTING MATTER ARBITRATION. CAN GIVE NO OTHER
OPINION OFFHAND.

GANDHI

From a photostat : S.N. 17180

310. INTERVIEW TO THE PRESS

June 1, 1931

Interviewed by the Associated Press regarding the statement recently made by Sir Chimanlal Setalvad in connection with Mahatma Gandhi's attitude towards the Round Table Conference, Mahatma Gandhi said :

You embarrass me by asking question on anything that Sir Chimanlal Setalvad says about me. His age and his greatness entitle him to make statements on insufficient data and yet absolve him from criticism from one like myself.

¹ Which read : "Quarrel between Hindus Muslims over Gandhi Seva Samiti signboard. Muslims refuse taking procession under it although board too high for interference with procession. . . Hindus refuse removing it even for few hours. . . panic all city . . ."

Moreover, whilst I am carrying on delicate negotiations, I may not be over-communicative, but I can make a general statement that I am not conscious of having done anything to endanger the Settlement or in contravention of it.

Though under given circumstances, I am anxious and willing to attend the Round Table Conference, there is nothing in the Settlement, so far as I can read it, to make it compulsory for the Congress to take part in the Round Table Conference, but that discussion is purely academic, for the question of non-attendance has not arisen at all.

Asked if it was true that his attitude was undergoing constant change, Mahatma Gandhi said :

I am not aware of having done such a thing.

Replying to a question whether he would take part in the Round Table Conference, he said:

If I succeed in attending the Round Table Conference, I should put forth the Congress demands with all zeal and power I may have and fully participate in the proceeding and not be a mere spectator at the Round Table Conference.

Questioned whether there was an impasse in Bardoli, Mahatma Gandhi said :

I have had a happy interview with the Collector along with Mr. Vallabhbai Patel and I am hoping that everything would be fixed up satisfactorily.

Replying to a further question if there was any breach of the Truce terms in Bardoli or Borsad, he stated:

I would prefer not to answer that question, because negotiations are still going on for the settlement of outstanding questions both in Bardoli and Borsad.

The Bombay Chronicle, 3-6-1931

311. TELEGRAM TO TAMIL NADU CONFERENCE,
MADURA

SWARAJ ASHRAM,
BARDOLI,
June 2, 1931

TAMIL NADU CONFERENCE
MADURA

WISH CONFERENCE SUCCESS. CONVINCED BOYCOTT FOREIGN CLOTH
DEPENDENT MORE ON KHADDAR THAN PICKETING.

GANDHI

From a microfilm : S.N. 17182

312. TELEGRAM TO KOMBRABAIL

SWARAJ ASHRAM,
BARDOLI,
June 2, 1931

KOMBRABAIL
BALMATTI
MANGALORE

MY OPINION PERMISSION CANNOT BE GRANTED.

GANDHI

From a microfilm : S.N. 17183

313. TELEGRAM TO J. M. SEN GUPTA

AS AT SABARMATI,
June 2, 1931

DEAR MR. EMERSON,

You will recal our conversation about the *Navajivan* and *Young India* press¹. I wonder if you have got legal opinion.² Al l the opinion that I can gather is that the clause certainly means delivery at the place from where the property was removed. But I shall be interested to know what your legal advisers have got to say. Meanwhile *Young India* and *Navjivan* are still labouring under a

¹ For Gandhiji's earlier letter on the subject, *vide* "Letter to R. M. Maxwell", 7-5-1931

² *Vide* "Letter to Salvation Army, Bombay 14-6-1931

handicap in spite of the fact that the management own suitable machinery and other material.

Yours sincerely,

A.I.C.C. File No. 16-B, 1931. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

314. LETTER TO C. F. ANDREWS

AS AT SABARMATI,

June 2, 1931

MY DEAR CHARLIE,

I have your two precious letters. I see you are in a hurry to have me in England through the air mail if I would fly. But I can hardly hop. I see no light before me as yet. My desire is certainly to go there but the inner voice says 'no' and the external atmosphere confirms the guidance of the inner voice. As you know, the Congress demands are strung in a high pitch. They could not be otherwise. If we cannot set our house in order here so far even as the communal question is concerned I could not speak in London as with one voice. It therefore does seem to me that if the communal trouble is not finished and a workable formula is not arrived at by agreement I should not have the requisite self-confidence to deliver the Congress message. That is so far as the Round Table Conference is concerned. But of course if the British Minister require my presence in order to discuss the Congress position and understand it and if they would want me to do a little lobbying also I could come whenever required. But then there is the Delhi Settlement. I am bound to see, as far as is possible for a single human being, that there is no breakdown. The Bombay Government has given me cause enough to re-declare hostilities but if you knew everything you would yourself be amazed at my patience. In every little thing it is like drawing a live tooth. But I must not weary you with these troubles of mine. I am taking them cheerfully and breaking down opposition. Thank God, I do receive help from the Central Government. I believe Mr. Emerson knows me and he will play the game. But local governments may produce situations which neither he nor I can control. I can tell you that so far as the Congress is concerned, Congressmen are implementing the Settlement in a manner not even expected by me. Of course there is overzeal now and again in picketing but it is immediately brought

under control. You can give this assurance to all who may need it that I am anxious to attend the Conference and try my utmost to secure lasting peace and an honourable settlement of the constitutional question by negotiation. It is only external circumstances which really detain me. But in any case for reasons unconnected with my hesitation the Round Table Conference and its Committees stand postponed. There need be therefore no hurry just now over my coming unless of course I am required there independently of the Conference. I have now told you all that you should know.

I am just now in Bardoli fixing up things.

Gurudev seems to be ailing.

Love.

MOHAN

From a photostat : S.N. 968

315. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

AS AT SABARMATI,

June 2, 1931

DEAR SATIS BABU,

I have your letter. Subhasbabu was here and he had a formidable list of countercharges. I have now telegraphed to both asking them to submit to arbitration by mutual consent, and if they will appoint some local men as arbitrators and abide by their decision, this unseemly squabble might end. In any case I am going to try whatever is possible on the 9th.

You are having success with the *Gita* and the *Autobiography*. I did not expect you would have any sale for these books.

I am glad you have gained in weight but you have to gain much more. And I am certain that you should not stint yourself about food that your system may require. It is quite enough that you deny yourself flesh and fish. You ought to take milk and curds liberally and take such fresh fruit as is easily available. I have written similarly to Hemprabha also. She is wrong in denying herself food that her body requires because Nikhil¹ is no more. I feel more and more that this kind of self-denial not only carries no merit but is a violation of nature's laws. Denial of food has merit when it is undertaken for control of the palate or as a medical necessity.

¹ Addressee's son; he had died in 1928.

Kishorelal Mashruwala raises a doubt as to the authenticity of the spinner's letter of 1828 whose translation you sent me the other day and which I published in *Young India*.¹ He thinks that the language is much too modern, as also the conception. If I understood your letter rightly, you had mentioned that the copy of the newspaper in which the letter appears is in your possession.

Love.

BAPU

SYT. SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

KHADI PRATISHTHAN

SODEPUR (CALCUTTA)

From a photostat : G.N. 8034

316. LETTER TO A. G. BUTT

June 2, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter.² You can realize the truth of the statement made by me by prayer, purification, meditation, fasting and diligent study.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat : S.N. 17164

317. LETTER TO DR. W. J. WANLESS

AS AT SABARMATI,

June 2, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter. Whilst I have a very vivid recollection of your personal services³ to me I have long ceased even to think of rewarding such services materially. I have rendered myself practically incapable of rendering such services. The only service therefore I have for years rendered for them has been heartfelt thanks, and heartfelt thanks of a poor man like me take the shape of blessings. I must confess that I have been the recipient of personal kindnesses

¹ *Vide* "In 1828", 21-5-1931

² The addressee, writing from Simla on 29-5-1931, had referred to Gandhiji's article "A Twentieth Century Sati (?)", 3-5-1931 and said that his assertion about the soul's immortality was unconvincing.

³ The reference apparently is to his sudden illness in 1927 during a tour, during which Dr. Wanless looked after him; *vide*

from many quarters. Just imagine what would be my state and the state of rich men whom I only know in public life if I were to ask them for donations for the enterprise of my benefactors. You will therefore please excuse me for my inability to respond to your desire.

Yours sincerely,

DR. SIR W. J. WANLESS
1016 MATILJA ROAD
GLENDALE, CALIFORNIA (U.S.A.)

From a photostat : S.N. 17188

318. LETTER TO N. G. JOSHI

AS AT SABARMATI,

June 2, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter giving me facts of [the] criminal case of Nipani. Where there is any allegation of violence the matter rests with the local government. I am not likely to succeed in any representation I may make. I would therefore advise that a proper systematic defence is put up.

Yours sincerely,

SYT. N. G. JOSHI
PRESIDENT, DISTRICT CONGRESS COMMITTEE
BELGAUM

From a photostat : S.N. 17189

319. LETTER TO COWASJI JEHangIR

AS AT SABARMATI,

June 2, 1931

DEAR SIR COWASJI,

I thank you for your prompt acknowledgement of my letter¹ and the trouble you are still taking with reference to the land in Sardar Garda's possession. It seems to me that he is legally bound to transfer the property having written the letter concluding the bargain. I have written to him to that effect² in reply to his letter. I have been making

¹ *Vide* "Letter to Cowasji Jehangir", 26-5-1931

² *Vide* "Letter to Framroze B. Garda", 26-5-1931

further enquiries and I am able to give you my assurance that there is nothing in the charges made by him. On the contrary he is becoming a terror to the people. Youngsters under 12 years of age were arrested for having helped themselves to mangoes from his land. You do not know the taluqa. Mango trees are not protected and urchins all over the land help themselves often to mangoes during the mango season and nobody worries about them. I am not sure that the urchins whom he had arrested had touched his mangoes. But even if they had, they would be under nobody's control. And yet he would press incidents like this into service to make up his indictment although these incidents have nothing to do with alleged harassment.

I shall await your letter regarding Miss V. Contractor's complaint.

Yours sincerely,

SIR COWASJI JEHANGIR
TEMPLE HILL
MAHABALESHWAR

A.I.C.C. File No. 16-C, 1931. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and library

320. LETTER TO SHARDA C. SHAH

June 2, 1931

CHI. SHARDA,

I have your letter. You seem to be keeping good health these days. All of you have become lethargic in writing to me, even as I am.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : C.W. 9902. Courtesy : Shardabehn G. Chokhawala

321. LETTER TO NANIBEHN JHAVERI

BARDOLI,

June 2, 1931

CHI. NANIBEHN,

I got your letter. In staying in the Vidyapith you have done nothing for which you need apologize. It is not a crime to live there. You will certainly learn there, and should, therefore, live there

contented. Improve your health and cultivate the mind. Write to me from time to time. Most probably, Gangabehn also will go and live there.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 3115

322. *LETTER TO MANILAL AND SUSHILA GANDHI*

BARDOLI,
June 2, 1931

CHI. MANILAL AND SHUSHILA,

I had the letter you both wrote on board the ship. I also got news of your having reached there. I will now expect your regular letter by the next mail. Ba is with me at Bardoli. She was with me at Simla too. Nothing is certain as yet about my going to England. The solution of the Hindu-Muslim problem seems to be far away yet.

As for the rest, everything is all right.

I have no time to write more.

Sita—I have forgotten her other name—must have now put on weight again. The climate there is such that one simply cannot fall ill. I should be equally happy if Sushila too puts on weight.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G. N. 4784.

323. *LETTER TO HARI-ICHCHHA DESAI*

BARDOLI,
June 2, 1931

CHI. HARI-ICHCHHA,

I got a letter from you after a long time. You should take care and improve your eyes soon. The remedy is this: Wash the eyes daily with bearable, warm water after putting a little salt in the water. The salt should be quite clean and very little in quantity. Sprinkle the solution on the eyes. If this remedy is likely to benefit you, you will know it in a day. That is, you will find that the lustre of your eyes has increased. At night, bandage the eyes with cotton pads soaked in milk before going to bed. I am leaving for Bombay on the 9th and shall return on the 11th.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Do bring the children with you.

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G. N. 7467. Also C.W. 4913. Courtesy : Hari-ichchha Kamdar

324. *LETTER TO BABALBHAI MEHTA*

BARDOLI,
June 2, 1931

CHI. BABALBHAI,

I got your letter.

1. Disobey any order issued under the Foreigners' Act.
2. If they deport one to one's native place, one should not submit to improper restrictions.
3. While in jail, pay no attention to any news about a settlement which you may hear. The men outside may do whatever they choose
4. There is no objection to passing a receipt for any order served on you.

It is a good thing that you observed the rules while in jail and are doing so outside.

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

The views which I have expressed may change as may be required by the conditions prevailing at any time. Likewise, you are free to act as you think fit in given circumstances despite these views.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : S. N. 9453

325. *LETTER TO NARAYAN MORESHWAR KHARE*

June 2, 1931

CHI. PANDITJI,

Thakkar Bapa says in his letter that, though they had invited you to the gathering of Bhangis at Dakor, you could not attend it. Is this true?

How is Rambhau progressing?

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : C. W. 216. Courtesy : Lakshmibehn Khare

326. *LETTER TO RAMBHAU KHARE*

June 2, 1931

CHI. RAMBHAU,

You wrote very few letters from Almora. Will you remain lazy there too? Don't you think you should now overcome your laziness?

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : C.W. 289. Courtesy : Lakshmibehn Khare

327. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

June 2, 1931

CHI. NARANDAS,

Can you think of anyone in the Ashram who would come forward for *Antyaja* work?

How does Lalji work? Does he work well enough to repay what is spent on him?

Does anyone live in the red bungalow or sleep in it at night? Is it true that Giriraj's mind has become disturbed?

Blessings from

BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati : M.M.U./I

328. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

June 2, 1931

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

Surendra's letter seems to have confused you. He has mixed up several issues, with the result that you could not understand my real meaning. The idea that Surendra should return to the Ashram is independent of other considerations, and these are the reasons for my view:

1. It did not seem necessary to me to keep him at Karadi.
2. It is not proper for us, who have taken the vow of *aparigraha*, to make a special effort to find out another place and stay there.
3. In the present circumstances, it would not at all be wrong if persons like him return to the Ashram.
4. Sardar would certainly prefer that Surendra and other workers like him who cannot easily adjust themselves to circumstances should stay in the Ashram.

The following is the substance of the other points discussed along with these :

1. Those Ashram workers who were slack in observing the Ashram rules of discipline and who were unwilling to return to the Ashram on the pretext that they should work outside should return to it.

2. It was the duty of those Ashram, workers who were required outside the Ashram and who could observe the Ashram rules to stay outside it and do the required work.

3. It was preferable to have only one public worker in every village.

4. When there are more workers than one in a village, it is likely that they will not have enough work to do and that even small differences of opinion which may arise among them will confuse the minds of the residents.

5. It is probable that Darbari left the place because he felt, when he saw three or four Ashram workers there, that he no longer enjoyed the position which he did.

6. One should run away from a place where the necessity of one's services is not self-evident. Before accepting anybody's version of what I may have said, you should ask me.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro—7 : Shri Chhaganlal Joshine, p. 214-5

329. LETTER TO KHUSHALCHAND GANDHI

BARDOLI,
June 2, 1931

TO MY BROTHER, WITH DUE RESPECTS,

I was pained to read your postcard addressed to Narandas. It was evident from the writing that your hand was shaking while you wrote it. That is a sign of weakness. I hope you feel peace of mind now that Narandas is with you. We should be indifferent whether the body lasts or perishes. Write to me, dictating the letter to someone.

To both of you,

Humble greetings from
MOHANDAS

From a copy of the Gujarati : C.W. 9220. Courtesy : Narandas Gandhi

330. LETTER TO RASIK DESAI

BARDOLI,
June 2, 1931

CHI. RASIK,

I got your letter. Blisters are caused by impure blood and can be cured by living on milk and fruit.

Whether you wish to join the Vidyapith or any other institution, you should be fit to do so. Anyone who leaves his own tuition, you should be fit to do so. Anyone who leaves his own work to join the Vidyapith is not fit for it. Nor is one who wishes to join it for satisfying his desire for study under the excuse that the Ashram does not provide proper education. But one who is required in the Vidyapith for serving the cause of swaraj and who joins it with that end in view is fit to join it.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Tell Jayant that I have not written to him as there is nothing in his letter which calls for a reply.

From a copy of the Gujarati : C. W. 4350. Courtesy : Rasik Desai

331. LETTER TO HEMPRABHA DAS GUPTA

BARDOLI,
June 2, 1931

CHI. HEMPRABHA,

I have your letter. You must have received my last letter.

To reduce food or to abstain from it because a son or a dear one has died is ignorance. I see no merit in it. Dharma and true *shraddha* consist in increasing work of service in the name of the departed one, recognizing the unity of all souls, and in realizing the transitoriness of the body. We should reduce food or give up some item of food only for the purpose of controlling the palate or removing a physical disorder. The loss of a dear one should have no connection with the giving up of food. So wake up; forget Nikhil's death and try to

improve your body for the cause of service. You need to take milk, curds and fruit. Tell me if you have any financial difficulty.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 1687

332. *LETTER TO H. W. EMERSON*

AS AT SABARMATI,

June 3, 1931

DEAR MR. EMERSON,

There is still the fire-arms question to be decided. I do not know whether you obtained legal advice in the matter. Whatever the legal advice, I am quite certain of the conversation about this very matter at the time I suggested the expression "illegal possession". If you will look up the original draft, you will perhaps recall the conversation because the original draft excluded fire-arms.

May I remind you about Mathura and Ludhiana incidents. These are both matters deserving close scrutiny.

Yours sincerely,

H. W. EMERSON, ESQ.

SIMLA

A.I.C.C. File No. 16-B, 1931. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

333. LETTER TO H. W. EMERSON

AS AT SABARMATI,
June 3, 1931

DEAR MR. EMERSON,

You will remember we discussed the question of students who had suspended their studies. From everywhere complaints continue to pour in. I think that it is highly necessary to take back these students unconditionally. It is terrible to think that they alone should be singled out for punishment.¹

Yours sincerely,

H. W. EMERSON, ESQ.

SIMLA

A.I.C.C. File No. 16-B, 1931. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

334. LETTER TO G. V. KETKAR

AS AT SABARMATI,
June 3, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter.

Yes, Syt. Rajawade's case caused me great deal of trouble and worry.

I have just got the complete file of Syt. Rajah's² case. I am studying it.

¹ Emerson replied on July 2 thatt “. . . the student cannot be regarded solely as an individual. He is a member of a corporate institution, and in the interests of the institution, and not with the object of imposing any indignity on the individual, it is often necessary to make conditions which will secure discipline. These are considerations to which local Governments undoubtedly attach great weight, and it may be assumed that had the question been raised twhen the Settlement was under discussion, they would have taken strong exception to the re-admission of students without any guarantee for the future and irrespective of the reasons for which they had left, or been expelled from, educational institutions. In these circumstances the Government of India do not consider it fair to local Governments to impose on them a course of action outside the Settlement. . .”

² H. D. Raja

Nothing can be done in the Chirner case just at present.
Deo did write to me recently.¹

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SYT. G. V. KETKAR
THE KESARI AND THE MAHARATTA OFFICE
568 NARAYAN PETH, POONA CITY

From a photostat : G. N. 7965. Also C.W. 980. Courtesy : G. V. Ketkar

335. *LETTER TO J. C. KUMARAPPA*²

AS AT SABARMATI,
June 3, 1931

MY DEAR KUMARAPPA,

I have Dr. T. Das's letter which you have sent. I do not know that we can do anything in the matter.

I expect to see you on the 9th in Bombay.

BAPU

SYT. J. C. KUMARAPPA³
BOMBAY

From a photostat : G. N. 10094

336. *LETTER TO S. N. BATLIWALA*⁴

June 3, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter of the 20th ultimo. You will see my article in *Young India* entitled 'Is Boycott an Economic Necessity?'⁵

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm : S. N. 17106

¹ Gandhiji's Secretary wrote the following postscript to the letter : "I hope you will succeed in finding out working formula—Gandhiji's reply to Shankarrao Deo." Shankarrao Deo had written to Gandhiji on the elections of Congress Committees in Maharashtra.

² In reply to the addressee's letter of May 27 (S. N. 17162)

³ The source has "H. Kumarappa."

⁴ The addressee had enclosed a copy of his article in the *Times of India* dated 19-5-1931, on the Indian Economic Crisis Wherein he had argued that masses of India suffered and only the Indian mills benefited by the boycott of foreign cloth.

⁵ *Vide* "Is it An Economic Necessity", 4-6-1931

337. LETTER TO WILHELM HEYDORN

AS AT SABARMATI,
June 3, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter. If I succeed in going to London I would indeed like to go to various places. But whether such a thing will be possible, I do not know. If however I do visit places on the continent I would be delighted to make your acquaintance.

Yours sincerely,

WILHELM HEYDORN, ESQ.
HAMBURG 24 (GERMANY)

From a photostat : S. N. 17192

338. LETTER TO CHARLES S. FIELD

AS AT SABARMATI,
June 3, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

I appreciate your letter and I would have made your acquaintance had I gone to America. But as you must have observed, it was a baseless rumour which created the hope and in some minds possibly also the fear that I might visit America.

Yours sincerely,

CHARLES S. FIELD, ESQ.
DALLAS, TEXAS (U.S.A.)

From a photostat : S. N. 17193

339. LETTER TO MAHARAJA OF DARBHANGA

AS AT SABARMATI,
June 3, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your telegram redirected from Borsad. I have not seen the landholders' manifesto referred to by you. If you will kindly send it to me I shall see what can be done.

Yours sincerely,

MAHARAJA OF DARBHANGA

From a photostat : S. N. 17194

340. LETTER TO GERTRUDE EMERSON

AS AT SABARMATI,

June 3, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

You are quite right in thinking that if I did not get the quiet to read your book¹ in Yeravda it was not likely that I should have any, outside that abode of peace. The book was taken away on his discharge by the prisoner friend who had borrowed it from me and he returned it on my discharge when I was in the midst of interminable work. Since my discharge, I have not been able to rest. The work before me exhausts such energy as I have still left in me.

You will be welcome to the Ashram whenever you come.

Yours sincerely,

MISS GERTRUDE EMERSON

C/O "ASIA"

468 FOURTH AVENUE

NEW YORK (U.S.A.)

From a photostat : S. N. 17195

341. LETTER TO KONDA VENKATAPPAYYA

AS AT SABARMATI,

June 3, 1931

DEAR VENKATAPPIAH,

I am glad you have given me an exhaustive letter about Bapi Needu. I have offered to take him in the Ashram and pay the sum mentioned by him, i.e., Rs. 33 per month, for his dependents.² But if you can guide him there and he will accept your guidance do please give it to him. How is your wife? I was sorry to hear about your daughter, but really she ought to go to the hills every summer.

Yours sincerely,

SYT. KONDA VENKATAPPIAH

GUNTUR

From a microfilm: S. N. 17696

¹ Presumably *Voiceless India*, published in 1930

² *Vide* "Leter to Subhas Chandra Bose", 26-5-1931

342. LETTER TO K. PANDAR CHETTY

AS AT SABARMATI,
June 3, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

With reference to your letter it does not appear that your gun licence was confiscated because of civil disobedience. Cases not arising out of civil disobedience are not covered by the Settlement.

Yours sincerely,

SYT. K. PANDAR CHETTY
CARDAMOM PLANTER
BODINAYAKANUR (S. INDIA)

From a photostat : S. N. 17197

343. LETTER TO MRS. C. A. HATE

AS AT SABARMATI,
June 3, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

Whatever energy I possess is due to regular habits and such self-restraint as I am capable of exercising. It is quite true that friends around me too notice my peace of mind. It is an object of envy. It comes from absolute faith in God and His goodness. That faith enables me humbly to do the task allotted to me without being anxious for the result.

I believe that indigestion is one thing which everybody can control and remove. Before I can advise you on your food, it is really necessary for me to know much more about you than you have told me in your letter. I should like to know what you feel when you say you are suffering from indigestion. Are your bowels acting regularly? How long have you suffered from indigestion? What food are you taking now and in what quantity and how many times? What exercises are you taking? How do you pass your days?

Yours sincerely,

MRS. C. A. HATE
INDU BHUVAN
343 THAKURDWAR, BOMBAY

From a photostat : S. N. 17198

344. LETTER TO S. SWAMINATHAN CHETTIAR

AS AT SABARMATI,
June 3, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter of the 25th May last¹. If a chairman deliberately defies any rule of the Congress constitution it is certainly open to any member present to challenge the decision and to move a vote of no-confidence or to take such other steps that are open to members.

Yours sincerely,

SYT. S. SWAMINATHAN
POTTAMARAI NORTH
KUMBAKONAM

From a photostat : S. N. 17200

345. LETTER TO THE SECRETARY,
INDIAN MERCHANTS' CHAMBER

AS AT SABARMATI,
June 3, 1931

THE SECRETARY
INDIAN MERCHANTS' CHAMBER
BOMBAY

DEAR SIR,

I thank you for your letter of the 19th ultimo advising me that I was unanimously elected an honorary member of your Chamber. Please convey my thanks to the Chamber for conferring on me this honour.

Yours faithfully,

From a photostat : S. N. 17201

¹ Stating that the President, Kumbakonam Taluk Congress Committee, had allowed a lawyer member to participate in its deliberations over ruling the objection from other members that he was not a habitual wearer of khadi

346. *LETTER TO A. G. SHEOREY*

AS AT SABARMATI,
June 3, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. If you contend that the D.S.P.'s order is illegal, you should challenge it in a court of law. If there is any doubt about it, the procedure you have adopted is the proper procedure, namely, approaching the Home Member and ventilating the matter in public.

Yours sincerely,

SYT. A. G. SHEOREY
PUBLICITY OFFICER, PROVINCIAL POLITICAL CONFERENCE
SAUGOR (C.P.)

From a microfilm : S. N. 17202

347. *LETTER TO DARCY LINDSAY*

AS AT SABARMATI,
June 3, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter of the 30th April last. I thought that the proposition that the Indian is a mere clerk¹ in the administration of the country was not seriously disputed by anybody. Wish that you could read the minds even of the Indian members of the I.C.S. I know from personal experience of them that the vast majority of them do not feel anything more than mere clerks, somewhat glorified if you like. But when I wrote the passage I had not the few of these highly-paid Indians in mind but I had the army of actual clerks who, no matter what their ability may be, can never rise beyond the status of clerks.

When I said that the Indian at best was a commission agent I again thought that I was stating what was literally the truth. Take the largest item of foreign trade. Is not the Indian merely the agent of his foreign principals? If he makes five rupees for himself, he makes Rs. 95 for his principal. So long as the conditions of trade remain what they are it cannot be otherwise. If India remains principally a country exporting raw produce and importing manufactured articles, Indian merchants must be largely commission agents whether of England,

¹ *Vide* "The Giant and the Dwarf", 26-3-1931

Japan, America or any other foreign country.

How shall I prove to you the daily humiliating experience of the Indian who, no matter how wealthy he is, gets no facility whereas his English rival gets many things done for the asking. Take the case of the British navigation companies, the concessions enjoyed by Europeans all over India whether in mining, banking or other commercial pursuits too numerous to mention.

When I say that the English trade is founded upon the ruin of Indian trade, I have simply written what historians have stated. If it was merely enterprise and grit that had brought about the state of things I should not grumble. But I would like you to study the rise of the East India Co. from the records of the India Office collected, be it said to their honour, by English historians.

In writing of the levelling process I certainly had not in mind the Soviet rule of Bolshevism. It is perhaps somewhat shameful that I have to confess to you that I do not yet know exactly what Bolshevism is for the simple reason that I have not had time to study the inner working of the Russian revolution. The levelling process to me simply means that the system of favouritism on which, as I believe, English commerce has been built should cease and for that purpose a double process has to begin. Favouritism should go and young Indian enterprises should receive State help and patronage.

I know that I must not expect to convert you by argument. What I would like Englishmen in India to do is to see them [selves] as the average Indian sees them and ask themselves why it is that the vast majority of Indians feel as I often write in the pages of *Young India*. Can it be that what some English economists have written and what most Indian economists, historians and administrators have written is all untrue? The case that I have presented is based upon their testimony and supported by personal experience.

Lastly, however much I may differ from your views, let me assure you that I appreciate your persistence in trying to convince me of my error. And if you will not give up the attempt I dare say that if I am not converted it is possible that in the process of friendly interchange of communications you might be able to see the other side of the shield.

Yours sincerely,

SIR DARCY LINDSAY
THE SPORTS CLUB
ST. JAMES SQUARE
LONDON, S.W.

From a photostat : S. N. 17203

348. LETTER TO VIDYANATH SAHAI

AS AT SABARMATI,
June 3, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter.

I certainly think that it is everyone's duty and especially an educationist's to speak the truth at all cost.

Discussion of politics in colleges should carry no stigma.

It was impossible to cover in the Delhi Agreement cases in Indian States.

I can understand the distinction between those who resigned on their own free will and those who were dismissed. A dismissal may take place on valid grounds apart from civil disobedience.

I should be astonished if it was true, that because you were dismissed from Kashmir State service for the reasons you state, other educational institutions will not take you up.

Yours sincerely,

SYT. VIDYANATH SAHAI
THE EMPIRE HINDU HOTEL
SIMLA

From a microfilm : S.N. 17204

349. LETTER TO CHARLES F. WELLER

AS AT SABARMATI,
June 3, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your warm letter of 17th April. 1933 is a far cry for me and I could not even make tentative arrangements for that year. You will therefore have to write to me, if all goes well, towards the middle of 1932 when I might be able to give a decisive answer. I am sure you will appreciate my difficulty.

Yours sincerely,

CHARLES F. WELLER, ESQ.
CHICAGO'S FELLOWSHIP OF FAITHS
CHICAGO (U.S.A.)

From a photostat : S. N. 17205

350. *LETTER TO K. ROY CHATTI*

AS AT ASHRAM,
June 3, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

Your enquiry need not be answered through the columns of *Young India*. The answer is so obvious. No Congress member can bid for opium shops.

Yours sincerely,

SYT. K. ROY CHATTI
SEETHANAGARAM,
Via KOVVOOR, EAST GODAVARI DT.

From a microfilm : S. N. 17206

351. *LETTER TO SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE*

AS AT SABARMATI,
June 3, 1931

I have your letter. I do not think you should worry the Sadhu. That he is known to be mad rather appeals to me because of the fellow feeling between us. Even without his warning, I know that if I have to go to Europe I put my health in danger. But it does not matter; if I am destined to do some service there, somehow or other my health will keep.

SYT. SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE
1 WOODBURN PARK
CALCUTTA

From a photostat : S. N. 17207

352. *LETTER TO MRS. V. BANERJEE*

AS AT ASHRAM,
June 3, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter and I feel that you have had to undergo many a trial. I do not know that I need guide you in the choice of service. There are so many ways open to you. I would therefore advise you to

follow your own bent in making your choice. I would like to meet you if I happen to come in your direction.

Yours sincerely,

MRS. V. BANERJEE
LADY HEALTH VISITOR, BABY CLINIC COMMITTEE
RAJSHAHI (BENGAL)

From a microfilm : S. N. 17208

353. *LETTER TO KRISHNADAS*

AS AT SABARMATI,
June 3, 1931

MY DEAR KRISHNADAS,

Your firm hand in your letter of 25th May showed the rapid recovery you have made. I hope that there has been much more progress since then. You must not stir out till you are strong and are able to take fairly long walks without being fatigued. Whilst you are at it, it is much better not only to regain your original strength but to build up practically a new body. And all this should be possible after the terrible crisis which had reduced you to a shadow.

Subhasbabu travelled with me from Mathura and we were together as far as Baroda. We had long chats. He came again to Bardoli. I have advised him to submit the Bengal disputes to local arbitration.

I go to Bombay on the 9th returning here on the 12th.

SYT. KRISHNADAS

SHAKTI ASHRAM, P.O. RAJPUR (DT. DEHRA DUN)

From a microfilm : S. N. 17209

354. *LETTER TO MOHAN LAL VIDYARTHI*

AS AT SABARMATI,
June 3, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. There is no occasion for you to lose heart. You should take gentle exercise, increasing in quantity as you gain in strength. It should consist in a daily walk in the fresh air twice, in the morning and in the evening. You should eat as much milk as you can easily digest and fresh fruit. Omit every other food for the time being.

And you should take a hip-bath at about noon every day sitting in the tub about 10 minutes going upto 30 minutes if you feel comfortable. If you do not know what hip-baths are you will find them described in my *Guide to Health*¹.

Yours sincerely,

SYT. MOHAN LAL VIDYARTHI
CAWNPORE CITY

From a photostat : S. N. 17211

355. *LETTER TO ANANTA C. PATNAIK*

AS AT SABARMATI,

June 3, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

My attending your conference is out of the question. But in wishing it every success I wish to draw the attention of every member that a great responsibility rests upon your shoulders in regard to the Congress session next year. One thing you have to prepare for from now. Khadi does not grow like the magician's mango. You have to make preparations from now for an intensive programme so that you can show what Orissa is capable of doing in this most constructive Congress work.

Yours sincerely,

SYT. ANANTA CH. PATNAIK
PROVISIONAL SECRETARY, PURI DISTRICT CONFERENCE
PURI, P.O. BALIPATNA, (Vil. ATHANTAR)

From a microfilm : S. N. 17212

356. *LETTER TO MAHALAKSHMI M. THAKKAR*

June 3, 1931

CHI. MAHALAKSHMI,

Have you taken a vow not to write to me? Madhavji remains somewhat worried about the children, particularly about Chandra. There is a proposal to send Chandra to the Ashram. Let me know

¹ An English translation of a series of Gujarati articles on general know-ledge about health published in *Indian Opinion* from January 4, 1913 to August 16, 1913; *Vide*

your view in the matter. Tell me about your daily programme of work there. I should like you and your sister to come if possible and see me here.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G. N. 6816

357. LETTER TO VITHALDAS JERAJANI

BARDOLI,
June 3, 1931

BHAI VITHALDAS,

I was glad to read your letter. The handwriting is as steady as ever. I would advise you to try mud packs on the head during noon. Do you lie down in the open during the day? Do you get plenty of fresh air in the room at night? In a disease like this, proper nursing is in fact the only medicine. Be in no hurry to get back to work. You need not worry about the disposal of the khadi stocks.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : S. N. 9776

358. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

BARDOLI,
June 3, 1931

CHI. NARANDAS,

You must have returned from Rajkot. Only yesterday I wrote to respected Shri Khushalbai¹. I have also written to Bhagwanji and told him that, if he feels nothing but an atmosphere of untruth in the Ashram, he may certainly leave it. Surendra will go to Karadi and Untadi and then return there. He should start by the 15th. Apte and Sarja must have arrived there.

Shri Chhotalal Gandhi of Ankleswar writes to inform me that he had sent to you a sum of Rs. 543-4-0 during the Dandi March. Do

¹ *Vide* "Letter to Khushalchand Gandhi", 2-6-1931

you have the money there? If you have and if the sum is credited in the khadi account, return it to him. Tell him that it is to be used for khadi work only.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Have a talk with Kakasaheb about *Vratvichar*. If you have a large number of copies on hand, there is no need to reprint it.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati : M.M.U./I

359. *LETTER TO KISANSINH CHAVDA*

BARDOLI,
June 3, 1931

BHAI KISANSINH,

If you wish to come now, you should come not later than Sunday.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati : C. W. 9294

360. *LETTER TO PADAMLAL*

June 3, 1931

BHAI PADALAJI,

I have your letter. The subjects of States have the right to take any steps including satyagraha in respect of the hardships they have to face. But the name of the Congress should not be associated with this because it will not be able to help them in their struggle; the States' people should rely on their own strength.

Yours,
MOHANDAS GANDHI

[From a facsimile of the Hindi]

Madhya Pradesh aur Gandhiji, p. 136

361. CASTE AND COMMUNAL QUESTION

A student who sends his name writes:¹

It is not quite correct to say that Hindus and Mussalmans do not greet one another on their respective sacred days. But one would certainly like much more frequent and extensive interchange of such greetings.

As for caste I have frequently said that I do not believe in caste in the modern sense. It is an excrescence and a handicap on progress. Nor do I believe in enequalities between human beings. We are all absolutely equal. But equality is of souls and not bodies. Hence it is a mental state. We need to think of and to assert equality because we see great inequalities in the physical world. We have to realize equity in the midst of this apparent external inequality. Assumption of superiority by any person over any other is a sin against God and man. Thus caste, in so far as it connotes distinctions in status, in an evil.

I do however believe in varna which is based on hereditary occupations. Varnas are four to mark four universal occupations, — imparting knowledge, defending the defenceless, carrying on agriculture and commerce and performing service through physical labour. These occupations are common to all mankind, but Hinduism, having recognized them as the law of our being, has made use of it in regulating social relations and conduct. Gravitation affects us all whether one knows its existence or not. But scientists who knew the law have made it yield results that have startled the world. Even so has Hinduism startled the world by its discovery and application of the law of varna. When Hindus were seized with inertia, abuse of varna resulted in innumerable castes with unnecessary and harmful restrictions as to intermarriage and interdining. The law of varna has nothing to do with these restrictions. People of different varnas may intermarry and interdine. These restrictions may be necessary in the interest of chastity and hygiene. But a Brahmin who marries a Sudra girl or *vice versa* commits no offence against the law of varna.

Marriage outside one's religion stands on a different footing. Even here, so long as each is free to observe his or her religion, I can see no moral objection to such unions. But I do not believe that these unions can bring peace. They may follow peace. I can see nothing

¹ The letter is not reproduced here.

but disaster following any attempt to advocate Hindu-Muslim unions so long as the relations between the two remain strained. That such unions may be happy in exceptional circumstances can be no reason for their general advocacy. Interdining between Hindus and Mussalmans does take place even now on a large scale. But that again has not resulted in promoting peace. It is my settled conviction that intermarriage and interdining have no bearing on communal unity. The causes of discord are economic and political, and it is these that have to be removed. There is intermarriage and interdining in Europe, but the Europeans have fought amongst themselves as we Hindus and Mussalmans have never fought in all history. Our masses have stood aside.

The untouchables are a class apart—a standing reproach to Hindu-ism. The castes are a handicap, they are no sin. Untouchability is a sin, a grievous crime, and will eat up Hinduism, if the latter does not kill the snake in time. Untouchables' should no longer be the outcastes of Hinduism. They should be regarded as honoured members of Hindu society, and should belong to the varna for which their occupation fits them.

According to my definition of varna there is no varna in operation at present in Hinduism. The so-called Brahmins have ceased to impart knowledge. They take to various other occupations. This is more or less true of the other varnas. In reality, being under foreign domination we are all slaves, and hence less than Sudras—untouchables of the West.

The correspondent being a vegetarian finds it difficult to reconcile himself to dining with meat-eating Mussalmans. But he should remember that there are many more meat-eating Hindus than Mussalmans. A vegetarian may with impunity dine with meat-eaters, Hindu and others, so long as he has eatable food cleanly prepared and placed before him. He will always have fruit and milk wherever he goes.

Young India, 4-6-1931

362. NOTES

SAVE ME FROM MY ADMIRERS

A correspondent writes from far off Cape Comorin:¹

. . . In the car festivals here the Image is placed in the car and taken in procession. One set of people want that your photo should be placed side by side with the Image and taken in procession. Another set of riper men say that you would not like to be treated as God . . .

Another from Mathura sends me a horrible portrait representing me as lying stretched on the coil of the thousand-mouthed serpent with the roll of non-co-operation in one hand and the spinning-wheel suspended on the other arm. My poor wife is massaging my legs. The other celebrities have also been pressed into service. I must not violate the reader's feelings by describing the other features. Suffice it to say that the picture is a caricature of the Vaishnavite legend representing Vishnu resting on the coil of Sheshanag. The correspondent who sends the picture asks me to plead with the publishers for its withdrawal. He rightly adds that though they may not publicly express their resentment, the picture must hurt the feelings of orthodox Vaishnavas. I whole-heartedly endorse the sentiments of both these correspondents. The motive in each case may be quite good. But this excessive heroworship borders on questionable idolatry, and is calculated to wound susceptibilities of the orthodox people without there being any excuse for giving such offence. Such excesses will defeat the purpose of the blind worshippers. If they have any regard for my feelings, let the organizers of the car festival who would put my portrait in the car and the publishers of the offending picture desist from their activity. There are many other healthy ways of giving expression to and promoting patriotic sentiment.

REPATRIATES FROM SOUTH AFRICA

Pandit Benarsidas Chaturvedi and Swami Bhavani Dayal Sannyasi have prepared a well-reasoned report of an independent enquiry they held into the condition of emigrants repatriated to India under the assisted emigration scheme from South Africa. This report and the Swami's telegram dated 16th ultimo, asking me to comment on it, telling me, "Condition worst, many starving, women half naked, children begging", have lain with me ever since. I am sorry that I have not been able to deal with the report earlier. The telegram from

¹ Only an extract is reproduced here.

which I have quoted is an epitome of the report. The condition of our people, who find themselves strangers in their own land, is a disgrace alike to us and to the Government, but more to us than to the Government. No Government in the world can cope fully with such cases. Governments can only support to a limited extent voluntary public effort in such cases. It is really up to the merchant princes and other employers of labour in Calcutta to take a real interest in the welfare of such people, and find suitable employment for them.

But the condition of these people is a small consideration, compared with the cause that has reduced those repatriates to the condition in which they find themselves. There should have been no agreed repatriation at all, and if there was to be any, there should have been ample provision previously made to ensure proper occupation for them, and in any case there should never have been any consent to the repatriation of colonial-born Indians, of whom there are fully thirty-three per cent in the Calcutta depot. But it is no use crying over spilt milk. The labours of the framers of the report will not have been in vain if at the time of the revision of the Cape Agreement, the rights of the poor labouring Indian population are not bartered away for doubtful concessions to the other Indian settlers. The position taken up by the latter is unassailable, and should depend on its own merits. The settlers themselves should therefore refuse to be party to any bargain, which would compromise the rights of their less favourably situated brethren. South Africa can easily absorb and accommodate the existing Indian population.

GANDHI ASHRAM, MEERUT

This Ashram, a creation of Acharya Kripalani, has issued a neat little pamphlet describing its activities. From a tiny thing which it was when it began life at Benares in 1920, it has now grown into a big thing with branches and its own premises in Meerut, the headquarters. It is now a registered charitable association. Its chief activity is production and distribution of khadi, but it runs free dispensaries and night schools wherever it is possible. Its production of khadi in 1921 was Rs. 48 and sale Rs. 3,100. The production in 1930 was Rs. 4,21,490 and sales Rs. 5,32,361. The price of its khadi 45" in width was Re. 1 per yard in 1921, and Rs. 0-5-6 per yard in 1930. It has departments of washing, calendering, and dyeing besides the cotton processes up to weaving. It takes and teaches apprentices in these departments, and finds work for the poor women of Meerut by giving them knitting, bordering of bedsheets,

etc. Who can say that khadi has no future, or that it is not the help of the poorest in the land?

Young India, 4-6-1931

363. IS IT AN ECONOMIC NECESSITY?

A contribution in the *Times of India* (26-5-'31) has the following:

Mahtma Gandhi, in his latest pronouncement¹ concerning the purpose and procedure of picketing, has reiterated his belief that the exclusion of foreign cloth is an 'economic necessity to India'. Perhaps he will explain, in the next issue of *Young India*, in what sense he uses that term. The information required can be supplied by answering certain questions prompted by the piecegoods situation as it is now developing.

1. To what extent has the decline of 1,000 million yards in the imports of cotton piecegoods in 1930-31 been balanced by the increased production of indigenous cloth based upon the processes of hand-spinning and weaving?

2. To what extent has it been balanced by increase in mill production?

3. Will the boycott be persisted in, regardless of the extent to which imported goods are displaced by hand-made and mill-made goods respectively?

4. If so, to what extent is the boycott in the interests of Bombay as distinct from other provinces?

Clearly, if the endeavour to revive the village industry has definitely failed, as appears to be the case, however reluctant Mahatma Gandhi may be to acknowledge defeat in a campaign so close to his heart, then the time has arrived, in the interests of public honesty, to transfer the formal control of the boycott campaign to the Cotton Millowners' Associations, acting as principals, instead of continuing the camouflage of control by Congress, acting as agents.

The answers to the specific questions are:

1. It is impossible to answer the question in terms of yards because khadi is not all commercially produced. Home manufacture of khadi for use by manufacturers themselves is proceeding on an ever increasing scale, which it is impossible for the poor All-India Spinners' Association to measure.

¹ *Vide* "Notes" sub-title Picketing

2. The indigenous mills are undoubtedly playing an important part in making good the deficit.

3. It will be, subject to what follows.

4. The interest of Bombay is the interest of India. The writer perhaps includes Ahmedabad in Bombay, and evidently ignores the other important mills scattered all over India.

I have answered the specific questions for the satisfaction of the writer of the article than of myself or the public. The public should know that I should lose all interest in boycott of foreign cloth, if I really discovered that khadi was a failure, as the writer is sure it has proved to be already. I do not know the source of his assurance. But as the party chiefly concerned in khadi production and propaganda, I make bold to say that it is not only not a failure but is making sure though slow headway all over India. I therefore do reiterate the claim that boycott is an economic necessity for the masses. It may sound strange, but it is true that it is not in the same sense and to the same extent an economic necessity for the mills as for khadi. Mills have undoubtedly flourished beyond their expectations by reason of the boycott, but they could have, as they were doing, eked out an existence without the boycott. They could always share with Britain and Japan the exploitation of starving millions by dumping their manufactures among the ignorant, famishing millions, who, forgetting that by using their leisure hours they could manufacture their own cloth, would buy the flimsy mill calico and thus doubly injure themselves. Boycott cannot therefore be wholly transferred to the mills even if they wanted it. And if they undertook it, it would fail. The fact cannot be concealed that the mills are interested in the boycott chiefly for their agents' and their share-holders' profits. The Congress is concerned with the boycott wholly in the interest of the masses.

The writer and, for that matter, many others do not know that the khadi method is a new method in economics as non-violence is a new method in politics. The khadi method is bound to confound the orthodox economic theories, as non-violence has almost already confounded the orthodox political methods. The new method lends itself to the orthodox statistical demonstration only to a certain extent. It is the khadi spirit that is responsible for the phenomenal success of the boycott. Boycott itself is no new cry. It is as old as, if not older than, the Bengal partition period. But he hope

of success was born with the rebirth of khadi in 1919, and the hope was partly realized last year when khadi spirit was at its highest. The real manifestation of the khadi spirit has still to come. And when it does, as it is bound to come, and that too sooner than most people expect, there will be neither picketing nor statistical demonstration required.

The Times of India writer suggests that the boycott is designed or calculated merely to benefit the mills to the injury of the masses. The suggestion would have foundation if there was no khadi behind the boycott. Let the writer and critics like him remember that the Congress formula in so many words is 'Boycott through Khadi'. The India mills come in to supplement khadi. But the boycott would stand in spite of the Indian mills if they opposed khadi. Many did oppose it at one time. Their indifference to khadi was still more marked. But be it said to their credit that they have somewhat recognized the time spirit, and even though yet half-heartedly in the majority of cases, they have made terms with khadi. Some have become thorough converts to it, and will not even mind losing, if they must, for its sake. The Indian mills are therefore in no sense of the term principals in the boycott campaign. they benefit no doubt, and they will, at least for the time being, increasingly benefit, but the ratio of increase will be in direct proportion to the correctness of their conduct in their dealings with khadi.

The writer, as well as the reader, will now understand why India, that is to say, the masses must benefit in the long run even by the recent legislative protection given to the mills. The prices of mill cloth must of course go up. It is for the Congress to carry on ceaseless propaganda, so as to keep the mills from the profiteering temptation, and to teach the masses that their economic welfare lies in the manufacture of khadi in their own cottages through hand-spinning. When once foreign cloth is out of the way, indigenous mills will readily suit their prices and production to khadi, or will themselves face a boycott even like foreign mills.

Young India, 4-6-1931

364. R. T. C. AND CONGRESS

Had it not been for the necessity of observing reticence for the sake of the lasting peace, which it is the common object of all parties to reach, I should have long ago taken the public into confidence about my proposed visit to London to take part in the R. T. C. I am now in a position to say the following:

I have made no secret of my opinion, not new but held and expressed even while negotiations were going on in Delhi, that I should feel most reluctant to go to London to take part in the Conference, if we failed to solve the communal problem among ourselves. I have seen nothing as yet to make me alter the view.

There is another obstacle in the way of my leaving India, whilst delicate situations continue to arise regarding the Delhi Pact. I should sacrifice life itself to prevent a breakdown. And I flatter myself with the belief that my presence is necessary to prevent it.

Let us however hope that both the difficulties will be over by the time it becomes necessary to leave India for the September meeting.

I can but give my assurance that having entered upon the Settlement, I am eager for the sake of the good name of the Congress to proceed to London and deliver its message to the R. T. C. and the British statesmen, not excluding even Mr. Churchill. I know that he and his party do not realize that the Congress is no enemy of Great Britain. The Congress merely wants for India what he and his ancestors have fought to secure for Great Britain. I therefore need no persuasion to take me to London. I have even said to friends that if the communal tangle was not undone, and I was therefore unable to take part in the R. T. C. but the working of the Settlement left me free, I should, if so required, proceed to London for the sake of presenting the Congress position to the responsible statesmen. My supreme desire is to attain lasting peace, if it can be had with honour and without inviting the nation to engage in another fight involving untold suffering.

Young India, 4-6-1931

365. PRABHATPHERIS

It was in the Yeravda prison that I read of the inauguration of *prabhatpheris*¹. I thought that whoever originated the idea deserved thanks for it. I felt that apart from their propaganda value, they were spiritually beautiful. They summoned the sleeping to the call of duty. They reminded them that it was time to rise to the call of duty. They reminded them that it was time to rise from their beds and give thanks to God the first thing in the morning. For I had read that the members of the *prabhatpheris* sang songs of worship as also of topical public events. If wisely guided, this institution can become a great means of purification as also political education of the right type. But I hear that songs generating bad passion are also some times sung. I should be sorry if my information proved true. I would strongly advise the organizers of these parties to restrict their choice of songs not only during this time of peace but for all time to those of worship and those dealing purely with constructive activities such as khadi, liquor prohibition, communal unity, untouchability and other social reform. The parties must be trained to sing well and in tune and should keep to one hour throughout India. I remember the parties in Bombay not always keeping the same time and in Allahabad keeping a different time from Bombay. The institution has sprung up anyhow, but it will be well now for the prime movers, if there are any, to evolve a proper plan and publish a selection of songs which all, no matter belonging to what faith or party, can sing. This should be a non-party national institution. If parties spring up anyhow and begin singing anyhow and any time, they would disturb the people by their jargon. But good singing in the morning will be appreciated.

Young India, 4-6-1931

366. 'AN HONEST DOUBT' (?)

The now famous Gandhi-Irwin truce terms received an almost unanimous approbation, though not from the entire section of Congressmen in India, at least from a majority of them. The people and the Press, both in this country as well as on the continent of Europe, expressed their sincere appreciation of the success of the peace negotiations, and there was a consensus of opinion expressed, that honesty of purpose and sincerity in action on both

¹ Literally, morning processions

sides lent sufficient weight to the success of the negotiations. In spite of this, there was and is still a very strong minority comprising especially the younger generation, which is totally against the truce terms, and emphatically declines to put its seal of approval upon them. They are of the opinion, and we think not without sufficient justification, that the flag of complete independence as the immediate goal of India, hoisted at the Lahore Congress, has been lowered by the truce terms, thereby committing the Congress and its followers to a less severe and entirely different programme of activities.

No one for a moment seems to doubt the sincerity of purpose with which Gandhiji, as the one voice on behalf of the Congress, and Lord Irwin, as the spokesman of the British Government, carried out the peace negotiations to such a successful conclusion. The left-wingers, under the leadership of Sjt. Subhas Chandra Bose, had almost planned to oppose the Resolution at Karachi Congress ratifying the Delhi Pact, but better counsels prevailed with them, and we are thankful to them for having averted a very serious defection in the Congress, at a time like the present, when complete unanimity and co-operation mean much. With great reluctance they let Gandhiji have his own way and try once more his faith in the British Government.

Let us for one moment examine how far the terms of the truce have been observed since the Settlement. Government on their part have released the Civil Disobedience prisoners, withdrawn the various ordinances, and declared the Congress organization a lawful body. The Congress on their part have called off Civil Disobedience, aggressive picketing, boycott of British goods, etc., and have also acceded to the cancellation of the enquiry into police excesses. So much the better for all. But what passes our comprehension is whether or not the Government have strictly adhered to the principles underlying the terms. Reports of non-release of prisoners in various parts of the country, promulgation of Section 144 on political meetings, arrests and convictions for political reasons, and various other happenings, which are considered a total violation of the Agreement, are pouring into our ears morning. On the other hand, we are told that the local Governments contend that the people have not always observed the terms of the truce. Whether or not both parties are justified in their charges it is not for us to say.

In the light of the above, we honestly doubt if Gandhiji, behalf of the Congress, was sufficiently justified in having lowered the flag of independence hoisted at Lahore by agreeing to the truce. We honestly doubt again if he fully satisfied that there was a real change of heart on the part of the British Government, so as to commit the Congress to a truce of this sort. We honestly doubt thirdly, if Gandhiji really thought that the British Government

would take up seriously the question of Indian independence at the next Round Table Conference, even if the Congress under his leadership participated. Fourthly, we entertain an honest doubt if Gandhiji thought for one moment that the British Government would totally abdicate in favour of the Congress after 150 years of continued exploitation of a land which is almost their entire subsistence and mainstay. Fifthly, we doubt whether he believed that they would surrender “the brightest jewel in the Crown of the British Empire” to those from whom no exploitation is possible in future, and thus pave the way for their own decline. And last but not one, we honestly doubt whether Gandhiji remembered how he has been betrayed on more than one occasion in the past in his trust in the Government, and considered whether *Young India* would allow him to practise his political jugglery on the toiling millions once more and for ever.

Last but not the least is the honest doubt we entertain whether there is any ray of hope of success through Congress participation in the coming Conference. Who knows that once Gandhiji with his team has left India for London they will be allowed to return to the scene of their activities, in case the London conversations break down? Who can guarantee to the Indian delegation a hospitable reception in London during its stay there?

We honestly wonder whether it is not high time for us to present a united front, and if necessary, to wade through a pool of blood, of course pursuing the creed of non-violence, to attain our one goal and that for now and for ever.

The foregoing has been sent me by “The Youth of India” with a duly signed covering letter. I have removed certain unnecessary passages and made some alterations without changing the substance of the charge. There is truth in the statement that there are charges and countercharges about breach of the Settlement by the parties concerned. But I am able to assure the public that so far the difficulties have been removed. The Central Government is anxious to implement the Settlement as I know the Congress is. And so long as that condition persists, there is no danger of a breakdown. Beyond this the public will not expect me to go, whilst the very delicate instrument is being worked and kept in tune.

As to the Settlement itself, I have no doubt whatsoever that the Congress would have put itself in the wrong if it had not entered upon it. And it was certainly patriotic on the part of Sjt. Subhas Chandra Bose and the young men who were behind him to have withdrawn their opposition and given their support to the Settlement Resolution at Karachi. The Karachi Congress did not

lower the independence flag. The Congress mandate is clear on the point.

Whether the Congress will be able to make good its position at the Round Table Conference I do not know. But I do know that it would be wrong for the Congress to avoid the Conference for fear of rejection of its demands. The Conference is one way of showing the absolute justice of the national demand. It would have been foolish for the Congress to refuse participation when it was open to it to press its full demand without reservation. The Congress would have betrayed lack of courage if it had declined to avail itself of the opportunity, when it came, of presenting its case at the Round Table Conference.

Therefore I should not hesitate to go to London and attend the Conference if I found that I could safely go. My difficulty is fundamental and well known. I should not have the self-confidence to present the Congress case, if we could not set our own house in order by attaining a solution of the communal problem. But I am waiting, watching and praying. As soon as the way is open, I should not hesitate to go wherever wanted. The other difficulty is less serious, but none the less important. As the principal party on behalf of the Congress to the Pact, I should feel most uneasy leaving India, when serious questions arising out of the Settlement demand attention. I have pledged my honour to Lord Irwin that I shall leave no stone unturned to see that the Settlement does not break down. As I have already hinted, I am having some difficulty with local Governments, but I am hoping that with patience all will be well. In any case I believe in all humility that my presence in India is necessary to avoid a crisis.

As for the other doubts of the writer or writers of the letter, I can only repeat what I have said so often. I will not lose hope till I know that nothing is to be gained from negotiation. Since I believe in human nature, in spite of previous disappointments, I must trust. I regard it as practical wisdom. I rely for success upon the inherent justice of the national cause and the equally just means adopted for its vindication. I do not believe that the Congress delegation will be insulted in London. And if it is, the Congress will not lose its prestige. The loss will accrue to those who will insult. I therefore ask the youthful writers of the letter not to lose hope, but work with all their might to make the Settlement a success, and by working the constructive programme enhance the power of the Congress to vindicate the national position.

For the measure of success at the Conference, if the Congress is represented thereat, will be in strict proportion to the measure of the power of the Congress.

Young India, 4-6-1931

367. MISSIONARY METHODS IN INDIA

Gandhiji has given great umbrage to missionaries by his declaration against the prevailing methods of evangelization, and by challenging the claim to superiority put forward by them on behalf of Christianity. They strongly resent his assertion that their *modus operandi* is open to suspicion It was stated in the Indian Census Report for 1911 that the aboriginal tribes accept Christianity, "in the hope of obtaining assistance from the missionaries in their difficulties and protection the coercion of landlords." . . . In 1821, Raja Rammohan Roy urged in the *Brahmanical Magazine* that the superiority of Christianity should not be advocated "by means of abuse and insult or by affording the hope of worldly gain."

. . . Mrs. Charles Howard, Secretary, Society for the Education of the Women of India, Chicago, in a letter to Sr. Virchand R. Gandhi of Bombay, wrote in 1896: "But I am more concerned for poor India. Why should Christianity, which is a failure here, be thrust upon India?"¹

This comes from a retired Deputy Collector. The collection of quotations from named sources should, instead of offending missionaries, cause an inward search. I have several other similar articles, some from Christian Indians. The writers will excuse me for withholding them. The controversy ought not to be prolonged. The incautious zeal of reporters, who trusted too much to memory, led to a discussion², which I would fain have avoided.

Young India, 4-6-1931

¹ Only excerpts are reproduced here.

² Vide "Foreign Missionaries", 23-4-1931 & "Foreign Missionaries Again", 7-5-1931

368. TELEGRAM TO JAMES MILLS

SWARAJ ASHRAM,
BARDOLI,
June 4, 1931

JAMES MILLS
CECIL HOTEL
SIMLA

YOUR WIRE. PLEASE CABLE INDIA NEEDS ALL HELP AMERICA
CAN RENDER IN HER NONVIOLENT EFFORT FOR FREEDOM.
GANDHI

From a photostat : S.N. 17213

369. TELEGRAM TO J. M. SEN GUPTA

SWARAJ ASHRAM,
BARDOLI,
June 4, 1931

SEN GUPTA
ELGIN ROAD
CALCUTTA

THANKS WIRE¹. THINK YOU SHOULD REFER ALL MATTERS
ARBITRATION UNCONDITIONALLY. ELECTIONS CAN BE SET
ASIDE IF FOUND IRREGULAR.

GANDHI

From a photostat : S.N. 17214

¹ Which stated : “. . . Having regard to Subhasbabu’s wire to you and the attitude disclosed therein I agree to arbitration. Beg point out that arbitraion may not be reduced to compromise but should be a decision on matters of principle and fact arrived at after detailed enquiry. Arbitrator or arbitrators will be expected to give decision as regards following question of principle. Whether District Congress Committees shall have the right of printing membership forms as they had formerly enabling wide enrolment without hindrance whether district Congress Presidents should not be ex-officio returning officers and when the President is not available rule number five of the rules for election

370. TELEGRAM TO VENKATESHNARAIN TIWARI

SWARAJ ASHRAM,
BARDOLI,
June 4, 1931

VENKATESHNARAIN TIWARI
KYDGANJ
ALLAHABAD

YOUR WIRE. LINE FIFTYTHREE¹ OBVIOUS MISTAKE.
CORRECTING NEXT ISSUE.

GANDHI

From a microfilm : S.N. 17215

371. TELEGRAM TO MAQBOOL HUSAIN

SWARAJ ASHRAM,
BARDOLI,
June 4, 1931

HAKIM MAQBOOL HUSAIN
CARE CONGRESS
CAWNPORE

YOUR WIRE. RERER MATTER² ARBITRATION.

GANDHI

From a microfilm : S.N. 17216

372. TELEGRAM TO PREMABEHN KANTAK

BARDOLI,
June 4, 1931

CHI. PREMA,

I got your letter. I, too, shall start on Monday. So both of us will reach Bombay on Tuesday. But I shall be reaching there a little earlier than you. Drop in on the same day when you get time. I will then decide if I can spare time for a talk with you.

Your letter was quite full of information. Gangabehn has indeed many aspirations. You should have long talks with her and should

¹ *Vide* "Virus of Untouchability", 11-6-1931

² Presumably the Hindu-Muslim tension in Cawnpore.

also help her. Her capacity for love is boundless and her desire for service intense.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 10256. Also C.W. 6704. Courtesy : Premabehn Katak

373. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

June 4, 1931

CHI. VASUMATI,

I got your letter. I have carefully read Nanalal's letter. If you are required to stay at Visnagar in connection with that work, my advice is against it. The work is full of difficulties. If Nanalal wishes to speak to me, he is welcome. In this matter I will trust Krishnadas's judgment. Before coming to a decision, you should also know the views of Budhabhai, Mathuradas and Narandas. If you have to choose a place outside the Ashram for work, you should choose either Nadiad or Bochasan. I am inclined in favour of Bochasan, since the work there has been put on a firm foundation. However, if you are under a moral obligation to work for that school at Nadiad, you should certainly do your duty. If you have held out any hope, you ought to fulfil it.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : S.N. 9326. Also C.W. 571. Courtesy : Vasumati Pandit

374. LETTER TO GANGABEHN VAIDYA

BARDOLI,

June 4, 1931

CHI. GANGABEHN,

I got your letter. The Ashram is the right place for you. You cannot leave the girls. You should even take in others who may wish to join. You can, therefore, serve best in the Ashram.

Vasumati may live in Nadiad if she wishes to do so.

Santa Cruz khadi is very good.

Let me know when you are leaving. Write to me always and tell me how you think or feel about any matter.

Blessings from

BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro-6 : G. S. Gangabehnne, p. 54. Also C.W. 8776. Courtesy : Gangabehn Vaidya

375. LETTER TO MRIDULA SARABHAI

BARDOLI,
June 4, 1931

CHI. MRIDU,

It is quite all right that you wrote a long letter. You will surely have benefited from your month-long stay at Simla. You will have walked a lot. The suggestion that a boycott committee be formed seems a good one. I am hoping to get something done at the meeting. Most of our difficulties are due to the fact that we want to achieve the boycott through khadi. The mills do have a place in the boycott campaign. That place is secondary to khadi and is automatically assured through our carrying on khadi work. Giving a special place to the mills will make the mills lose, khadi lose and the boycott will fail. Have you understood this key to boycott? If you have not understood, I wish you would ask me again and again and understand. Read carefully the article about boycott in the current issue of *Young India*.¹

You should never hesitate to write to me whenever you want to.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C. W. 11181. Courtesy: Sarabhai Foundation

¹ *Vide* "Is it An Economic Necessity", 4-6-1931

376. *LETTER TO MOOLCHAND AGRAWAL*

BARDOLI,
June 4, 1931

BHAI MOOLCHANDJI,

I have your letter.

- (1) Village sanitation is the duty of the State.
- (2) If the State neglects it, the villagers may take it up.
- (3) Municipality means the village service society. Villagers can themselves form such a society.
- (4) Scavenging will cost nothing if performed by volunteers.
- (5) In a small village even a few dedicated youths can do the scavenging.

MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Hindi : G.N. 758

377. *LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA*

BARDOLI,
June 4, 1931

BHAI GHANSHYAMDAS,

Here is a copy of the letter from Sir Darcy Lindsay. Send a reply with facts and figures. I have already sent one¹, but a more informed reply is called for.

I got the wire about the dispute in Bengal. I have wired to Sen Gupta² unconditionally to accept arbitration.

BAPU

[PS.]

I shall be in Bombay from 9th to 11th.

From a copy of the Hindi : C.W. 7887. Courtesy : G. D. Birla

¹ *Vide* "Letter to Darcy Lindsay", 3-6-1931

² *Vide* "Telegram to J. M. Sen Gupta", 1-6-1931

378. *TELGRAM TO G. D. BIRLA*

SWARAJ ASHRAM,
BARDOLI,
June 5, 1931

GHANSHYAMDAS BIRLA
CARE LUCKY
CULCUTTA

IF AT ALL POSSIBLE TRY SETTLE BENGAL DIS-PUTE
THROUGH LOCAL ARBITRATION.

GANDHI

From a photostat : S.N. 17228

379. *TELGERAM TO PRESIDENT, HINDI SAMMELAN,
MADURA*

SWARAJ ASHRAM,
BARDOLI,
June 5, 1931

PRESIDENT
HINDI SAMMELAN
MADURA

HOPE YOUR LABOURS WILL RESULT ALL DELE-GATES
NEXT CONGRESS SPEAKING UNDERSTANDING HINDI.¹

GANDHI

From a microfilm: S.N. 17232

¹ This was read out at the conference on June 7.

380. TELEGRAM TO KRISHNADAS

SWARAJ ASHRAM,
BARDOLI,
June 5, 1931

KRISHNADAS

SHAKTI ASHRAM

RAJPUR (DEHRA DUN)

YOUR WIRE. YOU NEED NOT COME HERE OR WORRY.
AM DOING EVERYTHING POSSIBLE SETTLE MATTER¹.

BAPU

From a microfilm : S.N. 17229

381. TELEGRAM TO SADAGOPACHARI

SWARAJ ASHRAM,
BARDOLI,
June 4, 1931

SADAGOPACHARI

PRESIDENT, TALUQ CONGRESS

TIRUTANI

YOUR TELEGRAM. SEE CHAKRAVARTI RAJAGOPALACHARI. POST
PARTICULARS.

GANDHI

From a microfilm : S.N. 17230

¹ Presumably the Benal Congress dispute; *vide* "Letter to Mrs. V. Banerjee",
3-6-1931

382. TELEGRAM TO FULCHAND K. SHAH

SWARAJ ASHRAM,
BARDOLI,
June 5, 1931

FULCHAND SHAH
NATIONAL SCHOOL
WADHWAN CITY

YOUR LETTER. YOU CAN COME SUNDAY OR AFTER
RETURN BOMBAY.

GANDHI

From a microfilm : S.N. 17231

383. LETTER TO H. W. EMERSON

AS AT SABARMATI,
June 5, 1931

DEAR MR. EMERSON,

This liquor business is causing a great deal of trouble. The following extracts from a letter¹ from Calicut will show you what is to be said on the Congress side. I have given you already facts about picketing in Ahmedabad. It is high time that this matter is settled finally.

Yours sincerely,

Encl. 1

H. W. EMERSON, ESQ.
SIMLA

A.I.C.C. File No. 16-B, 1931. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

¹ The letter stated that “. . . with the help of the police and excise officials . . . liquor which has no sale at the shops on account of picketing is diverted into the homes of the vendors or their friends, where it is being regularly sold”.

384. *LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU*

June 5, 1931

MY DEAR JAWAHARLAL,

I hope you did not lose in S. India what you gained in Ceylon. If you are fresh and do not mind the journey do come to Bardoli for Sunday to that we might have a quiet chat here before beginning operations on Tuesday. I hope Kamala and Indu have profited by the rest.

Yours,

BAPU

PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU
C/O SJT. JALBHAI NAOROJI
NAPEAN SEA RD.
BOMBAY

From Gandhi-Nehru papers, 1931. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

385. *LETTER TO J. C. KUMARAPPA*

AS AT SABARMATI,

June 5, 1931

MY DEAR KUMARAPPA,

Please go through the enclosed and if you have access to the necessary literature and leisure also let me have your reply to it.

BAPU

Encl. 1
SYT. J. C. KUMARAPPA
65 ESPLANADE ROAD
BOMBAY

From a photostat : G.N. 10095

386. *LETTER TO P. A. WADIA*

AS AT SABARMATI,

June 5, 1931

DEAR PROF. WADIA,

I enclose herewith a copy of a letter from an English friend. I have sent him a reply but I know that my reply cannot carry the same weight that a trained economist[’s] can. Will you kindly therefore send me your considered reply supported by facts and figures?

Yours sincerely,

Encl. 1

PROF. P. A. WADIA

WILSON COLLEGE

BOMBAY

From a microfilm : S.N. 17233

387. *LETTER TO EMMA HARKER*

AS AT SABARMATI,

June 5, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. How can I remove the ban on foreign cloth and why? And what is the meaning of the ban? It is merely a method of persuasion. If people want to wear foreign cloth, there is nothing to prevent them from doing so. But if there was national government, the entry of foreign cloth would be surely prohibited as it was in the time of Elizabeth in England. It is true that the Lancashire workmen may have to suffer during the transition stage. But can it be any reason for India’s cottage industry. If in trying to undo the wrong, Indians cease to use foreign cloth which it is their duty to do Lancashire has to turn to a less injurious industry. Where is the harm and where is the wrong? I would like you to work out this problem in its details and you will find that ban on foreign cloth is a necessary condition of the life of the millions of villagers of India.

You have evidently not studied the prohibition question in America. I talked to both who are for prohibition and against prohibition. Whilst it is true that prohibition has given rise to fashionable crime it has saved tens of thousands of the labouring population of

America, who, having the temptation put away from them, are now bringing up sober families. But the conditions in India are infinitely superior to those in America. In America drink was the fashion and yet its great men rose against it. We are too near the time to measure the greatness of America in having undertaken prohibition. In India drink is considered to be a vice and is confined to only a particular class of people. Prohibition will be therefore an unmixed good in this land.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

MRS. EMMA HARKER
6 BELGRAVE TERRACE
KARACHI

From a photostat : S.N. 17235

388. *LETTER TO MADHAVANAR*

AS AT SABARMATI,
June 5, 1931

MY DEAR MADHAVANAR,

I have your letter about picketing. At the present moment I cannot give you better advice than to ask you to discuss the whole thing with Syt. Rajagopalachari and act in consultation with him. I am sure that if orders under 144 are passed, for the time being at any rate you should obey them.

Yours sincerely,

SYT. MADHAVANAR
MATHRUBHUMI BUILDINGS
CALICUT (MALABAR)

From a microfilm : S.N. 17236

389. *LETTER TO DR. JOSIAH OLDFIELD*

AS AT SABARMATI,
June 5, 1931

MY DEAR OLDFIELD,

You have revived sweet memories of old. I am not going to England this summer. Whether I shall have to go in September I do not know. If I do and if I get ill, I might have to seek shelter in your hospital. Anyway it was good of you to think of me.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

DR. JOSIAH OLDFIELD
LADY MARGARET HOSPITAL
DODDINGTON, KENT (ENGLAND)

From a photostat : C.W. 4517. Courtesy : Dr. Josiah Oldfield

390. *LETTER TO PRABHAVATI*

June 5, 1931

CHI. PRABHAVATI,

I got your letter. It is intolerable that, despite such illness, you should compulsorily have to stay there. You should show courage and find some way. I have written to you a long and detailed letter. I hope you got it. I need not, therefore, write much in this. I shall be in Bombay only during 9-11. The address there will be: Laburnum Road, Bombay. I shall have to stay there for three days only.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 3401

391. *LETTER TO LALJI PARMAR*

June 5, 1931

CHI. LALJI,

Is Mamasahab displeased with you? Do you write to him? Have you been looking for a wife? Are you in a hurry to get married? Write to me and tell me frankly what your wish is.

I hope you are working hard there.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of Gujarati : G.N. 3292

392. *LETTER TO NAJUKLAL N. CHOKSI*

June 5, 1931

CHI. NAJUKLAL,

I have your letter. If an operation offers the only cure for Moti have it done quickly. You have done well to take up the job at a library. What is your salary there?

I have looked into the article about Champaran. That sugar can certainly be regarded as indigenous. How pitiable is our condition that if anybody wished to give up eating such sugar, he must stop eating such sugar, he must stop eating sugar altogether.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : S.N. 12148

393. *LETTER TO NARAYAN MORESHWAR KHARE*

June 5, 1931

CHI. PANDITJI,

I did not require such a detailed explanation about the gathering of Bhangis. You may arrange Rambhau's programme if he lets you do so.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : C.W. 217. Courtesy : Lakshmibehn Khare

394. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

BARDOLI,
June 5, 1931

CHI. NARANDAS,

I got your letter. You did right in having paid a visit to Rajkot.

If you go on pleading with the elders through letters, they will probably listen to your advice regarding khadi.

Some days ago, I had a letter from Mukundrai, which I am sending on to you. It will help you to a better understanding of the facts about Mahalakshmi. I did not know that she was related to Gaurishankar. I should be happy if you can take her into the Ashram. Chhaganlal is also one of her relatives.

If the other lady is what she seems to you, you can admit her. You should try to know her husband. If she had such intense aversion against worldly happiness, why did she marry? How old is she? What has been her education? To which community does she belong? What are her husband and father-in-law? What is her father? In principle, we should admit such women.

If Ratubhai has gone to Bombay, we shall meet. I had indeed realized, when I went to Rangoon, that the Doctor was unhappy about Lilavati. But I will have a talk with Ratubhai when he meets me in Bombay.

The suggestion that Madanmohan should stay with Jamnalalji seems all right to me. Haribhau was here and I had a talk with him too. If he stays with Jamnalalji, there will be no need to pay him anything.

We should let Amtulbehn stay in the Ashram if she is ready to live in it till the end of her life. She may be permitted to receive money from outside. If no one sends her any money, we should bear the expenditure on her account. I think she will recover if she does very little physical work. You must have got the bill of exchange in Ba's name which was received here.

If an inmate of the Ashram lives elsewhere, his expenses should be borne by the people there. If, however, Chhaganlal desires another arrangement in regard to any person, do as he suggests. I have written to Chhaganlal also to this effect.

I have advised Dwarkanath that he should live outside Gujarat till my suspicion against him regarding arms is removed. He will

leave in a few days. We have get to decide what to do about his bill. Chhaganlal thinks that he is innocent. I have written to him and told him that, if he feels inclined to pay the bill, he may do so. If, therefore, he writes to you requesting you to pay the bill, please do.

I shall leave this place on Monday and return on the 12th, leaving Bombay on the 11th.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati : M.M.U./I

395. *LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA*

June 5, 1931

BHAI GHANSHYAMDAS,

Read the enclosed letter¹. I have an idea that I have already written to you in this matter. Whatever the case, I think this institution deserves to be helped if something can be given from the Raghumal Trust.

I have today telegraphed that if a settlement by arbitration in the Bengal dispute is possible, they should try for it. The matter should not come up before the Working Committee.

I shall be in Bombay from 9th to 11th.

MOHANDAS

From Hindi : C.W. 7888. Courtesy : G.D. Birla

¹ From Ramanand Sannyasi, of the institution for the welfare of backward classes in Delhi, about the meeting of the Raghumal Trust fixed for June 16 or 17.

396. TELEGRAM TO J. M. SEN GUPTA

SWARAJ ASHRAM,
BARDOLI,
June 6, 1931

SEN GUPTA
ELGIN ROAD
CALCUTTA

YOUR WIRE. YOU PUT YOURSELF WRONG BY
RESIGNING OR ABSTAINING. HAVE NEITHER APPROVED
NOR DISAPPROVED YOUR CONDUCT IF ONLY BECAUSE
I DO NOT KNOW FACTS. DO NOT EVEN NOW
KNOW WHAT SEPARATE ELECTIONS MEAN. HAVE NO
DESIRE HUSH FRAUD WHEREVER PROVED. ONLY
SUGGESTED DECIDING ALL ISSUES THERE BY LOCAL
ARBITRATION INSTEAD WORKING COMMITTEE HAVING TO
DECIDE AND THIS FOR SAKE BENGAL'S NAME AND
EXPEDITION. SARDAR AGREES.

GANDHI

From a photostat : S.N. 17243

397. LETTER TO R. M. MAXWELL

AS AT SABARMATI,
June 6, 1931

DEAR MR. MAXWELL,

Reverting to your letter of the 13th May,¹ at practically the same time that I received your letter in Simla I received the news that Syt. Rajawade was discharged although the letter under reply left me no such hope. I was thankful to receive the telegraphic news which was conveyed to me by Mr. Emerson. I have now received the papers about Syt. H. D. Rajah and on a persual of the papers I can find no incitement to violence. The speeches themselves are not before me because I am told that they are not to be found in the record of the case, but the evidence of the Crown witnesses and the Judge's summing up bring out the most relevant parts of the speeches, which though highly discourteous and equally seditious, contain no incitement to violence. On the contrary, the judge himself refers to the profession of non-violence by the accused but dismisses it as lip

¹ Vide "Letter from R. M. Maxwell", 13-5-1931

service. In the absence of any direct incitement to violence I cannot see how it is possible for a judge to infer mere lip service when there is a direct assertion of non-violence. But I have not relied upon my own opinion. I put the thing before three legal friends, one of whom has kindly reduced his opinion to writing, copy of which I enclose herewith. In the circumstances I request His Excellency to reconsider his decision and beg to point out that under Cl. 13 of the Settlement there is no option but to discharge the civil disobedience prisoners who might not be guilty of offences involving violence other than technical violence or incitement to such violence. I venture to suggest that where there is no incitement on the fact of the evidence it is not open to the Government to deduce such incitement.

Then there is the case of Ratanji Dayaram of Bardoli Taluka. I have now studied the judgment and evidence in this case. There is certainly no violence as contemplated in Cl. 13 of the Settlement. It is also moreover incorrect to say that the accused burnt his tenant's crop. The accused burnt his own crop which he owned jointly with the complainant Devalia Jagla. If the complainant suffered any damage it was open to him, as it is even now, to bring a civil suit against the accused. But where, on the evidence itself and the finding of the judge admitted by the Government, the crop was burnt in order to prevent the Government officials from collecting revenue from selling the crop, there was no question of intending to damage the partner. And may I point out the inconsistency of the Government in releasing the co-accused, Ranchhod, who had no ownership in the crop and keeping Ratanji Dayaram who was admittedly joint owner of the crop. I must, therefore, for the same reason as in the case of Syt. H. D. Rajah, ask for Ratanji Dayaram's discharge in terms of the Settlement.

With reference to your second letter of 30th May last, I can only say that the position taken up by His Excellency causes me deep pain. The reasoning given for refusing to return the press seems to me to be extraordinary. It is giving back and not taking back. Cl. 16 throws the burden on the Government of returning and not on the party dispossessed of going to take back. The reasoning given in the third paragraph of your letter causes still greater pain. I was unprepared for the interpretation that is sought to be put upon the Ordinance. I cannot question the interpretation but I

do question the propriety of putting an irritating interpretation in connection with a document of peace. What the Government seek to do is to justify wanton destruction of property by Government officials. But in order to bring within the smallest compass possible points of dispute between the Government and myself as representing the Congress, I have advised the owners of the motor-car and bicycle to remove them, if they chose to do so. So far as the press is concerned I am sorry to say that I must ask for due fulfilment of the terms of the Settlement. If the Government seriously question my interpretation I am quite willing to submit the question for decision to the Chief Justice of the High Court of Bombay or any other impartial authority.

Yours sincerely,

Encl. 1

R. M. MAXWELL, ESQ.

PRIVATE SECRETARY TO H. E. THE GOVERNOR OF BOMBAY

MAHABALESHWAR

A.I.C.C. File No. 4, 1931 Part I Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

398. LETTER TO DUNICHAND¹

AS AT SABARMATI,

June 6, 1931

DEAR LALA DUNICHAND,

I thank you for your letter. I shall await your analysis of all the cases.

Why was the meeting dispersed by the Magistrate? What was the ostensible cause and how was it dispersed?

Please let me know as soon as the Government publish their opinion about the Ludhiana outrage.

Yours sincerely,

LALA DUNICHAND

ADVOCATE

AMBALA

A.I.C.C. File No. 16-B, 1931. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

¹ *Vide* also "Letter to H. W. Emerson", 19-5-1931

399. LETTER TO K. V. VEL

AS AT SABARMATI,
June 6, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter of the 30th April last. My message is
:

Let Japan study the non-violent movement of India and help
her.

Yours sincerely,

K. V. VEL, ESQ.

POST BOX 9

AKASAKA, TOKYO (JAPAN)

From a photostat : S.N. 17238

400. LETTER TO JUGAL KISHORE

AS AT SABARMATI,
June 6, 1931

MY DEAR JUGAL KISHORE,

I have your letter. Happily, Acharya Kripalani is in Bardoli at the present moment. I have consulted consulted him and if you personally approve of the suggestion, he is willing to be nominated by me in terms of the resolutions. The other name also he has suggested and I have accepted. It is Acharya Narendra Deva of Kashi Vidyapith. Both these are seasoned soldiers and have considerable experience in those matters. In view of these two names it is unnecessary for me just now to suggest names of experts at least at the present moment.

In the resolution, I suggest for better reading the following alterations : In the place of “on self-supporting basis” say “in order to make the institution self-supporting” and after the words “to collect”, add “and disburse”.

Yours sincerely,

PROF. JUGAL KISHORE

PREM MAHAVIDYALAYA

BRINDABAN

From a photostat : S.N. 17239

401. LETTER TO URMILA DEVI

AS AT SABARMATI,
June 6, 1931

DEAR SISTER,

I had your telegram and I have now your letter. Things in Bengal are certainly most deplorable but I do not know what can be done from here. I thought that arbitration was the only thing that can relieve the tension. What else could be done either by the Working Committee or me personally? Subhasbabu came here and gave Sardar Vallabhbhai a long indictment against Syt. Sen Gupta. Vallabhbhai has filed it hoping to be able to investigate the complaints when both the parties were present. Can you suggest any other way out of the difficulty?

SM. URMILA DEVI

40/1 RUP CHAND MUKHERJEE'S LANE
BHOWANIPUR, CALCUTTA

From a photostat : S.N. 17240

402. LETTER TO NILKANTA DAS

AS AT SABARMATI,
June 6, 1931

DEAR NILKANTA BABU,

I have your letter. I can well understand the position but in cases like the one you mentioned very little can be done just now. I can only say that if in spite of these provocations, peaceful picketing cannot be continued it should be suspended for a while. But propaganda of an intensive type should be taken by going to the people in their own homes.

CH. NILKANTA DAS
BHUBANESHWAR

From a microfilm : S.N. 17241

403. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

AS AT SABARMATI,
June 6, 1931

DEAR SATIS BABU,

I have your letter and cutting from the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*. What can be done beyond suggesting arbitration in the place of the cumbersome procedure that will have to be adopted by the Working Committee if the matter has to be decided by it. Subhasbabu was here and gave Sardar Vallabhbhai a long list of complaints against Sen Gupta. Vallabhbhai could do nothing but said that when the matter came formally before the Working Committee, he will deal with the complaint. But when he and I began to receive wires from Bengal, I suggested local arbitration. Is there any other way besides such arbitration or decision by the Working Committee when the matter formally comes before it?

If you are well enough, you should come to Bombay and discuss the position at the All-India Spinners' Association Committee meeting. I cannot advise Dr. Roy to come to Ahmedabad especially when several mill-owners are outside Ahmedabad.

If you have not seen the file of the *Samachar* of 1828 I think you ought to see it and verify the spinner's letter¹ yourself.

From a photostat : S.N. 17242

404 LETTER TO NANABHAI I. MASHRUWALA

BARDOLI,
June 6, 1931

BHAI NANABHAI,

I have your letter. How can I ever come there? Ba is no longer fit to travel and visit any place. She gets inflammation of the mouth repeatedly. But it may be possible to send Swami and Devdas.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 6681. Also C.W. 4326. Courtesy : Kanubhai Mashruwala

¹ Vide "In 1828", 21-5-1931; also "Letter to Satis Chandra Das Gupta", 2-6-1931

405. LETTER TO RAMDAS GANDHI

NAINTAL, U. P.

June 6, 1931

CHI. RAMDAS,

I am not able to write to you at all. Do not give whole milk to Sumitra. Add a measure of water to it. After adding water warm it and instead of sugar add honey to it. Her stomach should be very lightly massaged with oil every day. Mothers in these parts vigorously exercise their children. If Nimu or you do not know it, you should learn it. It is very useful. Laying the child flat on the back, raise and bend the legs so that the toes touch the forehead. The knees should not bend. Do you understand what I mean? The baby should be held tightly by the feet upside down for a minute or a half. The exercise should be given while putting the child to sleep or in the morning, on an empty stomach.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Motana Man, p. 60

406. WORKER-VILLAGE RATIO

How many workers would be needed to cover seven lakh villages? This question requires serious consideration. The British flag flies in each and every village, that is to say, all of them use the Government's currency, and pay revenue in that currency. But the Congress has not been able to cover all the villages. Even its name has not reached every village, let alone its message. The Congress can reach every village through khadi, but we do not have enough interest in khadi for that purpose.

The reader will be surprised to know that, though the Government's authority is recognized in every village, every one of them does not have a Patel, a *talati* or a constable. All that it has been able to do is to put a few villages under each *talati* and Patel. A *talati* should be an educated person, for he is supposed to keep accounts. He has, therefore, more villages under him than a Patel. If the Government does not have a *talati* and a Patel for every village, how can the Congress have a worker for every one of them. I know that the ratio of workers and villages should be exactly the opposite of that

of *talatis* and Patels and villages. The Congress should have the capacity which the Government does not possess. But we must admit with shame that it is not so. The Government cannot afford to spend enough money to keep a *talati* and a Patel in each village. The Congress does not need to spend money. It can get volunteers but its name has not reached every corner so that it can have a volunteer in each village.

In these circumstances, it would be extravagance on the part of the Congress to have more than one worker per village. We should group the villages into blocks, each with a radius of ten miles. As our resources and the number of volunteers increase, we can increase the number of blocks but at present one volunteer should be able to cover ten miles from a central point. So the diameter of his working area would be twenty miles. But the volunteer will never have to walk twenty miles at a time. There is no rule that he must always sleep in the central village. Not only may he spend a night in any village within the limit of ten miles, but it would be actually his duty to spend a night in each of them by turn. There would be at least ten villages in such a block with a radius of ten miles. So, according to me, there would be one worker for every ten villages. Hence we require seventy thousand men and women volunteers to cover all the villages in the country. I said women volunteers. But really speaking we should count their numbers on a different basis. If, in early stages, two of them stay together then we would require more than seventy thousand volunteers, or the volunteers would have to be posted in different manner according to the number of women volunteers included in the total. It should be obvious that to post more than one worker per village would be a crime.

Let us now think each worker can do. He can easily :

1. collect children and teach them how to spin on the *takli*, card cotton, make *taklis*, and also teach them the three R's; for this he can draw up a modest scheme and plan a curriculum;
2. look after the cleanliness of the villages and himself work to keep them clean;
3. give medicine to sick persons;
4. if there are quarrels among different groups and parties in a village, bring them together;
5. relieve the hardships of the untouchables, provide facilities for drinking water for them if they do not have any;
6. try to make the village self-reliant in regard to khadi;

7. prepare a census of each village in his block, count the number of cattle in each under the heads of cows, she-buffaloes, bullocks, he-buffaloes and male and female calves, calculate average yield of buffalo's milk and cow's milk, prepare a census of the *Antyajias* and write a general description of their conditions, find out the area of each village, its crops, the amount of land revenue paid by it, its crafts and industries, the number of wells in it and note whether any fruits and babul trees grow in the villages or in the fields within its limits. Though I have mentioned this activity last, the volunteers should take it up first. This work does not require much time. But the volunteer who has gathered all this information would find his work much easier. He should record all this information in a small exercise book.

No volunteer should say that he cannot do all this work unaided in ten villages. Just as a school works only for a few hours daily, similarly we should not mind if it works only for one day in the week. It will not matter if the school in each village works on every tenth day. I have stated an extreme possibility. In actual practice, a newly-posted volunteer will immediately collect the statistics about the villages in his block and then train men and women volunteers in every village and assign them work according to their capacity. In this way he will become a supervisor-worker. On the days on which he is not present in a particular village, the local volunteers will carry on the work.

One quality is essential in such a worker and that is purity of character. If he is a slave of his eleven senses he will be able to do no work. These eleven senses are the five of perception, the five of action and the mind. If the mind is pure, then the ten senses automatically remain pure. If the mind is impure, then everything else will be impure. The senses of action are the arms, the legs, the mouth, and two private organs. The senses of knowledge are the skin, the sense of touch, the palate, the ear for hearing, the nose for smelling and the eyes for sight. Anyone who cannot control these should humbly refuse to become a volunteer. If he has become one and then later on finds that he is unable to control his senses, he should humbly resign. This is the right way if we want work to be done.

Some might say that this programme cannot be completed in a hundred years and we want swaraj just now. This objection has no force. We shall not have an abundance of workers when we get swaraj. Those who are workers now will run the country under swaraj. It is

true that those who run the administration at present will be there when its control is handed over to the people. If, however, the Congress does not have the type of volunteers that I have suggested, then we shall lose control of the administration or it will become corrupt and there will be anarchy in the country. There is no reason to suppose that those who are hated now will become godlike overnight as soon as the control of the administration changes hands. Hence, as we sow now, so shall we reap. If we get sincere workers, the programme that I have chalked out can begin today. "Let us first have seventy thousand volunteers and map out the country into blocks of ten miles each and then we shall see what work to take up." This is not the right way to start work. If we approach the task thus, we shall succeed in doing nothing.

The right method is this : Gujarat should start immediately. If work cannot be started in the whole of Gujarat, it should be started in one or two districts, or even talukas, and if even that is not possible, then the few workers in the different parts in Gujarat should begin as I have suggested and leave whatever is not essential or cannot be done well. They should start whatever they can do. If there are more workers than one at one place, they should disperse themselves. If they decide to stay together where they are, they should do so after considering whether that is necessary. They should not deceive themselves or the people through mental or physical lethargy.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 7-6-1931

407. NOTES

HINDUS' SHAME

In Dakor on 22nd May, 1931, there was a meeting of Bhangis of which Thakkar Bapa has sent me a report. I give below its substance :

About 1,500 Bhangis from 150 villages had gathered. They had crected a *mandap*¹ of canvas with the ground also covered with canvas in which they could hold their meetings and sleep at night. The meetings were held in this *mandap* during the day and at night they slept in it. But no one would give them utensils for cooking and they could not get drinking water. The water of the Gomati pond is so dirty that there are municipal signboards at numerous spots warning people not to use it for drinking. But Bhangis can drink it! How could they drink such dirty water at a gathering like this? One Muslim gentleman took pity on them. He gave them utensils, helped them in cooking and gave them water too.

No Hindu of Dakor, which is a centre of pilgrimage, felt ashamed at this or took pity on the Bangis. The guests had come from distant places, but could get no water, no utensils and no food though there was an abundance of everything in the town. the women volunteers of Dakor could have cooked for them. It was the duty of the Mahajan² in Dakor to supply water to these people. They failed in this duty and dimmed the lestre of Hinduism.

“But this sort of thing happens everywhere and no one cares for Bhangis. Was it the duty of Hindus of Dakor specially on this occasion to do all that?” Yes, it was. The fact that one’s for efathers have been committing a particular sin gives one no right to go on committing it. As the days pass, the awakening among the *Antyajjas* increases, this evil in Hinduism is being recognized and more and more caste Hindus feel ashamed of the practice. The person who drafted the report is a Hindu and the person who sent it is also a Hindu. All of us want to implement the resolution on rights passed by the Congress. Whatever may have

¹ Covered enclosure

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

happened before now, even caste Hindus will not tolerate now the kind of injustice that was shown in Dakor. There will be no distinction between *Antyajas* and others under swaraj. Let us, therefore, wake up.

THINK CAREFULLY OVER THIS

There is a village named Bharthari in Thasara taluka. There a person named Dhanjibhai, an *Antyajaja*, is trying hard to reform other *Antyajas*. From the report that I have received about his work I see that he silently bears the hardship which he has to suffer because of his activities. One of the reform which he is trying to persuade the *Antyajas* to adopt is to give up eating carrion and to this end to give up the work of disposal of dead cattle. To persuade them to stop eating carrion is of course good, but to persuade them to give up the occupation of disposing of dead cattle seems to me a very harmful move. I think myself the occupation is sacred, and certainly most useful. It is sacred because it helps in preserving sanitation. If dead animals were left unattended, the air would be polluted, diseases would spread and the country's wealth would be wasted. Cattle serve the people after they die as much as they do while alive. We use their skin, bones, flesh and guts for many purposes. If we use living cattle properly and use the hide, etc., of dead cattle scientifically, their value would increase so much that it would not be profitable to slaughter them.

I would, therefore, suggest to reformers that they should not persuade Bhangis and Chamars to leave their occupation but they should, on the contrary, give them proper knowledge about their work. This requires training. It is only in our country that this occupation is considered low. In the West we find even millionaires engaged in it. If instead of becoming clerks, after graduation, young men learn the Chamar's work, learn how to skin dead cattle and how to make use of the other parts, then the present drain of crores of rupees to foreign countries because of our ignorance in this matter would stop and Chamars would no longer look upon their occupation as low. We shall be able to eradicate untouchability not when the Chamars give up their work but only when the Hindus realize their sin and when the *Antyajas* rid themselves of some evils which have entered their lives.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 7-6-1931

408. POOR MAN'S HUNDI

Vithaldashbai complains from his sick-bed that khadi stocks are accumulating. The workers of Gujarat write to inform me that because of this they are forced to give less work to spinners. This complaint regarding khadi is a matter of shame for us. Those who wear khadi know that by doing so they help women who are among the poorest in the country. If all of us understand this fact, the demand for khadi will never go down. As we always get the cash value of a currency note printed on, it, so we should always be able to get money for khadi at the price fixed by us. Khadi is a sort of *hundi* drawn by the poor. There should be men and women in cities who would always accept such *hundis*. And so long as this *hundi* is available, no one should touch any other *hundi*.

If I can have my way and if people co-operate, khadi will always be sold at a fixed price. The price of cotton may vary, but if the women who spin and the weavers are paid at uniform rates in their respective provinces and the rates of payment for the other processes are also uniform, there should be no difficulty in having a fixed price for every variety of khadi. Since we do not possess the requisite honesty, efficiency of organization and sympathy for the poor, the prices of khadi have been changing. However, anyone who takes the slightest interest in khadi knows that in every province the prices have declined from what they were ten years ago. I have already pointed out in these columns¹ that, of the khadi produced in the Meerut Ashram, where it is manufactured in large quantities, those varieties which previously cost one rupee now generally cost less than six annas. This does not mean that the women spinners are paid less. It only means that the workers have acquired greater skill in all the processes of khadi manufacture. The quality of spinning has improved and, in consequence, the weavers' work has become easier. This has made it possible to reduce the rate of payment to weavers without reducing their total earnings. It has been possible to bring about this happy result of reduction in prices because a philanthropic body is organizing khadi work. Thanks to this fact, the quality of khadi has progressively improved and the prices have come down. There is

¹ *Vide* "Notes" sub-title Gandhi Ashram, Meerut, 4-6-1931

considerable scope for still further improvement in quality and reduction in prices and this will happen as more and more people patronize khadi. It is evident that, as the demand for khadi increases, a larger number of people and more skilled people will take interest in it and the quality will improve and the prices decrease. The shareholders in the poor man's company are not limited to a small number, but are the thirty crores in the country. Then why should there be any difficulty in selling khadi? But the difficulty is a fact and it is, therefore, fruitless to ask that question. It would be wiser to discover ways of selling it. The following means suggest themselves :

1. To go round hawking khadi. At all places women should do this only on fixed days, so that they will not have to go round every day. It would be enough if they give some hours on some days in the week. As in the West the wives of millionaires visit hospitals, etc., on certain days in the week, so the women here should go round hawking khadi.

2. Leaflets giving a list of the varieties of khadi and their prices should be distributed to every household.

3. Talks about khadi should be arranged in all residential streets.

I have only given a few suggestions for guidance. But those who love khadi and have resourceful brains will be able to think out many other ways of selling the accumulated stocks of khadi.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 7-6-1931

409. USE ANOTHER NAME

An *Antyaja* friend writes :¹

Such a feeling is natural in this age of awakening. A person does not like the name which is applied to him in contempt, though its origin may have been quite innocent. Formerly the name *Antyaja* was not felt as expressing contempt. The names Dhed and Bhangi were disliked. I think the term '*Dalit*' was first used by the late Swami Shraddhanand. Now it seems that name also is not liked. This real explanation is that as long as the poison of untouchability exists in our society, any name that may be given will probably come to be disliked after some time. Hence the right thing to do is to get rid of that poison and for this we need the co-operation of the *Antyaj*as men and women. It is of course the duty of the Hindus to get rid of this poison unconditionally. Atonement for one's sin need not depend on any condition being fulfilled. But however sincere the efforts of Hindus to atone for their sin, the evils which have crept into the lives of the untouchables because of the sin of Hindus can be eradicated only by their own efforts. They will require the help of caste Hindus in their efforts. They are getting it slowly and its tempo is likely to increase. But even after taking all this into account, ultimately the *Antyaj*as will have to rely on their own efforts. Though it is thus necessary to attack the root cause, if a better word than *Antyaja* or *Dalit* occurs to anyone he may send it to me.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 7-6-1931

410. A SUPERSTITION

I give below the substance of what one cultured and very pious mother writes : "After my son's death I have left off milk and ghee. I live on rice, dal, *roti*, and buttermilk. I have lost interest in life but I pass my time by devoting myself to service in one way or another. I read *Ramayana* and other books, but deep inside the memory of my dear son continues to pain me."

¹ The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had expressed his sense of humiliation at the word '*Antyaja*' and requested Gandhiji to coin some new word to denote his community. For the choice of the word 'Harijan', vide "Notes", 2-8-1931, sub-title, "Harijan".

This mother's health was already weak and now it has become weaker. It is not certain even whether she will survive or not. As I have summarized the mother's letter, I also give the substance of my reply to her.¹

To mourn the death of either son or husband is meaningless and shows our ignorance. This should not be dismissed as merely wise talk; it is a truth to be pondered over till it sinks into our heart and to be acted upon. Since death is certain for all, the only question is whether it comes today or tomorrow. Why, then, should we grieve over anyone's death? It is only the body which dies. That is its nature and therefore there is no cause for wonder when it dies. It is certain that the soul which dwells in the body never dies, it is immortal. When we know this as certain truth, why should we grieve over death?

Even if we assume that we are bound to be pained by death, is fasting or restriction of food a remedy for our grief? Whom does it help? The one who is dead? And if so, does it help the body which has perished, or the immortal soul? The body that used to eat is now ashes or is being eaten up by worms. The soul neither eats nor drinks. Why then should the mother or the wife restrict her food?

In other words, the mother or wife restricting her food has no effect on the body or the soul of the dead person. If we desire the welfare of the departed soul or wish to keep his memory alive for ever, we shall not be able to fulfil our wish by fasting but shall fulfil both aims by retaining his virtues in ourselves. We can also contribute to perpetuating his memory by making donations to worthy causes.

Does fasting or control over food then serve no purpose? In this case at any rate they serve none. They can be undertaken within certain limits, either for the purpose of self-purification or for curing a disease. We shall not discuss the second possibility. Control of the palate, then, aims at self-purification. Restriction of food or fasting, therefore, has this limit. Fasting is not the right way of atoning for a lie. The right way of doing so is to take a vow always to speak the truth in future, to renounce whatever serves as a temptation to us to tell a lie. If, however, a person cannot control his palate, the remedy is fasting or restriction of diet. Anyone who has overcome all cravings of the palate eats only for keeping his body alive. His diet is restricted to a few items and the quantity also is measured. Such men and

¹ *Vide* "Letter to Hemprabha Das Gupta", 2-6-1931

women take food as medicine. If they practise further self-denial, they commit a sin because, if they do not eat, their bodies would become weak. The body is an instrument of service. Anyone who weakens that instrument is a thief. Such persons number hardly a few among crores. I have used this illustration only to explain my meaning.

We ordinary human beings daily indulge our palate. It is, therefore, necessary that we should occasionally fast and restrict our diet. But this should be done only to kill the cravings of the palate. To do it because of someone's death or for some similar reason is a form of self-deception and may even be sinful.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 7-6-1931

411. A LETTER

BARDOLI,

June 7, 1931

Sardar Garda met me at Swaraj Ashram, Bardoli, on April 25th in the company of Sir Cowasji Jehangir, Sjt. K. F. Nariman, Sjt. Vimadalal, Rao Bahadur Bhim Bhai and another Parsi friend. He was brought by Sir Cowasji Jehagir and other friends in connection with the forfeited land belonging to Bardoli peasants which he had purchased during the Civil Disobedience Movement. He complained about the treatment he had received at the hands of the people. I told him that whatever complaints he might make I would undertake to investigate and give him satisfaction. All the friends persuaded him to return the said land. He insisted not only on the price he had paid for the land being returned to him, namely, Rs. 6000 in addition which he said he had spent on the land. Sir Cowasji assured him that sum also would be forthcoming. He then said that he would most probably decide to restore the land for the purchase price plus the said sum of Rs. 6000, but that he would have to consult his people and the give a final reply which he would do inside of two days. In the course of the conversation Sardar Garda said that the land he had bought was fully worth four lakhs of rupees and that he would not have bought it but for the pressure that was brought to bear upon him on the part of the authorities. This, of course, he said in confidence. I asked him then whether I could announce to the people that most probably he would

agree to restore the land, and he said “certainly”. Two days after, Sardar Vallabhbhai received a letter from Rao Bahadur Bhim Bhai saying that Sardar Garda had passed a note to him to the effect that he had decided to restore the land for the above sum. The enclosed is a copy of the letter passed by Sardar Garda to Rao Bahadur Bhim Bhai. The letter was also published in the papers and the agreement was duly announced to the people concerned. On May 7th I received a letter from Sardar Garda as per copy to which I sent a reply hereto attached. I also attach the further correspondence since passed between Sardar Garda and myself.

A.I.C.C. File No. 16-C, 1931. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

412. LETTER TO K. B. BHADRAPUR

AS AT SABARMATI,
June 7, 1931

DEAR MR. BHADRAPUR,

I write this letter in connection with the present Mukhi¹ of Ras. I discussed the question of his removal and the appointment of the old Mukhi with Mr. Perry more than once and I had hoped that by this time at least the Ras Mukhi would have been removed. The this time at least the Ras Mukhi would have been removed. The matter is now becoming urgent as a deputation on behalf of the non-Dharala inhabitants of Ras waited on me yesterday and complained that life was becoming unbearable for them there. I enclose herewith particulars of destruction that is alleged to have gone on in Ras during the past fortnights. They mentioned also that personal assaults were added to the injury to property. It is not suggested that the Mukhi himself has personally done these things but it is suggested that they have been done with his connivance, if not instigation. It will be readily admitted that if the statements made in the memorandum hereto attached are at all true, it won't be possible for the non-Dharala population to proceed with the cultivation of their fields as soon as rains commence. Suggestion has already been made that the Mukhiship should be divided into three parts, each part being held by a different person. I need hardly say this will not do. Either the present Mukhi is an undesirable person or he is not. If he is an

¹ Village headman

undesirable person, in accordance with the terms of the Settlement and the admission made by the Commissioner, undesirable Mukhis should be removed. And in view of the fact that there is a conviction for theft against the present Mukhi of Ras, his removal is surely overdue. This I ask irrespective of and without prejudice to my contention that appointments of Mukhis for definite terms are not permanent according to the meaning of the Settlement. I shall therefore be obliged if you will kindly let me know as early as possible whether it is the intention of the Government to remove this Mukhi and protect the life and property of the inhabitants of Ras.

Yours sincerely,

K. B. BHADRAPUR, ESQ.
COLLECTOR OF KAIRA DT.
KAIRA

A.I.C.C. File No. 16-C, 1931. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

413. LETTER TO THOMAS B. LEE

AS AT SABARMATI,
June 7, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter. As a matter of fact I have got ample Christian Science literature with me. You will not mind my saying that somehow or other the message of Christian Science does not appeal to me. I met so many Christian scientists in South Africa. Their conversations also failed to convince me. And why do you say that the discovery that there is really no life or sensation in the body is the most important discovery of any kind that has ever been made? As a matter of fact the statement is not a complete proposition. By the body is evidently meant body without life is without sensation and every Hindu child is taught that from childhood. But I must not enter into a discussion. I felt that your long letter was entitled to a reasoned reply from me.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

THOMAS B. LEE, ESQ.
STERLING RADIO CO.
KANSAS CITY, MO.

From a photostat : S.N. 17248

414. LETTER TO MADHAV R. JOSHI

AS AT SABARMATI,
June 7, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. A man of God makes no distinction between individual and individual. He will bestow his affection impartially upon all, whether wife or sister or mother, brother or stranger, friend of foe and he will put himself last. After serving everybody he will serve himself. And this can only be done by having faith in God and following the light that He may give one in answer to prayer.

Yours sincerely,

SYT. MADHAV RAMKRISHNA JOSHI
C/O DISTRICT CONGRESS COMMITTEE'S OFFICE
AGRA ROAD, DHULIA (W. KHANDESH)
From a photostat : S.N. 17249

415. LETTER TO THAPPAN NAIR

AS AT SABARMATI,
June 7, 1931

MY DEAR THAPPAN,

I have your letter. You should diligently follow the columns of *Young India*. They might help you. So far as your immediate question is concerned, if you feel that there is no work for you there you are at liberty to return to the Ashram. Many have done so.

Yours sincerely,

SYT. THAPPAN NAIR
CONGRESS CAMP
PALGHAT (MALABAR)

From a microfilm : S.N. 17250

416. LETTER TO H. V. HODSON

AS AT SABARMATI,
June 7, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter. If I do come to London I hope we shall meet and if I do not succeed in coming, you will please believe me when I tell you that the failure will be due not to any want of will or effort on my part but to circumstances wholly beyond my control.

Yours sincerely,

H. V. HODSON, ESQ.
10 WOOD LANE
HIGHGATE, LONDON, N. 6

From a photostat : S.N. 17251

417. LETTER TO M. I. DAVID

AS AT SABARMATI,
June 7, 1931

DEAR MR. DAVID,

I thank you for your letter of 9th May. I am most closely watching your activity not in terms of the newspapers but its reaction upon the communal spirit. Solution of the communal question may be beyond the powers of Conciliation Committees, but if they tend to promote peace it would be a very big step forward. You are also interesting me in another activity of yours, bee-keeping and honey-making. I would love to see the industry of bee-keeping becoming universal in India. The only question is whether it is possible to make bee-keeping profitable. I tried to make some experiments but I have failed hitherto. You will deserve the gratitude of people if you can devise method whereby poor people can take to this industry.

Yours sincerely,

M. I. DAVID, ESQ.
4 QUEENS ROAD
FORT, BOMBAY

From a photostat : S.N. 17252

418. *LETTER TO ESTHER MENON*

AS AT SABARMATI,

June 7, 1931

After having kept me waiting for many long months you have at last written to me. What a bad things that Menon has not yet got his diploma. I had a letter from a mutual friend saying that you were disheartened over this failure. This is unworthy of you as I have known you. No failure, no adversity should dishearten you who have a living faith in God and his goodness. We do not know that every failure is a matter for sorrow nor do we know that every adversity is an infliction. Do we not often find that prosperity and success mean the undoing of people whereas failure and adversity chasten them?

I do not know that I am going to London. If I do, I will of course love to go to Denmark and if I went there I should not like to miss you. But it is no speculating on a highly problematical thing.

I do hear from Maria, now and again.

After dictating this I came upon another letter which mentions you more intimately. This letter is from Dr. Henning Dalsgaard. In that letter he says you are cheerful but he asks me concrete proposition. Have you any such in view? If you have, thing, you know also you can rely upon my doing it.

MRS. ESTHER MENON

M, QUEST HOUSE

SELLY OAK

N. BIRMINGHAM (ENGLAND)

From photostat : S.N. 17254

419. *LETTER TO DR. HENNING DALSGAARD*

AS AT SABARMATI,
June 7, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

I have read with great deal of interest your note at the back of the formal letter from the International People's College. You will see from my reply to Prof. Manniche that my going to London itself is problematical and going to Denmark still more so.

I would like you to be more explicit about Menon. But now that you have mentioned him I am writing to Esther about his requirements.

Yours sincerely,

DR. HENNING DALSGAARD
LECTURER IN POLITICAL SCIENCE
ELSINORE, DENMARK

From a photostat : S.N. 17253

420. *LETTER TO RAMSEVAK SHUKLA*

June 7, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. You may send the particulars of your discovery¹ with full explanation.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm : S.N. 17255

421. *LETTER TO SHRI RAM SHARMA*

AS AT SABARMATI,
June 7, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. The matters discussed in your letter, you should really discuss with the Provincial Congress Committee officials in the first instance so that a uniform policy can be adopted. I can only discuss general principles in the pages of *Young India*,

¹ Of a new kind of spindle

and take concrete cases of injustice to the Government. Beyond that, you will admit, it is not possible for me to go.

Yours sincerely,

SYT. SHRI RAM SHARMA
GENERAL SECRETARY, DISTRICT CONGRESS COMMITTEE
ROHTAK (PUNJAB)

From a microfilm : S.N. 17256

422. LETTER TO N. P. RAGHAVAN

June 7, 1931

MY DEAR RAGHAVAN,

I was delighted to hear from you after so long. I hope Titus is better. Thappan¹ says you are all weary there and not wanted. If such is the case you may return to the Ashram.

Yours

BAPU

SJT. N.P. RAGHAVAN
KHADI VASTRALAYA
PAYYANUR
N. MALABAR

From a photostat: C. W. 10865. Courtesy: N. P. Raghavan

¹ Thappan Nair

423. LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM

June 8, 1931

MY DEAR AMTUL,

Never mind your incorrect English. But you must soon write Hindi. If you write a clear Urdu hand I can read it. You must cultivate a brief style.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat : G.N. 240

424. LETTER TO PADMA

June 8, 1931

CHI. PADMA,

I have your letter. It is good news indeed to hear that your health is improving steadily. Have you now given up the idea of going to U.P.P.? Take plenty of rest and get well.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 6120. Also C.W. 3472. Courtesy : Prabhudas Gandhi

425. LETTER TO SHARDA C. SHAH

Silence Day, June 8, 1931

CHI. SHARDA,

Your handwriting may be said to be good this time. You can still improve it. How can you not think of what to write? Can you not write about what you did and what you said during the week?

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : C.W. 9903. Courtesy : Shardabehn G. Chokhawala

426. LETTER TO KANTI PAREKH

Silence Day, June 8, 1931

CHI. KANTI,

Here is the reply to your letter. The word 'love' has two meanings : one, ignorant attachment, and, two, non-violence. Love between man and woman mostly takes the form of ignorant attachment and, therefore, it is undesirable. It cannot become all-embracing love. If a man marries many woman or a woman many men, the world would be destroyed. Only that love which takes the form of non-violence can become all-embracing, and anybody who wishes to cultivate such love must renounce the other love, born of ignorant attachment, which a man and a woman feel for each other. The wheel of worldly life is kept moving, and will be kept moving, by a love which is a mixture of the two kinds. It helps human beings to satisfy their own needs and also to serve the race. What I have written pertains to love in its purest form. If we are clear in our minds about the ideal, it will be possible on its basis to formulate proper norms for practical life. If we base the ideal on the prevailing practice, we would lower both the ideal and the practice. If you do not follow anything in this, ask me again. I am returning your letter herewith.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 6269

427. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

[BARDOLI,
June 8, 1931]¹

CHI. NARANDAS,

I got three of your letters together. I shall start this evening for Bombay. Pandit Jawaharlal has come here today to see me. He will return with me. Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan is still here. Devdas has written a fine article about him for *Young India*². Read it. What happened to Liladhar? If we can help him in any way, we should. As for Vithal, I will write to him.

Bhagwanji's problem, we may take it, has been solved for the present. He is not at peace with himself and remains much excited. Yes, I have written to Chhaganlal and told him that those who do not do proper work outside should return to the Ashram. Surendra will explain to you my letter to him. You may even get a copy.

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

I will leave Bombay on the 11th and reach Borsad on the evening of the 12th. If, therefore, you address the 11th post to Surat, I shall get it there.

Chi. Indu was there, and is now returning. He will arrive there on the 10th. Take care of him. He is Kanti Parekh's brother. He is of an affectionate nature, and also loves fun. He is a straightforward boy. Exact hard work from him. In any case, see that he studies.

BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro—9 : Shri Narandas Gandhine, Pt. I, p. 272

¹ The year and month are inferred from the reference in the letter to Devdas Gandhi's article on Abdul Ghaffar Khan. Gandhiji left Bardoli on June 8 for Bombay.

² Of June 11

428. *LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI*

ON WAY TO BOMBAY,
June 8, 1931

CHI. NARANDAS,

Credit to the khadi account the sum of Rs. 543-4-0 received from Ankleshwar on 1-4-1930 and send the amount to Shri Chhotubhai Gandhi at Ankleshwar to be spent on khadi work. Request him to send an account of how the money is spent.

Chhotubhai's address : Taluka Samiti.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati : M.M.U./I

429. *LETTER TO MANGALA S. PATEL*

Silence Day, June 8, 1931

CHI. MANGALA,

You must always write as neatly as you have written this time. If all of you improve your handwriting, mine will automatically improve. And how nice it would be if my handwriting improved!

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 11095. Courtesy: Pushpa Naik

430. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

June 8, 1931

BHAI GHANSHYAMDAS,

I have your letter, as also the letter to Schuster¹. I shall go through it. The situation is already delicate and it will grow more delicate still. Some good result can come out of it if we work for the larger good.

Sen Gupta has agreed to arbitration. He has given up the idea of postponing the election. Anyway, I am reaching Bombay tomorrow and trust that both of them² will come.

BAPU

From a copy of the Hindi : C.W. 7889. Courtesy : G. D. Birla

431. SPEECH AT BOMBAY

June 10, 1931

Prabhat Pheris were resumed this morning. About fifty members assembled at Choupatty at 5.30 a.m. today and led by Mr. K. F. Nariman, President, Bombay Congress Committee, went first to Mani Bhavan, Gandhiji's residence, to receive his blessings.

Gandhiji addressed the processionists from a balcony. He said that they should finish their daily rounds before sunrise, singing selected songs of prayer and devotion to God and the Motherland. He said no objectionable songs, inconsistent with the Congress creed, should be sung.

The Hindu, 10-6-1931

¹ Sir George Schuster, then Finance Member of the Viceroy's Council

² J. M. Sen Gupta and Subhas Chandra Bose

432. NOTES

WHO CAN BE CONGRESS OFFICE HOLDER?

A Sindhi correspondent asks :

1. Whether a man dealing in foreign cigarettes and tobacco can be a president of the Congress Committee?
2. Whether persons dealing in foreign cloth can be vice-president and treasurer of the Congress Committee?
3. Whether a person connected with foreign-cloth dealers can be secretary of the Congress Committee?

These are bad questions. If the correspondent had said whether such and such a person *should* be, I could have given my opinion for what it might be worth. But when he asks whether a particular type of person can be officer it betrays ignorance of the democratic character of the constitution of the Congress. Even a drunkard and a rake can become president of Congress Committee or a secretary if his constituents elect him to that office. But one may assume that so long as the constituents are sober and pure, they will not elect a drunkard or a rake. Similarly if they are believers in out-and-out swadeshi only, they will not elect anyone who deals in foreign cloth or such foreign goods as are now manufactured in India. And so far as things injurious to the nation are concerned, as for instance intoxicating drinks and drugs, Congressmen will make no distinction between foreign and swadeshi goods. All injurious things must be regarded as taboo whether they are foreign or home-made.

COARSE MILL CLOTH AS KHADI

Complaints are being received from several quarters, Madras, Bengal and Bombay Presidencies and elsewhere that coarse mill-cloth is being sold as khadi and that though since the understanding with the Congress, khadi labels are not used by mill-owners, in their invoices and otherwise, coarse cloth is shown as khadi. If the information is correct, it is clearly a breach of the agreement with the Congress. Mills ought to be satisfied with the profits they are making by reason of the Congress campaign, but if they will greedily and unlawfully appropriate the name 'khadi' somehow or other and at some stage or other for their wares, they will be following the example of the miser who, in the attempt to get a cocoanut free of charge, lost his life.

Sjt. Mohanlal Nehru writes :¹

This is apart from the collections in Nainital which will appear in this column in due course.

Young India, 11-6-1931

433. MY FAITH

A Bangali correspondent who gives his name and address even for publication if necessary has written a long letter which I condense as follows :

Much has been said about Bhagat Singh and his comrades, yet even now I find great difficulty in appreciating the wisdom of passing the resolution at the Karachi Congress.

I am afraid it will not be possible for me to explain to you properly the different peculiar and surreptitious ways in which your remarks about Bhagat Singh and the Karachi Resolution extolling him are being exploited here by some interested politicians to serve their own purpose and under-mine your influence.

1. They accuse you for the niggardly way in which the resolution had been worded by you. These people are trying to impress upon the minds of the young men that you really had no sincere sympathy for those unfortunate men and that you gave your support to the resolution and expressed your admiration for Bhagat Singh and his comrades only being prevailed upon by the Navajuvanwallas, whose strong agitation you could not resist, and you wanted to placate Pandit Jawaharlal.

2. They question your integrity and sincerity and try to belittle you (and your cause) by surreptitiously propagating an idea in Bengal that while you gave your active support to the resolution about Bhagat Singh at Karachi you severely criticized the late Deshbandhu Das for his responsibility in carrying out an exactly similar resolution at Faridpur Conference praising

¹ The letter, containing a list of donors, is not reproduced here. For the appeal, *vide* "The Allahabad Congress Hospital an Appeal", 14-5-1931

Gopinath Saha¹ who lost his life on the gallows under exactly similar circumstances; and in this they say you are not immune from provincial bias. They are taking every opportunity to undermine your influence in Bengal by appealing to the sentiment of local patriotism. They say that many Bengal youths sacrificed their lives even within this very year for the same cause for which Bhagat Singh and his comrades died. Among those who thus died in Bengal there were Benoy Bose and his comrade, there were the Chittagong raiders—the twenty-one lads, who died fighting bravely against the British troops on the Jalallabad Hills whose deeds were much more courageous and romantic than you would imagine, but how strange—you did not find romance there : not a word of sympathy passed from your lips! The insidious appeal made to their sentiment of local patriotism easily estranges them from you and your path of non-violence.

I have already expressed my doubts as to the propriety of my having drafted and sponsored the Bhagat Singh resolution not because it was wrong in principle but for the misinterpretation it has lent itself to. But the reader must know that it was neither the fear of the Navajuvans nor my love for Pandit Jawaharlal that prompted me to initiate the resolution. Not that I should be ashamed of yielding to Navajuvans or placating Jawaharlal. I should be foolish if I did not yield to Navajuvans, if yielding advanced the interest of the country and involved no sacrifice of principle. And I should go a very long way to please Jawaharlal and retain his affection which I have the privilege of possessing in abundance. But there was no prompting required in this case. I had interested myself in the movement for the commutation of the death sentence on Bhagat Singh and his comrades. I had put my whole being into the task. I had therefore to study the life of the principal actor in the tragedy. I had to come in contact with his devoted father and those who were attached to Bhagat Singh not for his deed but for his character. I was thus drawn to the resolution in the natural course. I am too sensitive not to be moved by circumstances demanding sympathy.

Therefore had I found myself impelled to interest myself in any of the Bengali youths and had fancied myself in possession of

¹ *Vide* “Notes”, sub-title Rabbi May.

influence which I could exercise in their behalf, I should have with equal zest plunged myself into their case. I regard myself as incapable of having any provincial bias. Bengal is as dear to me as the Punjab. And I owe a special debt to Bengal for the inspiration it gave me in my youth. It is true that Deshbandhu and I differed as to the emphasis in the matter of Gopinath Saha resolution.

I do not know that my resolution¹ on Gopinath Saha differed in substance from the Karachi Resolution. But the reader should know that whatever our differences, Deshbandhu and I always remained friends. Indeed towards the end of his all too short life, we came much nearer each other even in our ideals and methods of working towards them.

I should therefore be sorry to discover that there was any secret propaganda against me in Bengal. I have many precious co-workers in Bengal. I want the number to grow. I know the value of the co-operation of the youth of Bengal. I need it for their sakes, for the sake of the country they love so well, but sometimes, alas, blindly. They must not by their unwarranted prejudice deny themselves the service of a true friend. If I have any influence over the youth of the country, it is a treasure I want to use for gaining the freedom of the motherland. I am therefore glad that my correspondent has given me the opportunity of stating my position. But whether I retain my hold on the youth of Bengal or any other province or I do not, I must proclaim my creed from the house-top. Freedom of India's starving millions is attainable only through Truth and Ahimsa.

Young India, 11-6-1931

¹ *Vide* "The Acid Test", 19-6-1924

434. A CORRECTION

My attention has been drawn to an unfortunate error that crept into my advice to the *kisans* of U.P.¹ in *Young India* 28th May last, p. 127, line 53. The line reads “as a general rule less than 8 annas or 4 annas as the case may be”. It should read “12 annas” instead of “4 annas”. I am sorry for the slip. I hope however no one was misled by the slip. The preceding lines left no room for doubt.

Young India, 11-6-1931

435. VIRUS OF UNTOUCHABILITY

All lovers of Hinduism will read the following with painful interest :²

Sjt. Subanagounder deserves warm congratulations for his bravery and pertinacity. The only advice I can give him is that he should take all risks in protecting the untouchables of his village and yet bear no ill-will to the villagers. He will find in the end that the villagers will cease to worry him. They will at first mistake his goodness for weakness and then perceive the strength lying behind his goodness. For they will soon find their mistake when they see that whilst he is gentle and forbearing towards them he is firm like a rock in his action in protecting the untouchables. As time passes, the villagers will forfeit all sympathy and Sjt. Subanagounder will gain the active sympathy and help of the public. The only condition is that he must be prepared to sacrifice everything, suffer even his fields to lie fallow if the sinful boycott by the villagers succeeds in scaring labour away from him. It is some consolation that he has four friends who stand by him. But he should be prepared to carry out his resolution, even if he loses these friends. For I am sure that he will lose only to gain. God loses these friends. For I am sure that he will lose only to gain. God sometimes does try to the uttermost those whom He wishes to bless.

Young India, 11-6-1931

¹ *Vide* “To the *Kisans* of the U. P.”, 23-5-1931

² This letter is not reproduced here. It described how K. K. Subanagounder of Coimbatore District was excommunicated and harassed for having allowed two untouchables to take water from his well.

436. MEANING OF GRINDING POVERTY

The Deshseva Mandal of Sind has published a little pamphlet on the economic condition of the Bhils of Sind. It consists of two articles written by Sjt. Jairamdas Doulatram after a careful study on the spot of the condition of the Bhils living in Tharparker district of Sind. The tract is a desert. "The profession of agriculture in the desert", writes Sjt. Jairamdas, "is nothing but a stupenduous struggle against nature." "The average net yield of cultivation in that tract is not more than Rs. 5 per acre. It is not every year that he (the cultivator) cultivates the whole area." "With a sandy soil, low rainfall, locust pest, and cheaply priced crops, the *khatedar*¹ can rarely keep his head above water." "I have come across all types of Bhils, those, very few ones, who are for the time being out of debt, those who are in permanent debt and live a semi-starved life and lastly those who are living in hopeless pauperism. I cannot do better than give to the reader a few hard facts about specific villages."²

These men should for years have revenue-free land. It is for people such as these that I pleaded for free salt and I know that at the end of our discussions, it became a matter of pleasure for Lord Irwin to make the concession regarding salt. And I hope that the workers throughout the land will bring the message of free salt to the semi-starved villagers and discover all the salt areas which though not good enough for mass production are good enough for village use. It is to these people that the charkha brings hope and happiness. Village economics is different from industrial economics. Human economics is not the same as that of exploitation of mere dead matter.

Young India, 11-6-1931

¹ Land-holder

² The extract in question is not reproduced here.

437. AGRARIAN SITUATION IN ASSAM

Assam is in the grip of dire economic distress. From everywhere, from North Lakhimpur and Sibsagar, from Darrang and Nowgong, from Goalpara and Kamrup, come the tales of misery and woe of the ryots for this scarcity. Hundreds of people, generally immigrants from Mymensingh, . . . have been flocking to the towns of Goalpara and Dhubri for begging, with nothing to cover their loins excepting half-tattered pieces. . . .

In Goalpara and Sibsagar, Nowgong and North Lakhimpur there has been repeated failure of crops owing to the annual visitation of floods for some years past. An earthquake also came in as another visitation in July last. . . .

Affected by this economic depression, from everywhere comes the cry for remission of land revenue. . . .

It seems that the Government has not yet been able to shake off the Civil Disobedience complex from their minds. . . . They have taken their inability to pay land revenue to mean their unwillingness to do it and are seeking to test it till the last day of *kist* by all sorts of indirect pressure. . . .

The foregoing report¹ has been received from the Assam Provincial Congress Committee. If the report is accurate, and there is no reason to doubt its accuracy, it is a clear case for remission.

Young India, 11-6-1931

438. UNDER SWARAJ

A Brahmin correspondent from Madras writes² :

During his tour Sjt. Sen Gupta said that Swaraj Government would pass legislation to crush Brahmins and also referred to resolutions of the Karachi Congress. On account of that the Brahmin minority has begun to be highly restless and it has also created a sense of fear in the inds of the orthodox Hindus. Therefore please let me know what exactly you and the Congress mean by

1. The words of the resolution dealing with untouchability.
2. What exactly you and the Congress mean by saying therein that under the Swaraj Government the Government will observe religious neutrality. . . .

I do not believe Sjt. Sen Gupta said that Swaraj Government would “crush the Brahmins”. The congress resolution is clear. The

¹ Of which only excerpts are reproduced above

² Only extracts are reproduced here.

correspondent is unnecessarily nervous about the future which lies as much in his hands as in Sjt. Sen Gupta's or mine. Let it also be remembered that the Congress resolution is not yet a part of the constitution. When it is, its interpretation will not rest with me or any single individual. It will rest with the courts duly established by law.

But I gladly give my opinion as to what is likely to be the interpretation of the Congress resolution on religious neutrality and untouchability. It is bound to be a part of any future constitution as there is no difference of opinion on it. Indeed, even the correspondent seems to concede as much as the Congress wants. Religious neutrality means that the State will have no State religion nor a system of favouritism. There will be no untouchability. The 'untouchables' will have the same rights as any other. But a Brahmin will not be *made* to touch anybody. He will be free to make himself untouchable and have his own well, his own temple, his own school and whatever else he can afford, so long as he uses these things without being a nuisance to his neighbours. But he will not be able, as some do now, to punish untouchables for daring to walk on public streets or using wells. There will be under swaraj no such scandal as that of the use of public temples being denied to untouchables when it is allowed to all other Hindus. The authority of the Vedas and the other Shastras will not be denied but their interpretation will not rest with individuals but will depend upon the courts of law in so far as these religious books will be used to regulate public conduct. Conscientious scruples will be respected, but not at the expense of public morals or the rights of others. Those who will have extraordinary scruples will have themselves to suffer inconvenience and pay for the luxury. The law will not tolerate any arrogation of superiority by any person or class whether in the name of custom or religion. But all this is my dream. I am not the Congress. Those who would have the Congress to do otherwise had better make haste to join it and make others of their opinion join it. The Congress represents, or it has a constitution wide enough to represent popular will.

Young India, 11-6-1931

439. *SPEECH AT DESHA SEVIKAS' MEETING, BOMBAY*

June 11, 1931

Gandhiji, early this morning, addressed the Desh Sevikas for a few minutes, asking them to carry on picketing peacefully. Only habitual wearers of khaddar should have the privilege of picketing. If the audience had any stock of foreign cloth, they must consign them to the flames. If they had mill-cloth, they must give them to the poor and the needy. The object of khaddar was to help the starving peasants and workers who would obtain the full benefit of their labour if khadi was encouraged, while in the case of mill-cloth, they would receive only anna in the rupee. To help the humanitarian cause, they must wear khaddar.

The Hindu, 11-6-1931

440. *SPEECH AT BOMBAY*

June 11, 1931

I must first apologize to you for having called you at this early time. The Hindustani Seva Dal stands for the service of India. Till now whenever I heard the term 'Servant of India' it used to rouse great fear in my heart, because the rulers of India style themselves as 'Servants of India'. These so-called 'Servants of India' can never in reality be what they call themselves. They are the servants of the British Empire and it is an impossibility to serve the British Empire and at the same time serve India. I can assure you, you can do no service to India if you try to follow the workings of these so-called 'Servants of India'. You have to develop a desire for real service which these people totally lack. If on acquiring power you begin to cruelly enforce your authority on the people how is it possible to serve the people?

It is because we lack this feeling of real service that a great deal of rivalry and dissatisfaction has spread among ourselves. It has pained me very much to hear that out of a desire to attain high positions in the various Congress bodies people have been spending money, thus creating an atmosphere of unhealthy competition. The real worker is he who carries on the work with a steady mind in spite of his being in the furthest rank. The perfection of real service does not solely depend on the magnitude of the task done but rests a

¹ To the campers of the Officer's Training Camp of the Hindustani Seva Dal who met Gandhiji at Mani Bhavan where Gandhiji used to stay while in Bombay.

great deal on the humble spirit in which it is undertaken. Those misguided people to whom I have referred desire by force, it seems, to serve their country. But it assuredly shows a most undesirable state of mind. One can never prosper or be capable of doing any good to anybody if one adopts questionable means to attain that end.

It is decidedly wrong on my part to think that I shall be able to serve India better if I become King of India. This was exactly the state of affairs at one time in the political life of France and people used to employ the most cruel and drastic means to remove their opponents from the political field. But the workers of the Hindustani Seva Dal should work with Peace and Truth as their foundation.

They must also cultivate to the greatest extent a sense of humility nor must they ever relax their efforts or let the quality of the work be in the least affected by feeling that there is not proper appreciation. They should deal with their fellow beings in a spirit of fair tolerance and maintain a respectful reverence for their mothers and sisters. I know this perfect combination of humility—Truth, Love and Peace—is very rare in this world, but you must all strive to attain to it. Remember there will be no soldiers left to fight if everybody becomes a commander to give orders. I sincerely hope that you will try and live up to this ideal that I have portrayed for you at this most precious time of the day and I can confidently say that if you sincerely make an effort and keep the memory of this morning always in your mind you will be doing the best service both to yourself and to your motherland.

The Bombay Chronicle, 12-6-1931

441. LETTER TO JAMNADAS GANDHI

BORSAD,
June 12, 1931

CHI. JAMNADAS,

You are a strange man. After having spent days with me here, you go back and write from there a letter about an important matter. It raises several questions. Should I answer them by post, or call you back here? When I wanted to know why you thought of coming as far as Bombay, you could give no answer and hurriedly went back, and now you write to me a letter from there asking for Rs. 5,000. This is now my advice to you. Write to Kakasaheb and convince him about the propriety of your request. If you do this, my task will be easier. Have Manu and Babi reached there?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati : C.W. 9324. Courtesy : Jamnadas Gandhi

442. INTERVIEW TO EUROPEAN DEPUTATION

June 12, 1931

Gandhiji received a deputation of young Europeans, about 30 in number including four ladies. Gandhiji, at the request of the deputation, explained the attitude of the Congress towards Englishmen and other Europeans in India.

Gandhiji said that the Congress attitude was not one of hostility to them, but of active friendship. He recalled to them how the Congress was started by an Englishman, Mr. Hume, and was presided over by even members of Parliament. He wanted them to study the object and history of the Congress, which never meant any harm to any community or interests. If they sympathized with the Congress it was their duty to join it. In India it was but natural that Indians should have full rights to rule as Englishmen had in their own country. It was not reasonable for Englishmen to ask for safeguards and trading rights of a special character on which they were insisting. Perpetuation of these privileges, which they had carved in their 150 years of rule in India, would amount to friendship on unequal terms. The Congress was not merely not hostile to Englishmen, but welcome their association, assistance and co-operation and their organizing capacity. Co-operation of such a kind did not mean co-operation on unequal terms. The deputation waited on Gandhiji for about 15 minutes.

The Hindu, 12-6-1931

443. SPEECH AT MAROLI

June 12, 1931

Mahatma Gandhi laid the foundation of the building of a Weaving School, started by Miss Mithubehn Petit. Addressing a big public meeting, he said that if he had been told ten years ago that Miss Mithubehn Petit, who belonged to a celebrated Parsi family of Bombay, would roam day and night in the villages barefooted and dressed in coarse khaddar, regardless of the heat and cold, to work among the poor people and teach their children spinning, weaving and other industries, he (Mr. Gandhi) would not have believed it. Although he had appreciated the work of Parsis, even when the campaign of prohibition was launched, he had thought that prohibition alone would not succeed without propagation of khaddar. The closing of liquor shops was not the principal thing. If drunkards did not give up the habit of drink, they would prepare illicit liquor and there would be illicit sale of liquor as at present. Drunkards would not give up drink till they were taught some industry. Workers working in big factories required something to be relieved of the fatigue. The speaker, who had never tasted liquor, had affectionately given liquor to the exhausted in South Africa. The Kolis, who were with him, demanded liquor, and the speaker brought liquor from a canteen-keeper and gave it to them. Men who were made to work like beasts would require liquor, but those working in a peaceful atmosphere in their homes could easily give up drink.

If rural industries like spinning, weaving, dairying, shoe-making, etc., were revived, rural areas would become richer. They did not want to be rich like the millionaires of the Bombay Stock Exchange but they should get rid of their debts. There would be a few silver coins in their cash boxes. Instead of borrowing money from *sowcars*, they should deposit their savings with *sowcars*. They would have their own houses, and the number of their cattle would increase. Such a process was going on in the area, and it should go on in the seven lakhs of villages in India. This was the work of swaraj. Last year, they had done the work of cleansing the field. Now they had to do the work of sowing. That was constructive work. The sowing work was of greater importance and had to be done for a longer time.

The Hindu, 12-6-1931

¹ A small village about 12 miles from Surat in Gujarat

444. TELEGRAM TO MAHENDRA PRASAD

BORSAD,
June 13, 1931

MAHENDRA PRASAD¹
CHAPRA

RAJENDRA BABU WAS MUCH BETTER WHEN I LEFT HIM.²
HE WILL BE JOINING ME IN FEW DAYS TIME.
RECEIVING BEST ATTENTION. WILL NOT LET HIM MOVE
TILL HE IS STRONG AND HAD REST. WEATHER HERE QUITE
GOOD AT THIS TIME YEAR.

GANDHI

From a photostat : S.N. 17271

445. LETTER TO DUNICHAND

June 13, 1931

DEAR LALA DUNICHAND,

Suraj Bhanji writes to say that you are not paying even the money they have expended. I hope this is not correct. I think that the expenses incurred should be paid. If you have suggestions for the future please let me know.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat : G.N. 5581

¹ Elder brother of Rajendra Prasad

² Rajendra Prasad was ill and could not participate in the meeting of the Working Committee held at Bombay on 9th and 10th June.

446. LETTER TO EMELIA MACBEAN

AS AT SABARMATI,
June 13, 1931

DEAR MADAM,

I have your letter for which I thank you. You are giving me credit of which I am wholly undeserving. You are thinking of another Mr. Gandhi¹ my name-sake but in no way related to me. He and I were however friends and lived together for some time. You will be sorry to hear that he died many years ago, leaving an only son. It was he who visited America and made many friends. I have never had the privilege of visiting your continent.

Yours sincerely,

Miss EMELIA MACBEAN
C/O MRS. MACBEAN
PRAIRIE AVENUE
CHICAGO (U.S.A.)

From a photostat : S.N. 17272

447. LETTER TO SURENDRA SINGH

AS AT SABARMATI,
June 13, 1931

DEAR SARDAR SURENDRA SINGH,

I have your letter for which I thank you. I am doing all I can and in the manner I know to spread the gospel of love all round but it makes very slow progress in the midst of growing hate and distrust between Hindus and Mussalmans. As to your solution of the communal question my observation is that the parties concerned want a solution for all the provinces or none at all. I agree with you that it would be a great advance if some provinces at least found out their own solution.

Yours sincerely,

SARDAR SURENDRA SINGH
DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
PUNJAB GOVERNMENT
SIMLA EAST

From a photostat : S.N. 17273

¹ Virchand Gandhi

448. *LETTER TO SECRETARY, CENTRAL SIKH LEAGUE,
AMRITSAR*

AS AT SABARMATI,
June 13, 1931

THE SECRETARY
CENTRAL SIKH LEAGUE
AMRITSAR

DEAR SIR,

I have your letter forwarded to me in my capacity as editor of *Young India*. So far as the recommendations about the flag are concerned I would advise you to send them to the Secretary of the Flag Committee appointed by the Working Committee of the Congress. The convener and the Secretary of the Flag Committee is Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Masulipatam, S. India.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm : S.N. 17274

449. *LETTER TO DR. M. A. ANSARI*

BORSAD,
June 13, 1931

DEAR DR. ANSARI,

I forgot and I had not the time to talk to you about the local quarrels in Delhi. A letter from Mrs. Asaf Ali reminds me that the quarrels are not yet over and that they have extended to the ladies also.¹ Can you not put these quarrels down?

I hope you found your brother better. I wonder what Dr. Rehman was able to do.

DR. M. A. ANSARI

1 DARYAGANJ, DELHI

From a photostat : S.N. 17275

¹ Mrs. Asaf Ali had written : "Members of the Delhi Mahila Seva Dal are being vilified by Congressmen. I resign and retire as the atmosphere is too dirty for any self-respecting woman to continue to work."

450. LETTER TO SHAMLAL

BORSAD,
June 13, 1931

DEAR LALA SHAMLAL,

I have your letter.¹ I am glad you have written to me, and I want you to keep me informed of the doings in Rohtak. But I shall not be able to help you at this stage. The persecution will have to be too glaring to enable me to bring it under the Truce terms but where it is subtle as it appears to be in Rohtak, you must be resourceful enough to combat it. Of course you are entitled to take the fullest advantage of ability to put up a defence in lawcourts.

Yours sincerely,

LALA SHAMLAL
ADVOCATE
9 DAYAL SINGH BUILDINGS
UPPER MALL, LAHORE

From a microfilm : S.N. 17276

451. LETTER TO DR. B. C. ROY

BORSAD,
June 13, 1931

DEAR DR. BIDHAN,

I have your letter² for which I thank you. Your poetic description of Shillong makes me envy you.

You must have seen from the papers what has been done about the unfortunate quarrels in Bengal. You may depend upon my doing everything possible to assist in ridding the Bengal atmosphere of

¹ It stated : “. . . In each police station there is one Congress worker. We have enrolled about 2,500 members and established 125 Congress Committees in the district. This has upset the authorities and repression has been started in the district. Our treasurer, who . . . comparatively harmless, . . . was not even imprisoned in Civil Disobedience days, is now being prosecuted. . . . Two other workers have been arrested. . . . Authorities want to stop the normal activities of the Congress. In the Rohtak District the section takes special care that violent speeches are not made, but Rohtak alone has been selected for repression because there is organized Congress work in the district.”

² Which endorsed Gandhiji's proposal to refer the Bengal quarrels to arbitration

poison.

When you see them please remember me to Basanti Devi, Mona, Baby and Sujata. Tell them I often think of them though I never write to them.

Yours sincerely,

DR. BIDHAN CHANDRA ROY
SHILLONG

From a microfilm : S.N. 17277

452. LETTER TO DR. B. S. MOONJE

AS AT SABARMATI,
June 13, 1931

DEAR DR. MOONJE,

I thank you for your letter of 6th June. Even if I succeed in going to London, at present I have no intention of taking experts with me. The scope of my work will be so limited as not to require much expert advice.

Yours sincerely,

DR. B. S. MOONJE
FIRGROVE
SIMLA

From a photostat : S.N. 17278

453. *LETTER TO BHUPENDRA NARAYAN SEN*

BORSAD,
June 13, 1931

MY DEAR BHUPEN,

I have your letter. I am glad you have written to me so frankly and freely. It is difficult for me to find the assistance that you need. I thought you had attached yourself to the Abhoy Ashram. In any case I would advice you to see Jamnalalji when he comes there which he expects to do next month.

You must make up for the lost weight. 30 lb. is a big drop.

Yours sincerely,

SYT. BHUPENDRA NARAYAN SEN

P.O. BARADDOUGOLE

DT. HOOGHLY (BENGAL)

From a microfilm : S.N. 17279

454. *LETTER TO H. W. EMERSON*

BORSAD,
June 13, 1931

DEAR MR. EMERSON,

You must have seen from the papers that Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan has been with me for some time. During the few moments that I could spare for him from day to day, I carried on my conversations with him and he has left on me the impression that he is a truthful and out and out believer in non-violence. He has no connection with the Amanullah movement. His work is solely concentrated upon the Khudai Khidmatgar movement. This movement consists in enlisting men for service. The following pledge is administered to them: "I shall be truthful, I shall be chaste, I shall be non-violent and not quarrel with my neighbours. I shall not covet my neighbours' property. I shall be prepared to suffer even unto death for the freedom of the country." Those who take the pledge and enlist themselves as Khudai Khidmatgars are expected to attend a weekly roll call in their respective villages. He is most emphatic in his declaration that there has been on the part of himself and his followers no breach of the Settlement and he says that he has everywhere preached to the people the necessity for carrying out its terms in so far as they are applicable

to the people. But he says there are several breaches of the Settlement on the part of the officials and he relates the following :

(a) Many civil disobedience prisoners are not yet discharged in the Frontier Province including the Agency areas.

(b) He says that the people are being molested on the slightest pretext. The soldiers as they pass the villagers' houses cry "Islam Murdabad", "Gandhi Murdabad", "Ghaffar Khan Murdabad", and he adds that he has prohibited among his followers all objectionable cries.

Khan Saheb admits that he did not visit the Commissioner and he says he refrained because he saw no change in the attitude of local officials and if he went, he was afraid of his being misrepresented. He is quite prepared to see you or His Excellency the Viceroy provided I accompany him. I do feel that you should make his acquaintance, and if you think it worth while I shall gladly visit Simla solely for the purpose of introducing him to you. I think that the Settlement presumes mutual trust and it will therefore perhaps be wise on the part of the Government to know Khan Saheb personally and then test his assurances. Pending reply to this letter I have detained Khan Saheb. As he has been long enough with me and as I do not want to detain him longer than is absolutely necessary, I would ask you please to send me a telegraphic reply. I should add that Khan Saheb is most insistent on my visiting the Frontier Province and seeing things for myself, making the acquaintance of the numerous Khudai Khidmatgars and studying his activity. I do feel that there should be no objection now to my visiting the Frontier Province.¹

Yours sincerely,

H. W. EMERSON, ESQ.

SIMLA

A.I.C.C. File No. 16-B, 1931. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

¹ Emerson replied on July 6 that such a "visit would be likely to cause considerable excitement and to add to the difficulties of the local administration . . ." *Side* also footnote to "Letter to H. W. Emerson", 17-6-1931.

455. *LETTER TO AMTUSSALAAM*

BORSAD,
June 14, 1931

DEAR AMTUL,

Your letter. You must not brood over your weakness or the fact that you have to receive service from the Ashram. Everyone knows that you are eager to serve. If you will have patience God will give you the necessary strength for service. You must not worry.

Yours,
BAPU

[PS.]

Let Gangabehn treat you.

From a photostat : G.N. 241

456. *LETTER TO M. I. DAVID*

AS AT SABARMATI,
June 14, 1931

DEAR MR. DAVID,

I have now thought out a formula and here it is :

To provide a common platform for those Europeans and Indians who stand for the speedy creation of a system of Government which will enable India to take her rightful place among the free nations of the world.

The phrase "among the free nations of the world" takes the place of "as a fellow member of the British Commonwealth of free nations" in the original. You will see that this formula does not exclude British connection in the shape of equal partnership at will. Nor does it necessarily include it. I do not say much of the other two formulae.

Yours sincerely,

M. I. DAVID, ESQ.
4 QUEENS ROAD
FORT, BOMBAY

From a photostat : S.N. 17280

457. *LETTER TO HAREKRUSHNA MAHTAB*

AS AT SABARMATI,
June 14, 1931

MY DEAR MAHTAB BABU,

I have your letter¹ for which there was no occasion for apology. You have an ambitious programme. But with faith and application there is no reason why you should not go through it.

I am glad that Matibas and Pur Bai are with you. It is a good thing to start an institution with little or nothing. Faith is the greatest asset. I need not worry about reading your budget as Jamnalalji fully represents my views and his judgment in such matters is correct and helpful.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI HAREKRUSHNA MAHTAB
GANDHI KARMA MANDIR
BALASORE (ORISSA)

From a microfilm : S.N. 17281

458. *LETTER TO P. G. MATHEW*

BORSAD,
June 14, 1931

MY DEAR MATHEW,

How is it you funk'd it again. I had fully expected you at Bardoli. You could have passed a clear week with me. I do not mind your not coming if you are in love with your work. Give me an idea of your day's work.

SYT. MATHEW
THE ASHRAM
SABARMATI

From a microfilm : S.N. 17282

¹ The addressee had said that the rules of the Gandhi Karma Mandir of Balasore were rather hard, and had submitted simplified rules.

459. LETTER TO M. I. DAVID

BORSAD,
June 14, 1931

DEAR MR. DAVID,

I dictated a letter last night. Mahadev had handed me another letter from you of 11th instant in which you ask me whether I approve of the suggestion contained in the letter in connection with the proposed non-official conciliation committee to be formed under the auspices of the Mayor of Bombay. I would like to make one suggestion. It would be better not to have a rigid rule fixing a proportion between the numbers of Indians and Europeans.¹ It would be better to adopt the natural method. It may be you will have more earnest Europeans than Indians to work on the Committee. In that event I should not hesitate to take more and *vice versa*.

Yours sincerely,

M. I. DAVID, ESQ.
4 QUEENS ROAD
FORT, BOMBAY

From a photostat : S.N. 17283

¹ The addressee had suggested that the conciliation committee “should consist of an equal number of Indians and Europeans”.

460. LETTER TO JOHN KYTE COLLETT

AS AT SABARMATI,
June 14, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter enclosing some Children's League cards and medals. I am not in touch with the Salvation Army nor do I know anything of the Army's work amongst children. My work lies in a wholly different direction. You were therefore evidently misinformed if you thought that I was working in connection with the Salvation Army. I am therefore asking the Salvation Army people whether they would take these medals and cards from me. If they do not, you will please tell me what to do with the medals.

Yours sincerely,

JOHN KYTE COLLETT, ESQ.

PRESIDENT

THE CHILDREN'S LEAGUE OF PEACE AND GOODWILL
"SUNRISE", PENARTH

From a photostat : S.N. 17284

461. LETTER TO SALVATION ARMY, BOMBAY

BORSAD,
June 14, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

I have a letter from Mr. John Collett which I enclose herewith. I send you also a copy of my letter to Mr. Collett.¹ Will you please tell me whether you will care to receive the cards and the medals for the use mentioned in the letter?

Yours sincerely,

Encls. 2

THE OFFICER COMMANDING
THE BOMBAY BRANCH
SALVATION ARMY, BOMBAY

From a photostat : S.N. 17285

¹ *Vide* the preceding item.

462. LETTER TO MRS. C. A. HATE

AS AT SABARMATI,
June 14, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. Some time when I am in Bombay you should try to see me. It is difficult to advise you in the matter of food just now. It is necessary to see you and cross-question you. Will you not see some naturopath in Bombay? Mr. Khambhatta of Hornby Road knows one and he has benefited by his treatment. His full address is Bairam Khambhatta, 275 Hornby Road, Fort Bombay.

It is difficult to say how many hours' sleep a particular individual requires, but I can safely say for you that you should take as much sleep as you comfortably can. And you should take daily walks in the morning and in the evening. Once only is not enough. If you have the strength, you should take really three or four hours' walk. You may divide it, if you like, in two or three periods.

You ask me what should be one's ideal in life. All the sages in the world have said—self-realization.

The rumour about the burning of my foot was quite wrong. It would have been more correct if the report had said I had very narrowly¹ escaped burning my foot.

Yours sincerely,

MRS. C. A. HATE
INDU BHUVAN
343 THAKURDWAR, BOMBAY

From a photostat : S.N. 17286

¹ The source has “nearly”.

463. LETTER TO H. W. EMERSON

BORSAD,
June 14, 1931

DEAR MR. EMERSON,

Your letter enclosing an unsigned opinion of the Legislative Department on the meaning of the word "return" in the Settlement came upon me as a bomb shell.¹ I was wholly unprepared for such an opinion. I had flattered myself with the belief that my knowledge of law had not become absolutely rusty. But the opinion of your legal department shook what little confidence I had yet in my legal knowledge. I therefore hastened to refer the matter to the best counsel available in Bombay at the present moment. I am sending you a copy of their opinion.² The first two signatories are ex-Advocates-General of Bombay and they are both today, as is also the third, distinguished practising lawyers. For the moment therefore my confidence is restored, but that can be of no avail to you. I can quite understand your not accepting the opinion of Bombay lawyers however eminent they may be, in the teeth of opinion from your legal department however contrary to common sense. I, therefore, suggest what I have suggested of the Government of Bombay. As the matter involved is one of principle for the Management of the Navajivan Press, I would repeat the suggestion I have made to the Government of Bombay that the Chief Justice of Bombay should be appointed sole arbitrator in the matter. The Managing Board is naturally anxious to end this controversy and also to avoid a continuing loss that the deprivation of the press causes to them. I hope therefore that the matter will be finished one way or the other without delay.

This impasse brings to me a matter of general importance. I am having, as I imagine, more trouble than I have told you from the Bombay Government in connection with the matters arising out of the Settlement. And there is trouble growing in the Madras Presidency over liquor picketing. Here is an extract from Syt. Rajagopalachari whose instructions on this very point you had seen and which you so admired that you asked me to congratulate him :

¹ The opinion was that the phrase "will be returned" would mean "possession will be restored" and that the Gandhi-Irwin Pact was silent on the question of the place of delivery.

² *Vide* "Opinion", 13-6-1931

I had hitherto refrained from worrying you. The Government here are beginning to feel that peaceful picketing is not so harmless as they had imagined. They have discovered that it does stop drinking most effectively and as a result the revenue is threatened. They may hold renters to their contracts this year, but what about the next auction? They see that without any physical obstruction or coercion of any kind, picketing does keep people away from the shops.

The renters too expected that like last year the congress activities would soon be interfered with by the police and so they did not themselves do anything at first to interfere with the volunteers. But now they realize that the Truce has put an end to the old order to things. They are consequently in a fright. They have begun to make strong representations to Government demanding either police interference or writing off of dues. Both Government officials and renters are thus opening their eyes to the reality of the moral power of picketing and the implications of the Truce. Both Government officials and renters have, therefore, it seems, resolved on new tactics. There is almost by concerted action a number of cases cropping up everywhere of rowdyism to intimidate volunteers. Besides rowdyism, which might be expected, the renters whether instigated or encouraged by officials or not, I cannot yet say, are bringing up false charges through private complaints in order to get fines and imprisonments imposed on the workers and sympathizers and worry and tire out the Congress organizations. And magistrates, too, imagine that they should support the liquor-shop men. Further, even where they know the cases are false, they dare not expose themselves to the suspicion that they favour the Congress and do not support the revenue.

Local police authorities have begun to harass and interfere with the picketing. Finding that there is no sort of coercion or disturbance of the peace, and that they cannot legitimately object to the picketing, they are trying other ways. They are making demonstrations of police force, pushing the volunteers away to impossible distances from the shops and from each other and demanding the observance of conditions that reduce picketing to an ineffectual farce. Local police authorities are permitted to terrorize town and village folk and proclaim that any assistance or harbouring of Congress volunteers would amount to abetment of offenders. In fact, the 1930 atmosphere is being sought to be brought about.

I have conscientiously tried to put the best construction on all that Government officials are doing. But I am afraid I must confess failure. If you have time, please go through the enclosures.

You might be unable to interfere with the working or not working of the Settlement by local governments. Or your interference may not go far enough according to my view of the Settlement. Time has therefore perhaps arrived for the appointment of a permanent Board of Arbitration to decide question of interpretation of the Settlement and as to the full carrying out of the terms by the one party or the other. I would therefore like you to consider this suggestion.

Yours sincerely,

Encl. 1

H. W. EMERSON, ESQ.

SIMLA

A.I.C.C. File No. 16-B, 1931. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

464. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

June 14, 1931

CHI. PRABHAVATI,

I have your letter. I understand your difficulties. God will protect you. Don't worry, and stay on there. You may come when you can. I have had to come to Borsad for some days. But you should write to me at the Bardoli address, since I shall probably have returned there by the time I get your reply.

It is not at all certain whether I shall be going to England. Even if it is decided that I should go, I shall not have to leave before August 15.

What is your present diet?

How is Father's health now?

Rajendra Babu was ill for some time. He is better now. He will be here in a few days.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati : G.N. 3414

465. INTERVIEW TO THE PRESS

BORSAD,
June 14, 1931

Interviewed by a representative of the Associated Press, Mahatma Gandhi said he arrived at Borsad principally to console the people of Ras who were perturbed over the continuous destruction of their hedges and stray assaults committed by Dharalas. They suspected that Dharalas had been emboldened by the continuance as the village headman of a Dharala who is an exconvict. Gandhiji had already asked for the cancellation of his appointment on two grounds in terms of the Delhi Settlement : one was that he was undesirable and the other was that his appointment was not permanent in the terms of the Delhi Settlement. He had also asked for protection of the non-Dharala population of Ras village. Both matters were engaging the attention of the Collector of Kaira District. There were other matters, too, which required his personal attention. He thought he need not go into these matters at present. Asked how long he would stay at Borsad, Gandhiji said as soon as he had finished his work he had instructions from Sardar Vallabhbhai to go to Bardoli which he would do.

In reply to a question whether it was true, as stated by his son Mr. Devdas at last night's public meeting, that he intended shortly to visit the Frontier Province, Gandhiji said it was perfectly true that Abdul Ghaffar Khan was pressing him to visit that province. He was equally anxious to go there and see for himself how far the spirit of non-violence had prevailed among tribes inhabiting that province, but whilst the Truce lasted he did not want to do anything, as far as possible, that might embarrass Government. He was therefore in correspondence with Government on the matter. Asked how long Abdul Ghaffar Khan would stay with him, Gandhiji said he would stay pending the results of the correspondence between him and Government.

The Bombay Chronicle, 15-6-1931

466. CABLE TO H. S. L. POLAK

BORSAD,
June 15, 1931

KALOPH
LONDON

WILL GLADLY SEE LANCASHIRE FRIENDS IMMEDIATELY ON
ARRIVAL IF I COME AT ALL. MALAVIYAJI WILL COME IF
INVITED.

GANDHI

From a photostat : S.N. 17291

467. TELEGRAM TO "THE STATESMAN", DELHI

BORSAD,
June 15, 1931

STATESMAN
DELHI

YOUR WIRE. INDIAN AMBULANCE CORPS REACHED AFTER DUSK AND
JUST AFTER BATTLE COLENZO IN WHICH LIEUTENANT ROBERTS WAS
KILLED. BEFORE WE HAD PITCHED TENTS I RECEIVED ORDERS FROM
COL. GALLWEY REMOVE CORPSE DECEASED SOLDIER AND I SENT
SEVEN MEN. I RECEIVED PERSONAL THANKS FOR PROMPT
ATTENTION ORDERS. THOUGH CORPS WAS TOLD THAT IT COULD
ONLY SERVE OUT-SIDE ZONE OF FIRE AFTER REVERSE AT SPION
KOP GENERAL BULLER NEEDED OUR ASSISTANCE WITHIN ZONE
OF FIRE. LED BY MAJOR BAPTY WE REMOVED SIXTY WOUNDED ON
STRE-TCHERS FROM DANGER ZONE. THESE INCLUDED GENERAL WOOD-
GATE AND MAJOR SCOTT MONCRIEF AND OTHER OFFICERS. NEXT
TIME WE WERE WITHIN FIRE ZONE WAS AT VAAL KRANTZ. FOR
THIS AND OTHER WORK I WAS MENTIONED IN GENERAL BULLER'S
DISPATCH. CLEARLY COL. GALLWEY'S MEMORY BETRAYS HIM.¹

GANDHI

From a photostat : S.N. 17292

¹Vide "Interview to Associated Press", 15-6-1931. Also "Speech at Calcutta Meeting", 27-1-1902; and "An Autobiography"

468. LETTER TO MOHANLAL SAKSENA

BORSAD,
June 15, 1931

MY DEAR MOHANLAL,

I got your letter only today. I could not therefore discuss it with Jawaharlal.

In spite of what the D.C. says, I hold that my message¹ to the *kisans* is no breach of the Settlement.

It was never the intention that each *kisan's* money should be separately deposited. If such was the suggestion, I have forgotten all about it. The object is that the *kisans* should not use up the money that might have been saved for payment of rent.

I did receive Balkrishna's wire. You will have noticed the correction². It was a silly slip.

Just at present it is difficult for me to leave Gujarat. The things are looking none too bright here. On your side it is all well, so long as you hold the *kisans* in check. But Jawaharlal's presence must now ease the situation. He has no difficulty in dealing with the *kisans* and restraining them.

In any event please keep me informed of the happenings there.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SYT. MOHANLAL SAKSENA
34 AMINUDDAULA PARK
LUCKNOW

From a photostat : S.N. 17289

¹ *Vide* "To the Kisans of the U. P.", 23-5-1931

² *Vide* "A correction", 11-6-1931

469. LETTER TO W. E. LUCAS

BORSAD,
Via ANAND,
June 15, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

I was delighted to receive your letter and would gladly meet you all on 24th instant unless I am summoned to Simla.¹ I shall bring with me Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and one or two other friends. As I take no food at night I would like you to excuse me from joining you at the dinner table but the other friends may join you if you like. I would follow at the time to be named by you.

I appreciate your frankness. Of course I don't expect you to surrender your independence or coincide with my views. These contacts are desirable and valuable for understanding one another and removing misunderstandings.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

W. E. LUCAS, ESQ.
AGENT'S OFFICE, B.B. & C.I. RY. CO.
BOMBAY

From a photostat : S.N. 17290

¹ For Gandhiji's note on the meeting of the "Dinner Club", *vide* "Young Europeans", 2-7-1931.

470. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

BORSAD,
Silence Day, June 15, 1931

CHI. NARANDAS,

I have your letter. Shankarbhai has gone to Bombay. I have written to him and told him to bring Kamala¹ to me.

If the building in which I used to occupy a room is not being used, use it now, including Ba's room. The number of inmates has gone up very much, and will further increase a little. If you use the building, it will remain in good condition. I have discussed this with Ba. She has no objection. In fact she liked the suggestion. We are not likely in the immediate future to come and stay there. Why, then, should we let such a big building remain unoccupied?

Blessings from

BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati : M.M.U./I

471. INTERVIEW TO ASSOCIATED PRESS

BORSAD,
June 15, 1931

Interviewed by a representative of the Associated Press regarding the controversy in respect of his services in the Boer War, Mahatma Gandhi said :

The Indian Ambulance Corps numbering over 1,100 reached Chieveley camp near Colenso after dusk just after the battle in which Lieutenant Roberts was killed. I received orders from Col. Gallwey that the deceased Lieutenant's body had to be immediately removed. We had then hardly pitched the tents.

I sent seven men, not "coolies", but educated men, who returned late at night and I received special thanks from Col. Gallwey for the prompt attention and was next day invited through Dr. Booth to meet him in his tent.

It is quite true that on this occasion there was no question of firing line, hostilities having been suspended for the collection of the wounded. It is also true that despite our desire to work under fire, we were told that we would not be allowed to do so but after the reverse at Spion Kop, the situation became grave.

¹ Shankarlal's daughter

General Buller came to my tent and said we would enter the firing zone in order to remove nearly 60 wounded from the foot of Spion Kop. My companions and I were delighted to have this privilege and led by Major Bapty, we crossed the pontoon, entered firing zone and removed the wounded including General Woodgate, Major Scott Moncrief and other officers and carried them on stretchers 25 miles.

We were again within the firing zone at Vaal Kantz soon after Kop. For these and general services I was mentioned in General Buller's dispatch and with over 20 leaders was recipient of a War Medal.

The Bombay Chronicle, 16-6-1931

472. LETTER TO C. RAJGOPALACHARI

BORSAD,
June 16, 1931

I have your long letter. You will see the use I have made of it from the copy herewith enclosed.¹

I feel that all the questions now outstanding have got to be referred to some board of arbitration and, if the Central Government want to play the game, as I think they do, they would accept my suggestion for the appointment of such a board. There may be some modification as to the board, but the principle, I think, they will accept. Do you suggest anything more to be done in this direction? Till the final answer is received, you should not embark upon any heroic measure. But I agree with you that if we do not get anything whatsoever, we have a perfect right to take such measures as we like including local and specific civil disobedience in so far as it may be necessary to resist lawlessness on the part of unscrupulous officials.

I want you to study carefully the article² I have written for the forthcoming issue of *Young India* on the Working Committee resolution. I do not like it. At the same time from its own stand-point the Working Committee's position could be justified. The alternative I had suggested was much better. Some of those who voted with the majority, I think, even saw the point. But you will critically read the

¹ *Vide* "Letter to H. W. Emerson", 14-6-1931

² *Vide* "substance not Shadow", 18-6-1931.

article and tell me what you think of my alternative, because that alternative has to be enforced in the event of failure of our demand at the Conference.

Why do you not see the Governor yourself and at any rate discuss the liquor picketing?

SYT. C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

GANDHI ASHRAM

TIRUCHENGODU (S. INDIA)

From a photostat : S.N. 17293

473. TELEGRAM TO SITLA SAHAY

BORSAD,

June 17, 1931

SITLA SAHAY¹

CARE CONGRESS

RAE BARELI

YOUR LETTER. WIRED YOU FROM BARDOLI.² CONSULT JAWAHAR

GANDHI

From a microfilm : S.N. 17306

474. LETTER TO DUNI CHAND

BORSAD,

June 17, 1931

DEAR LALA DUNI CHAND,

I now have your letter about Suraj Bhan. At Simla I understood that Lala Suraj Bhan had collected the money himself and that for doing village work. But if he is of unsound mind, naturally you will not give him any assistance. But I do feel that all the expenses incurred up to now should be paid and then he should be clearly told that he cannot get the money as this is not his property as it was

¹ A khadi worker of U.P.

² The wire is not traceable. But in his letter of even date to the addressee Gandhiji's personal secretary said it was as follows : "where cultivators accept our conditions and are prepared to pay the rent but the zamindars are not prepared to accept it, the amount should be received by us and deposited into the bank." (S. N. 17307)

neither collected by him alone nor for the purpose he claims. The whole of this is a sad business. Lala Suraj Bhan is your trusted man. I therefore feel the greatest hesitation in writing to you about him.

I am glad you have sent his wife to Jullundur. I do hope she will be happy there.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

LALA DUNI CHAND
ADVOCATE, AMBALA
From a photostat : G.N. 5589

475. LETTER TO ANAND T. HINGORANI

BORSAD,
June 17, 1931

MY DEAR ANAND,

I hear all about you regularly through Mirabeen and occasionally through Jairamdas. I know that you are refraining from writing to me purely out of pity for me.

I should not consider father's letter disappointing. I think that he took up the correct position. But Jairamdas tells me that later he modified his view. I think that it is a sound rule for people who are well-to-do not to go to their friends living in public institutions except when they are ready to make a grant to those institutions at least equal to what their visit to such institutions might have cost them. It need not be done offensively and can be done gracefully. If father had simply come or sent your mother or your sister and asked them quietly to slip into your pocket a hundred-rupee note, it would have been still more correct.

You must not be or feel feeble either in body or in mind. Nothing has to be done beyond your resolute to feel weak. There was no foot-burn to the healed. The whole thing was a creation of the reporters' imagination.

It is good for Vidya¹ to continue the diet of milk and fruit and even fruit alone if milk disagrees, till she has a real hunger and appetite for other food. But if she can go to Bombay for treatment under a nature-cure expert, it would, of course, be better.

¹ Addressee's wife

You must not consider yourself ill-starred. Think of the many millions who have not the opportunities that God has provided for you. It is the height of ingratitude to the Maker for anyone to consider himself ill-starred. You must shake yourself free of this pessimism that overtakes you so often.

Yours sincerely,

SYT. ANAND T. HINGORANI
C/O THE "HINDOO"
HYDERABAD SIND

From a photostat : S.N. 17300

476. LETTER TO A. Y. C. WULFSE

AS AT SABARMATI,
June 17, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter.

I return the ring herewith.

I hope that you will succeed in your desire to create a work of art that will benefit mankind.

I hope also that you have regained your health.

I got the two portraits for which too I thank you.

Yours sincerely,

A. Y. C. WULFSE, ESQ.
AMSTERDAM, HOLLAND

From a photostat : S.N. 17301

477. LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

BORSAD,
June 17, 1931

MY DEAR JAWAHARLAL,

Sitla Sahay writes to me about impending repression in Raw Bareli through the taluqdars.

You must have seen the enclosed notice about the flag on the University building. I am receiving complaints from other places also. As soon as you have the time I would like you to go into all these things and then tell me what you think about it all. If he matters can wait till we meet at Surat for the Working Committee we must discuss them then or you should write to me earlier.

PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU
ANAND BHAWAN, ALLAHABAD

From a photostat : S.N. 17303

478. LETTER TO HARDEVI SHARMA

BORSAD,
June 17, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter of the 15th instant. As to your first question I think you are entitled to and it is your duty to help the *kisans* in all legitimate ways open to men pledged to non-violence. What those particular ways should be can only be determined from time to time as circumstances arise. The general instructions you can glean from the pages of *Navajivan* and *Young India*. But I would advise you to confer with the Provincial Congress Committee members and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru who is now in Allahabad.

With reference to your second question if Thakur Malkhan Singh was prosecuted he can be and should be defended.

Yours sincerely,

SYT. HARDEVI SHARMA
HATHRAS (U.P.)

From a microfilm : S.N. 17304

479. LETTER TO K. F. NARIMAN

BORSAD,
June 17, 1931

MY DEAR NARIMAN,

I have your letters about the Pathan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and his son. I shall begin working on them as soon as possible.

With reference to the National Flag Film I would like you to go into the regulations governing the censorship of films and enter first into correspondence with the Board of Censors and find their reason. Don't you think that this is the first step to take?

Yours sincerely,

SYT. K. F. NARIMAN
CONGRESS HOUSE, BOMBAY

From a photostat : S.N. 17305

480. LETTER TO H. W. EMERSON

BORSAD,
June 17, 1931

DEAR MR. EMERSON,

I thank you for your telegram¹ about Khan Saheb Abdul Ghaffar Khan. I have shown it to him.

I expect to hear from you in due course with reference to my desire to visit the Frontier Province.

Yours sincerely,

H. W. EMERSON, ESQ.
SIMLA

A.I.C.C. File No. 16-B, 1931. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

¹ This read : "Your letter of June thirteenth. Government of India appreciate the value of personal contact but consider suitable course is for Abdul Ghaffar Khan to get in touch with the Chief Commissioner of North West Frontier Province rather than to visit Simla."

481. SUBSTANCE NOT SHADOW

The public are entitled to know why after having made repeated declarations to the contrary the Working Committee had passed the resolution¹ requiring me (other conditions being favourable) to attend the Round Table Conference, if thereto required, for the presentation of the Congress position.

Ordinarily a member of the Working Committee could not tell the public of discussions behind its resolutions, their defeated amendments or counter resolutions. But in the present case the Working Committee has made an exception and authorized me to take the public into confidence in order that I might clear my position and also explain that of the Working Committee.

It was my essentially democratic nature which, in spite of my very strong objection, impelled me to submit to the resolution. One may not make a principle of every objection and, if not carried, block the way by threatening to retire from an institution or by refusing submission to the opinion of the majority. I therefore fought the Working Committee, reminded it of my repeated public and private declarations and moved informally a resolution myself which I thought was far more consistent and desirable in the national interest. But I could not carry with me the majority who thought that not to attend the Conference by reason of the failure of a communal settlement would be to play into the hands of the enemy and expose the Committee to unnecessary misrepresentation.

Though there is much to be said for the majority view, I regard mine to be safer and more truly in consonance with the Lahore resolution on the communal question.² There was, in my opinion, sound reasoning behind my declaration that I should not attend the Round Table Conference if there was no agreed settlement of the communal question. Absence of it would mean

¹ On June 9. It read: "The Working Committee hope that the efforts that are now being made to secure honourable and satisfactory settlement of the communal problem will meet with success. The Committee is of opinion that, even should these efforts unfortunately fail, in order to avoid any possibility of the Congress attitude being misunderstood in any shape or form, other conditions being favourable, Mahatma Gandhi should represent the Congress at the R.T.C., if thereto required, for the presentation of the Congress position."

² *Vide* "Speech at subjects Committee, A.I.C.C.- III", 1-1-1930

absence of unity and absence of unity would deprive the national demand of the strength required to secure its acceptance.

My proposition therefore before the Working Committee was that agreed settlement failing, the Congress should give up the hope of winning a swaraj constitution by the way of the present Round Table Conference and should wait till all the communities were satisfied to adopt a purely national solution. The Congress could meanwhile further consolidate its position and work with greater concentration for the masses including all the communities and thus make the toilers of all the other communities regard the Congress as theirs as the Hindus do.

This does not mean giving up the struggle for freedom.

It all depends upon what we mean by and want through *purna* swaraj. If we mean an awakening among the masses, a knowledge among them of their true interest and ability to serve that interest against the whole world and if through *purna* swaraj we want harmony, freedom from aggression from within or without and a progressive improvement in the economic condition of the masses, we can gain our end without political power and by directly acting upon the powers that be. One form of direct action is adult suffrage. The second and more potent form is satyagraha. It can easily be shown that whatever is needful and can be gained by political power can perhaps be more quickly and more certainly gained by satyagraha. If such is the case and if, in spite of all, [the] attempt to secure an honourable settlement of the communal question fails it is obvious that we should give up the attempt to secure a swaraj constitution at the present moment. It is better and quicker to wait till the Congress has become equally popular with the other communities than to attempt to force swaraj through highly artificial surroundings. If the Congress means what it says, it cannot be long gaining the adherence of all the other communities. Meanwhile the Congress must fulfil its mission of representing the starving millions by fighting for their relief, if it cannot do so by gaining power then by gaining that relief through the government existing at the moment. Whilst discussing this probability with English friends, I was reminded that this position was hardly fair, not to take the power to make the reforms and to force the hands of those who cannot carry on the administration if they grant the reforms, in their opinion only so called. I pointed out the fallacy underlying the rebuke. The Congress is ever ready to take the power

if it is given to it but the Congress is too weak to seize power from unwilling hands in the artificial surroundings of the Round Table Conference and that in the absence of real unity between the chief actors, the communities.

The Congress wants the substance not the shadow. It can therefore wait for the shadow of power, it cannot wait for the substance of freedom which the dumb millions so badly need and can understand.

I have placed before the public the main part of the argument I placed before the Working Committee. It failed to convince its majority. It may fail therefore to convince too the majority of the public. Nevertheless my position will probably be the same as now if and when the Conference fails to meet the Congress position.

But having accepted the resolution of the Working Committee, I shall faithfully carry it out and work at the Conference with all possible zeal, if I am destined to attend it. I should not reject real power if it is real. I should put my whole soul into working for it. But I have wisdom and patience enough to wait for it if necessary and know that such waiting may be a process of hastening.

Young India, 18-6-1931

482. NATIONAL UNIVERSITIES

The head master of Tilak Vidyalyaya thus rebukes me:¹

I gladly publish the letter if only to advertise the very good work of the national school of Nagpur. As for the Tilak University, I am not sure that I omitted to mention it on the occasion referred to. My speech was not previously prepared. It had to be delivered extempore. Whatever names I took were merely illustrative and not exhaustive. I can certainly recall many national institutions which rendered great service during the struggle. My object was to show the very marked contrast between the Government institutions and the national ones and to show that every anna spent in the latter was an anna spent for swaraj. I showed too that in the nature of things it

¹ The letter is not reproduced here. It complained of Gandhiji's failure, in his speech at Gujarat Vidyapith (*vide* "Speech at Convocation, Gujarat Vidyapith, Ahmedabad", 11-4-1931), to mention the Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapith of Poona and the Tilak Vidyalyaya of Nagpur and their contribution to civil disobedience movement; *vide* also, "Letter to M. G. Datar", 26-5-1931

could not be otherwise. However badly managed the Congress may be, it is still that and that alone which can usher in swaraj and not a Government department. It is once more a question of swadeshi v. videshi¹. The English paraphrase is: 'a good Government is no substitute for self-Government'.

Young India, 18-6-1931

483. COLOUR BAR IN EDINBURGH

The Honorary Secretary, Edinburgh Indian Association, writes:

It will be recalled that in 1927 all the cafes, restaurants and dance halls, imposed the colour ban, but after representations being made to various authorities a compromise was reached and soon after the ban was raised, again this year two cafes in Edinburgh have renewed the colour ban. These two cafes (Strand Cafe and Cafeteria) refuse to admit coloured students as a whole without any reasons. Edinburgh Indian Association approached the Lord Provost of Edinburgh and the Students' Representative Council of Edinburgh University, but so far no action has been taken by them and the colour ban still continues.

The Hon. Secretary does not say why the two Cafes have restored the ban or why it was originally introduced. Denial of the use of refreshment rooms in the West is an inconvenience of which we in India can have no adequate conception. Intense public agitation is the only way to deal with this prejudice. The Edinburgh Indian Association will do well to supply the public with full facts.

Young India, 18-6-1931

¹ Foreign

484. HINDI IN THE SOUTH

It was a good sign that at the same time as the Tamil Nadu Conference a Hindi Prachar Conference too was held. The people of the Southern Presidency are under promise to send for the next year Congress delegates who would speak and understand Hindi. If we were not living in artificial conditions, the people living in the South will not consider the learning of Hindi as a strain on them, much less a superfluity. It is surely more necessary for them to learn Hindi than for the Hindi-speaking population to learn the Southern languages. There are two speaking and understanding Hindi against one speaking the Southern languages in all India. There must be for all India a common language of inter-provincial contact in *addition to, not* in the *place of*, the provincial language or languages. It can only be Hindi-Hindustani. Some who altogether dismiss the masses from their minds would regard English not merely as an alternative but the only possible medium. This proposition would be unthinkable but for the hypnotic influence of foreign domination. For the masses of the South who must take an ever-growing part in national affairs, what can be easier—learning Hindi which has many words in common with their languages and which at once gives them access practically to the whole of the North or learn English a wholly foreign tongue spoken only by a select few? The choice really depends upon one's conception of swaraj. If it is to be of and for only the English-knowing Indians, English is undoubtedly the common medium. If it is to be for and of the starving millions, of the illiterate millions, of the illiterate women, of the suppressed untouchables, Hindi is the only possible common language. Those who think like me will therefore welcome the report of the great progress made by Hindi during the past twelve years of the existence of organized propaganda. Here is the record of work during the period:

Number of those who have taken to the study of Hindi	4,00,000
,, ,, ,, acquired a working knowledge of it	2,50,000
,, ,, ,, appeared for our examinations	11,000
,, ,, ,, passed the examinations	10,000
,, readers published by the Sabha in its own press	3,00,000

.. ..	sold	2,50,000
	Varieties of books published	35
	(All of them have gone through numerous editions, one through 12.)	
	Number of centres at which Hindi has been taught so far	400
.. ..	working now (total	150
.. under direct control	25
.. ..	where examinations were held in Feb. '31	113
.. ..	teachers trained so far	250
Total funds raised and spent so far	Rs.	2,50,000
.. from North India	Rs. 1,55,000
.. from South India	Rs. 95,000

Let us hope that during this year of grace the progress will be still more rapid and that the finance will be found wholly by the South. It will be a test of the desire of the South to learn the national language and to make India one indivisible whole.

Young India, 18-6-1931

485. NOTES

SWARAJ FOR CEYLON

A Ceylon correspondent asks the following strange questions¹:

I do not know that Ceylon is a bankrupt island or that it is necessarily bankrupt because it does not manufacture all its own cloth or grow all the grains it eats. But assuming that Ceylon is as the correspondent describes, it has² all the greater reason for being free. Possibly Ceylon's economic condition is bad, if it is bad, because of its dependence. I cannot conceive of a single occasion when slavery or dependence can be preferable to swaraj or freedom.

So far as India's help is concerned, when India is free, whether she will or no, her freedom will automatically spur Ceylon to

¹ Not reproduced here. The first question was whether an economically dependent country should seek swaraj; and secondly, whether India would help Ceylon in attaining freedom.

² The source has "is".

deliverance, if it does not actually bring it. India's freedom must mean more freedom to her neighbours and even other countries in the East as her slavery or dependence means a hindrance to their growth. Disease among neighbours can never be an advantage. And a diseased continent like India must be a perpetual menace to her neighbours. Dependence is perhaps the greatest disease. Mere physical illness is any day preferable to the illness of the soul. The latter brings in its train all kinds of physical afflictions and worse.

Young India, 18-6-1931

486. JAPANESE OR BRITISH?

That from the economic standpoint (and that is the only standpoint important for the millions) boycott of Japanese cloth is much the most important is clear from the following letter¹ from Sjt. H. P. Modi, President, Bombay Mill-owners' Association.

If therefore there is any laxity on the part of boycott workers, they will remember that emphasis on boycott of British cloth would be of no avail whatsoever from the economic viewpoint. Incidentally one can see how British cloth has been hit by Japanese cloth.

Young India, 18-6-1931

487. LETTER TO KUSUM DESAI

BORSAD,
Before Morning Prayers, June 18, 1931

CHI. KUSUM,

I had not understood your message, but I did understand your letter and felt unhappy. The very fact that there was no letter from you suggested that you were running away from me. Whether or not you should do that depends on you. Be wise and wake up. You can come here any day you wish to.

¹ Not reproduced here. The correspondent had pointed out that the most serious competitor of the Indian textile industry was Japan rather than Great Britain and that competition from Japan was as serious a menace to the Indian industry as it was to Lancashire trade.

We shall be leaving this place on the 23rd. I shall have to go to Bombay for two days.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1822

488. LETTER TO H. W. EMERSON

BORSAD,
June 18, 1931

DEAR MR. EMERSON,

I thank you for your letter of the 10th inst. enclosing copy of a letter from Messrs Ramjilal & Bros¹. If the facts stated by them are correct, I quite agree with you that picketing should be suspended. I am therefore writing² to the local Congress Committee to investigate the matter, telling them that unless they can satisfactorily prove the relevant allegations made in Messrs Ramjilal's letter are incorrect, picketing should be suspended. I enclose copy of my letter for your information.

Yours sincerely,

Encl. I

H. W. EMERSON, ESQ.

HOME SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

SIMLA

A.I.C.C. File No. 387, 1931. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

¹ Importers and dealers of foreign piece-goods, who had complained of harassment and coercion by Congress pickets

² *Vide* the following item.

489. LETTER TO SECRETARY, CONGRESS COMMITTEE,
CAWNPORE

BORSAD,
June 18, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

I enclose herewith copy of a letter received by the Central Government from Messrs Ramjilal & Bros. If the allegations about picketing are correct, it is a clear case for immediate suspension of picketing. Unless, therefore, you can satisfactorily disprove the allegations made in the 2nd and subsequent paragraphs of the letter, you will, I hope, suspend picketing at once. I would like you to wire¹ to me what action you propose to take.

Yours sincerely

THE SECRETARY
LOCAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE
CAWNPORE
COPY TO MR. EMERSON.

A.I.C.C. File No. 387, 1931. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

490. LETTER TO RAIHANA TYABJI

June 18, 1931

MY DEAR RAIHANA,

I trust your truthful nature too well to be shocked by anything you say. But your thoughts are cloudy and confused. But we cannot discuss the thing today. There is no hurry. Perhaps the things will be clear because of your search and because of your promise to do what I have advised for the sake of discipline though not from conviction. Often an honest acceptance of discipline has brought conviction. And so may it be with you. You did well in writing to me so frankly.

Let me correct one belief of yours about me. You say, "I know that you are too pure for sex-consciousness yourself." I wish this was a true certificate. I am sorry to have to disillusion you. I am trying to lose that consciousness. But I have not lost it. Loss of that

¹ *Vide* footnote 2, "Letter to R. M. Maxwell", 26-4-1931

consciousness cannot be relative; it must be absolute. I do not know any historical instance. It is difficult, I know, for history to record such instances.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: S.N. 9631

491. LETTER TO V. K. SADAGOPACHARIAR

BORSAD,
June 18, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I hope that you will vigorously defend the case in the court and take all the legal steps that will be necessary in order to vindicate your position. I am doing all I can at this end but when the allegation is that there is a breach of the Criminal Law, I am helpless. My function comes into operation only when a breach of any part of the Settlement can be proved. In this case therefore, unless picketing, admitted to be peaceful, is prohibited, the Settlement cannot be utilized to obtain relief.¹

Yours sincerely,

SYT. V. K. SADAGOPACHARIAR
PRESIDENT, TALUK CONGRESS
COMMITTEE
TIRUTTANI (CHITTOOR DT.), S. INDIA

From a microfilm: S.N. 17308

¹ In a letter to C. Rajagopalachari which is not available, Gandhiji advised him about the details of the action to be taken. The latter had placed these before the Governor and hoped that favourable orders would be issued.

492. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

BORSAD,
June 18, 1931

CHI. JAMNALAL,

Shah Mangaldas Harilal Gandhi, Fanaswadi, 2nd Lane, Dadi-sheth Agiari Lane, Harilal Maneklal Gandhi's Flats. This gentleman is Shah Harilal Maneklal Gandhi's son. One Surajbehn regarded Shri Harilal as her father. He has all her money. His present condition cannot be described as good. Surajbehn tells me that at one time it was very good. I have written to Shri Harilal and told him that it was not at all proper to keep a widow's money in a private firm, and that he should deposit it in the Bank of India and send Surajbehn a receipt in her name. I enclose his reply. It is possible that there is no risk about the money. But I feel worried. Request Shri Mangaldas to see you, or you yourself should call on him, and ask him what the position is. Get all the facts and see if you can persuade him to deposit the money in the Bank. It is to be deposited in Surajbehn's name. Her jewellery is also in their custody. If possible, get that, too, in your possession, or secure the Safe Deposit receipts for it, which are in their possession. You will not immediately require a letter of authority from Surajbehn. But wire to me if you require one and I will send it. In any case arrange to see Mangaldas immediately.

I am going there on the 24th to see those English friends.¹ I shall be accompanied by Vallabhbhai.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2889

¹ *Vide* Vol. "Letter to W. E. Lucas", 15-6-1931; also "Young Europeans", 2-7-1931.

493. LETTER TO JAMNADAS GANDHI

June 18, 1931

CHI. JAMNADAS,

What I had in mind was that you should get the money from the Vidyapith, but you should get your demand examined and approved by Kakasaheb. Draw up a report and state the case as you understand it, and send it to Kakasaheb saying that you are sending it to him for his scrutiny. Are you sure you cannot postpone the plan now that everything is uncertain?

Blessings from

BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 9325. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

494. LETTER TO PRESIDENT, CONGRESS COMMITTEE,
TIRUTTANI ¹

[Before June 19, 1931]²

Gandhiji has asked picketers not to disobey the order as that would amount to a breach of the Truce terms on the part of Congress, but he promises to correspond with the Home Secretary, Government of India.

Meanwhile Gandhiji has asked Tiruttani Congressmen to send him a copy of the order and details regarding picketing movement in Tiruttani.

The Bombay Chronicle, 20-6-1931

¹ In reply to his question whether the local Magistrate's order prohibiting picketing of liquor shops should be disobeyed

² The report appeared under the date-line "Madras, June 19".

495. LETTER TO H. W. EMERSON

BORSAD,
June 19, 1931

DEAR MR. EMERSON,

Here are copies of letters received by Syts. Morarji Desai and Durlabhji Desai, ex-Deputy Collectors for both of whom the Central Government had advised the Bombay Government to give pension or gratuity in lieu of pension. You will remember that this was arranged because you had suggested to Lord Irwin that it would be embarrassing for Provincial Governments to restore officials of high rank to their original position. I remember your having told me during our conversations in Simla¹ that the Bombay Government had difficulty about giving anything to the two officials concerned. But I was unprepared for the letter according to the enclosed copy. Both these gentlemen had applied not for grace but in terms of the Settlement. May I therefore ask you to advise the Bombay Government to carry out the Settlement in respect of these two officials?

Yours sincerely,

A.I.C.C. File No. 16-B, 1931. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

496. LETTER TO H. W. EMERSON

BORSAD,
June 19, 1931

DEAR MR. EMERSON,

I do not know whether you obtained legal opinion regarding confiscated guns. Complaints are being received from many places that these guns are not being restored. In most of these cases, so far as I can see, the guns were possessed for defending owners and their property against wild beasts. I have several such cases from Karnatak.

Yours sincerely,

A.I.C.C. File No. 16-B, 1931. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

¹ On May 13, 1931

497. LETTER TO CAPTAIN BARNES

BORSAD,
June 19, 1931

DEAR CAPTAIN BARNES¹,

I thank you for your very full letter. I was sorry to learn that your health had broken down, I hope however that you will be completely restored very soon. Your letter was redirected to me from Sabarmati and so I got it just after Khan Saheb had left me. He was with me quite a few days and for the first time I came in intimate contact with him. My experience of him is that he is a very sober and truthful man believing implicitly in non-violence. Your letter however gives a different picture of him. As he is still within reach I am sending a friend with a copy of your letter for explanation and if there is anything further to tell you I shall write again. Could you please send me a copy of the drama referred to by you with translation or without, if you cannot easily send me a translation.

Yours sincerely,

CAPTAIN BARNES
HAMALA COTTAGE
NATHIAGALI, N.W.F.P.

A.I.C.C. File No. 16-C, 1931. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

498. LETTER TO C. F. ANDREWS

Private
SABARMATI,

AS AT

June 19, 1931

MY DEAR CHARLIE,

I have your two letters, both of them quite like you. Here is my answer to the moral questions you have placed. It is perfectly true that I would have prohibition of foreign cloth by one blow if I could manage it and would not feel that there was the slightest trace of violence in it. At this conclusion I arrived in 1889 and '90 when I was studying in London and keenly following the controversy between

¹ Sub-Divisional Officer for the Charsadda sub-division of Peshawar District in 1930; he wrote to Gandhiji on June 14, 1931 describing Abdul Ghaffar Khan's speeches as "inflammatory".

total prohibitionists and temperance reformers. The former were led by Sir Wilfred Lawson who contended that all public houses could be closed without any compensation being paid to the keepers. The temperance party which was really the party financed by the public-house keepers put up a strong and successful fight for compensation and graduation. If a man is making a living out of wrongdoing he gains no prescriptive right and therefore is entitled to no compensation or consideration when his business is stopped whether by the 'State or by his customers refusing to deal with him. It is irrelevant to consider what would happen to the many labourers who might be engaged unconsciously in helping the wrongdoer. The assumption at the back of this argument is that wrong must be righted at any cost and that the harm that may temporarily seem to result to the wrongdoer and his dependents is only apparent and that in the end he and they are all the better for it. If such was not the case, many a reform would become impossible. Of course it is open to you to say that you will not put foreign-cloth trade on a level with liquor or opium trade. But this is a matter of opinion.

If I was bolstering up the Bombay mills in any shape or form it would undoubtedly be violence. But my conscience is quite clear on that point. I am not only not bolstering up the Indian mills but I am fighting them in many matters. My intervention has resulted in steady improvement of the conditions of labour. If these mills interfered with khaddar I should desire their boycott just as strongly as that of foreign mills.

The remedy for unemployment in England is not thoughtless generosity of India but a complete realization by England of the awfulness of exploitation of people, violently brought under subjection by her, and consequent radical changes in her conception of the standard of life and a return to simplicity. Has generosity, in respect of a man more fortunate than himself, any meaning for the man who is living in a state of chronic starvation?

The South African analogy you have quoted is improper. What you regard as generous action was really necessary action in terms of non-violence. In order to show that my fight was not intended to embarrass the Government or to seize power I was bound in pursuance of non-violence to suspend the struggle¹ in order to show

¹ In 1914, during the European railway workers' strike; *vide* "Interview to "Pretoria News" ", 9-1-1914

that I had no sympathy with the Europeans who were bent on embarrassing the Government to the point of making it so powerless as to enable them to seize the reins themselves. Occasions here for what you would call generosity occurred at the time of the Delhi Settlement¹ and are occurring whilst the Settlement is being worked and it would delight your heart if you knew how every such occasion has been fully availed of. And even with reference to the present unemployment in England, many a generous gesture is possible but none is possible if it means continuance of injury to India or fresh injury. If England ceased to think imperially, if India came to her own and instead of being a dependency of England became a real partner or ally, England could get preferential treatment in hundreds of things, which an awakened India on her road to prosperity would require from the West. If therefore Lancashire cannot keep all its labour going through spinning and weaving mills working for other markets, it should find out some other use for it. Lastly, remember that even if there was no boycott of foreign cloth and open competition Japan would outdistance Lancashire as it is already doing.

I have your cable. Of course if I came to London my movement will be in your hands and I would gladly go to Lancashire as early as you would want me to.

I quite agree with you that your name should remain in the background as much as possible.

What undignified controversy over my part in the Boer War. I had to give the facts to Reuter & *The Statesman*².

Love.

MOHAN

From a photostat: G.N. 969

¹ Gandhi-Irwin Pact; *vide* "Provisional Settlement", 12-3-1931.

² *Vide*, "Telegram to the Statesman, Delhi": 15-6-1931 and "Interview to Associated Press", 15-6-1931

499. LETTER TO COWASJI JEHangIR

BORSAD,
June 19, 1931

DEAR SIR COWASJI,

I thank you for your letter¹ of the 18th instant.

You may publish any of my correspondence. I am glad that the lady² says that there is no ground now for complaint. But I cannot help repeating in fairness to the parties complained against that they have never admitted the charges made against them and they have courted the fullest inquiry. My own position has always been never to bolster up such charges because I have found by experience that large movements like ours can only be kept pure by exposing every weakness among workers.

Yours sincerely

SIR COWASJI JEHangIR
FORT, BOMBAY

A.I.C.C. File No. 16-C, 1931. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

500. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

BORSAD,
June 19, 1931

CHI. NARANDAS,

I don't have time to write much today. The information about Manjula causes me anxiety. She has got over so many illnesses before now that she will probably get over this one, too. We should do our best for her treatment. If Mahavir wants to join the Vidyapith, let him. Read my letter to him. Sitla Sahay asked me to send my letter to him through you, and I am doing so.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./I

¹ Regarding alleged harassment by pickets at Ghatkopar

² Mrs. contractor

501. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

BORSAD,
June 19, 1931

CHI. NARANDAS,

I got your letters. I understand what you say about Dwarkanath. I am in correspondence with him.

We should not pay the premiums on Sorabji's policy. I see little possibility of our getting back the original sum. I can think of no remedy against this.

Has Jamna completely recovered now? Was it that she took too large a dose of the medicine through mistake, or was it the fault of the vaid?

Panditji wanted to talk to me about the students. He believes that the arrangement by which Premabehn teaches Gujarati is not right. It is not sufficient either. He, therefore, requested that Shivabhai should be employed. You acceded to the request but put him in the office. He had also much to say against Premabehn's temper. The reading-room remains closed while she is in it, so much so that it is not opened even for Maganbhai. After hearing all this, I merely said that, if I inter-vened in the Ashram affairs just now, it would amount to my living in it, but that, when necessary, I might give some guidance. I, therefore, advised him to discuss the whole matter with you and solve the problem. I think you should have a frank talk with him. He is a straight forward man. If he has not talked to you about all this, you should use this letter and discuss the matter with him and reassure him. You may consult me if necessary.

Champa must have arrived there today. I have advised her to stay in the Ashram. If she does not do that, let her stay in the red bungalow or anywhere else. Some special arrangement will have to be made about Shashi's education. It would be best if you could secure the services of a good lady teacher. Consult Kakasaheb. Savitabehn, too, may be able to guide you. Balvant, Champa's brother, wants to be permitted to live in the Ashram. I have told him that he may do so if he agrees to obey the rules. He is also eager to stay with Krishnan Nair. I have written to him.

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

I will leave this place on the 23rd and spend the 24th and the 25th in Bombay. I then return to Bardoli on the 26th. This last is not definite.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./I

502. *LETTER TO GANGABEHN VAIDYA*

BORSAD,
June 19, 1931

CHI. GANGABEHN,

I had your letter. Take Indu under your loving care. That boy is pining away without his mother. The thing is that you should, like a mother, keep a watchful eye on all boys and girls. To any woman who wishes to serve as a mother, they are her children. Many women may act as mothers to the same children. If, therefore, any other woman feels such love in her heart, we should be happy about it. It is but right that she should feel such love. At any rate you should try to awaken it in other women.

Whenever you feel upset and worried, let me know. Never lose heart. Try and get to know personally the men and women who have recently joined. Remember that you are also a member of the Managing Committee.

You have taken a rather difficult vow in regard to your food. Since you take milk, no harm will follow. Keep me informed about the effects on your health.

Cultivate the acquaintance of Amtulbehn. She seems to have a very pure heart.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro-6: G. S. Gangabehn, pp. 54-5; also C.W. 8777. Courtesy: Gangabehn Vaidya

503. LETTER TO RATANLAL MALAVIYA

BORSAD,
June 19, 1931

DEAR RATANLAL,

I have your letter. I saw the Government notice. It is no doubt improper. If the students have courage and the spirit of sacrifice they should not attend college till the flag goes up again.

MOHANDAS GANDHI

SHRI RATANLAL MALAVIYA
LAW STUDNET
NEW HOSTEL
COLONELGANJ
ALLAHABAD-U.P.

From the Hindi original. Courtesy: Gandhi National Museum and Library

504. LETTER TO VICEROY

BORSAD,
June 20, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your kind letter of the 17th instant. So far as I am personally concerned I am concentrating on implementing the Settlement by the Congress, practically to the exclusion of every other activity.

I am,
Yours sincerely
M. K. GANDHI

EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY
SIMLA

Home Department, Political File No. 33/9/1931. Courtesy: National Archives of India

505. LETTER TO H. W. EMERSON

BORSAD,
June 20, 1931

DEAR MR. EMERSON,

I have your letter of 16th June enclosing extract from an account received from the Madras Government regarding picketing. It does make bad reading if the report is true. But what I am receiving almost daily from Madras from workers who are thoroughly reliable eye-witnesses makes me distrust the reports that you are receiving. But I know that this takes us no further. So far as the Congress is concerned I want it to implement the Settlement to the fullest extent. I therefore make an offer. Will you advise local governments to appoint a Board of Enquiry consisting of a nominee on their behalf and a nominee on behalf of the Congress to conduct a summary enquiry into the allegations on either side, and wherever it is found that the rule of peaceful picketing has been at all violated picketing would be entirely suspended, the Government undertaking on its part to stop prosecutions wherever it is found that they have been undertaken in spite of peaceful picketing. And if my suggestion does not commend itself to you, you will perhaps suggest something better and more acceptable. Meanwhile I am enquiring into the specific charge mentioned in your letter.¹

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: C.W. 9369. Courtesy: India Office Library

¹ For the addressee's reply, *vide* "Letter from H. W. Emerson", 4-7-1931

506. LETTER TO H. W. EMERSON

BORSAD,
June 20, 1931

DEAR MR. EMERSON,

With reference to your letter enclosing extract from a report dated 19th May from the District Magistrate, Surat, I now send you a translation of the statement that Naran Dulabh¹, the party named in the extract, has made.

Yours sincerely
M. K. GANDHI

Encl. 1.

Home Department, Political, File No. 33/9/1931. Courtesy: National Archives of India

507. LETTER TO BHUJANGILAL K. CHHAYA

BORSAD,
June 20, 1931

CHI. BHUJANGILAL,

I have your letter. I know that there has been a long-standing bond between your family and me. My letter to Jamnadas asking him to go and see you was in answer to your previous letter. You may see me here at Borsad on Tuesday. A bus for Borsad is always available at the Anand railway station.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2602

¹ Who had agreed to lease his land to Dhanjishaw Erachshaw, liquor seller, but, finding that village opinion was adverse, had decided not to lease the land

508. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

BORSAD,
June 20, 1931

CHI. JAMNALAL,

I have read the resolution about Bhagat Singh which you sent. Dev, too, had sent a copy at your suggestion. I did not like it at all. The word “today” has affected the value of the resolution. The addition of “today” may suggest that even today the meeting has no faith in non-violence. Even those who do not look upon non-violence as an unalterable article of faith need not feel it necessary to add “today”.

I shall arrive there not on the 24th but on Thursday, the 25th. I at any rate will travel by Gujarat Mail. If you wish, you may discuss this matter further with me then.

Read the accompanying letter about Chaunde Maharaj and inquire into the matter if necessary.

Rajendrababu should give up the idea of going to Bihar at present. Has Radhika come there?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N, 2890

509. LETTER TO PADMA

BORSAD,
June 20, 1931

CHI. PADMA,

I have your letter. I cannot understand why Vasumatibehn should try to get your private notebook. Nobody is entitled to take anything belonging to somebody else without the latter’s knowledge. I am inquiring about the matter. Do not, however, take it very much to heart. You should be generous. Your chief aim should be to improve your health.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 6121

510. LETTER TO NANABHAI I. MASHRUWALA

BORSAD,
June 20, 1931

BHAI NANABHAI,

If people, despite gentle persuasion, persist in disregarding the khadi rule persons like Deshpande should resign and give all their time to the propagation of khadi. In such circumstances, one can serve the Congress even from outside.¹

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 6682

511. LETTER TO CHANDRAKANTA

BORSAD,
June 20, 1931

CHI. KANTA,

I have your letter. You must have forgotten Gujarati now. I am writing this letter in Gujarati so that you may not forget it completely. I have no interest in examinations at all. True examination is that to which your teacher himself submits you. A certificate from the place of study should be sufficient. The best certificate is one's own. What is the point of my having a certificate for proficiency in arithmetic if I cannot do addition and subtraction? If I do not know who Ashoka was and what he did, what is the use of my having a similar certificate in history? This contains the reply to your letter.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: Chandrakanta Papers. Courtesy: Gandhi National Museum and Library

¹ *Vide* "Notes", , sub-title, "Duty of Disciplinarians".

512. LETTER TO PARASRAM MEHROTRA

BORSAD,
June 20, 1931

CHI. PARASRAM,

I had your letter. Why do you ask whether or no I have confidence in you? If I had none, could I have exhorted you to make big sacrifices? Yet, I may tell you that I cannot pronounce you free from restlessness. Can you spin 250 yds. in an hour on the *takli*? The pictures you have sent are highly objectionable.¹ All of them deserve to be burnt up.

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

I will look into members' spinning.

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 7489; also C.W. 4966. Courtesy: Parasuram Mehrotra

513. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

BORSAD,
June 20, 1931

BHAI GHANSHYAMDASJI,

I have your letter and the reply to Lindsay's letter. I shall go through the reply and suggest if anything yet remains to be said.

It is good that khadi is being hawked. Here is my message:

"If swaraj means food for the poor, can any aspirant for swaraj, man or woman, use any cloth other than khadi? Khadi, though costly, costs less because we have to make do with less of it than the quantity of other cloth that we would otherwise consume."

You have mentioned "hawking of khadi and propagation of swadeshi". What do you mean by the latter phrase?

It will be fine if the Bose and Sen Gupta affair is settled.

¹ In the pictures Gandhiji had been represented as Lord Krishna and the other leaders as five Pandavas.

That the Working Committee has passed a resolution¹ does not mean that my going has been finally decided. For one thing I have received no invitation and even if I do receive one, many obstacles lie in the way. The Provincial Governments have grown very slack in the implementation of the Delhi Pact. I have no enthusiasm left for going to England. Read carefully my article in *Young India*² and also the one to be published tomorrow in *Navajivan*. I have come exactly to that view now. That way alone lies the well-being of the people, not otherwise. I have some slight doubt regarding the last two words, but even that is growing fainter now.

Yours,

MOHANDAS

From Hindi: C.W. 7890. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

514. LETTER TO SUMANGAL PRAKASH

BORSAD,
June 20, 1931

CHI. SUMANGAL,

I have your letter. If you are on the way to recovery what need is there to get yourself involved in any hocus-pocus? Please write to Ramdasji that witchcraft should be shunned even if it is effective in curing illness because it weakens one's faith in God.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: Sumangal Prakash Papers. Courtesy: Nehru memorial Museum and Library

¹ On June 9 at Bombay; *vide* footnote 1, "Substance Not Shadow", 18-6-1931

² "Substance Not Shadow", 18-6-1931, which was reproduced in *Hindi Navajivan* of the same date. For the Gujarati article, *vide* the Addendum.

515. MY NOTES

NUDITY AND SOCIETY

An article on this subject has appeared in *Jain Mitra*. Its author, Jain-Nyaya Tirtha Paramesthidas, has asked me to reply to the article; I wished to express my view in this issue, but in spite of best effort I could not find the necessary time. I hope to reply to it at the earliest opportunity.¹ As the problem is not of immediate importance, I have had naturally to give priority to other more urgent matters.

STUDENTS²

A student writes:³

I hear that such undertakings are demanded in other provinces also. I will not discuss here the question whether this involves a violation of the Settlement but this raises another question which requires discussion. Why should parents give such an undertaking; and if they do, what would be its value? It is likely that the authorities will act wrongly in many things which lie outside the terms of the Settlement. When that happens, one's duty lies not in acquiescing in such action or co-operating with the authorities but in not co-operating with them. No one should interpret the Agreement to mean that the people should now give up resistance to authority and sit back with folded hands. An agreement may clarify certain things, but may not clarify some others. The people should certainly not sacrifice their self-respect in matters not so clarified. Hence I would certainly advise parents or students not to give such undertakings if they are demanded from them and if for that reason the latter cannot attend Government schools, they should stay away from them. All persons thus concerned should remember that the present uncertain state will not last long. Before the beginning of the next year at the latest, we shall have known whether the Congress demand is going to be accepted. There is no need to say what should be done in case it is rejected.

¹ *Vide* "Digambar Sadhus", 5-7-1931.

² *Vide* "Notes", sub-title, "Self-respect above All".

³ The letter is not translated here. It enclosed a guarantee form to be filled in by guardians that their wards would not participate in political activities.

FREEDOM ABOUT SALT

Can we carry salt from a village where it may be manufactured and sell it in surrounding villages where it cannot be?

If the villages are so near that one can reach them on foot one can certainly sell there the salt manufactured by oneself.

Does the Simla Notification make any difference to the law hitherto in force that, within 10 miles of the coastline, no one could stock more than one Bengal maund of salt?

There can be no such law though I had heard of a notification to that effect having been issued. The latest notification issued should be understood to cancel all previous notifications that may be inconsistent with it. The correct position is this: According to the Agreement one may stock the salt needed for one's consumption or manufactured by oneself within the limits of one's village and intended for sale in places which one can reach on foot.

Can one stock salt for sale? Fishermen need more salt in the month of Bhadrapad. Can one stock enough salt for them and sell it to them at that time?

The answer to this is included in the reply above.

Can we make in Government land the pits and beds for manufacturing salt? Or should we make them in our own?

Such pits can be made wherever salt can be manufactured. As for private land the owner's permission would be required, and hence the Agreement implies that pits may be made in Government land or one's own.

IRRELIGION IN THE NAME OF RELIGION

There is a village, named Raghvanaj in Matar Taluka. It is well known that under Thakkar Bapa's supervision, wells for *Antyajas* are being dug at many places in Gujarat, and one such well is being dug at Raghvanaj. The person supervising the work there had sent to Thakkar Bapa a report, the following extract from which deserves to be pondered over by all Hindus.¹

This is the height of tyranny. I do not blame the Dharalas much for the incident. The blame lies with the so-called highcaste Hindus. The Dharalas are merely acting under the influence of the atmosphere which the former have created. In wielding this whip of my pen, I

¹ The passage is not translated here. It described how Dharala masons were punished for working alongside Dhed volunteers.

have little hope of waking up the Dharala men and women, but I do certainly hope to be able to wake up Congress workers and the readers of *Navajivan*. In such a situation, the Congress workers who come to know of it should themselves take up the spade and start working, explain the meaning of dharma to Dharalas and others who may be oppressing the *Antyajias* and teach the latter to shed fear and to be self-reliant. All this can be easily done as soon as we get ready to work with our own hands. But we would do so only if we feel revolted by such oppression.

MILLIONS SMOKED AWAY

A correspondent from Calcutta writes as follows:¹

It is not very likely that my writing on the subject would end the present waste of millions on smoking. But, apropos of this letter, I may remark here on a phenomenon which I have been observing. We seem to have become indifferent in keeping up the reforms which had spontaneously spread during the satyagraha movement. The inference to be drawn from this is alarming. If we behave well only while we are fighting and lapse into slackness as soon as the intoxication of battle is over, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to preserve swaraj after it is won. In that case, would it not be desirable that the struggle be prolonged? Perhaps such a conclusion is not altogether justified, but I certainly fear that it may be in the interest of the country that the struggle should continue sufficiently long so that the people may acquire the capacity to preserve swaraj. The fight ended before we had acquired strength enough to assimilate the reforms brought about while it was going on. May I hope that readers who have become indifferent in this matter will draw the appropriate lesson from this, shake off their indifference and wake up others as well? To those who realize that the satyagraha fight is a fight for self-purification, every day is a day of battle or, if you like, of peace, for the effort for self-purification should not be relaxed even for a moment.

[From Gujarati]

Javajivan, 21-6-1931

¹The letter is not translated here. It said that cigarettes, boycotted during the struggle, were coming back into use.

516. WHEAT OR CHAFF¹

Everyone must have read the resolution of the Congress Working Committee. It says in substance that if other conditions are favourable and if I am invited, I should attend the Round Table Conference to put before it the Congress demand even if the communal question remains unsolved. I did not like the resolution. I opposed it. I even placed before the Committee for discussion a draft resolution along the lines I desired. But I was defeated and the resolution to the above effect was passed by a majority.

Though I am often described as an autocrat, I consider myself a man who accepts the supremacy of the people's voice; it is in my nature to give in to a *panch*. *Panch* means the voice of the people. I, therefore, accepted the resolution passed by the majority. There is an exception to this rule. We cannot give in to anyone on a question of principle. But there are not many principles in life. One who at every step refuses, in the name of principle, to listen to others is autocratic and selfish. Questions of principle arise only rarely. Here there was no such question, and so I gave in. I had often declared my determination not to attend the Round Table Conference if the Hindu-Muslim, i.e., the communal question was not solved. But I could not convince the Working Committee of the correctness of my position. Ordinarily it would not be proper for me to put before the public my argument. No member has a right to publish anything that is discussed in the Working Committee. But in this case, the Committee has given me permission to do so. The Committee felt that in order to enable me to explain my position as also its own policy it was necessary to give me such permission.

The reasoning behind my reluctance to go to the Round Table Conference without solving the communal question was as follows: Even if the question was solved, the acceptance of the Congress demand in England was unlikely, but if it was not solved the sanction behind the demands would be lost. 'You cannot put your own house in order and cannot unite yourselves, and still you ask for independence!' Even if the members do not say this openly out of politeness, they would think thus and we would read their thought in their eyes. And they would, on the whole, be justified in taunting us thus.

¹ Vide footnote 2, "My Notes"

It would be better to accept our weakness rather than invite ridicule by going in such a pitiable condition. A satyagrahi never hides his weakness. According to the law of satyagraha, from the admission of weakness new strength is born. The first step in conquering weakness is its admission.

No one should conclude from my argument that the Working Committee's resolution is an attempt to hide our weakness. It reflects the consequence of weakness and hence amounts to unconscious hiding of it. The logical consequence of the admission of the weakness would be not to go to the Round Table Conference. That alone would be true admission of the weakness. One who does not have the strength to walk and admits that in words but actually tries to walk, has not truly admitted his weakness and by walking weakens himself all the more. He may even faint and collapse.

Now if we admit our incapacity to solve the problem and do not send a representative of the Congress to the Round Table Conference, what should we do instead? That would not mean that we give up our fight for *purna* swaraj. The Round Table Conference is only one means of securing it. We may have to let go that means. Everyone will understand this much at once. But we should even give up the desire and the hope to secure *purna* swaraj through the Round Table Conference. We have then to swallow one bitter dose, and that is that whatever fight we start will not be for *purna* swaraj in name, though the result would be the same.

If the communal question cannot be solved satisfactorily now, then it means that the methods which we have tried so far to solve it were wrong or inadequate. The attempts so far made aimed at bringing about understanding among the Hindu and Muslim politicians. They were of the nature of a fight for power among them. From such fighting no unity can come, none has come at least. If, therefore, the Congress desires unity of the heart, it should get out of that field and try to gain power over the hearts of Muslims and the other communities as it has gained over those of the Hindus. Such an attempt is bound to result in a unity of hearts. There is no scope for failure in it. The power of the Congress has its source in service of the people. If the Congress programme is so organized that the Muslims and the others continue to get equal benefit, then they also will come to know the Congress.

It is not that today nothing is done for their service. Nevertheless we must acknowledge the fact that Muslims, Sikhs and others do not respond to the Congress as much as the Hindus do. Instead of finding fault with these communities for this state of affairs, it would be better and more graceful for the Congress to admit its deficiency.

When the Congress will be overflowing with Indians other than Hindus, then there will be no difference between a communal solution and a national solution, the Muslims or other communities will not be afraid, because they are fewer in number, of the far more numerous Hindus, and the Hindus, physically weaker though in a majority, will not be afraid of the physically stronger Mussalmans or Sikhs. Each community's strength will benefit the other communities. Unless such conditions are created, paper swaraj will fly off with a puff like the sheet of paper on which it is written.

What is paper swaraj, and what is the other swaraj? Let us see. The swaraj got through the Round Table Conference means the swaraj constitution accepted by us and passed by British Parliament into law. This is the swaraj on the statute book, i.e., paper swaraj. Behind it, there would not be the signatures of the millions; in fact the millions would not be trusting one another. If Hindus and Muslims in Kanpur and Kashi are fighting one another, then such swaraj would be no better than chaff.

True swaraj is that which will have signatures of the millions behind it, whose cool shelter the millions would enjoy, and in which the incidents at Kanpur and Kashi would be past history to us and we would laugh heartily at our past follies. Whether or not such swaraj has become statutory, it would be true swaraj and would be like wheat, for it would be nourishing.

I am of the view that if we cannot solve the communal question satisfactorily and if we decide to fight for the swaraj of my conception, then our boycott of the Round Table Conference will be a sign of our strength and will uphold our self-respect.

This is the fight of my conception. Even if the communal question is not solved and the representative of the Congress does not attend the Round Table Conference, something is bound to be done. Let the communal-minded Hindus and Muslims and others share a little power with the British under that Constitution and think that they are participating in ruling the country. The Congress instead of asking for power from that Government will demand the things for which

they want power and, if they are refused, it will fight through satyagraha. We do not want political power for its own sake, we want it for a certain end. That end is service of the millions. If we cannot get today the reins of power in our hands to improve their economic, moral and social conditions, we need not on that account stop that work.

By giving such a turn to the fight for swaraj, we can bypass the communal tangle and invite all the people to join the fight. Nobody will be able to keep out of it. Those who refuse to join will lose their face. All those who have the spirit of self-sacrifice and courage cannot but join in the demand for what is necessary for the uplift of the millions.

For example, a fight for revision of the land revenue laws to make them more equitable and to reduce the burden of land revenue would be for the benefit of all communities and in time everybody would join it. Such a fight would result either in the desired reforms being effected or in those holding power handing over the power to the rebellious people. Either result would mean the same to us. As a result of such a fight communal discords would disappear and the people would know who their servants were and who their masters. The people's strength would increase day by day, they would get true political education and know where their interests lay. This, according to me, would be true swaraj. If we adopt such a course in time we would find *purna* swaraj in our lap.

But I could not convince the Working Committee of the soundness of this scheme. The majority of the members felt that as the Settlement had been signed, if other circumstances were favourable I must attend the Round Table Conference despite the absence of a solution of the communal question. I will go out of respect for the collective decision of the Committee. And if I go, I will use all my ability to present the Congress demand and to get it accepted. But if the communal question is not solved, I believe it highly improbable that our demand will be accepted, and if it is not accepted and if it is decided to resume the fight, I would try to give the fight the turn I have explained above.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 21-6-1931

517. LETTER TO J. C. KUMARAPPA

BORSAD,
June 21, 1931

MY DEAR KUMARAPPA,

Here is another letter from Syt. Chatur Behari Lal Andley. You know best whether it is of any importance.

Yours sincerely,
BAPU

Encl. I

SYT. J. C. KUMARAPPA
65 ESPLANADE ROAD
BOMBAY

From a photostats G.N. 10096

518. LETTER TO NATHAM MUSLIM ASSOCIATION,
ABIRAMA

[AS AT] SABARMATI,
June 21, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your telegram¹. I know that Indian life is in danger in Burma, but what can be done from here? You have to make such effort as you can on your side and wherever safety is threatened you should migrate to safer places. And in order that some action can be taken at this end, you should send full particulars of loss of life and how the loss occurred. Are the Burmans in the villages hostile to Indian trade and Indian residence? Are our people well-behaved towards them? If you will give me all these particulars it might be possible to create public opinion here.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

The Hindu, 2-7-1931

¹ It read: "Lives, properties of innumerable innocent Indians in Burma still in great danger. Massacre reported daily. Pray persuade authorities take immediate necessary steps to restore peace and harmony."

519. LETTER TO KASHINATH TRIVEDI

BORSAD,
June 21, 1931

BHAI KASHINATH,

I got your letter.

I certainly intend to write something about the Digambar Jain Sadhus.¹ I am thinking what I can write.

I had a talk with Haribhau, too, about your decision to leave. I understand your reasons. You two cannot save yourselves from falling. The fact is that you have already fallen.

He who curbs the organs of action but allows the mind to dwell on sense-objects,—such a one, wholly deluded, is called a hypocrite.²

Here we should understand *vimudhatma* to mean merely that the person lacks true knowledge and that, therefore, his outward self-control is of no value. The man who lets his mind dwell on lustful thoughts cannot be regarded a *brahmachari* simply because he refrains from physical gratification. In other words, one must banish from one's mind all evil thoughts which may arise in it. Anyone who wants to succeed in this effort would take the necessary steps, which you never did. Now you should recognize the lack of self-control in you both, live humbly as an ordinary married couple and practise only such self-control outwardly as you can do mentally as well. Think over the meaning of the bhajan: "Unless the mind is free from desire, renunciation cannot endure." Do not feel that I am reproaching you. Rest assured that I have only tried to open your eyes to the truth so that you may wake up.

I am enclosing a note³ saying that the sums which you owe to *Navajivan* and the Ashram

should be written off. You may use it. I think that this was a

¹ Vide "Digambar Sadhus", 5-7-1931.

² *Bhagavad Gita*, III. 6

³ Vide the following item.

mistake on your part. You should not have incurred debts in that way. Instead of borrowing money and then seeking exemption from repaying the loan, at the very time of drawing the money you should have asked for so much more by way of honorarium. We ought not to value in terms of money the work done for a public cause. I write this for the sake of purity in our dealings. Only if we maintain the highest standards of purity in our practical affairs can we come out of our abject condition of mind. He who never feels inwardly poor is richer than even the richest millionaire.

I am going to Bombay from here on Wednesday. Both of you may come before that if you wish to. You may, however, save your time and money, if you can be satisfied with my blessings conveyed to you through a letter from here. We haven't yet learnt the lesson of simplicity. This charge applies to nearly everyone. The fault lies with the circumstances. I have always had plenty of money at my disposal, so that I have not succeeded in exercising strict control in its use. I have therefore often wished how good it would be if people stopped giving us money and we did not even know how we would get our next meal. Read again my article¹ in *Navajivan* on this subject.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5281

¹ *Vide* "Public Expense", 21-5-1931

520. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

BORSAD,
June 21, 1931

CHI. NARANDAS,

Write off the sums which the account books show as due from Bhai Kashinath. He has not the means to pay them.

BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./I

521. LETTER TO LAKSHMINARAYAN GADODIA

BORSAD,
June 21, 1931

BHAI LAKSHMINARAYANJI,

I read your humorous but painful letter, containing the account of all that happened in Kashmir in connection with the flag. The sketch is very interesting and reveals the deplorable conditions in the Indian States. It was your insistence on a written order that saved you. It is evident an ordinary man, had he carried the flag, would have been arrested. Let us see what this Round Table Conference accomplishes.

Yes, Kotak is doing good work in Kashmir.

Door to door propaganda is required for the boycott of foreign cloth. That is more effective than picketing and the result is more or less permanent.

Should not Dr. Ansari do something about the quarrels in Delhi? You may suggest this to him.

Yours

MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 5622

522. LETTER TO PADMA

June 21, 1931

CHI. PADMA,

I am writing this reply on the blank portion of your letter, but I will not use the whole sheet. You must take careful measures and

improve your health completely. If you wish, you may go and live with Sarojinidevi¹, after obtaining the permission of Sitla Sahay² and also of Narandas. But you must get all right before leaving the Ashram. You are bound to get well if you take regularly the medicine prescribed for you. Your handwriting has improved a lot. With a little more effort, it will be still better.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 6122

523. LETTER TO RAOJIBHAI N. PATEL

BORSAD,
June 21, 1931

BHAI RAOJIBHAI,

I have your letter. If the superior officer does not listen to you and redress the injustice, I would advise you to put up with it for some time. Perhaps after a few days I may be able to advise you to take further steps in the matter.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8992

524. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

BORSAD,
June 21, 1931

CHI. NARANDAS,

I have your letter. It was Panditji who told me about Maganbhai. I certainly thought that there must have been some misunderstanding on his part over other matters as there was over this. But Panditji speaks out what he has in mind and then thinks no more about it. That is a great virtue in him.

Mahadev told me that Manju was perfectly all right now.

The Punjabi vaid seems to charge rather high fee. If, however, his medicines are effective, why should we not let ourselves be treated

¹ Addressee's mother

² Addressee's father

by him and pay him his fees? Do not allopathic doctors sometimes charge Rs. 1,000 for a day? Some of them give free service to us. This void thought that, if he could charge others, he could certainly charge us too. If he is an honest void, we should not mind his fee. He does not charge for a visit separately, but charges for visits and medicines together. Allopathic doctors charge for them separately.

Shivabhai had a talk with me about his wife. Even if he cannot come, I see that we have no choice but to admit his wife. If she becomes too much of a problem, inform Shivabhai. It would be better if she stays with Gangabehn or with some other woman of equal standing.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U.II

525. LETTER TO LALJI PARMAR

BORSAD,

June 22, 1931

CHI. LALJI,

So I have a letter from you at last. Do not be so lazy again. Write to your father and tell him plainly that you do not wish even your engagement to take place just now. Improve your handwriting. Write to me regularly every week. How much do you weave daily now?

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3293

526. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

BORSAD,
June 22, 1931

CHI. PRABHAVATI,

I got your letter. You are doing right in giving your address in every letter. You should not feel worried but do your duty in the given circumstances. If you can come away early, you can stay with me for many days. Nothing is yet certain about my going to England, but, even if I go, I shall not be able to take you with me, however much I may wish to do so. The work which I have to do there will not permit me to do that. Moreover, the expense of taking you with me will be far too much. That would not become people like us who are trying to live simple lives. If, however, you come away from there to stay with me, why need you return? While I am away, you will live in the Ashram. You are bound to keep good health there. All that is necessary is that you should come away soon.

For some time, Rajendrababu will stay hereabouts. Afterwards, he will certainly return to Patna. But that will be after some time yet.

The Committee will meet on July 7.

I am in Borsad, but you should write to me to the Bardoli address.

[Blessings] from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3415

527. LETTER TO PREMABEHN KANTAK

BORSAD,
June 22, 1931

CHI. PREMA,

I have your letter. You have given enough details. I think it would have been good if you had come and seen me. I could follow Kisan's¹ letter. Write to her and tell her that I liked it.

Gangabehn's eagerness to teach the girls all she can is quite sincere and is also admirable. I should like to give her all possible help in strengthening it. You, too, should help her.

Panditji has much to complain against you.² Go to him and listen to all that he has to say, and reply to his complaints courteously. It will be difficult to find an inmate of the Ashram as sincere as Panditji. Win him over. Why should he have reason to complain against you ? You are by nature harsh, curt, reserved. This much is true. I don't think that these are serious defects, but they are bound to create difficulties. You should, therefore, try to overcome them. Straighten out matters with Panditji immediately.

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

Up to the 24th, letters should be directed here. On the 25th and the 26th, I shall be in Bombay. On the 27th, most probably I shall be in Bardoli. But it is not certain.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10257; also C.W. 6705. Courtesy: Premabehn Kantak

¹ A friend of the addressee; she had worked hard in Bombay during the civil disobedience movement.

² The addressee in her book, *Bapuna Patro*, explains that her insistence on discipline and her intolerance and discourteous behaviour towards elderly inmates of the Ashram had caused much resentment.

528. *LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI*

BORSAD,
June 22, 1931

CHI. NARANDAS,

This letter will be brought to you by one Mahadev Mailar and his wife, Sidhudevi. Mahadev was an inmate of the Ashram. He was married at an early age. He observes complete *brahmacharya* and tells me that his wife, too, understands the importance of the vow. Mahadev works in an Ashram which is being run in a place called Hosari. He and his wife will ultimately settle in that Ashram. Just now, they wish to learn Hindi. They will learn other things, too, but they are especially eager to master Hindi. See what arrangements you can make for them. Personally, I think you can enlist the services of that crazy fellow Parasram. Though crazy, he has clung to us. I don't feel like shifting him from Kanpur, but we may do that if necessary. It is certainly desirable that the Ashram should have perfect arrangements for teaching Hindi.

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

I have told Mahadev that, if his wife is found to be of no use to the Ashram, she will have to leave. We shall have to bear the expenditure on them. They, on their part, are of course willing to work so that the Ashram is not out of pocket on their account.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./I

529. *LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI*

[June 22, 1931]¹

CHI. NARANDAS,

There is only one point in your letter which calls for a reply. In what context did I tell Soman that he might take his meals separately from others? I don't remember having told him this, but I will carry out whatever he remembers that I told him. The general rule is what you

¹ From the contents, the letter seems to have been written a day before the letter to the addressee dated June 23, 1931; *vide* "Worth While Questions", 26-4-1931

state it to be. Janakibai is a pious woman. We should keep her in the Ashram as long as she feels happy in it. If you think it proper, show this to Bhai Soman. What does he do these days?

Mahavir's fever must have left him.

Mirabehn and Gaur Gopaldas intend to go to the Ashram. Mirabehn now realizes that her place is in the Ashram or wherever there is some work to do. She is convinced of this and wishes to live accordingly. That is why she is going there. Assign her any work you think proper. Make whatever arrangements you do on the understanding that, if I have to go to England, she will accompany me. If I have to go, it will be in the middle of August.

I am intentionally sending Gaur Gopal there. He is a youth of a very straightforward nature. You must have come to know that he belongs to a zamindar family. Make him as comfortable as you can and assign to him any work you think proper. See that he acquires proficiency in Hindi and learns to card and spin well. I should like him to complete the whole course in weaving. Arrange his work in such a way that he gets some time for reading.

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

Mirabehn will leave by the Kathiawar Mail tomorrow. It arrives there at 7.30 or 8 a.m. She will hire a tonga from the station to take her to the Ashram. If Ranchhodbhai or somebody else agrees to go to the station and take her in a car to the Ashram, that will save her time. Get Mirabehn's room vacated for her. Balvant and Gaur Gopal will probably be travelling with her.

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro-9: Shri Narandas Gandhine, Pt. I, pp. 263-4; also C.W. 8176.
Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

530. LETTER TO GANGABEHN VAIDYA

BORSAD,
June 22, 1931

CHI. GANGABEHN,

I expect much from you at this time. If you wish to cultivate oneness with all the women and see that the girls make great progress, you should, instead of undertaking too many tasks, be content with a few and give more time to general supervision. If you try to do every small thing yourself, you will not be able to exercise general supervision. You should also give up thinking about new plans of work and the ambition to jump high. At present you have quite a large number of grown-up women and girls under your charge. If this field of the Ashram activities is perfectly organized, the Ashram will overflow with women and girls. Think that your family is of unlimited size.

Blessings from

BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro-6: G.S. Gangabehnne, p. 55; also C.W. 8778. Courtesy: Gangabehn Vaidya

531. ADVICE TO FARMERS, BORSAD

BORSAD,
June 22, 1931

Answering various questions put to him, Mahatma Gandhi said that everyone who could afford should pay all dues, including past dues and taqavi. By affording, he meant ability to pay without borrowing and without selling their belongings. He had, from the moment he entered Borsad, made it clear to the authorities and in his personal conversation with the Collector, that it was on that basis that he proposed to work and offer help and it was on that basis that the lists were prepared and payments made.

He was happy to see that all but Rs. 2,000 to Rs. 3,000 had been paid and he had been given an assurance that this sum also would be paid up in two or three days. There was now, therefore, no question of further calls upon them during the present year. He had, however, written to the Collector, asking him to furnish the names of

those whom he might suspect of having withheld their correct position from him. He would be severely disappointed if he had been misled by any of the landholders.

He warned them and told them that if there were any whom they knew, they should bring their names to his notice and induce them to pay land revenue. Regarding village officers who were still awaiting reinstatement, he said that he was in correspondence with the authorities and hoped to have a satisfactory decision about them.

Concluding, Mahatma Gandhi exhorted Patidars¹, who had taken prominent part in the struggle, to get rid of untouchability and treat other backward communities, such as Dharalas and Barias, as themselves.

Asked what they should do regarding their confiscated lands sold to third parties, Mahatma Gandhi said that he hoped still to secure all such lands, but if the so-called purchasers came to take possession no opposition should be offered them. If they were still in possession, they could till the land but they should realize that they ran the risk of having to lose labour and seed if they were called upon to give up possession, which they would have to do. Whilst no one should work on such land on behalf of purchasers, no molestation should be offered against those who wished to work.

The Bombay Chronicle, 24-6-1931

532. LETTER TO KUSUM DESAI

Monday [On or after June 22, 1931]²

CHI. KUSUM,

I got your letter. Since you are so far away, I am helpless. I am decidedly of the opinion that you should give up your intention of joining the Congress and should cling to your work. Many others besides you have taken up similar work at my instance. It would surprise and pain me if you cannot observe even this measure of self-restraint. However, follow your own inclination.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1823

¹ A community in Gujarat, consisting chiefly of peasant farmers

² *Bapuna Patro-3: Kusum Desaine* places this letter after the one dated June 18, 1931; June 22 was Monday.

533. LETTER TO J. C. KUMARAPPA

BORSAD,
June 23, 1931

MY DEAR KUMARAPPA,

I forgot to get Sardar to wire though we talked for one minute. You did well to send a reminder. I have now written. You may expect a wire from Bardoli tomorrow or the day after.

BAPU

ADHYAPAK J. C. KUMARAPPA
GUJARAT VIDYAPITH
AHMEDABAD

From a photostat: G.N. 10097

534. LETTER TO MANILAL AND SUSHILA GANDHI

June 23, 1931

CHI. MANILAL AND SUSHILA,

I got your joint letter (only three lines from Sushila). Corruption you will find everywhere. The reformer and public worker should do what he can to remove it, himself remain untouched by it, and cease worrying. However, personally I do believe that persons like you would get better support in India and so be able to do some work. But now that you have gone back there, you should stay on for some time and, if you wish to wind up the work, do so properly before you come away. It would certainly be good if *Indian Opinion* continues. But rather than that it should pass into the hands of persons who may not run it well, it had better stop. Everything that exists is bound to perish sooner or later. Let *Indian Opinion*, then, meet its end at your hands. Meet Kallenbach, Omar Sheth and others, and do what you think proper after discussing the matter with them.

You should plan to return here when the struggle is resumed. It seems certain that it will be resumed next year, though I will make every effort to see that it does not become necessary. Don't decide anything in haste or excitement.

It is a painful thing that Sorabji should refuse to pay even the policy premiums. The Ashram cannot pay them. Do not mind if the

premiums already paid are lost. Now that Jalbhai also is there, see if you can persuade the two brothers and make them pay the premiums. Is any surrender value of the policy payable, or nothing at all? What is Sorabji's financial condition?

Nothing is yet certain about my going to England. Ramdas and Nimu have gone to Almora to enjoy the climate for a few days.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4785

535. LETTER TO RAMABEHN JOSHI

BORSAD,
June 23, 1931

CHI. RAMA,

I got your letter.

The Sisodara programme is all right. Vimu must have returned there now. Has she grown? What did she do all these months? Ask her and write to me what she dictates.

I am going to Bombay today for two days. I have asked Mirabehn to go to the Ashram. She has stayed quite long with me.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5331

536. LETTER TO RAOJIBHAI N. PATEL

June 23, 1931

CHI. RAOJIBHAI,

If influential workers in Limbasi¹ take the lead and permit *Antyajias*, opposition from the few would subside of itself. But they must be real workers, and not merely workers in name. Why not call the people of the village together and tell them that you would disband the Ashram? If the people don't let you, there is no need to hurry; if they agree, then too there is no hurry. But it would be good if they say yes. Our work would get publicity.

¹ A village in Matar taluka, Kaira

My statement that looking for another place of work would mean *parigraha* was intended to apply to all. Are not all Ashram residents under the vow of *aparigraha*? I mentioned only the ideal. If a person who is disinclined for some reason to return to the Ashram finds himself without work at a given place, he may certainly look for it elsewhere.

I read your letter to Mahadev about the headman. What can we do in the case? It should be proved that he cannot pay. I cannot do that from here and so a letter from here can have no effect. If you write to me from there, giving evidence regarding his condition, or if I get such a letter from somebody else, I may possibly be able to do something in the matter.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8993

537. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

BORSAD,
June 23, 1931

CHI. NARANDAS,

I sent some letters today with Mahadev Mailar. This will be brought by Mirabehn.

Did Kaka see Mathew? If the latter gives some time to the Vidyapith, he will earn respect there. If, however, he does not like the idea, it may be dropped. When I return from Bombay, I will send for him and know from him what he wants.

Mahavir's fever seems to have continued for quite some time. If Mahadev's wife can get trained, both seem ready to work. We should have, but don't have, a good full-time teacher of Hindi. I will try again to make some arrangement.

Write to Ratubhai and tell him that Chhaganlal and Lilavati cause much pain to the Doctor. If he has still any control over them, he should try to do something in the matter. I have written a strong letter to Chhaganlal and Lilavati. I don't know what effect it will have.

Keep a watch over Balvant. Exact hard work from him. Make some arrangement for his education, too. I know that it is easy to make such suggestions, but that it is difficult to carry them out. I want

you to do only as much as you can. It is not out of my mind that you have very few workers.

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

I suppose I informed you that the Ashram will have to bear the boarding expenses for Balvant. Gaur Gopaldas will arrive there tomorrow morning. He will leave this place with me in the evening. He will spend the night at Anand and arrive there in the morning.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./I

538. *LETTER TO JAMNADAS GANDHI*

BORSAD,
June 23, 1931

CHI. JAMNADAS,

When I asked whether the construction could not be postponed, I meant the proposed extension. I suggest that it may be postponed till the end of this year, if possible.

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 9326. Courtesy: Jamnadas Gandhi

539. *LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI*

BORSAD,
June 20/[23], 1931

CHI. NARANDAS,

You must have got the message which I sent with Mahadev concerning Narahari's request. I have come to the conclusion that we need not send anyone at present for picketing.

Manju seems to be safe now. Read my letter to Hariyomal. Persuade him to take milk.

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

I am starting from here on the 24th and not on the 23rd. [PPS.]
Tuesday [June 23, 1931]

CHI. NARANDAS,

Why did Shankarbhai leave? With whom does Shanta live? How is Kusum?

Blessings from

BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati M.M.U./I

*540. LETTER TO CHIEF SECRETARY, CENTRAL
PROVINCES*

BORSAD,
June 24, 1931

DEAR SIR,

I write this letter regarding the case of Syt. Gopal Anant Ogale¹ who was sentenced on the 2nd of April 1931 to one year's rigorous imprisonment under Sec. 124 I.P.C. I have gone through the article and the translation put in as Exhibit in the case and I venture to submit that in terms of Cl. 13 Sub-section 1 of the Settlement

Syt. Ogale is entitled to discharge because in that article there is no incitement to violence. That there may be sedition in the article, it will be admitted, is irrelevant so far as the Settlement is concerned. For the sake of protection I understand that the case is under appeal but I suggest that the clause referred to of the Settlement is unequivocal. As there is no incitement to violence and as he was arrested during the civil disobedience movement he is entitled to discharge.² Indeed, it seems to me that as soon as the Settlement was published, the prosecution should have been withdrawn under Cl. 12 Sub-section 1

¹ Then Editor of *Maharashtra*, Nagpur

² The reply to this letter, *inter alia*, states: "The Governor in Council has no doubt that the case in question is not covered by the Agreement. . . . None the less before your letter was received the Governor in Council, as an act of grace, had instructed the Government Advocate, . . . and Mr. Ogale was released on the 29th June last."

of the Settlement. As the matter relates to a citizen's liberty I request prompt attention and early reply.

Yours sincerely

THE CHIEF SECRETARY
CENTRAL PROVINCES GOVERNMENT
NAGPUR (C.P.)

A.I.C.C. File No. 16-C, 1931. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

541. LETTER TO H. W. EMERSON

BORSAD,
June 24, 1931

DEAR MR. EMERSON,

You will remember the complaint¹ you sent me about Cawnpore and about which I agreed that if the particular allegations were true, it is a distinct breach of the Settlement. I had therefore written to the Secretary. Here is his wire² in reply. I shall send you his letter also when it arrives.

Yours sincerely,

Encl. 1

A.I.C.C. File No. 387, 1931. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

542. LETTER TO H. W. EMERSON

BORSAD,
June 24, 1931

DEAR MR. EMERSON,

Here is a copy of a precis of an important case in Meerut. The precis is so admirably prepared that it makes easy reading. I do suggest that it is a terrible thing that a cultured man like Syt. Shital Prasad Tayal³ should not be reinstated. I do hope that you will intervene in the matter. You will observe that the incumbent alleged to be permanent did not take up the post and the temporary man was

¹ *Vide* "Notes", sub-title Malaviyaji and Working Committee

² It read: "Your letter eighteenth. Allegations entirely baseless. Picketing perfectly peaceful Letter follows."

³ A teacher in Meerut Cantonment who had been dismissed for taking part in the Congress session at Lahore and collecting funds for khadi. The addressee in his reply dated July 10 declined to reopen the case.

made permanent two months after the Settlement.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

Encl. 1

Home Department, Political, File No. 33/21/1931. Courtesy: National Archives of India

543. LETTER TO H. W. EMERSON

BORSAD,
June 24, 1931

DEAR MR. EMERSON,

I thank you for your letter¹ of the 19th inst. with reference to the question of fire-arms. I will not, for the time being, trouble you with any further argument though I dissent from the view taken by you. I shall watch the working of the instructions issued to the local governments. I take it that I am free to make use of the contents of the Memorandum in my correspondence with local governments on this question. I shall not make use of it till I hear from you.²

Yours sincerely,

A.I.C.C. File No. 16-B, 1931. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

¹ Which stated: “. . . You refer to the modification in the original draft of clause 16 of the Settlement of March 5th. My recollection is that, so far as arms are concerned, the change was made not to cover the case of arms of which the licenses had been cancelled, for these were clearly illegal possessions, but in regard to the seizure of licensed arms taken in the course of searches and in regard to which no offence had been committed under the Arms Act or otherwise. I am quite clear that in this connection the present issue was not raised, since I have always realized that the basic question was that of a re-grant of cancelled licenses. . . .”

² The addressee wrote back on July 4, 1931: “You are certainly free to quote the Memorandum. . . .”

544. LETTER TO H.W. EMERSON

BORSAD,
June 24, 1931

DEAR MR. EMERSON,

Your personal letter will be destroyed as soon as I have finished this.

I believe in the English saying, "Take care of your pennies and the pounds will take care of themselves". If we act on the square over the comparatively little settlement¹, the big issue in London will take care of itself. I do therefore want (p. 69) you please to straighten out things on your side. There is a tendency in the Provinces to crush the Congress and the Congress spirit. It is like distrusting or belittling one's partner.

On my side, I do not want you to spare me. Your indictments I shall appreciate. I do not want to hide or overlook a single breach on our part. I want us to make (p. 70) full reparation for every wrong act we may do. For I desire with all my heart a permanent settlement, an honourable partnership. This is impossible if we conceal our weaknesses or condone breaches on the part of workers. If you only saw the letters I daily write, the discussions I daily hold on the necessity of a faithful (p. 71) performance of what you have called gentlemen's agreement.

Khansaheb's speeches have not all been correctly reported. I wish it had been possible for you to have met him.

I shall write to you about Pandit Jawaharlal later.

You must not get ill.

The newspaper (72) cutting with your comment came as a tonic relieving the depression of exhausting correspondence dealing with all kinds of complaints.

Hope you are feeling better.

From a photostat: India Office Library and Records. Courtesy: The British Library, London

¹ The Provisional Settlement of March 5, 1931. For the text of the Settlement, *Vide* "Provisional Settlement", 12-3-1931

545. LETTER TO R. M. MAXWELL

BORSAD,
June 24, 1931

DEAR MR. MAXWELL,

May I remind you about several letters regarding the Settlement to which answers are long overdue? They cover important matters and I would be grateful if you could let me have early replies. Meanwhile I have to draw your attention to the fact that with reference to the restoration of forfeited *watans*¹, undertakings are required before restoration. I send you a copy in connection with one such *watan*. The other parties are:

Messrs Hanamant Ramchandra Deshpande of Bilgi,
G. C. Joshi of Guledgud,
Hanumantrao Desai of Andamurnal, Taluk Bagalkot.

These undertakings in my opinion are in breach of the Settlement and they should be waived as they were in Gujarat in connection with Mukhis².

Whilst I am dictating this letter, I have a letter from Barsi town from Mr. D. V. Sulakhe. His is a case of confiscation pure and simple. He has sent a petition to His Excellency, but he has not been given any reply. The petition of which I have a copy sent to me bears date 16th March.

Yours sincerely,

Encl. 1

R. M. MAXWELL, EST.
PRIVATE SECRETARY TO
HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR OF BOMBAY
MAHABALESHWAR

A.I.C.C. File No. 16-C, 1931. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

¹ Hereditary land grants or cash allowances for performance of service

² Village headmen

546. LETTER TO K. B. BHADRAPUR

BORSAD,
June 24, 1931

DEAR MR. BHADRAPUR,

In your letter the other day you said that the non-Dharala population of Ras was fully entitled to protection at the hands of the Government and that you were enquiring into the complaints made by me to you. You will agree with me that no assurance on paper can possibly bring relief to those who are actually being injured. The only relief they can see and feel is when the injury ceases. Unfortunately the same injury that I complained of seems to be continuing. This time in order to verify so far as it was possible the complaints made by the residents of Ras I sent Syt. Mahadev Desai to make a local investigation. The enclosed is his report. You will see therefrom that the hedges of the poor cultivators are still being destroyed. Valuable babul trees are being cut down and wood taken away. I understand from Mr. Perry that, for fear lest the Dharalas might be molested by the Patidars, additional police still continued to be posted. I wonder if the police is able to afford any protection to the Patidars and others. But whether the function of this additional police is or is not to protect the non-Dharala population of Ras, will you please let me know whether the Government intend to protect the Patidars of Ras from continuous molestation or whether they are to look after themselves in the best manner they can. I shall be away from Borsad for two days, possibly three. May I ask for immediate attention to the complaints and may I know when I may expect reply to my letter about the Mukhi?

Yours sincerely,

K. B. BHADRAPUR, ESQ.
COLLECTOR OF KAIRA DT.
KAIRA

A.I.C.C. File No. 3,1931. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

547. LETTER TO C. F. ANDREWS

AS AT SABARMATI,
June 24, 1931

MY DEAR CHARLIE,

I have your letter. I shall look forward to Mrs. Polak's book¹. I know it will revive old and pleasant memories and it will tell me of things I have perhaps altogether forgotten.

It is a good thing that your two books² are reaching the proper people.

As is your wont you are distressed over what your eyes see and ears hear. This time it is the terrible unemployment in Lancashire and what you see and hear acts as an effective barrier against perceiving the truth. I have seen from extensive experience the truth of a legal maxim which says: "Hard cases make bad law." Many legal maxims are also sound moral maxims as this one is. I can say with perfect detachment although I am immersed in the Indian turmoil that the way you suggest is not the way to help Lancashire. If it was wrong any time for Lancashire to impose its cloth upon India by hook or by crook it is wrong also today and more so because India has become conscious of the wrong. And if India now refuses to be party to the wrong, surely she won't be adding wrong to wrong but she would be assisting the process of undoing the wrong done by Lancashire. That the labourers were not conscious of the wrong that was being done is no justification for the wrong itself being sustained by the party wronged, that is, India or anybody else. The proper course is to show the labourers how they have been unconsciously assisting the wrong done by Lancashire to India and therefore how necessary it is to retrace the step. The first thing to do therefore is, if Lancashire cloth cannot be sold outside India, to find some other employment. What that can be it is difficult for me to say. I do not know how England itself is clothed. Why should not the same machinery be used for preparing the clothing of the kind required by England or better still, why should not the machinery be scrapped and the unemployed take

¹ *Mr. Gandhi: The Man* (1931) with a foreword by C. F. Andrews

² *Mahatma Gandhi's Ideas* (1929) and *Mahatma Gandhi: His Own Story* (1930)

to handicrafts? I know these are vague ideas without any basis for them but I have given them to show which way my mind is working.

Let me help you by putting before you another fact. Foreign cloth boycott has created a kind of atmosphere. Its effect upon Lancashire is nothing so serious as it is made out. In the first place do you know that before the boycott became a live thing Lancashire sent to India only 12% of her output of piecegoods? Have you studied the illuminating figures¹ published in a recent issue of *Young India* showing conclusively that Lancashire had to fear not so much Indian boycott as the ever-growing Japanese competition? My heart goes out to the unemployed. It goes out to you in your terrific moral struggle. But I cannot be helpful in the way you suggest. Of that I am quite clear. That there is a way out I have no doubt and probably if I came to London, after a study of the situation on the spot I should be able to suggest some practical solution. And if I came at all I would certainly do as you want me to, first of all proceed to Lancashire and see the unemployed face to face.

But I am not at all sure that I shall be able to go. As yet of course there is no invitation. The Settlement is causing me much anxiety. The local governments are not playing the game. Lathi charges too are now and then resorted to. Jawaharlal sends me bitter complaints from Allahabad. But I shall see what is possible when the time for sailing comes. Jawaharlal cannot accompany me unless he forms part of the deputation. I do not think it would be advisable though of course if he was in London his presence would relieve me of a great deal of responsibility. Malaviyaji and Ansari are a certainty. They are most likely to be invited apart from the Working Committee and so is Mrs. Naidu. I note you will house me with Muriel.

Love.

MOHAN

From a photostat: G.N. 970

¹ *Vide* "Japanese or British?",

548. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

June 24, 1931

CHI. MIRA,

You are on the brain. I look about me and miss you. I open the charkha and miss you. So on and so forth. But what is the use? You have done the right thing.¹ You have left your home, your people and all that people prize most, not to serve me personally but to serve the cause I stand for. All the time you were squandering your love on me personally, I felt guilty of misappropriation. And I exploded on the slightest pretext. Now that you are not with me, my anger turns itself upon me for having given you all those terrible scoldings. But I was on a bed of hot ashes all the while I was accepting your service.² You will truly serve me by joyously serving the cause. "Cheer boys cheer, no more of idle sorrow."

Love.

BAPU

Bapu's Letters to Mira, p. 156

549. LETTER TO G. FINDLAY SHIRRAS

BORSAD,
June 24, 1931

DEAR PRINCIPAL SHIRRAS,

Some students from your college have come to me for advice regarding your refusal to admit to the college certain students who had taken part in the civil disobedience movement. Without entering into a discussion of the Delhi Settlement, may I suggest that at the present moment it would be hardly proper to refuse admission to the students who took part in the movement? Is it not a fact that the whole of the student world was stirred to the very depths by the national awakening, and whether they took any direct part in the movement or not there is no doubt that they were all filled with the spirit of the

¹ The addressee had gone to the Ashram.

² Concerning this, Mirabehn says: "The struggle was terrible. I too was on a bed of hot ashes because I could feel that Bapu was. This was one of the occasions when, somehow or other, I managed to tear myself away."

time. For the sake of peace therefore I would urge you to withdraw your orders and admit all the students without imposing any conditions. I have given my opinion¹ to the students which I have published in *Navajivan* that any undertaking given by the students as to non-participation in any future struggle or regret about participation in the past would be wholly inconsistent with self-respect. I would also go further and say, what I have not said in my opinion referred to above, that it would also be inconsistent with the students' inmost belief. I hope you would not consider this letter a presumption.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

PRINCIPAL SHIRRAS
GUJARAT COLLEGE
AHMEDABAD

From a photostat: G.N. 817

550. LETTER TO N. D. KOWALI

BORSAD,
June 24, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter.² The persecuted men can certainly go to court. In any case they must not submit to any tyranny and be content to remain outside the caste. After all we want to break down false and injurious caste barriers.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

SYT. N. D. KOWALI
DADAR, BOMBAY

From a photostat: G.N. 3273

¹ *Vide* "My Notes", , sub-title, "Students".

² The addressee had written to Gandhiji about the excommunication of two Kshatriya families.

551. LETTER TO J. J. SINGH

BORSAD,
June 24, 1931

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your lucidly written letter of June 5th.¹ I agree in the main with all you say. The rumour about my wearing European costume if I went to London is as ill-founded as my rumoured visit to America. All the same I appreciate the motive lying behind your letter.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

The Hindustan Times, 27-4-1969

552. LETTER TO FULCHAND K. SHAH

BORSAD,
June 24, 1931

BHAISHRI FULCHAND,

I have your letter. Your explanation does not absolve you from blame. My point is that it is wrong to criticize one State in the territory of another. Such criticism involves violence. You should think over all that I have said to you from the point of view of non-violence. If you think that the principle of non-violence itself is an error, my argument loses all force.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 2845. Courtesy: Shardabehn Shah

¹ *Vide* "A Countryman's Advice", 9-7-1931.

553. SLAVE COMMUNITIES

We have the untouchables, the shame and curse of the Hindu society. But we have also other communities whom we—the so-called higher classes—treat almost as slaves and keep in quarters designed for our cattle. Representatives of one such community have addressed a letter which I condense as follows:¹

We are representatives of the Rajwar community living in the districts of Gaya, Patna, Monghyr and Palamau, in the Province of Bihar and Orissa. . . .

On refusal to give *begar*² the zamindar forthwith begins a suit for arrears of rent, gets decree, puts the *jot*³ to auction and evicts the tenant from the land in his possession.

A Rajwar child, no sooner he reaches his 6th or 7th year, becomes almost the property of his parents' landlord; he is made to tend the landlord's cattle and do all sorts of odd jobs. . . . In fact he leads the life of a slave, a mere chattel of the landlord.

For working from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m. Rajwars are paid at the rate of 3 seers of unhusked rice per diem and no wages in cash are ever paid to them. . . .

The Rajwar children are not allowed to be sent to the primary schools and the teachers too are not allowed to teach the boys by the landlord.

Whenever there is any theft or larceny or dacoity or any crime whatever in the locality where this community is living, the first suspicion and the first brunt of the police enquiry must be borne by it, although there may not be the slightest evidence for the same. . . .

We have already submitted these memorials to the District Magistrates of Gaya and Patna, and to the Chief Secretary, Bihar and Orissa Government but we have not as yet learnt what steps the respective authorities have taken. We hope that you will do something to ameliorate our condition.

The letter is written for the representatives and probably

¹ Only extracts are reproduced here.

² Forced labour

³ Holding

also prompted by some unknown reformer among them. It is signed by about twenty-five representatives. What however matters is not who wrote it but the statements made therein, if they are true.

They are highly likely to be true in the main. For such treatment is not an isolated phenomenon of Bihar. Almost all the provinces have these backward, suppressed, slave communities. They are no heritage from the British. We have had them for ages and all the greater shame on us for that.

We may plead a thousand excuses for their existence in the days gone by. But in these days of enlightenment, awakening and insistence on swaraj, we have no excuse for tolerating the atrocity. Congress workers have to take up the cause of these communities wherever they are found. They should try to enlist the sympathy and co-operation of those who 'own' these men and women. Swaraj is the sum total of all the activities that go to build up a free and vigorous nation conscious of the strength that comes from right doing. The existence of slave communities is a terrible wrong and must therefore be a hindrance in our march towards the goal.

Young India, 25-6-1931

554. A GENTLE REBUKE

C. Rajagopalachari's eagle eye sees everything that appears in print about the drink evil. He saw a report of my very innocent speech at the village of Maroli¹ where the other day I laid the foundation of a weaving institute. I had there attempted to show the connection that exists between factory labour and drink and said how Mithubehn Petit had, whilst doing prohibition work, discovered that if the people who ceased to visit the liquor shops she picketed were to be permanently weaned from drink, they should have some ambition provided in life, some work found for them during their idle hours. I then showed how she found such occupation in hand-spinning and weaving. I further went on to show that if people had to do excessive labour, they would want some stimulant and illustrated it by an experience from my own life when during the Boer War I had to issue from the commissariat rations of rum for those bearers who were used to drink and who pleaded with me for rum which, they said, would enable them to bear the fatigue and resume next day's march. Of course, this was a

¹ *Vide*, "Speech at Maroli", 12-6-1931

superstition. But superstitions die hard.

Rajagopalachari feared that the report that he had read would be distorted to yield all kinds of meanings favourable to the opponents of prohibition. His fear has been justified. I have received embarrassing congratulations on my conversion to sanity. They embarrass me because I am not conscious of the conversion imputed to me. I feel like a man who falsely reported to have died reads his obituary notices and blushes to have the virtues he never knew he had possessed.

Let me therefore re-declare my faith in undiluted prohibition before I land myself in deeper water. If I was appointed dictator for one hour for all India, the first thing I would do would be to close without compensation all the liquor shops, destroy all the toddy palms such as I know them in Gujarat, compel factory owners to produce humane conditions for their workmen and open refreshment and recreation rooms where these workmen would get innocent drinks and equally innocent amusements. I would close down the factories if the owners pleaded want of funds. Being a teetotalter, I would retain my sobriety in spite of the possession of one hour's dictatorship and therefore arrange for the examination of my European friends and diseased persons who may be in medical need of brandy and the like at State expense by medical experts and where necessary they would receive certificate which would entitle them to obtain the prescribed quantity of the fiery waters from certified chemists. The rule will apply *mutatis mutandis* to intoxicating drugs.

For the loss of revenue from drinks, I would straightway cut down the military expenditure and expect the Commander-in-Chief to accommodate himself to the new condition in the best way he can. The workmen left idle by the closing of factories, I would remove to model farms to be immediately opened as far as possible in the neighbourhood of the factories unless I was advised during that brief hour that the State could profitably run the factories under the required conditions and could therefore take over from the owners.

Young India, 25-6-1931

555. TERRIBLE IF TRUE

I take the following from a complaint about picketing:

In rural areas there is definite evidence that everything short of physical violence has been resorted to by volunteers. Would-be customers are obstructed, abused and generally harassed, and toddy shop renters have been put to considerable loss and in some instances have been so discouraged that they have ceased to get trees marked for tapping and closed their shops rather than suffer further indignities. The Congress office in Tellichery issued summonses to the principal renters to appear before them and few had the courage to disobey. Those who appeared were summarily told to close their shops, and when they asked for compensation they were told that Congress would do nothing for them.

If these complaints are true this picketing should be suspended immediately. Though as soon as I had this complaint I wrote inquiring about the allegations, I thought it was better for the sake of workers in general to publish the complaint. It may be mentioned that somewhat similar complaints have been received regarding cloth-picketing too. I can but repeat the warning¹ I have issued in these pages that it would be better for the Congress, better for the cause of prohibition, whether of intoxicating drinks and drugs or foreign cloth, that we ceased picketing altogether than that there was the slightest departure from the terms of the Delhi Settlement. If picketing cannot remain peaceful, it should be abandoned altogether.

It is being discovered that the more effective method is to pay house-to-house visit and meet the drunkards, opium-eaters or foreign-cloth users in their own homes and explain to them the evil of the use of any of the three things. There may be also addresses at street corners and distribution of leaflets. *Prabhat pheries*² too can do this propaganda through swadeshi and anti-drink and drug songs. Foreign-cloth boycott may also be assisted by door to door hawking of khadi, registering orders and organizing the weaving of self-spun yarn. Such levelling up [of] the atmosphere cannot but affect the use of drinks and drugs and foreign cloth.

¹ *Vide* "Notes", sub-title, "Picketing", 21-5-1931

² Early morning processions

THE OTHER SIDE

But how if these charges are in the main or wholly untrue. I know that in Gujarat there is a tendency growing up to molest peaceful picketers and, what is more mischievous still, there is going on an unrestrained sale of liquor at odd hours and in odd places under cover of the law. Sjt. C. Rajagopalachari who is the General Secretary of the Temperance League in the place vacated by Mr. Anderson and who is a politician only because he is a social reformer is convinced that in the South a deliberate policy of repression of strictly peaceful picketing has been launched in the shape of faked prosecutions and physical interference. From Ludhiana, Ambala, Muttra and elsewhere come authentic reports of lathi charges and the like. I have deliberately refrained from publishing these statements of which the various organizations have furnished me with a full record. Besides this, there are complaints pouring in about other matters. I can only give the assurance to the public that not one of these has escaped my attention. But I cannot carry on a public propaganda at the same time that I am carrying on delicate negotiations with the Central Government from and through which I expect to gain relief in most of, if not all of these cases.

Meanwhile I must ask all Congress workers to be patient. They must not allow themselves to be provoked into civil disobedience. It is never the first, it is always the last resort. We must exhaust all the intermediate processes before we can take up that last sovereign remedy. Whilst the Settlement lasts, we have the law-courts too, open to us. I know that at best they bring us poor comfort. But, such as they are, they may not be passed by, even as we may not pass by, the respective departments of the executive Government for seeking relief. Happily nowadays we have all over India lawyers who give their services to the Congress organizations free of charge. Wherever therefore these facilities exist, Congress organizations should avail themselves of them and try to obtain such relief as is locally possible. They must not embark on civil disobedience without first obtaining the permission of the Working Committee. It is to meet very shortly¹ and I promise to place it in full possession of all the complaints and take directions from it. Our safety and honour today demand a meticulous performance by us of all the conditions of the Settlement.

¹ It met in Bombay from July 7 to 12.

But I would appeal to the provincial governments and the members of the Civil Service to come to the rescue. I must not conceal from them and the public the suspicion based on the evidences before me that they are in many cases hindering the working of the Settlement where they are not wilfully breaking it. Let it not be proved what is being said of them that some of them want the Settlement to break to pieces. Let it not be said of them that they destroyed the edifice that Lord Irwin gave anxious days and anxious nights to build up. Let them realize that the Settlement is a solemn contract not between two individuals but between two organizations, hitherto fighting, now seeking to cooperate. They may not distrust the Congress workers and treat them as if they were enemies even as the Congressmen may not, whilst the contract persists, distrust every official act.

Young India, 25-6-1931

556. A MARTYR

Whilst the Working Committee was deliberating in Bombay during the early part of the month, there was a public meeting in Dongri at which there was an uproar and at which a youth was fatally stabbed. The news of the death was brought to the Working Committee. It created a sensation but at the time it was thought that some unknown unidentifiable person had died. On returning to Bor-sad I had a letter from Sjt. Kishorelal Mashruwala who deploring the tragedy gave me some details about the deceased. I thereupon asked him to procure fuller details which I now have.

Brave and good Pannalal was only 22 years old when he received the fatal stab on that fateful night from one of the excited Mussalman crowd. Accompanied by his father and younger brother, Pannalal had gone to the Dongri meeting specially to hear Khan Saheb Abdul Ghaffar Khan who was among others advertised to speak at the meeting. After they had heard the Khan Saheb the father hailed a victoria and they got in. Being khaddar-clad they were taken for nationalist leaders. A howling crowd surrounded them. Stones were rained on them. All of them were hurt. Pannalal's left eyebrow was bleeding. Nothing minding, in order to lighten his father's sorrow, he made light of his wound. Suddenly there came into his left ribs a deep stab. Blood gushed from the wounded side. Out came the entrails.

Pannalal bore it all bravely and asked to be taken to the hospital where he said his wound would be dressed and all would be well. Alas ! all was not well. In spite of all the attention given to him the brave young man died the next day.

He was born of wealthy parents. His father Maganlal Zaveri is a flourishing jeweller, much trusted and respected for his honesty. His uncle is the Chief Judge of the Jodhpur High Court. The deceased leaves a young widow to whom he was married only eighteen months ago. The parents, having come under the influence of the national movement, simplified the life of the family and sent Pannalal to the national school. After having studied up to the sixth standard he left studies to help his father in business. But Pannalal never left national work. He was one of the party that raided the Wadala Salt Works and came in for lathi blows. He always joined the dangerous processions which were the feature of those days. Pannalal has lived by dying. My congratulations to the parents for having had such a worthy son. Let death and especially a death such as this leave no sting behind. The body has been reduced to ashes but out of the ashes will rise true unity among us. If we do not resent this death and would give many more lives if need be, I know that true unity will not be long in coming.

As for the widow let me hope that their love for their son will prompt the parents to give her the education the girl widow may desire or be fitted for and that they will give her every encouragement to remarry when she grows to maturity. Let them, if they have drunk in the spirit of the age, shed the superstition that a widow is the property of the husband's family to remain as their slave. A widow must have the same right as a widower and must be taught to know that she has the same free choice as men.

And of the Mussalmans who approve of such murders ? Surely, the cause of Islam or the cause of peace which the word 'Islam' means, has not been advanced by the murder. It cannot be right to take innocent life; Pannalal had given no provocation. How I wish Pannalal's murder would open the eyes of those whose heart approves such murders and who make them possible. Is it not possible to arrange a joint meeting on the very spot where the murder took place and to declare that whether we could evolve a common formulae regarding the political issue or not, such murders would be made impossible. Such a meeting is not impossible as, so far as I am aware,

Pannalal's people have forgiven the wrong and the Congress Committee purposely avoided a public funeral in order that passion might not be in flamed. We ought to be able to hold public meetings anywhere and fearlessly express views even though they may be unpalatable in [a] particular neighbourhood.

Young India, 25-6-1931

557. *SERIOUS ALLEGATIONS*

THE EDITOR, "YOUNG INDIA"

SIR,

In the village Pipri, Tehsil Purwa, District Unao, a raid is said to have been made on the tenants by the zamindars of the village along with the Sub-Divisional Magistrate, Pt. Chandra Mohan Nath and an armed guard on 30th May, 1931. . . .

It may however be said to the credit of the tenants, however illiterate they may be, . . . they are perfectly non-violent, and not a single example can be cited in which the tenants might have resorted to the methods of violence even for self-defence.

VISHWAMBHAR DAYAL TRIPATHI

M.A., LL.B.

UNAO President, District Congress Committee

I publish this very serious letter¹ with only inconsequential alterations. It is undoubtedly libellous, if the allegations are not true. I shall gladly publish any explanations that the zamindars or the Sub-Divisional Magistrate may wish to give. The matter demands immediate inquiry, if the allegations are substantially correct, the Zamindars' Association should take up the matter and deal with the zamindars. I may add that I wired to the writer if he could support the allegations and he promptly wired back in the affirmative.

Young India, 25-6-1931

¹ rom which only extracts are reproduced here.

558. NOTES

SELF-RESPECT ABOVE ALL

I have letters¹ from several provinces saying that the education authorities are imposing conditions on the return of students who had left their schools or colleges during the struggle. A circular of which a copy has been sent by one of the correspondents requires parents to give guarantees that their children will not take part in politics. These correspondents ask me whether these conditions are consistent with the Settlement.

Without entering into that question for the time being, I have no hesitation in saying that neither students nor parents if they have any self-respect left in them should accept such conditions. What will it profit the students or the parents if they have to lose their souls to gain the questionable advantage of a public education and a certificate? There are the national institutions open to the students. If they do not like these, they can study at home. It is a gross superstition to suppose that knowledge can be obtained only by going to schools and colleges. The world produced brilliant students before schools and colleges came into being. There is nothing so ennobling or lasting as self-study. Schools and colleges make most of us mere receptacles for holding the superfluities of knowledge. Wheat is left out and mere husk is taken in. I do not wish to decry schools and colleges as such. They have their use. But we are making altogether too much of them. They are but one of the many means of gaining knowledge.

OH, THOSE ADDRESSES

Manibehn, Sardar Vallabhbhai's daughter who does secretarial work, wardrobe keeping and nursing for her father and therefore always travels with him plaintively asks:

Why do the people give Father so many addresses, when he wants money? You know better than I do that he has nowhere to lay his head on. He has no house or chests to keep the many addresses he receives. He has no safes in which he can keep costly caskets and gifts. For me it becomes positively a burden to take charge of these addresses and gifts. I would like people not to give addresses and gifts to any Congressmen. Their service must be its own

¹ *Vide* "My Notes", sub-title, "Students".

reward. But in any case, will you not ask them to spare Father. Let them refrain from giving him the addresses he does not need, let them give him the money he needs for the very work they expect him to do and so much admire.

I need add nothing to these sentiments beyond heartily endorsing them and commending them to those who would invite the Sardar to their places.

DUTY OF DISCIPLINARIANS

An Akola correspondent asks:¹

If even elected officials in a Congress organization do not carry out the rule of khadi laid down in the constitution, what is one to do who believes in strict adherence to the rules?

The question is more easily asked than answered. The decision would depend upon so many surrounding circumstances. Therefore it is possible only to give a general guidance which it may be necessary to depart from as new and varying circumstances arise.

Assuming that the member believing in khaddar out and out finds that the majority do not observe the rule, that he has drawn their attention to the breach, that he has drawn the attention of the chief officials also and fails to find any satisfaction, he should by way of protest retire from the elected body to which he belongs. He will simply remain a four-anna member without exercising his right of voting. But outside the organization he will preach discipline without being bitter towards those who are lax in observing it. He will also do such Congress work as commends itself to him if he can do so without incurring the displeasure of the powers that be in the Congress organization. A vast amount of constructive work can be done without one being a member.

WHY DON'T THEY SPIN

A correspondent bitinglly writes:

When you address meetings you ask people to spin for the sake of your *Daividranarayana*². If anyone asks for your autograph, Bania-like, you impose the condition that he or she should spin! Then what prevents you from asking Congress members on so many committees to spin? Why do they not all spin by way of encouragement to others ? Or is spinning to be reserved for

¹ *Vide* also "Letter to Nanabhai I. Mashruwala", 20-6-1931

² God in the form of the poor

non-Congressmen or at best for four-anna members but not for the chosen ones of committees?

I apologize to the writer. Only let him remember that whereas I cannot always give spinning demonstrations before big audiences, I give actual demonstrations before members of committees. And is not an ounce of practice more than tons of preaching? But the writer is perhaps right in his sarcasm. There are hundreds of Congress committees if not thousands. I do not speak to all of them through my spinning. It would certainly be a good example and would add imperceptibly but materially to the wealth of the country if the thousands of members of these committees would spin regularly for at least half an hour. If these figures were tabulated and published from week to week, it will fill the atmosphere with the spirit of industry, sacrifice and khadi, the emblem of *Daridranarayana*. Boycott of foreign cloth through khadi will then be accomplished much earlier than the most sanguine among us dare expect. But will they? "They spin not, neither do they toil."¹

Young India, 25-6-1931

559. LETTER TO K. B. BHADRAPUR

AS AT BORSAD,
June 25, 1931

DEAR MR. BHADRAPUR,

I have your astonishing letter of 23rd inst. I had written to you that the complainants had no evidence whereby they could fix the blame on the Dharalas. Nor had I asked for any prosecutions. What I had asked for was a preventive measure and if you tell me that where complainants cannot trace the guilty parties the Government will leave them to their fate I shall take the answer. But I was unprepared for the gratuitous statement that it is not beyond suspicion that the damages might have been selfinflicted to fasten the crime on the Dharalas. You will permit me to say that sentiments like this amount to putting a premium on crime. Does it not strike you as unthinkable that the Patidars should engage in self-destruction for the doubtful purpose of proving the Dharalas guilty? Nor am I able to see what earthly purpose they can serve by cutting all their hedges in order to fasten

¹ *St. Matthew*, VI. 28.

any crime on the Dharalas. If you have at the back of your mind the Dharala Mukhi of Ras I must tell you that it was not the Patidars who made the suggestion that the presence of a Dharala Mukhi was probably responsible for the cutting of these hedges. In any case the case against the Dharala Mukhi stands on an independent footing. It is as I hold part of the Settlement whereas it would be open to you to say that the granting of protection to the Patidars is no part of the Settlement and I would not be able to challenge a position of that description.

Yours sincerely,

A.I.C.C. File No. 3, 1931. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

560. INTERVIEW TO THE PRESS

BOMBAY,
June 25, 1931

To a question put about his participation in the Federal Structure Committee [Gandhiji replied:]

If I attend the Round Table Conference, I shall possibly attend the Federal Structure Committee also.

Asked whether he had finally decided to go to the London Conference and when he was likely to start, Gandhiji said that the Working Committee would decide all those questions for him. His theory and views had been exploded and he would willingly obey whatever the Committee asked him to do.

Asked whether the situation in Gujarat was satisfactory, after hesitating for a while, Gandhiji replied that the situation was not satisfactory. But he had been corresponding with the Government of India. Incidentally, he mentioned that he had been receiving reports from all over India forwarded by reliable trusted workers like Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, that a deliberate policy of repression of strictly peaceful picketing, in the shape of faked prosecutions, physical interference and lathi charges was hindering the working of the Settlement. None of these complaints had escaped his attention, and he could not publish them as he was carrying on delicate negotiations with the Central Government from and through which he expected to gain relief. He hoped that things would not assume serious proportions as to endanger the Truce. He had one word to say to Congressmen, that the safety and honour of the Congress demanded meticulous performance by the Congressmen of all the conditions of the Truce.

Gandhiji proposed to place the Working Committee in full possession of all the complaints.

Gandhiji profoundly regretted the failure of the efforts in Bhopal to effect a settlement between the two sections of the Muslim group. It was a very unfortunate incident. The Working Committee would discuss what next should be done in view of the failure.

Gandhiji was confident that the Foreign-cloth Export Scheme would prove a success and the scheme did not amount to a breach of the Truce as alleged by certain interested parties.

Is the contention made by a new political school of thought to the effect that the Congress, by accepting the Truce, accepted the principle of Federation as enunciated in the last R.T.C. true? If so where does the Congress resolution of Independence passed at the Lahore Congress and reiterated at Karachi stand?

A. This question need not be answered.

The Hindu, 25-6-1931

561. DISCUSSION ON FOREIGN-CLOTH BOYCOTT¹

BOMBAY,
June 25, 1931

Mr. Gandhi said he was aware of the position, but it was an article of faith with him that the use of any foreign manufactured articles in the composition of cloth turned out by Indian mills was detrimental to the interests of the masses. He explained his view at some length and regretted his inability to deflect from the course [in spite] of any disadvantage, which might accrue to the industry, which he thought would only be of a temporary character.

Gandhiji however realized very fully the menace of Japanese competition, and said he would leave no stone unturned to deal with it effectively. The Congress policy was certainly not intended to merely restrict imports from Lancashire, but all imports of foreign cloth, and he would direct particular attention to the growing menace from Japan. If and when a satisfactory settlement was reached, Japanese competition might be dealt with by means of a special tariff. The whole position was one which would have to be seriously considered in the nearest future.

The Hindu, 26-6-1931

¹ With H. P. Mody, Chairman of the Mill-owners' Association, S. D. Saklatwala, and Lalji Naranji. The discussion turned on the increasing imports of Japanese piece-goods, particularly artificial silk goods. It was pointed out that while the industry was being asked to give up the use of artificial silk yarn, Japanese imports of this class of goods were increasing at an alarming rate, disorganizing trade not merely in artificial silk goods, but also in other varieties.

562. *SPEECH AT WOMEN'S MEETING, BOMBAY*

June 26, 1931

Mahatma Gandhi first congratulated the women of India and particularly the women of Bombay for the great and heroic part they had taken in the last fight. They had shown unparalleled courage and their capacity to suffer and make supreme sacrifices in the cause of the country was fully tested. When Gandhiji started on his pilgrimage to Dandi¹ he had entrusted to the women of India a twofold mission. Firstly the women of India must help the nation to exterminate all foreign cloth and secondly they must help to enforce total prohibition. Gandhiji entrusted this task to the women, having full faith that it would be carried out. What the women had achieved by selfless work and during such a short time was far beyond his most sanguine hopes.

The women of India, proceeded Gandhiji, had enhanced the prestige of the whole nation. They were the cynosure of all eyes. The whole world looked up to them with admiration for their patriotism. But that was not enough. The praise that was showered on them by the world must encourage them to look forward to their future work with greater faith and zeal.

They should with more vigour carry out the work entrusted to them during the fight. They should persuade dealers in foreign cloth as well as consumers to shun foreign cloth. They should beg of those who are addicted to drink to give up the vice and they should induce the dealers in liquor to stop the evil traffic. During the last fight men and women volunteered their services for this work but now this task had become more onerous and difficult. There was both laxity in work and lack of workers.

The need for a regular and disciplined army of workers was therefore all the greater. They should not be disappointed by the results of their efforts. If they had complete faith in their mission and believed that they were going to succeed, it would not only be possible to exterminate foreign cloth from India but also root out the drink evil in a short time. But this kind of work required discipline and united efforts. He noticed among the audience a few women wearing the orange colour saris but a majority of them did not wear this emblem. This colour was symbolic of the dedication of their services in the cause of the country. It also indicated that they were members of the local organization of women which carried out the mission of boycott and prohibition.

¹ On March 12, 1930; ads Vol. XLIII.

My appeal to you women, therefore, is to come out and adopt this symbol of the orange colour sari and join the band of those brave and selfless women whose services are pledged to the country.

He then sounded a note of warning to such of the women who took to khaddar during the last struggle but were now tempted to go in for foreign fineries. It had been brought to his notice that a few Khoja¹ women who had taken part in the movement and had become converts to the gospel of khaddar were now showing an inclination to buy foreign cloth. This was not the case with Khoja women alone but Hindu women also. If they had the slightest regard and pity for the millions of their countrymen who were facing starvation and worse they should cease patronizing foreign cloth.

They should prefer either khaddar or India-made cloth to the exclusion of all foreign cloth. But he would point out that Indian mill-cloth was meant for those to whom the message of the starving millions had not reached and for such persons who were not of Congress persuasion. But every Congressman and woman and everyone who believed in the Congress creed must adopt khaddar and khaddar alone even to the exclusion of mill-cloth.

No doubt the use of mill-cloth would benefit a few lakhs of workers living in industrial towns, a few thousands of shareholders and a smaller number of agents and directors. But there were seven lakhs of villages in India and 30 crores of poverty-stricken peasants in them. Should one place the interest of 30 crores of peasants first or a few lakhs of industrial workers ? Their duty should be to relieve the poverty of the 30 crores of peasants by patronizing khaddar and khaddar alone.

Mahatmaji thought that the best education for girls and women was not the kind of university education that they were getting in schools but that they should be taught thoroughly to master the art of spinning and carding. The message of the charkha must be popularized throughout the length and breadth of the country and women were best fitted for the propagation of this message. If every woman learnt to spin and cultivated the habit of wearing only selfmade khaddar clothes they would go a long way in winning their freedom. [Concluding, Gandhiji said:]

In khaddar alone lies your salvation and in your salvation lies the salvation of your country.

The Bombay Chronicle, 27-6-1931

¹ A Muslim community

563. SPEECH TO 'DEPRESSED' CLASSES DEPUTATION

BOMBAY,
June 26, 1931

Gandhiji said in reply to the address:

Don't call me a Mahatma, but call me a Bhangi.

He said that he appreciated the title "Pioneer of Scavengers", once given to him by a European friend rather than the title "Mahatma". He promised the deputationists that everything that he would urge at the Round Table Conference would be in the interest of their community and the country in general. He would not promise that the very same formula suggested by the deputation will be placed before the Conference but if a better one suggested itself to him he would give it preference. As regards providing educational facilities to the 'depressed' classes, Mahatmaji would like to do much more than was suggested to him.

But Gandhiji was himself not sure whether the present Settlement with the Government was a temporary settlement or permanent one. If it was a permanent one and swaraj was achieved, then many of the problems concerning the 'depressed' classes could be at once tackled. Of this much he was sure, that owing to the great awakening of the people the stigma of untouchability would soon disappear altogether from the country.

Mahatmaji wanted to say how much the Congress had been doing for the uplift and general advancement of the 'depressed' classes. After the question of untouchability was taken up by the Congress, it had spent more than 20 lakhs of rupees for starting ashrams and schools for 'depressed' classes and untouchable classes where free education was imparted. There was a network of ashrams in Gujarat where 'depressed' class boys were taught free.

The Bombay Chronicle, 27-6-1931

¹ Which met Gandhiji at Mani Bhavan, Bombay. It consisted of 30 delegates led by P. Baloo who whole-heartedly supported joint electorates with reservation of seats, and advocated division of the community into three groups, namely, Mahars, Chamars and the rest of the 'depressed' classes.

564. TELEGRAM TO DESAI¹

[On or after June 26, 1931]²

DESAI

CARE CONGRESS

BHIWANI

YOU MAY ACCEPT UNDERTAKING MAKING IT CLEAR THAT NO
SALE FOREIGN CLOTH WOULD BE ALLOWED EVEN AFTER
R.T.C. UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES.

GANDHI

From a microfilm; S.N. 17323

565. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

[After June 26, 1931]³

CHI. NARANDAS,

How could I, while in Bombay, attend to your letters?

Do whatever you think proper now as regards Soman.

Try to comfort Gangabehn as much as you can.

I understand about Bhagwanji. I think in the long run he will see his dharma.

It is stuffy everywhere.

There is no time to write more. It is 10.15 p.m.

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

The other letters I hope to write tomorrow. Now it is 10.30.

[From Gujarati]

BapunaPatro-9: Shri Narandas Gandhine, Part I, p. 273; also C.W. 8188.

Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

¹Two telegrams were received from the addressee, one in Bombay and the other at Bulsar. The telegram dated June 26, 1931 read: "Can we accept undertaking stoppage sales foreign clothes till result Round Table Conference."

³In the printed source this has been placed among the letters of 1931. From the reference to Soman, it seems this letter was written some time after the letter to the addressee dated June 22, 1931. Gandhiji was in Bombay on June 25-26.

²*ibid*

566. TELEGRAM TO DESAI

VAPI,
June 27, 1931

YOU CAN AGREE BUT GIVE CLEAR INTIMATION NO LIKELIHOOD
AFTER CONFERENCE BOYCOTT BEING LIFTED.

GANDHI

A.I.C.C. File No. 273, 1931. Courtesy: Nehra Memorial Museum and Library

567. SPEECH AT UDVADA²

[June 27, 1931]³

You are known all the world over for your large-hearted charity; you are renowned for your enterprise; you have distinguished yourselves by the great patriots you have given to the country—Dadabhai Naoroji, Pherozeshah Mehta, Dinshaw Wacha. How ugly it sounds when one mentions in the same breath that you have distinguished yourselves by being dealers of toddy and liquor? Don't say the shopkeepers would be ruined if they gave up the shops. You have magnificent trusts and charities and the handful of Parsi liquor-sellers in Gujarat can easily be turned to other occupations. But you must take the courage in both your hands and wipe out the stain.

Young India, 2-7-1931

¹ The addressee's telegram read: "Merchants ready sealing stocks till result Round Table Conference and abiding by Congress mandate even after that period. Can we agree this language? If this solution accepted many unpleasant issues averted. Reply."

² Holy place of the Parsis in Pardi Taluka

³ Gandhiji spent a day in Pardi Taluka while returning from Bombay to Borsad.

568. LETTER TO H. T. SORLEY

BORSAD,
June 28, 1931

DEAR SIR,

I thank you for your exhaustive letter of 23rd inst. No. 43-14/30¹. It will be impossible for me to get hold of the purchaser of the *muchwa* and induce him to part with the thing he has got admittedly so cheap. The sale of the *muchwa* being after the Settlement, was clearly in breach of it and was due to the negligence of the official at Surat. The only proper course in my opinion is to pay the owner the market price of the *muchwa*, which, I understand, is Rs. 200. But I have no evidence in support of my statement beyond the one made by the owner. There should be no difficulty in ascertaining the market price. I hope that the course suggested by me would be adopted without delay. The poor owner naturally has to suffer loss whilst he remains without a *muchwa*.

Yours sincerely,

H. T. SORLEY, ESQ., M.M.I.C.S.
COLLECTOR OF SALT REVENUE, BOMBAY

A.I.C.C. File No. 16-C, 1931. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

569. LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

BORSAD,
June 28, 1931

MY DEAR JAWAHARLAL,

I have your letter and your postcard. I am glad the notice under Sec. 144 in Rae Bareilly has been withdrawn. It was undoubtedly due to

¹ In which the addressee had proposed that his department "will consider the question of refunding the amount of Rs. 50 realized in the auction sale to the present owner of the *muchwa* [a small boat] if the latter is willing to return the *muchwa* to its original owner, and provided the Central Board of Revenue agree to this compromise suggested by me. . . ."

your clear letter to the Chief Secretary. By the time you reach Bombay for the Working Committee, the Committee should be ready to give definite guidance.

I am quite convinced that in order to complete our case it is necessary for you to ask the Governor to see you. In seeking the interview you will tell him that you want to leave no stone unturned to see that the clear position is placed before the highest authority in the province. You may bring nothing from the Governor but our position will surely be the stronger for your having made the attempt to see him and to secure fulfilment of the Settlement. We shall lose nothing by your offering to see him and seeing him if he accepts the offer.

You might have seen in *Young India* what I wrote about the happenings in Unao District.¹ I am going to write again on the material supplied by you and others.

It was unfortunate that the Working Committee had to be postponed. Vallabhbhai was strongly against going to Allahabad in the present circumstances there. I think too that what with Cawnpore and the other excitement in U.P. it was better that Allahabad was avoided for the time being.

BAPU

PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU
ALLAHABAD

A Bunch of Old Letters, pp. 97-8

¹ *Vide* "Serious Allegations", 25-6-1931

570. LETTER TO MAHAVIR GIRI

BORSAD,
June 28, 1931

CHI. MAHAVIR,

Probably the cause of your not keeping well at the Ashram lies in yourself. I believe that we can train the body to adjust itself to any place. The main factor is food. Through experiments one can find out what food suits one in a particular season. There is no doubt, moreover, that much depends on one's mind. Hence, if you are very eager to go and live in the Vidyapith, you may go there after obtaining the permission of Narandasbhai and Chhaganbhai. You may stay wherever you think you will keep good health.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 6230

571. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

BORSAD,
June 29, 1931

CHI. VASUMATI,

This time you have written after a pretty long interval. I expected you to say in the letter what you saw at Visnagar and what inquiries you made, and give similar other information about the place. You may still do so. How do you keep?

What is Padma's complaint regarding her diary? She seems to have been very much offended. Let me know what the facts are.

Ba tells me that Dahibehn has gone to Broach and from there will go to Udva.

I will agree with anything you decide. I only wish to see you peaceful and steady in mind and healthy in body. You are bound to attain that state sooner or later. I am indeed happy that you are ceaselessly striving towards that end.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9325; also C.W. 572. Courtesy: Vasumati Pandit

572. LETTER TO GANGABEHN VAIDYA

June 29, 1931

CHI. GANGABHEN,

I got both your letters. You seem to feel worried and upset. If you are very much worked, come over for a day.

“Never lose heart”¹ means that, if we get unhappy experiences in society or do not succeed immediately in our undertakings, we should not give way to despair but should remain cheerful and go on doing our work. This is what is meant by never losing heart.

By saying you are a member of the Managing Committee, I tried to remind you of your responsibility and your powers. You can say in the Committee what you wish to and persuade it to accept your proposal.

What I expect from you is this. Even if others lose heart, you should not. Swallow all bitter draughts, go ahead and do the work expected of you. This is what I want from you. All my expectations of you concern strength of heart and not intellectual ability. The intellect has less value, the heart has more. And the heart is something which everyone has.

“Do not try to jump too high”² means that, instead of planning big things, you should try to improve what we are already doing. If you are impatient to take up new things, the task on hand will suffer. In my thoughts, I am always there. But how can I come away? I must finish the task that has come to me unsought.

Blessings from

BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro-6: G. S. Gangabehnne, p. 56; also C.W. 8779. Courtesy: Gangabehn Vaidya

¹ *Vide* “Letter to Gangabehn Vaidhya”, 19-6-1931

² *Vide* “Letter to Gangabehn Vaidya”, 22-6-1931

573. STATEMENT ON BAN BY SACHIN STATE¹

BORSAD,
June 29, 1931

Let the public know that the change of venue² has nothing to do with the order. Neither Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel nor I knew anything about it when the change of venue was decided upon. The date and venue had to be changed for the convenience of, and at the request of Dr. Ansari, Maulana Abul Kalam and Mr. Mohamed Alam. Nevertheless, I am sorry for the order.

Some States do not seem to realize that at present there is agreement between the Government and the Congress. Such an order might therefore easily embarrass the Government which to the State is the paramount power. Indeed, Dumas was thought of merely for its being a seaside resort. Nobody dreamt that the Working Committee meeting in the cool air of the sea near Dumas would harm Sachin. However, I am thankful that the accident of the change of venue has prevented an awkward situation arising. I hope, however, that order means no more than overzeal on the part of the District Magistrate of Sachin.

The Bombay Chronicle, 30-6-1931

574. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

BORSAD,
June 29, 1931

CHI. MIRA,

Your letter. It is now nearing 10.30 p.m. But I must give you a line. I am glad you are settling down. You have gone there just in time. Do come nearer Gangabehn. She is troubled at heart. You will be also helpful to Father Elwin.

¹ Gandhiji issued this statement following an order of the District Magistrate, Sachin State, prohibiting the meeting of the Congress Working Committee.

² From Dumas in Sachin State to Bombay

You will be pleased to know that Surajbehn has adopted the 1/2 sari. At first I did not notice the change. Write to her a brief note.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 9666; also C.W. 5432. Courtesy: Mirabehn

575. LETTER TO P. G. MATHEWS

BORSAD,
10.30 p.m., June 29, 1931

MY DEAR MATHEW,

Do now come and pass a few days with me.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 1549

576. LETTER TO GANGABEHN AND NANIBEHN JHAVERI

BORSAD,
June 29, 1931

CHI. GANGABEHN AND NANIBEHN,

As it is 10.30 p.m., I will not write much. In the circumstances supposed in Nanibehn's question, our duty is to be quiet. The responsibility of what happens after we have advised others, does not rest on us. The lesson that the *Gita* teaches is that we should leave the result to God. We are only His servants carrying out His orders. Sing the song: "Let me be your servant."

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3116

577. *LETTER TO PADMA*

BORSAD,
June 30, 1931

CHI. PADMA,

I got your letter. It is 5 o'clock in the morning. My complaint against you is that you do not take proper rest and so get fever. You ought to take perfect rest, lying in bed all the time. If you do so, you will soon get well. Why don't you listen to me and do this?

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 6123; also C.W. 3475. Courtesy: Prabhudas Gandhi

578. *LETTER TO H. W. EMERSON*

BORSAD,
June 30, 1931

DEAR MR. EMERSON,

I have your letter of 23rd inst. setting forth objections raised against the recent resolution of the Working Committee on boycott of foreign cloth. I have re-read the resolution in the light of the objections raised and I have come to the conclusion that the objections are based on an insufficient reading of the resolution and ignorance of the previous history of the Congress policy in the matter. Long before the civil disobedience campaign and ever since the Bengal Partition days, boycott of foreign cloth and especially British cloth and general British goods became the policy of the Congress. In 1920 boycott of British goods was dropped at my instance and replaced by boycott of foreign cloth on predominantly economic grounds and ever since it has so remained. Whilst I was in Yeravda jail between 1922 and '24 a resolution adopting boycott of British goods was passed at one of the sessions of the Congress and since then, boycott of foreign cloth and boycott of British goods have run on parallel lines. During the last struggle these assumed an aggressive political character and became practically merged. As a result of the Delhi Settlement, boycott of British goods was discontinued and the effect of discontinuance was so immediate that within a week of the Settlement orders for British

machinery and other goods were freely sent. Boycott of foreign cloth however remained not as a political weapon but as an economic necessity. Thus complete prohibition of the sale of foreign cloth as an economic necessity has been the settled Congress policy since 1920. It was torn from its original anti-British setting. A mere pursuit of this policy can in no sense be interpreted to mean interference with the liberty of action of the individual unless the policy was enforced through violent measures. But the history of the methods adopted by the Congress since the Settlement, I think, furnishes sufficient evidence to show that both the letter and the spirit of the Settlement have been adhered to in the vast majority of cases by Congress organizations and prompt measures have been taken wherever any departure from peaceful methods has been detected.

Objection has been taken to the use of the word 'permit' in the resolution in question. Of course the word has reference only to those who put themselves under Congress discipline and so long as the Congress retains the influence it has over the people, the use of the word 'permit' is not only legitimate but necessary if the Congress resolutions are to convey the intention of the authors. So long as the Congress policy remains what it is, it is not open to Congress organizations to permit all those under their influence importation of foreign cloth even if individuals desired it.

As to disciplinary action the words of the resolution are surely quite clear. Disciplinary action contemplated is "against the Committee or the individual as the case may be" and Committee or the individual means only a Congress Committee or its individual members. That all the obligation that is imposed by the Congress is purely moral and devoid of any violence is abundantly clear from the fact that breaches of pledges given to the Congress continue to be reported, the Congress remaining helpless. At the same time it is to be confessed that in a majority of cases the moral authority of the Congress is felt and accepted by the people.

Lastly, I entirely endorse your remark that "it is most undesirable that there should be any ground for misunderstanding as to the attitude of the Congress in this matter." And I assure you that members of the Working Committee are most anxious to avoid any misunderstanding, their desire being, for the good name of the Congress

if for nothing else, to be meticulous in the performance of all the obligations undertaken on behalf of the Congress in the Delhi Settlement.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

Home Department, Political, File No. 33/6,1931. Courtesy: National Archives of India.

579. LETTER TO H. W. EMERSON

BORSAD,

June 30, 1931

DEAR MR. EMERSON,

I thank you for your letter of 24th inst. intimating the withdrawal of the salt concession in two areas of the salt range, namely, Nurpur Gorge and Kalabagh.¹ I confess that I am taken aback by the news. I think the local officials could have warned the people and waited for the warning to take effect. The withdrawal seems to have been so abrupt and peremptory. I am however myself making enquiries in the matter and shall let you know the result. Of course I entirely agree with you that the use of any transport other than human is not to be countenanced.

Yours sincerely,

A.I.C.C. File No. 16-B, 1931. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

¹ The addressee had stated in his letter that the people had abused the concession granted to them and removed enormous quantities of salt on camels and donkeys.

580. LETTER TO H. W. EMERSON

BORSAD,
June 30, 1931

DEAR MR. EMERSON,

In the enclosure to my letter of the 24th inst.¹ regarding the picketing in Cawnpore the Secretary now writes correcting the date on which the photograph was taken as 5th of May instead of middle of March.

Yours sincerely,

A.I.C.C. File No. 387, 1931. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

581. LETTER TO H. W. EMERSON

BORSAD,
June 30, 1931

DEAR MR. EMERSON,

This letter is an appeal to you as a Punjabi. There is a prisoner who has served over 19 years' imprisonment whose name is Pandit Jagat Ram². My youngest son who was arrested in Delhi as a civil resister and sentenced to two years' imprisonment was in the Gujarat jail in common with several other civil resisters. He tells me that Pandit Jagat Ram is a most inoffensive man, has no anarchical tendencies. His father died on the 22nd inst. His mother and brother died before his father. There is only the widow left. Several representations, I hear, have been made to the Punjab Government. No one knows why Pandit Jagat Ram has not yet been discharged. This case has no connection with the Settlement. I simply bring it to your notice so as to make an appeal to your humanity and to ask you to use your good offices with your friends in the Punjab Government if you think that you could,

¹ *Vide* also letter to the addressee, "Letter to H. W. Emerson", 18-6-1931

² Chief lieutenant of Lala Hardayal in America; *vide* "An Old Political Prisoner", 9-7-1931

without difficulty, use them. I am not worrying you with the details of the case which are well known to the Punjab Secretariat.¹

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 8679; also A.I.C.C. File No. 16-B, 1931. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

582. LETTER TO R. M. MAXWELL

BORSAD,
June 30, 1931

DEAR MR. MAXWELL,

Syt. S. B. Joshi of Poona sends me a copy of a petition sent by him to His Excellency on 21st ultimo. On the 23rd April 1930 owing to the civil disobedience campaign he tendered his resignation as temporary supervisor in the Rohri Canal, No. IV division. As a result, his name was put under a general ban which it appears was declared against all such people. I enclose herewith a copy of the ban. In my opinion this ban should have been removed long ago in terms of the Settlement. Will you kindly let me know the intention of the Government in the matter?²

Yours sincerely

R. M. MAXWELL, ESQ.
PRIVATE SECRETARY TO
H. E. THE GOVERNOR OF BOMBAY
MAHABALESHWAR

A.I.C.C. File No. 4, 1931, Part II. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

¹ The addressee's reply, *inter alia*, stated: "The Government of India feel that this is not a case in which they are justified in interfering with the discretion of the local Government, and particularly, having regard to the present state of the terrorist movement in India."

² The addressee replied on July 21 that the Government were cancelling the order which barred S. B. Joshi permanently from Government service.

583. *LETTER TO G. FINDLAY SHIRRAS*

BORSAD,
June 30, 1931

DEAR PRINCIPAL SHIRRAS,

I thank you for your letter of 25th instant, in reply to mine. I understand that you have admitted all students but seven. There is therefore, I presume, no question of want of accommodation. So far as the internal discipline is concerned I suppose that what you regard as indiscipline was more or less common to the majority of students. But what perhaps you have in mind is that the seven students were ring-leaders. I suggest that, if it was right to take the other students, it would be wrong to keep out the ring-leaders. The Delhi Settlement makes no such distinction between the leaders and the rank and file. I would urge you, therefore, to take the remaining students and avoid a possible crisis.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

G. FINDLAY SHIRRAS, ESQ.
PRINCIPAL, GUJARAT COLLEGE
AHMEDABAD

From a photostat: G.N. 819

584. *LETTER TO C. F. ANDREWS*

AS AT SABARMATI,
June 30, 1931

MY DEAR CHARLIE,

I have your letter.

If I come there I shall tackle all the several matters which you mention about Lancashire mills compared to Bombay mills. I may deal with portions of your letter in *Young India*.

The difficulty about my going to London is still there. To get anything done by the Government just now is like drawing a live tooth. But bit by bit difficulties are being removed. I believe that the Viceroy is sincerely anxious that I should go but I do not think he is able to give much relief.

Yes, the limit of five articles of food and the taking of meals before sundown applies to India alone. In London, therefore, if the system needs it, I shall be able to take more varied food. But so far as milk is concerned cow's milk and buffalo's milk are taboo, and naturally therefore products of these two milks.

Love.

MOHAN

C. F. ANDREWS, ESQ.
112 GOWER STREET
LONDON W.C. 1

From a photostat: G.N. 973

585. *LETTER TO S. SATYAMURTI*¹

BORSAD,
June 30, 1931

MY DEAR SATYAMURTI,

Your letter on my recent article² on the Working Committee resolution gave me much pleasure. I thought that it was important enough for a public reply through the pages of *Young India*. You will therefore find it in *Young India*.³

You have referred to a previous letter. It has not yet reached me. It may be that owing to constant shifting it is following me from post office to post office. If it is of any importance please send me a copy.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

SYT. S. SATYAMURTI
2/18 CAR STREET
TRIPPLICANE, MADRAS

From a photostat: C.W. 9721. Courtesy: Government of Tamilnadu

¹ A photostat of the original of this letter was exhibited at the Gandhi Darshan Exhibition held at New Delhi in 1969-70.

² *Vide* "Substance Not Shadow", 18-6-1931

³ *Vide* "Power Not an End", 2-7-1931

586. LETTER TO ABDUL GHAFFAR KHAN

BORSAD,
June 30, 1931

DEAR KHAN SAHEB,

I understand from the Government of India that people in Nurpur Gorge and Kalabagh have been removing salt on a scale not warranted by the Settlement, i.e., on camels and donkeys. No such transport is permissible. People may carry for their own use or sale to the poor people in the neighbourhood on their own backs and walk the distance. No riding for sale is permissible. As a result the Government inform me that the concession has been withdrawn from these two areas. Please enquire and let me know at once, if necessary by wire, what has actually happened.

Yours sincerely,

KHAN ABDUL GHAFFAR KHAN SAHEB
UTMANZAI, CHARSADE (DT. PESHAWAR)

A.I.C.C. File No. 16-B, 1931. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

587. LETTER TO KRISHNA GOPAL

BORSAD,
June 30, 1931

DEAR LALA KRISHNA GOPAL,

I have your telegram. I have moved in the matter.¹ I do not know what success will attend my effort. Please say nothing in public about this. I may deal with the case² in *Young India* next week unless Pandit Jagat Ram is sooner discharged.

Yours sincerely,

LALA KRISHNA GOPAL
SIALKOT (PUNJAB)

A.I.C.C. File No. 16-B, 1931. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

¹ *Vide* "Letter to H. W. Emerson", 30-6-1931

² *Vide* "An Old Political Prisoner", 9-7-1931.

588. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

BORSAD,
June 30, 1931

CHI. PRABHAVATI,

I got your letter. You should oppose the idea of your going to Calcutta. Tell them frankly that you improve in health when you come to the Ashram. It shows that the only cure for your disease is congenial atmosphere. If you can firmly explain this, all your problems will be solved.

Vidyavati keeps ill. I do not understand the reason.

I keep good health. The diet continues to be the same. Rajendrababu is with me. He is all right now. All of us will go to Bombay on the 7th, and will be there for three days. The address is: Laburnum Road, Gamdevi, Bombay.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3416

589. INTERVIEW TO ASSOCIATED PRESS

BORSAD,
June 30, 1931

If I succeed in reaching London, and if I am invited to visit Lancashire, I would certainly put aside all other work and visit Lancashire and there place before the leading men the Congress position and remove the terrible misunderstanding that has gathered round the policy of the Congress in connection with the exclusion of foreign cloth. Assuming that the Congress position is otherwise accepted, I anticipate no difficulty in making proposals that would be beneficial in their operation both to England and India.

The Hindu, 1-7-1931

590. TELEGRAM TO M. G. DATAR¹

[On or after *June 30, 1931*]

HEADMASTER
T. V.² NAGPUR

DHARMADHIKARI SHOULD DEFEND. SEND FULL PARTICULARS.

GANDHI

From a microfilm: S.N. 17329

591. TELEGRAM TO CHATURBHUJ MOTIRAM³

[On or after *June 30, 1931*]

CONFLICTING WIRES CONFOUND ME. YOU MUST COMPOSE
DIFFERENCES OR APPROACH CONGRESS.

GANDHI

From a microfilm: S.N. 17330

592. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

BORSAD,

Unrevised July 1, 1931

DEAR SATISBABU,

I have your letter. Don't expect any donation from Ahmedabad. What I would like you to do is to discuss the whole thing with Mr. Birla. You should also find out ways and means of interesting the middle class Bengalee and the zamindar class in the khadi work as also in the amelioration of all the poor people. Why should there be

¹ This was in reply to the addressee's telegram of June 30, which read: "Dharmadhikari teacher our Vidyalaya and Secretary C.P. Marathi Provincial Congress Committee arrested yesterday for sedition for speech at Kisan Conference in C.P. Hindi. Dharmadhikari says he did not in any way break Truce terms by his speech. Your article "Terrible if True" in *Young India* 25th June. Requires your definite advice whether Dharmadhikari should defend in court. Kindly wire immediately. . . ."

² Tilak Vidyalaya

³ This was in reply to the addressee's telegram of June 30 from Bhiwani, which read: "Signed pledge according your orders. Sealed cloth. Nekiram prohibiting sales millcloth placing four volunteers opposite each shop. Suffering losses. Breach peace likely"

no response from the Bengalees either for khadi or for famine relief? There is something wrong about the method of work here. You should do this work through *Rashtrabani*¹. The poison that you see about you will be neutralized only by the most correct conduct on our part. It needs utter selfeffacement. I wanted to talk about all these things to you when we met, but it was no good. Bombay is about the worst place for me to hope to have any quiet chat with anybody. There is an endless stream of visiting friends whom I must not repel. But if you are in any way dejected or despondent you must come to me without fixing the time-limit and hang on till we have, in leisurely fashion, thrashed out every conceivable problem that we could think of.

It is good that the *Atma Katha*² is in demand. Do you understand Gujarati so well as to be able to translate directly from it? If anybody else asks for permission to translate the *Atma Katha*, I don't need to refer him to you. I will flatly refuse permission. I have a vague recollection that Anil Babu of Shantiniketan did get from me the permission years ago.

I am glad that your weight and strength are increasing. Remember the verse³ about fasting in the verses of the second chapter of the *Gita* that we sing every evening. Fasting is good enough up to a point. But if we are nervous about our perception of Truth and Ahimsa, the moment we begin to satisfy real hunger, we have reached the danger point, and our ascribing a better perception of Truth and Ahimsa to fasting or semi-fasting may be pure hallucination. Hard work must be consistent with hard and clear thinking. Conversely, hard and clear thinking I hold to be impossible if a person has become physically a perfect wreck. A healthy mind in a healthy body is a correct maxim.

Love.

BAPU

SYT. SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA
15 COLLEGE SQUARE
CALCUTTA

From the original: C.W. 7891. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

¹ Bengali weekly edited by the addressee

² *An Autobiography*; vide "An Autobiography"

³ "When a man starves his senses, the objects of those senses disappear from him, but not the yearning for them; the yearning too departs when he beholds the Supreme"—II. 59.

593. LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

BORSAD,
July 1, 1931

MY DEAR JAWAHARLAL,

I have your letter of 27th June, redirected from Bardoli. Possibly you did not know that from Bombay I had come back to Borsad because it has been necessary for Vallabhbai and me to divide our work. Danger is being averted by constant presence and vigilance. But any day there might be a burst-up in Borsad. I have had difficult experiences of working settlements in South Africa and even getting the poor head broken¹ in rendering a cent per cent account from our side, and then had to get myself arrested in making the Government render a tolerably good account of themselves. But I thought that I had forgotten all about working settlements. Now, however, I am reviving old memories and many of the experiences are being repeated. My great satisfaction however is that whether war or settlement, the nation must go forward if we remain faithful servers.

I like all your letters to the Chief Secretary. I do hope that the Governor will consent to see you.

Here is a complaint against you. Please keep the typewritten sheet and return it to me if you write about it or bring it with you and you will tell me all about it when we meet.

BAPU

A Bunch of Old Letters, pp. 98-9

¹ On February 10, 1908 Gandhiji was beaten up by Mir Alam and his companions; *vide* "Letter to Friends", 10-2-1908

594. A LETTER

BORSAD,
July 1, 1931

BHAI...¹

Narandas must have written to you about . . . 's ²misconduct. I know the news must have pained you. I had built castles in the air about . . .³ but all my hopes have come to nothing. I completely failed to understand her character. I now advise you to call her back home immediately and marry her to whomsoever she wishes to marry. I had three or four excellent candidates for her hand, but now we cannot give her to any of them. The girl is so untruthful that it is impossible to say whether she will make any man happy. Please don't be angry with her. Treat her with love. Ultimately, that alone will happen which has been ordained for her and us.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3242

595. LETTER TO GANGABEHN VAIDYA

July 1, 1931

CHI. GANGABEHN,

You did right in writing the letter which you did. Others will also do what . . .⁴ and . . .⁵ did. Do not get frightened. The times are such and our experiment is full of risks. However, no big task is ever achieved unless one is ready to take risks. We wish neither to condemn our experiment nor denounce *Antyajas*³. We should rather believe that our *tapascharya*⁴ is insufficient and our purity imperfect. We will try to become purer, to become worthier servants and shall go forward.

Yes, it was almost decided to give . . . in marriage to . . ., but it

¹ The names have been omitted.

² *Ibid*

³ *Ibid*

⁴ The names in this and the following paragraph are omitted in the source.

³ Literally, 'last born', the untouchables

⁴ Self-suffering as moral discipline

⁵ *Ibid*

was good that the evil was discovered in time. I had expressed the opinion that both . . . and . . . should leave.

Face such situations with patience. We wish to, ought to, behave like a vaid who, after ministering medicine to a patient, forgets both and takes up another patient.

Blessings from

BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro-6: G. 5. Gangabehnne, pp. 56-7; also C.W. 8780. Courtesy: Gangabehn Vaidya

596. LETTER TO YUDHVIR SINGH

BORSAD,
July 1, 1931

BHAI YUDHVIRJI,

I like your intention of publishing Urdu translation of *Young India* and *Navajivan*. And I understand that no advertisements or other articles will be accepted for your journal and only translations of articles in the above mentioned journals will appear. This letter must not mean that I am accepting any responsibility for your paper or the authenticity of its translations¹.

I wish success to your enterprise.

Do forgive me for the delay in replying.

Yours,

MOHANDAS GANDHI

From Hindi: C.W. 9310. Courtesy: Dr. Yudhvir Singh

¹ A block print of this appeared in the first issue of *Urdu Navajivan*, 25-7-1931; *vide* also “*Urdu Navajivan*”, Before 11-9-1931.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

LETTER FROM H. W. EMERSON ¹

SIMLA,

April 30, 1931

MY DEAR MR. GANDHI,

You will remember that, when I last saw you in Bombay, I promised to write to His Excellency Sir Malcolm Hailey with the object of arranging for you to have an interview with him. I wrote to him the next day and have just received a letter from him. He has been unable to reply before, because he has been busy in studying the revenue and rent position. He feels that it is no use discussing the matter with you until he is fully informed of the facts and is clear in his own mind what relief is necessary. In other words, he wants to be quite sure that any assurance he may give you will cover the case. At present, reports from all districts have not come in; but Sir Malcolm Hailey hopes to be fully acquainted with the situation within a week and in a position to discuss it. I will let you know when I hear further from him.

2. I am sorry to see in the papers that you have not been fit, and I hope the reports were not true, or, if they were true, that you are now alright again.

Yours sincerely,

H. W. EMERSON

M. K. GANDHI, ESQ.

AHMEDABAD

Home Department, Political, File No. 33/XI & K.Ws 1931. Courtesy :
National Archives of India

¹ *Vide* "Letter to H. W. Emerson", 7-5-1931

APPENDIX II

NOTE BY H. W. EMERSON ON INTERVIEW BETWEEN HIMSELF AND GANDHI¹

Confidential

I had prolonged discussions with Mr. Gandhi on the 13th, 14th, 15th and 16th of May on matters arising out of the Settlement, also incidentally on general questions.

2. The first subject of importance discussed was the situation in Gujarat. Particular matters raised were the followings :

(a) Mr. Gandhi said that in the Kaira District, and particularly in the Borsad Taluka, matters were on the whole proceeding very satisfactorily owing to the system of co-operation between himself and Mr. Perry, the Collector. He said that the people were paying land revenue as quickly as they could and that he was satisfying himself by personal enquiry into cases that they were paying as much as their circumstances would permit. He was worried about the question of unauthorized arrears. He said that it was common ground that those who could pay the current demand and arrears should pay; but there would be undoubtedly numerous cases in which revenue payers were able to pay the current ones, but would not be able to pay arrears; that what he would like was a declaration of announcement from the local Government of a general character that in such cases the arrears would be automatically suspended. He argued that when the arrears of those who had not joined the Civil Disobedience Movement had been suspended and so had become authorized arrears, there was a stronger reason for suspending the arrears of those who had suffered a great deal from the Civil Disobedience Movement and were, therefore, *prima facie* in a worse position to pay. I said that, so far as I understood the case, there had been no general suspension of the demand in cases of those who had not joined the Civil Disobedience Movement, but that in accordance with the ordinary system of land revenue administration certain arrears had been suspended where there was sufficient reason. It could not be assumed that because people had joined in the civil disobedience movement, they were, therefore, less able to pay than people who had not joined in it. Of those who had joined many had not suffered serious loss, a good number had suffered no loss at all, and in any case the test was not the losses they had suffered, but their present capacity to pay. I did not, therefore, see how a general order could be issued. He then said that many revenue-payers were paying money representing the current demand and, in some cases, also part of the arrears, on the understanding that this represented all that they could pay at present, and that the balance of the arrears would be suspended, that Government officers were taking these sums, knowing what the intentions of the

¹ *Vide* "Interview to the Press", 15-5-1931

people were and that a very difficult situation would arise if later coercive processes were issued for the balance. I said that it would clearly not be possible for Government to accept the position that the tax-payers should determine what amount of Government dues should be paid. He admitted this as a general proposition, but said that where, as at present in Kaira, he himself and other Congress workers in pursuance of the Settlement were satisfying themselves that people were paying as much as they could pay, the position was different, and that they became more or less involved in the transaction. I suggested to him that all Congress workers in Gujarat were inspired by the same honesty of purpose as he himself, and that for this reason also the Collector had to satisfy himself that there was a case for suspension, that my information was that in some parts of Gujarat revenue payers were being encouraged not to pay unauthorized arrears, although many of them were able to do so. I assumed generally that neither the local Government nor the local officers desire to squeeze money out of persons who could not pay and that it really resolved itself into a question of good faith. If the Congress and the people genuinely played up and paid all they could pay, then I imagined nobody would wish to resort to coercive processes. If, on the other hand, they did not play up, I did not see how coercive processes would be avoided. At any rate it was not necessary to take this particular fence at the present time, and it would be sufficient to consider any difficulty, if and when it arises.

My general impression about this part of the conversation was that Mr. Gandhi foresees trouble in regard to the collection of unauthorized arrears, and that while he is playing the game in Borsad, attempts are being made elsewhere to defer the payment of unauthorized arrears on a large scale under the cover of inability to pay. The nature of the difficulty that is likely to arise will depend on the extent to which this movement succeeds, but if complications are to be avoided, it will probably be necessary for the local officers not to press collection of unauthorized arrears in cases where there will be real difficulty in paying.

(b) We had a long talk about the reinstatement of village officials. Mr. Gandhi made the point that no new Patels had been appointed permanently in the sense that they had been appointed for life and that the appointments were for a term of years, e.g., 3, 5, or 10 years, and that even these were subject to further notice. He contended that such appointments could not be treated as permanent and that they were not, therefore, completely protected under para 19 of the Statement of the 5th of March. I told him that I understood that this particular system of appointment was usual and that it was not the practice in Gujarat even in normal times to appoint Patels permanently in the sense in which he used the word. The local Government take the view that "permanently" means substantively and that this was at least a reasonable interpretation. Personally I did not press this, because I knew that when this clause was under discussion in New Delhi, neither Lord Irwin nor Mr. Gandhi was aware of

the fact that the appointments made had been of this character, and the impression was that they were either of a permanent or purely temporary character. The actual wording of the clause did not, however, affect the broad principle which underlay this and similar provisions. That principle was that where third party rights had been created, the local Government were under an obligation to protect the rights and this principle obviously applied to appointments for a term of years. It might be contended that when the third party rights so created had been satisfied, then effect should be given to the Settlement and return should be made to the *status quo ante*; instance at the end of an appointment of three years the claims of the original holder, if in the meantime there was no cause of disqualification against him, might be given preferential treatment. This seemed to be a view of the case which the local Government might be inclined to take, but I could not commit them in any way. Mr. Gandhi was not very satisfied with this, but felt, I think, that he was not in a strong position.

He then pursued another line, namely, that it was generally recognized that the new men who had been put in were unable to carry on the work, that in many cases they were criminals or of bad character, that in fact they were unable to collect the land revenue and it was the resigned Patel who had been doing this work; that there could be no peace in a village where a new Patel had been appointed until he was removed from it; and that in the interest of good administration a remedy should be found either by compensating the new Patels or by finding them jobs elsewhere. I said that, so far as I knew, the local officers were quite prepared to enquire into *bonafide* complaints against particular Patels, but they of course had to protect them against frivolous complaints; that the third party right in such cases was the right to a particular appointment; and that compensation would not be regarded by the Patels themselves as a satisfaction of those rights. Something might perhaps be done to ease what was admittedly a difficult problem by putting in Patels who had resigned in vacancies elsewhere as they occur; but I did not know whether this was, in fact, practicable. This question evidently is also causing him a good deal of concern.

(c) In regard to the repurchase of lands that had been sold, he appeared to be fairly happy. He was very critical of the difficulties experienced in ascertaining what lands had been sold and at what price; but he admitted that the present arrangement under which the entries relating to all such transactions have been or will shortly be entered up in the village registers, to which the public have access, would meet the requirements of the case. He said that he was having more success in getting back lands from Dharalas than he had anticipated, and in fact he was getting on better with them than with others in regard to whom he had not expected so much difficulty. I asked him why Garda had repudiated his transaction. He would not admit that Garda had any reasonable cause for complaint against the Congress for any deviation from their side of the bargain and said he was in correspondence with Sir Cowasjee

Jehangir.

He said that in some cases in the Kaira District land had been forfeited for arrears of land revenue, had then been declared to be Government property and had been sold, that none of the sale price had been credited to the account of the defaulter, and that, in fact, the amount in regard to which the land had been forfeited was still being demanded. I expressed doubts about this, although I did understand that where land had been forfeited the whole of the sale price had been credited to Government, even although this exceeded the amount of the demand. I gathered that the Collector of Kaira had referred this question to the local Government and they will doubtless consider, if cases, such as stated by Mr. Gandhi, have actually occurred, whether the collection of the demand in addition to forfeiture of the land is not unduly severe.

On the whole Mr. Gandhi was more happy about Gujarat than he was when I last saw him, and the situation there has undoubtedly improved. He himself appears to have worked very hard to get things cleared up, but there appear to be several troublesome matters ahead and these may create difficulties, especially where Gandhi has not tried his hand and Vallabhbai's influence has been at work.

I may observe that during the course of the discussion about Gujarat and also on one or two other occasions Mr. Gandhi dropped the claim, if he ever seriously entertained it, that Congress should be recognized as an intermediary between Government and the people, although he did claim, and not without reason, that where, as in the case of Kaira, the local officers are co-operating with himself and other workers, action should be avoided which will embarrass him and his helpers, unless it is clear that they are not playing the game. I tackled him about the statements attributed to him in the Press that he had advised revenue payers not to pay land revenue if they had to borrow to do so on interest. I told him that this was a principle that Government could not accept, that it was a well-known fact that revenue payers had often to borrow money in order to meet their revenue demands, and that if I had credit at the Bank, my creditors would not let me off, because I had no ready cash. He admitted that in ordinary circumstances his advice was not justifiable, but on the merits of this particular case he eliminated further argument by saying that in Kaira, where the advice was given, the Collector had accepted the principle as a working basis.

3. We then had some discussion about salt, which was resumed later in connection with a reference from the Central Board of Revenue. The main points, which were raised, were the following :

(a) Mr. Gandhi is anxious that Government should issue some communication amplifying the relevant clause of the Statement of March 5th, so that persons entitled to the concession will know more about its character. I showed him the lengthy and detailed circulars issued by the Central Board of Revenue for various

areas, and explained to him, what I understand to be the view of the Central Board of Revenue, namely, that while these were necessary for departmental guidance, they were too complicated to be of real assistance to the public, that in fact specific difficulties were still continually cropping up, that these were being dealt with ad hoc in a liberal and practical spirit, and that until the various points had been settled the publication of a detailed statement would in any case be premature. Moreover, anything in the nature of a lengthy statement would probably give rise to questions of hypothetical character, which it was better not to raise. Mr. Gandhi accepted all this and said that he had not intended anything in the nature of a long statement, but that he felt it very desirable that the main principles should be published. I suggested that he should try his hand on a draft and Government would then see whether it could be accepted by them with such modifications as might be necessary. He promised to let me have one.

(b) He then got on to the question of the fish-curing industry. I told him that I understood that this matter was already under consideration by the Central Board of Revenue, who had addressed the Madras Government. Briefly the points which he made were the followings :—

(i) Fishermen along the East and West Coast already enjoy the concession of duty free salt.

(ii) On the West Coast, where fish curing is carried on by contractors in special yards, salt has to be purchased from Government. Mr. Gandhi agreed that this was quite right and that the salt concession should not be extended to the fish-curing industry when the curing is done on a big scale by contractors.

(iii) He said, however, that even on the West Coast there was a certain amount of curing done by fishermen in their own homes, that it was carried on as a domestic and not as a big scale industry, and that it was reasonable to allow the concession in such cases.

I declined to express any opinion in ignorance of the facts, but promised to let the C.B.R. know the gist of the Conversation.

(c) I then mentioned to him the case reported by the Collector of Salt Revenue, Bombay, in which it was said that Congress workers were making salt in works situated on privately owned land at Shiroda, that there was a fairly large force of labour employed, and that a stock of salt of 500 to 600 maunds was being collected. We were agreed that the salt concession did not anticipate that Congress would come in as an organization engaged in the manufacture of salt, and he admitted that an impossible situation would arise if local Congress organizations as such took up the manufacture of salt even for the purpose included in the Settlement. He also admitted that if salt is being manufactured at Shiroda by paid labour, then this is not covered by the Settlement, but he claimed that if the villagers entitled to the

concession had combined for the manufacture of salt and were making it themselves and not through paid labour, then the case was covered by the Settlement provided the relevant provisions of the Settlement were observed. He also claimed that the mere manufacture of a stock of 500 or 600 maunds did not necessarily constitute a breach, since it was natural that the people concerned should manufacture a sufficient quantity of salt to see them over the close period. He claimed to be acquainted with the facts of the manufacture at Shiroda, and the C.B.R. may find it necessary to collect further information in regard to them before they can reach a decision. If it is decided that the facts do not preclude this system of manufacture, then a practical solution may be to limit the quantity of salt to be manufactured in accordance with an estimate of local requirements.

(d) Mr. Gandhi agreed that the practical test of removal on foot should not include the removal of manufactured salt by gangs of coolies.

4. Mr. Gandhi then mentioned the matter of releases of prisoners, about which we had a general and somewhat infructuous talk. He still seems to think that there are cases which come within the amnesty in which releases have not been granted, and he promised to let me have lists of these. I told him that we had sent the previous lists to local Governments, and the replies we had so far received definitely indicated that local Governments had very scrupulously honoured the Settlement in this respect. I mentioned the case of the Punjab list in which, for lack of accurate information, the local Government had been unable to identify a number of prisoners mentioned, and of the 75 who had been identified 47 had been released before the list was sent. This went to show that the information supplied to Mr. Gandhi was inaccurate. I also reminded him that local Governments generally have interpreted the Settlement very liberally in cases of technical violence and that while they have been more strict in cases of incitement to violence, there are good reasons for this. I took the opportunity of reminding him that within the last three weeks there have been three incidents connected with the terrorist movement in the Punjab alone, namely, the Shalimar affair, the Sialkot incident and the very recent bomb explosion in the Jullundur District. He had not heard of the last and was shocked to hear that the two persons concerned were connected with the Congress. He agreed that local Governments were justified in taking a serious view of incitement to violence, and he did not attempt to raise the question of cases under section 124 A., I.P.C., and section 108, Criminal Procedure Code, which at one time threatened to be a matter of controversy. Two cases appeared to be worrying him. One was the case of an editor¹ convicted in Sholapur, in regard to which he urges that there was neither violence nor incitement to violence, and the second case was one from the Surat District, where a youth had been convicted for arson. His crop had been attached, and he then set fire to

¹ Emerson has made a note here : "He has since been released."

it. Mr. Gandhi then attempted to argue that violence within the terms of the Settlement had reference only to violence to person and that, therefore, this particular incident was not violence. This of course could not be accepted. I understood that he was in correspondence in regard to both cases with the local Government.

He wanted to know what was to happen if there were a deadlock between Congress and the local Government in regard to particular cases. I said that the intention was that the local Government should be the final authority, that so far no such case has arisen, and we might wait and see. The Government of India had in the case of several representations made to them requested local Governments to inform them of the facts, and since neither the Government of India nor any local Government has any desire to evade the obligations of the Settlement, there is no reason to suppose that a solution will not be found if there is any particular case in which there has been a genuine mistake. I informed him that local Governments had attached very great importance to this part of the Settlement and that in some province the Governor had himself scrutinized all doubtful cases. I imagine that Mr. Gandhi is being given a good deal of trouble by provincial Congressmen in this matter.

5. We then had a humorous discussion about bicycles and a motor-car which led up to the case of the *Young India* Press.

Under clause 16 of the Statement Government have agreed to return movable property, not being an illegal possession, which was seized during the civil disobedience movement and which at the time of the Settlement was still in the possession of Government. A motor-car was seized in the Kaira District and was quite properly used for official purposes. It is now, I gathered, in a somewhat dilapidated condition and is out of action at some distance from its original home. Mr. Gandhi claims that it should be returned at the place where it was seized. The local officers will not admit this, and I gather that they cannot, in any case, return it there, either by putting it into running condition or transporting it as scrap iron. This led us on to what was the real purport of the matter, namely, the Press of *Young India*. This was seized in Ahmedabad under the Press Ordinance and is of considerable value. Part of it is still in Ahmedabad, while part of it was sent to Bombay for sale. Mr. Gandhi claims as a right that he is entitled to its delivery at Ahmedabad, and he has recently addressed the Bombay Government on the subject. He made it clear that he did not want the Bombay portion of the press returned to him at Ahmedabad as a matter of grace, if he was not entitled to this under the Settlement. I promised that we would look into the legal aspect of the case, and if necessary, address the local Government.¹ He on his part promised that if the decision is in his favour he will not use it for vexatious purposes, e.g., the return of a useless motor-car.

¹ Gandhiji subsequently received a letter turning down the claim.

6. Under the same clause of the Settlement he raised the question of the return of arms, the licences of which had been cancelled in connection with the Civil Disobedience Movement. He had mentioned this before at previous talks, but I had not appreciated the fact that the claim was under the clause, and had imagined that what he desired was a more liberal policy within the spirit of the Settlement in re-granting licences when previous ones had been cancelled. I told him that, so far as the clause was concerned it seemed to me that as soon as an arms' licence was cancelled, the arm became an illegal possession and that, therefore, the case was not covered. In any case, even if the clause did technically apply, local Governments would obviously be unwilling to return arms where there was reason to suppose that these arms might be used for terrorist purposes, and this applied particularly to the Punjab and Bangal. Mr. Gandhi accepted this as reasonable and said that a way out of the difficulty might be found by formally returning the arms, cancelling the new licences and recovering them. I suggested that this would lead to a good deal of friction. I promised to have the legal aspect examined.

I explained that if the matter did not come within the scope of the Settlement, there were difficulties in addressing local Governments in regard to the re-grant of licences, that the Arms Rules gave wide discretionary powers to District Magistrates in regard to the grant and cancellation of licences, and that while it did not seem improvable that they would take a reasonable view in the case of licences cancelled during the civil disobedience movement when the licensees were responsible persons, they would be sticky before giving licences to persons about whom they were not satisfied.

7. He then mentioned the case of restoration of pensions forfeited during the Civil Disobdience Movement. I said that this had not been discussed with local Governments; previous to the Settlement and that they and the Army Department in the case of military pensions would certainly take strong exception to the restoration of military and police pensions, and that, this being so, it would be difficult for them to discriminate in favour of other civil pensions. Local Governments would, however, doubtless consider in the ordinary course of business any applications made to them, but I did not see how the Government of India could make any general suggestion to them on this matter. Mr. Gandhi recognized the difficulty of restoring military and police pensions and did not press the matter.

8. Mr. Gandhi mentioned the case of boys and students who had been expelled from educational institutions on account of participation in the Civil Disobedience Movement. He said that in several provinces they were being allowed to return only on condition that they gave a declaration that they would take no part in politics. He seemed to think this was wrong. I explained to him that in some Government's institutions in the Pubjab (and probably else-where) such declarations were taken from students on first entry—let alone from students who were allowed re-

admission after expulsion; that the latter were fortunate to be allowed to return and knowing the importance that local Government rightly attached to discipline in schools and colleges. I saw no point in raising this matter with them, even if the Government of India were prepared to take a more lenient view which I did not think they would.

9. We next got on to the important question of the North-West Frontier Province. I had a preliminary talk with him on one matter, giving him the main facts as known to us, and Mr. Howell later joined us and explained the peculiar difficulties of the Frontier situation. The points on which I laid emphasis in the preliminary discussion were :

- (1) Abdul Ghaffar's activities and speeches since the amnesty.
- (2) His continued insistence on the Settlement being a truce and therefore a period of preparation.
- (3) The continuous recruitment of Red Shirts, their organization, drilling, etc.
- (4) Abdul Ghaffar's attempt to spread agitation across the border.
- (5) His deliberate and discourteous refusal to see the Chief Commissioner or local officials.
- (6) The encouragement he has given to the non-payment of land revenue and the consequent effects on the land revenue administration of the Peshawar District.
- (7) The increase in crime that has occurred there.

I suggested to Mr. Gandhi that even in other provinces where we might tolerate and had, in fact, tolerated in the past the recruitment of Congress volunteers up to a certain point, we could not even in those provinces tolerate either the unlimited recruitment of volunteers or the establishment of bodies of trained volunteers. The fact that their immediate activities were comparatively harmless was not a decisive test. We had to look to the use to which they might be put, and if at any time we came to the conclusion that they constituted a serious menace to future peace, we might have to take action. At any rate, we obviously could not accept the argument that because we do not think it necessary at present to take action against Congress volunteers in a particular province, therefore our hands are tied either in regard to volunteers generally or in regard to volunteers in places where they do constitute a menace; nor, having regard to the peculiar conditions in the North-West Frontier Province the obvious danger of the Red Shirt Movement being misunderstood in tribal territory and its possible effects in Afghanistan, could we regard its extension with equanimity. Mr. Gandhi appreciated these peculiar difficulties, but was inclined to attach weight to Abdul Ghaffar's own statement of the case, which appeared in the Press a few days ago and in which he naturally attempted

to place the odium on the local administration.

The further discussion of the matter is given in Mr. Howell's note below :

“By arrangement with Mr. Emerson I went yesterday afternoon to interview Mr. Gandhi. Before I arrived Mr. Emerson had already dissuaded Mr. Gandhi from his intention of visiting the North-West Frontier Province and had secured from him a promise to get into touch either personally or by letter with Abdul Ghaffar Khan and induce the latter at least to examine and reconsider his methods if not to abandon, at any rate temporarily, his campaign. There was therefore very little for me to do except to go over the ground again, and this I did with the special idea of impressing upon Mr. Gandhi the dangers of Abdul Ghaffar Khan's programme in the Frontier Province. The gist of what Mr. Emerson and I said to him in the course of the interview was as follows :

We had no intention of questioning Abdul Ghaffar Khan's sincerity, but we did think the wisdom of his procedure open to question. Why for instance had he steadily refused to have an interview with the Chief Commissioner who had shown exemplary patience and had done his best to get into contact with him? If they were bound to fall out at a later stage, was that any reason for not walking together so far as their ways lay together? Again was it wise to stage an exciting drama in the presence of an exceedingly excitable audience, such as the frontier tribes, all of them well armed, and many of them only waiting for a favourable opportunity to go and loot the box office? If Mr. Gandhi thought this was prudent, let him listen to what Bhai Parmanand and other Frontier Hindus, who had reason to know what they were talking about, had recently been saying at Lahore. The basic fact of the situation was that, as these frontier Hindus realize, security for life and property on the Frontier, especially Hindu life and property, and the whole stability of society depended on the maintenance of respect for the existing Government. And if the Frontier tribes, who were never tired of proclaiming themselves to be as good as or better than anybody else, saw Abdul Ghaffar Khan here, or X there, or Y in another place successfully defying Government, they too might be tempted to take a hand in the same game. Hence the paramount importance of preventing the Red Shirts Movement from being spread across the border. Once there it could not fail to take on a militant form and, as last summer in Waziristan, might assume the appearance of a pro-Amanullah campaign which would cause anxiety to King Nadir.

Throughout stress was laid not on the contention that tribal territory was beyond the scope of the Civil Disobedience Movement, since that is dead or at any rate dormant, or of the Irwin-Gandhi Pact, since that might give Mr. Gandhi a clue that in the event of a further struggle he would do well to make a point of extending activities into tribal territory, that being a weak spot on our side, but on the danger, especially the danger to Hindu life and property, to which opposition to Government

in the Frontier region was likely to lead. He was asked whether in his opinion it was wise for anyone conducting a difficult and an unprecedented experiment, such as is now in progress throughout India, to begin by tampering with the breakwater which keeps the flood waters out. Mr. Gandhi seemed to grasp the point of this question.

We also put Sir Steuart Pears' remaining points to Mr. Gandhi, and asked him to consider whether there really could be any use for such a body of men as 13,000, the latest figure we had had—admittedly only an estimate— of the number of Red Shirts. Finally the revenue situation, with special reference to Peshawar District, was discussed at some length, and Mr. Gandhi was informed of the startling rise in the figures of crime. He wished to know how land and water rates compared in Peshawar with the adjoining districts in the Punjab and seemed surprised to learn that, while agricultural conditions in the irrigated area of the Peshawar District generally compared favourably with anything in northern India, rates of land revenue and water rates were distinctly lower than in the adjoining districts of the Punjab. This Mr. Gandhi's interlocutors thought might be taken as fair evidence of the constant Pathan tendency to have things both ways at which the Pathan is an adept and frequently successful. Mr. Gandhi took note of this and also of the fact that liberal remissions had been, were being and would be granted according to the necessities of the case. He seemed disposed to agree that whatever the land revenue policy of the future Government might be, it was perhaps bad tactics to interfere too much with revenue collection under the existing regime. On Mr. Gandhi's side a promise was given that he would send for Abdul Ghaffar Khan as soon as possible, and in the meantime would both telegraph and write to him."

10. We had some talk about the boycott and the attitude of Lancashire. Mr. Gandhi was more sorrowful than resentful about the latter. He claimed that the Settlement had produced a great change in the position regarding the boycott of foreign cloth, that there had been a very large reduction in picketing, that discrimination against British cloth had ceased and that while there were still causes of complaint these should be regarded in the light of the situation as a whole and not advanced as though they represented the general position. He claimed (and I believe rightly) that he was doing his utmost to secure the strict observance of the Settlement and he asked that any breaches of it should be at once brought to his notice.

I admitted the truth of a great deal of what he said; but gave him a number of illustrations of the sort of thing that was going on, and in particular, dwelt on the prevalence of social pressure. I said that the general impression was that freedom of action of the individual has not been secured and that it was this belief that was responsible for reactions in Lancashire, which were of first-class political importance in England. I emphasized the harm that was being done by every instance of violation of the Settlement that was communicated to the British Press and I dwelt

at length on a particular case that had come to the notice of Government. This case is briefly as follows :

“The British Goods Boycott Committee of Ahmedabad sent a letter, dated the 7th of April 1931, to the Cawnpore Chemical Works, Cawnpore, asking them various questions, among which were the following :

- (a) Do you use any British materials in the process of manufacture?
- (b) Has any Englishman or foreigner any interest whatever, either direct or indirect, in your concern? If so, what is the extent of such interest?

Mr. Gavin Jones is very closely interested in this concern and sent the letter on to us. We had enquiries made about it and were informed that the active workers on the Committee were members of the Congress. After the Settlement the Committee changed its name, but apparently sent out notices on the note paper with the old heading and also included in their questions matters which directly offended against the Settlement.”

I told Mr. Gandhi that in this particular case the attack was on the concern of an Englishman, who was a member of the Round Table Conference Delegation and who had strongly supported the Indian case in London. It would hardly be a matter of surprise if activities of this kind were to make Europeans doubtful of their previous attitude and that if this particular instance were communicated to the British Press or raised in Parliament, it could not fail to have very unfortunate results. Mr. Gandhi admitted all this and expressed regret that the matter had not been brought to his notice even once. I said that we could not do this until we knew that Congress were concerned in it and we had just received this information. I promised to let him have a copy of the relevant correspondence, and he said he would have the matter put right at once and let me know the results in a letter which Government could, if they thought it desirable, communicate to Mr. Gavin Jones.

Mr. Gandhi is, I think, uneasy about the fulfilment of the boycott provisions of the Settlement, and while he is as keen as ever on the replacement of Indian for foreign cloth and is convinced that the movement has come to stay, he realizes that methods of coercion and pressure will not succeed in the long run and that any abuse of the Settlement has adverse effects in India and in England out of proportion to the benefit to the movement itself. He has, however, still to get his own principles across to Congress organizations and workers as a whole and although he has done a good deal in this direction, there is still much more to do. It will help if local Government either directly tackle provincial Congress organizations in regard to violation of the Settlement in this respect or communicate at once specific instances to the Home Department to pass them on to Mr. Gandhi.

11. During the course of our talk with Mr. Gandhi a number of general questions were incidentally discussed, and one sitting was almost entirely devoted to big issues. An attempt is made below to summarize the points which arose.

Mr. Gandhi appears to have little hope at present of an early communal settlement and realizes the bitterness of feeling. He expressed himself as reluctant to go to England unless a solution is reached, for he would then feel that he could not either with decency or consistency press for self-government when Indians themselves were at sixes and sevens. He is also sensitive as to taunts being made in this respect. I took the following line with him :

(a) If there were no communal settlement in India, then the logical conclusion of Mr. Gandhi to this would be that unless and until there were a settlement, there could be no further advance in the constitutional field. Even if Mr. Gandhi himself felt this, it was not possible for Government to accept it. Government had often been accused of Machiavellian methods, and if it adopted the line taken by Mr. Gandhi himself, there would be an immediate outcry accompanied by political agitation on an intense scale. This must, therefore, be ruled out, and Government must assume constitutional advance, even if no agreed communal settlement were reached. Why should Mr. Gandhi take in this matter a more reactionary attitude than Government were prepared to take? Moreover, even if a settlement were not reached in India, this did not necessarily mean that one would not be reached in England. Conditions were in some respects more favourable there than here : representations of various interests would be in constant touch with each other; atmosphere would be better; British leaders were prepared to give the greatest assistance possible and in fact an agreement had almost been reached in London on the last occasion. Moreover, Lord Irwin would be certainly ready to help. (Here at this point Mr. Gandhi made the suggestion that Lord Irwin might even act as an arbitrator—an admission entirely contrary to some of his previous declarations that Indians should settle among themselves.) A settlement in London was more likely to be secured if Congress were represented and Mr. Gandhi himself might be expected to play a considerable part in it. In any case, he would not help by staying in India and, so far as the communal question was concerned, his clear duty was to go to England.

I asked him what his friends thought about this matter, and I understood that while two or three Congressites doubted, the majority considered that he ought to go. Mr. Gandhi did not commit himself to any clear decision as to whether he would go or not, but my own very definite impression is that the failure of a communal settlement will not in itself prevent his attendance.

(b) I asked him what he was going to do about Congress representatives at the Conference and suggested that even if he went as the sole representative it would be convenient to have available Congress representatives who could be appointed to Sub-Committees, since even a Mahatma could not be in three places at once. He was very vague about this part of the business and confessed that he had been so occupied in local affairs in Gujarat that he had not had time to give consideration to the Round

Table Conference arrangements. The impression he gave was that he was very reluctant to have anyone else as representing Congress in the picture and that he has an idea that he can carry on alone coming in with his views at the final stage. He obviously does not realize the amount of detailed discussion involved and the nature and extent of the difficulties. On the other hand, he has no objection to Congressmen being invited in their individual capacity to the Round Table Conference. I specifically asked him this on a point raised by His Excellency when I last saw him. In fact, he says that Lord Irwin had accepted this position and accordingly had invited Malaviya, and he had indicated his intentions of also asking Mrs. Naidu and Dr. Ansari. There would thus be, from Mr. Gandhi's point of view, no objection in inviting Congress Muslims as such, or indeed in inviting any Congress member in any capacity other than as representative of Congress. This may assist in removing difficulties which will almost certainly arise if Mr. Gandhi insists on being the sole representative of the Congress.

(c) Another constitutional matter that Congress are now taking up is as to whether—

- (a) they should serve on Sub-Committee formed previous to the Round Table Conference, and
- (b) whether they should give evidence before such Committee.

I fancy this question was brought to a head by the resignation of Ahmad Shah from the North-West Frontier Provinces Subjects Committee. Mr. Gandhi knew nothing about his appointment or his resignation, and the latter was not, I think, given under the orders of the Congress. It was probably given under the orders of Abdul Ghaffar, and I gathered that Mr. Gandhi thought that Ahmad Shah should have referred both his acceptance of the appointment and his resignation to the Congress. He agreed that the case had not been in any way prejudged and that Ahmed Shah was wrong in making this the ground for his resignation, but he did not think that anything could now be done to put this right, although I gave him the opportunity of suggesting a successor. In these circumstances he agreed that the best thing was to leave the place vacant.

On the general question the Working Committee are to hold a meeting shortly. I very strongly urged that the decision should be in favour of co-operation both as regards accepting places and giving evidence, and I said on my own authority that I thought there would be no difficulty, if the principle were accepted, in asking Congress to nominate members to Committees where the principle of Congress representation was accepted by Government. Mr. Gandhi's doubt seemed to be as to whether it was right to take part in Committees previous to the Round Table Conference when he had not made up his mind about attendance at the Conference himself. I pointed out that whatever might be his final decision in regard to London,

one important and main object of the Settlement would be defeated if Congress did not co-operate in constitutional matters, and that, even if for any reason the Settlement broke down, their present participation would not commit them. I am rather afraid that the Working Committee will come to a wrong decision in this matter.

(d) The question of land revenue cropped up in several connection, e.g., Gujarat, U.P. and North-West Frontier Province. Mr. Gandhi did not attempt to press the idea formerly favoured by him that Congress should act generally as an intermediary between Government and the revenue payer, but he still seems to think that it is possible for Congress to act as the friend of the landlord or tenant and advise him on revenue and rent matters without coming into conflict with Government or without causing serious embarrassment. He was impressed by the attitude I took on the matter. I told him that there was no Government in the world that would allow a political organization to come between them and the tax-payer, when their intervention took the form of advice to the latter as to what taxes they should pay; that if this was tried in Afghanistan, the agitator would be quickly put against the wall and blown from the cannon; that in the Indian States he would be deported or imprisoned; and that in the most advanced European countries the whole resources of the Government would be used against an organized movement of this kind carried out by a powerful political party. In India it was particularly necessary that agitation of this kind should be avoided and the more so in existing economic conditions and immediately after a direct campaign against rent and revenue. I made it quite clear that personally I regarded activities, such as those in the U.P. as a very grave breach of the whole spirit of the Settlement. I explained that local Governments were fully alive to the gravity of the economic situation and the necessity of being lenient in land revenue policy. Even so they had a very difficult task in deciding what the people could pay and could not pay, and this task could only be complicated by the interference of Congress, one result of which was to introduce the doubt as to whether a person was refusing to pay land revenue because he genuinely could not pay or because Congress advice had induced him to try and get off without payment. Mr. Gandhi was not able to accept the idea of Congress standing aside from helping persons in distress; but he did, I think, realize some of the difficulties in the way of intervention, and so far as he himself is concerned, he is worried less by the thought that inaction will remove the great opportunity of getting at the rural masses than by the failure to do something for the oppressed. We have here a definite potential source of trouble. On the other hand, he had no hesitation in condemning pressure being brought on landlords, direct appeals not to pay, creating false expectations on the Congress creed of a 50 per cent reduction in revenue and generally of any refusal to pay less than a person's capacity to pay. The results of his forthcoming discussion with Sir Malcolm Hailey ought to clear up the position in this respect.

(e) I attempted to give Mr. Gandhi an appreciation of the present situation

in the various provinces and made special reference to the North-West Frontier Provinces, Punjab, United Provinces, Bihar and Orissa and Bengal. I emphasized the fact that some of the local Governments who had been satisfied with the early results of the Settlement were getting apprehensive because of Congress activities. I pointed out that difficulties were almost unprecedented—Constitutional, political, Communal, financial, agrarian and terrorist—that we had a good chance of surmounting them if everyone pulled together, but that otherwise the prospects were gloomy. I said it was the deliberate and definite policy of the Government of India to implement the Settlement and to make every effort within reason to prevent a break-down. There were no reactionary forces at work in this respect. At the same time, they had necessarily to exercise constant vigilance and they could not allow a situation of danger to develop either generally or locally, even if action meant the disappearance of the Settlement. In this respect the outstanding danger was the mentality of the Congress and the constant advocacy, on the contrary, of preparation for a further struggle. This mentality was inevitably having effects elsewhere. It was partly because of the reaction in England and unless we could check the reaction there, the atmosphere would become entirely unfavourable. In regard to constitutional discussion at the Conference, I suggested that his own position would be very unpleasant if, when he was in London, a state of affairs existed in India which irritated and even outraged public opinion in England. I gave him many instances from different provinces of Congress subversive action. Mr. Gandhi was, I think, generally impressed by the above factor. He had already realized the significance of the reaction in England and he did not, as I rather expected he might do, criticize the reactionary forces at work. Similarly he made no protest whatever against the line taken by His Excellency the Governor of the Punjab in his recent speech, and he seemed to accept the view I took that the speech was the natural consequence of hard facts for which Congress were largely responsible, but his only complaint was that I had suggested a widespread suspicion of the objects and activities of the Congress, that these in fact were good and that they did want a peaceful solution. He admitted that particular activities were bad and had his complete disapproval. He also appreciated the necessity of getting the situation on to a more peaceful plane, and he will, I hope, definitely use his influence to this end. I showed him a circular issued by the Provincial Congress Committee of Madras, a copy of which is attached to this note, and said that while there were one or two things in it which might be better expressed, Government would have little cause for complaint if Congress as a whole acted on the principles stated in it. I also told him that the line he had taken in his own speech at Simla would definitely help, and begged him to carry on in the same spirit and get his leaders to do likewise. I have personally no doubt that he will do his best.

12. I may close this note (which is already of inordinate length) with some

personal impressions.

Mr. Gandhi is, I think, more sincere than ever in his desire to see the Settlement through, and he will do his utmost in this respect. It is probably less likely to break down from the Congress side on a big issue than on some irritating and comparatively unimportant matter of detail. This danger would be lessened if Congress activities, especially in rural areas, were materially to moderate, for it might then be possible and even desirable for local Government to stretch a point here and there in response to Congress action. If and when this becomes feasible, the atmosphere will improve.

Mr. Gandhi himself has definitely mellowed during the past few months. He has been up against concrete difficulties and has had to face constructive work. This has made him less confident in regard to preconceived ideas and more ready to see the other side of the case, although I have always found him very fair in this respect. Personal contact with various officers of Government has increased his desire to co-operate and while I realize only too well the difficulties and dangers in the way of closer co-operation with Congress leaders so long as Congress are out to increase their prestige and influence at the expense of Government and other parties, I feel that, where it is possible to avoid these difficulties and dangers, personal contact will definitely help to relieve the situation. This will be particularly the case if, as I hope, Mr. Gandhi tries with success to tone down the war mentality. If there is no response by Government, we shall get back into the same vicious circle.

Mr. Gandhi himself is at present too involved in detail to give the attention he should be giving to big questions. He receives many complaints of failure on the part of Government to carry out their part of the agreement, and although the great majority of these are untrue, they doubt and suspicions. The sooner the matters immediately arising out of the Settlement are wound up the better.

Mr. Gandhi is under no illusion as to the consequences of the break-down of the Settlement. He realizes the renewal of the Civil Disobedience Movement will compel Government to hit hard and hit at once and I have made this perfectly clear to him on many occasions. He accepts this as quite fair and will, if necessary, face the consequences. But if it can be avoided, he does not want another fight and this fact and his sense of obligation to honour promises given to Lord Irwin are factors of very great importance in the situation.

The 18th May, 1931

H. W. EMERSON

From a photostat : India Office Records

APPENDIX III (A)

*SIR MALCOLM HAILEY'S NOTE ON DISCUSSIONS WITH GANDHIJI*¹

May 20, 1931

My discussion with Mr. Gandhi today turned mainly on the agrarian situation, but there were also some subsidiary points mentioned.

1. As regards releases, he had little to say; he had not at all events come prepared with a list of cases in which there were any complaints that we had not observed the Agreement. I told him that if there were any cases which he wished to refer to us, I should be glad if he would send them to Chief Secretary; and he agreed.

2. He mentioned the cases of students who had been rusticated, etc., for taking part in Civil Disobedience. I have not the full facts, but the D.P.I. has informed me that before being re-admitted they were required to undertake that they were to observe the disciplinary rules of the institution. This does not seem to be a very onerous obligation, and failing any more definite complaint from Congress, I would let the matter rest there. Mr. Gandhi did not seem to attach any great importance to it at the time.

3. He attached some importance to the question of arms for which licenses had been confiscated owing to their owners taking part in Civil Disobedience. There were I believe some such cases, though I do not now if we have anything about them at headquarters. He told me that the Commissioner in Gujarat had recognized that this fell within the terms of the Agreement, that Mr. Emerson had said he thought it did so, but that he would consult legal opinion before issuing anything to local Governments. Chief Secretary might ascertain any facts that he can on the subject, and at the same time write demi-officially to Mr. Emerson, asking if the Government of India think that arms licenses should be restored, where they have been confiscated strictly on the ground that owners have taken part in Civil Disobediences.

4. As I have said, the main point was the agrarian situation. We discussed this at great length, and I for my part avoided any point of principle, such as whether the Congress was really entitled under the Agreement to be recognized as the representative of the people, etc., and too him at once to the facts of the situation in the districts in which Congress had been most active. I pointed out that however the situation had been arrived at, the danger was that tenants would now refuse to pay rents at all and resort to acts of violence if they were pressed by landlords. I naturally quoted Chauri Chaura to him. He at once disclaimed any idea of a no-

¹ *Vide* "Speech at Nainital", 20-5-1931

rent campaign, and was somewhat aghast when I gave him a copy of the resolution of the Etawah Congress Committee which he said he would look into at once. He admitted that where compromises had been made by landlords with Congress, the latter had not been able to persuade tenants to pay up. He said it was no part of Congress plans to establish an organization of tahsils and thanas; they were quite opposed to the idea of actually starting a parallel government or anything of the kind. Having got thus far, I then again put to him the actual difficulty arising from the situation in these districts. He said that it could only be solved by enlisting the effective co-operation of Congress in persuading tenants to pay their rents. But he could not promise this, nor could he engage to use his own active efforts of persuasion direct to tenants unless Congress had something better to put forward than the mere announcement of remissions by Government. His workers had narrowly examined the conditions of numerous districts and were confident that tenants could not pay even the reduced rentals in present circumstances. He indeed suggested that the enquiry showed that rents were so high as practically to be unpayable even in ordinary years, though he admitted that this conclusion might need some modifying in the light of the fact that many of these rentals were old and spread over a long series of years. He suggested the adoption of one of the three following courses :

First, (though he did not press this) he suggested that we might accept the figures arrived at by Congress workers, which he assured me were not a mere rough shot but the result of actual inquiries. I pointed out to him that it was quite impossible to assume that these general figures were equally correct for all classes of tenants and for all parts of the province.

Secondly, he suggested that our officers might hold a kind of summary inquiry with selected Congressmen in each district or division with a view of getting better figures.

Thirdly, if neither course was acceptable to Government, he asked that Government itself should hold a public inquiry at which Congressmen could give evidence as to the capacity of tenants to pay rentals. I pointed out to him that either of the latter courses would mean delay with every prospect that no money would be available at all for payment of rentals. If tenants get over the payment of any rental at all this harvest, it is pretty certain that they would pay nothing for kharif. It was quite impossible to make summary inquiries in three or four days as he thought, and a general inquiry on the lines of that which he had in mind, namely, the Commission on Champaran in 1916 would take many months. Anything that we did now would not only very gravely affect the landlords, but also might have an abiding effect on our own finances for many years to come; it was not, therefore, reasonable to ask

Government to adopt a summary procedure which might have such far-reaching effects. I told him that I would consider his proposals, but it seemed to me that the result of delaying collections would be so dangerous that it would be difficult to accept them. I pointed out that there were many districts in which our officers thought that collections might now proceed without great difficulty, and that in my opinion the best course was to set to work on collections wherever possible in the hope that if these proceeded smoothly it will have its effect on the attitude of the tenants generally. We left the matter at that, and it may be that it is not a very satisfactory conclusion, for I did not get his definite engagement to do nothing except to discountenance anything like a no-rent campaign or an attempt to set up Congress tribunals. As Mr. Emerson had warned me, Mr. Gandhi feels deeply that Congress cannot entirely retire from its position of championship of tenants and small landowners.

5. We discussed the question of picketing though at no great length. I pointed out to him the danger that it was becoming communal owing to the unwillingness of volunteers to tackle Mohammedan shopkeepers, and I also pointed out that the snatching away of liquor or the infliction of fines is quite beyond the spirit of the Agreement. He is agreed and said that he would do his best to discountenance it and had indeed already issued orders against the taking of fines.

M. HAILEY

Home Department, Political, File No. 33/XI & K.Ws., 1931. Courtesy : National Archives of India

APPENDIX IV (B)

LETTER FROM SIR MALCOLM HAILEY TO H. W. EMERSON¹

UNITED PROVINCES,

May 21, 1931

MY DEAR EMERSON,

Many thanks for your letter of the 16th May; I have found it very useful indeed in my discussion with Mr. Gandhi. I send you a note as to the results which, I fear, were not very conspicuous. But the discussion was very friendly throughout, and I was particularly struck with the fact that he did not seem to have come prepared to open up a battery of objections against our method of dealing with releases, ect. As you will see, his general attitude on the object of the agrarian trouble was very much the same as that which he took with you.

Yours sincerely,

M. HAILEY

H. W. EMERSON, ESQ.,
SECY. TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
HOME DEPARTMENT
PS.

I have sent a copy of my note to the Viceroy.

Home Department, Political, File No. 33/XI & K.Ws., 1931. Courtesy :
National Archives of India

APPENDIX V (A)

LETTER FROM SIR MALCOLM HAILEY²

May 23, 1931

DEAR MR. GANDHI,

I have just received your letter of today, and as you ask for a very early, I have given it urgent but very anxious consideration and write at once to give you my views on the subject.

Thought I welcome much that is contained in your proposed manifesto, such as the advice to tenants to begin making payments at once, your condemnation of the use of violence by *kisans*, and your strongly expressed desire that they should not injure their own cause by undersirable action, yet I much regret that I could not associate myself in any way with the manifesto as a whole. It practically embodies a decision that it is necessary to make for a large number of districts in the province a rental remission for the whole year 1338 Fasli of eight annas in the rupee in the case

¹ *Vide* "Speech at Nainital", 20-5-1931

² *Vide* "Letter to Malcolm Hailey", 23-5-1931

of statutory and non-occupancy tenants and four annas in the case of occupancy tenants. Though I admit that it is stated that in some cases a larger payment is possible, yet tenants generally could not understand it as anything but a direction to confine their payments to this level as a whole. I am myself far from convinced by anything that I have seen or heard that a reduction on this scale is required by the circumstances, and I am certainly clear that no one formula, whether it embraces reductions of this amount or otherwise, could with equity be applied to the very different conditions prevailing throughout the province.

I am advised that collections of rentals are already proceeding in many of our districts on the basis of the reductions made by Government, and though it is not possible at the moment to say whether these collections can everywhere be made absolutely in full, yet to my mind the right policy is to allow collections to proceed on this basis and to watch the results carefully. I have in conversation with you pointed out the danger of doing anything which would encourage tenants to withhold rentals at this stage, for if collections are not made at once, there will be little chance of securing any payment at all at a subsequent stage. It is for this latter reason in particular that I have deprecated proposals for general inquiries into the present pitch of rentals throughout the province, for no summary inquiry of this nature can do justice to a very complicated and involved case, a decision on which will not only affect vitally the finances of Government, but will involve far-reaching effects on the relations of tenants and landlords.

With best wishes,

I am,
Yours sincerely,
M. HAILEY

M. K. GANDHI, ESQ.
TAKULA, NAINITAL

Home Department, Political, File No. 33/XI & K. Ws., 1931. Courtesy :
National Archives of India

APPENDIX VI (B)

LETTER FROM SIR MALCOLM HAILEY TO H. W. EMERSON¹

UNITED PROVINCES,
May 23, 1931

MY DEAR EMERSON,

I think that you ought to see at once the enclosed correspondence I have just had with Mr. Gandhi. I had to reply at somewhat short notice, as I did not wish to do anything that might delay him leaving us at 3 o'clock this afternoon! But it was clearly impossible for me to agree to anything that would look like a joint manifesto from myself and him, particularly as his draft could only have been understood by the majority of people to embody a decision that the remissions granted by us were altogether wrong and that something far more extensive was required. I do not know if he will return to the charge or will want to come and see me again; but his lieutenant, Govind Vallabh Pant, was told on the telephone that I should be unlikely to vary the attitude I had taken up. After a good deal of consideration I think this is only one possible for me.

Yours sincerely,
M. HAILEY

PS.

If Sir George Lambert is still in Simla would you kindly show this to him?

H. W. EMERSON, ESQ.

Home Department, Political, File No. 33/XI & K.Ws., 1931. Courtesy :
National Archives of India

APPENDIX VII

LETTER FROM R. M. MAXWELL²

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
MAHABALESHWAR,
May 13, 1931

DEAR MR. GANDHI,

At your interview with His Excellency Sir Frederick Sykes on the 17th April His Excellency promised that certain cases which you mentioned, pertaining to the Home Department, would be reconsidered by the Government. I am now to inform you of the results of that review.

¹ *Vide* "Letter to Malcolm Hailey", 23-5-1931

² *Vide* "Letter to R. M. Maxwell", 6-6-1931

2. I am to deal firstly with your suggestions for the release of certain prisoners.

(i) You represented that the Sholapur Martial Law prisoners who had not been released should have been released according to the Settlement, and you were informed at the time that there were three such persons.

In the case of Mr. Rajwade you are right in your supposition, to which you have referred in your letter of the 1st instant to Mr. Collins, that no other writing was placed before the Court except the issue of the *Karmayogi* in question. Many of the allegations in that document were either false or so grossly exaggerated (or, when he referred to the incidents of the riots, minimized) as to be untrue to the facts. The chief consideration, however, is that their publication at that time and in the conditions then prevailing in Sholapur inevitably tended to inflame the population against the authorities and thus amounted to a direct and real incitement to further violence. Their actual effect was to make more difficult the restoration of peace, and it is impossible to doubt that this result was foreseen by Mr. Rajwade when he published the article. The Government, therefore, on reconsideration adhere to their view that this is not a case which can properly claim the benefit of the amnesty.

The other two persons were convicted of tampering with justice by bribing witnesses in the case which arose from the murder of two policemen, and on reconsideration Government are unable to see that the Settlement can apply to a case of this description or that the persons concerned deserve any clemency.

(ii) The Government have reconsidered the cases of persons convicted under Section 124-A of the I.P.C. You expressed the opinion that the writing of articles and the making of speeches were not contemplated when it was decided that the Settlement should not apply to cases of violence and incitement to violence. The Government are unable to accept this view, for it is clear that such writings and speeches can, and often did, contain incitement to violence which is real and not technical, and that such incitement is often more dangerous and far-reaching than other forms of incitement to violence. The Government find that the cases of the individuals detained in jail satisfied this test, and they are therefore in no doubt that those persons were rightly excluded from the benefits of the amnesty. I am to add that Government are always ready to show leniency, as in many cases in the past, to any person convicted under Section 124-A of the I.P.C., who makes adequate apologies and gives an undertaking not to repeat the offence but this is a point unconnected with the Settlement, which makes no provision for conditional release.

(iii) You referred to the case of Ratanji Dayaram of Bardoli taluka, who you said was convicted of burning his own crop and should therefore have been released.

On examining his case Government find that he was convicted of deliberately burning *his tenant's* crop in order that the revenue due to Government should not be

paid on the land in question. He has not made any reparation to the sufferer which might have entitled his case to consideration on grounds of clemency as distinct from the terms of the Settlement, which, as I have pointed out, make no provision for conditional release. Apart from this circumstance, Government consider that violent mischief of this description does not come within the terms of the amnesty.

(iv) His Excellency understood you to say that there were certain prisoners convicted of offences in connection with the salt campaign who had not been released. The Home Department are however unable to trace any such cases.

(v) You stated that there were certain prosecutions which were still being carried on for offences which took place during the civil disobedience campaign contrary to the terms of the Settlement, and you referred in particular to a case in Belgaum.

It was pointed out to you at the time that the particular case to which you referred was a case of Nipani in that district. The facts of this case are that, following the conviction of two local leaders in April 1930, a mob collected with the intention of enforcing hartal, and after damaging public and private property and destroying the royal portraits in the school, came into conflict with the police whom they proceeded to stone, with the result that three policemen and some village servants were injured. There was thus real violence and Government feel that the decision to proceed with the case cannot be altered.

The other prosecutions which were still pending at the time of your conversation with His Excellency were those of (a) Mahadev Kuverji and Hira Vallabh (b) Vishnu Sali, (c) Shiva Mattur, all of Surat district, who were accused respectively of setting fire to attached crops, severely assaulting a police constable, and setting fire to an attached crop after beating the village servant in charge. These are clear cases of violence which cannot be reviewed.

3. As regards the orders of deportation passed under the Foreigners' Act, the Government have already, on reconsideration, withdrawn these orders in all cases, six in number, and the persons who were in prison for failing to observe the orders have been released. In this connection you stated that there were 30 such cases in the Karnatak and you were informed that Government were not aware of them, on which you agreed to furnish particulars of them to the Secretary, Home Department. As you have not done so, His Excellency assumes that you were misinformed on the point.

4. You stated that certain movable and immovable property forfeited had not been returned. His Excellency finds that all the buildings seized under Ordinance IX have been restored. The delay in some cases was due to the time which necessarily elapsed in finding, and making the necessary arrangements with, the persons entitled and authorized to take delivery.

As regards the return of movable property, the position has been discussed in

my separate letter of today, in reply to yours of the 7th May.

5. As regards the Chirner case, which you represented should be withdrawn, you were informed at the time that as the persons concerned were accused of rioting, being armed with deadly weapons, dacoity, conspiracy to commit dacoity and causing grievous hurt to public servants in the performance of their duty, while six of them are directly charged with murder, the case was obviously one which must be allowed to take its course.

Yours sincerely,

R. M. MAXWELL

M. K. GANDHI, ESQUIRE

A.I.C.C. File No. 4/1931 Part I. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

APPENDIX VIII

OPINION¹

June 13, 1931

1. (1) The question which has arisen between the Government and the Navajivan Press is :

“What are the obligations of the Government as regards returning the press which was seized at Ahmedabad from the premises of the Navajivan Press?” The question depends primarily on the language of the Instrument which says “movable property . . . will be returned”. The meaning of the word “return” as given by Webster is “to bring, carry, put, or send back; to restore”. According to Murray’s Oxford Dictionary the word “return” has, among others, the following meaning :

“to bring or convey to a place or person; to send back again; to give or render back”. From this it is plain that where a party in possession (in this case the Government) has agreed to return a movable property, the obligation undertaken can only be said to have been performed when the party in possession brings or conveys back to the place from where the thing was taken and hands it over to the person from whom it was taken. We are, therefore, of opinion that the terms of the Agreement are not only not silent as to the place of delivery, but are clear as to the place of delivery, viz., the place from where it was taken or where it was seized.

2. In an Indian Statute, the word “return” has also been used in the sense of taking a thing back to the place from which it was brought. Section 43 of the Indian Sale of Goods Act runs as follows :

“Unless otherwise agreed, where goods are delivered to the buyer and he refuses

¹ *Vide* “Letter to H.W. Emerson”, 14-6-1931

to accept them, having the right so to do, he is not to return them to the seller, but it is sufficient if he intimates to the seller that he refuses to accept them”.

It is obvious that the word “return” must mean taking back to the place from which it was taken, and it is used in contradistinction to “offer to return” or “holding it at the disposal of the party from whom it was taken”. The action of the Government in this case merely amounts to “offer to return” or to “hold it at the disposal of the previous owner”, but does not amount to the performance of the obligation to return. As is pointed out above, the obligation to return requires that the thing should be restored to the place and the person from which and from whom it was taken.

3. We are of opinion that the section dealing with the subject of delivery of goods as between the seller and the buyer, has got nothing to do with the present question as no question of return arises in such a case.

4. While clearly disagreeing with the view that the agreement in question is silent as to the place of “return”, we are of opinion that even in that view, the place of performance of the obligation, in an agreement like the present, is the place from or at which the thing was taken or seized. The place in such a case has to be determined by a reference to the object of the agreement. It is clear that in this case, the object is to restore *status quo ante*.

5. Even on the assumption, which is denied, that the agreement in this present case is silent as to the place of “return”, by reason of the provisions of Section 49 of the Indian Contract Act, if no place of performance was agreed upon, the promisee has the right to appoint the place of performance and the promisor is bound to perform the promise (in this case, the promise to return the press) at such place, provided it is reasonable. In this case, the promisee is entitled to name a reasonable place for performance and the reasonable and proper place is *prima facie* the place from where it was taken or where it was seized; for it is conceivable that after the seizure, the thing may be removed, for a variety of reasons, to a distant place and it would be clearly reasonable for the promisee to claim that it should be returned to the place from where it was taken or where it was seized.

6. In every view of the matter, therefore, the position taken up by the Government in the matter of the Navajivan Press cannot be sustained. They can be said to have fulfilled the agreement only when they have taken it to Ahmedabad (from where it was seized) and offer to return it to the person from whom it was taken.

BHULABHAI DESAI

D. N. BAHADURJI

K. M. MUNSHI

A.I.C.C. File No., 2/1931. Courtesy : Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

APPENDIX IX

LETTER FROM H. W. EMERSON¹

SIMLA,
July 4, 1931

In your letter of June 14, you suggested that the time had perhaps arrived for the appointment of a permanent Board of Arbitration to decide questions of the interpretation of the Settlement and as to the full carrying out of the terms by the one party or the other. Again in your letter of June 20, you made the farther suggestion that in regard to picketing, the Government of India should advise local Governments to appoint a Board of Inquiry, consisting of a nominee on their behalf and a nominee on behalf of the Congress, to conduct a summary inquiry into the allegations on either side and wherever it is found that the rule of peaceful picketing has been violated picketing should be entirely suspended, the Government undertaking on its part to stop prosecutions wherever it is found that they have been undertaken in spite of peaceful picketing.

I much appreciate your object of removing the possible causes of dispute arising out of the Settlement, but there are, I am afraid, serious difficulties in the way of accepting either proposal. To take the lesser one first. Its scope, as I understand it, is mainly limited to cases in which it is alleged that the methods of picketing have contravened the ordinary law and that the police have, therefore, prosecuted or propose to prosecute the picketer. One effect of your proposal would be that before bringing the law into operation there should be a summary inquiry carried out by a nominee of Government and a nominee of Congress and that further proceedings would depend on their decision.

In other words, the duty of maintaining the law in this particular respect would be transferred from the police, who have statutory duties, to a Board of Inquiry, the members of which might well arrive at different conclusions.

While the police, of course, must act only in accordance with the law, it is not practicable nor was it intended by the Settlement that their duty in this respect should in any way be abrogated.

In cases of this kind a practical test as to whether the law has or has not been contravened is the decision of the Court, which tries the case, and unless its decision is reversed on appeal the finding of the Court that picketing has contravened the law and consequently the terms of the Settlement should *prima facie* be followed automatically by a suspension of picketing. The above illustrates one of the difficulties, that would also arise in the case of Standing Boards of Arbitration.

¹ *Vide* "Letter to J. H. Garrett", 20-4-1931

The obligations imposed on Congress by the Settlement relate largely to matters affecting Law and Order, the freedom of action of the individual and the carrying on of the administration, that is to say, any serious breach of it has important reactions on one or other of these matters. So far as individual breaches contravened the ordinary law, the position would be the same as for picketing. If general breaches of it raised questions of policy affecting Law and Order or the effective working of the administration, it would be clearly impossible for Government to restrict their freedom of action by reference to a Board of Arbitration. This was not contemplated when the Settlement was made and in particular when the last clause of it was drafted. Nor would it be consonant with the discharge by Government of fundamental responsibilities.

It seems to me that the working of the Settlement must depend primarily on the good faith of the parties to it. So far as Government are concerned they desire to adhere strictly to its terms and our information shows that the local Governments have been scrupulous in carrying out the obligations imposed on them. Doubtful cases are of course inevitable, but local Governments are prepared to give them most careful examination and the Government of India will continue to bring to the notice of local Governments any cases that are reported to them and if necessary satisfy themselves in regard to the facts.

Young India, 20-8-1931