

1. NOTES

DOG IN THE MANGER

The volume of information being gained daily shows how wickedly the salt tax has been designed. In order to prevent the use of salt that has not paid the tax which is at times even fourteen times its value, the Government destroys the salt it cannot sell profitably. Thus it taxes the nation's vital necessity, it prevents the public from manufacturing it and destroys what nature manufactures without effort. No adjective is strong enough for characterizing this wicked dog-in-the-manger policy. From various sources I hear tales of such wanton destruction of the nation's property in all parts of India. Maunds if not tons of salt are said to be destroyed on the Konkan coast. The same tale comes from Dandi. Wherever there is likelihood of natural salt being taken away by the people living in the neighbourhood of such areas for their personal use, salt officers are posted for the sole purpose of carrying on destruction. Thus valuable national property is destroyed at national expense and salt taken out of the mouths of the people.

Nor is this all. I was told on entering the Olpad taluka that through the poor people being prevented from collecting the salt that was prepared by nature or from manufacturing it they were deprived of the supplementary village industry they had in addition to the spinning-wheel.

The salt monopoly is thus a fourfold curse. It deprives the people of a valuable easy village industry, involves wanton destruction of property that nature produces in abundance, the destruction itself means more national expenditure, and fourthly, to crown this folly, an unheard-of tax of more than 1,000 per cent is exacted from a starving people.

I cannot help recalling in this connection the hue and cry that was raised when I first proposed the burning of foreign cloth. It was considered to be an inhuman, wasteful proposal. It is generally admitted that foreign cloth is harmful to the people. Salt on the other hand is a vital necessity. Yet it has been and is daily being wantonly destroyed in the interest of a wicked exaction.

This tax has remained so long because of the apathy of the general public. Now that it is sufficiently roused, the tax has to go. How soon it will be abolished depends upon the strength the people

are able to put forth. Happily the test will not be long delayed.

EXAGGERATED STATEMENTS

Paragraphs have appeared in the Press to the effect that 18 of my companions have become ill and incapacitated. This is a gross exaggeration. It is quite true that that number had to take two days' rest at the Broach Sevashram. But that was because they were fatigued and footsore. With the exception of the case of smallpox which proved to be quite mild, there was no illness worth the name. One of the companions certainly had strong fever. But that fever too proved to be due to overzeal in marching. He had a wiry constitution and was over-confident about his ability to pull through without resting. He would not therefore rest till nature absolutely compelled him. But both are quite well now though being weak they are still being made to rest a few days. They expect to join the company at Surat. A third, though still a little footsore, insisted on walking, but had to rest at Ankleshvar. All the others are fit and marching daily. It has become necessary to make this statement in order to prevent anxiety on the part of guardians and friends. It would be ungrateful not to mention here the great attention the villagers are paying to the satyagrahis and the exceptional care that was bestowed upon the smallpox patient by the Charotar Education Society at Anand and on the footsore men by Dr. Chandulal's staff at Sevashram.

A moral may also be drawn from these accidents. The modern generation is delicate, weak and much pampered. If they will take part in national work, they must take ample exercise and become hardy. And no exercise is as good and as effective as long vigorous marches. Gymnastics and the like are good and may be added to walking. They are no substitutes for walking, justly called the prince of exercises. Our march is in reality child's play. Less than twelve miles per day in two stages with not much luggage should cause no strain. Those who have not been footsore have gained in weight. I may add too that the hot Condy's fluid, baths and wet sheet packs are proving a most efficient remedy for smallpox.

THE TRUE SPIRIT

Shrimati Khurshedbai Naoroji came the other day to Sandhier, a halting station during the march. She was accompanied by Mridulabehn, the daughter of Sjt. Ambalal Sarabhai, Madalasa, the little daughter of Jamnalalji, Shrimati Vasumatibehn and Radhabehn from the

Ashram. They had to await a lift for Sandhier. They wanted to turn to national account the time at their disposal. They saw that the surroundings of the place were not overclean. They therefore decided to clean up the rubbish and so asked for brooms from the surprised villagers. As soon as the villagers realized what had happened, they also joined these national scavengers, some of whom were drawn from aristocratic families and the village of Sayan perhaps never looked as clean as when these sisters utilized their spare time for scavenging. I commend this true service, this mute speech of the sisters to the army of young men who are pining to serve and free the country. Freedom will come only when we deliver a simultaneous attack on all the weak points. Let it be known that all these sisters have enlisted as civil resisters and are eagerly, even impatiently, awaiting marching orders. In this campaign of swaraj by self-purification, it will be nothing surprising if the women outdo the men.

MOTILALJI'S MUNIFICENCE

The palatial Anand Bhavan, the pride of the Nehrus, is to be national property from 6th instant, the national Satyagraha Day. Motilalji has much service to his credit. Jawaharlal is his living gift to the nation. There was no need to add brick and mortar. But I know he has been pining to part with that spacious house which has the historical associations now made known to the public. Truly, Motilalji has spent as he has earned. Let us prove worthy of his services and his gifts.

Young India, 3-4-1930

2. REMEMBER 6TH APRIL

This will be in the readers' hands on Thursday 3rd instant. If there is no previous cancelling, they all may regard this as the word from me that all are free and those who are ready are expected to start mass civil disobedience regarding the salt laws, as from 6th April.

Let me gather up what has been said in these pages at various times.

The only stipulation for civil disobedience is perfect observance of non-violence in the fullest sense of the term.

Mass civil disobedience means spontaneous action. The workers

will merely guide the masses in the beginning stages. Later the masses will regulate the movement themselves.

Congress volunteers will watch developments and render aid wherever needed. They will be expected to be in the forefront.

Volunteers may not take sides in any communal quarrels.

Wherever there is a violent eruption, volunteers are expected to die in the attempt to quell violence.

Perfect discipline and perfect co-operation among the different units are indispensable for success.

If there is true mass awakening, those who are not engaged in civil disobedience are expected to occupy themselves and induce others to be engaged in some national service, such as khadi work, liquor and opium picketing, foreign-cloth exclusion, village sanitation, assisting the families of civil resistance prisoners in a variety of ways.

Indeed if there is a real response about civil resistance regarding the salt tax, we should by proper organization secure boycott of foreign cloth through khadi and secure total prohibition. This should mean a saving of 91 crores per year, and supplementary work for the millions of unemployed. If we secure these things, we cannot be far from independence. And not one of these things is beyond our capacity.

Young India, 3-4-1930

3. PROHIBITION

Pandit Dev Sharma “Abhaya” proposes to launch a prohibition campaign in the area around Hardwar. I have given him my approval saying that if he has the self-confidence he should certainly take up the work. The idea of non-co-operation was born out of the spirit of self-purification. That is why in 1920-21 such a great campaign for prohibition became possible and even succeeded. The campaign had later to be halted, or one may say it stopped by itself, because impurity, that is, coercion, had entered it.

This time people have realized that coercion will not bring lasting results. Therefore, in areas where there is no risk of violence and where workers in sufficient numbers are available, prohibition campaign can and should be launched.

This campaign can be carried on in three ways:

1. by visiting the homes of addicts and dissuading them from

drinking;

2. by persuading the liquor-booth owners to close their business;
and

3. by picketing the liquor booths.

All these three can also be taken up simultaneously. In the first two there is no risk whatever. In the third a risk of violence exists. In regard to this the Government may issue prohibitory orders. If such orders are issued we should not be frightened. The easiest way to offer civil disobedience is to disregard them.

Clearly, everyone cannot do picketing nor can it be resorted to everywhere. So the campaign will be somewhat restricted in area. But even though it is restricted it is good work and it may also bring good results. Therefore if those who have the self-confidence take up such a campaign, it can only give me pleasure.

[From Hindi]

Hindi Navajivan, 3-4-1930

4. LETTER TO KAPILRAI MEHTA

*Midnight [April 3, 1930]*¹

CHI. KAPILRAI,

I got the news about you. There is no hurry. Come on Saturday, but only if you have no temperature. They will send you back from Navsari. Do not apply the wet-sheet pack any longer. Do take milk. There is no harm in taking hot-water bath. As for the cough, consult the doctor. He says that you should remain in Surat for at least ten days. I also see no harm in your coming on Saturday if you have no temperature on that day.

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

Show this to the doctor.

CHI. KAPILRAI SAINIK
ANAVIL ASHRAM, SURAT

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 1594. Courtesy: Kapilrai Mehta; also G.N. 3972

¹ From the postmark

5. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING, VANJH¹

April 3, 1930

Only two days now remain before we conclude this march. We shall then set to work. A large number of people will be present. I told you about the scarcity of water in Dandi. We shall have to use water as if it was milk, like the Jain sadhu who lived in the forest. I must also tell you that they are finding it very difficult to arrange for our meals. So after reaching Dandi all that you will be given three times a day would be _ seer of gram, _ seer of puffed rice, and boiled water with a *tola* of ghee and jaggery added. You shall get used to this for we have to lead austere lives.

Another piece of information that I have received is that the Government intends to use fire-engines to stop us. We have prepared ourselves for death from cannons and guns, compared to which this is nothing. Of course, even with jets of water, the Government can kill us through torture. It is certainly painful. However, you must bear in mind that not one of us will retreat. I do not think the Government will be so cruel, but we must be prepared.

[From Gujarati]

Prajabandhu, 6-4-1930

¹ Held at 4 a.m.

6. SPEECH AT NAVSARI

April 3, 1930

Navsari is the headquarters of our Parsi brethren. The total number of Parsis in the world is less than a hundred thousand and of these the majority live in the Bombay Presidency, chiefly in Navsari and Bombay.

If I come across a Parsi friend anywhere in the country while touring, I never fail to recognize him.

An English writer called Lang while comparing charitable attitudes the world over has established that in generosity Parsis, if we consider their number, top the list. The Parsi brethren who are like a drop in the ocean, have made the world talk of their generosity. History records no other instance of a community having practised such dispassionate generosity. Whenever I have stretched out my hand before Parsis, it has never returned empty.

In the satyagraha in South Africa too, Parsi brethren were in the forefront. Sheth Rustomji sacrificed his all. That is why I have sung his praises like a minstrel.

How can I repay this debt to the Parsis? Being a beggar, how can I repay my debts with money? I am not a saheb or a Viceroy that I may give them high offices or titles. Hence, today, having come to Navsari, I shall sing their praises and take away something from them. Parsi brethren are, of course, there in this struggle. A Zoroastrian friend who is like a brother to me and who is suspected of having cancer, is nevertheless dying to take part in this struggle.

Take the case of Dadabhai's grand-daughters. These sisters are just crazy and impatient to join the struggle. What more then need I say about the assistance from Parsis? However, I want something special.

You may take it that the salt tax is as good as abolished. Ever since I set out from the Ashram, at various places Parsis have showered blessings on me and said: "May you triumph. God is with you. And come back after securing swaraj." And I shall return, if I am alive, after winning swaraj.

You can make the largest contribution if, instead of joining in the salt struggle, you participate in the prohibition movement.

We ruin ourselves by spending Rs. 25 crores on liquor. Because of this evil habit our homes have been destroyed. Although I was a lawyer in South Africa, I moved about a good deal among our labouring brethren there. These labourers also came to see me about their problems. And, since I had made myself part of their lives they told me their joys and sorrows, their tales of woe. And they would break down and cry while telling me how they had ruined themselves through drink. I know from experience that many of my labourer brethren in Ahmedabad are in a similar plight. Those who are given to drink often cannot distinguish between wife, mother and daughter. Man degenerates into brute. Whoever gets entrapped in this vice becomes an animal. I have with my own eyes seen the captain of a ship, when drunk, rolling in vomit. I ask my Parsi brethren to help me rescue addicts from this vice.

Mithubehn saw people given to drink. It moved her and leaving her mother, her home and her belongings she has plunged into the cause of prohibition. However, the sacrifice by one Parsi lady is not sufficient to complete this task. The heart of every Parsi must be touched for the sake of this cause. And, where it seems necessary, persons like me may even have to offer satyagraha. Parsis are intelligent and capable and they earn crores of rupees. They are god-fearing. If, from today, Parsi owners of liquor booths give up this trade on realizing that to do business in liquor is a sin, other liquor-booth owners will certainly follow their example.

When we save thus 25 crore rupees we shall have rehabilitated crores of poor homes. The gods will then shower flowers upon us.

If you can enter the hearts of people and make them give up liquor, it will generate such power that we shall be able to achieve whatever we want.

I ask the ladies in particular to help in this. They should visit the homes of those who drink and plead with them. I have seen women of the Salvation Army do this. Why should not the women of India do the same? Are they—the Hindu, Muslim and Parsi women—less capable of doing good? Are not those who are caught in the vice their own brothers? If I go and reason with them, they will quarrel with me as they will with other men. They will not, however, be disrespectful or insulting to any woman. They are not such beasts that they will not understand you. As soon as they come in contact with you they will be awakened, they will step back and, seeing the love and affection

pouring from your eyes, they will conclude that it is some *sati* or *yogini* confronting them and ashamed of themselves they will give up liquor.

When you sisters come to know the wives and daughters of drunkards, when you make friends with their ignorant, straying children, when you see that they continue to drink although they own nothing but the sky above them and the earth below, you cannot but feel inspired to take up this sacred cause.

I leave this message for the sisters in case the Government whisks me away to prison. Gujarati women are trained in such matters. Women in no other part of India have received as much training as they have. Hence all you sisters must plunge into the field which has already been prepared by Mithubehn.

In this non-violent struggle, women can play an even greater part than men because they are the very embodiment of renunciation and compassion, i.e., of non-violence. A man understands the dharma of non-violence through his intellect whereas a woman has imbibed it even before her birth. A man escapes with very little responsibility, but women have to serve their husbands, their children and other members of the family.

Parsis have laid me under a crushing burden of debt to them. They have made a slave of me by their words of love. And a slave enjoys the right to demand more from his master. In this *yajna* of self-purification, I shall not be satisfied even if you drown me in money or provide me with volunteers. I shall be satisfied only when the entire Parsi community hears my appeal and when Parsi brothers and sisters identify themselves with the work that Mithubehn is doing.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 13-4-1930

7. SPEECH AT DHAMAN

April 3, 1930

Many people from this taluka were my clients in South Africa. Many people from the surrounding villages also had contributed their share in South Africa. Of the eighty of us many are from Baroda State, since this state is spread all over Gujarat. Hence we cannot make any distinction between the two. The natives of this place gave me much help in the Satyagraha in South Africa. Their leaders also were Muslims. Right to the present moment the Congress has pursued the policy of having a certain number of people from this community in

its higher echelons. In South Africa, however, this was not the practice. Among the Muslims there was Ahmed Kachalia who roared like a lion. He was a man of his word and I can say as a satyagrahi that I have not come across a single Hindu or Muslim in all India who could surpass him in courage and integrity. Kachalia qualified himself as a satyagrahi even in difficult circumstances. He put up with everything in order to keep his word. His son Ali too studied under me in South Africa. I knew him quite well.

I have greater expectation from Dhaman because I have found here thirty spinning-wheels. I am happy that there are so many here. The fact is that although the subjects of Indian States cannot participate in this struggle, they can work for khadi and prohibition to their hearts' content. Secondly, I should like to congratulate you that your village has not been guilty of the cruel and stupid practice of many parents who get their children married without understanding the implications of the Sarda Act. Amongst the *Antyajias* of this village, nine men and ten women have vowed not to take liquor or carrion. In such things women must go along with men.

[From Gujarati]

Prajabandhu, 6-4-1930

8. LETTER TO REGINALD REYNOLDS

BIALPUR,
April 4, 1930

MY DEAR REGINALD,

I was delighted to have your letter. There is no question of restoration of confidence, for it was never lost. Assimilation of true ahimsa is a slow and sometimes painful process. And very few realize that there is such a thing as mental *himsa* and that it needs to be eradicated. It is to me a great joy that you saw the thing at once. I do not mind the other letters you have written. I should be glad if you will make another promise to yourself, viz., never to write for the Press for the time being. Let *Young India* be your sole vehicle for the time being. What do you say to your writing a brief note in *Young India* repenting of the unconscious indiscretion?¹ I understand what you say about your engagement.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: C.W. 4533. Courtesy: Swarthmore College, Philadelphia

¹ No such note appeared in *Young India*.

9. SPEECH IN VIJALPORE

April 4, 1930

After this meeting is over, I have to make two more speeches before I reach my destination. I shall make a speech at Dandi if I have to. Forty-one Headmen have handed in their resignations and the President of the Taluka Committee has congratulated them. Besides the 47, I have been informed today of some seven more.

Bharat Bhushan Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya has resigned from the Legislative Assembly and six others have followed him. These six are also well-known men. On the one hand Bharat Bhu-shan Malaviyaji has resigned, on the other the Headmen have resigned. The action of the latter is more valuable, for Malaviyaji was not a Government servant. He had entered the legislature with a view to serving the coun-try if possible. I can think of no one who has served the country with such single-minded devotion as Malaviyaji has. Nevertheless I assign greater value to the resignations of the Headmen of Gujarat. The reason is that Malaviyaji has not been a part of the administration of this country. The latter is run by these Headmen and Malaviyaji in fact only lends a gloss to the administration which we fear. The gloss can always be separated from the utensil. Headmen, however, are not a gloss which can be separated. They along with the Talatis are the two legs on which this Government rests. An enumeration of the Headmen and Talatis in the seven lakh villages of this country would give us fourteen lakhs of such legs and in this manner the resignation of each Headman would amount to the loss of one leg. It is for this reason that these resignations have value. This is so, however, only if they have been tendered sincerely. Sardar, who once had an income ranging bet-ween Rs. 1,000 and Rs. 2,000 a month has to beg for his meals today. For him, it was not easy to resign. The poor Headman, on the other hand, receives a paltry sum of Rs. 50 or 51-8-0 by way of a bounty. What are the Headmen then clinging to? If they want to be loyal to Sardar they will have to be disloyal to the Government.

I am going to Dandi. But I would request you not to follow me there. If you do, come as soldiers carrying your food on one shoulder and water on the other. Come with the intention of doing some work. Do not come with the idea of having a picnic. The stock of khadi is fast being exhausted. You must use it sparingly in the same manner as you use ghee. If you cannot obtain khadi, it is your duty to come clad

only in loin-cloths made of khadi, but on no account must you come clad in foreign cloth. Those who drink must not come to take the pledge.

[From Gujarati]

Prajabandhu, 6-4-1930

10. STATEMENT TO ASSOCIATED PRESS

DANDI,

April 5, 1930

God be thanked for what may be termed the happy ending of the first stage in this, for me at least, the final struggle for freedom. I cannot withhold my compliments from the Government for the policy of complete non-interference adopted by them throughout the march. After the graceless and childish performance in the matter of Mr. Vallabhbhai's arrest and imprisonment and equally unprovoked arrest and imprisonment of Mr. Sen Gupta, I was wholly unprepared for this exemplary non-interference. I am not so foolish as to imagine that the Government has suddenly lost their proved capacity for provoking popular resentment and then punishing it with frigh-tfulness. I wish I could believe this non-interference was due to any real change of heart or policy. The wanton disregard shown by them to popular feeling in the Legislative Assembly and their high-handed action leave no room for doubt that the policy of heartless exploitation of India is to be persisted in at any cost, and so the only interpretation I can put upon this non-interference is that the British Gove-rnment, powerful though it is, is sensitive to world opinion which will not tolerate repression of extreme political agitation which civil disobedience undoubtedly is, so long as disobedience remains civil and, therefore, necessarily non-violent.

It remains to be seen whether the Government will tolerate, as they have tolerated the march, the actual breach of the salt laws by countless people from tomorrow. I expect extensive popular response to the resolution of the Working Committee. I have seen nothing to warrant the cancellation of the notice I have already issued, that all committees and organizations throughout the length and breadth of the land are free, if they are prepared, to commence from tomorrow civil disobedience in respect of the salt laws. God willing, I expect with my companions (volunteers) to commence actual civil disobedience at 6.30 tomorrow morning. 6th April has been to us, since its culm-

ination in Jallianwala massacre, a day for penance and purification. We, therefore, commence it with prayer and fasting. I hope the whole of India will observe the National Week commencing from tomorrow in the spirit in which it was conceived. I am positive that the greater the dedication to the country's cause and the greater the purification, the speedier will be the glorious end for which millions of India consciously or unconsciously are striving.

Speeches and Writings of Mahatma Gandhi, p. 761

11. A MESSAGE

DANDI,
April 5, 1930

I want world sympathy in this battle of Right against Might.

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: *Mahatma Gandhi* (Album), p. 87

12. MESSAGE TO AMERICA¹

DANDI,
April 5, 1930

I know I have countless friends in America who are in deep sympathy with this struggle but mere sympathy will avail me nothing. What is wanted is concrete expression of public opinion in favour of India's inherent right to independence and complete approval of the absolutely non-violent means adopted by the Indian National Congress. In all humility but in perfect truth I claim that if we attain our end through non-violent means India will have delivered a message for the world.

The Bombay Chronicle, 7-4-1930

¹This was given to S. A. Brelvi, correspondent of the Eastern News and Press Agency, New York.

13. LETTER TO MRIDULA SARABHAI

DANDI,
April 5, 1930

CHI. MRIDU,

I have received your letter. I have never had any doubt that we have to do real service only in the villages by living in villages. I have thought about a special work for women. You will read about it in *Navajivan*¹. If you like it, there is courage in it, and there is bravery. May God shape you into a first-class volunteer.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 11178. Courtesy: Sarabhai Foundation

14. LETTER TO KANTIPRASAD C. ANTANI

April 5, 1930

BHAI KANTIPRASAD,

May the conference² be a success. If there is nothing else you can do, you should at least do khadi work.

MOHANDAS GANDHI

[From Gujarati]

Purushartha Kantiprasad Chandrashankar Antani, p. 83

¹ *Vide* “To the women”, 6-4-1930 and “To the women”, 13-4-1930.

² The Anjar Prajakiya Parishad which was to be held on April 20, 1930

15. SPEECH AT DANDI

April 5, 1930

When I left Sabarmati with my companions for this seaside hamlet of Dandi, I was not certain in my mind that we would be allowed to reach this place. Even while I was at Sabarmati there was a rumour that I might be arrested. I had thought that the Government might perhaps let my party come as far as Dandi, but not me certainly. If someone says that this betrays imperfect faith on my part, I shall not deny the charge. That I have reached here is in no small measure due to the power of peace and non-violence: that power is universally felt. The Government may, if it wishes, congratulate itself on acting as it has done, for it could have arrested every one of us. In saying that it did not have the courage to arrest this army of peace, we praise it. It felt ashamed to arrest such an army. He is a civilized man who feels ashamed to do anything which his neighbours would disapprove. The Government deserves to be congratulated on not arresting us, even if it desisted only from fear of world opinion.

Tomorrow we shall break the salt tax law. Whether the Government will tolerate that is a different question. It may not tolerate it, but it deserves congratulations on the patience and forbearance it has displayed in regard to this party.

If the civil disobedience movement becomes widespread in the country and the Government tolerates it, the salt law may be taken as abolished. I have no doubt in my mind that the salt tax stood abolished the very moment that the decision to break the salt laws was reached and a few men took the pledge to carry on the movement even at the risk of their lives till swaraj was won.

If the Government tolerates the impending civil disobedience you may take it for certain that the Government, too, has resolved to abolish this tax sooner or later. If they arrest me or my companions tomorrow, I shall not be surprised, I shall certainly not be pained. It would be absurd to be pained if we get something that we have invited on ourselves.

What if I and all the eminent leaders in Gujarat and in the rest of the country are arrested? This movement is based on the faith that when a whole nation is roused and on the march no leader is necessary. Of the hundreds of thousands that blessed us during our

march and listened to my speeches there will be many who are sure to take up this battle. That alone will be mass civil disobedience.

We are now resolved to make salt freely in every home, as our ancestors used to, and sell it from place to place, and we will continue doing so wherever possible till the Government yields, so much so that the salt in Government stocks will become superfluous. If the awakening of the people in the country is true and real, the salt law is as good as abolished.

But the goal we wish to reach is yet very far. For the present Dandi is our destination but our real destination is no other than the temple of the goddess of swaraj. Our minds will not be at peace till we have her *darshan*, nor will we allow the Government any peace.

Those Headmen who have resigned their posts should prove themselves true to their word and should regard it as a sin to serve this Government till freedom is won.

For the last four or five days, I have been speaking about other constructive activities also, and they should be taken up immediately in this Jalalpur taluka. Surat district is notorious for the drink habit, and the Jalalpur taluka is particularly so. Now that the wind of self-purification is blowing here, it should not be a difficult task to eradicate the drink evil altogether. There is sin in every leaf of the palm tree. Its only value lies in the ruin it brings us. This plant is like poison to us. All palm trees should therefore be cut down.

There should not be a single person in Jalalpur taluka wearing foreign cloth. Everyone who comes to Dandi should come with the intention to participate in, and offer his mite to, this swaraj *yajna*.

I would not like anyone coming to Dandi wearing foreign cloth. If it is our wish to turn Dandi into a place of pilgrimage or a bulwark of swaraj, everyone coming here should be dressed exclusively in khadi. I know that the stocks of khadi in the khadi stores are about to be exhausted, and if, therefore, you fail to get a full-length sari or dhoti and come wearing only a khadi *langoti*, you will be welcome here as a civilized person. If, ignoring my suggestion, any of you come to Dandi wearing foreign cloth, I shall have to place at the points of approach to Dandi, volunteers who will kneel before you and request you to wear khadi. If you feel offended by their doing so and slap them in the face, those satyagrahis will let themselves be slapped.

Dandi was chosen not by a man but by God. How otherwise

could we have chosen for the battle-field of satyagraha such an out-of-the-way place—a place where no food grains are to be had, where there is scarcity of water, where thousands can assemble only with difficulty, walking ten miles from the railway station, and where if you are travelling on foot, you have to negotiate creeks full of slush and mud? The truth is that in this struggle we have to put up with suffering. You have made the road from Navsari to Dandi famous throughout the world by arranging for free drinking-water at frequent intervals all along it. If this struggle did not have your approval, your blessings, why would you be doing this?

Dandi should be a sacred ground for us, where we should utter no untruth, commit no sin. Everyone coming here should come with this devout feeling in his heart. If you brothers and sisters come forward as true volunteers and commit civil disobedience of the salt law, no matter what force the Government threatens to use against you, and if you do whatever else you may be required to do, we shall have in us the power to attain in a single day what we hold to be our birthright. Time was when I was infatuated with British rule, as British law taught that the person of every individual is sacred. According to that law, the police cannot kill or manhandle a man even though he might be guilty of murder. It is the duty of the police to produce the man alive before the court. Nor has the police any authority outside the jail to seize from a person even goods alleged to have been stolen. But here the very opposite is true. How otherwise can the police have the authority to decide whether I hold a handful of salt or pebbles?

Every man's house is his castle. Our body also is a fort of a kind. And once salt has entered that fort, it should not be allowed to be forced out of it even if horses are made to trample on your heads. From today we should begin cultivating the strength of will to see that a fist holding salt does not open even if the wrist should be cut off.

Unauthorized entry into a house is a barbarous act. It is for a judge to decide whether I hold in my hand salt or dust. The English law holds the human person to be sacred. If every official assumes the authority of a judge and enters our homes, he would be acting as a robber.

But the officers in India, when they feel impelled, throw the English laws to the winds or ignore them completely at their sweet will and, resorting to the Act of 1818, render them all ineffective.

They have started arresting one leader after another. But

according to the principle of this struggle, that the leader is one who endures the utmost suffering, one of those left outside should assume leadership and take the movement forward.

This is a struggle not of one man but of millions of us. If three or four men can fight and win swaraj, they will rule the country afterwards. Hence, in this struggle for swaraj millions should offer themselves for sacrifice and win such swaraj as will benefit the vast masses of the country.

The Government is taking away from us all the eminent leaders one after another. If we get ready to follow in their footsteps and do the duty shown by them, we can smile at what the Government is doing, but if we fail to do our duty we should feel ashamed. The leaders are behind the bars, and now we in our turn should take their place.

It is true that many of the leaders in and outside Gujarat have been jailed, that many volunteers have been wounded because they would not part with the salt in their hands, and that, at places, some were beaten so hard that they became unconscious. But I remain unmoved. My heart now is as hard as stone. I am in this struggle for swaraj ready to sacrifice thousands and hundreds of thousands of men if necessary. Since we have embarked upon a movement which will send thousands to jail, how can we weep over their imprisonment? In this game of dice we are playing, the throw has been as we wanted. Should we then weep or smile? This is God's grace; let us remain unmoved and watch His miracles.

If in spite of our breaking several salt laws the Government takes no notice of the camp here till the 13th, we shall disband it after that date and go somewhere else. But this plan depends entirely on the Government. For the present, we can but take what the Government gives.

If you have not yet gone out to remove salt, let the whole village get together and go. Hold the salt in your fist and think that you are carrying in your hand salt worth Rs. 6 crores. Every year the Government has been taking away from us Rs. 6 cores through its monopoly of salt.

You can today take the pledge not to eat salt supplied by the Government. You have a mine of salt right at your doorsteps.

There is at Rohtak a humble, brave and selfless publicworker named Lala Shyamlal. At the time of the non-co-operation movement

in 1921 he gave up his law practice but resumed it when the tide was low and earned thousands of rupees. However, his heart melted once more after the Lahore Congress and he pleaded to be taken into the Ashram. He also expressed his eagerness to join this march of satyagrahis to Dandi. But why should I exchange this gold mohur for a mere pice? So I sent him back to Rohtak. As he writes to me, he took leave of me after he had understood the value of non-violence better than before. He has now vowed never to give up non-violence and never to prove disloyal to the Ashram principles. This Lala Shyam Lal has now been arrested on a charge of spreading disaffection against the Government.

He must have made some speech on the lines of my writings in *Young India* in which I preach disaffection as our moral duty. In the first place, they should apply Section 124A to the person who has been every moment praying for the destruction of the Empire and has also been attempting to destroy it—apply it, that is, to myself. But the true position is that Section 124A can be applied only to a person who wishes to overthrow the Government by rebellion or armed action. It can never apply to a person who wishes to destroy the Empire through self-suffering by following the path of non-violence and truth. But I am no judge. I have even been disbarred.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 13-4-1930

16. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

DURING DANDI MARCH,
[Before April 6, 1930]¹

CHI. NARANDAS,

If Reginald has asked for a name and if you call him Angad² the name is quite appropriate.

Send money to Krishnadas as and when he asks for it. You need not consult me so long as he asks for Rs. 100 at a time and the total does not exceed Rs. 1,000. If you yourself feel like asking me, you may do so.

¹ From the contents it appears this was written before the letter to the addressee dated April 6, 1930.

² A *Vanara* messenger in the *Ramayana*

You should remove all luggage from Jamna Kutir and similar buildings in which in any case there is hardly any luggage and which require no watch.

If Giriraj is not restless, he should remain there for the time being and look after the tannery. It is necessary that we go on making shoes, etc. If, however, he is keen on coming, he may. I am writing to him.

It is difficult to say what we should do about the money which we receive for the satyagraha campaign. My view is this. The money which has been received from villages during the march should be handed over to the Provincial Committee. The other sums which we receive may remain in the Ashram for the present. However, do as Mahadev advises. If you have doubt, consult Vallabhbai. His word should be final.

I am of the opinion that if Bhansali keeps watch at the Ashram at night, you should let him do so. He is a man of a frank nature. He sleeps very little at night. His keeping watch will be a pure action, and he will probably catch the thief. However, discuss the matter with Imam Saheb, Mahadev and Mirabehn.

We have given to the Labour Union school Rs. 25,000 from the Birla Fund. Whatever the figure, send a date-wise statement of account to Gordhanbhai Patel, Secretary of the Mill-owners' Association. Send a copy to me too.

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

Send it immediately. We shall get that money.

From Gujarati: C.W. 8095. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

17. EXTRACTS FROM SPEECHES IN SURAT DISTRICT ¹

[Before April 6, 1930]

It is within your power to remain peaceful and at the same time set Sardar free before his sentence of three months and three weeks expires. I ask one hundred per cent of the Headmen, and not fifty per cent of them, to resign. The same applies to the Talatis also. These two are the two pillars on which the Government rests. The political structure of India is supported on these. If these crack, the whole structure will crumble and mingle with the dust.

* * *

Beware! Burn up all false resignations. We can do without these. If there are people who think that since I am a Mahatma and have practised penance, and since Sardar is on my side, they will be able to go back to their posts in a couple of months, they are in for disappointment. Swaraj may be won within a couple of months or may take a lifetime. It may be that we shall not win swaraj even after my bones and those of Sardar are reduced to ashes. Now, however, we have become outlaws, and that too of a kind that cannot be disregarded. We have become outlaws by refusing to co-operate with an Empire on which the sun never sets. This Empire is a mass of untruths, however large that mass may be. It will bow at the very touch of the breath of truth. However, this can only be accomplished when such truth is kindled within us. Hence today, at the very outset, I wish to make up my accounts and warn you not to betray us. To betray me is to betray Sardar, Mother India and yourselves. No one craves for your resignations. Do not tender them under the assumption that the task will be accomplished in a trice. Resign only on the understanding that you will never again get back your posts as headmen or Talatis.

* * *

The women sang the song “It is easy to win swaraj”, but that has yet to be demonstrated. I have said so much about salt, now I shall add a couple of lines about the spinning-wheel. Do not conclude from this that whereas swaraj lies embedded in a mountain of salt, it does not lie concealed in a strand of yarn. In fact, swaraj lies in the latter

¹ Extracted from “Swaraj Gita”. The source does not mention either the places or the dates of the speeches.

only. There is no other means of bringing happiness and peace to millions of human beings. Whether all of you come forward to prepare salt or not, keep chanting the *mantra* of khadi. And what about liquor? Mithubehn is crazy about this cause. We should be ashamed of continuing to drink when a Parsi lady gives up her home because of it.

* * *

I am tired of repeating the conditions for swaraj every day. Let me now practise the dharma that still remains even in addition to it. I have only to point out your dharma to you As I had decided that regardless of what happened in the country, I should lay down my life or win swaraj through civil disobedience, I invited others to accompany me and I have set out. If I am alive tomorrow, I shall set out from here also after receiving your blessings. I invite those of you who are ready to accompany me. The others who do not do so should wear khadi and produce it. There is a dearth of khadi. I, who am one of its producers, am going away. If I were around, I would supply it to all by getting it from anywhere. Here I am, a producer of khadi, setting forth with others who also produce it, and those of its producers who are left behind do not have the capacity to meet the needs of all. It is therefore your duty to produce as well as wear khadi.

* * *

Even in my dreams, I would not wish anyone ill—be he an Englishman, a Parsi or a Muslim. I am a well-wisher of all. How then can it do anything to me? It dare not do so. It would arrest me, if it could muster up the requisite courage. And even if I should be arrested, while in prison I would pray to God to bring about a change of heart in this Government and to eradicate the sentiment that has been born within it which does not befit a human being. In other words, even in prison I would wish it well. I do not wish to see the King or his officers murdered; hence, it becomes difficult to arrest and imprison a person like me. The authorities could certainly arrest me if they wanted to, but I congratulate them on being ashamed to do so. However, such a situation will not continue always. They have no alternative but to arrest me some day, and, if they do not do so, the whole of India will flare up within a short period. I am aware that all you men and women have not come here today to court arrest. For me, it is all the same whether I am arrested or remain free. All of you will be in that position one day.

The Government's plight is that of the serpent which has swallowed a rat. It would find it hard to resort to either course of action—allowing me to remain out or putting me behind the bars. I am pointing out this ordinary duty to you. Everyone, whether a Hindu, a Muslim or a Parsi, should follow it. When all of us do so, it is beyond the power of any Government to arrest us.

* * *

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 6-4-1930

18. TO THE WOMEN ¹

As I am fully aware of the fact that countless women in India are illiterate, the principles of education which I have formulated are concerned with how they can attain their due status in spite of their lack of education; and it is from these that the means for securing swaraj have been derived. I can make the claim that this struggle has been so organized that the women of India, if they so desire, can make a bigger contribution than the men. The entire khadi movement depends on the women. This movement would collapse today if the women were to refuse to extend their co-operation to it. At least five times as many women as men are lending support to the cause of khadi. As a matter of fact, their number should be regarded ten times as large since there will be ten women working on a loom which runs for e-ight hours. Everyone knows that the contribution of men towards providing yarn for looms is very small, but even in other aspects of khadi work a good number of women are contributing their share. There are of course a large number of women working the loom. Hence, with regard to khadi it has already been established that this activity depends solely on women and it is because of this that women in India have made such progress which is unprecedented in Indian history and beyond what anyone had imagined to be possible. I saw this in the course of my three tours around India and today, walking through Gujarat, I see the same thing and that in a measure which can be calculated by the rule of three. That is to say, the awakening among women in a particular area has been in proportion to the number of spinning wheels working there.

¹ The first three paragraphs of this article are not translated here. They are covered by the first three paragraphs of "To the Women of India", pp. 219-20.

Considering this and keeping in mind the impatience of women to take part in civil disobedience, I felt that if women truly wished to take risks, if they wished to leave a stamp not only on the history of India but on the history of the world, if they wished to see a resurgence of the civilization of India, they should find an exclusive field for themselves. Let us consider this. If women wish to participate in civil disobedience, they can do so in a very few days. But, after having found something, I am not interested in inviting them to offer civil disobedience against the salt law. Even if women participate in this, they will be lost amongst the men. For I expect that at every place large numbers of men will come forward. I do not believe that women will come forward in such numbers. And even if they do, neither the women nor the men will have anything to do and the salt tax will be repealed. The more I think the more I feel that we shall not have much difficulty in getting the salt tax abolished.¹

I feel that it is, or it can become, the special field of women to bring about a change of heart in these people [the drink addicts]. History testifies that man cannot conquer hearts as speedily as woman can. If women wished they could take up the work of prohibition today. The following is my idea of it:

1. Trained women should start satyagraha units at various places, go in deputations to the owners of liquor booths and request them to give up this trade.

2. They should go to the homes of drink addicts and also start picketing liquor booths, singing devotional songs and preventing those entering them from being caught in the vice.²

If liquor booths and opium dens were closed down, it would mean a saving of 25 crores of rupees of the people's money. It is possible to collect 25 crores of rupees of revenue in some other way. Only one result would follow from this; there would be a heavy reduction in the expense on the army and the administration—so heavy a reduction indeed that the very nature of the administration would be changed. The present policy is based on distrust of the people. Tomorrow's policy will be based on trust of the people. In a policy so based there would be neither a large police department nor a large army. But why should I involve women in this tangle? At this

¹ One paragraph following this is not translated here. It is covered by paragraph 4 of "To the Women of India", p. 220.

² One paragraph following this is not translated here. It is covered by paragraph 5 of "To the Women of India", p. 220.

juncture I merely offer to women the field of prohibition without entering into discussion of any other field of activity. I believe that Gujarat is the best place for carrying on this activity. The physically delicate Parsi lady Mithubehn Petit is the person who has prepared the ground for this work. And it was her remarkable effort that suggested this field of work to me. Hence, all that remains to be done is that Mithubehn's work should be multiplied a hundredfold. Not that only a hundred women should prepare themselves for the work, but, rather, that countle-sswo-men should prepare themselves and the activity should increase a hundredfold. The manner in which the work is at present being carried on should be slightly modified. All men should step aside. They should only do such work as is allotted to them by women. But the principal work of picketing, of persuading people, of pleading with them and of taking deputations to the liquor-booth owners should be done by women alone.¹

I have only given an outline of the scheme as I visualize it. Details may be filled in. It is my desire that women should become pioneers in this task and should give this activity such momentum that it will shake up the people as well as the Government.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 6-4-1930

19. WELLS FOR ANTYAJAS

A few weeks ago, *Navajivan* published Thakkar Bapa's appeal for wells for our *Antyaja* brethren. Some men from Bombay recently came to see me at Sandhiyer. Thakkar Bapa, too, was present at the time. I suggested to those friends that they themselves should fill Thakkar Bapa's purse. Rs. 40,000 was not too big a sum for them to give. These *Antyaja* friends require that amount. Immediately, one of the rich visitors paid the sum needed for sinking one well. Shri Naran-das consulted the others and undertook to raise without delay the whole sum needed. This filled me with great joy and I comp-limented the visitors. I now advise these friends to collect this sum and place it at the disposal of Thakkar Bapa. Wells can be sunk only during the next three months. No well can be sunk after the monsoon has set in.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 6-4-1930

¹Two paragraphs following this are not translated here. They are covered by the last two paragraphs of "To the Women of India", p. 221.

20. MY NOTES

SOME QUESTIONS

QUESTION. Should one insist upon khadi in jail?

ANSWER. I was not aware of this problem when I conceived the khadi vow. I feel that such insistence is unnecessary. Ordinarily a satyagrahi should not oppose any of the prison rules which do not violate his dharma. But everyone should decide his own duty in this regard. If someone has taken a vow that under no circumstances will he wear anything but khadi, he should certainly insist upon khadi. But I would consider it improper for one to take such a vow and go to jail.

Q. Anyone who follows the rule of eating only after having spun 160 strands of yarn would prefer the spinning-wheel to the *takli*. Should one therefore insist on being provided with a spinning-wheel and facilities for carding? Spinning on a *takli* would take much time and interfere with prison work, hence the spinning-wheel is an absolute necessity. Is one justified in insisting upon spinning 160 strands or should one be satisfied with less?

A. Spinning is a *yajna* so one can insist upon being provided with a spinning-wheel and facilities for carding. Anybody who has taken the vow of spinning must insist on both. It is not enough that a *takli* is provided. Whether one should be satisfied with less than 160 strands depends upon the vow. If the vow is to spin 160 strands one cannot do with less.

Q. What should one generally do when, for instance, the food provided is dirty, or when no urinals are provided, or when one is required to complete the calls of nature within two or three minutes and is not allowed to visit the lavatory again if the need arises, or when one is over-burdened with work, or when one cannot sleep owing to the warders shouting out the roll-call all night long? What kind of insistence concerning what matter would be regarded as dharma?

A. The common rule in such matters is that those inconveniences with which one can put up and which do no harm to one's self-respect, should be tolerated while in the remaining matters one should fight as befits a satyagrahi. I would not tolerate dirty food or filthy utensils. I would not tolerate dirty urinals, but if facilities for this were provided in my cell I would not object to these. I would certainly take my own time with regard to evacuation of the bowels and would not tolerate being hustled in this matter. I would tolerate the noise of roll-call.

TO THE HEARTLESS MEN

The heartless Gujaratis do not appear to be concerned about Gujarati women being killed every day by Primus stoves. I have just been informed of the death of two women. During the present pilgrimage, I have had first-hand experience of the dangers involved in using these stoves. Even one of my experienced and skilled colleagues has had two narrow escapes. As a result of this, I have prohibited the use of such stoves altogether. Women do not know how to use a Primus stove, for it does require some skill. And our women cannot put it on a table. Hence, it is the duty of men to boycott it. So long as they do not do so, the deaths of the young girls and women from the use of this stove will be on their heads. Even Primus stoves which have been bought should be discarded. It is an illusion that the Primus saves time. We must also consider all the attention it needs when it goes out of order.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 6-4-1930

21. SWADESHI

The cloth merchants of Bombay are talking of boycotting foreign cloth. The Gujarat Sabha of Ahmedabad is doing the same. The intention of both is to help as much as possible the movement for the boycott of foreign cloth. However, if either of them should make a mistake, harm may be caused to the movement.

We now find the following varieties of swadeshi:

(1) Pure khadi, i.e., khadi made from hand-spun and hand-woven yarn.

(2) Cloth made in India in mills owned and run by Indians and from yarn that is also produced in such mills.

(3) Cloth made in such mills out of yarn that is wholly or partly of foreign origin.

(4) Cloth made in any mill which, although located in India, is owned and controlled by foreigners.

(5) Any object that is made in India.

(6) Any object for the making of which part of the work has been done in India, for instance, a musical instrument assembled here, though all its parts were made abroad.

The following are the various forms of boycott.

- (a) Boycott of *all* foreign cloth.
- (b) Boycott of British cloth alone.
- (c) Boycott of all British goods.
- (d) Boycott of all foreign goods.

In my opinion (1), i.e., pure khadi alone is swadeshi and, true boycott implies (a), i.e., boycott of all foreign cloth . If item No. (1) is proved to be swadeshi, other necessary items will prove their swadeshi character. We shall be unable to satisfy the need for even one article of swadeshi which is essential, if we try to obtain all swadeshi goods which may be found to be desirable.

Only one form of boycott, i.e., item (a), boycott of all foreign cloth, is essential and this can be achieved through khadi alone.

The reader should remember that discussion on other swadeshi goods has been going on ever since the Congress came into existence forty-five years ago. Even so, no conclusion has been reached. The question of pure swadeshi, that is khadi, was first taken up only nine years ago. Nevertheless, we have achieved a fair amount of success there. For the furtherance of this cause a national institution has come into being the like of which I do not find anywhere else in the world. It is only through khadi that the experiment of civil disobedience on such a large scale became possible.

The reader should remember that although we have been talking about boycott of British goods for the past forty-five years, we have not met with any success in this sphere. Boycott of foreign cloth on the other hand has now proved so effective that the people have developed faith in the possibility of such a boycott.

In my opinion it would be harmful from a practical standpoint to divert the attention of the people from the boycott of foreign cloth and it will be short-sightedness to think of attempting such a boycott without the help of khadi. If such a boycott were possible with the help of Indian mills, this could have been achieved by now, i.e., during the last fifty years. Yes, the mills could certainly help khadi in making the boycott effective. I have already shown how this could be done in practice.

The swadeshi of Indian mills is not merely useless, it is also harmful. This is because it puts khadi on a par with mill-made cloth. This is like the friendship between a tall and a short man. If the

short man has the same rights as the tall man, he really has none. One can see with the naked eye that someone who is short cannot stand alongside someone who is tall. Hence, if the tall man wishes to be just to the short man he should always put the latter in the front. He should be ready to renounce anything in his favour. It may even be necessary for him to lift the short man on his shoulder in order to sustain him. The relationship between khadi and mill-made cloth is exactly of this nature. Whereas the latter is well set on its feet, the former has as yet only learnt to crawl. Hence anyone who has not taken the vow to wear pure khadi can at least act in the following manner. He can refuse to wear any cloth which has a single thread of foreign yarn in it. Instead, he should take the vow of using pure khadi alone. And, in case he is unable to do so, he should use cloth made in mills which are exclusively owned and controlled by Indians.

If khadi is not constantly kept in view, the result will be that the price of cloth made in mills in India—not Indian mills—will keep increasing and the boycott will never become effective.

1. In this age, no amount of effort would make it possible for mills to make cloth sufficient to meet the country's needs.

2. The concern of mills generally is, and will be, profits.

3. The Government can, at any time, suppress the mills.

4. The present trend indicates that mills in this country are passing under foreign ownership and control.

5. As mills are dependent upon foreign machines and foreign techniques, they could, all of a sudden, be faced with a difficult situation.

While on the contrary:

(1) If the sentiment for khadi becomes widespread in the country, we can produce today as much khadi as we require.

(2) Khadi does not require as much capital as mills do.

(3) It does not require as much technical skill.

(4) It may be said that potentially there are thirty crores of labourers employed in the production of khadi.

(5) All the implements required for the production of khadi are made in the country.

(6) Khadi cannot be suppressed either by the Government or any other power.

(7) Khadi can be produced in every home.

(8) It is not necessary to make khadi at one place and send it to another. At present it does have to travel to some extent because the sentiment for khadi has not gained much ground.

The reader will see from all this what precisely swadeshi dharma means. While practising it, anyone who has imbibed the spirit of swadeshi will also readily abide by it in all other things. Anyone who wears khadi out of ignorance, by way of imitating others or out of hypocrisy, will not be regarded as having taken the vow of khadi, despite the fact that he wears it. Such fashionable khadi-wearers could not be regarded as advancing the sentiment for khadi. Anyone who uses khadi with knowledge will start denying himself all foreign goods which he can do without.

Let us now turn to boycott. It is madness to try and boycott everything. The idea is indefensible.

It is impossible to boycott only British goods or British cloth. This is because such goods or cloth can find their way into the country under the guise of other foreign goods or cloth. During the days of the Partition of Bengal, British cloth was being sold as swadeshi with the British markings on it removed. So when we think of boycotting British cloth alone, no purpose is served except that of giving an impetus to cloth made in Japan and other countries.

So far I have considered the matter only from the view-point of the boycott of foreign cloth.

But if we consider the situation after swaraj, if we consider the interests of the starving millions, we can only think of khadi.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 6-4-1930

22. *MILL-OWNERS OF AHMEDABAD*

In saying that I am greatly pleased at the kindness shown by the mill-owners of Ahmedabad, I am not merely being polite: I am expressing the deepest feelings of my heart. Their presence on the eve of my departure from Sabarmati, their visits to me from time to time and finally their coming to Surat in a group out of their affection for me are a happy indication that this struggle is not directed against mill-owners or against capitalists.

However, I myself attribute a special significance to their presence and their blessings. I have been associated with them now for almost fifteen years. During this period, despite the fact that perhaps some of them regarded my conduct as being detrimental to their interests, they have accepted me as a friend and our relationship has been cordial even when there has been a dispute between us. I believe that their co-operation on this occasion is, to some extent, because of that relationship. If this conclusion is correct, I have the right to expect some more practical support from them in addition to their presence and their blessings.

They have taken a step forward by their decision that hence-forth they will boycott foreign cloth and use only swadeshi cloth. This resolution, though commendable, has loopholes. Some may regard khadi as swadeshi. Others may prefer mill-made cloth with a border that is made of foreign yarn. The dharma of swadeshi cannot be practised in this manner. In my opinion, the purest form of swadeshi to the extent it is practicable is khadi. If this is not possible, then swadeshi should mean cloth made in mills owned and controlled by Indians out of yarn spun in those mills. If even this cannot be done, not only is swadeshi meaningless but it is also harmful from the point of view of boycott.

If mill-owners encourage khadi and run their mills with an eye to attaining the object of swadeshi, I regard the boycott of foreign cloth as something very simple. If I find the time, I hope to consider this subject in detail in a separate article. Here I wish to show how and in what ways mill-owners can specially assist this movement. It is beyond argument that the relations between mill-owners and workers should be friendly. If, instead of opposing each other, they were to help each other they would encourage the cause of swaraj. In this

regard the following points should be borne in mind:

(1) Mill-owners should carefully remove the everyday inconveniences the workers have to face.

(2) Since mostly I am not there and Sheth Mangaldas is old—even older than I am—there should be a permanent *panch* to solve problems as they arise.

(3) Mill-owners should consider the Majoor Mahajan a friendly body and have faith in it. They should make full use of its assistance and co-operate fully with it.

(4) With a view to improving their moral and social condition labourers should be given financial and other assistance whenever there is need for it. In other words, schools, hospitals, reading-rooms and such other institutions meant exclusively for them should be supported without anything being expected by way of return.

(5) Those labourers, clerks and others who wish to participate in civil disobedience or such other national work, should be given help and wherever it becomes necessary to relieve them, this should be done reserving their right to return. If it becomes necessary to support the families this should be done.

(6) In order to free labourers from the vice of drink, millowners should start canteens and provide recreation to suit their tastes. In order to induce abstinence those who give up liquor should be recognized and encouraged in various ways.

(7) There should be no profit motive behind the production of cloth by mills. The purpose of such production should be boycott of foreign cloth.

(8) Mills should never produce cloth with the intention of passing it off as khadi; they should not mark it as khadi or stamp it with the spinning-wheel; instead, they should produce such qualities of cloth as cannot be found in khadi at present. In other words, they should decide upon the quality of cloth to be produced in consultation with the Charkha Sangh.

(9) Mills should stock khadi, propagate it and give of their talent and experience for its production.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 6-4-1930

23. LETTER TO REGINALD REYNOLDS

April 6, 1930

MY DEAR REGINALD,

I hope you had my previous letter¹.

The letter from Wilson² is quite good. God will keep you out of harm's way.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4534. Courtesy: Swarthmore College, Philadelphia

24. LETTER TO LALA DUNICHAND

DANDI,

April 6, 1930

DEAR LALA DUNICHAND

The news that Lala Shamlal of Rohtak has been arrested has prompted Lala Surajbhan to rush to the Punjab. I have approved of the suggestion. Please make what use you like of him. I do hope that you and Mrs. Dunichand will not fail to sacrifice your all in this final battle for freedom.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 5588

¹ *Vide* "Letter to Reginald Reynolds", 4-4-1930.

² After the addressee had written an apology to Wilson, author of the critical comment in the *Indian Daily Mail*, the latter sent a "very friendly reply" which was forwarded to Gandhiji.

25. INTERVIEW TO FREE PRESS OF INDIA¹

DANDI,
April 6, 1930

Now that a technical or ceremonial breach of the salt law has been committed, it is now open to anyone who would take the risk of prosecution under the salt law to manufacture salt wherever he wishes and wherever it is convenient. My advice is that a worker should everywhere manufacture salt and where he knows how to prepare clean salt should make use of it and instruct villagers to do likewise, telling the villagers at the same time that he runs the risk of being prosecuted. In other words the villagers should be fully instructed as to the incidence of salt tax and the manner of breaking laws and regulations in connection with it, so as to have the salt tax repealed and it should be made absolutely clear to the villagers that this breach is to be open and in no way stealthy. This condition being known they may manufacture salt or help themselves to salt manufactured by nature in creeks and pits near the seashore, to use it for themselves and for their cattle and to sell it to those who will buy it, it being well understood that all such people are committing a breach of the salt law and therefore running the risk of prosecution or even without prosecution to be subjected by the so-called salt officers to harassment. Thus the war against salt tax should be continued during the national week up to the 13th instant. Those who are now engaged in this sacred work should devote themselves to vigorous propaganda for boycott of foreign cloth and use of khaddar. They should also endeavour to manufacture as much khaddar as possible. As to this and prohibition of liquor I am preparing a message for the women of India who, I am becoming more and more convinced, can make a larger contribution than the men towards the attainment of independence. I feel they will be worthier interpreters of non-violence than men, not because they are weak, as men in their arrogance believe them to be, but because they have greater courage or the right type and immeasurably greater spirit of self-sacrifice.

¹ Gandhiji gave the interview after he had broken the salt law by picking up a lump of salt mixed with mud.

QUESTION. Now that you have infringed the salt law and Government have not interfered with you what do you intend doing afterwards? —the Free Press representative. Gandhiji replied:

ANSWER. Oh, I shall continue to manufacture illicit salt.

You must subordinate bread-earning to national interest. You must take interest in gaining independence for India and freeing her from the heavy burden of this infernal tax. You must all take concerted action and co-operate in India's interest.

The Amrita Bazar Patrika, 7-4-1930

26. SPEECH AT DANDI

April 6, 1930

At four in the afternoon Gandhiji addressed a meeting. Reviewing the day's Programme he remarked that the beginning of the national week had been very auspicious. Whether Government arrested them or not they had to do their duty. He was sure that all over India people must have started satyagraha on this day. Proceeding, he said there was not much of natural salt at Dandi since Government servants had taken timely care to destroy it. That was a monstrosity which it was their duty to get rid of. When they made a beginning in the morning he had himself picked up more mud than salt, but after washing and cleaning he could get two *tolas* of pure quality which was sufficient for his day's requirements. That was only a beginning but that signified great things. Today those who had broken the law had become either thieves or owners.

He then referred to the raid at Aat. Mr. Antia, the police officer in charge, had shown considerable prudence in his behaviour. That was the victory of ahimsa. What an amount of public money Government had wasted in confiscating that salt!

Gandhiji then made a reference to the arrest of Lala Shamlal of Rohtak under section 124A. He paid a glowing tribute to Lala Shamlal for his excellent national work.

He could not understand the policy of Government in arresting other workers and leaving him alone. Not that he was anxious to be arrested, but that was not a just course. He did not expect any greater honours by his arrest. He was already a Mahatma. He did not want the title of Mahatma.

He was not at all anxious to go to jail. Surely he enjoyed the good climate of Dandi. Government must arrest him before others, because he was the greatest offender. It was the duty of every person in Rohtak to commit breach of 124A under which Lala Shamlal was arrested. In conclusion, Gandhiji asked the people not to eat taxed salt any more.

The Bombay Chronicle, 8-4-1930

27. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

Sunday, After 10 p.m. [April 6, 1930]¹

CHI. MAHADEV,

I hear that Manilal Kothari has been arrested. Ramdas and others have already been arrested. All this is very good. For you also it is a matter of days or hours. As for me, it will make no difference whether I am inside or outside jail.

I have sent the articles for *Young India* directly to Mohanlal. You may or may not be there to receive them.

If you get time, organize the women. There will be no harm if the Ashram women make a start. On the contrary, it may be necessary that they do so. I am referring to the campaign against drinking.

Surajbhan is going to the Punjab, with my permission, after hearing about the arrest of Lala Shamlal.

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

Here they have not laid hands on anyone so far. Sarojini Devi has remained here and has decided to take Abbas's place if the old man is arrested.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11472

¹ The arrests of Manilal Kothari, Ramdas and others were reported in *Navajivan*, 13-4-1930. The letter was evidently written on the preceding Sunday.

28. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI,

KARADI,
10.15 p.m. [April 6,]¹ 1930

CHI. NARANDAS,

You must have received the reply to your question. Perhaps it will be better if Purushottam comes over here. The air here is very good. About arrangements for water we must wait and see what can be done. There are no signs yet of my being arrested.

That lady Kamaladevi is a vary good-natured woman. She will stay for about fifteen days. If the place suits her child, she may even stay on. If she wishes to, she is worth encouraging. See that she does not feel lonely.

A Bengali gentleman from Santiniketan will be arriving there for a fortnight's stay. Cultivate his acquaintance. He, too, is a frank-hearted man. After gaining some experience, he will return to Bengal.

It will be very good indeed if Ratilal sticks to the work he has taken up.

Tell everyone that it is because I do not get time that I do not write letters to them.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Surajbhan is going to the Punjab with my permission.

From Gujarati: C.W. 8096. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

¹ From the reference to Surajbhan's going to the Punjab, it appears this was written the same day as the preceding item.

29. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

April 6, 1930

CHI. MIRA,

No time to send you a long love letter. It is now nearing 11 p.m. How much yarn have you now left to be paid for the two Sanghs, to what dates have payments been already made?

More when time permits. Manilal has gone to replace Ramdas.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 5388. Courtesy: Mirabehn; also G.N. 9622

30. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

Silence Day [On or before April 7, 1930]¹

CHI. MIRA,

If you feel like coming, you are at liberty to come. You won't see Dandi. If you are quite calm, you need not come. Even if you are to join the prohibition work at a later stage, you will be none the wiser for coming. All the talk will be in Gujarati. But if you want to come because you must see me, then come some other day for that sole purpose. But you must judge for yourself. I leave you entirely free to decide.

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

You will carefully follow *Young India* nowadays.

From the original: C.W. 5384. Courtesy: Mirabehn; also G.N. 9618

¹ Gandhiji seems to refer to the women's conference held at Dandi on April 13 which passed a resolution on prohibition. The preceding Monday was April 7.

31. BARBAROUS

[April 7, 1930]

The threatened has after all happened. I congratulate the Government on having commenced arrests in right earnest of salt tax resisters at least in Gujarat. They have arrested Sjt. Manilal Kothari and all his com-panions, so also Sjt. Amritlal Sheth and his companions, Dr. Chandulal Desai of Broach Sevashram and his companions. They have arrested Darbar Gopaldas, Sjt. Fulchand, Sjt. Ravishankar, the intr-epid reformer who has weaned the brave but ignorant Rajputs of Kheda from many an error. They have arrested Ramdas Gandhi, Keshavbhai Ganeshji, Chimanlal Pranshankar and others. All this the Government had the right to do. But they had no right to do what they did today¹ at the village Aat four miles from Dandi. The police tried by force to snatch salt from the civil resisters. This they had no right to do, if they were representing a civilized Government. There was no provocation offered. The resisters were not running away. Their names could have been taken. But they insulted these brave men and through it the nation by touching their sacred persons without warrant and without just cause. One of the resisters by name Ukabhai Rama of Bardoli was slightly injured on the wrist. I admit that the police went unarmed to the scene of action. They will probably admit that there never was the slightest occasion for carrying arms. For the people were obviously and absolutely peaceful, nevertheless this laying hands on the people for the purpose of seizing the salt they were carrying was morally wrong and even wrong I fancy according to English common law. But I do not know what powers are given by a statute that makes a crime of undefined cowardice.

This first drawing of blood, however little, brought down practically the whole of the village to the scene. Women were just yet to take no part in the act of civil disobedience, nor were the men of the village expected as yet to do so. But they, men and women (some with babes in arms), immediately they heard that salt was being forcibly seized and that one of the volunteers was injured, rushed out, and men on one side and women on the other descended to the cha-

¹Monday, April 7, 1930

nnel and began to dig out the salt. As soon as I heard of the attempt at forcible seizure from the persons of the resisters, Monday being my day of silence, I wrote on a piece of paper that Shrimati Sarojini Devi and Sjt. Abbas Tyabji should go, and if the police did not desist they should also dig out salt and challenge them to seize it from their hands. But I charitably assume that the police had seen their mistake before these friends reached the scene and had not the heart to touch a whole villageful of people including women. The sat-yagrahis, however, would not be satisfied without my presence although I might not speak. They wanted me evidently to see with my own eyes how they had behaved and with what zest the whole village was participating in the struggle. Ukabhai Rama was brought to me with the salt rescued. I went. For me it was a soul-stirring sight. The forcible seizure served a good purpose. It brought life to the whole village. Nevertheless, for the sake of the Government and for the sake of keeping the salt war on the gentlemanly plane, I wish this ugly incident had not happened.

Legal procedure may be a cumbersome business for the Government. But since they have begun well let them not end ill. Let it be a pure trial of strength between them and the people. If they will resort to terrorism and if I am not mistaken, they will find the people, men as well as women, ready for any ordeal they may prepare for them. Salt in the hands of satyagrahis represents the honour of the nation. It cannot be yielded up except to force that will break the hand to pieces. Ukabhai, as he was describing the action of the police, said, "God gives strength to a satyagrahi to defend what is entrusted to him." Let the people defend the salt in their possession till they break in the attempt, but they should do so without malice, without anger, without an angry word. The police have the easiest way open to them of taking possession of the salt. Let them arrest the civil resisters, and they can take possession of the salt for they have possession of their persons. But it can become forfeit only after conviction, not before.

Young India, 10-4-1930

32. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

April 7, 1930

The reports received so far indicate that the magic wave of mass civil disobedience in Gujarat has had its effect on the Government. The Government has lost no time in arresting the leaders of this movement but I understand that it must have paid similar attention to the leaders in other provinces as well. This is something we can congratulate ourselves on. It would have been surprising if the Government had allowed the satyagrahis to act as they pleased. It would have been considered barbaric if it had attacked the life and property of the satyagrahis without any previous inquiry. One cannot object to trial and conviction according to established procedure. Prison and such other punishments are the ordeal through which a satyagrahi must pass. A satyagrahi can be said to have fulfilled his purpose only when he does not flinch, when he does not betray those whom he represents and when he is not scared by the arrest of his leader. The time has come when everyone will have to be both soldier and commander.

I shall be deeply grieved if even after these arrests, students who attend schools or colleges run or controlled by the Government do not leave these institutions. People should make salt only after realizing the risk involved in doing so, or, alternatively, they should collect the salt that has naturally accumulated in creeks and holes on the seashore and use it for themselves and their cattle and sell it to those who may wish to buy it. Everyone should realize that in defying the salt law they run the risk of legal action being taken against them. It is also possible that the officers of the so-called salt department may harass them without resorting to any legal steps. The struggle against the salt law has to be carried on in this fashion during the whole of the National Week ending on 13th April. All those who do not take part in this sacred task should devote themselves wholly to the powerful movement for the boycott of foreign cloth and use khadi. They should try and make as much khadi as possible and carry on the struggle for prohibition.

I am preparing a message to the women of India. I am becoming increasingly certain that in the struggle for securing swaraj, the women of this country could contribute a greater share than the men. I feel that women will be able to explain the meaning of non-violence

to the country more effectively than men. Not because men, out of vanity, regard them as weak but because they possess real courage in a greater proportion and an immeasurable sense of dedication.

[From Gujarati]

Prajabandhu, 13-4-1930

33. LETTER TO GEOFFREY MAW

DANDI,
April 7, 1930

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter¹ of 26-3-30 and the book. I have read the passage² referred to by you. From my experience of such incidents I doubt if the deceased ever uttered the sentiments imputed to him or that the Indians referred to by the author or ever said what has been reported of them. But I should be sorry to discover that the deceased made the remarks ascribed to him, although he had never met me and although he had never studied the movement. For I hold with many Christian friends that Jesus himself was a confirmed non-co-operator. His whole life as we know it was one of sustained non-co-operation with priesthood because it was identified with evil.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: Geoffrey Maw Papers. Central Library of the Selly Oak College, Birmingham. Courtesy: Marjorie Sykes

¹ In which the addressee had said: "Forgive me if I appear to criticise. Your way of non-co-operation appears good for you. . . though you foresee bloodshed and enmity and further cleavage of the two races ahead . . . Aggrey's way seems to me to be truly 'the more excellent way'. I think he would have counselled 'patience and still more patience'. . ."

² The passage from the book titled *Aggrey of Africa* by Edwin Smith had quoted Aggrey to say: "I stand for co-operation with the white man. Your friend Gandhi makes a mistake when he goes in for non-co-operation. So long as he persists in that policy he will never help India . . ."

34. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

DANDI,
April 7, 1930

CHI. MAHADEV,

I have your letter. The first day at any rate Gujarat celebrated very well and the Government on its part may also be said to have celebrated it quite well. Except for what happened at Aat village, there has been nothing that one might complain about. I have written about Aat for *Young India* and you will find the article there among the papers. The sentence awarded to Durbar and others may be regarded as reasonable. As my article is based on the information I have received, you may make in it any alterations and additions you think fit. If you have the courage and if you wish, you may distribute salt at a public meeting; but from this distance I still think that it will be an unnecessary risk to try to distribute salt at a public meeting. I have explained to Gangabehn everything about women and about the drink evil. If you have time, think on the subject and discuss it with others. If you don't, you may drop the idea.

I am busy at the moment with a long letter which I have just received from the Kheda district.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11473

35. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

DANDI,
*Silence Day [April 7, 1930]*¹

CHI. PRABHAVATI,

I do get your letters. But what can I do? I can get no time and, therefore, have not been able to write to you. I very much wish to write, of course. I have to write about the struggle under the everpresent possibility of arrest and days pass. I should indeed be happy if you are permitted and go to the Ashram. The Government has still not arrested me. It has started arresting others. Ramdas has been arrested. I have, therefore, sent Manilal to take his place. Our work is going on very well here. Dandi is a small village; its water and air seem to be excellent.

I stop here.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G. N. 3363

¹ From the reference to Ramdas Gandhi's arrest the letter appears to have been written on Monday, April 7, 1930. *Vide* also "Letter to Prabhavati", 10-4-1930.

36. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

April 7, 1930

CHI. NARANDAS,

I send with this a cheque received from Bhai Shantikumar. Treat it as an anonymous contribution.

Gangabehn will start from here tomorrow morning.

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

I have permitted Jayantiprasad to go to the U.P.

From Gujarati: C. W. 8097. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

37. LETTER TO SHANTIKUMAR MORARJI

DANDI,

April 7, 1930

CHI. SHANTIKUMAR,

I have your letter enclosing a cheque. I would not expect a cheque from you just now. If, however, you send one, it will have for me a hundred times its value. I know that your heart is here. We have, however, to practise non-attachment. It is the quintessence of all religious teaching. I have given autographs and blessings in both the copies of the *Gita*. May God give to both of you *Shanti*¹ and *Sumati*² and may you be worthy of your names.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 4718. Courtesy: Shantikumar Morarji

¹ Peace of mind

² Wisdom. Sumati is the name of the addressee's wife.

38. *ADVICE TO VOLUNTEERS, AAT*¹

April 7, 1930

Gandhiji asked them to cling to their resolve under any circumstances. He warned them against putting any resistance that would encourage violence on the part of the police. They had every right, he said, to hold, tight to their bosom the salt which they might collect. That was no violence. To them their salt was as dear as their blood. He hoped that by their patience and suffering they would change the hearts of police even. Gandhiji advised volunteers to carry on their work without minding such interference of police.

The Bombay Chronicle, 8-4-1930

39. *MESSAGE TO KATHIAWAR*

DANDI,

April 7, 1930

From what I hear it seems that the Government have conferred upon Kathiawar greater honour. While information from other centres states that leaders have been arrested, as regards Kathiawar, Mr. Manilal Kothari and Sheth Amritlal are arrested with their volunteers. Nothing could be more creditable and welcome for Kathiawar. Moreover, the recent death of Mr. Kothari's wife has added more to the valour. The tragic sentiment is there in the death of a dear one and when a warrior is deeply affected by such departure without succumbing to sorrow and plunges into the field without a moment's delay, his bravery shines even more. I hope Kathiawar will understand this sentiment and will nurture it. There is only one way to do so. If Kathiawar is pouring incessantly to join satyagraha and take up the work left by these men, success will be theirs.

The Bombay Chronicle, 8-4-1930

¹ After the arrest of two volunteers at Aat, Gandhiji accompanied by Abbas Tyabji and Sarojini Naidu, visited the spot where satyagraha was offered. As Gandhiji was observing silence, he wrote a brief message on a piece of paper which was read out by the captain of the volunteers.

40. MESSAGE TO GUJARAT

DANDI,
April 7, 1930

Gujarat has worked wonders. The hopes which Pandit Motilal Nehru had expressed at Jambusar seem to fructify. The first day of self-purification week has begun with auspicious omens. Good news is pouring in from all centres from Ranpur right up to Surat. Messrs Manilal Kothari and Amritlal Sheth have been arrested with the volunteers and the news just now reaches us that Durbar Gopaldas, Talati and Ravishanker, all leaders of Kaira District, have been arrested. They have enhanced the prestige of Gujarat and India as well. But what will the remaining workers in Gujarat do? I hope the volunteers will pour in large numbers from all quarters, without waiting for any call and fill up the gap immediately caused by the arrests. The time has now come when students, pleaders, Government servants and others will be put to test. Will those who remain outside keep on waiting and watching when seasoned soldiers are being arrested?

The Bombay Chronicle, 8-4-1930

41. LETTER TO KALAVATI TRIVEDI

DANDI,
*Silence Day [On or after April 7, 1930]*¹

CHI. KALAVATI ²,

I got your letter. I liked it. What are you doing? Are you at all studying? Are you happy?

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 5285

42. LETTER TO CHANDRAKANTA

DANDI,
*Silence Day [On or after April 7, 1930]*³

CHI. CHANDRAKANTA,

Write to Mother now that she should stay on there in peace. When she feels truly inspired from within, she can register herself in the Satyagraha Camp there itself.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: Chandrakanta Papers. Courtesy: Gandhi National Museum and Library

¹ Gandhiji reached Dandi on April 5, 1930.

² Wife of Kashinath Trivedi, then Assistant Editor of *Hindi Navajivan*. She was at the time residing in the Sabarmati Ashram.

³ Gandhiji reached Dandi on April 5, 1930. April 7 was a silence day. Gandhiji was at Dandi on the following silence day also.

43. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

DANDI,
Tuesday, April 8, 1930

CHI. MIRA,

I have your letter and postscript. I hope Mother is not suffering from cancer. But the life is so artificial that one wonders that we do not suffer more than we do.

Yes, the things are hastening to an end. You were right in not going when you did not feel like it.¹ You will hear all about the exclusive field I have suggested for women.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 5390. Courtesy: Mirabehn; also G.N. 9624

44. LETTER TO AMINA TYABJI

DANDI,
April 8, 1930

MY DEAR SISTER,

Abbas Saheb is going tonight to Nadiad as even Fulchand has been arrested. Now there is hope of his being arrested. He thinks that here I am blocking his way. He may be right.

Khuda Hafiz.

Love.

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 9687

¹ Vide "Letter to Mirabehn", 7-4-1930.

45. *LETTER TO RAMESHWARDAS PODDAR*

DANDI,
April 8, 1930

BHAI RAMESHWARDAS,

I got your letter. If you stop worrying and go on doing your best, God is bound to be pleased with whatever you can do. And do not give up Ramanama in any circumstances.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 219

46. *LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI*

Tuesday, April 8, 1930

CHI. MAHADEV,

Bhai Amritlal has been arrested. And on the Dholera side the authorities seem to be acting in a novel fashion. I think you should pay a visit to that part. From today I have started visiting the neighbouring villages. I don't intend this week to go outside the limits of this taluka or its neighbourhood. If, however, it becomes necessary I will be ready to go to Dholera or any place near it. I suppose you have heard about the arrests of Jamnalal, Ishvarlal, etc.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11474

47. SPEECH AT AAT

April 8, 1930

I am glad the Government has allowed me to remain free so that I can fulfil the promise I made to you yesterday. Yesterday when Ukabhai was beaten and all of you suddenly jumped down in order to collect salt, you all, including even the women, must have found it difficult to stand the sight. That incident will remain indelible in the history of India. Our first battle is going to be fought at Aat. Ours is a war of love in which we have to suffer too. We shall not allow the salt to be taken away even at the risk of losing our lives, just as a mother would not allow herself to be robbed of her child even if she had to die for it.¹ When this happens the whole of India will rise up. India cannot tolerate such insult even when it is perpetrated against men. God is the only ammunition that we possess. You have glorified the second day of your struggle and I hope that all the villages of Gujarat and the whole of the country will follow your example. Let the Government arrest all the national leaders it wants to. It will find that its belief that the struggle will be terminated for want of leaders is false. When you have collected the salt, do not waste a single grain of it. You should be determined to eat only that salt upon which no tax has been levied. If the Government levies an excise duty on paddy you would have no alternative but to eat paddy grown in your own fields; you have to follow a similar course with regard to salt also.

Do not let go of salt when the police tries to snatch it from your hands. So long as your wrists are intact, do not let your fists be loosened. Your fists will acquire the strength of iron if you have faith in satyagraha.

[From Gujarati]

Prajabandhu, 13-4-1930

¹ This sentence is from *The Bombay Chronicle*, 9-4-1930.

'48. MESSAGE TO THE NATION ¹

DANDI,
April 9, 1930

At last the long expected hour seems to have come.

In the dead of night my colleagues and companions have roused me from deep slumber and requested me to give them a message. I am, therefore, dictating this message, although I have not the slightest inclination to give any.

Messages I have given enough already. Of what avail would this message be if none of the previous messages evoked a proper response? But information received until this midnight leads me to the belief that my message did not fall flat, but was taken up by the people in right earnest. The people of Gujarat seem to have risen in a body as it were. I have seen with my own eyes thousands of men and women at Aat and Bhimrad fearlessly breaking the Salt Act. Not a sign of mischief, not a sign of violence have I seen, despite the presence of people in such large numbers. They have remained perfectly peaceful and non-violent, although Government officers have transgressed all bounds.

Here in Gujarat well-tried and popular public servants have been arrested one after another, and yet the people have been perfectly non-violent. They have refused to give way to panic, and have celebrated the arrests by offering civil disobedience in ever increasing numbers. This is just as it should be.

If the struggle so auspiciously begun is continued in the same spirit of non-violence to the end, not only shall we see Purna Swaraj established in our country before long, but we shall have given to the world an object-lesson worthy of India and her glorious past.

Swaraj won without sacrifice cannot last long. I would, therefore, like our people to get ready to make the highest sacrifice that they are capable of. In true sacrifice all the suffering is on one side — one is required to master the art of getting killed without killing, of gaining life by losing it. May India live up to this *mantra*.

¹ This was published with a note which read: "The following is an English translation of a message dictated by Gandhiji at Dandi on April 9, when there was a strong rumour of his impending arrest. A month has gone by, but the message still holds good. We publish it today as a challenge to the honour and loyalty of India to meet the fiery ordeal that now lies before her."

At present India's self-respect, in fact her all, is symbolized as it were in a handful of salt in the satyagrahi's hand. Let the fist holding it therefore be broken, but let there be no voluntary surrender of the salt.

Let the Government, if it claims to be a civilized Government, jail those who help themselves to contraband salt. After their arrest the civil resisters will gladly surrender the salt, as they will their bodies into the custody of their jailors.

But by main force to snatch the salt from the poor, harmless satyagrahis' hands is barbarism pure and simple and an insult to India. Such insult can be answered only by allowing our hand to be fractured without loosening the grasp. Even then the actual sufferer or his comrades may not harbour in their hearts anger against the wrongdoer. Incivility should be answered not by incivility but by a dignified and calm endurance of all suffering in the name of God.

Let not my companions or the people at large be perturbed over my arrest, for it is not I but God who is guiding this movement. He ever dwells in the hearts of all and he will vouchsafe to us the right guidance if only we have faith in Him. Our path has already been chalked out for us. Let every village fetch or manufacture contraband salt. Sisters should picket liquor shops, opium dens and foreign cloth dealers' shops. Young and old in every home should ply the *takli* and spin, and get woven, heaps of yarn every day. Foreign cloth should be burnt. Hindus should eschew untouchability. Hindus, Mussalmans, Sikhs, Parsis, and Christians should all achieve heart unity. Let the majority rest content with what remains after the minorities have been satisfied. Let students leave Government schools and colleges, and Government servants resign their service and devote themselves to service of the people, and we shall find that Purna Swaraj will come knocking at our door.

Young India, 8-5-1930

49. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

April 9, 1930

CHI. MAHADEV,

I am halting in Surat for a few hours on my way to Bhimrad. The car took the wrong road, with the result that I missed the train and came here by car. At present my very thoughts have grown wings and they seem to have effect even when not expressed in speech or action. That is a fact. Thoughts which are part of *tapascharya* are single-pointed, and hence their power is greater than that of electricity or of still subtler ether. Your suggestion, therefore, was acted upon immediately yesterday. All the men in my batch will have to be dispersed and posted wherever they may be needed. Surajbhan has already left, and so has Jayantiprasad, each for his own district. Vamanrao Pataki also has gone to his district. I did not have to suggest to any of the three that he should go. They themselves felt that they should go. Surendra is waiting at Navsari to proceed to Bhimrad. Puratan and Haridas Gandhi are at Navsari waiting to leave for Olpad. I have sent Abbas Saheb to Nadiad, where I will send other men whom he may ask for, provided I am not arrested by then. However, if I am not free and you are, it will be for you to send them; and if even you are not free, those who are left behind will make the necessary arrangements. Fortunately, Dayalji at least will stay behind, and he will issue orders through the children. If none else, there will always be Lord Krishna whose orders are bound to be felt by all in their hearts and the work will go on somehow. I am certainly ready to send Chhaganlal to Wadhwan, but Kevalram can go there as well. I think you know that he has offered to do so. However that may be, you may, if you are free, communicate to me any other suggestions which may occur to you. I have sent word to the Broach Sevashram people that they may ask me if they need any men. As for you, I think you will not be a free man for long.

I also have written to Saraladevi, but that was only about the drink evil. Yesterday I sent a letter addressed to Kaka on this subject. I think you must have read it. You will have seen from it that I, at any rate, wish to start the movement against the drink evil and foreign cloth along with the salt agitation on the 13th. Even if that should not be possible, I should like the fight against the drink evil to start from Monday if you, Kaka and other men and the Ashram women and other women visitors feel the necessary self-confidence. I

wrote to Saraladevi suggesting that she might throw herself into this very work. If, however, my plan itself does not appeal to all of you, you may leave it. I do not at all believe that the salt tax will go in seven days. But I think it very necessary to utilize this golden opportunity and combine these three aims of our movement. Personally, I am convinced that if we should succeed in these three things, swaraj would soon be an accomplished fact, the women would realize their power in no time and, without any effort on our part, the whole world would see for itself how ours was indeed a holy war. Many women can contribute their share in this movement even while attending to their domestic duties. We have the land revenue tax as a last resort. That is why, though I have discussed the subject in my article "The Immoral Foundation"¹, I do not wish to touch the tax just now. Nor is it necessary to do so. At present, my eyes are fixed on the 91 crore rupees and considering the prevailing atmosphere in the country I think we shall easily succeed in our aim.

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

I have talked at length on these matters with Mithubehn. She has made up her mind. The Anavil Ashram will be handed over to her for the use of women workers. Those women who are willing to give all their time to the work will be admitted to it. Of course there will be other conditions for admission. The present idea is to make an intensive effort in the Surat district where some work of this kind has been done, and to extend the area of activity as the women's self-confidence increases. Such of the Ashram women as are ready for this, like Mithubehn, should start coming here. Mithubehn herself has already had experience of this work and, therefore, the women who come here will have the benefit of that experience. As the women coming from the Ashram are trained in discipline, Mithubehn will find it easier to take work from them. I have already discussed the matter with Shardabehn. She and Dr. Sumant liked the idea very much. Shardabehn said that she would certainly go there.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 16785

¹ *Vide* "The Immoral Foundation", 10-4-1930.

50. SPEECH AT BHIMRAD

April 9, 1930

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

This is the camp of civil resisters. Some of you have been arrested but instead of being sorry for it I find you all more cheerful. We prepared for a thing and asked for it. After receiving it we must not be afraid of it, otherwise we would be considered ungrateful to the Almighty God. We pray to God for imprisonment, hanging or independence. We do not want slavery and dependence. God has said that without sacrifice you will get nothing. We must qualify ourselves to go to jail. It will be useless to go to jail for thefts or for being drunk. We only congratulate those who go to jail for pure actions. From our point of view those who go to jail for good deeds do not deserve imprisonment but freedom. In a Satanic Government innocent persons must suffer. Under this rule, if we are good, we will get handcuffs, kicks, daggers and gallows. Women will have to make greater sacrifices. I have brought material for sacrifice. We consider it a picnic and I hope it will continue as such till the end. This is just a beginning. Sardar Vallabhbhai ought to have been sent to jail for 30 years. The Government is trying us. At Bhimrad you will not be killed. Salt will be snatched away from you but if you have courage you should not part with salt in your possession until you are unable to withstand the force used for snatching it away from you. I understand that by keeping salt in our possession we [shall] have kept with us 6 crores of rupees and in it lies the independence of India. We want boys who are 16 years old for the present struggle. If a fist containing salt be clenched, none dare to open it. They may open fire upon you. Men may come with bayonets and sticks and use them on you, but salt should not be taken out of your hands. If none of you then cry over it, I would consider it a picnic. Bodies may be lying dead, hands may have been cut off but still you keep to your promise. I will then understand that swaraj is approaching. The Government is testing us because this Government is of bold persons. Do not consider that we are fighting against impotent persons. They would not suffer defeat quietly and we cannot defeat them soon. If 30 crores unite in the struggle, the Government would yield to it. If you remain true, I am sure I shall see the light of success. I have come here to request you to stick

to the present struggle until we have won. You are all doing good work. Do not doubt about the salt tax. When Ukabhai received an injury I considered it a sign that the salt tax would go. Do not consider that you will be happy after the repeal of the salt tax. Rs. 6 crores are nothing for a nation of 30 crores. I asked Tyabji and he left willingly (for Kaira district). Picketing of liquor shops should be done by women and not by men. If men go there, it will be presumed that they were there to assault others. Government would not like it because they would lose Rs. 25 crores income from the sale of liquor. I therefore advise all of you sisters to act according to the instructions of Mithubehn. Foreign cloth is as bad as liquor. Those who have put on foreign clothes should burn them. If you use khaddar 60 crores of rup-ees will remain in India. You should spin cotton. You sisters should do three things, viz., assist the temperance movement, use khaddar and do spinning. I have sent my son Manilal for the work, and he will do it. Do not fight in the jail for food but for your self-respect. *Patels* who have resigned have not yet been relieved by the Government. There is some trick in it. They should hand over the records to the Government or lock the office and hand over the key to the Mamlatdar

Bombay Secret Abstracts, 1930

51. TO THE WOMEN OF INDIA

The impatience of some sisters to join the good fight is to me a healthy sign. It has led to the discovery that however attractive the campaign against the salt tax may be, for them to confine themselves to it would be to change a pound for a penny. They will be lost in the crowd, there will be in it no suffering for which they are thirsting.

In this non-violent warfare, their contribution should be much greater than men's. To call woman the weaker sex is a libel; it is man's injustice to woman. If by strength is meant brute strength, then indeed is woman less brute than man. If by strength is meant moral power, then woman is immeasurably man's superior. Has she not greater intuition, is she not more self-sacrificing has she not greater powers of endurance, has she not greater courage? Without her man could not be. If non-violence is the law of our being, the future is with woman.

I have nursed this thought now for years. When the women of the Ashram insisted on being taken along with men something within

me told me that they were destined to do greater work in this struggle than merely breaking salt laws.

I feel that I have now found that work. The picketing of liquor shops and foreign cloth shops by men, though it succeeded beyond expectations up to a point for a time in 1921, failed because violence crept in. If a real impression is to be created, picketing must be resumed. If it remains peaceful to the end, it will be the quickest way of educating the people concerned. It must never be a matter of coercion but conversion, moral suasion. Who can make a more effective appeal to the heart than woman?

Prohibition of intoxicating liquors and drugs and boycott of foreign cloth have ultimately to be by law. But the law will not come till pressure from below is felt in no uncertain manner.

That both are vitally necessary for the nation, nobody will dispute. Drink and drugs sap the moral well-being of those who are given to the habit. Foreign cloth undermines the economic foundations of the nation and throws millions out of employment. The distress in each case is felt in the home and therefore by the women. Only those women who have drunkards as their husbands know what havoc the drink devil works in homes that once were orderly and peace-giving. Millions of women in our hamlets know what unemployment means. Today the Charkha Sangh covers over one hundred thousand women against less than 10,000 men.

Let the women of India take up these two activities, specialize in them; they would contribute more than man to national freedom. They would have an access of power and self-confidence to which they have hitherto been strangers.

Their appeal to the merchants and buyers of foreign cloth and to the liquor dealers and addicts to the habit cannot but melt their hearts. At any rate the women can never be suspected of doing or intending violence to these four classes. Nor can Government long remain supine to an agitation so peaceful and so resistless.

The charm will lie in the agitation being initiated and controlled exclusively by women. They may take and should get as much assistance as they need from men, but the men should be in strict subordination to them.

In this agitation thousands of women, literate and illiterate, can take part.

Highly educated women have in this appeal of mine an opportunity of actively identifying themselves with the masses and helping them both morally and materially.

They will find when they study the subject of foreign-cloth boycott that it is impossible save through khadi. Mill-owners will themselves admit that mills cannot manufacture in the near future enough cloth for Indian requirements. Given a proper atmosphere, khadi can be manufactured in our villages, in our countless homes. Let it be the privilege of the women of India to produce this atmosphere by devoting every available minute to the spinning of yarn. The question of production of khadi is surely a question of spinning enough yarn. During the past ten days of the march under pressure of circumstances I have discovered the potency of the *takli* which I had not realized before. It is truly a wonder worker. In mere playfulness my companions have without interrupting any other activity spun enough yarn to weave 4 square yards per day of khadi of 12 counts. Khadi as a war measure is not to be beaten. The moral results of the two reforms are obviously great. The political result will be no less great. Prohibition of intoxicating drinks and drugs means the loss of twenty-five crores of revenue. Boycott of foreign cloth means the saving by India's millions of at least sixty crores. Both these achievements would monetarily be superior to the repeal of the salt tax. It is impossible to evaluate the moral results of the two reforms.

'But there is no excitement and no adventure in the liquor and foreign-cloth picketing', some sisters may retort. Well, if they will put their whole heart into this agitation they will find more than enough excitement and adventure. Before they have done with the agitation, they might even find themselves in prison. It is not improbable that they may be insulted and even injured bodily. To suffer such insult and injury would be their pride. Such suffering if it comes to them will hasten the end.

If the women of India will listen and respond to my appeal, they must act quickly. If the all-India work cannot be undertaken at once, let those provinces which can organize themselves do so. Their example will be quickly followed by the other provinces.

Young India, 10-4-1930

52. NOTES

CONGRATULATIONS

Pandit Malaviyaji and the other members of the Assembly who have resigned deserve the heartiest congratulations of the nation for their patriotic resignations. How any self-respecting person can cling to an institution where he cannot preserve his self-respect it would be difficult to understand if we did not know our capacity for self-deception. The Government, instead of telling us, show by their many unmistakable acts that they will do anything but sacrifice the material interest of their principals the British manufacturers and the like who live on India's exploitation. The legislatures, central and provincial, are like their other institutions, powerful and tempting devices for draining India of whatever she has still left. They would, if they could, leave her only when she has no more left to be plundered.

Pandit Malaviyaji and the others have left the Assembly none too soon. With a faith worthy of a better cause he stuck to the so-called legislatures for a quarter of a century in the teeth often of popular opposition. He rendered at critical moments valuable services to the Government. No Indian living has the unbroken record Pandit Malaviyaji has of service rendered with a single-mindedness not often to be found in men. The Government have therefore lost an ally whom they will never be able to replace. I hope that Panditji and his companions will now devote their energy to the popular work that awaits them. They will soon discover as many have done that the real work can only be done outside the legislatures. They will be good only when they are so fashioned as to register real public opinion, not that of certain groups or classes. They are positively harmful when they are so manipulated as merely to give effect to the official will. For the time being, therefore, servants of the nation have to forge sanctions and create a public opinion that will not be flouted.

A VICIOUS INSINUATION

An M. B. writes as follows :¹

... The *Lancet*, a leading medical journal of London, in its edition dated 8th March 1930 (page 531) has made the following observations: "Whatever political agitators may say and in spite of the growth of medical education in India, that country will need British doctors for a long time to

¹ Only extracts are reproduced here.

come. Even Mr. Gandhi (who was himself operated by a British surgeon in the I. M. S.) would probably admit the truth of this statement.”

So far as I know you were operated by the Civil Surgeon of Poona while you were a prisoner in jail. But the insinuation seems to be that you preferred to be operated by a British I. M. S. officer, because he was more capable.

The insinuation made by the writer in the *Lancet* is baseless and vicious. At the time the operation was performed I was certainly a prisoner, but I was given the choice of having my own surgeon to perform the operation. I did not distrust Col. Maddock, the British surgeon referred to, and the late Dr. Dalal and Dr. Jivraj Mehta (my surgeon and physician respectively) not having arrived in time, the operation was performed by Col. Maddock, whose care and attention I have acknowledged more than once. I have never felt the dearth of Indian surgeons or physicians of the highest calibre. Indeed, I have sent several of my European friends to Indian surgeons and physicians and they have derived full benefit from the skill of these Indian medical men. It is in military science alone, thanks to the British policy, that India perhaps stands in need of assistance from European instructors. But, so far as I am aware, in every other department, if the British withdrew India could be self-contained without the slightest difficulty and that in spite of open or veiled obstruction from the ruling caste.

Young India, 10-4-1930

53. *THE IMMORAL FOUNDATION*

This Indian Empire was conceived in immorality, for it was to perpetuate the exploitation of India's resources that it was founded. The pages of history written by Englishmen amply prove the assertion that no fraud was considered too much, no force too frightful by Englishmen, to gain the end. There is perhaps not an inch of ground lawfully acquired by or for the British crown in India.

The rule is nurtured by immoral means. English statesmen assure us that it is the British bayonet that keeps the Empire free from attack both from without and within.

It is supported by revenues derived from immoral sources. I have sufficiently demonstrated the hideous immorality, because inhumanity, of the salt tax. The immorality of the drink and drug revenue is self-demonstrated.

The immorality of the land revenue is not self-demonstrated. But those who have followed the Bardoli agitation, who have studied the so-called revenue laws and their administration, cannot fail to perceive the immorality of the system. I call the revenue laws so-called because they give arbitrary powers to revenue officers whose decisions are not subject to judicial control. This land revenue, like the salt tax, presses most heavily upon the poor ryot whether under the *ryotwari* system or the permanent system. How it oppresses the peasant under the *ryotwari* system we saw in Bardoli and recently in Matar and Mehemedabad. The permanent settlement crushes the ryot more than those affected by the *ryotwari* system. That the ryot himself is partly to blame for his woes I have no hesitation in admitting. But that fact is irrelevant to the present consideration. There is no inherent or independent right belonging to the State to tax the land, whether it be considered to be the State property or the individual's. The State has no more right to exact its toll from land under any circumstance than the owner of an ox has a right to exact work from it irrespective of its capacity. That there is a kind of classification of land and some regulations about remissions, etc., is no answer to the charge here made. The claim here made is that in the vast majority of cases the ryot is wholly unable to pay any tax. In shaping its taxation policy a wise State will always take note of the citizen's habits, customs and even his weaknesses. This Government had no time for such consideration. It had its fixed minimum to exact anyhow; and so in the words of the late Lord Salisbury the lancet had to be applied where there was yet any blood to be drawn.

So much about some of the visible sources of revenue. The invisible sources are equally tainted if not much more so. The unconscionable forced inflation of the rupee has by a stroke of the pen drained India of millions. The favoured treatment of British cloth in a variety of unseen ways drains India of sixty crores of rupees annually, leaving behind partial unemployment of the starving millions.

Thus the Government trades upon our vices and exacts payment by questionable methods principally from those who are least able to make it.

There is therefore no way open to the people save to end a system whose very foundations are immoral. Let us therefore pray and work for the destruction of this demonstrably immoral system and for ending it take the boldest risks consistently with the national creed or policy (as the case may be) of non-violence.

Young India, 10-4-1930

54. AN ENGLISH FRIEND'S DIFFICULTY

An English friend writes:¹

To us India is a composite country sharply divided by the caste system, by religious differences, and by semi-independent and loyal kingdoms, which could by no means be left to act together without the most careful safeguards against civil strife or religious persecution, and which, if left alone, would soon be a chaos of conflicting forces. But we are anxious to do the right thing as the Government responsible for the welfare of the land.

A mere political reform is quite useless unless it improves the lot of the people and removes any injustice from which they suffer and it appears to us that the British could do these things far better than a mixed Indian Government.

The question is: *What is the injustice from which they suffer?*

Are they too heavily taxed? Are the courts of justice unfair?

Do the British rulers act with tyranny?

Are there any monopolies which are unjust?

Are the wages of the workers *less* than they would be under a native government? Or hours longer? Could such a Government prevent the famines which afflict the country? Or, when they came, relieve them so effectually? . . .

This letter is typical of the average good but ill-informed Englishman.

Take the 4th² paragraph. It betrays the false teaching with which Englishmen are fed from their school-going age. It does not occur to the writer that India left to herself will deal with the difficulties pointed out. He does not see that if a century of British rule has not dealt with the difficulties but has, if anything, rather accentuated them, with the progress of time they are not going to be solved or diminished during British occupation. The writer does not know that according to the testimony of English historians the innumerable villages have remained unaffected by the difficulties mentioned by him and many more I can name. It should be remembered that India's is a predominantly rural civilization. Before the devastating British occupation the seven hundred thousand villages of India were so many self-contained republics. It was left for the marvellous

¹ Only extracts are reproduced here.

² The first three paragraphs having been omitted, this refers to the first paragraph of the letter as given here.

organizing British ability, used not for “the welfare of the land” as the writer imagines, but misused for its systematic exploitation, to disturb the placid and comparatively happy life of the villager. Rulers have before now come and gone leaving these villages untouched and without leaving chaos behind. Why should the disappearance of British rule result in chaos? If the British people play the game, they will be expected to undo the great wrong they have done to India by rendering to free and independent India such assistance as her free Government may need. If they will not play the game what need is there for any Englishman to worry whether there is chaos or concord after the end of British rule? Ruthless exploitation of India is too great a price to pay for securing the so-called orderly Government.

I have no difficulty in agreeing with the writer that “a mere political reform is quite useless unless it improves the lot of the people and removes any injustice from which they suffer.” But it is a fatal mistake to suppose that “the British could do these things better than a mixed Indian Government.”

English friends like the writer will better understand the nationalist position by the following answers to the very relevant questions he puts:

1. The people are too heavily taxed as has been maintained elsewhere in this very issue and as can be amply proved from authoritative sources.

2. The courts have been proved to be unfair in political cases and in cases as between Indians and Europeans.

3. British rulers have been known repeatedly to rule with tyranny and almost invariably to act arrogantly and in total disregard of Indian opinion.

4. There are numerous unjust monopolies of which the salt monopoly is a glaring example.

5. If by workers only city labour is meant, it is but a drop in the ocean of Indian humanity. They do not number more than two million in all India, i.e., 150th of the whole population. Moreover these are a British institution. How they will fare under an indigenous Government it is difficult to foresee except that they will be better able to wrest justice from it than from an all-powerful alien Government that can afford to be indifferent. In so far as the vast mass of the workers in the Indian villages are concerned, I maintain, and it has been proved in these pages, that they are worse off now than they ever were.

6. Whenever there is famine in the land it is a famine of money, i.e., incapacity of the people to buy the grain and the cloth they need. Under indigenous Government, therefore, when the spinning-wheel is restored, no one need starve for want of money as they do today because they are unemployed for at least four months in the year.

7. The chief wrongs have been enumerated in my letter¹ to the Viceroy published in these pages.

8. What India wants is independence pure and simple. This need not exclude British help if Great Britain will lend it on India's terms.

I do not ask the friend to accept the categorical statements made by me. I should be satisfied if my reply stimulates an impartial study of the charges made by me. There is ample literature on the subject. The volumes of *Young India* will provide instructive reading. Let the English friends who will know the truth not summarily reject all Indian evidence. Surely we must know better what we feel and want.

Young India, 10-4-1930

55. SOME CONDITIONS

Securing complete independence is difficult as well as easy. It is difficult if we wish to do nothing. It is easy if the masses understand their duty. We cannot say this about everything. Take for instance the mastery of the Vedas. It is not easy work for everyone. It requires years and years of study. But for swaraj all that is needed is change of heart. For swaraj is our birth-right.

What are the conditions, one may ask for gaining swaraj that everyone can fulfil? Here they are:

1. Everyone can offer civil disobedience of the salt law. For this no training is needed. Men, women, boys and girls of no less than eight villages were able to do this. They had not received any previous training.

2. Everyone can spin on the *takli*. Everyone of course cannot get a spinning-wheel, for it is a little costly. But *taklis* can be made in every home even from bamboo. The general public can also buy *taklis* for a few pice each. If millions of people take to carding and plying the *takli* we can produce as much khadi as we may need. This

¹ Vide "Letter to Lord Irwin", 2-3-1930.

work also does not require any elaborate training. Besides, it is work for leisure hours. If people can grasp this, if they undergo a change of heart, millions of men and women, young and old, can take up this work and save sixty crores of rupees every year. Let us boycott all foreign cloth and wear khadi alone. It is the only fit attire for us. If we cannot afford more, we may do with the very minimum of clothing—even a bare *langoti*.

Since this is a struggle for self-purification we must, this very day, give up liquor, opium, tobacco, etc., if we have these vices. There are various other things also which we can do if we want to. I have merely cited an example or two.

For the attainment of swaraj it is also essential that Hindus, Muslims and followers of other religions treat one another as brothers. We should banish the sin of untouchability and love our depressed brothers and sisters. All these, to be sure, are not conditions for securing swaraj. They are part of the definition of swaraj. Today when there is such wonderful awakening in the country every reader must make his contribution to this *yajna*.

[From Hindi]

Hindi Navajivan, 10-4-1930

56. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

DANDI,
April 10, 1930

BHAI GHANSHYAMDAS,

Your letters of resignation¹ have filled me with joy. I am writing this at 2 a.m. as some friends have brought the news that I shall be arrested today.

Jamnalaji is ensconced in jail.² I am confident that you will do all you can in connection with salt satyagraha, prohibition and the boycott of foreign cloth.

We shall have good support if Malaviyaji remains firm about this.

The awakening in Gujarat, at least for the present, is beyond words. God alone knows the future.

¹ From the Legislative Council

² Jamnalal Bajaj was arrested at Juhu, Bombay, and sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment.

I see only good coming out of these arrests. The present is shaping as we had anticipated.

What more shall I write?

Yours,

MOHANDAS

From Hindi: C.W. 6183. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

57. MESSAGE TO BOMBAY CITIZENS¹

DANDI

April 10, 1930

I don't know whether to trust the citizens of Bombay when Jammalal Bajaj and Nariman have been jailed and still the citizens of Bombay have not shown sufficient spirit. Bombay should break the salt laws and more particularly they should boycott foreign cloth and thereby break the chain of foreign domination and the leaders of Bombay should work to free the labouring classes from the drink evil.

The Bombay Chronicle, 11-4-1930

58. MESSAGE TO B.P.C.C., BOMBAY

April 10, 1930

I congratulate the Bombay Congress Committee and the people of Bombay on the recent arrest of Abidali and Meherali. It is the duty of every citizen of Bombay to fill the places of those who have been arrested. The arrest of the leaders should not make us falter. The unprecedented enthusiasm which was witnessed during the national week shows that, following the arrest of the leaders, people's enthusiasm in the whole of India has increased. I hope the recent arrests in Bombay will create similar enthusiasm. We should make salt and use only that salt. We should boycott foreign cloth and eradicate the evil of drinking. I have entrusted the two latter activities to the women of India. If we wish to succeed in the boycott of foreign cloth and exercise control over mills which are purely Indian it is women who can do it. We should carry on propaganda for khadi and this will not be possible until every one of us takes up the *takli*.

[From Gujarati]

Gujarati, 13-4-1930

¹ Given to a deputation of brokers from Bombay

59. *LETTER TO MIRABEHN*

April 10, 1930

CHI. MIRA,

Your letter. Glad mother out of danger. It *may* be possible for you to do something in the drink campaign if it ever comes into being. If it comes, it will come naturally. No time for more.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 5391. Courtesy: Mirabehn; also G.N. 9625

60. *LETTER TO ABBAS TYABJI*

DANDI,

April 10, 1930

MY DEAR BHRRR,

Your sweet letter. So being on your mettle, you have evolved a splendid programme. May you never grow old.

Dadubhai's conduct is a painful surprise. However, Kheda has worked wonders. Fancy Darbar and others being handcuffed, shaved! It is good news one way, it is bad another way. Good because it must nerve the people for greater effort, bad because it hurts one to see human nature so debased. But that's the system. Let us end it or end ourselves in the attempt.

I have a good letter from Mrs. Abbas.

Yours ever,

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 9570

61. LETTER TO TOTARAM HINGORANI

DANDI,
April 10, 1930

DEAR FRIEND,

Anand is proving worthy of you. He is also keeping well. Please do not worry about him.

If Vidya wishes to do public work I am sure you will encourage and bless her. And when she does such work, she cannot observe the *purdah*. In any case the *purdah* is now gone.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

From a microfilm. Courtesy: National Archives of India and Anand T. Hingorani

62. LETTER TO ANASUYABEHN SARABHAI

DANDI,
April 10, 1930

CHI. ANASUYABEHN,

Shankerlal and you should carefully study the suggestions I have made to the women and if they appeal to you, take up the work. Do not do it because I have suggested it, but consult your own desire. No work once started must be abandoned afterwards.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original: G. N. 11548

63. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

April 10, 1930

CHI. NARANDAS,

We cannot smuggle salt even for committing disobedience of the salt law. How can we employ as a means of satyagraha what is in itself wrong?

The contributions from the Surat district were quite big, but they seem to have been passed on to the Provincial Committee.

Talk to Mahadev about this. I am writing to him.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11476

64. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

DANDI,

April 10, 1930

CHI. MAHADEV,

I have your letter. Kalyanji brought news that I was certain to be arrested today, so I have kept awake the whole night. I go to sleep for a while, then get up, write and again go to sleep. That is how it goes.

It appears Devdas has been arrested. That you have still not been arrested is surprising. I see many risks in picketing colleges and courts. I have explained the whole matter to Kaka. Those students who wish to boycott the Matriculation examination may do so on their own, but my advice is that we should not post pickets around the examination pandal. Liquor booths and foreign-cloth shops are a different matter.

I have been thinking how to arrange the dispersal of the batch. Before the 13th, I intend to send away only those who may be needed elsewhere.

I don't think I have anything more to write today.

Blessings from

BAPU [PS.]

The money coming from other places which was received in the

Surat District has also gone to the Provincial Committee. Even now, as I see things, the best thing would be for all the money to remain with Narandas for the present. However, you may do as you think proper. I have explained to Kaka this matter also.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11475

65. *LETTER TO PREMABEHN KANTAK*

April 10, 1930

CHI. PREMA,

What do you think about my idea concerning the anti-drink campaign and boycott of foreign cloth?

I did get your letters. You should continue to write to me. Dhurandhar¹ seems to be a fine man. I liked Kamaladevi, too, very much. She says that she will stay in the Ashram if the climate agrees with her daughter. You should try and see that she stays on.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 6668. Courtesy: Premabehn Kantak

¹ Assistant Editor, *Navakal*, a Marathi daily from Bombay. He had joined the Dandi March as a satyagrahi.

66. *LETTER TO LILAVATI*

April 10, 1930

CHI. LILAVATI,

I got your letter. Your name cannot be chosen for drill, but you will certainly be in the struggle when the time comes. They will accept you. Those who have faith always get opportunities for service. Do not feel anxious. Ask Gangabehn what to take for your constipation and your menstrual trouble.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 9316

67. *LETTER TO PRABHAVATI*

DANDI,
April 10, 1930

CHI. PRABHAVATI,

I have already replied to your letter. You two must have discussed the matter by now. It is being rumoured that I shall be arrested today, and so I don't write more. May God bless you both and give you sufficient firmness of mind.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3364

68. LETTER TO RUKMINI BAZAJ

DANDI,
April 10, 1930

CHI. RUKMINI,

I got your two letters. I have no time to write a long letter. I am happy to know that you are happy. I suppose you do get *Navajivan*, etc., there. Ramdas has been jailed. Devdas has been arrested. Jamanalji and Kishorelal have also been sentenced to imprisonment. Indeed hundreds have been jailed. There is no limit to people's enthusiasm.

I am sure that you will mix with the people there as naturally as sugar mixes with milk.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 9048

69. LETTER TO JAISUKHLAL GANDHI

DANDI,
April 10, 1930

CHI. JAISUKHLAL,

I was awaiting a letter from you. I don't think that the diet which has benefited you will benefit others. You should remain where you are and go on organizing the production of khadi. That also is an important task. When I think it necessary to throw you as an offering in the salt *yajna*, I will not hesitate a moment before doing so. Every day we hear rumours of my arrest being imminent, but the day passes and I am not arrested. It will make no difference whether or not they arrest me. Shivabhai does bring out here a news-sheet named *Satyagraha Samachar*. So far as I know, only one copy is prepared and circulated. A summary of its contents always appears in *Navajivan*. I have had no letter from Umiya after she went to Ajmer. Now that she has got used to the place, probably she does not think it necessary to

write to me. Rukhi seems to be happy, too.

Blessings from

BAPU

BHAISHRI JAISUKHLAL GANDHI
KHADI KARYALAYA
CHALALA
KATHIAWAR

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U. III/73

70. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL GANDHI

April 10, 1930

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I have your letter. I send herewith a draft of your acceptance letter. I understand about khadi. Krishna would have gained some strength by now. About me, there is a scare daily about the proverbial tiger coming. It kept me awake the whole of last night but the tiger did not come. Let me see when it does.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original S.N. 32853

71. LETTER TO BENARSILAL BAZAJ,

April 10, 1930

CHI. BENARSI,

I have your two letters. I am immensely glad that you two are happy. May God grant you both long life and the spirit of service.

Blessings from

BAPU

From Hindi: C.W. 9302. Courtesy: Benarsilal Bazaj

72. LETTER TO VIDYA HINGORANI

April 10, 1930

CHI. VIDYA,

I have your letter. If you have self-confidence, come out for some voluntary service. They need not hinder you. I have written to Father¹. He will never oppose this. It will be good if you can gain some experience in the Ashram.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a microfilm of the Hindi. Courtesy: National Archives of India and Anand T. Hingorani

¹ Totaram Hingorani. her father-in-law; *vide* "Speech at Dandi", 5-4-1930.

73. SPEECH TO VOLUNTEERS

JALALPUR,
April 10, 1930

Addressing his volunteers this morning, Mahatma Gandhi said that their mettle would soon be put to the test. There should, however, be no impatient hurry to court arrest. They should refuse to be stampeded into hasty action by provocation from police. Should authorities at any place "go mad and terrorize people" they should proceed there and set an example of calm courage and undaunted suffering.

Mahatma Gandhi exhorted them to prefer death to national humiliation of the type perpetrated by General Dyer.

The Bombay Chronicle, 11-4-1930

74. INTERVIEW TO ASSOCIATED PRESS OF INDIA

April 10, 1930

My attention has been drawn to the report in *The Times of India* of my Aat speech. It is a mischievous distortion of what I said. On seeing a man's wrist bleeding from a slight injury done to it, whilst the police, four or five against one, were snatching the salt in his possession, I said that the salt picked up by civil resisters was a token of India's honour, and the civil resisters were expected to defend India's honour with their lives. People, I said, should hold on to the salt in their possession as long as it was possible for them to bear the force that might be used against them, and that they should not mind even if blood was drawn while the police were delivering their assault upon their defenceless victims. I added that, in resisting this dispossession, people should not bear any malice nor should they be angry nor utter a word of abuse. In order to avoid needless injury, I advised the people to take only a handful of salt which could be contained in their closed fists and invited even women and children, if they had the courage to take part in the battle, and challenged the police to lay their hands upon women and children. If the police laid their hands upon women and children, I said that the whole of India would become inflamed, and resent the insult by inviting suffering of the same kind as they. The manner in which I expected Indians to respond to such an insult was by taking up other methods of civil resistance, and by students boycotting schools and Government servants giving up

service by way of protest. There is no departure from my creed of non-violence, and I regard this snatching of salt from the civil resisters as a piece of barbarity. The greater the barbarity of the Government, the greater will be my call for self-suffering.

The Hindu, 11-4-1930

75. INTERVIEW TO "THE HINDU"

JALALPUR,
April 10, 1930

I asked Mahatmaji to define the scope of "defensive non-violent resistance". A volunteer, Mahatmaji had advised, should not yield his salt to the police until it was wrested from him by superior force. "Is it permissible for the volunteer," I asked, "to struggle with the police in clinging to it desperately, moving this way and that in his attempts not to yield, and possibly causing hurt to his opponent?" Mahatmaji said:

It is his duty to cling to the salt as though it was his life, provided he was not offering violence to his opponent. Just as a mother would save her child against the attempts of others to deprive her of it, so should a satyagrahi cling to his salt.

Gandhiji, continuing stated that in no civilized country was it considered proper for the police to take the law into their own hands. When a volunteer refused to hand over his salt he would have committed an offence, but on that account, the police should not inflict corporal punishment on him. The police officers had got the right of arresting a volunteer and marching him to the police station and of putting him up for trial.

Asked how a police officer could discharge the duty imposed on him of seizing the salt, Gandhiji said that his quarrel was exactly with that sort of law.

The conversation then turned on Mahatmaji's statement that if women were touched by the police, the whole country would be inflamed unless people were *napunsakas*. That passage, I pointed out, had been criticized as a threat against the legitimate arrest of women.

Mahatmaji laughed and said he had deliberately made the statement that the country would, in such a contingency, become inflamed, but not necessarily into committing acts of violence. He continued:

When Sri S. Subramania Aiyer threw away his titles because Dr. Besant had been arrested he had been inflamed, but his feelings involved no violence. It is that kind of inflammation that I had referred to.

Referring to a report circulated by a news agency that his volunteers were

revolting against the diet prescribed for them, Mahatmaji pooh-poohed the idea, adding:

There was some difficulty in the choice of diet, but once I decided on it, all accepted it without a murmur.

The Hindu, 11-4-1930

76. SPEECH AT PUBLIC MEETING, ABRAMA¹

April 10, 1930

I was told that last night I was going to be arrested and hence at about 11 o'clock I finished some of my correspondence and did some writing. The night went by but the expected did not happen I have read in the papers today that the price of salt has fallen by half but my contention is why should there be any price for it?

Gandhiji then stressed the necessity of complete prohibition and promotion of khaddar.

Proceeding, he referred to the reports of his speeches appearing in a distorted form in various papers and especially in the *Times* and remarked that these Press reporters were doing a definite disservice to the country. He had to contradict a report appearing in *The Times of India*. That report was a sheer distortion of his views. It would be wrong to say that all reporters were so but he had to admit that many were or else they did not understand his village dialect. I did not ask for the reporters but if the papers wanted to send them they should select such as knew his language. Ignorant reporters did harm both to him and the cause. Non-violence was not a new creed with him, he had laid stress on it for at least fifteen years. Nobody should imagine that with the advance of years he had lost his sense to such an extent that he should wish to go to jail by paying the price in blood. Even for going to jail he would not wish harm to anybody. What he had said was that they should not give up salt in their fists even if that might involve serious injury. That was not at all contrary to non-violence. He had received a wire from Delhi that four volunteers were so much battered there that at last they fainted. Government had started the game in which only a beginning was made. That should not come in the way of their duty. It was ashame that Government were arresting even ladies. He wanted to show to the world that theirs was a fight in which everyone could take part.

The Bombay Chronicle, 11-4-1930

¹ About 5,000 villagers attended the meeting.

77. TELEGRAM TO N. C. KELKAR¹

April 11, 1930

YOUR WIRE. DELIGHTED BEYOND MEASURE YOUR RESIGNATION
DECISION ORGANIZE SATYAGRAHA. REPORT ABOUT HEALTH
GROSS EXAGGERATION. TOOK MORNING MASS MEETING SEVEN
MILES AWAY TODAY.

GANDHI

The Hindu, 16-4-1930

78. LETTER TO RAIHANA TYABJI

DANDI,

April 11, 1930

MY DEAR RAIHANA,

I have your letter.

I would like you, Mother and others to attend here on Sunday. I am holding a conference of Gujarat women for the purpose of discussing the propriety and possibility of their tackling the problem of drink and foreign cloth.

Here are the messages you want.

Kamladevi has written a good letter in reply to mine². Here it is. You may destroy it.

There is every hope of Mother capitulating since she is capable of blushing. It is a good sign.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: S.N. 9616

¹ This was sent in reply to the following telegram from the addressee: "After returning from the Assembly work at Delhi I immediately held conference of Maharashtra National Party and have decided to start and organize Salt Civil Disobedience in Maharashtra. Papers report your ill-health. Kindly relieve anxiety by wire."

² This is not traceable.

79. *LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI*

DANDI,
April 11, 1930

CHI. MAHADEV,

There was no harm in your having replied to the question about the prize of Rs. 250. But why should we reply, even if we have received the sum? If we are prosecuted for not replying, that would make our path clear.

I should be happy if Saralabehn, Nandubehn and others attend the conference. Ask Ranchhodbhai to send Motibehn and tell him that, if he wishes, he also may accompany her.

Today they have been stopping the cars coming from Navsari. They stop all cars coming from the Gaikawad limits.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11477

80. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

DANDI,
April 11, 1930

CHI. NARANDAS,

I intend to hold a small conference of women in Dandi on the 13th. Send those from among the women there who wish to come and who can be spared to attend it. Meet the expenditure from the Satyagraha Fund. Those who have money with them should come at their own expense. If Khurshidbehn volunteers to come, offer her the fare. Probably she will refuse to accept it. Try if you can press her courteously to accept it. In the conference we are going to think only about propaganda against the drink evil and boycott of foreign cloth. These activities do not seem to have appealed to Khurshidbehn, that is, she does not wish to take them up as specially women's work. Hence she may not wish to come.

How is Purushottam? How is Kanu? How does he spend his time?

Blessings from
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 8098. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

81. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

DURING DANDI MARCH,
[April 11, 1930]¹

CHI. NARANDAS,

I cannot choose the names. Only those women who wish to take up these two activities and whom you can spare need come. You alone can think and decide in this matter. Prompted by love, everyone may wish to come. That is a different matter. We have no choice but to exercise self-control in this matter.

Brijkrishna and Krishnadas have come here.

Blessings from

BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 8099. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

82. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

Friday, April 11, 1930

CHI. MAHADEV,

I got your letter. It does not matter that you did not show my letter to Narandas. You may, however, do so now as my reply is in any case the proper one. If people do not hide a thing there is no smuggling. There is “smuggling” only when there is an intention to hide. What you are doing, therefore, is all right. The person carrying salt also should declare (at the end) from where he brought it. Is it not permissible for a person to get salt by post?

I understand what you say about lawyers. No purpose will be served by Broker alone giving up practice. I am afraid that lawyers will not give up practice just now. If schoolboys, however, leave their schools, that will be enough. Congratulations to Mridu.

I am no longer enamoured of Dadubhai. Abbas Saheb writes to inform me that Dadubhai asked him to go to Baroda but refused to

¹ From the abrupt introduction of the subject-matter it appears this was written as an afterthought to the preceding item. Besides, this was to reach those wishing to attend the conference on April 13; it could not therefore have been written later than April 11.

return. Dadubhai refused even to accompany him. What can a man do after all? Who can successfully fight against his nature? Let us therefore be content with what we get.

Delhi has done very well indeed. Every place presents a different spectacle. It appears that Atul Sen in Bengal has suffered a fracture.

In Delhi at any rate the picketing of foreign-cloth shops by women has started.

The women's conference at Dandi has now been fixed for Sunday. Read my letter to Narandas on the subject.

See that no mistake occurs in passing on the accompanying letters to the persons concerned.

Take rest from time to time as you work. Entrust to others what they can do.

I have just returned from Matwad.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11478

83. LETTER TO SHIVANAND

DANDI,

April 11, 1930

BHAISHRI SHIVANAND,

I had heard the news about Fulchand and others even before I got your letter. I hope Shardabehn is all right. We should never feel unhappy when we get what we had asked for. If you require any volunteer on that side, tell Mahadev about it and he will then write to me. If he is arrested before that, write directly to me.

Will Shardabehn be ready to join the new activity?

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 2841. Courtesy: Fulchand Shah; also G.N. 9203

84. LETTER TO CHIMANLAL

DANDI,
April 11, 1930

CHI. CHIMANLAL,

I had your letter. I was glad to know that your health was all right. What was the cause of the improvement—the air and water of Vijapur or reduced burden of worries or were both these the causes? If the air and water of the place were the cause, you should occasionally go to Vijapur and stay there for some time and improve your health. If you do that, by and by the body will get stronger. You ought not to feel unhappy that you are not among the volunteers with me. We shall have done our duty if we do with single-minded devotion the tasks which may fall to our lot.

For megrim light food and a mud-pack every night as also when the attack comes has proved a successful cure in all cases in which it has been tried. I hope Babu does not get attacks of asthma now.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S. G. 6

85. LETTER TO SARALADEVI SARABHAI

April 11, 1930

DEAR SISTER,

I have your frank letter, It has been arranged to hold a small conference¹ of Gujarati women at Dandi on Sunday. You, Mridula and other women should attend it if possible. We shall talk more about swadeshi. There is no more time left to meet.

Blessings from

MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 11132. Courtesy: Sarabhai Foundation

86. LETTER TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA

DANDI,

April 11, 1930

CHI, BRIJKRISHNA,

I have your letter. You must not thus break away from your family. At present you should simply appeal to them. It will be of no use at all if you go there² just now. The time for the total boycott of foreign cloth is coming by itself and the people will then of their own accord renounce foreign cloth. You have given no news of your health this time. Come over if there is no work in Vijapur. The climate here is very bracing. As the house faces the sea we have cool breeze day and night. Dandi is situated 10 miles from the Navsari station. You will have no difficulty in staying on even if I am arrested and the camp is shifted.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2379

¹ Women's conference to further anti-drink campaign and boycott of foreign cloth. For Gandhiji's article on the Conference which took place on April 13, 1930; *Vide* "Special task before women", 17-4-1930.

² To Delhi

87. LETTER TO SITLA SAHAI

DANDI,
April 11, 1930

BHAI SITLA SAHAI,

I am late in replying to your letter. Kalakankar's brother should be instructed to prepare salt even at the risk of imprisonment.¹ The work is proceeding very well at all places. There is no time to write more.

Blessings from

BAPU

SJT. SITLA SAHAI

C/O SATYAGRAHA COMMITTEE

RAE BARELI, U.P.

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 8684

88. STATEMENT TO ASSOCIATED PRESS OF INDIA

JALALPUR,
April 11, 1930

Embarrassing invitations are being received by me to go to several parts of India on the strength of the unauthorized report in the Press that I would be free to go wherever I wanted. But such is not my intention. So far as possible, I propose to concentrate all my attention upon Gujarat and, health permitting, will next week make myself free to go to those parts of Gujarat where my presence may be required. I may possibly go as far as Bombay but not farther.

The Hindu, 12-4-1930

¹ Kunwar Suresh Singh, brother of Raja Saheb Kalakankar, was arrested in June 1930.

89. MESSAGE TO HANSA MEHTA

[Before April 12, 1930]

Tell Mrs. Hansa Mehta¹ that Bombay women should take up energetically the cause of preventing liquor consumption in the city of Bombay, as their contribution towards the fight for Purna Swaraj. Not only will that save crores of rupees to the poorest workmen in the world, but it will make a constructive step for the successful accomplishment of India's complete independence. India expects every woman to do her duty at this moment in the fight for freedom.

The Bombay Chronicle, 12-4-1930

90. FRAGMENT OF LETTER TO PRESIDENT, B.P.C.C.

[Before April 12, 1930]

I know Bombay is doing extremely well. Indeed the whole country is suffering, surpassing all expectations. But the real heat is still to come. If it can stand that heat without retaliation and without weakening, the way to swaraj is clear. Let us hope we shall end as we have begun.

The Bombay Chronicle, 12-4-1930

¹Wife of Dr. Jivraj Mehta, physician and Congress leader of Bombay

91. LETTER TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA

DANDI,
April 12, 1930

CHI. BRIJKRISHNA,

Your wire. I was out visiting the villages in the morning and had instructed Pyarelal to send you a reply telegram but he forgot. I will not send one now at double rates. See my letter of yesterday and decide on the right course. Come here if you wish to or proceed to Delhi if that seems proper.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2380

92. LETTER TO NANUBHAI DAVE

DANDI,
April 12, 1930

BHAISHRI NANUBHAI,

I got your letter. The description which you give is heartrending but I remain unperturbed knowing that our victory lies in enduring all this. If, however, the repression continues, we shall have to think of some form of agitation much more intense than the present one and invite upon ourselves still greater suffering. Write to me from time to time and give me all details. The information which you give should be verifiable. I shall be able to find a solution only with the help of such facts. If you can get the names of the officers who commit such repression, give those names too. Give also the names of those who may have been assaulted and send the results of medical examination as well.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 16795

93. ARRESTS AND BRUTAL JUSTICE

Gujarat, it may be said, has saved our honour. Whole villages here have set out to offer civil disobedience. Men, women and children are taking part in it. At many places, we can see fields of salt. Illegal salt has found its way into people's houses. Gujarat no longer needs Government salt for its use. With a little bit of effort anyone who requires salt can carry away as much readymade salt as he wishes. But how could the Government tolerate this? It started arresting people. From Dholar at one end to Jalalpur taluka at the other there has been an awakening and leaders have been arrested. Amritlal Sheth, Manilal Kothari, Fulchand Kasturchand Shah, Dr. Hariprasadji, Rohit Mehta, Durbar Gopaldas, Gokuldas Talati, Ravishankar Vyas, Raojibhai Man-ibhai Patel, Ashabhai, Dr. Chandulal, Keshubhai Ganeshji, Ramdas Gan-dhi, Chimanlal Pranshankar, Bhikshuk or Darbari Sadhu, Kikubhai, Manubhai and others are gracing prisons with their presence. There are many names which I have omitted. What does it matter whether all the names are mentioned or not? Durbar and his companions are in fetters and their heads have been shaved in prison. All this is good provided Gujarat values it.

The fact that those who at Aat, Ahmedabad and Dholka tried to protect their honour through the medium of salt were beaten is significant and unexpected. I had expected that the Government would not indulge in brutality and that it would send people to prison after duly trying them under laws. My expectations have been belied. How can one change one's nature all of a sudden? The Government has yet only given us a taste of its bloody claws; we can be sure there is more to come.

Going beyond Gujarat, we find Jamnalalji, Nariman and others have been arrested in Bombay. The cases are proceeding at great speed. But the sentences, it is apparent, will depend upon the whim of the magistrate.

In Delhi, Devdas Gandhi's companions have been beaten. Devdas and his companions have been arrested.

What reply will the nation give to this now? By the time this article is published, much else will have happened.

I expect still more from the people. A bonfire should be made of foreign cloth, there should be a *takli* in every hand. Schools and

colleges should become empty. Lawyers and doctors can help in various ways. I have written separately regarding women. All aspects of a nation aspiring for freedom should be developed. It is a sign of weakness that Government jobs have not yet lost their fascination.

Weakness and freedom, however, do not go together. We can win swaraj today if we completely do away with weakness and selfishness wherever we find them. We can then open up the prison gates and have the satyagrahi prisoners also released.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 13-4-1930

94. *MILL-OWNERS AND KHADI*

Shri Ranchhodlal Amritlal, who is himself a mill-owner, writes to say:¹

It is a distressing tale. I am convinced, however, that as people's sacrifices increase, the hearts of the mill-owners will melt. I know that the khadi activity has benefited Indian mills. If, however, the latter instead of enjoying the sweet fruit of the tree attempt to eat up its roots, they will find they cannot do so and will even lose the fruit. Let me cite a brief example. Let us suppose that boycott of foreign cloth is successful; let us suppose that spurious khadi is passed off as genuine; and let us suppose that genuine khadi is unable to lift its head. In that case, one of two results could follow. Spurious khadi and other cloth made in mills would not be adequate. As people are not used to khadi they would clamour for foreign cloth and we would be worse off than we previously were, Indian mills would be swept away in the storm, the chain of non-violence would be broken and the enraged public would take to boycotting Indian mills. Or, supposing the goods from Lancashire were totally rejected, since the shield of khadi would not be there, the capitalists from Lancashire might start their mills in this country and Indian mills would suffer as a result of foreign capital and foreign talent establishing themselves here and thereafter swadeshi mills would regard it their duty to join the foreign mills in exploiting the people. Though one cannot yet claim that the sentiment for khadi has taken root in villages, nevertheless it has established itself to the extent that many well-educated persons are prepared to dedicate themselves to the cause of khadi. They will not allow khadi to

¹ The letter is not translated here. The correspondent, enclosing samples, had complained that many mills were manufacturing spurious khadi and selling it under the stamp of "pure swadeshi khadi".

die so long as they are themselves alive. If, therefore, mill-owners do not stop producing and selling mill-made cloth as khadi, there is every possibility of a fierce movement being launched against them. It will become our duty to start such a movement.

They ought to save themselves from such a movement. It is in their hands to do so. Here are the terms:

- (1) Indian mills must not produce cloth which resembles khadi.
- (2) That which has been already produced should be exported.
- (3) They should altogether stop using the khadi stamp.
- (4) They should give up making cloth which could compete with khadi.
- (5) They should consult with the Charkha Sangh and produce only such cloth as is beyond the scope of khadi.
- (6) In consultation with the khadi committee, they should fix reasonable prices for mill-made cloth.
- (7) No foreign yarn should be used in mills even for making borders.
- (8) Mill-owners and others should totally give up using foreign cloth and wear only khadi as far as possible.
- (9) They should stock khadi in the shop attached to mills.

During this period of self-purification it is highly essential for the mills to observe the above rules. If they do so the boycott of foreign cloth can be accomplished soon.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 13-4-1930

95. TO THE WOMEN

Last week, writing about prohibition, I had mentioned that there was another activity also which women could and ought to take up. This activity is the boycott of foreign cloth through khadi. This is, or should be, the special field of women. For foreign cloth has ruined millions of homes and taken away from millions of women an employment which sustained them. Foreign cloth has ruined seven lakh villages in India. While on the one hand women have lost employment, on the other they have to pay for cloth which they could have produced in their own villages. People have developed a great liking for foreign cloth and they will not give it up without great effort and great penance. It is the women who embody that penance. Man can never make an impression upon people such as women can.

Besides, amongst those who wear foreign cloth the number of women exceeds that of men. And, in the final analysis, women will create a greater impact upon other women.

Hence it is for women to start picketing in front of shops selling foreign cloth. Men have failed in this task. But there is no reason why women should fail. Moreover, in 1920-21 we did not have the same climate that there is now. It is women alone who can take advantage of this climate.

But there is also another aspect of this work. Supposing everyone was to burn their foreign clothes today, what then would they wear? Indian mills would not be able to produce all the cloth within a short period and perhaps even if they did we would not achieve the purpose that we wish to.

That purpose would be served through khadi alone. Khadi implies the *takli* or the spinning-wheel. In the latter lies the prosperity of India. It is *Annapura*¹. If people in every home work on the spinning-wheel, we can produce today as much khadi as we want. Producing khadi means spinning yarn. Men may well spin, but for generations the profession of spinning has been practised by women and men's hands do not possess the same skill in this that women's do. Women alone can bring about this solidarity among their own sex. I would, therefore, advise women to make this their special field of work.²

¹ Giver of plenty

² Two paragraphs following this are not translated here. They are covered by paragraphs 11 and 12 of "To the Women of India", p. 221.

In this non-violent campaign, although our weapons are small they are very powerful since they have in them the power of God. Therefore, all those sisters who have faith in the spinning-wheel and the *takli* and who wish to devote themselves to saving sixty crores of rupees every year, should take up this work of boycott and the task of propagating spinning.

It should be remembered that those sisters who wish to take up this work have to be prepared to go to the villages.

Sisters who have faith not in both but in only one of these activities should take up only that. I have suggested the two activities through which millions of women can develop themselves and contribute their full share in the *yajna* of swaraj.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 13-4-1930

96. MESSAGE TO “ THE HINDU ”

April 13, 1930

I have full faith in Southern India making adequate response to the country's call for the uttermost sacrifice. I expect that the response is not only in connection with salt tax, but also in regard to intoxicating drinks and boycott of foreign cloth.

No part of India is perhaps better equipped for the boycott of foreign cloth and the promotion of khadi than South India. Civil disobedience with reference to the salt tax should be easy for the Southern people owing to the extensive seaboard near by from almost every part of that country.

The Hindu, 15-4-1930

97. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

DANDI,
April 13, 1930

CHI. MAHADEV,

I have your letter. I have been having a talk with some women who have arrived. The conference itself will not start before 3.30. The reason for calling them here was that Janakibehn and some other women have arrived from Vile Parle and Mrs. Tyabji also has come from Baroda. Consult your own convenience and come on the 16th. There is no need to reach here on the 15th. At the moment, at any rate, I cannot think of any additions to your list. I will write if I have any suggestion to make. Tell Ba that she has been posted to do picketing of liquor booths at Jalalpur and that she should, therefore, come after making all necessary preparations. She will not be in a position to return as Mithubehn is quietly starting the picketing work right from tomorrow. The idea is to begin with three booths, of which only one will be taken up tomorrow. The next will be the one at Olpad and the third at Jalalpur. Kanjibhai and Dr. Sumant will help and advise Mithubehn. As Olpad has Muslim residents, Hamida will work there. Kanjibhai's daughter is also there. Motibehn will have to be posted there. Probably Surajbehn will also be there. But I shall have to consult Swami. Karsandas, who will be arriving this afternoon, will bring some more news.

Considering all aspects of the matter, and in order that we may have a quiet atmosphere, I think it best to have the meeting of the 16th at Dandi. The women will arrive after breakfast, etc., [by the first Mail].¹ They will spend the whole day here and be back at their respective places in time for their evening meal. If they wish to have their meal here, arrangements for that can also be made; but the arrangement here is bound to be a little unsatisfactory. Let me know if you have any change to suggest in this. You and Narandas or the women themselves should decide who should come from the Ashram. Khurshedbehn at any rate will not come and do not press her. Only those who have faith in this programme can carry it out.

Mohanlal Pandya, Nanubhai and Ishwarlal Desai, these three from Untadi have been arrested. Now it will be the turn of Kalyanji and others. It seems possible that in the end I shall remain at Dandi enjoying its air and you will remain there with no work to do.

Blessings From
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11479

¹ The source here is illegible.

98. SPEECH AT GUJARATI WOMEN'S CONFERENCE,
DANDI

April 13, 1930

There are certain activities which are meant only for women. Prohibition and boycott of foreign cloth are such activities; which if you do not take up, will never be accomplished. In 1921 I compelled men to take up these tasks and they did so out of fear, but how long could it last? In the end I had to accept defeat and suspend the activities. I would not have had to do so had I entrusted the work to women. But when I was utterly confused and had been defeated on all sides, God, like in that *bhajan* of the tortoise couple, made me entrust the work to women. It is no doubt very difficult to picket shops but women had been taking great risks in the past. It is for the reason that the world is still going on. Moreover both these activities required persuasion and change of heart. Women alone can enter the hearts of men and transform them. Moreover those women who have come here must be aware of the plight of the families where husbands drink. It is your duty to help your sisters' families from breaking up. Foreign cloth has taken away from fifteen crores of your sisters the noble profession of plying the spinning-wheel and have rendered crores of villagers unemployed. Khadi activity of ten insignificant years have brought ten lakhs of rupees to the women's homes. I want you to expand the activity so that crores of rupees are brought in. Once you take up this work, you have to discard foreign clothes—you should burn them. You may say you will wear out whatever you have or that you will pre-serve them. Even a drunkard might say that he would consume whatever liquor he had or keep it. How can we keep a thing which we consider to be a poison even for a day? We should throw it away lest our children by mistake take the poison. You may think that you have thrown that much money into water.

A woman picketer of Vejalpore had asked what the women should do if they were attacked while they were picketing. Gandhiji replied:

There is no danger of such attack. However if that happens or if the police try to disperse you with the help of horses then put up with it quietly. A woman has a remarkable capacity for suffering. Take it from me that the liquor shops will be closed down the day there is such an attack on women. You may be certain he will give up drinking for ever from that day,

[From Gujarati]

Prajabandhu, 20-4-1930

99. SPEECH AT DANDI¹

April 13, 1930

I am happy that you have on your own come here in such large numbers on this the last day of the self-purification week, but you will not be happy if I do not say something to you on this occasion.

I have just concluded the women's conference. You will like to know your place in what I have told the women to do. The women have resolved to picket shops selling foreign cloth as also those who use it, and those who sell liquor as also those who drink it. We men may not interfere in this work. Let us treat this as the special field of women.

The success of this work depends entirely on the self-control of men. The assumption behind this is that men cannot easily control their anger, cannot easily practise non-violence, while women can do so. Renunciation and non-violence come naturally to women. Having been inspired by this idea I have tried to explain it to women. If my assumption is false, my conclusion will also be false to the same degree.

It is the duty of men to make the atmosphere congenial for women to do their work. We men should go to the dealers in liquor and foreign cloth and try to convince them that now that the women of India have come out they should give up trade in these two things.

Confronted by the large groups of women even liquor-booth owners and owners of shops selling foreign cloth will be startled and give up their trade. I know it is not easy to give up one's trade. But, at a time when the atmosphere is filled with national pride and patriotism, the people's capacity for renunciation automatically increases. During this week alone this capacity has increased a hundredfold, but it should increase a thousandfold.

Dealers in foreign cloth still seem to be calculating whether to give up their trade. They take a vow for three months or a year. Behind this act there is a lurking belief that they will be able to buy foreign cloth after a year. They do not make the effort that is needed to secure swaraj. This is because they lack the faith. But as this movement makes progress—trading in liquor and foreign cloth cannot but come to an end.

¹ Extracts from the speech were also published in *Young India*, 17-4-1930, under the heading "Men's Part".

When hundreds of thousands of our countrymen have sacrificed their all, even these sceptical traders are bound to develop the strength to make sacrifices.

If women lack funds to continue the work after once starting it, I shall stretch out my hand to you, though at present, by the blessing of God, I am able to get more funds than I need. Only today, about a thousand rupees were collected at the women's meeting and a lady belonging to the Galiara family of Kathor gave four gold bangles without even being asked.

If we men are not indifferent and begin the work on our own, if, for instance, for want of enough khadi it becomes necessary to wear only a loin-cloth and we start doing so, to that extent we shall have lightened the burden of our womenfolk.

Miss Mayo has accused us saying that many of our men have no consideration for women, that we make them work as drudges, as if they were born to be slaves. The world will be convinced that what Miss Mayo said was not true when women wake up and accomplish the tasks of boycotting foreign cloth and of prohibition.

The stocks of khadi in the country are dwindling and I am therefore asking everyone to spin and wear khadi and I am demonstrating this before you every day by spinning on the *takli*. Just as we grind and cook cereals which are available in every home we ought to spin the large quantities of cotton which grows in India into some kind of yarn, make cloth from it and then wear that cloth. When spinning becomes a universal activity in the country, you can rest assured that the trade in foreign cloth will come to an end.

Mills can never entirely meet the cloth needs of India and as most mills in India are either wholly or partly foreign, cloth made by only a few of them can be used if the need arises.

Women from good families have come out to take up these activities. Divan Shri Manubhai's daughter Shrimati Hansa Mehta and some other ladies have only recently issued a circular and begun the work of prohibition in Bombay. If Gujarati women continue to work in this spirit and if the men lend them support this activity will become widespread in India. All these three things are easy. When we have accomplished these three things we shall have saved six crores from the salt-tax, twenty-five crores from prohibition and sixty crores from the boycott of foreign cloth—ninety-one crores in all. We shall have become purer and added to our strength, and then it will not take long

for us to secure swaraj.

Finally, we should take care that we do not lose what we have gained during these seven days.

I have just received news that some youths in Calcutta, who were reading out passages from proscribed books at meetings, were dispersed. On seeing the police committing such atrocities, Shri Sen Gupta, the Mayor of Calcutta, also started reading out paragraphs from those banned books and was immediately arrested.

Dr. Suresh Chandra Bannerjee, the able khadi worker of Abhoy Ashram, who at one time received a salary of Rs. 600 a month from the Government, has been sentenced to a term of two and a half years' rigorous imprisonment for violating the salt law.

Notwithstanding such atrocities, just as we in Gujarat have not become frightened and given in, there too, they are not only not frightened but have become more resolute. Whatever the atrocities perpetrated on us, we do not want to use force on anyone or to insult anyone. A certain gentleman has informed me that in Bombay when they were making bonfires of foreign cloth caps from other people's heads were forcibly removed and burnt I do not know how far this is true. But if it is true, rest assured that this struggle cannot go on. If force is used, people will not tolerate it; they will start fighting amongst themselves and the Government will take advantage of this situation.

If people do not want swaraj through the boycott of foreign cloth, we cannot make them do good under compulsion. In order to melt their hearts, we must make greater sacrifices and even practise satyagraha against them if it becomes necessary to do so.

What should I do if I was convinced that people were deceiving me, that having decided to boycott foreign cloth through khadi alone they pledged themselves to do so and then broke their pledge ?

If I was convinced that I had become purified and wholly compassionate, I should, when the occasion arose, offer satyagraha and go on a fast. What should I do if you should raise your hands every day, say that if there is not enough khadi you will wear *lungotis* and then it should turn out that not a single sister spins? I might perhaps even at this advanced age have to say the same thing I said when I saw that the labourers of Ahmedabad had broken their pledge, and do what I did at the time of the riots in Bombay. I would do so unwillingly if I felt that we were deceiving God daily. I have faith that the people of Guja-

rat will never deceive me.

We want to live in peace and win swaraj peacefully. I do not wish to live to see disturbances in the country.

You just came on this day of my fast and I have said simply what I wanted to. You must prevent any use of force whether in Bombay or elsewhere. Whenever I hear of one of our men having abused someone, having been discourteous to someone or having used force against someone I feel deeply hurt and truly my heart begins to thump violently. If a doctor were to examine me at the time he would hear the sound. Despite this, I am able to survive, for at such times I close my eyes for a couple of seconds and repeat Ramanama. If I did not do so, my heart would stop beating there and then. You all may well call me Mahatma, but my task is that of a weak person. Do not, therefore, deceive me, at any time in this struggle. It will be all right if you sit at home, but once you join the campaign work sincerely.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 20-4-1930

100. LETTER TO GULAM RASOOL QURESHI

April 13, 1930

CHI. QURESHI,

I got your letter. Our duty is to do all we can. It is for God to reward our efforts. Every rule should be observed. Meet Muslim friends. Spin on the *takli* daily and persuade others to do the same.

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

The women's meeting today was good.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 4295. Courtesy: Hamid Qureshi; also G.N. 6650

101. LETTER TO LAKSHMIDAS SHRIKANT

DANDI,
April 13, 1930

BHAISHRI LAKSHMIDAS,

I got your letter today. I only read it just now at 9.30 p.m., Sunday. So there was hardly any time for a message. I always wish you success in your tasks. Keep me informed.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4204

102. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

[*Before April 14, 1930*]¹

CHI. MATHURADAS,

I have your letter. Take great care of your health. For that purpose, observe regularity in everything. Go out for walks every morning without fail. Take the morning sun directly on your skin. Let milk and fresh fruit be your principal diet. Do not worry about the expense. If you run short of money, ask from the Ashram. If I have to go away, use this letter.

I like your advice that I should not go to Bombay. Swami insists that I should go. You can stop me from going. Swami can drag me there. Talk it over between the two of you and send me a wire. I have fixed Thursday for going. Until I hear from you, I shall keep Friday and Saturday free. Inform Revashankarbhai if you want to call me. I may forget to write.

Who will now attend to the affairs of the Provincial Committee? Do what you can to see that the money is not squandered away.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

¹ The letter reached the addressee on April 15, 1930. Besides, Gandhiji in his letter to Mahadev Desai dated April 14, 1930 (*ibid.*), mentions a change in his plan of going to Bombay on Thursday.

103. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

[On or before *April 14, 1930*]¹

MY DEAR MIRA,

Just one line to acknowledge your long love-letter. It is now nearing 10 p.m. So good night for the time being.

Love.

BAPU

Silence day or night? Silence breaks at midnight.

From the original: C W. 5386. Courtesy: Mirabehn

104. LETTER TO SHANKERLAL G. BANKER

Monday, [On or before *April 14, 1930*]²

DEAR SHANKERLAL,

I can understand your requirement. But I would value even a single minute I may get in Gujarat. I have sent you a telegram only yesterday morning. You would surely have received it. I have sent a telegram to Bhai Khatri also saying that I should be spared.

I am sending herewith a booklet³ which you should print and ell. I had intended to publish it on Wednesday as a supplement of the *Navajivan* but now I am sending it to you. Carry on with it. Even then, if you think it necessary, let me know at once so that I could come there on the 16th and return the same night. I think if necessary I should come earlier by a day, instead of on the 17th. You would, of course, come to Surat on the 22nd. Look after your health well.

Vandemataram from

MOHANDAS

From a copy of the Gujarati : S. N. 32708

¹ From its placing in *Bapu's Letters to Mira* this seems to have been written in April 1930. There was no letter on April 28 (*vide* "Letter to Mirabehn", 29-1-1930) and the one of April 21 is available. So this could belong to April 14 or some other Monday before that.

² From the reference to the "booklet" about which Gandhiji wrote in *Hindi Navajivan* dated April 17, 1930; *vide* "Satyagraha Yuddha", 17-4-1930. The Monday prior to April 17 was April 14. Gandhiji was in Surat for a day on April 22.

³ *Satyagraha Yuddha*

105. TELEGRAM TO MOTILAL NEHRU

NAVSARI,
April 14, 1930

HAVE JUST HEARD JAWAHARLAL ARRESTED. I GREET YOU AND SARUPRANI AS HAPPY PARENTS. JAWAHARLAL HAS EARNED THE CROWN OF THORNS. WHO WILL OFFICIATE HIM ?

The Bombay Chronicle, 15-4-1930

106. APPEAL TO THE YOUTH OF INDIA

[*April 14, 1930*]

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's arrest was what I was hourly expecting. It was impossible for the Government to ignore the young President and an ideal patriot. If I know the country, the response, if it was tenfold after the arrest of the other leaders, will be a hundredfold after this crowning act of the Government. This arrest should cost the Government its existence.

Will the youth of the country realize this hope and now leave their schools and colleges and work solely for the attainment of independence ?

No doubt there will be an all-India hartal, though it has little meaning in these times of big action.

The Bombay Chronicle, 16-4-1930

107. LETTER TO MOTILAL NEHRU

DANDI,
April 14, 1930

DEAR MOTILALJI,

So Jawahar is to have six months' rest. He has worked like a Trojan. He needed this rest. If things continue to move with the present velocity, he won't have even six months' rest. The Jambusar¹ you saw the other day is different today. Whole villages have turned out. I never expected this phenomenal response. In many villages Government servants can get no service. The removal of some of our picked men has only stiffened the resistance of the people. But enough of this optimism. He will be a wise man who can say what will happen tomorrow. Accounts arriving from Bombay too are most encouraging. I take it you are following the pages of *Young India*.

How are you keeping?

Yours,

M. K. GANDHI

From the original: C.W. 9285. Courtesy: Allahabad Municipal Museum

108. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

[*April 14, 1930*]²

CHI. MAHADEV,

I have your letter.

I have arranged to meet all of you on Wednesday at Vejalpur. I shall go there from wherever I happen to be. I shall try to reach the place early in the morning. The headquarters will be mostly at Karadi now. If Swami's request stands, I shall leave for Bombay on Thursday evening and return from there on Sunday morning. I don't feel inclined to go to Bombay just now.

Your description of the happenings in Ahmedabad. . . .³

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11481

¹ The addressee along with Jawaharlal Nehru had visited Jambusar towards the end of March 1930 to see Gandhiji on his way to Dandi.

² Gandhiji reached Vejalpur on April 16, 1930. Besides, in the "Letter to Mahadev Desai", 14-4-1930 (p. 260), Gandhiji mentions having written to him in the morning. It is likely this was the letter referred to.

³ The rest of the letter is not available.

109. LETTER TO KUSUM DESAI

April 14, 1930

CHI. KUSUM,

I have written about the anti-drink campaign and boycott of foreign cloth. Do you think you can do anything in the matter? Do you have the courage to take a leading part in that work?

I got your letters.

What are you doing there?

They told me yesterday that there was definite information that my arrest was imminent and kept me awake the whole night. I am still waiting.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1797

110. LETTER TO MANILAL V. DESAI

DANDI,

April 14, 1930

BHAI MANILAL DESAI,

I got the book about salt which you sent with Keshavram. I am grateful.

Vandemataram from

MOHANDAS GANDHI

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./XXII/8

111. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

Monday [April 14, 1930]¹

CHI. MAHADEV,

I wrote to you one letter in the morning. This is the second. It is 10.30 p.m. Jawahar has also been arrested. Pandya, Ghia and others have been arrested here. It is rumoured that they also intend to arrest Jugatram. All these persons certainly needed rest. They had been working ceaselessly. People seem to have learnt now to work on their own.

I shall not have to go to Bombay this week. Swami writes and tells me that he will invite me to go there next week after more preparation.

Bring Ba fully prepared. She should bring with her whatever things she may want. I have found some work for her.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11480 and 11481

¹ Jawaharlal Nehru was arrested on April 13, 1930.

112. TELEGRAM TO MOTILAL NEHRU

NAVSARI,
April 15, 1930

NEHRU

ALLAHABAD

FEEL SURE MY WEARING CROWN UNNECESSARY MAY
EVEN BE HARMFUL. IF YOU CAN SHOULDER BURDEN
YOU SHOULD.¹

GANDHI

Motilal Nehru Papers, File No. G-1. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and
Library

113. LETTER TO PRESIDENT, B.P.C.C.

April 15, 1930

Your wire fills me with joy. I wonder what response the youth of Bombay will make to the imprisonment of the President of the Congress. I am hourly needed in Gujarat for consolidating the work but I will come when absolutely needed.

The Bombay Chronicle, 16-4-1930

¹ Motilal Nehru, in his reply dated April 17, said: "Your telegram. Fully appreciate your point. Would have liked personal talk but consider longer interregnum harmful and gladly place my whole-time services such as they are at nation's disposal under your guidance. Assuming charge today. Issuing statement."

*114. LETTER TO LAKSHMIDAS SHRIKANT*¹

April 15, 1930

. . . There must be a Divine plan even in the fact that the Panchmahals district is waking up late. It would not be surprising if, in this holy war, those who started first fall behind and those who started last take the first rank. There is no limit to the strength of the Panchmahals district. The pity is we often do not realize our own strength. This is the time to realize it. I certainly hope that Panchmahals will do so.

MOHANDAS GANDHI

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4206

115. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

DANDI,

April 15, 1930

CHI. MAHADEV,

I have just heard that you are going to be arrested soon! ! So be it. You will get some rest. The wonder is that they left you free even as long as they did. The more the people are tested the better.

“For this once, O Girdhari, save Thou my honour.”

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11482

¹The source does not give the name of the addressee. But in the G.N. collection the letter is listed as addressed to Lakshmidas Shrikant.

116. SPEECH AT UMBER

April 15, 1930

Mr. Gandhi asked the village women gathered there if they knew Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

They said, "How can we know?" Gandhiji remarked:

It is not your fault but of us men who have hitherto been satisfied with your being and remaining as house-keepers, cooks, scavengers and drawers of water but now you will no longer remain in that position. If this movement is to succeed, yours will have to be as big a share as men's if not much bigger.

Referring to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Gandhiji said:

He was to all India what Sardar Vallabhbhai was to us in Gujarat. He was wearing himself out in the nation's service and has been punished because he was the greatest among us all.

Hitherto I have asked you to resist snatching of salt by the police from your closed fists and suffer mutely and meekly whatever injuries the police might inflict upon you. If you have got strength of suffering and faith in your mission I want to go many steps further.

I would like you henceforth to regard yourselves as trustees or guardians not merely of the precious national wealth locked up in your fists but of the whole treasure now being prepared in salt pans. Defend that treasure with your life if that be the price you have to pay for it. When the police come and raid these pans, surround them and do not let the police touch them till they have overpowered you by sheer brute force.

Even if you are beaten you must not lose your temper. I hope that Gujarat has now become courageous to that extent. I am getting my strength from the strength of Gujarat. You must be prepared to endure suffering and keep the peace at any cost. Let them destroy pans but only after they have either arrested you, or beaten you. This is altogether a new experiment and I leave it to you to make more pans wherever possible.¹

From your sufferings will rise into being not only Purna Swaraj but a non-violent army for its defence. Women ought not to take part alongside of men in defence of salt pans. I still give credit to

¹ This paragraph is taken from a report in *The Bombay Chronicle*, 16-4-1930.

the Government that it will not make war upon our women. It will be wrong on our part to provoke them into so doing. This is men's fight so long as the Government will confine their attention to men. There will be time enough for women to court assaults when the Government has crossed the limit. Let it not be said of us that men sought shelter behind women, well knowing they would be safe if they took women with them in what may be called, for want of a better name, aggressive non-violence. Women have in the programme I ventured to place before them enough work and to spare and all adventure and risk they may be capable of undertaking. The Labour Association of Ahmedabad has undertaken to picket liquor shops. Selling of contraband salt which was going on in Ahmedabad is now stopped. It will be done in villages by sending batches of volunteers.

He said that they must either make their own arrangements for food or must take whatever is cooked for them. They could not maintain kitchens for different tastes. This was a fight for self-purification and therefore they must leave off all bad habits. They must have perfect discipline and strength to suffer hardships. He asked all those who cannot submit themselves to discipline to resign in the beginning. But let them not cheat the community and nation. Even if there were only a few true volunteers the fight would go on. The fight has been well begun, and Gujarat has earned credit for it. Let it not be said that Gujarat lost the fight because of mistakes and lapses.¹

The Hindu, 16-4-1930

117. LETTER TO SAROJINI NAIDU

April 16, 1930

MY DEAR MIRABAI,

I have your letter. What advance shall I make? Of course I should greet the friends just as before. But not having any sense of sin, how shall I give them satisfaction by talking? Their grievance is evidently most against me. The only way I can give them satisfaction is by correct conduct. Can you tell me where I have erred?

I often sing to myself, 'We shall know each other better when the mists have rolled away.'

I am likely to come to Bombay next week.

Yours

M. K. GANDHI

From the original: Padmaja Naidu Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

¹ This paragraph is taken from *The Bombay Chronicle* report.

118. LETTER TO MAHALAKSHMI MADHAVJI THAKKAR

April 16, 1930

CHI. MAHALAKSHMI,

I received your beautiful letter. I am replying rather late. I have no time. I got up today at a quarter past two in the morning.

I will give you sufficient work to do. I have understood the natures of you both. Your resolves are noble.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 6795

119. UNTOUCHABILITY

As in the matter of Hindu-Muslim unity so has there been misrepresentation in the matter of untouchability It has been stated that I am sacrificing the interest of the untouchables for the sake of swaraj. I know that the lacs of untouchables will not believe any such thing of me. For me just as there is no swaraj without communal unity, so is there no swaraj without the removal of untouchability. But what I do feel is that without swaraj there will be neither communal unity nor removal of untouchability. He who runs may see that it is to the interest of the ruling caste to keep up the divisions among us. That caste is no more interested in Hindus and Mussalmans coming together than in the removal of untouchability.

In examining the sources of revenue I endeavoured the other day to show how the Government was built on an immoral foundation. Even so has it built itself upon our weaknesses and our vices.

Take the disgraceful Nasik quarrel. The Government knows that the Sanatanists are in the wrong. But what has it done? Because they repr-esent a powerful interest, the untouchables have been sacrificed. It was open to the authorities to get together the Sanatanists and reason with them. It was open to them to reason with the untouchables and ask them not to precipitate a fight. But this required an impartial mind, disinterestedness. But the Government is not disinterested. It rejoices to see the parties quarrel and then side with

the strongest. I know that many good natured but ignorant Englishmen will cavil at this opinion. I can only tell them that it is based on everyday experience. I do not suggest that every time the action is deliberate. 'Might is right', 'divide and rule', have become the daily routine of the official world.

Such being my deep conviction, I would be wronging the minorities and wronging the untouchables if I stopped the progress towards swaraj by inaction. I hold that as soon as we have realized the power that is lying dormant in every one of us, that very moment we shall be free and we shall feel the glow of real unity and the untouchables will also feel an accession of power.

Let it be understood that everywhere the bands of civil resisters contain Mussalmans, members of other faiths as also untouchables, be these ever so few. The fact is that the foundations of swaraj are being laid by those who regard communal unity, equality of rights and opportunity and removal of untouchability as articles of faith.

Let the untouchable brethren not be lured from the common goal because it was the presence of Englishmen that stimulated Hindu thought and brought to the untouchables a sense of their rights. The fact is there. But the English did not descend upon India with any such benevolent motive. Their civilization or rather the Western civilization does not recognize distinctions in the manner decayed Hinduism does. We could have profited by this excellence of theirs without having the infliction of their rule. My indictment is not against the English as men, it is against Englishmen as the ruling caste. As men they are as good as we. In some respects they are better, in some others they may be worse. But as rulers they are highly undesirable. As rulers they can do, have done, no good to any of us. They have pandered to, and accentuated, our vices. And as we have developed the inferiority complex, their contact demoralizes us. I have watched ourselves acting one way in their presence, another way behind their backs. This is an unmanly and unmaning process; it is unnatural. "The tallest of us," said Gokhale, "has to bend before them." When they come to their senses, they too will realize that their rule has no less debased them than us.

Now a word to the untouchables. I have advised them and I repeat the advice that it is wholly unnecessary for them to seek to force entry into the orthodox temples even through the method of satyagraha. It is the duty of the 'touchable' Hindus to secure for the

untouchables the freedom of the temples. It is for the 'touchables' to offer satyagraha when the time is ripe. The untouchables know that the Congress has appointed, with Jamnalalji as the head, a committee for that very purpose. They know that very great progress has been made in the matter of removal of untouchability, they know that all over India are to be found hundreds of well-known believing Hindus who will lay down their lives to remove untouchability. The reformers hold it to be their duty and penance to purge the Hindu society of the evil. Let the untouchables know that the vast majority of them are today engaged in this life-and-death struggle. If they realize the truth of the statements I have made, they will at least suspend the satyagraha pending the struggle even if the whole mass of them will not join it as some of them have already done. The Hindu reformers have undertaken the work not as patrons, not to do the favour to the untouchables, certainly not to exploit them politically. They have undertaken the task because their conception of Hinduism peremptorily demands it. They have either to leave Hinduism or to make good the claim that untouchability is no part of it but that it is an excrescence to be rooted out.

Young India, 17-4-1930

120. THE INHUMAN TAX

Every new experience gained of the incidence of the salt tax shows it to be more inhuman than it appeared at first. Living and moving as I am in the midst of the salt area in Gujarat, I find that villages have been ruined because of the prohibition of salt manufacture by the villagers. The only use the people can make of the land is to extract salt from it which nature deposits in abundance from month to month. This was the poor man's staple industry in these parts. Now all this land lies fallow. Dandi itself has a tragic history. It is a beautiful seaside place. It takes its name from the fact that it was a place for a *diva dandi*, i.e., a lighthouse. Now it is a deserted village. A European and then Indians tried against nature to reclaim the soil for cultivation. As I walk about the otherwise beautiful peace-giving shore and listen for the heavenly music of the gentle waves, I see about me wasted human effort in the shape of dilapidated embanked fields without a patch of vegetation. These very fields, immediately the hateful salt monopoly is gone, will be valuable salt pans from which villagers will extract fresh, white sparkling salt

without much labour, and it will give them a living as it did their ancestors.

Mahadev Desai has already shown that the Government communique that this salt is injurious to health is a wicked falsehood.¹ In spite of the inhuman regulations, the people round about this area have used none but the salt that nature provides here in abundance. They do not seem to have felt any the worse for it. Thousands all over this area have been during the past week eating this salt with impunity. I hear that in Konkan people have all these years used what they regard as *swadeshi* salt in contradistinction to the taxed salt which they regard as *sarkari* or foreign, although in the first instance it was yielded by India's earth and seas. The recipe which I publish in this issue has been prepared by two careful men who have graduated in science. According to it every household can prepare its own salt without any expense whatsoever. One boy has merely to fetch a *lota-ful*² of salt water and it has merely to be strained or filtered and put near the fire in a shallow pan and treated in accordance with the recipe and the householders have every day's supply of salt much cleaner and healthier than the '*sarkari*'³ or 'foreign' dirty salt to be had in the bazaars. Let the salt satyagrahis (and they are to be counted in their tens of thousands now) not waste a single grain of *swadeshi* salt. Law or no law, there is now no excuse for anyone to eat the bazaar salt. *Swadeshi* salt must be introduced even where there are no salt beds. It can be easily transported in small quantities from place to place. Let the Government prosecute tens of thousands of men and women or, if they dare, send their officials to search their persons and brutally force it from them. Let them say: 'The salt law allows it.' I have already shown that the salt regulations are as inhuman as the tax itself. If the history of the administration in the early stages of these regulations were known, it would be found that these inhuman regulations were as inhumanely administered in order to deprive the people of their natural calling and compel them to take the bloodstained *sarkari* salt. Let the reader know that even palanquins bearing *purdahnashin*⁴ women were searched in order to prevent the transport of illicit salt. If

¹ Mahadev Desai's article entitled "A Brazen Lie" was published in *Young India*, 10-4-1930.

² A *lota* is a metal jug.

³ Literally, of the Government

⁴ Wearing *purdah*

today we have to bear hardships in the attempt to have this iniquitous tax removed, we are but doing a modicum of penance for our past neglect and shameful submission to the impost. The reader will thus see that it is not merely the tax, heavy as it is, that is offensive. It has not one redeeming feature about it. The revenue it brings is not the only cost to the nation. The cost to the nation is probably twenty crores per year besides the loss of an equal amount of salt which is wantonly destroyed or prevented from being gathered.

Young India, 17-4-1930

121. A SURVEY

The mass manifestation in Gujarat has exceeded all expectations. Bombay and its suburbs have done no less. And the reports slowly coming to me at this out-of-the-way place from all over India are fully encouraging. It is a matter of the keenest joy to me to see Maharashtra united once more and Sjt. N. C. Kelkar and his friends joining the struggle. Sjt. Kelkar's and Sjt. Aney's resignations are events of great importance in the struggle. Bengal is the most tempestuous province in all India. It is pulsating with life. Its very factions are symptomatic of its great awakening. If Bengal responds in the right style it is likely to overshadow every other province. I do not know that any province, even Maharashtra, can claim the credit that Bengal can for voluntary sacrifice. If its emotional side is its weakness, it is also its greatest strength. It has the capacity for reckless abandon to non-violence, if such use of language is permissible. Sjt. Sen Gupta's action in response to the wanton assault on the students' meeting has evoked the sentiment above expressed. The sentence of Dr. Suresh Bannerji and others pales into insignificance before the possibilities of the move on the part of the Bengal students and the savage counter-move on the part of the police. I know what the Calcutta Commissioner of Police will say if he sees these lines. I hear him saying, 'But you do not know my Bengal.' Well, I know his Bengal more than he ever will. His Bengal is the creation of the Government. If the Government will cease to molest Bengal and not keep India from her cherished goal, Bengal will be as gentle as the greatest province of India. If Bengal is seething with the violent spirit, it is because of her sufferings.

But I expect Bengal's imagination to come to her assistance and to realize that non-violence is the trump-card. All the suffering must be dedicated to the goddess of ahimsa.

Soon after the Jallianwala massacre, I used to express and reiterate the hope that next time in no part of India must people run away on bullets being discharged against them, and that they must receive them in their chests with arms folded and with courageous resignation. That testing time seems to be coming faster than I had expected. And if we are to train ourselves to receive the bullet wounds or bayonet charges in our bare chests, we must accustom ourselves to standing unmoved in the face of cavalry or baton charges. I know that it is easier said than done. Nevertheless, I must say it if we are ever to complete our training in mass non-violence. That mass non-violence is a perfect possibility has been sufficiently demonstrated during the past eight days. Mahadev Desai has given a realistic account of the brutal treatment of volunteers in the Dholera saltbed and the volunteers suffering the brutality with meek heroism. What thousands in Bombay did when the police acted with rashness and harshness if also with comparative considerateness can be studied from a condensed translation published elsewhere of a graphic description sent to me by Pandit Malaviya. His report is in the main corroborated by Dahyabhai, Sardar Vallabhbhai's son, who was also an eye witness.

Perinbai and her companions as also Kamaladevi acted with rare courage and calmness. But they would allow me to say that they would have done better to remain outside the venue of the men's fight. For women to be in the midst of such danger as they put themselves in was against the rule of chivalry. Anyway that time is not yet. Let them by all means manufacture salt in their thousands. But they may not remain deliberately in crowds which they know are likely to be charged. I have in all humility suggested to them an exclusive field in which they are at liberty and are expected to show their best qualities. There is in that field enough scope for adventure and heroism.

To revert, if then we are to stand the final heat of the battle, we must learn to stand our ground in the face of cavalry or baton charges and allow ourselves to be trampled under horses' hoofs or bruised with baton charges. An armed crowd would stand firm and retaliate if there were such charges. We, if we would learn the lesson of non-violence, should show greater courage by standing our ground without anger, without retaliation. Then a reincarnation of Dyer will

find us ready for receiving bullets in the bare breast.

People have already begun to defend their salt pans. If we have evolved that sufficient amount of courage, it must be done methodically and regularly. As soon as the police come to charge us and break through the living wall, women should, if the police give the opportunity, stand aside and let their men be wounded. They do so all the world over in armed conflict, let them do so in a conflict in which one party deliberately chooses to remain unarmed.

When there are no men left to fight the battle of free salt, if [they] have courage let them take up the work deserted by men. But I have no doubt that men will give a good account of themselves in this struggle.

I have already examined elsewhere the argument that the police must use force if people will not surrender the contraband salt in their possession. Here I would only remind these critics that even from confirmed thieves they do not take stolen property by force except after they are brought under arrest and then too never if they are not to be brought to trial. The property still remains the thief's until he is convicted and the court adjudges the property not to be his. That the salt regulations make the policeman the arresting officer, prosecutor and judge all rolled into one is no answer to my charge of barbarity in respect of the procedure adopted by the authorities.

Young India, 17-4-1930

122. PRESIDENT'S REWARD

The President of the Congress has had his laurels cheap. For a telegram just received from Pandit Motilalji tells me that Pandit Jawaharlal has been sentenced to six months' simple imprisonment. But even a day's imprisonment of the nation's first servant is an affront offered to the whole nation. Through this imprisonment the Government have told us to do our worst. And the worst we can do is to invite more suffering upon ourselves. This can only be done by our intensifying the campaign. Great as is the work being done by the youth of the country, I must confess that I am not satisfied with the response from the students. They have not yet got self-confidence. They do not believe that swaraj is coming soon. They do not realize that it is for them to anticipate its advent by simple faith and acting upon it. But faith cannot be given by anybody. It has to come from

within. The country will watch the effect of Pandit Jawaharlal's incarceration upon the thousands of students who are still hankering after degrees and diplomas.

Young India, 17-4-1930

123. SPECIAL TASK BEFORE WOMEN

The conference of women on Sunday last at Dandi became a Congress as I had wanted it to be. Thanks to the Government prohibition against the Baroda territory cars plying between Navsari and Dandi, many had walked the full 12 miles to Dandi. The following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

I

This conference of the women of Gujarat assembled at Dandi on 13th April, 1930 having heard Gandhiji, resolves that the women assembled will picket liquor and toddy shops of Gujarat and appeal to the shop-keepers and the shop-goers [to desist] from plying their trade or drinking intoxicating liquors as the case may be, and will similarly picket foreign-cloth shops and appeal to the dealers and the buyers to desist from the practice of dealing in or buying foreign cloth as the case may be.

II

This conference is of opinion that boycott of foreign cloth is possible only through khadi and therefore the women assembled resolve henceforth to use khadi only and will so far as possible spin regularly and will learn all the previous processes and preach the message of khadi among their neighbours, teach them the processes up to spinning and encourage them to spin regularly.

III

This conference appoints the following Executive Committee with power to draw up a constitution and to amend it from time to time and add to their number:¹

1. Mrs. Tyabji (President)
2. Shrimati Mithubehn Petit (Secretary)

¹ These four paragraphs have been taken from "Women in Conference", *Young India*, 17-4-1930.

MEMBERS

3. Shrimati Manibehn Patel
4. „ Rohini Desai
5. „ Chandubehn

This conference hopes that Gujarati women will welcome this activity and participate in it.

This conference hopes that women all over Gujarat and the other provinces will take up the movement initiated at this conference.¹

The same resolutions were passed also in Vejalpur; only the first resolution was divided into sections. Two distinct sections dealt with prohibition and the boycott of foreign cloth through khadi, so that wo-men who believed in only one of these causes could vote for that one alone. At the second conference three more names were added:

Shrimati Shardabehn Sumant Mehta

Shrimati Savitabehn Trivedi

Shrimati Surajbehn Manilal

This vote need not be considered as having much value. It is valuable to the extent that not a single resolution was opposed at the meeting, for it shows that even if the women present may not be prepared to put the resolution into practice, nevertheless they approved of its substance. At both these conferences women from villages were present in greater numbers. The struggle this time is of the villages especially. The awakening in the villages is astonishing which is a good sign. Salt, the boycott of foreign cloth and prohibition—all these three are specially meant for villages and the women would benefit especially.

Even if a few women are ready to lay down their lives for the sake of this resolution, they will come forward. If this does not happen the conference will not be deemed to have completed its work. If the number of women present at the conference is any indication, the women would seem to be prepared for work.

The soul of any organization is its executive committee. Hence the success of the work depends upon the enthusiasm, the *tapascharya* and the skill of the ladies who have given their names for the committee.

¹ This paragraph has been taken from *Young India*.

Mithubehn Petit has started the work with great alacrity. According to her accounts habitual drunkards are enthusiastically breaking earthen jars containing toddy. Thousands of persons in Surat who are given to drinking, have started having resolutions passed by their castes prohibiting drinking.

Once women become self-confident and gain faith, they will find from experience that the fear which they entertain has no basis. Rama and Ravana dwell in every human being. If women would act through the Rama who is in them, the Ravana who dwells in man would be powerless. Rama awakens less readily in men than in women. Who can harm one who is protected by Rama? Who can protect one with whom Rama is displeased ?

In the work of prohibition, once the initial fear is shed, things become easy. For all it involves is picketing. Those who drink are not wicked. They are simple folk. Their self-interest is not involved in drinking. Once they are convinced, they will give up liquor. The liquor-booth owners do have their self-interest involved but they realize that this is an immoral trade.

I regard this extension of the swaraj movement as of the highest importance. I need not reiterate the argument already advanced in these pages. Mithubehn has already commenced operations. She is not the woman to let the grass grow under her feet. The idea is for twenty to twenty-five women to go in one batch and plant themselves near each liquor shop and come in personal contact with every visitor to the liquor or toddy shops and wean him from the habit. They will also appeal to the shopkeepers to give up the immoral traffic and earn their livelihood through better means.¹

Foreign-cloth shops are to be treated in the same way as liquor shops as soon as there are enough trained women volunteers. Though the same committee will carry on the two boycotts it will necessarily have two branches. It will be open to any woman to offer her services for only one branch of work, nor is it necessary that every worker should belong to the Congress. Only this must be clearly understood, that the work is part of the Congress programme and has tremendous political results if it has also equally great moral and economic consequences.

¹ This and the following two paragraphs have been taken from *Young India*, 17-4-1930.

Those who will belong to the foreign-cloth boycott branch should realize that without the constructive work of khadi production the mere boycott will be a mischievous activity. Its very success without the production of khadi will prove the ruin of the national movement of independence. For the millions will take it up in simple faith. But they will curse us if they discover that they have no cloth to wear or the cloth they can get is too dear for their purse. The formula therefore is: discard foreign cloth and make your own khadi and wear it. Already there is a dearth of khadi.

The boycott of foreign cloth is, however, a difficult matter. It has two aspects; boycott and khadi production. The boycott does not require much effort. Only a few women would suffice for the work. For the production of khadi thousands and even hundreds of thousands would have to be regularly active. Hence it would require organization and planning. However, it is a work needing patience, as it requires intelligence and faith. In the course of it you have to come in contact—directly or indirectly—with crores of women. It requires a pure co-ordination between towns and villages. And, through it all the khadi India needs can be produced in a short time. We have before us all the means to produce it. We have the necessary skill too. All that we lack is workers. It is the sisters who must create these workers. They can do so only when they themselves learn to card and spin and disseminate the art among others. Most of the khadi workers are in the salt campaign. Therefore the production has suffered a temporary check.¹

But there need never be any dearth of cloth the moment the country gets disabused of the superstition that it must buy cloth to cover its nakedness. It would be on a par with someone saying that we must starve if we cannot get Manchester or Delhi biscuits. Even as we cook our food and eat it so can we, if we but will it, make our own cloth and wear it. We did it only a hundred years ago and we can relearn the trick now. All the vital processes are almost too simple to learn. At this supreme crisis, this turning point in the nation's history, we must not hesitate and nurse idleness. I do not need to restate the argument about our mills. Even if every mill were genuinely swadeshi and even if all became patriotic, they could not supply all our wants. Whichever way we look at it, whether we like it or not, we cannot

¹ The last two sentences and the following two paragraphs have been taken from *Young India*, 17-4-1930.

escape khadi if we are to achieve independence through non-violent means and if we are to achieve the boycott of foreign cloth on which we began concentration in 1920.

Of men's part in the boycott I have said enough in my speech which I unexpectedly delivered to the men who had come to Dandi. Relevant parts of this speech are reproduced elsewhere.¹ Suffice it here to say that men will damage the movement if they will meddle with women's picketing wherever it is undertaken by them.

By passing the above two resolutions Gujarati women have taken up the responsibility and Begum Amina Tyabji and their committee have shouldered the responsibility on their behalf.

May God grant them strength!

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 20-4-1930 and *Young India*, 17-4-1930

124. "SATYAGRAHA YUDDHA"

The Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, has issued a booklet under the above title. Let everyone read it. Those who are not regular readers of *Hindi Navajivan*, or those who have to train themselves for the satyagraha campaign will find the booklet especially useful.

[From Hindi]

Hindi Navajivan, 17-4-1930

125. PRESIDENT IN PRISON-HOUSE

Pandit Jawaharlal is in jail. This means that the Government has thrown the whole of India into prison. If we understand this, then our duty becomes clear at once. If we wish to force the jail doors open we must do these things.

1. We should make salt everywhere and distribute it.
2. Women should picket liquor shops, that is, they should humbly plead with the sellers and consumers of liquor to desist from selling and drinking it.
3. Women should similarly dissuade those that sell and those that wear foreign cloth.

¹ Vide "Speech at Dandi", 20-4-1930.

4. Spinning should be started in every home.
5. Students should leave schools and dedicate themselves to national work.
6. Lawyers should give up their practice and devote all their time to this national *yajna*.
7. Those in other occupations should also give for these activities as much time as they can.
8. People should leave Government jobs.
9. Under no circumstances should people become disorderly or commit violence.
10. They should not look down upon anyone. They should live at peace with all.

If we did this much our strength would certainly increase and no one would dare deflect us from our path.

[From Hindi]

Hindi Navajivan, 17-4-1930

126. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

April 17, 1930

CHI. NARANDAS,

Yesterday I sent the replies to your questions orally through Gangabehn . They must have been conveyed to you.

What you write about accounts is correct. I intend to write in *Navajivan* about the matter.

I had sent to you by return of post my reply to your question concerning . . .¹ Mahadev must have explained to you why you did not get it. If Ramji Sahay wants to go to his own province to work, he may do so. He should pay his own fare if he can.

I have already written to you asking you to send some women. Have you found some work for Keshu?

Think of all possible plans to increase the production of khadi.

Blessings from

BAPU

¹ The name has been omitted.

[PS.]

You will have to send the thing to Malkani, since I had not written to him to say no. Now I do not wish to write.

From Gujarati: C.W. 8100. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

127. INTERVIEW TO FREE PRESS OF INDIA

JALALPUR,

April 17, 1930

It is too early for me to speak with certainty anything about the so-called riots in Calcutta and Karachi. Having become used to grossly exaggerated accounts and distorted versions of things happening before my eyes, I am inclined largely to discount the stories of violence alleged to have been done by people. But be it ever so little, I have no manner of doubt that it harms the struggle, and at the same time the struggle has to go on unchecked. If non-violence has to fight people's violence in addition to that of Government, it must still perform its arduous task at any cost. I see no escape from it. At the very outset of the campaign I had declared that there was every possibility of some violence breaking out on the part of the people. It seems now to have broken out; and it hurts me, only because it hurts the cause I hold as dear as life itself. But I must say that Government have provoked it in dispersing the meeting where no violence had been done; to prohibit public meetings and processions altogether is a thing calculated to precipitate violence. Government have with utmost deliberation picked up the leaders of the people who were known to be partial to non-violence and to possess controlling influence on the people. It would have been miraculous if this gross interference with popular liberty had not evoked reprisals from easily inflammable people, who were to be found in every community and in all parts of the world. Take Gujarat itself; and in the out-of-the way Dholera and near Viramgam unnameable and indecent atrocities are said to have been committed upon defenceless national workers. Their only crime was that they would not easily yield up the salt in their possession.

In the first place, I do not know that outside India under any civilized government, authority has been given to the police forcibly to take away from people anything unless it is of a dangerous character. I know that Salt Acts do give such powers. That merely illustrates my view. A barbarous act does not become less so

by having the authority of law, and the practice of indecent torture is utterly intolerable and calculated to exhaust the patience of any-people. The obvious fact is that Government [do not] want peace. I observe that Mr. Jairamdas Doulatram has come in for a bullet wound in the thigh. I am delighted it is Mr. Jairamdas Doulatram rather than some unknown person to have been thus injured. Mr. Jairamdas is one of the greatest persons to be found in all India. If he was in the crowd, he was there not to incite people to violence but to prevent it.

Spilling of such innocent blood will hasten the end, but such casualties will only result in the manifestation of greater response from people. Let me, however, warn those whom my message may reach that if they cannot restrain themselves, they must not interfere with the struggle. If they do, they will only retard the country's progress towards its goal.

I know, however, that soon my word will cease to reach the people. All instruments I possess will have been snatched away from me, but they cannot snatch away one thing from me and that is my unshakable faith in my cause. A mass movement like the one we see in front of us is regulated not by men but by God. Manifestation has been spontaneous. It has required but little guidance.

If what I have seen happening in Gujarat is an index to what has happened in other provinces of India, the movement has been largely self-directed. I have, therefore, still every hope that at the end of the struggle it would be possible to say of it that even though regrettable violence now and then broke out, it remained predominantly and overwhelmingly non-violent. Not what happens in cities but what happens in villages will decide the fate of India.

The Bombay Chronicle, 18-4-1930

128. SPEECH TO VOLUNTEERS, VEJALPUR

April 17, 1930

Gandhiji at the outset said that they had gathered to decide about their future programme. The Government was doing quite the opposite of what he thought would be done. They had belied the expectations of the satyagrahis. He expected that he would be arrested, but he was still free. The Government has miscalculated. The word 'defeat' is not to be found in the dictionary of a satyagrahi. There was no defeat for them who were ready to die and suffer. Out of these sufferings mighty strength would be created with which all Government laws could be broken.

They had broken the salt laws successfully. What should they do next? He had heard of riots in Calcutta and Karachi. From what he had read in the newspapers he could find that somewhere there was some mistake on the part of the people and it was regrettable. Though he expected that the people would remain non-violent, he did not think that such occurrences would never happen.

I cannot teach peace and non-violence by stopping the fight. How can one man keep in check crores of people? We must do our duty and the people will understand by themselves. I hope Gujarat has well understood the lesson of non-violence, which is our religion at the present moment. We must suffer till the goal is reached.

Continuing, Gandhiji said that he wanted that all should be prepared to serve as national volunteers till swaraj is attained and asked those who wanted to retain their services under the condition to raise their hands fearlessly. All the volunteers except 48 raised their hands.

Gandhiji congratulated those 48 satyagrahis who did not raise their hands for their courage and assured them that they would be given other work in their own villages.

The question of ration for the national army was then discussed. It was unanimously resolved by the volunteers, at the suggestion of Mahatmaji, that their food should be simple and should not cost more than annas 5 per head per day. But option was given with the permission of the Captain to take meals privately at the volunteers' own expense. But Gandhiji wanted them to use the option as rarely as possible, as they as national soldiers were expected to behave with self-restraint. He said that in England even Kings had to work as sailors where they got the same food as ordinary sailors.

The resolution regarding smoking by soldiers of the national army evoked keen debate. Gandhiji said that he did not want to dismiss all those who were habituated to smoke, but suggested that they must try to do without smoking.

Concluding the conference, Mahatmaji laid great stress on the fact that they must always be at their post and asked them to observe all the rules they had themselves passed after full deliberation and of their own free will. He asked them to be of good moral character. If they did national work with impure conscience swaraj would go farther away from them. He said he would be glad if he saw his own national soldiers suffering and receiving bullets on their own chests and out of the ashes of these non-violent soldiers of freedom, swaraj would be born.

The Bombay Chronicle, 18-4-1930

129. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

VEJALPUR,
April 17, 1930

CHI. MIRA,

I have your two letters.

I can understand how the mishap occurred as to the yarn.

I understand too your natural desire to come. But I am [sure] restraint was better. It is a fine saying “there is no remission of sin except by being born again.”

You know however that you are at liberty to come if you cannot help it. But then you must come plainly to satisfy the natural desire. If you can suppress the desire, so much the better.

Calcutta and Karachi have broken the spell. Somehow I am unmoved. But there is no suspending even if moving violence takes place.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 5392. Courtesy: Mirabehn

130. LETTER TO SHAUKAT ALI

VEJALPUR,
April 17, 1930

DEAR BROTHER,

I have your astonishing letter today. The original has not been received. It is now 10.30 p.m. But I may not let your letter go unanswered even for a night.

I had no knowledge of the extent to which I had fallen in your estimation.

If I had lost confidence in you, I should certainly have told you. What I have lost I have told you—confidence in your judgment. Even now I shall defend the Nehru Report.¹ But I own it is useless if it cannot satisfy the Mussalmans or the other minorities. That was why I moved the saving resolution in Calcutta in Motilalji's absence, but with his full consent and approval. Surely it should be enough for you that the Nehru Report and, with it, the communal scheme are buried. What the scheme shall be in an independent India will be for Mussalmans, Sikhs, other minorities and Hindus to decide. If I erred in endorsing the Nehru Report, I did so with Dr. Ansari. This was enough for me.

Your charge that I did not consult you on embarking on civil disobedience is true. But how could I when I knew there was no meeting ground between us?

Can you not see that, although I may act independently of you, it might not amount to desertion? My conscience is clear. I have deserted neither you nor the Mussalmans. Where is the desertion in fighting against the salt tax and the other inequities and fighting for independence? Lastly, time will prove what no assurance from me can prove.

You are at liberty to publish the whole of the correspondence between us.

I hope that your fears about Mahomed Ali's eyes will never be

¹ A draft constitution for India prepared by a committee headed by Motilal Nehru.

realized. His eyes are wanted even if it be to fight me. May God bless him and you.

Yours ever,

From a photostat: S.N. 16810

131. LETTER TO CHANDRAKANTA

April 17, 1930

CHI. CHANDRAKANTA,

I have your letter. You are a girl with immense patience. May God always prosper you.

Let Uncle continue giving money to Narandasbhai.

It is now getting on for 11 o'clock in the night.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: Chandrakanta Papers. Courtesy: Gandhi National Museum and Library

132. LETTER TO PRABHUDAS GANDHI

April 17, 1930

CHI. PRABHUDAS,

I have your letter. Now it is about 11 at night. So, I will not be able to write much.

Give up worrying about the struggle. There are persons to guide you, aren't there? Do what they say.

You cannot go to Delhi but it is sufficient that Krishna has reached there. Write to him. He is at the Jamia. I hope you know that.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : S.N. 32945

133. ADVICE TO VOLUNTEERS

NAVSARI,
April 17, 1930

A question arose in Mahatma Gandhi's camp today about volunteers requiring more khadi to replace their torn clothing. Mahatma Gandhi said that the volunteers should dispense with the torn or lost pieces and should be satisfied with mere loin-cloth as the millions in India had to.

The Bombay Chronicle, 19-4-1930

134. TELEGRAM TO MOTILAL NEHRU ¹

April 18, 1930

THANKS. YOU HAVE CONSIDERABLY RELIEVED ME.
MAY GOD GIVE YOU STRENGTH.

Gandhi-Nehru Papers, 1930. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

¹ This was sent on receipt of intimation from the addressee that he had assumed charge of the presidentship of the Congress; *vide* also "Telegram to Motilal Nehru", 15-4-1930.

135. TELEGRAM TO N. R. MALKANI

NAVSARI,
April 18, 1930

MALKANI, CONGRESS

KARACHI

CONSIDER JAIRAMDAS MOST FORTUNATE. BULLET WOUND
THIGH BETTER THAN PRISON. WOUND HEART BETTER
STILL.

BAPU

From a photostat: C.W. 9261. Courtesy: Jairamdas Doulatram

136. LETTER TO RAOJIBHAI N. PATEL

April 18, 1930

CHI. RAOJIBHAI,

I have sent all of you there with great hopes. Mahadev writes and tells me that they are spending money extravagantly in the Kheda district. Put a check on this. One of you should remain with Abbas Saheb, so that no one harasses him for money. There is no one there to act as leader. You should take up the leadership and assume control of things.

The boycott also seems to be turning violent in spirit. Be vigilant about this, too. Meet the Headmen who have resigned and, if any of them are resorting to coercion against others, check them. If any of those who have not resigned are being harassed, that should be stopped. Allay the fears of all who have not resigned. The supply of provisions to such persons ought not to be stopped.

Think carefully about every step you take.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8987

137. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

April 19, 1930

CHI. NARANDAS,

I have written in *Navajivan* about money falling into the hands of too many people. I have also told Mahadev to take all possible steps.

Blessings from

BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 8101. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

138. LETTER TO K. M. MUNSHI

POST JALALPUR,

April 19, 1930

BHAISHRI MUNSHI,

I have your letter. How can I advise you? After giving up legal practice, one can only go on with the cases which are pending. This is what Motilalji, Das and others had done. You should decide for yourself what you should do.

Have you positively decided to invite me to Bombay? In reply to my letter to him, Swami had wired to say that I should not go till I had heard from him. He must have seen you. I have really no time to go to Bombay just now. I shall be satisfied if things here are properly organized.

It is very good indeed that you have decided to go to Broach.

Vandemataram from

MOHANDAS

From Gujarati: C.W. 7512. Courtesy: K. M. Munshi

139. LETTER TO GANGABEHN VAIDYA

April 19, 1930

CHI. GANGABEHN,

Tell all the women that no one should suppose that I will not call them here. I will call them here soon, but write to me immediately and tell me who must remain there.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original C.W. 8745. Courtesy: Gangabehn Vaidya

140. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

Saturday [April 19, 1930]¹

CHI. MATHURADAS,

I have your letter. Sarojini could not carry on without me, so she has come. No harm will come to her as long as she is by my side. When she is away, she cannot help being affected by the surrounding atmosphere. We shall take from her as much service as she can give.

I shall write about mills in *Young India*². I have not put forward any particular conditions to Ambalalbai or anyone else. Whatever there are have been mentioned in the *Navajivan*³. You will see them. No mill has accepted those conditions as yet.

I am not at all in favour of the strike. But I do not know how it can be avoided under the prevailing conditions. Still, I am making all efforts. This time the struggle will be against twofold violence. God's will be done.

Only you and Swami can deal with the money-grubbing going on in Bombay. The proper thing in my view would be to appoint a trust to which the money should be paid. Otherwise it will be eaten up. In my view some things cannot be stopped.

I shall of course write about that, too.⁴ Why should Hiralal,

¹ The letter reached the addressee on April 21, 1930. The Saturday preceding fell on this date.

² *Vide* "Our mills and foreign-cloth boycott", 24-4-1930.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

Paramanand, and others not involve themselves in the Provincial Committee? What about Vithaldas Jerajani? I have written to him to come over for a discussion on khadi matters. But he has not yet come

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

Munshi¹ has been pressing me to go there. I have agreed to go on Friday if something else does not prevent me. I am glad that Swami has not come. Meet Munshi and decide.

BAPU

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

141. SPEECH AT MEETING OF HEADMEN, VEJALPUR

April 19, 1930

The way of ahimsa by itself is such that it can produce riches out of dust. The Government's is the way of violence. It mixes earth with salt, while we produce salt out of earth. The Government destroys, we create. It has guns and cannon, we have no such arms. It has huge factories, we have nothing of the kind. Our factory is in our cottage, and our machinery is the *takli*. For you it is a matter of faith that swaraj hangs by a thread of yarn. It was you who took the pledge to carry out in six months the constructive programme for swaraj. Keep that pledge and justify my faith in you. If you do so, Bardoli can win swaraj for India.

Now that you have given up being Headmen of the Government you should become Headmen of the people. In the villages where you served as Headmen you should now work as true Headmen; in other words you should serve the people of these villages.

There are many ways of serving. But first take up these.

Every man in your village should break the salt law by making salt not only for use in his home, but also some to be stored for people living away from the sea-coast.

But this work is not likely to take the whole of your day. Hence,

¹ K. M. Munshi; *vide* also "Interview to *The Bombay Chronicle*", 20-4-1930.

the next item of work for you is to see that foreign cloth is banished from your villages. The right way to do so is to sit in your homes and twirl the *takli*, which you can make without spending a pie. If you Headmen start spinning on it the other people in the village will follow suit. In numbers is strength, as the saying goes. And by making all people in the village wear khadi you will be able to save the village wealth from being drained away.

Moreover, if all of you take up the work seriously, you can soon get the liquor shops closed, since you have your finger on the pulse of the village.

Then you should provide arbitration in village disputes, which is important work. You are well versed in these matters. Some of you probably are addicted to this kind of work. If they have to remain idle after resigning as Headmen they may regret having resigned. I was myself a practising lawyer. Having left practice I have never had to repent since I found for myself work that kept me occupied even more than legal practice had. The Headmen may very well give up their jobs, but they should have village council meetings in their homes. They should set up boards of arbitration. Being well acquainted with the affairs of the village, these boards will be able to settle disputes in a just and satisfactory manner.

In order that you can do all this work in an organized way I suggest that you establish an association of ex-Headmen. If such an association comes into being, I should like to have regular reports of its work so that I am kept informed about all your activities.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 25-5-1930

142. EXTRACTS FROM SPEECH AT BARDOLI

April 19, 1930

Headmen and Talatis are looking frightened. They have a lingering belief that through the present Government they can enjoy prestige and status and plunder the people in the name of the Government. That is why you find it necessary to persuade them to resign and to employ the weapon of social boycott against them. Truly speaking, there should be no need to persuade anyone or to put pressure on anyone in the form of boycott. A person should himself be able to see that his dirty job and soiled power are things to be abjured. And why talk only of the Headmen and Talatis? I do not believe that even others have full faith in this struggle. But we have to build on the courage that has been roused among the people. I want that the Headmen and Talatis who have not yet resigned should do so at once. And those who resign should do so totally.

To keep charge of the village books and to continue waiting on the officers after resigning the post would be deceiving the people. Rather than do so, they should boldly say: "Boycott us if you like. But we do not yet see the need to resign."

Defying the salt law is only a part of our work. Our aim is to win swaraj. To that end, it is necessary to undertake other items of work also. We should see to it that all the liquor shops are closed down. For the present, a few of our sisters have boldly come forward and taken up the task. It is not necessary for all the women to come out of their homes. They should banish liquor from their own villages. We should not abuse anyone, we should not lift our hand against anyone. Go to the owner of the liquor shop, and entreat him to close his shop. Plead humbly with the drink addicts also. This is easy for women to do. Men should help them in their work of persuasion and cut down the toddy palms for their owners. Both men and women can do all this without leaving their villages.

The third item is the boycott of foreign cloth. That task, too, we have entrusted to our sisters. It may appear to you a difficult job, but to me it seems easy. Or, to the extent that it is difficult, when accomplished it will make the winning of swaraj easy. There is no exaggeration in saying that this Government remains in our country chiefly for its cloth trade. You cannot think of all the other trade that

is allied to this direct trade of 66 crores. You will, like the people of Karadi, collect and burn foreign cloth. Brothers and sisters of Bardoli, burn with faith all the foreign cloth you have, but at the same time take a pledge that you will wear khadi. If you do so, you will save so much expenditure on clothes. If you wear fine garments of foreign or mill-made cloth, you will each need a score or more of them. But if you wear khadi a loin-cloth for men and just a sari for women will do. Also, the khadi vow should be a vow to wear khadi woven from yarn spun by oneself. That is not difficult to do. For though you cannot learn weaving in a short time, I can teach you spinning on the *takli* right away. If you spin the yarn, the ashrams will undertake to weave it into cloth. All the ashrams in the neighbourhood here are devoted to khadi activity. They have done some work though not so much as they might have done.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 25-5-1930

143. FOREWORD TO "PUBLIC FINANCE AND OUR POVERTY"

KARADI,

April 20, 1930

The booklet is a reprint, revised where necessary by the author, of the chapters written by Professor Kumarappa and published in *Young India*. They examine the economic policy of the British Government and its effect upon the masses. They are therefore very seasonable. The value of the chapters is enhanced by the addition of a very careful and copious index prepared by the author himself. I commend the booklet both to the Indian as also the Western readers.

M. K. GANDHI

Public Finance and Our Poverty; also G.N. 10085

144. MY NOTES

BEWARE

When a great struggle is on, generous people empty out their pockets and look upon everyone as a public worker. At such times, traitors see their opportunity and rob everyone wherever they can. Any-one who wants to sell swadeshi salt; anyone who wants to collect funds. People, being gullible, pay up. At such a time, it is necessary for people to be on their guard. No one should make any contributions unless they know those making collections and never without getting a receipt. The receipt should bear the signature of an office-holder of the Congress and the stamp of that office. The committees should maintain accounts of every pie and publish the names of the donors. The receipt books should be numbered and the rule should be that only these should be used for acknowledging contributions. And then accounts should be maintained accordingly. Despite such care, however, some misappropriation is bound to be there. A thief has a hundred prying eyes; a banker can glance only now and then. Nevertheless, it is the duty of all public institutions to be as much on their guard as possible.

MILL-HANDS OF AHMEDABAD

The mill-hands of Ahmedabad are contributing their share in the *yajna* of swaraj in an excellent manner. Many of them wear khadi. Their children, if not they themselves, spin and they are picketing the liquor booths. Some have also offered civil disobedience against the salt law. As a result of the movement for prohibition, the income from liquor has greatly diminished. In 1928-29 the average sale of six liquor booths in Ahmedabad was 231_ gallons. The sale this year has been 45_ gallons. In other words, there has been a decrease of over 81 per cent, that is, only 19 per cent is left. If this movement continues, we may hope that the liquor booths in Ahmedabad, at least, will have to close down. Labourers as well as the organizers deserve to be congratulated on such good results. Labourers alone act as pickets before liquor booths and it may be said that this is done in an ideal manner. Perfect peace has been maintained. If other labourers follow the example of these, their incomes will at once be doubled as money

saved is money earned. Besides there is the added gain that homes will become more peaceful.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 20-4-1930

*145. MESSAGE TO PEOPLE OF DHOLERA AND
VIRAMGAM*

The reports from places around Dholera and Viramgam are becoming intolerable. The barbarous atrocities which are said to have been perpetrated there make one shudder. Those who have sent in the reports should be careful and be prepared to substantiate them. The inhuman atrocities which have been described are not supposed to have been perpetrated secretly but openly in public. I hope the accounts are untrue. However, if they are true, there are satyagrahi measures more severe than the ones that are being adopted at present. Through them these inhuman acts could certainly be prevented. Those on whom these indignities have been inflicted should not be afraid. I am eager to go to that area. And, if these atrocities do not cease, God willing, I shall go and suggest ways of preventing them. I assure them that although I am trying to cope with the work in Surat district, my mind is occupied with the Dholera and Viramgam events.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan 20-4-1930

146. CALCUTTA AND KARACHI

The news from Calcutta and Karachi is shocking. Only time will show how much of it is true. Newspapers contain so much falsehood that it becomes difficult to get at the truth. A regime given to violence always needs to be sustained through villainy. Who does not know that at time of the Bardoli Satyagraha false rumours were spread concerning the activities of satyagrahis? Do I not have experience of the lies that have been spread about me? Nevertheless, there would seem to be some truth in the attack on us. Some Indians, whoever they may be, have caused harm to life and property. They have caused harm to the movement and put me in awkward position. Such incidents stand in the way of the Service which the people expect from me. It is a painful thing. Such incidents agitate me. That is my temperament, so how can I prevent it?

But my path is straight. Whatever happens, I cannot stop the struggle. I cannot gauge my non-violence. I go on working in faith. All will be well if untainted non-violence is at work. Nothing but good will result from the steps which are being taken.

There is only one path and one duty for the readers of *Navajivan*. They should work for peace wherever they go; they should not say one harsh word to anyone; they should not encourage among the people hatred for the British and for Indian officials. It is our dharma to love even the wrongdoer. We do not wish to injure even a hair on his body. We have to face greater atrocities by undergoing greater suffering.

There is a bit of good news in the reports from Calcutta and Karachi. Jairamdas has received a bullet wound in his thigh. I have not known anyone more pure-hearted than he. The intelligence he possesses and the prestige he enjoys are as great as his purity. He is a member of the Congress Working Committee; he is the secretary of the committee for the boycott of foreign cloth. He is a staunch votary of non-violence. In this struggle, the sacrifice of such persons is expected. So I regard Jairamdas lucky that he was the first to receive a bullet-wound. If there was a riot he surely did not go there to instigate it but rather to try and quell it. It is good that he has been injured.

It is with the blood of such Indians that the temple of swaraj will be built. If we too wish to make the final sacrifice in this *yajna*, we should cultivate Jairamdas's purity, simplicity and determination.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 20-4-1930

147. FOREIGN-CLOTH DEALERS

I have just received a telegram from Delhi which says:

“Dealers in foreign cloth want certain conditions to be considered with regard to the round-the-clock picketing of foreign-cloth shops. They want to be given time to cancel orders against which goods have not been received and to sell goods which they have in stock.”

The question is whether such conditions can be conceded. I have sent my opinion as follows:

“Such time certainly cannot be granted. If the traders have the faith they should rest assured that such poor merchants who have suffered a loss will be suitably compensated in swaraj. Those who are well-to-do will get no compensation. They should regard the loss that they incur on account of the goods lying in stock as a token *prayashchitta* for their past sins.”

I feel that it is essential for swarajists to make things fully clear.

The desperate souls who have entered the field will either triumph or perish, but even while perishing they will clarify many matters. There was not in the world a single war in which thousands did not suffer losses.

If, however, this struggle does have a peaceful ending, there would be the minimum loss with the maximum gain. But the satyagrahis must harden themselves to put up with this loss. Why should the boycott which is possible today be postponed? Where would we be if every dealer in foreign cloth asked for time? The strength of the boycott movement would be frittered away and the doors to betrayal would be opened in front, from behind and on the sides. Who would keep watch on which traders? The traders who lack faith but do not wish to practice deceit can act in the following way:

They can keep their goods for the time being. If the people lose and enter into a fresh indenture of slavery, such traders will easily be able to sell their goods. They should make out lists of their goods and hand them to well known volunteers and get these stamped by the Congress, so that, at the proper time, if it is felt that they should be given compensation, the swaraj Government could do so. Another alternative is for them to export their goods to countries where foreign goods are sold. Anyone who wishes to do something, finds many straightforward ways of doing it. But a poor dancer will always find the courtyard uneven.

But why sympathize with the sufferings of traders? What about educated lawyers? With great difficulty we find a person like Kanaiyalal Munshi, who saw his way clear and sacrificed his legal practice and his, what in Government circles is called, "career". Other lawyers are afraid of offering civil disobedience. What if they are disbarred? These good but timid lawyers would see if they reflected a little that if all of them offered civil disobedience, no one would be disbarred. But, what if all of them do not do so? Even then what is there to fear? Why should not a sacrificing lawyer have the conviction that by making his own contribution he will bring swaraj nearer? Why cannot he have the faith that such a mighty struggle cannot but end in swaraj? Then those who were disbarred will again be called back to their practice in honour. Dr. Krause was a famous lawyer in the Transvaal. He was very nearly sent to the gallows. His legal practice was forcibly taken away from him. He, however, reestablished himself with honour and not only did he regain all he had lost but his prestige increased. Many such instances could be cited. Want of faith is the most expensive thing in this struggle. If we have the least bit of self-confidence swaraj is within our grasp. Otherwise we victims of delusion shall be like the woman who is looking all over the village for the child who is in her lap.

What applies to the traders and the lawyers applies also to the students. We do not even have an idea of the full extent of our fall. And so we have not developed sufficient dislike for our miserable plight. Ignorance of our plight stands in our way.

Even so if we maintain our present progress, traders, lawyers, students, doctors and even barbers will gain courage and we shall soon secure the end we desire.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 20-4-1930

148. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

April 20, 1930

CHI. NARANDAS,

I have sent Chhotelal to Ahmedabad today, as I sent away Pyarelal. Retaining both of them in my service encouraged them and me in indulgence and resulted in their services being not fully utilized. I have, therefore, sent Pyarelal to Wadhwan and other places and Chhotelal to Ahmedabad to stay in the Vidyapith and elsewhere and propagate the *takli*, the spinning-wheel, etc. Let me know which women ought to remain there.

The sum of Rs. 250 which I have sent with Chhotelal was received from a Marwari gentleman. Credit it to the Satyagraha Fund.

Blessings from

BAPU

From Gujarati: C. W. 8102. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

149. LETTER TO JAMNADAS GANDHI

April 20, 1930

CHI. JAMNADAS,

I had been expecting your letter. You seem to be doing good work. Is your throat all right? It would be very good indeed if Khushalbai joined the movement. According to me, it is pure dharma to join it. Write to me from time to time and give all the details.

Blessings from
BAPU

CHI. JAMNADAS GANDHI
OPP. MIDDLE SCHOOL
NAVA PARA, RAJKOT
KATHIAWAR

From the original in Gujarati: C.W. 9307. Courtesy: Jamnadas Gandhi

150. LETTER TO K. M. MUNSHI

April 20, 1930

BHAISHRI MUNSHI,

I have a letter today which says:

Shri Munshi has produced a good effect by his bold step, but he has issued a circular letter to his lawyer friends telling them that he would be able to attend to work in his chambers from 1 p.m. to 4 p.m.

There is another letter signed by seven persons, which is full of allegations against you. The signatories desire the letter to be published. I have categorically refused to do so. This is merely for your information.

Shri Mukund Malaviya sends a long letter. He says that none of them desires me to go there at present. I have seen the Congress leaders too. They also say the same thing, adding that I might visit the place after they do something which I would welcome.

For the present, therefore, I would ask you to free me from the engagement. The work here does not leave me a moment to spare. There is little need to arouse enthusiasm in Bombay. I am making this suggestion for the sake of the rest and peace that I need. You may come here and bring with you a few Congress leaders. You will spare me for the present, won't you?

Tell Lilavati that I shall expect her to make her own contribution, and a big one. If it was with her approval that you made a public reference to our old relations, I may say that those bonds were as between a father and his daughter. Imagine what expectations a father who had lost his daughter would have from her when she was found.

Vandemataram from

MOHANDAS

[PS.]

After this was finished, I received a letter of praise also, which I must send to you. Do not return it. Tear it up.

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 7513. Courtesy: K.M. Munshi

151. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

9.30 p.m., April 20, 1930

CHI. MAHADEV,

I have had no letter from you for two days. I am eager to know about what is happening in Viramgam and Dholera. Either write to me yourself or ask someone else to write. There seems to have been an actual revolt in Chittagong. May everything be as Rama wills.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11483

152. INTERVIEW TO "THE BOMBAY CHRONICLE"

JALALPUR,
April 20, 1930

I see that several friends expect me to be in Bombay next week. In reply to Sjt. Munshi's pressing invitation I said weather permitting I might go to Bombay next week. But I see that my presence in these parts is urgent and letters from several friends in Bombay tell me that I should not move from Gujarat till Bombay is better prepared. Of enthusiasm, so far as newspapers can tell me, there is no lack in Bombay. Of discipline I do not know. At the present moment what we want is the rigidest discipline, more rigid than in an army made to wage bloody warfare, side by side with the utmost defiance of the selected laws and consistently with the principles of non-violence and truth. There must be continued and continuous constructive work as if swaraj was to be established today. How far this is being done in Bombay I do not know. I, therefore, advise friends in Bombay not to be hasty in asking me to come there. If Gujarat alone responds to the work put before the men and women, it would be a great thing and a large step towards swaraj.

I would, therefore, ask friends in Bombay not to build upon my coming there in the near future but I would go there with the greatest pleasure as soon as I can free myself from Gujarat and when Bombay is really ready.

After all the struggle is becoming a mass movement. Nobody's presence is therefore indispensable. What is most necessary is consolidation of the present phenomenal manifestation into dynamic energy of a purely non-violent type. That is possible. The world has had ample demonstration since the 12th of March last.

The Bombay Chronicle, 21-4-1930

153. ADVICE TO FOREIGN-CLOTH DEALERS

April 20, 1930

Gandhiji said he feared that wherever foreign-cloth boycott can be organized perfectly non-violently, it cannot be suspended upon any undertaking save that of refraining from selling.

This is no time for bargaining. Those who have faith in this and therefore in swaraj coming as the certain result of the present movement and who believe that it is good to stop buying foreign cloth should stop altogether and not for a certain period. But for those who have no faith and would stop selling foreign cloth in obedience to rising public opinion against it, I would make the following suggestion. Instead of asking for suspension of picketing, let them suspend selling of foreign cloth which they will resume if the movement fizzles out. If it succeeds they will find a market for their wares elsewhere. If they suffer loss and are too poor to bear it they should trust the national Government of the future to give them reasonable compensation. I would, however, warn those who would undertake to picket against using the slightest violence either directly or indirectly. That was one of the reasons why I conceived the idea of confining picketing of foreign-cloth shops and liquor shops to women but where women are not ready and men have confidence in their ability to conduct non-violent picketing, they should certainly take it up.

The Bombay Chronicle, 21-4-1930

154. THE BLACK REGIME

KARADI,
April 21, 1930

The past week has not been one of unmixed joy. It has seen disturbances in Calcutta¹ and Karachi. And now comes the sad news from Chittagong. It shows that in spite of the striking demonstration of non-violence all over the country, there is still violence in the air and cities are the storehouses of it. Calcutta and Karachi can be distinguished from Chittagong. The first two appear to have been mad outbursts of the moment. Chittagong seems to be a deliberate planning. Whatever they were, they are most regrettable and interfere with the growth of the movement which is otherwise shaping itself marvellously well and gaining fresh momentum from day to day. I can only appeal to those who believe in violence not to disturb the free flow of the non-violent demonstration. Whether they listen or not, this movement will go on. Violence is bound to impede the progress towards independence. I am unable to demonstrate how it will impede. Those who survive the struggle will know how.

Meanwhile satyagrahis must continue their activity with redoubled vigour. We must deal with the double-edged violence ranged against us. For me popular violence is as much an obstruction in our path as the Government violence. Indeed I can combat the Government violence more successfully than the popular. For one thing, in combating the latter, I should not have the same support as in the former. Then again the motive in the latter being as honourable as that of the satyagrahis, the method to be employed has to be somewhat different from that employed in regard to the Government violence.

I hope that as in Karachi, so in Calcutta and Chittagong, there were satyagrahis attempting to check mob violence. Brave young Dattatreya Mane who is said to have known nothing of satyagraha and being an athlete had merely gone to assist in keeping order, received a fatal bullet wound. Meghraj Revachand, 18 years old, has also succumbed to a bullet wound. Thus did seven men, including

¹ There had been disturbances in Calcutta during the hartal observed on April 19 following the arrests of Jawaharlal Nehru and J. M. Sen Gupta.

Jairamdas, receive bullet wounds. Jairamdas's injury gave me unmixed joy. It is the injury to leaders that would bring relief. The law of sacrifice is uniform throughout the world. To be effective it demands the sacrifice of the bravest and the most spotless. And Jairamdas is of the bravest and the cleanest. I therefore could not help wiring when I heard of Jairamdas's wound that a wound in the thigh was better than prison and wound in the heart better still.¹

Whilst therefore I tender my sympathy to the parents of the two brave lads who lost their lives, my inmost desire is to congratulate them for the finished sacrifices of their sons, if they would accept my congratulations. A warrior's death is never a matter for sorrow, still less that of a satyagrahi warrior. One of the lessons that a nation yearning for freedom needs to learn is to shed several fears; fear of losing title, wealth, position, fear of imprisonment, of bodily injury and lastly death.

Accounts from all over India tell the same tale of growing fearlessness. The Bihar letter published elsewhere makes soul stirring reading.

One thing we must get rid of quickly. Lawless physical violence must be stopped even if it is to be through forcing the Government to use its guns. And this can be done non-violently.

I give only one out of several samples of indecent assaults by the police at Viramgam:

STATEMENT OF ANIRUDDHA VYAS, A STUDENT OF DAKSHINAMURTI VIDYARTHI BHAVAN VOLUNTEER NO. 35/3:

I with a number of my companions got down from the 6.30 evening Mail with bags of salt at the Viramgam railway station, when from 8 to 10 policemen surrounded us. To save the salt from being seized I sat down with the bag of salt on the ground, clinging to it with all my might.

All efforts of the police to make me get up having failed, one of them thrust apart my legs and squeezed my private parts with his hands so as to compel me to get up. But the weight of my body and the push and the pull of the surrounding police disengaged the parts and I fell down. I was then pulled up again. But I bent double and held the salt bag tight under my crossed arms. A policeman thereupon straightened my back by poking it with his foot which caused me intense pain. Then two policemen gave a violent jerk, twisted my fingers as they liked and loosened my arms and wrested the bag from me. I was

¹ *Vide* "Telegram to N. R. Malkani", 18-4-1930.

then let go, one officer taking my name and number.

Mahadev Desai tells me that these assaults have stopped for the time being. But there is no knowing that they have stopped for ever and there certainly is not the slightest ground for supposing that they will not occur in other parts of Gujarat or of other provinces. In Broach the things are growing from bad to worse. A bullet wound is any day better than these barbarous, unnecessary, unprovoked assaults. The person of a citizen must be held inviolate. It can only be touched to arrest or to prevent violence, never in the manner being done now. It is a prostitution even of the salt laws to use them against civil resisters. The provisions were designed to deal (even then unjustly as I hold) with surreptitious breaches of its new provisions, never to deal with masses of men openly defying them. If the Government do not stop this brutal violation of the body, they will find the satyagrahis presently compelling them to use the guns against them. I do not want this to happen. But if the Government will have it, I should have no hesitation whatsoever in giving them the opportunity. They must not physically interfere with the bands of civil resisters manufacturing or vending salt, they may arrest every man, woman and child if they wish. If they will neither arrest, nor declare salt free, they will find people marching to be shot rather than be tortured.

It is true that the barbarous interference with the body and the indecent assaults are a heritage of the past. This Government has by its tacit approval given it a currency which it never had before.

As I am writing these notes two volunteers have brought me salt said to have been poisoned. Not only do the authorities wantonly destroy salt and salt pans now, they are said to poison the sources of salt manufacture. If the report is true, the blackness of the regime becomes blacker still. And all this against a people who without hurting anybody are seeking to gain freedom through self-suffering!

Young India, 24-4-1930

155. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

April 21, 1930

CHI. MIRA,

I hate writing letters in pencil. But I am writing this whilst I am waiting at the prayer ground for the others to come. It is just nearing 4.20.

You must speak to Premabai with all the love you can command and she will listen. She is a capable girl and a good girl. She wants to do the best she can. She is aware of her shortcomings. All she needs is gentle helping. I am writing to her too.

How is Reginald getting on now?

I am¹ moving from place to place and concentrating on spinning. Boycott of foreign cloth will be a trap without spinning. And *takli* is the only thing to make spinning universal. You will therefore do there whatever is possible to manufacture more khadi there.

I am sending you a cutting regarding yourself.

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

The ink portion was written after prayer.

From the original: C.W. 5393. Courtesy: Mirabehn; also G.N. 9627

¹ Up to here the letter is in pencil.

156. LETTER TO GANGABEHN VAIDYA

Monday Night [April 21, 1930]¹

CHI. GANGABEHN,

It is 11.15 p.m. now. I will not, therefore, write much. There is a great rush of work these days.

The women who have remained there are also helping the movement. I have often explained that the Ashram activities and this movement are not unconnected with each other. For anyone who has given up fear of jail, it is the same whether they are in jail or at home. We should avail ourselves of whatever opportunities of service we get unsought. If women's help is sought for picketing, all the women may of course come forward. When nobody else remains to carry on the work and fear rules all, let the Ashram women come out and lay down their lives to the last of them. Just now, many many women are coming forward for picketing, you should do whatever work falls to your lot.

I have told Kusum that the inmates of the Ashram cannot be divided into two classes. If she joins as from the Ashram, she must sign the pledge. If she does not sign the pledge and yet wishes to remain in the Ashram, she can observe the other rules and remain there. Hearing this, on the very day on which the women came here she went to consult her mother. I do not know what happened after that.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 8746. Courtesy: Gangabehn Vaidya

¹ The date is from *Bhapuna Patro* — 6: *G.S. Gangabehnne*.

157. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

KARADI,

Midnight, Monday, April 21, 1930

CHI. MAHADEV,

Pyarelal has arrived. Your statement was not found useful, you will see why when you read my article. What is happening in Broach and what has happened in Bihar have overshadowed the incidents in Dholera and Viramgam. Now that the repression at these places has stopped, why rake up the matter? What little you may have mentioned in your weekly account may remain. A part of your statement was, I felt, fit to be dropped, but I have no time just now to explain why. I wrote the whole day, after which I went to the Navsari hospital to see someone who had been seriously injured while cutting toddy-palms and has now only a few breaths left. After my return from there, I have been at the spinning *yajna* and dictating this. I am sending Pyarelal to Broach. You also seem to have sent someone there. To err on the safe side, I am sending Pyarelal. The services of Chhotelal, who was sent there yesterday, will mainly be utilized for khadi propaganda work. I have explained this to Kaka. However, Chhotelal is known for his ability to attend to a number of jobs at the same time and you may take from him any work you wish to. I have been thinking how to give the last instructions. I am not sure, but I may be able to finalize them in a day or two. Tomorrow afternoon I shall reach Surat and be there till the evening, when I will return.

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

I am sending all the affidavits. The bundle of papers for *Young India* has been sent direct. I have included in my article the translation of one affidavit. Pyarelal's translations are incomplete and faulty I have dropped the idea of sending Pyarelal.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 16824

158. INTERVIEW TO ASSOCIATED PRESS OF INDIA

NAVSARI,
April 21, 1930

Chittagong news makes sad reading. It shows that there is a large or small body of men in Bengal who do not believe in non-violence whether as a policy or as a creed. That there were such people all over India I knew but I had hoped that they would give non-violence a chance. If Chittagong is an indication and not an isolated act, as I believe Calcutta and Karachi acts to be, it is a serious affair. But, however serious the situation becomes, there can be no suspension of the fight. There can be no retracing. I observe that the Viceroy has answered the Chittagong disturbance with the exercise of his extraordinary powers. That was only to be expected. So long as the British people are determined to impose their rule upon unwilling people, so long must they rule in reality without law. We in India easily delude ourselves into the belief that we have duly constituted legislatures. Presently there will be no one remaining under any such delusion. Civil resisters must, therefore, fight an unequal struggle—the violence of the Government and the violence of those among us who have no faith in non-violence. Satyagrahis, if they are true to their creed, will either come out victorious or will be ground to atoms between the two mills.

The Bombay Chronicle, 22-4-1930

159. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

April 22, 1930

BHAISATIS BABU,

I am not getting from anywhere a true account of what is happening in Bengal. I do not even know how your organization¹ is working. Instruct someone to keep me posted with correct information.

How is your health?

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

After writing this I saw the telegram regarding the fast. I have wired and am awaiting the reply.

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 1617

¹ Presumably, the Ashram at Sodepur

160. LETTER TO HEMPRABHA DAS GUPTA

April 22, 1930

DEAR SISTER,

There has been no letter from you for several days. I have no idea how long I shall be allowed to remain free. But you must keep writing to me. After I am arrested we shall see.

How is your health now?

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 1666

161. SPEECH TO HEADMEN, SURAT

April 22, 1930

Remember that you have pledged your services in the cause of the country. Your duty now is to work whole-heartedly for the swaraj "Government".

If you have resigned your jobs unwillingly I consider that you are doing the greatest disservice to your country. If you have faith in yourselves and, therefore, in swaraj, then alone I invite you to join this fight.

Do not purchase Government salt. Do not wear foreign clothes and shun liquor. You are taking a step towards swaraj.

The Bombay Chronicle, 23-4-1930

162. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

April 22, 1930

CHI. NARANDAS,

What you write about Sharja¹ is correct.

The accompanying letter² is for Gangabehn. Read it and give it to her. I have no time to write more. It will be 11.30 p.m. in a few seconds.

Blessings from

BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 8103. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

163. LETTER TO PURUSHOTTAMDAS TRIKAMDAS

10 p. m., April 23, 1930

BHAISHRI PURUSHOTTAM,

I was glad to have your letter, for which thanks. We need as many lawyers as we can get. Bhai Munshi has shown the way to all.³

May God give you strength.

Vandemataram from

MOHANDAS

SJT. PURUSHOTTAM TRIKAMDAS
29 D DONGONSI ROAD
MALABAR HILL
BOMBAY

From the Gujarati original: Purushottamdas Trikamdass Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

¹ Sharja Apte wanted to live independently of her husband and do some work.

² No letter of this date to Gangabehn Vaidya is available. It is likely the reference is to the letter of April 21.

³ *Ibid.*

164. LETTER TO HARIBHAU UPADHYAYA

April 23, 1930

BHAI HARIBHAU,

I have your letter. After all of you are arrested, I will write for *Young India* and *Navajivan* if I am not arrested by then. There is some matter even today on which I must write in *Navajivan*. I will sit down and write out something. Ramnarayan has expressed a desire to go there and I have also given my consent. The movement is certainly gathering momentum. If we can keep up the present tempo, I am confident that we shall be able to gain our object in quite a short time.

I wrote this yesterday and was then called away. I got your wire at Navsari. I got your letter, too. I have used that letter itself and written something for *Hindi Navajivan*.¹ If I can write something for the next issue of *Young India*, I will do so. Take care of your health.

Perhaps by next week I shall have been arrested.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 6072. Courtesy: Haribhau Upadhyaya

¹ *Vide* "Salaaming or Flogging?", 24-4-1930.

165. LETTER TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA

KARADI,
April 23, 1930

CHI. BRIJKRISHNA,

Your letter. What purpose can be served by calling you here? I know the conditions in Delhi well enough. Do as much as you can. Increase the production of khadi in and around Delhi if possible. Make bamboo *taklis*, teach others to make them and organize collection of yarn. Meet Nair and do whatever is possible. I see no harm in making the Ashram permanent. But if you have faith in our pledge, you may be sure that the Ashram will automatically become permanent because this struggle is going to be decisive and the Ashram is bound to exist till the establishment of swaraj. And after attaining swaraj all the ashrams will, as a matter of course, become a permanent feature. It is very good that Mother and others have taken to khaddar. How is your health?

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2381

166. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

April 23, 1930

CHI. NARANDAS,

Herewith is a cheque, along with its particulars. Send the acknowledgment to Allahabad.

It is 10 p.m. just now.

Blessings from

BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 8104. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

167. LETTER TO VITHALDAS JERAJANI

April 23, 1930

BHAISHRI VITHALDAS JERAJANI,

There have been, from time to time, several changes in the khadi propaganda movement and consequently in your work. In my view, those changes were necessary in the interest of the khadi movement and of *Daridranarayana* though, at the time those changes were made, they did not immediately appeal to reason. Our experience so far has been that ultimately all those changes stood the test of reason too, and were justified by the results. The change which I am now suggesting may, I think, seem much more risky than the earlier changes. However, I believe that the change is as essential in the interest of khadi as it may seem dangerous to khadi lovers on a superficial view. Anyone who has properly understood the rationale of boycott of foreign cloth will immediately see the necessity for this change. We do not have in stock enough khadi to meet the present demand. The demand is daily increasing and we are not in a position to produce sufficient khadi to meet it. Hence, if we do not somehow increase our capacity to produce khadi, the supply of khadi would be inadequate. It can be proved with mathematical certainty that, if that happens, the boycott of foreign cloth will fail. The new suggestion which I, therefore, wish to make is as under:

As quickly as feasible, that is, immediately in a day or two, you should inform the Bombay public that no one who wishes to buy khadi will get it for money but that it will be sold only against

hand-spun yarn. This is the only way to make it clear to people that khadi is not a mere commodity, like foreign cloth, which can be bought for money, but that it is a symbol of the nation's strength and aspiration. According to the science of khadi, as long as cotton is available there can be no scarcity of khadi. However, this requires that the people should be imbued with a zeal for spinning. Khadi will have no meaning if, at this critical time and when we are about to win swaraj, we cannot make the zeal for spinning universal. Moreover, it is not possible for us at short notice to produce ten million pounds of khadi. Our duty, therefore, is straight and simple. If the people have real love for khadi, they ought to spin. My suggestion is not in fact as extreme as it may appear on a superficial view, since the prospective buyer of khadi is required to produce yarn not spun by himself but by any person. Hence a resident of Bombay may procure hand-spun yarn in any way he chooses. He may spin it himself or get it spun by members of his family or his poor neighbours or by the residents of any village in India. The Bombay man will have to take some trouble, of course. If he does not take even that much of trouble and has in consequence to go without khadi, it would be best for himself, for others and for the cause of khadi that he should go without it. You may think and decide for yourself what the quality of the yarn should be and what articles can still be sold for cash. I hope that the residents of Bombay, who have been making a great contribution to the present struggle, will understand this simple suggestion and take the little trouble they are being asked to, for obtaining the khadi they require.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9772

168. HINDU-MUSLIM UNITY

As so much misrepresentation is being made about my attitude on the communal question, without entering into any argument I would state my position as clearly as my knowledge of the language would enable me to do.

1. The views that I have held for the last 40 years remain unchanged.

2. I hold that there is no swaraj without communal unity as without several other things I have repeatedly mentioned.

3. The present campaign is not designed to establish independence but to arm the people with the power to do so.

4. When the power has been generated and the time has come for the establishment of independence, Mussalmans and all other minorities will have to be placated. If they are not, there must inevitably be civil war. But I live in the hope that if we succeed in generating the power, our differences and distrust will vanish. These are due to our weakness. When we have the power from within we shall shed our weakness.

5. The Nehru Constitution having lapsed the communal solution has naturally lapsed. The Lahore Congress resolution mentions in so many words that the communal solution not having given satisfaction either to the Sikhs or the Mussalmans the question might have to be reconsidered so as to give satisfaction to all the parties concerned.

6. The only non-violent solution I know is for the Hindus to let the minority communities take what they like. I would not hesitate to let the minorities govern the country. This is no academic belief. The solution is attended with no risk. For under a free government the real power will be held by the people. That demonstration is being given now. The mightiest government will be rendered absolutely impotent if the people realizing their power use it in a disciplined manner and for the common good. In Gujarat the people are within reach of success if the strength and cohesion they are showing today are genuine and not derived from blind faith. It must be remembered that only an infinitesimal proportion of the people can hold positions of responsibility and power in a country's government. Experience all the world over shows that the real power and wealth are possessed by people outside the group that hold the reins of Government. We in

India hanker after power, because our people are ignorant and will be exploited. The power wielded today is corrupt to the core. Independence achieved through non-violent power must by its very nature reduce corruption to a minimum. It is thus my practical wisdom which has suggested the solutions. The fact is that we are today unable to visualize anything contrary to our experience present or inherited. Yet what can be clearer than that an independent India must be something quite outside our present experience? It is of course open to the critic to say that both non-violence and independent India achieved through it exist only in my imagination. My retort then is that, God willing, I shall not be found surviving in an India that remains slave in spite of this struggle or under so-called independence achieved through violent means. I admit that under an independence violently achieved, minorities have to take care of themselves. But this, thanks to the existing Government, they do not need much exertion to do. For the Government exists by playing one community against the other or others. The difficulty of my critics arises from their ignoring or doubting my creed. I remain unmoved, because they won't be able long to ignore or doubt my creed.

7. My so-called inconsistencies are no inconsistencies to those who understand, be it only intellectually, the implications of non-violence.

8. There can be nothing to suspect in resisting the salt tax or the drink and drug devil or the inroads of foreign cloth through khadi. I therefore do not hesitate to invite all to take their due share in the campaign. Those who will not, simply deny to themselves the opportunity of gaining the power of resistance to evil under every conceivable circumstance.

9. I have embarked upon civil disobedience without any reservation save that of non-violence for the simple and peremptory reason that non-violence itself was in danger of being worsted in the fight. I could not possibly contemplate such a calamity with equanimity. I saw at once that if non-violence was a potent force, it must be able to make its way even through violence and finally supersede it.

Young India, 24-4-1930

169. MASS ACTION

A friend having seen the wonderful manifestation of mass action sends the following extracts from an article by Sir Martin Conway in *Commerce and Finance*:¹

What any generation can accomplish in faith and growth is little compared with what has been accomplished for them by the generations that have gone before. This is evident enough; in the case of material possessions and the great treasure of the world's art, but it is still more true for the world's ideals. It is those that are the most precious of all its belongings, and for the preservation of these it has, not individuals, however great, but crowds to thank. For let me declare again that *it is in crowds that ideals reside*. It is they that incorporate them and they that *transmit them*. An individual may invent an ideal, but unless he can get it incorporated in a crowd it is barren of effect, and dies with him. Rail against the crowd as we may for its intolerance, its pride, its fickleness, its lack of measure and all the other shortcomings of which we are only too easily aware, it yet remains true that *upon crowds our spiritual life depends*, that from them we draw our enthusiasms, and to them we owe those flames of love and passion and glory which make the life of each individual the splendid opportunity that it is.

A crowd that has never come physically together gains greatly in vigour if it can be in whole or even in part embodied. If it can be seen it will bring to bear on outsiders that attractiveness which every embodied crowd possesses. If it can see itself it will grow hot. . . .

An even more rudimentary application of the principle of crowd-attractiveness is the organization of processions. The longer they can be made the more useful they are, and the more they attract and impose upon the outside. . . . An English movement dates its success from the day when it can fill the Albert Hall with a shouting throng; and it is an obvious fact that one successful, enthusiastic Albert Hall gathering is worth more for purposes of propaganda than a score of smaller gatherings in unimportant halls and chapels.

¹ Only extracts are reproduced here.

The use at the present moment of this article consists in the help it gives one in measuring the progress of non-violence. An idea whether good or bad can be said to have gained ground only when it strikes the imagination of masses of men. Whatever crowds do is not necessarily always good. Nor is it true to say, as some have said, that non-violence is necessarily confined to individuals. On the contrary the test of the sincerity of one's belief in non-violence lies in the measure of its acceptance by masses of men. If non-violence could not affect masses of mankind, it is a waste of effort for individuals to cultivate it. I hold it to be the greatest gift of God. And all God's gifts are the common heritage of His creation and not a monopoly of cloistered monks or nuns. They may specialize in non-violence, they may teach us its wonderful effects, but if their discoveries and their claims are sound they must be adaptable by masses. If truth be not a monopoly of the few why should non-violence, its counterpart, be otherwise? My reverent study of the scriptures of the world has led me to the belief that all register emphatic and unequivocal testimony in favour of non-violence being practised by all not merely singly but collectively as well. In all humility I have often felt that having no axes to grind and having by nature a detached mind, I give a truer interpretation of the Hindu, Christian, Islamic or other scriptures. For this humble claim I anticipate the forgiveness of Sanatanists, Christians and Mussalmans.

Young India, 24-4-1930

170. NECESSITY OF PURITY IN ACCOUNT-KEEPING

Simple people are in pure faith pouring in their copper, silver and paper coins into the bowls of volunteers who sell salt or otherwise collect money. No unauthorized volunteers should make collections or sell salt at fancy prices. Accounts should be accurately kept and frequently published. Books should be weekly examined by auditors. It will be well if monied men of proved honesty were to constitute themselves treasurers to take charge of and collect funds and work in full co-operation with Congress volunteers. Active workers are being quickly picked up and it may be difficult before long for local organizations to hold funds and keep proper accounts. As it is, the public have everywhere taken over the financing of the movement. Let it be done responsibly and methodically.

Young India, 24-4-1930

171. LIQUOR PICKETING

A Parsi correspondent writes as follows:¹

If there is negligible profit in liquor trade, the Parsis will leave it at once and join you gladly in all your undertakings. Can you find out any means and ways of making this profit of liquor shops negligible? It is a fact that these shop-keepers make a good profit by (a) short sale (b) adulteration, and keep the staff of the Excise Dept. well in hand by paying them their dues.

The only suggestion I can think of for stopping this middleman's profit is to insist on Government to first introduce the 'bottle system', as is introduced in Indore and Gwalior States. . . .

The second point is that the liquor now distilled in Nasik is quite unfit for human consumption. . . . They should distil liquor of one uniform strength (say 35° to 45°) and bottle it at Nasik and then distribute it for sale.

The third point I have to suggest is that it is rather difficult to introduce peaceful picketing of liquor shops. Why not open magic lantern shows or cinema shows in every big town and a few big villages and show such pictures to the public pointing out the harm and disadvantages of liquor? . . . Such temperance movements will have better effect. Government cannot stop such

¹ Only extracts are reproduced here.

shows and this will lead to temperance. . . .

This is a sincere letter. It is a frank admission that if the Parsis can be persuaded to give up the drink traffic, the solution of the drink problem, at least up to Bombay if not throughout India, becomes simple. But the remedy suggested by the correspondent will not answer the purpose. No matter what is done the traffic all the world over bears an immoral taint. The only true remedy is therefore prohibition. Even as thieving cannot be regulated save by prohibition so may drink traffic not be regulated save by prohibition.

There is no doubt danger of violence in picketing. Hence my appeal to the sisters of India to take charge of it. If only the educated few will shed their fear and disbelief the other sisters are sure to follow.

And as to the Parsi liquor dealers, surely it is not beyond the capacity of Parsi philanthropists to take them in hand and find for them a suitable employment. Parsi leaders can create an atmosphere against the traffic and thus make picketing easy. Anyway I should be surprised if during this wave of self-purification the traffic is not swept away. It needs but a little sustained effort on the part of the sisters. In six canteens of Ahmedabad frequented by the labouring population, thanks to the quiet picketing done by the Labour Union, the traffic has fallen to 19 per cent. Though I have not accurate figures as yet, the traffic in the area covered by Mithubai's activity has also fallen considerably. And I know that in both these places picketing has been absolutely non-violent. Thousands in Surat are said to have voluntarily come forward to forswear drink.

The mention of Mithubai Petit reminds me of two other Parsis who are working in the same field. Dhanjishah known as Darbari Sadhu or Bhikshu or Sannyasi and who has now gone to jail under the Salt Act has been for years working in the village where I am writing these notes. It was partly in his honour that I decided to shift from Dandi to Karadi. The other is Baheram Mehta, a non-co-operating graduate. He was picked up by the police in Olpad, because he was respected and loved by the people. I need not mention the four grand-daughters of the G.O.M. who have been for years unassumingly serving the cause with a single-mindedness worthy of their noble-hearted grandfather. I can name several other Parsis who are also selflessly helping the cause. I have therefore every hope that the Parsi liquor dealers will themselves not repel the appeal of their sisters. The liquor traffic like the salt tax is doomed.

Young India, 24-4-1930

172. HOW TO DO THE PICKETING

1. At least ten women are required for picketing a liquor or foreign-cloth shop. They must choose a leader from among themselves.

2. They should all first go in a deputation to the dealer and appeal to him to desist from carrying on the traffic and present him with leaflets setting forth facts and figures regarding drink or foreign cloth as the case may be. Needless to say the leaflets should be in the language understood by the dealer.

3. If the dealer refuses to suspend traffic, the volunteers should guard the shop leaving the passage free and make a personal appeal to the would-be purchasers.

4. The volunteers should carry banners or light boards bearing warnings in bold letters against buying foreign cloth or indulging in intoxicating drinks, as the case may be.

5. Volunteers should be as far as possible in uniforms.

6. Volunteers should at frequent intervals sing suitable *bhajans* bearing on the subject.

7. Volunteers should prevent compulsion or interference by men.

8. On no account should vulgarity, abuse, threat or unbecoming language be used.

9. The appeal must always be to the head and the heart, never to fear of force.

10. Men should on no account congregate near the place of picketing nor block the traffic. But they should carry on propaganda generally through the area against foreign cloth and drink. They should help and organize processions of women to parade through the area carrying the message of temperance and khadi and the necessity of boycott of drink and foreign cloth.

11. There should be at the back of these picketing units a network of organization for spreading the message of the *takli* and the *charkha* and thinking out new leaflets and new lines of propaganda.

12. There should be an absolutely accurate and systematic account of all receipts and expenditure. This should be periodically audited. This again should be done by men under the supervision of women. The whole scheme presupposes on the part of men a genuine respect for women and sincere desire for their rise.

Young India, 24-4-1930

173. OUR MILLS AND FOREIGN-CLOTH BOYCOTT

Foreign-cloth boycott is coming, if we will do our duty and tax ourselves to understand its purpose and the conditions of success. I must not at present adduce reasons for the propositions set forth below. They have been often argued in these columns. I am having the figures prepared for reproduction. But for the present I give my conclusions for those who are interested in them. They are arrived at dispassionately and after due consideration of every factor and every argument for and against.

1.It is impossible for the indigenous mills to cope with the deficiency to be created by a complete boycott within the time we expect it to come to fruition.

2.All the mills situated in India are not swadeshi; some of them are as foreign as the foreign Government inasmuch as they drain the wealth of the country away from it. They are close preserves for Europeans only employing Indian labour.

3.The majority of swadeshi mills will not work for the national benefit only or even predominantly.

4.Even when they will, they can be crushed by the Government in a variety of ways.

5.The majority will not resist the temptation to exploit the present favourable times.

6.Many mills use foreign yarn for weaving, especially for borders.

7.We can only use them by not counting upon them to replace the cloth boycotted and by putting them upon their own resources and honour.

8.This last we can do only if we can replace the cloth boycotted through cloth not manufactured in our mills. This can only be khadi.

9.An unlimited quantity of khadi can be manufactured without the slightest difficulty inside of one month if the spirit of khadi and the will to manufacture it can be created.

10.Skilled weavers are to be found all over India. The only problem therefore is that of spinning.

11.Spining and the antecedent processes can be learnt inside of one week by those who have the will and the industry.

12. India produces more than enough cotton for all her requirements.

13. Therefore all those who work for boycott of foreign cloth should concentrate on khadi production through spinning. This does not mean boycott of swadeshi mill-cloth but it means an intelligent recognition of the fact that the mills do not need any effort for selling their cloth. The boycott movement sufficiently helps them by removing foreign cloth which competes with them and stifles them as it had suppressed the spinning-wheel. To do more for the mills than procure boycott of foreign cloth will be to harm khadi.

Mill-owners can, if they will, help boycott through khadi by publishing the list of those mills which are owned, controlled and managed by Indians, which use no foreign yarn at all in weaving, and which will not manufacture cloth corresponding to khadi, will not use the name khadi or the wheel on their labels and will not inflate prices.

I am convinced that those who merely carry on boycott propaganda without insisting on boycotters contributing towards khadi production by themselves spinning or procuring spinners and who talk loosely of swadeshi, retard the boycott movement if they do not actually harm it. Boycotters must not stray away from their path even though for the moment they are unable to satisfy the demand for khadi. Let them know that that very moment is the one most propitious for khadi production. Necessity is the mother of invention. It knows no law, for it invents new laws. They need not worry if people refuse to give up foreign cloth if they are also called upon to spin. This restraint will truly push forward the boycott movement. It is no empty formula. Just as we want swaraj not to punish Englishmen but because we cannot live without it, so also we need boycott of foreign cloth not to punish Englishmen but to bring work and therefore food through the wheel to the starving millions.

Young India, 24-4-1930

174. BOYCOTT THROUGH TAKLI

Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, having been for years interested in co-operative banking and being a khadi expert in Andhra, may be presumed to know his figures. He makes the calculation that five million charkhas working for five hours daily can spin enough yarn to replace the whole of foreign cloth to be boycotted. He thinks that there are already that number of wheels lying in India's homes. But we will take some time to unearth these wheels and make them work. New wheels we cannot make fast enough to meet the demand that a spinning atmosphere will create. The wheel will again require some capital, be it ever so little. When we think of crores of people, even the capital of one rupee per head mounts up to crores. We want to work with as little capital as possible. We want to teach spinning to the largest number available as quickly as possible. This can be done only through the *takli*. If the average output of a wheel be 300 yards per hour, that of the *takli* will be 100. Therefore to manufacture the amount of yarn that five million wheels will spin, we require *taklis* to work. And if the workers would spin not five but only fifteen million one hour, we need seventy-five million *taklis* to work. Seventy-five million is one fourth the total population of India.

Our disbelief makes our heads turn giddy to think of eight crores of people working for one hour per day for the nation. But if there be true national consciousness there is nothing extraordinary about one in every four inhabitants of India giving one hour per day as the price of deliverance.

Be that as it may, let workers take up the *takli* in faith. Let them not think of the steel *takli* which was invented by Maganlal Gandhi for the city people. If there was an immediate demand for eight crores of steel *taklis*, the cost would amount to a respectable sum, and the time required to manufacture so many would also be fairly long. We must therefore dismiss the steel *takli* from our minds. *Taklis* can be made from split bamboos and broken tiles or bad coins the size or weight of a half-anna piece. A pointed sharp knife is the only tool absolutely necessary. The point is required to bore a hole. Here are full instructions:

HOW TO MAKE A TAKLI

1. Take a broken Mangalore tile or slate or the like and make

out of it a disk the size of a pice. This can be done by gently breaking the edges and rounding them on a rough surface.

2.Punch a straight hole in it, make it slightly larger on one side.

3.Take a well-dried bamboo splinter seven inches in length. Smooth it round with a knife to the thickness of a pencil. Sharpen it from one end so as to taper it to a point the thickness of a knitting needle. Half an inch from the tapering end, make a little notch to hold the thread.

4.Insert the length so made into the side of the disk with larger circumference to the hole so as to leave half an inch at the thick end.

5.Test the *takli* by revolving it on a flat surface. If it spins like a top it is true. If it does not, you know that either the hole is not straight or is not in the centre of the disk or the tapering of the splinter is not even. It is easy to detect the error and to correct it.

The highest output of the *takli* after a week's practice has been found to be 110 yards per hour. And it takes about half an hour to make such a *takli*.

This *takli*-making is a pleasant pastime. Spinning is a positive recreation. It is the solace of the perturbed heart and a mute companion. The wheel sings to you and may therefore distract your attention. The *takli* is eloquent in its very muteness, and in that way is perhaps a fitter representative of the dumb millions. Try it and you will experience the same joy that many of us do. In any case he or she who spins adds to the wealth of the country and hastens the boycott movement and thus brings swaraj nearer.

Young India, 24-4-1930

175. FOREIGN-CLOTH DEALERS

I have given my opinion to the Press representatives on the question of foreign-cloth boycott. The nervousness of the dealers is a symptom of want of faith in the country. Why do they want terms and time if they are sure that swaraj is coming in the near future? Why will they not come in unconditionally and make it a greater certainty? All this uncertainty instead of strengthening the swaraj atmosphere, weakens it and fills peoples' minds with doubts. This movement is largely based on faith. There is nothing organically wrong with us to make us unfit for swaraj. It is our hallucination that makes us—a nation of three hundred millions—feel helpless and diffident. Let not the foreign-cloth merchants strengthen the hallucination by indefinite statements. Let them rid themselves of it and help others to do likewise. If they cannot do so, let them not ask for terms but bravely say that they will not stop their foreign-cloth trade.

To the weak and the unbelieving I make a tangible suggestion. Let them cancel all unexecuted orders. If swaraj is not attained and if they want to revert to their old occupation, no power can prevent them. Let them lock up their existing stock unless they can sell it outside India and let those who are poor rely upon the swaraj Government giving them such compensation as may be necessary. But they should make an inventory of their stock and have it certified by authorized volunteers. The wealthy merchants may not expect any compensation. The loss they may suffer will be part penance for the sin committed against the nation. Lastly, though the last is a bad suggestion, if they have no faith in the country getting swaraj, let them keep their stock and begin selling it when the popular movement has died of inanition or been suppressed by force. God forbid however that the present enthusiasm is a mere bubble or that it is capable of suppression under the severest repression. I hope therefore that whatever the result of the movement, the foreign-cloth dealers will see clearly that the terms suggested by them are harmful to the cause and that there is ample protection for them without the terms. Let them be patriotic enough to rise to the occasion and render picketing unnecessary by stopping the sale of foreign cloth of their own motion.

Young India, 24-4-1930

176. SALAAMING OR FLOGGING?

Shri Haribhau Upadhyaya writes from Ajmer:¹

If what Shri Haribhau says is true there is plenty of scope for satyagraha in the jail. Normally it is proper for a prisoner to salaam the jailor, but if a satyagrahi does not salaam he should not be forced. If therefore force is used against someone for not salaaming it may become the duty of others also to refuse to salaam.

It is surprising that the concessions provided in several other jails to satyagrahis have been denied to satyagrahis in this jail. In my opinion of course satyagrahi prisoners should be treated the same as other prisoners. But if a satyagrahi is treated in a particular way all other satyagrahis should be similarly treated. So far as the Congress is concerned there is no difference between Pathikji or Nrisinhdasji and the President. But how can one expect justice and fair play from this Government?

[From Hindi]

Hindi Navajivan, 24-4-1930

¹ The letter is not translated. The correspondent had said that a satyagrahi, Baba Nrisinhdas, had been placed in solitary confinement for refusing to salaam the jail officials and might even be flogged.

177. INTERVIEW TO "THE HINDU"

KARADI,
April 24, 1930

I broke the news of Mr. Prakasam's arrest and Dr. Pattabhi's sentence.

Yes, all prominent men are being taken away and the number is increasing.

All of you will remain free outside.

Gandhiji added after a while bursting into laughter once again, referring to Press reporters in general. I pointed out that the Government did not appear intent on touching him at present and therefore he would also be free.

Yes, I am also a journalist. We all journalists will be free.

The conversation turned to the contemplated "No Tax" campaign in Raas. Gandhiji was of the opinion that he must not come in their way if the people were ready and confident about success. He declared:

Of course, they have thought of starting after informing me and I gave my permission but they must be able to conduct the campaign themselves. If they are prepared let them do it.

The Hindu, 25-4-1930

178. LETTER TO REGINALD REYNOLDS

11 p.m., April 24, 1930

MY DEAR REYNOLDS,

Just one line.

How will you fare about *Young India* now that Mahadev is off ?
I hope you are well both in mind and body.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: C.W. 4535. Courtesy: Swarthmore College, Philadelphia

179. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

April 24, 1930

CHI. MATHURADAS,

I have received your two letters. Kevalram Bhimji has gone there. He is staying at the Ashram. He is an absolutely pure man. He is honest and frank. He gave up his business and came here. His wife came too. I have now sent him back. He can be used for the accounts. If he has not already met you, please trace him. His address can certainly be ascertained from the Zandu Pharmacy. I shall be at Bardoli on Sunday. Let Nagarajan come there, I shall reach Bardoli in the morning and leave in the evening.

Mahadev had become too active.¹ How could they fail to arrest him? Now he will get some rest.

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

When you see Jamnalal,² tell him I know that he and others will come out better qualified.

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

¹ Mahadev Desai was arrested on April 24 at Ahmedabad.

² Jamnalal Bajaj had been sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment.

180. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

[After April 24, 1930]¹

I have your letter only just now with the post that brings me the news about Mahadev.

Yes, you may take up the khadi work with Chhotelal. Ask Balkoba to write to me. He must take milk and fruit.

I am conceiving the last move² that must compel decisive action. But it is all in God's hands.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 5385. Courtesy: Mirabehn; also G.N. 5385

181. LETTER TO DOROTHY D'SEUA

CAMP KARADI,
April 25, 1930

DEAR LITTLE FRIEND,

Don't you be afraid of the doings of the processionists. They mean no harm to you whatsoever and if you believe in God why should you fear anything or anybody. However I shall do whatever may be necessary.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

MISS DOROTHY D'SEUA

NO. 47 GOUGH ROAD

AGRA (U. P.)

From a photostat: G.N. 1369

¹ The "news about Mahadev" presumably refers to his arrest on April 24 at Ahmedabad.

² The reference presumably is to the proposed raid on Dharasana Salt Depot; *vide* "Letter to Viceroy", 4-5-1930.

182. LETTER TO ABBAS TYABJI

April 25, 1930

MY DEAR WHITE BEARD,

Here is Manibehn also coming to you. This accession must delight your heart and Raojibhai and Co.'s. Let her be used unsparingly to wake up the women of Kheda.

Hamida¹ is working wonders in Olpad. She is a chip of the old block. God bless her.

Love.

M. K. G.

From a photostat: S.N. 9571

183. LETTER TO KAZI NIZAMUDDIN AHMED

CAMP KARADI,
April 25, 1930

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter giving me full information about the progress of the campaign in Meerut. I hope all the prisoners are doing well. Please keep me informed from time to time.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

KAZI NIZAMUDDIN AHMED

PRESIDENT

DIST. CONGRESS COMMITTEE

MEERUT

From a photostat: G.N. 10855

¹ Grand-daughter of Abbas Tyabji

184. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

April 25, 1930

CHI. MAHADEV,

Of course you have my blessings. Though I see that you had no choice but to get on the lorry, in my view you did commit an error. I am pointing it out in fact for the benefit of others, but let my criticism be for your benefit too. There was no need to forfeit the vehicle. I had thought that you would devise a method of carrying the salt by stages as they used to do in carrying Ganga water, and had very much liked the idea. Suppose that we have a camp of twenty-five men at every five miles or so. A batch of twenty-five, each man starting with five seers, would mean three maunds and five seers. The first batch would hand over the stock at the second camp and stay there. The second batch would deliver the stock at the third camp and return to its camp, after which the first batch would proceed to Dholera. This would have provided very good training and it would have been easy to protect the salt. There was nothing to lose in this arrangement. The method which you followed involved the possibility of losing the cart and the certainty of losing the lorry. Moreover, it required your hiding something, and the success of your plan depended on your ability to do so. We should, of course, have nothing to hide. Any method in which we have to hide something requires the cunning needed in the ordinary kind of war, which we ought not to practise. Moreover, for taking possession of the salt carried in a lorry, the police would be required to use much greater force. We should not needlessly compel them to do so. Hence, though your plan certainly required much courage and no less intelligence, it was not based on perfect non-violence. But in the prevailing atmosphere, I do not think you would have realized this by yourself. Who knows where I myself may be going wrong? All I can say is that I never take a single step without thinking carefully and that I get time to do that. My thinking nowadays takes the form exclusively of prayer. I do not use my reason, but look into my heart.

Swami's idea of lifting salt from Bhayander would also have involved a similar error. Dharasana is very near from where I am but I do not let anyone approach even that. When it is ultimately decided to attempt to seize the stocks there, a pilgrim party will start

for the purpose, after giving public notice of its intention.

Please do not blame yourself or feel sorry for what you have done because of my criticism. I have written this only to help you in jail to think and understand the fine and subtle aspects of non-violence and as guidance for the future to Kaka, Narahari and others. But in any case it is good that you have been arrested. You would have had no opportunity of facing bullets and on account of excessive work you would probably have fallen ill. By the time you come out, some thousands will have lost their lives. What grace of God to the few chosen ones that they will be automatically saved. Those who die and those who survive, both classes of persons should be regarded as equally blessed. We need not believe that he alone is blessed, or more so, who gets killed.

Personally I do feel, after the incidents at Peshawar and Chit-tagong, that there are bound to be two or more big massacres of innocent people. Or it may be that they would deliberately and firmly put the innocent behind the bars. In Karachi at any rate, only the innocent were killed or wounded. The truth is that even the Government does not know where it stands and what it wants to do. What is happening is something quite new for it and for the whole world. Now take good rest. Make a *takli* of wood and spin on it as much as you can. Khadi stocks have been exhausted. Ask other prisoners also to spin.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9858

185. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

April 25, 1930

CHI. NARANDAS,

Obtain the salt for the Ashram from the Provincial Committee. Write to me if it is not available there or from any other source in Ahmedabad.

Consult Imam Saheb about selling the salt.

Where has Sharjabeen sent her daughter?

I will write to Khushalbai. I have received no request from Orissa for women workers. If you cannot send Sonamani and others, let them remain and get more training.

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

Bhai Bhansali wants work. In any case he wants to be permitted to take up the night watch. Give him any work you think proper. He may do even sanitary work.

From Gujarati: C.W. 8105. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

186. LETTER TO JAMNADAS GANDHI

April 25, 1930

CHI. JAMNADAS,

I got your letter. It was not necessary to send the wire. I believe that at any rate Khushalbai will not be arrested. It would be a fine thing if he was accompanied by a batch of men. He should think about one thing. Perhaps they will stop his pension for participating in civil disobedience. Personally I think it would be good if they did so. The more injustice they do, the sooner will it end. If, however, he has not the courage to forgo the encumbrance that this pension is, he should give up the idea of civil disobedience, though I have no doubt at all that, in the present circumstances, civil disobedience has become the supreme religious duty. He should not detrain at Viramgam, but proceed further to Lakhtar or to any other place which has a camp. He may stay there as long as he feels inclined and then return home. He may afterwards offer civil disobedience when an opportunity occurs and, if circumstances arise anywhere, should even go and face bullets. In brief, he should be ready for everything. He should do this only if Devbhabhi agrees. If not, it is enough for me that all of us have his blessings. You may come to see me whenever you wish to.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 9308. Courtesy: Jamnadas Gandhi

187. LETTER TO KHUSHALCHAND GANDHI

April 25, 1930

MU. KHUSHALBHAI,

The very old people are also joining this fight. Kashi's revered mother is eager to join it. Just now, the fight has taken a purely religious form. Even the most eminent persons having faith in ahimsa have joined it and are in jail. Would not both of you, on an occasion like this, make the fullest sacrifice and thereby uphold the principle of ahimsa? If you do so, the place which Tulsidas has had in our family would have been fully justified.

Respectful prostration by

MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original: S.N. 33923

188. SPEECH AT PANNAR¹

April 25, 1930

Gandhiji asked villagers to prepare themselves to go to jail but they should remember their fight was non-violent. They should not lift their little finger against the police even if they were assaulted.

Men like Pandit Motilal and his wife, who had grown old in the service of country had plunged into the fight. Why then should they stand back, asked the Mahatma.

Gandhiji referred to the police *zulum* and cruelties practised in some quarters under the law. The police had no right to use force even against prisoners. He condemned police atrocities and said their action was indefensible. But this should not deter the maintenance of the non-violent character of the struggle.

Gandhiji next exhorted the villagers to spin and weave their own cloth. They should not depend on outside villagers for the supply of cloth.

His message to students was to spin at least a *tola* of yarn per day. Prohibition, he said, was equally important. Liquor and foreign cloth drained India of

¹ Gandhiji read out a letter from Mahadev Desai in which, describing his own arrest, he had written that young Gujarati graduates had courted arrest with him while accompanying lorries of contraband salt.

crores of rupees.

Gandhiji asked if the village Headman had resigned. A khaddar-clad villager got up and said, long ago he had done so. He asked the parents to withdraw students from the Government-aided schools and start a National school. They should have nothing to do with the British Government. The village leader announced that 500 *khajur* trees had been cut down and the village had declared social boycott of Government officials.

That is good, but you must also boycott foreign cloth vigorously.

The Bombay Chronicle, 26-4-1930

189. LETTER TO A. SUBBA RAO

April 26, 1930

DEAR FRIEND,

You should not join C.D.¹ but confine yourself to carding and the spinning-wheel.

Yours,

M. K. GANDHI

SJT. A. SUBBA RAO,

RAZAVARAM ATREYAPURAM

Via KOTHAPETA, E. GODAVARI DIST.

From the original: C.W. 9286. Courtesy: A. Subba Rao

190. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

April 26, 1930

CHI. NARANDAS,

I think I shall be arrested in about eight or ten days.

After I know the names of the women who have been selected by Khurshedbehn and who agree to go with her, I will think about the

¹ Seeking Gandhiji's advice the addressee had written that he wanted to join the civil disobedience movement but his aged parents did not allow him to do so.

remaining. The more the women who go with Khurshedbehn the better. She is an extremely pure woman. Is Sarojinidevi of any service?

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

I have written to Anjanadevi and told her that she should go with Ramnarayan.

From Gujarati: C.W. 8106. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

191. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

April 26, 1930

CHI. NARANDAS,

Moulvi Syed Rauf Pasha is a professor in Colombo. He is coming to see the Ashram and may stay there for a few days. Look after him and introduce him to Imam Saheb and Mirabeen.

Blessings from

BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 8107. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

192. LETTER TO MAHALAKSHMI M. THAKKAR

April 26, 1930

CHI. MAHALAKSHMI,

I got your letter. You certainly need not change your diet. You should continue to live on milk and fruit. I only wrote to Tarabeen and told her that if you did not get fruit at the place where it was proposed that you should go, there would be a problem. I therefore dropped the idea of sending you with her. I will certainly put you in circumstances in which you will remain in contact with an experienced woman who can teach you things. Most probably I shall go there tonight, and I will further talk with you then. Do not worry at all.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 6796

193. SPEECH AT AMBHETI

April 26, 1930

“Court death: serve your country” was the gist of the Mahatma’s message.

He said he had visited the aged mother of Vithaldas, not to express sorrow but to congratulate her for giving her son to the cause of the country. Every mother must give her son to serve the country. Vithaldas had not really died, but lived in the memory of his country for ever. Many would have to die to liberate India.

The moment they ceased to fear death swaraj was near. They should prepare for death when fighting Government which had resorted to excesses.

He appealed to the people to continue the unfinished work of Vithaldas, by uprooting every *khajoor* tree in the village and by completely giving up drinking.

The Bombay Chronicle, 28-4-1930

194. SPEECH AT BULSAR

April 26, 1930

I was here at Bulsar only a few days ago. If you had done some special work since and called me here to have a view of it, my visit would have been worth while. But neither you nor the Government has done any such thing. Ramniklal Modi was with me on the Dandi March. The Government conferred upon him the distinction of sending him to jail. You called me here to celebrate the occasion. But what is there to celebrate in that? Only a year for a co-worker of mine ! This time we are playing a more serious game. Jail is now a familiar thing to us and its hardships are no hardships. Even women and children ask to go to jail as if it was some tasty dish. In a word, we have given up the fear of jail. People have realized that to go to jail is to share in the struggle for swaraj. I welcome all this, but I attach no value now to jail-going. I feel no exhilaration when I hear that some co-worker of mine was sentenced to one year or two years, or, for that matter, even five years. It would exhilarate me to hear that a co-worker like Jairamdas was shot dead or that another co-worker, of an equally spotless character, had had his skull broken. The Government’s

actions so far proclaim to us, 'We shall break your heads, but will not repeal the salt tax.' Our answer to the Government is, 'We are willing to offer you as many heads as you want, but do please remove the salt tax.' If Ramniklal had made an offering of his head and a patch of Bulsar land had been besmeared with his blood, then you would have been justified in asking me to come. But Ramniklal has displayed no such heroism, nor has the Government. Such heroism is being displayed at Anand and at Dehwan. There volunteers were beaten up in the night and, so that the police might enjoy beating them, lights were put out. If they call me there, I would immediately go. That is an occasion worth celebrating. By all means ask me to come here when you have such an occasion. Whether such an occasion will come is in the hands of you brothers and sisters of Bulsar.

The Headmen of your villages are still clinging to their posts. But I am not interested in their announcing their resignations. Their resigning and their clinging to their posts exposes us to ridicule. If any Headmen are present here, I beseech them to withdraw the resignations rather than expose us to ridicule. If there are none here, the local workers should convey my request to them. The Bulsar Municipality has still not dug a well for the Bhangis of the place. If you do not get a contractor for the work, give me the contract. The people of Bulsar should take a vow that as long as the Bhangis are not given water, they too will draw no water. Entrust the administration of Bulsar to me for a day, and I will show you if this cannot be done. If you cannot do this much, take it from me that you will not win swaraj for Bulsar. This is said to be a civilized town. Toddy worth Rs. 45,000 is sold here. I must admit that this is a mark of civilization. At the same time, let me respectfully submit this also that your civilized town ought not to have invited at such a time a man like me, a man who is impatient to secure swaraj, to get the salt tax abolished and to end the Government's barbarity.

What have you done to stop the consumption of liquor? At least the women here are civilized, not in the sense I have just mentioned though! They sing in such a sweet voice. If they sang their beautiful *bhajans* to people given to drinking, it could have an excellent effect. Our sisters in Olpad and Jalalpur talukas and in Surat have in this way brought about very good results. The question which worries the

owners of liquor booths is how they would live if their business stopped. People should go to them and offer to find for them other trades if the drink trade is given up. At Karadi yesterday, four Parsi brethren came to see me. They said, "Only two months are now left. Permit us to continue our business for that period." After joking with them for a while I said, "Now when the whole country is swept by a wave of awakening, shall I for the sake of your trade entreat the people not to give up toddy?" They said, "No, but why should there be picketing?" "If picketing makes the drink addicts feel ashamed of themselves and they turn away from the shops, why should I not do it?" I said. Then I asked them if any of the women pickets exercised coercion on them or the addicts. They admitted that they would not say that.

Picketing is done everywhere by women only, and that gives good results. If all the women present here work in that spirit, they can get all liquor shops closed in twenty-four hours. No man, however bad a drunkard, can remain unmoved by the loving appeal of you sisters. Go to the addicts and humbly tell them, 'Brothers, why do you do this?' When you appeal to them in this way, the addicts will reform themselves and so too will the owners of the booths. People do not want to be coerced, but, when you bathe them in your love, their love for liquor will dry up. The *Bhagavad Gita* says that a fasting man's craving for sense objects diminishes but his instinctive pleasure in them does not disappear. It disappears only when God's grace descends on him. And your love is that divine grace. I have no doubt that it will dry up the drunkard's pleasure in drinking. If you do really mean to achieve something positive, see that the liquor and toddy booths in your place are closed and the toddy palms uprooted from everywhere.

I have been told that your city has 100 *taklis* and 7 spinning-wheels. That is not enough to accomplish the boycott of foreign cloth. The *takli* should be plying in every home. I cannot of course provide spinning-wheels for you all. Even if some benevolent carpenter of Bulsar came forward, he too would find the task impossible. But *taklis* you can make for yourselves. If you cannot make a hole in a pice you may use broken pieces of children's slates, or even potsherds. If you are hoping that I will get you khadi from Bombay

and make you wear it, it is not going to happen. Khadi stocks in Bombay are already exhausted. If you want to wear khadi you must ply the *takli*.

You may break the salt law, but that by itself will not get you swaraj. It will no doubt bring about repeal of the law. But if you want swaraj you will have to die for it—of course not in the way they died at Chittagong. That way swaraj would take four months when it could be won in four days. And I do not know when it will be actually won. But what shall we call this beating of innocent workers at night? Is it *goonda raj*? It looks as if it was. There is nothing but *goondaism* in all the accounts that reach me. The *mavalis* are after all ignorant men, and we may endure their methods, but how can we tolerate this *goonda* rule? All of you men and women who have gathered here, if you have met to do something and not merely to witness a show, resolve here and now that you will not suffer this *goonda* reign, that your answer to all laws that offend against morality will be civil disobedience. We do not wish to follow the path that Chittagong took. The more the suffering inflicted on us, the more of it shall we invite.

You are all civilized people and you should take it that though I have said little I have said a good deal. And do kindly act upon it. They have taken from your shores a good man like Ramniklal. He is a good man and given to *tapascharya*. The imprisonment of such a pure man has indeed brought swaraj a little nearer. Now it is up to you to prove that you deserve workers like Ramniklal, Mohanlal Pandya, Ishwarlal and Nichhabhai.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 4-5-1930

195. SPEECH AT CHHARWADA

April 26, 1930

People have conferred on me the title of salt-thief as a substitute for Mahatma. I like it. But it is no easy thing to be a salt-thief, while it is easy enough to be a Mahatma. If one makes a fuss of eating and drinking and wears a *langoti*, one can easily acquire the title of Mahatma in this country. In a little while I shall go with you and get some salt from the nearby creek. We shall not get pure salt, as the benign Government has had it all mixed with earth. Anyway, we shall take what we can find. But when can we be called thieves? Only when we are punished for theft. What kind of theft is it which no one even so much as takes notice of? We shall pick up a little dust. It may well be considered theft under the law, but the world will not take it as such nor will the Government. It will be real theft when you have your hands broken in committing it. Though we shall be collecting salt, possibly neither you nor I will have our hands broken.

It will be real theft only when we raid those mounds of salt over there. When I went to Untadi, I saw them from a distance and thought them quite beautiful. Having a near view today, I find them dirty and ugly. Let them be what they are, we shall be real salt-thieves only when we lay hands on them and have our hands and wrists broken or get thrown into jails.

I would even ask you not to confer the dearly bought title of salt-thief on everyone who merely goes to jail. You do not have your ribs smashed in going to jail. Just now I had a letter informing me that in the Kheda district some people were beaten. They were all respected public workers. Those who had beaten them were Government functionaries but they too were our own men. In order that they might enjoy the beating better, they even put out the light. Six or seven men are now in hospital undergoing treatment. None of them is likely to die, but, if anyone should, we would call him a true leader of salt-thieves. You will of course come with me to take salt from the creek here, but you will not thereby earn the title of salt-thieves. Yes, we may be said to be candidates for that title. When we have committed real theft of salt, there will no longer be any salt-thieves at all. For the Government will then say to us: 'You all refuse to obey the salt law. Very well then. All those salt dunes are your property from now on.' That property is not worth even seven crores of rupees. That

amount we pay direct. If we add to it the expenditure involved in collecting the sum, we save 20 crores. How can the Government persuade itself to forgo such a large amount? At present we have in the country thousands and even hundreds of thousands of volunteers who are ready to steal salt. But would that be enough to make the Government let go such a large income? Before it does so it will wound a good many, even kill some of them. However, after it has done its worst even this tyrannical Government will have no escape from having to give up the income. When that stage is reached, then alone will you have the right to call me a salt-thief and I the right to be so called.

For the present, however, Mahadev has proved himself a greater salt-thief than I. Since Sardar was taken away, he has not had a single moment's rest. The Police Superintendent on his part was not very eager to arrest him. He saw that so long as he was free he would at least provide the authorities correct information. But what was he to do? Just as men were bringing from Dholera a motor lorry full of salt, Mahadev jumped onto it. But I am unwilling to call even him a salt-thief though he was arrested for the act. I have written to him to say: "It is well that you have been imprisoned, but your duty was to die for the cause." It was good that at Anand some had their arms and skulls broken. What trouble can there be in jail—and A class at that? What is wanting for the saheb? There is more to eat and drink than at the Ashram. One cooks for you, another fetches water and a third will wash your dhoti for you. Are these the marks of a prisoner? When men like Mahadev and Jairamdas have their heads bleeding and their clothes beautifully splattered with fresh warm blood, then, from some corner or other of the world human pity cannot but spring forth. Surely, there must be God somewhere? When blood flows from heads not only will the salt tax go but many more things will also be washed away into the sea. And then our numerous sins will disappear under the earth as this salt heap before us is covered with it.

You may call me a salt-thief but only when we take possession of the salt-beds of Dharasana. What is there in picking a seer or two of salt from here and there? Even the Government must be wondering what a childish game we are playing. If you mean to play the real game, come out and loot the salt-sheds of Dharasana, or Bhayander, or Kharaghoda. The game we are now playing is, I admit, a children's game, but from that one day we will proceed to serious business. And

on the day the real game begins, I invite you all, brothers and sisters of Chharwada and Dharasana to join me in the fun. But the day is not yet. When an account of the Dharasana raid is being recorded what will you, the immediate neighbours of these salt-beds, have to say about your part? Will you have it recorded that you ran away at the time or that you bared your bosoms and remained? We will not be angry with those who put out the light and beat the volunteers, nor will we abuse them. We want to follow a different rule of justice. Do you remember the saying: "Offer a finger and the wrist is bitten"? If these Government men seize our finger, We will offer the wrist and if they seize the wrist, we will offer the shoulder; and if they seize the shoulder we will offer our very neck. Now that they have started beating our volunteers, let us plan a campaign so that we invite all the beating on our heads.

But whatever we do should be above reproach. I did not like at all what happened in Peshawar. If the reins of Government fall into the hands of such persons, will they not rule in the same way? Will they not break the heads of the poor? I want every head in the country to be well-protected. Even a small girl should be able to move about safely in any part of India. Our struggle is for self-purification and I wish you all to become pure. It is impossible that you should be able to carry out a raid on Dharasana salt-beds wearing those black caps or foreign saris. In any case, for my part at least, I would not let you accompany me. When you all come out for the raid, each should be wearing khadi; if enough khadi is not available, you will wear only a khadi *langoti*. Today you may all come with me as candidates to be salt-thieves, but when I come again for a raid, I will have with me none who does not wear khadi and who is not plying a *takli* at the time. I should indeed like all of you to join me. But if you have not carried out the programme of self-purification by then, I shall not hesitate to go alone.

Do not tell me that khadi is not available. Get a *takli* and spin on it. Send yarn as well as money to pay for the weaving. Then I undertake to supply you khadi. If you do not pay weaving charges you will get so much less khadi. If this is done there will be no shortage of khadi. I have entrusted this work to our sisters. Men, by making salt, will save Rs. 7 crores, but women, if they are proficient in the work, will be able to save Rs. 60 crores.

I have been telling you about the Dharasana raid. Do not think it will be two or three years before the raid takes place. An old man like me, past sixty years of age and nearing death, cannot speak in terms of years. I can speak only in terms of a few months, and, if you give me your co-operation, a few days. But why should I come here if I find that the people of Dharasana are liars, drunkards and debauchees? If I did come even then I would fight for salt with the help of other men, not with your help.

I have made it clear to you that only if you wear khadi and give up liquor will I let you join me in the raid on the Dharasana salt-beds. If you do not fulfil the condition and still insist on coming, I will offer satyagraha against you. I shall offer satyagraha against you as I would offer it against the bayonets of policemen. I do not wish to take possession of Dharasana salt with the help of drunkards or of people who wear foreign cloth. I will do that with the help only of the pure and spotless. The volunteers who are present here should go from house to house and carry this message of mine to the people. I shall be content if people stay at home but I will not tolerate their interfering in my work without fulfilling the conditions I have mentioned. If you do not like that, you are free to abandon me. You may give me no food, not even a glass of water to drink. I know how to carry out the raid on a hungry stomach. I will be here again in a week or two; and if you have not done by that time what I have asked you to do, you may stay away and sing *bhajans*. Rather, I would shun the *bhajans* and shouts of ‘*Jai*’ coming from such people.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 4-5-1930

196. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

[Before April 27, 1930]¹

CHI. MATHURADAS,

I have your letter. You are right that we should not have any secret dealings. Let them get at the money any time they choose.

I shall write to Taramati about her brother. Let us see what happens about the mills.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

197. MESSAGE TO AMERICA

[Before April 27, 1930]²

The national demand is not for immediate establishment of Independence, but is a preliminary step to a conference, that must take place if Independence is to be established peacefully, to remove certain prime grievances, chiefly economic and moral. These are set forth in the clearest possible terms in my letter, miscalled an ultimatum to the Viceroy. Those grievances include the salt tax, which in its incidence falls with equal pressure upon rich as well as poor and is over 1,000 per cent of the cost price. Having been made a monopoly, it has deprived tens of thousands of people of their supplementary occupation and the artificially heavy cost of salt has made it very difficult, if not impossible, for poor people to give enough salt to their cattle and to their land.

This unnatural monopoly is sustained by laws, which are only so-called, but which are a denial of law. They give arbitrary powers to police, known to be corrupt, to lay their hands without warrant on innocent people, to confiscate their property and otherwise molest them in a hundred ways. Civil resistance against the laws has caught the popular imagination as nothing else has within my experience. Hundreds of thousands of people, including women or children from

¹ From the reference to Gandhiji's writing to Taramati

² This appeared in *The Sunday Times*, 27-4-1930.

many villages, have participated in the open manufacture and sale of contraband salt.

This resistance has been answered by barbarous and unmanly repressions. Instead of arresting people the authorities have violated the persons of people who have refused to part with salt, held generally in their fists. To open their fists, their knuckles have been broken, their necks have been pressed, they have been even indecently assaulted till they have been rendered senseless. Some of these assaults have taken place in the presence of hundreds and thousands of people, who, although well able to protect the victims and retaliate, being under a pledge of non-violence, have not done so. It is true that violence has broken out in Calcutta, Karachi, Chittagong, and now Peshawar. The Calcutta and Karachi events should be isolated from those at Chittagong and Peshawar. The Calcutta and Karachi incidents were an impulsive outburst on the arrest of popular leaders. The Chittagong and Peshawar incidents though also caused for the same reason, seem to have been serious and well-planned affairs, though wholly unconnected with each other, Chittagong being in the extreme east and Peshawar being in the north-west border of India.

These disturbances have so far not affected other parts of India, where civil disobedience has been going on in an organized fashion and on a mass scale since the 6th instant. People in other parts have remained non-violent in spite of great provocation. At the same time, I admit that there is need for caution but I can say without the least hesitation that, consistently with the plan of civil disobedience, every precaution conceivable is being taken to prevent civil disobedience from being used as an occasion for doing violence. It should be noted that in Karachi, 7 wounded persons of whom 2 have died of their wounds, were volunteers engaged in keeping the peace and restraining mob fury. It is the opinion of eye-witnesses that the firing in Karachi was wholly unjustified and that there was no firing in the air or at the legs in the first instance.

In fact, the Government have lost no opportunity of incensing people. Many of the best and purest and the most self-sacrificing leaders have been arrested and imprisoned, in many instances with mock trials. Sentences, though, for the same offence, have varied with the idiosyncrasies of the magistrates. In several instances they have been for more than 12 months with hard labour on well-known citizens. The enthusiasm of the people has up to now increased with every

conviction. Thousands of people regard the manufacture of contraband salt as part of their daily routine. In any other part of the world with a Government at all responsible to public opinion, the salt tax would have been repealed long since, but whether now or later, repealed it will be, if the present existing atmosphere of resistance abides as it promises to do.

That this is a movement of self-purification is abundantly proved by the fact that women have come into it in large numbers and are organizing the picketing of liquor shops. Thousands have taken vows to abstain from intoxicating liquor. In Ahmedabad, a strong labour centre, receipts of canteens have dropped to 19 per cent and are still dropping. A similar manifestation is taking place in the district of Surat. Women have also taken up the question of boycott of foreign cloth. It is spreading all over India. People are making bonfires of foreign cloth in their possession. Khadi, i.e., hand-spun cloth, is so much in demand that the existing stock is well-nigh exhausted. The spinning-wheel is much in demand and people are beginning to realize more and more the necessity of reviving hand-spinning in the cottages of 700,000 villages of India. In my humble opinion, a struggle so free from violence has a message far beyond the borders of India. I have no manner of doubt that after all the sacrifice that has already been made since April 6, the spirit of the people will be sustained throughout till India has become independent and free to make her contribution to the progress of humanity.

M. K. GANDHI

The Modern Review, June 1930

198. DRAFT LETTER TO VICEROY

[On or before April 27, 1930]²

YOUR EXCELLENCY,

We, the undersigned women of Gujarat, have come to the conclusion that we may not keep ourselves aloof from the great national upheaval that is taking place. We are in full sympathy with the civil disobedience campaign in respect of the salt tax. Our sisters in the villages have already begun the manufacture of contraband salt.

But we feel that we must, as women, find an additional and special field for our activity. We feel the force of Gandhiji's argument that women are better fitted for dealing with the question of the prohibition of intoxicating drinks and drugs and boycott of foreign cloth. Drink has desolated many a home, and foreign cloth has deprived millions of India's women of their employment during leisure hours, which amount in the aggregate to no less than four months in the year.

These two are therefore questions that concern the women more than men. And in so far as they can be dealt with through picketing, i.e., an appeal to the hearts of those who traffic in these things and those who are lured to the drink and the drug or the foreign-cloth shops, we feel that we can make a more successful effort than men. And women doing the work must automatically ensure its peaceful nature.

As we embark upon the campaign we should respectfully point out that it is essentially the duty of the State to prohibit traffic in intoxicating drinks and drugs because they ruin both mind and body and homes of those who indulge in them and to prohibit the entry of foreign cloth inasmuch as it has brought about the economic ruin of the villages of this unhappy land.

As to the importation of foreign cloth it might be urged that the argument that applies to foreign cloth applies also partially to the cloth manufactured in Indian mills. Only the output of Indian mills is so far short of the requirements that khadi can have nothing to fear from them.

¹ This was drafted by Gandhiji.

² The draft was ready for signatures on April 27, 1930; *vide* "Letter to Amina Tyabji", 27-4-1930.

We wish that we had time enough to canvass the opinion of our sisters in the other provinces. But we know what their opinion is likely to be. After all we are not dealing with new problems. These have already been before the nation through its national organization, the Congress. What we are seeking to do is to dedicate ourselves more to these questions than to the others which along with these are being dealt with in terms of the independence movement.

*We are,
Yours faithfully,*

SHARDA MEHTA	SULOCHNA CHINUBHAI
INDUMATI C. DIVAN	TANUMATI CHINUBHAI M.
MANORAMA CHINUBHAI	RANCHHODLAL
PARVATIBEHN GIRDHARLAL AMRITLAL	SARLADEVI AMBALAL SARABHAI
VIJAYAGAURI DURGAPRASAD	VASANTGAURI NARSIDAS
LASHKARI	MRS. CHIMANLAL NAGINDAS
MAHALAKSHMI MANSUKHRAM	ANASUYA SARABHAI
CHATURLAKSHMI JIVANLAL DIVAN	MOTIBAI RANCHHODLAL
VIJAYAGAURI BALVANTRAO KANUGA	LILAVATI HARILAL DESAI
AMINA KURESHI	NIRMALA BAKUBHAI MANSUKHBHAI
LAKSHMIBAI KHARE	SANTOK M. GANDHI
MITHUBEHN PETIT	DURGA MAHADEV DESAI
AMINA TYABJI	GANGABEHN RANCHHODDAS BHATIA
RAIHANA TYABJI	SAVITA TRIVEDI
KANCHANGAURI MANGALDAS GIRDHARDAS	MRS. JAYANTILAL AMRITLAL

Young India, 1-5-1930

199. DRAFT OF APPEAL TO WOMEN OF GUJARAT

[About April 27, 1930]¹

SISTERS,

Here is a letter to the Viceroy. Please sign it if you feel you can do so. The original letter is in English. This is a translation of it. You will understand the contents carefully and sign it only if you wish to join the movement. If you sign it, please give full particulars: such as your name, address, age, etc. The names will be published in the papers and your signing the letter will mean that you will be ready to join in picketing liquor booths and foreign-cloth shops and to work under the instructions of the self-appointed committee formed by the signatories below.

However, there is also another way in which you may function. Instead of working under this Committee, you may form your own committee and determine your own area of activity. That is, you may picket only those liquor booths or foreign-cloth shops which you may choose. Even if you do so, we shall ultimately come together and work in co-operation with one another. If you wish to join in this sacred work, you should intimate while sending your signatures whether you would form a separate committee or work under this one.

We remain,

INDIA'S WOMEN VOLUNTEERS

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 16845

¹ It is likely this was drafted about the same time as the preceding item.

200. HONOURING THE MEMORY OF VITHALBHAI LALLUBHAI

This struggle will claim many lives. One must die to go to heaven. Unless thousands die, swaraj, which is dearer than heaven, will not be secured. The purer the men sacrificing themselves in this cause, the earlier shall we get swaraj and the less will be the number of people sacrificed. If everyone realizes and does his duty, there will be no question of dying in the struggle. But this ideal state hardly ever occurs in this world. Sacrifice, therefore, consists in oneself being pure and innocent, but laying down one's life [as atonement] for another's evil. If no one committed sin, where would be the need for sacrifice?

Sacrifice does not simply mean accepting the penalty of death at the hands of the Government. It certainly is a sacrifice if one engaged in the struggle undergoes unmerited suffering and dies. It is of course a sacrifice to suffer an accident, while uprooting toddy trees as part of our struggle, and to die on that account.

Such a sacrifice was made by Vithalbhai Lallubhai yesterday. Vithalbhai was a teacher in a national school. Being enthusiastic he had joined as a volunteer. While he was cutting a toddy tree, the axe fell on his leg, he sustained a fracture and thorns pricked his hands. The doctor spared no pains in treating him. But God's will was otherwise, and on the fourth day Vithalbhai breathed his last.

I saw Vithalbhai on the very day on which he was hurt. I was impressed by his courage. Though it had been a serious operation, he was cheerful. The doctor was all praise for his fortitude. All of us had expected that he would recover. However, having fulfilled his life's aim, Vithalbhai departed doing his duty and discharging his debt to the motherland fully.

The town of Navsari realized the grave loss in Vithalbhai's death. People flocked to where he lay, grieving. A great crowd formed into a procession and followed his body to the cremation ground. The procession seemed to be a celebration. Navsari observed a hartal on that day.

Who would not ask for a death so glorious? I regard Vithalbhai's mother, brother, wife and all others of the family worthy of

congratulations on their good fortune.

Why is such a death desirable, one may ask. It is so because it purifies those left behind and awakens a greater spirit of service in them. Has it so happened in this case? If it has, let us fittingly honour his memory. Vithalbai gave his life in the fight against the drink evil. It behoves us to apply ourselves to the task and even risk our lives in it. Vithalbai lost his life in Jalalpur taluka. It, therefore, becomes the special duty of this taluka to see that the toddy trees, stained with his blood, are rooted out, that the liquor and toddy shops are closed down and that the addicts give up drinking.

I had been to Bodali yesterday. The people there paid a glowing tribute to the departed soul. On my request a number of leading men of the place granted permission for felling the toddy palm trees owned by them.

As we lost Vithalbai, so did we lose Dattatreya and Meghraj. These latter offered their lives to bullets at Karachi. For Vithalbai, who was engaged in ending the drink evil, I suggested a method of honouring his memory befitting the cause he served. As for Dattatreya and Meghraj, let us honour their memory by promoting peacefulness among us. In the measure that disturbances increase, we shall have to suffer more acutely and in larger numbers; and to that extent the winning of swaraj will be delayed. The greater our peacefulness, the less our need of sacrifice. It is not by throwing stones, shouting slogans, attacking offices and other buildings and setting fire to tram-cars that we can win swaraj for the poor.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 27-4-1930

201. THE SPIRIT OF RAAS

I have seen the pledge taken by Raas. The people of Raas should understand that they have taken the pledge on their own responsibility. The Kheda district has been displaying wonderful strength. Abbas Saheb, who has renounced all, has made it his home. He has dedicated his tender daughter Hamida to the abolition of the drink evil. His wife had already dedicated herself for that work. Raihana, poor cripple, spends her days and nights thinking of India only. The old gentleman is himself working in Kheda, and he is not to be intimidated by anybody.

Kheda has the help of a man like him. Some tried workers from the Ashram batch have also been working in this district. And now Kheda has Sardar's own daughter, who fears none and whom God has endowed with inexhaustible energy for work. So Kheda has all the help it needs.

If Kheda lacks the ability to preserve peace or the tenacity to hold out till the last, it will put both itself and Gujarat to shame in the eyes of the public.

The Government will not tolerate refusal to pay land revenue. We have not yet reached that stage in the programme. However, those who have the courage may certainly withhold payment. Did not Panchia Patel do it all by himself ? But those who adopt this course run great risks. They should not be surprised if their goods, chattels and livestock are put up for sale. What happened in Bardoli is no guide to what may happen in Kheda. The Bardoli struggle was in a way limited in scope. It was a fight for securing a right. This is a fight to wrest power from the Government. The one is as far removed from the other as the earth from the sky.

Hence, to be able to stand firm in the step taken by it, Raas should cultivate the requisite purity of spirit and self-sacrifice. Other villages wanting to follow in its footsteps should first take a measure of their own strength quietly. I may say, however, that the district from which they carried off Sardar and then Durbar and in which Mohanlal Pandya and Ravishankar (Maharaj) have their homes, can never do enough.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 27-4-1930

202. MY NOTES

STRIKES

A trader has expressed sorrow at the frequent hartals. I feel that a hartal should not be observed on any and every occasion and on the arrest of every leader. In all matters the middle path is the only right path. Excess is never good in any matter. When in some village a leader is arrested, it may be necessary to observe a day's hartal in that village. But I personally do not regard it proper to have a hartal all over when a leader with some reputation is arrested somewhere. I hear that it is the intention of some traders to observe a hartal for seven days when I am arrested. I hope that this is not true. If it is true, I wish that those contemplating it will change their mind. Observing a week-long hartal will not bring us swaraj. Only by working for the constructive programme, not merely for seven days but on all days until swaraj is won, shall we get swaraj and set free everyone who is in jail. The present time calls for careful thinking, wisdom and quiet work. Dangers of Picketing A woman correspondent says that picketing may increase friction. So according to her we should be content with pro-pagation of swadeshi. My humble opinion is that both are necessary.

If the picketing is left entirely to women without any men joining there will be no friction. What women need is endurance and patience. Picketing does not mean coercion. It means appeal or request—and a request may be made to all the communities. The picketing programme includes organizing meetings everywhere, taking-out, processions, caste meetings passing resolutions, going about singing *bhajans*, etc. In no case does picketing mean that anyone is to be prevented by force. For the rest, if one wants boycott to succeed one must produce khadi. Those sisters who consider picketing risky may card and spin and create an atmosphere for such work.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 27-4-1930

203. IMAM SAHEB

Mahadev has appointed Imam Saheb Abdul Kadir Bawazeer as his successor. The whole of Gujarat is familiar with the name of Imam Saheb. I had kept him buried in the Ashram; he is like my own brother. From being a client of mine, he became a satyagrahi, after becoming a satyagrahi he became an inmate of Phoenix and, not resting at that, he came over to India with a few other inmates of the Ashram. An acquaintanceship which began in 1902 has lasted until 1930. Hence this relationship of ours is not a recent one.

Imam Saheb is not a reformed Muslim but an orthodox one in the sense that he never misses his prayers or his fasts. His father was the Muezzin of the Juma Musjid of Bombay. He is himself styled Imam because he officiated as priest in several mosques in South Africa.

It was Sardar who brought Imam Saheb out into the public, but Sardar is not a person to do so with a view to flattering Imam Saheb. He realized Imam Saheb's freedom of spirit and hence brought him out into the open and took him with him wherever he went.

Although Imam Saheb may be called illiterate, he is shrewd and well versed in the practical affairs of life. He understands many things from mere hints. It is not for the first time that Imam Saheb is being given an important position. He had often occupied such a position in South Africa. If he is not arrested, those who come into contact with him will soon realize that he is not one to sit in a chair like a dummy. He can guide a meeting and give considered decisions.

I have had no hand whatsoever in the choice of Imam Saheb. I do not recall suggesting his name to Mahadev. Of course I approved his name after it had been suggested by the latter.

The age for having dummies as chairmen is now past. Only those persons who are capable of guiding us, who put into practice the commands of the public or resign if they are unable to do so can become important public servants.

And today? Well, today only a person who will yield up his head with a smile can become the leader. Imam Saheb is such a person. The

veteran Abbas Tyabji is another such person. Swami has found such a person in our brother Abdulla. In this choice the Swami has put himself to the test and has set the limits of this struggle. I could not dream of Swami giving the chair to Abdullabhai. I myself could not have made that choice, despite the fact that it was I who first made his acquaintance and brought him over to the Ashram. Swami has chosen a person who has cut off his own head and put it on a platter. Nevertheless, the reason for these three being chosen by Gujaratis is not only because they are Muslims. These selections have not been made in order to please anyone. They have been selected because besides being Muslims they are worthy of the offices for which they have been chosen, because they are prepared to lay down their lives, to make sacrifices and are as sincere Indians as they are Muslims.

This struggle is not one only of Hindus or of Muslims or of any one community. It is of all Indians. And, if we go a step further, this struggle is for freeing the world from the monstrous tyranny of material greed; it is a struggle to prove that money is not God, but that God alone is everything and that nothing else except Him is real.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 27-4-1930

204. KHADI AND BOYCOTT OF FOREIGN CLOTH

Those who believe that boycott of foreign cloth is impossible without progress in khadi know that the boycott can be deemed successful only when and to the extent that khadi is available to replace boycotted cloth, and that then alone shall we be saved from repenting afterwards. Thus production of khadi is at present the most important issue facing us in regard to boycott. If khadi is not available foreign cloth is bound to enter India by the back door if not openly. In this state of things the khadi bhandars should think what they can do.

THE RESIDENTS OF BOMBAY

What in particular should the Khadi Bhandar of Bombay do? The Bombay Khadi Bhandar is the biggest in India. It receives khadi stocks from all around. But everywhere the consumption of

khadi has gone up and it is with great difficulty that the Bombay Khadi Bhandar can supply khadi to its customers. If in these conditions this Bhandar does not find a solution, it had better close down. Discussing this question with Shri Vithaldas Jerajani, I told him: "Now you should ask customers to pay for khadi not in cash but with hand-spun yarn. When you do this, those alone will come to buy khadi who wish really to effect the boycott through the use of khadi. In this way, moreover, the use of khadi will become clean. The number of those spinning cotton will go up, and you will get heaps of yarn. When things are properly organized, you will again have a huge stock of khadi. It would be best if the yarn had been spun by the customer himself. However, it may be open to him to offer the yarn spun by members of his family. Some resourceful men may go to villages, get yarn spun there and bring it to you. With a population of tens of millions, it is quite easy to produce yarn. You will have to make immediate arrangements to get the yarn received woven into cloth. There are many weavers in Bombay, and we should see to it that, when boycott of foreign cloth becomes effective, no foreign yarn finds its way into the Indian market. The yarn from Indian mills may be there, but the mills may be persuaded not to compete with hand-spun yarn. Weavers in whom the spirit of patriotism can be aroused will use only hand-spun yarn to make cloth."

"But what if by adopting this method we estrange people?" —asked Jerajani.

"Those who understand our aim will not be angry. As for others, let them be angry if they must. If they do not wear khadi, they will be the losers. Khadi has nothing to lose."

If the method I have suggested is adopted, we shall realize the place of khadi in the boycott of foreign cloth. If we are convinced that the boycott cannot be effected unless the use of khadi spreads, why should we be afraid of telling the truth? Our duty is to do the right and have others do it, leaving the fruit to God.

If I know Bombay, however, it will, I am sure, realize the necessity of the method I have suggested. It will not be offended but will help the cause to the best of its power.

Let us all take to the *takli* as an emergency duty and make handsome *taklis* from bamboo and potsherds. Let us ourselves card

cotton and begin producing yarn. It will be enough if one gives just two hours a day to the work. All employees of khadi bhandars should become *takli* experts, and teach people coming to the bhandars to make *taklis*, to card and to determine the count of yarn. After six months of this work, there will be no scarcity of khadi. We should also realize that if the khadi spirit becomes universal, the villages will never be short of khadi, for they will quickly produce what they require.

Everywhere in Bombay one question is likely to be asked: "On the one hand you are advocating mass civil disobedience and, on the other, you are advising people to use the *takli*. How can a person offering civil disobedience think of plying the *takli* in the midst of all the excitement?" My reply is: "Breaking a law merely for the sake of breaking it may mean excitement. How can there be excitement in civil disobedience? 'Civil' means 'peaceful'. Peace and excitement are incompatible with each other. If there is true peacefulness in our disobedience, the *takli* will be plied with all the greater enthusiasm, because it is the very embodiment of peace. Going round volunteer camps, I find that in several places they idle away their time and say, "Give us work or get us arrested." To get them arrested is not quite in my hands. I can give them work, and that is plying the *takli* and the carding bow. These thousands of soldiers can certainly produce yarn in thousands of *tolas* a day. A thousand *tolas* of yarn means twenty-five seers of it, or not less than seventy-five square yards of khadi. Our requirement of cloth is estimated at one inch and a quarter per head per day. This means that we shall have met the requirement of twenty-one hundred persons for a day. The result thus worked out is enough to astound any man. But it will be no surprise to those who understand the principle behind "strength from many threads woven together". A person spinning a *tola* of yarn supplies the raw material to clothe in khadi himself and 1.25 other persons. It is child's play for everyone to spin one *tola* of yarn. And if we are carrying on a peaceful struggle, it is possible to ply the *takli* even while picketing or facing bullets. We do not wish to protect our persons. Let us suppose that we go to take possession of a salt-water basin owned by the Government, but the officers will not let us have it. Since we continue to confront them they would arrest us, or shoot at us or charge at us with lathis to prevent entry. Until this stage is reached, why could we not peacefully ply our *taklis*? The *takli* is the satyagrahi's weapon. If the opponent has guns, we have our *takli*, made of bamboo and potsherds. I can think of no sight more magnificent than this. Will not

Bombay and other towns or villages welcome this suggestion?

Let us consider this further. Tens of millions won't come out to face bullets or spend the whole day making salt or join processions. What, however, will women, children and the old do? If they spin, they too will have offered their contribution to the swaraj *yajna*.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 27-4-1930

205. TESTING ME

The Government has been putting me to a stiff test. It is entitled to do so. The Government perhaps thinks that if it cuts off my hands, I may lose the battle, or, even if I don't, at least I shall be isolated. It would seem to be the right thing in the eyes of the world. And that is why Mahadev was removed and Swami, too, not to mention other old co-workers and some new ones like Bhai Munshi.

Mahadev and Swami stand for *Young India* and *Navajivan*. Though Swami had left *Navajivan* formally it did not mean that his connection with it was cut off. It is like my connection with the Ashram, which is not broken even though I am no longer among its Trustees. The *Navajivan* means Swami. Even from Bombay he had been looking after *Navajivan*. He took great pains to help Jamnalalji in serving the untouchables. The activities at Ville Parle prospered because of his tireless labour in their behalf. And as for Mahadev, the Gujarati people living near Ahmedabad know his recent work better than I from this distance can know it.

But what would it matter even if every one of my co-workers was taken to where Mahadev and Swami have been taken? I do not regard myself isolated at all. God is my only friend, philosopher and guide, call Him what I may. I have not embarked upon the present struggle counting upon the strength of Mahadev, Swami, Sardar or any other person. I remain therefore unconcerned, no matter how many of my co-workers are sent to jail. Why should a weak man worry? The strength of the strong may be destroyed, but who can destroy the strength of the weak?

Though a weak man, I feel I am strong too, but I rely in this struggle on God's strength. He guides me in what I eat and drink, in what I speak and write. I, therefore, feel no burden at all. I do not feel

the arrest of Mahadev, Swami, or Ramniklal. For their part, they will have some rest. They needed it. If I must worry, there are Chittagong and Peshawar to worry about. They touch my heart of course, but they do not cause me worry.

This is a struggle between violence and non-violence. To the extent that I am non-violent in spirit, non-violent remedies will occur to me; and these I shall put before the people so long as I remain free. In my absence also, if the spirit of non-violence has then become general, people will follow non-violent methods. Those who have not come under the spell of non-violence are bound to do so in the end if the true spirit of non-violence comes to prevail among the people.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 27-4-1930

206. LETTER TO AMINA TYABJI

April 27, 1930

DEAR SISTER,

Herewith the letter to the Viceroy.¹ Please sign and give it to bearer to be posted to the Viceroy.

How is Raihana?

Hamida is doing great work in Olpad.

Yours,

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 9688

¹ *Vide* "Draft letter to Viceroy", 27-4-1930.

207. FRAGMENT OF LETTER TO ASAF ALI

April 27, 1930

Personally I am of opinion that picketing may not be suspended anywhere. But if the local Congress has committed itself to a suspension directly or indirectly, it must be carried out in any case and at any cost.

Strict performance of promises is the essence of satyagraha.

A.I.C.C. File No. 182-F, 1930. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

208. LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR

April 27, 1930

CHI. LILAVATI,

I got your letter. I was glad to read it. If you continue to exercise such intelligent self-control, your restlessness will disappear. I do not think there will be any harm in applying the plaster. If, however, you take hip-baths, menses will certainly start. It would be better if you did not join the drill. If you keep yourself calm and do not work too hard, and if you sleep outside in the open, your fainting fits will stop.

If you do not pass stools easily, you must take enemas. The bowels should not remain uncleared for more than 24 hours.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 9562

209. LETTER TO TARAMATI MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

April 27, 1930

CHI. TARAMATI,

Mathuradas has informed me of your brother's death. The *Gita* teaches us not to grieve over death. Birth and death are our two friends and both are equal. Let us try each day to be pure and alert in the knowledge that death is certain.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

210. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI

[Before April 28, 1930]¹

CHI. MATHURADAS,

I have written to you about Kevalram.² He is very shy. Hence I have sent him this note. He can look after the Congress office. It will be good if both of them join the Congress and work there. I do not know what the situation in the Congress at present is and so I am sending you this note. Kevalram has lived in the Ashram. I have known him for many years. His father is the Dewan of Vadhwari. Nirmala is the daughter of the late renowned Kevalram Dave of Kathiawar. At one time there was a plan for me to undertake the responsibility of bringing her up in S.A. But just then Bhai passed away and I lost his son. Similarly Nirmala and others were also lost to me, and Kevalrambhai's aspiration remained unfulfilled. Bhai's sons could not be recovered but the lady, it would seem, can now be reached. This is the reason I have been cultivating her and Kevalrambhai for some years now. I have written this so that you know with whom you have to deal.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

¹ The addressee got the letter on April 28, 1930.

² *Vide* "Extracts from speeches in Surat District", 6-4-1930.

211. LETTER TO RAMESHWARDAS BIRLA

JALALPUR,
April 28, 1930

BHAI RAMESHWARDASJI,

I have your letter. I know your love for khadi. That is why I hesitate to offer comments on your scheme. However, I must tell you that your scheme is not workable because the mill-owners will not give up their interests.

For many matters Government aid is essential; it will never be available for the boycott [of foreign cloth].

If the boycott can be successfully implemented by the efforts of the mill-owners only, khadi need have no place in it. But I am confident that boycott will be successful only with khadi.

This does not mean that mills have no place in the scheme at all. The mills can take their proper place only by recognizing the worth of khadi. According to the doctrine that various individual deities are included in God, we destroy them by worshipping them separately because they have no independent existence, and we do not reach God either.

For all these reasons, the prosperity of the mills and the success of foreign-cloth boycott lie in spreading the love of khadi and increasing its production. *Verb Sap.*

Hope you will not find any difficulty in deciphering my handwriting.

Yours,
MOHANDAS

From Hindi: C.W. 6184. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

212. LETTER TO NARAHARI PARIKH

April [28]¹, 1930

BHAI NARAHARI,

I have just heard that Kaka has been arrested. In a way it is good if he insists on being supplied the food which he requires, such as milk, etc., and even fights for that purpose. Let me know what you intend to do now.

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

I have explained to Khurshedbehn what to do in regard to that Parsi liquor-booth owner. Women should undertake to picket his booth. They should go to him in a procession. They should even pass a resolution at a meeting. All this if Anasuyabehn approves.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9047

213. INTERVIEW TO “ THE BOMBAY CHRONICLE ”

JALALPUR,
April 28, 1930

A raid on Government salt depots was inevitable, but the plan of action was incomplete.

Asked if a raid on Dharasana salt depot was finally decided upon, Mahatmaji said:

I have taken no final decision. I am praying for light.

In reply to a question if he would send intimation of the raid to the Viceroy, Gandhiji observed:

I shall certainly not take the step without due intimation. If the raid comes at all it will come very soon.

Asked how he proposed to carry out the raid if the police barred the entrance to the salt pans. Gandhiji replied:

I do not know; but I shall know the way when the block stares me in the face. When I talk about the raid I simply think audibly, as is my wont. But so far as I can see the raid is inevitable.

The Bombay Chronicle, 29-4-1930

¹ Kaka Kalelkar was arrested on this date.

214. LETTER TO NARAHARI PARIKH

April 29, 1930

CHI. NARAHARI,

Why do you even entertain the suspicion that it is because you are unfit to go there that I do not take you with me to Dharasana? Just now, however, we will be exercising self-control if, instead of laying down our lives in an attempt to seize the Dharasana [stocks of salt], we refrain from such self-sacrifice and quietly do the task which has fallen to our lot. At present your duty is to wait quietly by Imam Saheb's side. All the same, if I require you or think it necessary, I will call you. If occasion demands, you may sacrifice yourself too as Kaka has done.

Did you get my letter regarding Mahadev's work? In it I have analysed his action in great detail.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9048

215. SPEECH AT BILIMORA

April 29, 1930

Gandhiji addressing the meeting said he did not want to put the Indian States in an awkward position either by making speeches or breaking the Salt Act. Let us first of all settle everything with the British and everything that is to be done in the States will be done later.

I would not ask you to break the salt law but I would certainly appeal to you to adopt khaddar and carry on a vigorous campaign against liquor. You could participate in the two items of boycott of foreign cloth and liquor shops. Liquor trade has ruined our labour class and it is the duty of every citizen, be he a State subject or a British subject, to save them and ladies alone can successfully bring about that change of heart among the drunkards, which is so essential.

There is an impression in certain circles that I am starting picketing against Parsi owners of liquor shops only but that is not a fact. Picketing is to be against liquor-shop owners of all communities:

Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and others. Parsis are like my brothers.

I would like to picket even Englishmen's liquor shops, but at present I am afraid to do so. They would not like to be our brothers but would prefer to be our masters.

We will not get swaraj by non-violent means if we do not drive away the evil of drinking from amongst us. We do not want a drunkard as our President during swaraj nor do we want him as a voter. We must destroy that cup of Satan wherever it is found.

In the end Gandhiji asked them to settle their disputes by arbitration.

The Bombay Chronicle, 30-4-1930

216. VEILED MARTIAL LAW¹

[BILIMORA,
April 29, 1930]

The revival in the form of an ordinance of the Press Act that was supposed to be dead was only to be expected, and I observe that in its new form the Act contains additional provisions making the whole piece more deadly than before. Whether we realize it or not, for some days past we have been living under a veiled form of martial law. After all, what is martial law if it is not the will of the commanding officer for the time being? The Viceroy is that officer, and wherever he considers it desirable he supersedes the whole of the law, both common and statute, and imposes ordinances on a people too submissive to resent or resist him. I hope, however, that the time for tame submission to the dictation from British rulers is gone for ever. I hope that the people will not be frightened by this ordinance. The Press men, if they are worthy representatives of public opinion, will not be frightened by the ordinance. Let us realize the wise dictum of Thoreau that it is difficult under tyrannical rule for honest men to be wealthy. And if we have decided to hand over our bodies without a murmur to the authorities let us also be equally ready to hand over our property to them and not sell our souls. I would, therefore, urge

¹ This formed the basis of an interview to *The Bombay Chronicle* and was published with the following note: "Below is given the full text of Gandhiji's statement on the Press Act that has already appeared in a more or less mutilated form in the various English Papers."

Press men and publishers to refuse to furnish securities, and if they are called upon to do so, either to cease publication or to challenge the authorities to confiscate whatever they like. When freedom is actually knocking at our door and when for the sake of wooing it thousands have suffered tortures, let it not be said of the Press representatives that they were weighed and found wanting. They may confiscate type and machinery, they will not confiscate pen and still less speech, but I recognize that they can succeed in confiscating even these last two. But what they will never succeed in suppressing and what is after all the thing that matters is the thought of the nation and at the present moment there is hardly a man or woman breathing in India who with every breath does not breathe in disaffection, sedition, disloyalty and whatever other term one may use to describe the mentality of the nation which has set its mind on destroying the existing system of Government.

Young India, 8-5-1930

217. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

April 29, 1930

CHI. MIRA,

I was unable yesterday to send you anything though I fully intended. But I worked till midnight to finish *Y. I.* Now these lines whilst I am in the train.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 5394. Courtesy: Mirabehn; also G.N. 9628

218. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

April 29, 1930

BHAI SATIS BABU,

Your letter caused me much pain, Today I have had a letter from Krishnadas too. I am enclosing it with this. He seems to be somewhat lacking in sense. I had never thought Krishnadas could harbour deliberate malice. Look him up and have a talk. I have written to him too. Is it not a part of our struggle to try to overcome our differences? Write in English if you find any difficulty in expressing yourself in Hindi. At present it is essential that we understand each other well. If Hindi is not adequate we must make do with English. If you have sufficient time then write both in English and Hindi.

Do you feel any after-effects of the fast? Please ask Hemprabha Devi to write to me.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 1618

219. INTERVIEW TO "THE LEADER"

BILIMORA,

April 29, 1930

I need hardly say I join the chorus of congratulations that has been showered upon Mr. Vithalbhaj Patel on his resignation which was daily expected by many of us, especially after the deliberate withdrawal by perhaps the oldest living servant of the nation, I mean Pandit Malaviyaji, who, braving hostile criticism, had stood by Government even during the sunniest days of non-co-operation in 1921 and refused to leave the Legislative Assembly.

The Leader, 2-5-1930

220. MESSAGE TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI¹

[On or before *April 30, 1930*]²

It is good that our hands and feet are tied so that we sing with joy, 'God is the help of the helpless'.³

The Illustrated Weekly of India, September 24-30, 1978, p. 39

221. STATEMENT ON POISONING OF SALT-BED

JALALPUR,

April 30, 1930

Since the repudiation, after further and careful investigation my informant sticks to the statement that he made to me. I had the samples analysed, and the result of all my investigation is that there certainly was some tampering with the salt-bed in question. Whether the substance added rendered the salt poisonous or not I am unable to say, but it certainly contaminated it. The sudden change in the complexion of the bed and the colour of the water are absolutely beyond question. What then remains to be proved is, whether this change happened through human agency or a superhuman one, and if through a human agency, whether it happened through that of the Government or some other. Seeing that Government officials have been tampering with salt-beds, destroying them by mixing mud in them and otherwise, the burden of proof rests on their shoulders that there was no contamination produced so as to render the salt unfit for human use.

The Hindu, 4-5-1930

¹ In reply to the addressee's letter regarding the order of the Madras Government permitting the collector of Tanjore to prosecute the satyagrahis breaking the salt law in the South

² The addressee had been arrested on April 30, 1930, during the Vedaranyam Salt Satyagraha.

³ A Tamil proverb, written in the Tamil script by Gandhiji

222. CONGRATULATIONS TO DELHI JOURNALISTS

NAVSARI,
April 30, 1930

I am delighted at the brave gesture of the Delhi newspapers,¹ which have been served with peremptory orders under the Press Ordinance to furnish security. It would have been terrible if on the very first application of the Ordinance important newspapers had weakly submitted to the insult embodied in the Ordinance. I hope that the refusal to conduct their newspapers under security is permanent and that other newspapers will follow the courageous example set by the Delhi editors and publishers.

The Bombay Chronicle, 1-5-1930

223. LETTER TO NARAHARI PARIKH

April 30, 1930

CHI. NARAHARI,

Qureshi is required in Chikhli only in order to work among the Muslims. You can send him after a few days.

It would not be wise just now to start disobedience of the *mahura* law. The three things which we have taken up are enough. And now the Government's Press Act will provide further opportunities. Chhotelal is going there. Use his services.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9049

¹ They had decided to suspend publication as a mark of protest.

224. LETTER TO NARAHARI PARIKH

April 30, 1930

CHI. NARAHARI,

As Imam Saheb is ill, you should not call him to the office. Let him remain in the Ashram and give his decisions from there. When it is absolutely necessary for him to go to the city, he should go in a car. You should save his energy in other ways, too. We can make no change now till he becomes altogether incapable of work. Have you all considered what you should do in that contingency? It seems to me that you yourself will have to assume charge of the affairs. But I cannot judge. How can I know the present circumstances there? Do what all of you think proper. What about Balubhai?

Maganbhai will meet you and give you the message about *Navajivan*. Hence I do not write about it here. If I am arrested, Mohanlal should become both the Editor and the Publisher. How is Kamalnayan?

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9050

225. LETTER TO GANGABEHN VAIDYA

April 30, 1930

CHI. GANGABEHN,

Kaka writes to say that with his arrest you may become more fidgety. It is his considered view that for you sacrifice consists in remaining behind in the Ashram. I agree with him. Bear everything in patience. To preserve one's peace of mind even in the midst of a conflagration is also an art, it is a form of *sadhana*¹.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 8748. Courtesy: Gangabehn Vaidya

¹ Spiritual effort

226. LETTER TO GANGABEHN VAIDYA

April 30, 1930

CHI. GANGABEHN,

I will not mind your living on gram and puffed rice, if you can keep fit on that diet. But do not deceive yourself. Give the body the food it requires and keep it fit for service.

If you wish to come and bring with you the girls and the women who have not visited me, you may certainly come. Not that your coming will do any good, for you will have to run back as soon as you come.

Relationships depending on the body are noxious. They are as transitory as a mirage. Why should we be blindly attached to them? Through physical life, we should cultivate a relationship of the soul and know that it never ends, that it alone can be pure and free from ignorant attachment.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 8747. Courtesy: Gangabehn Vaidya

227. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

[April 30, 1930]¹

CHI. VASUMATI,

I was in fact expecting a letter from you. It is 10 p.m. now. I will not, therefore, write more. Kamalabehn also should write. It will be at least a week before we start on the march. Come before that.

Blessings from

BAPU

SMT. VASUMATIBEHN
SATYAGRAHA CAMP, BHIMRAD
Via SURAT

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 544. Courtesy: Vasumati Pandit; also S.N. 9280

228. LETTER TO MANIBEHN PATEL

[April 1930]²

CHI. MANI,

I have your letter. Yesterday I could not after all write the note you had asked for. Now you will surely go. I enclose the note although it is unnecessary.

See that you act in a manner worthy of yourself, of Father and of me. Try to read and understand the *Gita* as well as some Gujarati books.

Write to me regularly. Inquire into the report about the poisoning of salt-beds in Kheda and let me know.

Blessings from

BAPU

CHI. MANIBEHN PATEL

NADIAD

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro — 4: Manibehn Patelne, p. 70

¹ From the postmark

² From the reference to poisoning of salt-beds it appears the letter was written in April 1930.

229. LETTER TO JAMNADAS GANDHI

April 30, 1930

CHI. JAMNADAS,

I have your letter. You need not have given your name. I think they will not arrest Khushalbai¹. It will be befitting if he is accompanied by a batch of volunteers. He should consider this. They may stop his pension for participating in civil disobedience. In my view it would be good if they did. The greater their tyranny the sooner they will go. If, however, he does not have the courage to forgo the pension, he should give up the idea of joining civil disobedience. For the rest, at the present moment civil disobedience has come to be the supreme duty for everyone. I have no doubt about it. If he is not arrested when he gets down at Viramgam, he may as convenient to him go to Lakhtar or any other place where there is a satyagraha camp, and then return home. When another occasion arises he may again offer civil disobedience and may even face bullets if occasion arises. In other words, he should be ready for everything. He may, however, do all this only if Dev Bhabhi² is agreeable. In any case we all have his blessings and that is sufficient. You may come any time you wish.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati; Chhaganlal Gandhi Papers. Courtesy: Sabarmati Sangrahalaya

¹ Addressee's father

² Dev Kunvar, addressee's mother

230 LETTER TO HARIBHAU UPADHYAYA

KARADI

April 30, 1930

BHAI HARIBHAUJI,

Bapu has received your letter. He has asked me to write that Kashinathji may well join you if Ramnarayanji can conduct the *Hindi Navajivan* by himself. So please write to him. It is very likely that Ramnarayanji may have to share some work of *Young India* and *Navajivan* on account of Mahadevbhai's arrest. Maybe he will be unable to manage all the work by himself.

Respects from

KANTI

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

231. PLEDGE FOR SWARAJ WORKERS

[April 1930]¹

We, the undersigned, join in the fight for Purna Swaraj and, till it is won, we will not take up any work other than what is assigned to us.

From Gujarati: C.W. 8108. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

¹ In *Bapuna Patro-9: Shri Narandas Gandhine* this is placed between letters of 26-4-1930 and 3-5-1930.

232. LETTER TO AMINA QURESHI

10.30 p.m., Thursday [On or before May 1, 1930]¹

CHI. AMINA,

You know very well the reason why I have not asked you to go out and work. Do not worry. You may do whatever you can staying at home. You may freely write to me anything you wish to. Imam Saheb will soon be in jail. He will probably get there earlier than I do. May it be so.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 4294. Courtesy: Hamid Qureshi; also G.N. 6649

233. MAHADEV DESAI AND HIS SUCCESSOR

I have hardly time to notice arrests and imprisonments even of eminent Indians. I do not even come to know of them immediately. Being constantly on the move and living in a village, often twenty-four hours elapse before I know some of the important events. Happily it is unnecessary for me to know them. When many important persons act as one man and undergo suffering and when many important events take place at the same time, both become common things and it is a happy sign. We take no notice of the myriads of sunbeams each as important as the sun itself. We pay homage to each when we worship the sun which is the crowning act of the simultaneous action of the beams. Even so do we worship daily the ever-waxing sun of India's freedom which is in the process of formation.

But I must take notice of Mahadev's conviction. In the midst of

¹ This was the last Thursday before Gandhiji was arrested on May 5.

chaos going under the false name of Government, Mahadev's arrest was a courteous and reluctant business on the part of the authorities. Though he set ablaze the whole of Gujarat from Viramgam and Dholera to Ahmedabad, the authorities recognized that it was a life-giving fire, that they were safer under Mahadev's rule than their own and that he was well able to control the forces he had brought into being.

But Mahadev made it impossible for the authorities to keep him free. He had managed to "smuggle in" a lorry load of salt from Dholera. The authorities were wide awake. They intercepted the lorry. They had hoped not to find Mahadev in it. But when he saw that the lorry was to be arrested together with its precious load, he got out of the car in which he was following and jumped into the lorry. And so if they were to arrest the lorry they could not help arresting him. Nor could Mahadev help jumping into the lorry in the circumstances. With him was a youth who was to have appeared for his final L.L.B. the following day; two were young men from the Gujarat College and two were sons of wealthy men. The lorry was given by Sjt. Ranchhodlal, a mill-owner who, when warned what might befall the lorry, said, "What fear about the loss of the lorry when I am prepared to lose all for swaraj?"

Mahadev has got his well-deserved rest. For hundreds of strenuous workers the jail has become a resting house. Mahadev yearned as he says after "a better fate but evidently had not yet deserved it".

He has appointed as his successor Imam Saheb Abdul Kadir Bawazeer, a comrade from South Africa and Vice-Chairman of the Ashram Committee and one of its trustees. Imam Saheb is an elderly man hardly capable of strenuous labours. He may be said to be illiterate. But he is a seasoned soldier and son of a devoted Muslim who was till the time of his death muezzin of the Juma Musjid of Bombay. He is himself styled Imam because he officiated as priest in several mosques in South Africa. He is an orthodox Mussalman in the sense that he never misses his prayers or his fasts. But he is also most liberal-minded or he could not have lived with me in the closest

contact in the midst of all sorts of people for an unbroken period of nearly twenty years.

But the swaraj of my—our—dream recognizes no race or religious distinctions. Nor is it to be the monopoly of lettered persons nor yet of moneyed men. Swaraj is to be for all, including the former, but emphatically including the maimed, the blind, the starving toiling millions. A stout-hearted, honest, sane, illiterate man may well be the first servant of the nation as Imam Saheb has become in Gujarat and another still less known friend, by name Abdullabhai, has become in Ville Parle. He is the successor of Swami Anand who by his inexhaustible energy and amazing self-denial made Navajivan Karyalaya, though a purely philanthropic institution, also a sound business proposition which has been bringing to the doors of the Gujaratis the truest gems of Gujarati literature understandable by the masses. But these are not rare instances. These are typical of what the struggle has thrown up all over India. The Government is making its last desperate effort to retain India as the milch cow of the White Islanders in the far off West. But selfless servants of the nation will no longer permit the rape of the cow at the expense of her three hundred million children.

Young India, 1-5-1930

234. TO CORRESPONDENTS

My correspondence accumulates daily. I have purposely deprived myself of much assistance. Seasoned workers have been better occupied. It is therefore impossible for me to cope with the correspondence from day to day. I have invited co-workers whom I have sent away to different parts of the country to keep me duly informed of their doings. They naturally expect at least an acknowledgment. I find however that I am unable even to do that. The fact is that I should be regarded as a half prisoner permitted to receive letters but prevented from writing in reply except occasionally. Presently I shall be a full prisoner if not something higher. Therefore when fellow-workers and others do not receive letters from me they should know that I have had no time to write to them.

Young India, 1-5-1930

235. GOONDA RAJ

If what is going on in Gujarat is any indication of what is going on in other parts of India, even Dyerism pales into insignificance. This may appear to be an exaggerated statement. But it is meant to be literally true. The massacre of Jallianwala was a clean sweep. It created an impression both in the intended and the unintended sense.

The death by inches that is being dealt out in Gujarat is unimpressive either way, and may, if care is not taken, prove utterly demoralizing. It may weaken the victims and decidedly debases the tyrants.

If I have the time I shall summarize the events of the past week for these columns. In any case the reader will find the whole of the evidence in the daily press.

Mahadev Desai had hugged the belief that after the efforts he made by going there himself and sending lawyer friends, the barbarous torture had ceased at Viramgam. But it was not to be. A volunteer was for a few minutes isolated from his company, and this gave the representatives of law and order an opportunity of falling upon their victim and treating him as his predecessors had been treated at Viramgam.

This is what Dr. Narsinhbhai Mehta, a retired Chief Medical

Officer of Junagadh, who at the age of 66 was enthused with the spirit of satyagraha, saw with his own eyes:

I brought a party of about 120 satyagrahis, each with a bag of ten lb. of contraband salt from Wadhvan Camp this evening.

As I led the party, I was the first to meet the inspecting party consisting of one European officer, two Indian officers and about 4 or 5 police constables. Over and above this there were about fifty spare constables watching the entrance of the staircase.

I was asked what I had got in the bag under my armpit. I replied, "Ten lb. of contraband salt." "All right, old doctor, you can go," they said. I said, "I am leading a party of about 120 satyagrahis, each with a bag of such salt. So I want to see personally how you deal with them, or whether you allow them to go freely just like other passengers." He said, "All right, you stand apart on one side, and watch." One by one the satyagrahis were made to pass through the said inspecting party and immediately all the seven or eight of them, including the European officer, caught hold of each resister and snatched the bag from the hands of the satyagrahi, handling the resister most roughly. Almost every satyagrahi was treated likewise. It was a disgraceful proceeding. I had a very high opinion of Englishmen all throughout my life. This was the first experience of the kind during sixty-six years.

When I could bear the treatment no longer and expostulated, the officer said: "Speak to the public outside about this and write to the papers!" And the whole performance went on as before.

Mark the callousness with which Dr. Mehta's entreaty was met. It was a jolly performance for the British officer and his fellow-loyalists to indulge in the sport of dispossessing young men of their precious possession. It was no use telling them that the victims were not running away nor hiding anything. The law had to be respected without any waiting for the law's delay on the part of its administrators.

But even this was nothing compared to the scenes enacted in the Kheda district. I own that the brave sons and daughters of Kheda have carried out fairly successfully the legitimate boycott of officials who are no longer able to impose their will upon the people. They have brutally struck a graduate and professor of the Gujarat Vidyapith who had committed no offence, but who had gone simply to see what was happening when he heard the beating. In the same district near Borsad a few police supported by a local Thakore and his minions armed with long armed sickles without notice put out the lights at a meeting and mercilessly fell upon their victims. The audience consisted of Patidars

and Rajputs who were fully able to defend themselves. But not a stone was thrown, not a word was uttered. For the sake of discipline they suffered. One man narrowly escaped death. Seven are still lying in a hospital. Altogether thirty-five have been traced as having been injured. This was a cowardly edition of Jallianwala.

Then take Ahmedabad. A liquor dealer finding his till empty from day to day got so exasperated that he savagely attacked the pickets one of whom lay senseless. The picketing was of the most peaceful as acknowledged by everybody. There was not even any demonstration. Only the names of those who visited this were taken down by the pickets who knew them. The success of the picketing lies in this case in moving the caste machinery which still works fairly among the labouring classes.

Have the administrators of law and order done anything to prevent this savagery? No. They have secretly enjoyed it. They are welcome to the joy of it. Only let this be not called 'law and order'. Let it be called Goonda Raj.

The duty before the people is clear. They must answer this organized hooliganism with great suffering. If they have the will and the power, freedom is assured. Freedom is a fruit of suffering, licence is born of violence. What we are all pining for is freedom that imposes restraints upon itself for the sake of society. Licence imposes suffering upon society so that it may enjoy exclusive privileges. This is a Government of unbridled licence because it is a Government whose chief, if not sole, aim is to exploit Indian society.

PS. Since writing the above I have almost identical pictures from Balasore and Mathura. I reproduce them in full. Authorized hooliganism is evidently India-wide or fast becoming so.

Young India, 1-5-1930

236. NOTES

THE SPEAKER'S RESIGNATION

Vithalbhai Patel's resignation does not come as a surprise upon us. It would have been surprising if he had not resigned. By his courage combined with impartiality, he won the affection of Congressmen and commanded the admiration of opponents. I am glad he recognizes that the way to serve the country is not through the Assembly. The legislatures are but a pawn in the game of exploitation. Ostrich-like we hide our heads in the sand and refuse to see what is plain as a pikestaff to the onlooker. Vithalbhai Patel's resignation is a severe blow to the prestige of the Government. His firmness in the Chair was undoubtedly embarrassing to the Government; his vacating it in the manner he has done is still more so.

FRONTIER PROVINCES

When I marched to Dandi, friends in the Frontier Provinces had offered to send some volunteers to help me. I sent them thanks in appreciation of their offer but did not avail myself of it. How nice perhaps it would have been if they had not actively participated in the movement. Those who, not being sure of perfect non-violence being observed, do not take an active part in the struggle are most assuredly helping it. Those who wanting to serve take part in it and violence results, as happened at Peshawar, are as assuredly harming the movement. That the people in Peshawar meant well I have no doubt. They are perhaps more impatient (if such a thing were possible) than I am to win freedom. But nobody can get freedom today in this land except through non-violence. We cannot get India's freedom through the way of violence; we are within reach of it if we would but keep up non-violence to the end. The way lies not through the burning of armoured cars and taking the lives of administrators of the Government machinery; it lies through disciplined organized self-suffering. I deeply regret the occurrences in Peshawar. Brave lives have been thrown away without the cause itself being served.

NECESSITY OF FULFILMENT

There is a great deal of bartering among us. The position taken

up by foreign cloth merchants is but a symptom of that spirit. They want to give up foreign cloth trade only if they can do so without suffering any loss. But patriotism does not admit of barter. People are expected like Dattatreya to face death, like Kachalia in South Africa to face compulsory insolvency, like the late Gopabandhu Das and others, not known to fame, to face poverty and like the widow of Vithalbai of Ambheti to suffer the death of nearest and dearest ones. Therefore the reluctance of foreign cloth merchants to suffer losses, in my opinion, betrays want of real patriotism.

But the Delhi merchants contend that the local Congress Committee has bound itself to stop picketing under certain conditions. If that be so, the promise has to be fulfilled at any cost. If the word of a Congressman or a Congress organization cannot be relied upon, we shall ultimately lose the battle. Satyagraha means insistence on Truth. Breach of promise is a base surrender of truth. I have therefore advised the parties, if they cannot agree as to the text of the promise, if any, to refer the matter to arbitration.

I understand too that in Delhi, they have resorted to mixed picketing. I have suggested that it should be confined only to women. It does not matter if picketing is suspended for want of sufficient women pickets. Every occasion for violence must be avoided. Men can produce by careful propaganda and production of khadi an irresistible atmosphere for the boycott. But picketing wherever it is done must be confined to women.

RASHTRIYA STREE SABHA

This body has now formed a sub-association whose sole object is to do the work of the two boycotts—liquor and foreign cloth. It has made a public appeal for funds. I have no doubt that it will receive greater public support than hitherto. The public should know that the ceaseless workers in this association are the G.O.M.'s grand-daughters. His spirit is watching over their devotion and India's work with pride and satisfaction.

FROM OVERSEAS

I have had cables from Mexico, the Phillipines, South Africa, East Africa and elsewhere wishing the cause success. I have purposely refrained from publishing them, not out of ungratefulness, but

because I know that valuable as the wishes of other people are, what will decide the issue will be our own wishes and consequent action. If our action is correct the good wishes of the whole world will be with us if they are not already. Nevertheless I must reproduce the two following messages as they are from English friends. It is the conversion of England that civil resisters are aiming at. I have enough criticism from England, some of which I have published in these pages. It gives me pleasure therefore to publish good wishes of some English friends.

DEAR MAHATMA GANDHI,

We the undersigned members of the Executive of the War Resisters' International are watching with intense interest the progress of your campaign in India. In accordance with the principles of the War Resisters' International we believe in the possibility of overthrowing imperialism by pacifist means and we rejoice that you are relying upon the method of non-violence.

We send you our love and sympathy in the hardships and difficulties which you will undoubtedly have to face and assure you that we will do our best, by propaganda in whatever circles may be open to us, to assist you in your fight for truth and justice.

Yours sincerely,

A. FENNER BROCKWAY

HAROLD F. BING

MARTHA STEINITZ

STEPHEN J. THORNE

H. RUNHAM BROWN

May non-violence achieve success.

WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM

WOMEN'S APPEAL TO THE VICEROY

The appeal of the women of Gujarat made to the Viceroy, printed elsewhere,¹ deserves world-wide attention. The appeal has been promoted by the Gujarati women only. For an all-India appeal much time would have been required. But it is to be hoped that the action of

¹ *Vide* "Draft letter to Viceroy", 27-4-1930.

the Gujarati sisters will be copied by all the other provinces with such changes as may be necessary. The organization has to grow naturally. Therefore a variety may be invited. It would not matter, so long as the central facts are allowed to remain intact. They are (1) no mixed picketing, (2) Boycott of foreign cloth, not merely British cloth, and this through khaddar.

Young India, 1-5-1930

237. QUESTIONS ANSWERED

Professor Syed Rauf Pasha caught hold of me when last I was in Bulsar¹ and asked me some pertinent questions on Hindu-Muslim unity. At my request he reduced the questions in writing so that I could give precise answers. The reader will find the questions and the answers below:

Q. 1. You say that the present campaign is intended only to create the necessary strength among the people to gain independence rather than to establish independence. If you feel that Dominion Status on the basis of the Nehru Report will create that strength, will you accept it when the Muslims feel that it would be only Hindu strength rather than National strength that would be gained thereby?

A. I should never feel that any *grant* can give us strength. In no case could the Nehru scheme be revived or accepted if only because the communal solution suggested therein does not satisfy those concerned in it and also because it does not stipulate for Independence as it obviously could not at the time.

Q. 2. Do you consider the Ali Brothers to be sincere in differing from you over the time of starting the disobedience of the salt law and over the question of participation in the Round Table Conference; and that they were in no way influenced by the British Government in the adoption of such an attitude?

A. I certainly consider the Ali Brothers to be sincere in what they say. If I believed them to be insincere or capable of being influenced by the British Government, I should never hope of their being weaned from what to me appears to be a grievous error as my action appears to them to be.

¹ On April 26, 1930

Q. 3. Do you realize or not that the Ali Brothers still have a great following among the Muslim masses throughout India and who would swell your ranks tomorrow if only the Ali Brothers assure them that such a step will not be detrimental to their interests?

Further, don't you think that even the Ali Brothers with all their influence were and still are powerless to dispel their suspicion of the Mahasabha Hindus just as you were and still are powerless to carry the Hindu community with you in the settlement of the communal question although your leadership in other matters is not questioned?

A. How can it be otherwise? Their record of service will always secure for the Ali Brothers a following among the Muslim masses. There is no doubt therefore that their coming would mean additional strength to the cause.

Deep-rooted suspicions cannot be dispelled by leaders however influential they may be.

Q. 4. Do you think that Muslims specially of the N.W.F. Province and Malabar are sufficiently trained for non-violent fight as the Hindus specially of Gujarat are; and do not past recent occurrences in these provinces impress on you the necessity of stopping such unprepared provinces from immediate participation until such organization is complete and that otherwise there would be an unnecessary loss of Muslim life?

A. I have repeatedly warned those provinces that are unprepared for strict non-violence against participation in the struggle. It is quite enough if they can give their sympathy.

Young India, 1-5-1930

238. LIQUOR AND PARSIS

Several Parsi friends seem to be under the apprehension that liquor picketing is to be confined only to Parsi liquor dealers. This is wholly a misconception. Picketing is now going on all over India in a more or less organized fashion. And in the parts other than Gujarat there are more Hindu dealers than Parsis. Even in Gujarat the thousands of toddy trees that are being uprooted belong overwhelmingly to Hindus. Toddy booths owned by Hindus are certainly to be picketed on a most extensive scale. Organized picketing, it should be remembered, has only just commenced. In my speeches I have made a pointed appeal to Parsis because there is an indissoluble bond between them and me and because they are the most advanced and organized community in all India and therefore more readily amenable to reason. They read newspapers. Parsi liquor dealers attend my meetings, whereas Hindu dealers are too ignorant to do so. The latter can only be reached by personal visits made to them in their own booths or homes. Indeed the response I am getting from Parsi friends is quite encouraging, though not yet adequate. It is a Parsi sister—Mithubai Petit—who, assisted among others by a Parsi pleader, is organizing picketing in the Surat district. Behram Mehta and Dhanjisha Darbari have gone to jail in the same cause. They were ostensibly arrested for breach of salt laws, but I have a suspicion that they were arrested for the possibility of their undoubted influence spreading among liquor dealers. Anyway, they were engaged in the anti-drink work as much as the Salt Satyagraha. It was a matter of joy to me too that some Parsi liquor dealers who came to me the other day went away satisfied to find that I had fully the intention of picketing toddy booths just as much as liquor shops. One complaint was that we were leaving alone the liquor shops in the adjacent Baroda territory. The charge is true. But I am hoping that the Baroda State people will organize the picketing of Baroda canteens. Prohibition is first and foremost a moral reform. The Indian States are as much interested in it as the rest of India. The States' people may take up this reform, and ought to do so.

The friends who saw me raised also the question of their living. It is here that the Parsis as a community have to step in to find a solution. Parsi associations can prepare statistics and organize bureaux for the employment of those who would need relief when the only

source of their income is gone, as it ought to have long ago. It cannot be a matter of pride that this great community has so many of its members living on an immoral traffic.

Young India, 1-5-1930

239. 'TRIUMPH OF NON-VIOLENCE'

Who does not know Shri Rajendra Prasad? He writes from Patna:¹

The more I become aware of the present trend in the country the more I am convinced that people have fully learnt the lesson of peace. There is still something lacking to be sure. But if people are peaceful and fearless to the end swaraj is not far away.

There are three prerequisites for swaraj: purity, fearlessness and work. Giving up of liquor and other intoxicating things is a sign of purity. Through civil disobedience of the salt law people are learning the lesson of fearlessness. When the charkha or the *takli* has become universal one can say that people have become industrious. The economic gain from these things is of course there. Giving up of liquor, etc., will save us Rs. 25 crores. Abolition of the salt tax will save at least Rs. 6 crores and the *takli* through the manufacture of khadi, Rs. 60 crores.

May God grant the people of this country strength to do all this.

[From Hindi]

Hindi Navajivan, 1-5-1930

¹ The letter is not translated here. Rajendra Prasad had described how events in Patna had ended in a procession of about 15,000 being taken out on April 23 and how in the face of police violence the huge assembly had remained wholly peaceful and disciplined. He had called it a triumph of non-violence.

240. LETTER TO ABBAS TYABJI

May 1, 1930

MY DEAR WHITE BEARD,

I had your letter. Kheda has become the storm centre. It is there that the danger exists. You will please keep the boycott clean and absolutely free of any compulsion. The little underlings ought not to be molested in any way. And I feel that you should transfer yourself to where the Thakore of Dehvan is residing. If you are satisfied about the atrocities, let me have a brief statement for publication. Try to see the Thakore if it is at all possible. Who is this Foujdar Munshi?

I am writing this in a moving train. Going to Hamida's seat of action and looking forward to seeing her.

Love.

Yours,

M. K. G.

From a photostat: S.N. 9572

241. LETTER TO NARAHARI PARIKH

Unrevised

May 1, 1930

CHI. NARAHARI,

Getting used to 'Chi.' will take me some time.¹

1 There should be no boycott of petty police officials. Provisions, etc., should be freely supplied to them.

2. But they should be disobeyed when they come as policemen. Any services demanded by them as policemen should be refused.

3. Big officers should not be asked to vacate the houses in which they may be living.

4. In spite of the boycott, our relations with those boycotted should be happy. If they become bitter, take it that there is hatred in the boycott.

It is not the officials, but their authority that we boycott. We boycott not Dyer, but Dyerism. We should examine our attitude by putting ourselves this question: "How would I behave with the officer

¹ Gandhiji first wrote "Bhaishri 5" and then struck it off.

if he were my own brother?" For example, how do I behave with Harilal? This will enable you to understand your attitude a little more clearly.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9051

242. EXTRACTS FROM SPEECH AT OLPAD

May 1, 1930

The Government has been testing us thoroughly by taking away our leaders from us one by one. It believes that, deprived of our leaders, we shall either hide ourselves in our homes or become violent. What can be better for the Government than if we hide? If we do not raise our heads, if we go on paying the land revenue year after year, continue drinking liquor, buy salt at a rupee and a quarter a maund and wear foreign cloth, the Government will want nothing more. On the other hand, if we resort to violence it can stand it since the consumption of ammunition will then go up, the industry in England will stand to gain, and its generals, captains and soldiers will have honours and awards conferred on them. There is just one thing the Government cannot put up with, and that is that we should refuse to obey its laws and to submit to its authority.

We have not been true to our salt. That is why we disregard the cloth made by the hands of our poor and virtuous brothers and sisters and import cloth from abroad. Islam had a Caliph who was the greatest among all the Caliphs. What did he tell the great governors from Baghdad who had come dressed in silken robes? "Your Prophet wore only coarse cloth. Where did you learn to wear such soft garments?" Holy men in those days had such power that people trembled before them. And this they did, not because they brandished the sword, but because they wielded spiritual power. Now people, whether Hindus or Muslims, tell me that they find khadi too coarse. I laugh when I hear that, though, in truth, I ought to weep.

I have been told that in Surat when some of our sisters were on their round, the owners of toddy booths behaved badly. Some even threw clods of earth at them. I was ashamed to hear this. A man should die before he insults such women or swears at them or lifts a stone against them. What though the person behaving thus be a

drunkard? Haven't drunkards their mothers and sisters? These women do not go and abuse them. They only humbly entreat them. Is it a crime to do so? Every man in this country should have the spirit in him not to tolerate women being insulted. This does not mean that one should lose one's temper with the person who abuses them. But how can any man have the audacity to abuse a woman or lift a stone against her? He ought rather to pray: O God, may my hand come unstuck before I commit such a crime.

Against whom can you raise your hand? Perhaps against a man who attacks you, though even that is at present forbidden. To raise one's hand against a woman is cowardly. It is unthinkable. I hope no Indian is behind these incidents. I hope the clod of earth fell accidentally on some sister. I had believed that though there might be wicked Indians, even they would observe some decorum. However, even if a few women have their heads smashed as some men have had theirs, we will not give up what we have undertaken in the name of God. If it is the fate of our sisters to be beaten they will be beaten. But let those who drink as well as those who sell liquor note that drinking will soon be a matter of the past.

The way of the Raghus it has been ever,
Life may fail but a pledge never.

We all brothers and sisters have now learnt to recite this quatrain and we are no actors in a play who only sing and do not act. Just as we know that the salt law is as good as abolished, let us also have the faith that the drink evil, too, will be gone.

Remember my humble prayer. I also want you to carry my message—the message of an old man—to all concerned and to the liquor-booth owners of Surat.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 11-5-1930

243. SPEECH AT RANDER

May 1, 1930

I appeal to Muslim friends to realize that at present we have embarked upon a movement of self-purification. The time has not yet come to divide the gains among ourselves. When that time comes, we shall decide the share of each. If it is our misfortune to fight then, we shall fight it out. But personally I believe that when that day comes, there will be no need for us to fight. There will be no cause then for mutual distrust or fear. At present our fight is directed mainly against the salt tax. Such a tax is forbidden in Islam. Salt is a necessity for all. The majority of Hindus and Muslims are poor people and the burden of the tax falls on them. In Rander, however, we have millionaires and multi-millionaires. They can see the facts if only they go with me into villages.

Our second task is to banish foreign cloth. Everyone can see from the accounts of the Spinners' Association that because of this movement we pay thousands of rupees to Muslim women and weavers. The large number of women in Vijapur who earn a living through this work and bless me are all Muslims. These poor women have often wept when my workers could not supply them enough slivers.

The third task is eradication of the drink evil. In which religion is drinking not forbidden? In the course of my life I have mixed a great deal with Muslims and attended many dinners given by Muslim hosts. Muslims cannot but join the movement for ban-ishing liquor and other intoxicants from the country. Are those mill workers not Muslims who picket liquor booths in Ahmedabad and plead with proprietors and drink-addicts, patiently submitting to assaults and abuses?

This is God's work. He alone can do it who is ready to sacrifice his life for it. Only he who is ready to dive into the sea can bring up pearls from it. I only beg of my Muslim clients and other Muslims to realize that this movement of self-purification is not a monopoly of any community, and wish that all people should heartily join it. We will see afterwards how to share the gains when the Government asks us what we want. My prophecy about that day, however, is that we shall then no longer think it necessary to fight, that one brother will invite another to take anything he wants. We shall then have nobility among us and the bargaining spirit will have disappeared. We have to do this

work in God's name, in the name of the poor. Let all the communities help in it and let the town of Rander, too, give all the help it can and bring glory to its fair name.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 11-5-1930

244. LETTER TO SUSHILA GANDHI

[After *May 1, 1930*]¹

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have your letter. What is the name of the lady who is angry with me? Send her here. Are all of you concerned with substance or with unimportant details? I maintain good weight and sufficient energy; what does it matter, then, whether or not I eat fruit? I have kept a way open to permit me to start eating it again if it becomes necessary to do so for my health. I have not taken a vow not to eat fruit. But why should I if there is no need? I had read in a paper that you go out to picket liquor booths.

To you all,

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 1184. Courtesy: Sushila Gandhi; . also G.N. 4772

¹ According to *Navajivan*, 11-5-1930, picketing of liquor booths by Ahmedabad women started from this date.

245. LETTER TO PURUSHOTTAM GANDHI

May 2, 1930

CHI. PURUSHOTTAM,

I was in fact expecting a letter from you when I got one. If you keep good health in the Ashram, you should stay either there or in Vijapur. If you have overcome the fear of death, you should be equally contented in all circumstances and go on doing the work which may fall to your lot. I do not feel inclined at present to call up here any of those who are left behind. If, however, you wish otherwise, let me know.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 898. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

246. LETTER TO VITHALDAS JERAJANI

May 2, 1930

BHAISHRI VITHALDAS,

I got your letter. You have asked for someone to help you. Maganbhai is going there. He is a very exact man in all matters. He will prove very useful to you. I wish you all success.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9773

247. *LETTER TO RADHA GANDHI*

May 2, 1930

CHI. RADHA,

Mithubehn told me that you were eager to work with her. She intends to entrust you with a responsible task. If you really wish to work with her, I will not dissuade you. But Khurshedbehn also told me that you wished to work with her. If you gave her your word first you should work with her.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 8682. Courtesy: Radhabehn Chaudhri

248. *LETTER TO KUSUM DESAI*

May 2, 1930

CHI. KUSUM,

I have still not received the letter which you said in your hurriedly-written last letter you would write.

I keep with this the two letters received from you.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1798

249. LETTER TO JANAKIDEVI BAJAJ

May 2, 1930

CHI. JANAKIBEHN,

I got Madalasa's letter today. I do not remember to have received any from you. Why should I get angry? You seem to have plunged into work there. I am glad that you are working with Perinbehn.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2886

250. LETTER TO NARAHARI PARIKH

May 2, 1930

CHI. NARAHARI,

I do not know all the facts about the Headman. But why should he try to defend himself? If he has the necessary strength, he should suffer whatever is done to him. But otherwise he may by all means defend himself. I can conceive of only one situation in which a person may defend himself, and that is when a false allegation is made against him. Then he may, if he wishes, defend himself. In such cases, however, only those who are on the spot can decide what is right.

Bhagavati tells me that there will be darkness there after you go. There is no one, he tells me, who will give all his time to the work. Think about this and let me know your view.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9052

251. LETTER TO SARALADEVI SARABHAI

May 2, 1930

DEAR SISTER,

I was very happy to see your signature on the letters about the meetings. You know how much I value your signature.¹

Shankerlal told me about your activities and I was glad to hear it.

Ask Mridu to give me a report of her work.

Blessings from

MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original: C. W. 11133. Courtesy: Sarabhai Foundation

252. MESSAGE TO SAHU SABHA, BOMBAY

KARADI,

May 2, 1930

I hope that the Sahu Sabha will receive support from all patriotic non-Brahmins. The present struggle is intended to bring relief to millions and not to any particular class or caste.

The Bombay Chronicle, 3-5-1930

¹ *Vide* also "Draft letter to Viceroy", 27-4-1930.

253. *LETTER TO J. C. KUMARAPPA*

May 3, 1930

MY DEAR K.,

Publish in the *I.S.R.*¹ only.² You are doing bravely. If *I.S.R.* refuses, let me know.

BAPU

SJT. J. C. KUMARAPPA

GUJARAT VIDYAPITH

AHMEDABAD

From a photostat: S.N. 10086 and 10087

254. *LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI*

May 3, 1930

CHI. NARANDAS

Bhai Sundaram was formerly an inmate of the Ashram. He has the virtues suggested by his name. He had left the Benares University and come to us. He will stay there for a few days. Cultivate his acquaintance and introduce him to the others. I shall write about other things after I get the mail.

Blessings from

BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 8109. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

¹ *Indian Social Reformer*

² This sentence is not in Gandhiji's hand but has been retained out of the four alternatives typed on the postcard.

255. LETTER TO OCHCHHAVLAL PANDYA

May 3, 1930

BHAI OCHCHHAVLAL,

Bhai Kamalashankar is very keen to join the struggle. Earlier you have encouraged your brother to take part in such activities. I should like you to do the same now. Every family should take part in this struggle.

Vandemataram from

MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original: Kamalashankar Pandya Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

256. CERTIFICATE TO V. A. SUNDARAM ¹

[About May 3, 1930]²

V. A. Sundaram has been in touch with me since 1915 and was in the Satyagraha Ashram for a long time from its foundation. He has left the Benares Hindu University with Pandit Malaviyaji's blessings to join the Struggle. The best use that can be made of him and his wife³, who is also with him in his decision heart and soul, is for both to go to Tamil Nad and there to break the salt laws, to assist in organizing, especially in his own district of Coimbatore, boycott of foreign cloth through the *takli* and boycott of intoxicating drinks.

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 3207

¹ The original bears no title. The G.N. register however, describes it as a certificate.

² It appears, this was written about the same time as the preceding item, in which Gandhiji wrote to the same effect.

³ Savitri

257. TO THE PEOPLE OF KHEDA

In Gujarat at present the Kheda district seems to have become the centre of our struggle. Nowhere else in Gujarat do we find the same repression as in that district. There they arrest or release whom they like, beat up or abuse all and sundry. People may be said to have remained fairly quiet and peaceful in spite of provocation. But Kakasaheb observed some shortcomings also. People submit to the repression but in their severe boycott of the Government men there is anger and ill will and hence violence. They harass the Government officials in petty ways and call them names. This is not the way to success. We may denounce bureaucracy to our heart's content, but not the men in office. The poor officer is like any of us. Time was when, if not we, our own kinsmen wanted to be Headmen or Mamlatdars and we flattered the Mamlatdars. Now that our love of office is gone, how can we expect that theirs too should go? It is true that it should go. We should humbly try to cure them of their infatuation, and show them the evil that is there in the office of Mamlatdar or Sub-Inspector of police, but in no way should we vent our anger on a Mamlatdar or a Sub-Inspector of police. No matter how severe our boycott, it should be full of sweetness and courtesy. If it is not so, some day even a riot may break out. The Mamlatdar or the Sub-Inspector may cross the limits of decency. One might say that the Sub-Inspectors of Police have already crossed the limits, for I know that one of them insulted a person like Maganbhai Desai and manhandled him. Would it be surprising, then, if people should similarly cross the limits? If some regard it decent not to go beyond abusive speech, how can they blame others who draw the line at slapping the former? And once violent hands are laid on another, where will it all end? As things are still under control, it is time for the Kheda people to take heed and change things wherever necessary. Within the limits I have laid down, they are free to continue the different boycotts they have put into effect. Let me mention those limits. The reader should go through and understand Kakasaheb's article along with this. Let us take a Headman as an example.

If the Headman belongs to the village, he cannot be deprived of his place of residence or denied provisions. The boycott should be confined to his duties as Headman. That is, his orders should not be carried out, not a drop of water demanded by virtue of his authority

should be given and no provisions demanded by him for the visiting officials should be supplied. Should he, however, fall ill, we ought to serve him lovingly. If we lack the power or the love to help him thus we should give up the boycott altogether. Take it as gospel truth that if any boycott proceeds from a feeling of malice or enmity it will bring us no good, at any rate in our present struggle.

Some may say that this non-violence is a difficult thing. That is true. And still non-violence is as easy as it is difficult. It is easy for those who understand it. For others it is more difficult than even flying in the air. It was because I was fully aware of this that I did not include in our programme the boycott of officials. As the people themselves took it up, I have let it go on and even encouraged it in my speeches. But I have always mentioned the limits within which it should be practised. Nothing will be lost and it is still not too late, if the boycott is given up because the limits of non-violent boycott cannot in practice be observed.

I ought to admit that I am unconcerned with defeat or success. For I know that victory will come only with non-violence and that, whatever the good results violent methods may seem to promise, ultimately they will bring defeat. The ruddy cheeks of a tuberculous patient are not a sign of health, but a portent of imminent death. This, however, is not my whole story.

It does not surprise me that people cannot digest the non-violence that requires them to suffer beatings without demur. And yet that is what our original pledge contains. People have on occasion done quite well. I know that when the Thakore of Dehvan in complicity with the police made an attack on the people, the people could have fought back but did not. There have been several other occasions of the same kind, but people proved their fortitude by remaining quite peaceful. They deserve to be congratulated on their conduct. However, if they do not regard peaceful conduct as their duty but remain peaceful reluctantly, such peace will not last long. People will either begin to run away or fight back in self-defence, and both these are forbidden in our present struggle. People can neither run away nor fight back. The present struggle is one which requires us to learn the secret of living by dying.

No one has ever said so far that there is no victory in store for those prepared to face death. Some there are who doubt whether the people have the capacity to die, but many no longer have that

doubt. It is possible to take the figures for the last World War and show that our loss in men and money during the four weeks of this struggle is only a fraction compared to that borne by each State participating in the terrible war in Europe. And, moreover, we have advanced. If our present struggle remains non-violent to the very last, we shall win swaraj without having incurred, during our whole struggle, the loss in men and money incurred in a single day of the European War. After this there should be no room for doubt. And if doubt goes, the necessary climate of public spirit is certain to build up.

So much for social boycott.

Now about discipline.

If the volunteers lack the sense of discipline, we shall find ourselves in a difficult position. In war discipline is everything. At the time of the Crimean War, the officers of the British army committed such blunders that vast numbers of soldiers were killed. The poor soldiers went on obeying the orders given and met their death. The stupidity of the officers has been forgotten, but the bravery of the soldiers has been immortalized in the golden words of a famous poem by Tennyson. This is how he enumerates the virtues of true soldiers:

Theirs not to make reply,

Theirs not to reason why,

Theirs but to do and die.

I feel that this is as it should be. It does not mean that the true soldier suppresses his reason. Before a man enlists in the army he should fully use his power of reason, know his commander and study the rules of service. After this, if he discusses at every step the sub-rules as and when they are framed, and if he weighs the pros and cons of the orders issued, his time would be wasted in thinking and arguing and the progress of work will be hindered. If every soldier claims for himself the right to argue with the commander, the battle might be lost. Therefore a soldier, having enlisted himself, should suspend his reason. If after enlisting oneself as a soldier, one gives free rein to one's reason and indulges in arguments on the subject of one's duties, one's reason will lose steadiness of purpose. That would be misuse of reason.

Everyone in Kheda who understands this should carefully observe our rules of discipline.

Carding and spinning are essential aspects of this discipline. The

volunteers who do not card and spin should leave this movement for swaraj. Our motto is: 'Swaraj through the thread of yarn.' To those who have accepted the motto, it is no longer a subject of discussion, but a duty to be practised. No matter if spinning does not seem necessary as part of the Salt Satyagraha; it is essential as part of the swaraj movement. True the salt tax has not been removed; our struggle, however, is not merely for its abolition but for winning our freedom.

Just as carding and spinning are essential, so is being clad in khadi from head to foot. This goes without saying.

The people of Kheda have been evincing boundless enthusiasm. If that enthusiasm is pure and non-violent, the peaceful activity of spinning is both its sign and its food. Quiet enthusiasm is always constructive, and its opposite begins and ends only as a wave of excitement.

I have one thing in particular to add. Not only Raas, but other villages also have taken the pledge of non-payment of land revenue. I like this pledge. Those who keep it will make a name in Indian history as heroes. But the consequences of the pledge need to be considered.

The person taking the pledge should be ready to let go his land, his homestead and his cattle, and do it without resorting to violence himself or through others. He who has faith that we shall get swaraj will not let anything disturb him. He is prepared to lose his land and his homestead. Even if he loses them now, he will have them returned to him. The Government can never appropriate them for all time. But those who lack such faith should at present take no risk at all of non-payment of the land revenue. In the Congress programme at present there is no mention whatever of non-payment of revenue, and hence one who pays up the tax has nothing to be ashamed of. However, the man who has self-confidence, who has the power to endure suffering, who can make sacrifices for his country or his commander, such a person will, on his own responsibility, refuse to pay land revenue. He has the right not to pay it.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 4-5-1930

258. *LAWYERS' DUTY*

I have never minced words in criticizing lawyers. Mahadev, during his short reign, castigated them to his heart's content. But the lawyers did not misunderstand him. They saw that the shafts he aimed at them were shafts of love. Though the lawyers deserve criticism, their contribution to the fight for freedom is no mean one. Pherozezshah Mehta, the uncrowned king of Bombay, was an eminent lawyer. The Lokamanya was a lawyer. Manmohan Ghosh, Lalmohan Ghosh and Lalaji, the Lion of the Punjab, all of them were lawyers. Deshbandhu, who sacrificed lakhs in the service of the country, was also a lawyer. Motilalji, Malaviyaji, Vithalbhai Patel, Sardar, Jairamdas, Rajagopalachari, Prakasam, Venkatapayya, Santhanam, Munshi, Kamdar, Purushottamdas Triकुन्दas and Broker, all these are lawyers, and the President of the Congress himself is a lawyer. This list is not exhaustive. I have mentioned only the names which occur to me at the moment, but many others can be mentioned.

The lawyers have, therefore, no reason to feel ashamed of their contribution, but there is none to feel elated either. If despite the sacrifices of all these lawyers people speak ill of lawyers—even I have done so—there is reason for that.

People expect every lawyer to be a patriot, as they expect every Brahmin to possess spiritual knowledge. A lawyer, by his very profession, is an advocate of people's rights, an expert in law and politics and one who saves the victims of oppression by the State. When, therefore, a class of people who should regard service of the country as their profession give themselves up to the pursuit of self-interest, lead a life of self-indulgence or have no other aim than making money by encouraging litigation, people naturally speak ill of them. Though, taken absolutely, the number of patriotic lawyers named above will not appear insignificant, if we have regard to the total number of lawyers and the magnitude of their task, it will appear small indeed.

Lawyers have not remained untouched by the present awakening. The sacrifices of Shri Munshi and other lawyers stem from the present struggle. I see that lawyers who dare not or cannot give up practice, still wish to do some service. I hear that many lawyers in Bombay have stopped wearing hats and foreign clothes. Some lawyers in Gujarat have come forward to investigate the cases of those against

whom atrocities are being committed. All this is welcome indeed. But, leaving aside the question of their giving up practice, the important thing is that they should come forward in large numbers to offer civil disobedience and remain undeterred if the courts cancel their *sanads*. They cannot betray the country for the sake of their *sanads*. If in consequence of their doing national work they lose their *sanads*, they should welcome this as if they had been cleansed of dirt. If lawyers thus become fearless they can help the people of their districts in many ways. If they shed fear, lawyers can

1. keep accounts of public funds;
2. explain legal intricacies to the people;
3. enquire into civil disobedience cases which have been arbitrarily dealt with and bring them to light;
4. be present at places where there is fear of violence;
5. explain to the people all cases of arbitrary use of authority;
6. enquire into injustices being perpetrated at present and point out to the public the Government's misdeeds;
7. help in manufacturing khadi;
8. help the women in bringing about boycott of foreign cloth;
9. since in every province almost all the prominent leaders have been arrested, lawyers can lead the people and encourage the present spirit of fearlessness.

I have suggested these items only by way of illustration. Those who are keen on doing service will think up many fields in which they may do it.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 4-5-1930

259. NOTES

PICKETING

The proprietor of a liquor booth in Ahmedabad thrashed innocent labourers who had committed no crime. In Surat, foul abuses were hurled at women and clods of earth thrown at them. In Jalalpur, they have started using filthy language towards women. The women who endured all this deserve to be complimented. But what about men? When women are abused, it is not necessary for any man to come forward to fight on their behalf. One should not fall into a panic when abused by a drunkard or the proprietor of a liquor booth. All the same, men cannot remain idle in such circumstances. They should go and meet the proprietor, plead with him courteously, collect people's signatures on statements condemning such conduct and publish them. The proprietors of liquor booths should also realize that they ought not to insult women. I am convinced that, if every case of such misconduct is brought to people's notice in courteous language and public feeling in this regard is explained to the proprietors, the latter will certainly desist from such misconduct. They should wisely give up on their own a business which is becoming less and less paying.

GIFT FROM A PARSI GIRL

I reproduce below, without any change, the letter which a Parsi girl has written to me.¹

In just the same manner, Parsi children in Vapi gave Rs. 300 and one little girl among them asked whether she might join the struggle. When such innocent children show a desire for service, who can help believing that they are prompted by God? I see no insincerity in these girls.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 4-5-1930

¹ The letter is not translated here. The girl, aged 7, had said she was sending Rs. 10 as her contribution to the cause.

260. ATTACK ON PRINTING-PRESSES

I hope that no one will be frightened by the sword which the Viceroy has hung over the printing-presses.

It is the duty of the people to criticize the bureaucracy. It is our duty to wish that it be destroyed, to commit civil disobedience, to persuade Government servants to give up their jobs and the recruits to leave the army, and to persuade the people to refuse to pay taxes when they have the strength to do that. And yet, under the Government's law, every one of these acts is an offence. The new Ordinance notifies that the Government can seize any press which is guilty of any one of these offences. Every editor and printer of a newspaper should regard it as a sin to obey such a law. If at the present time, when the people have shed fear and are committing civil disobedience of immoral laws, editors of newspapers show weakness, they are bound to harm the cause of the country.

Any press, therefore, which is served with a notice to furnish security should refuse to do so and prefer to close down the paper instead. If all the presses act in this manner, the Government's Ordinance will remain unenforced.

In this struggle full advantage is being taken of the help which newspapers can give, but it does not at all depend on such help. People have realized their strength and know what they should do. So there is little at present which newspapers can give them. We may not get some news of distant places, but we can do without it. I hope, therefore, that no press will furnish security. If people observe this measure of self-restraint, they will find that the new Ordinance does not remain in force for long.

Newspapers can be brought out hand-written and, if people now feel a burning desire to work for the welfare of the country, countless such newspapers can be brought out every day. If people really wish, they can make thousands of copies of hand-written papers. For instance, I may dictate the contents of one issue to fifty men at a time and distribute the copies to fifty persons. The latter should then produce fifty copies each with the help of their friends. We shall thus have 2,500 copies. If these 2,500 copies repeat the process once again, how many copies would we get? The poor at any rate would not object to doing this. All that is necessary is to create such zeal in them.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 4-5-1930

261. CAUTION ABOUT KHADI

At the present time, when khadi is not easily available in the market, traders who love neither their country nor their own good name and whose only aim is to make money anyhow wish to secure khadi of some sort from any source, and do not hesitate to pass off mill-cloth as khadi, charging eight rupees for stuff worth two rupees. Shri Shankerlal Banker writes as under so that khadi-wearers may save themselves from such traders.¹

I wholly agree with these views and I hope that no one will buy cloth sold as khadi from any store not certified by the Spinners' Association. Those who have fully understood the process by which boycott of foreign cloth is to be brought about and know that the boycott cannot succeed unless we produce khadi, should wait if khadi is not available and should not, in their haste, let themselves be deceived and wear as khadi cloth which is not really khadi.

An effort is being made to stock khadi in khadi bhandars approved by the Spinners' Association. If people follow the new method which I have suggested, we shall have a huge pile of khadi in a few days. Those who wear khadi should spin and persuade others to spin. Those who are required to spin should not buy yarn from known sources in the market, but should increase the number of spinners. That is, they

1. should spin themselves;
2. should persuade their relations to spin;
3. should persuade their neighbours to spin;
4. should introduce new spinning-wheels in the neighbouring villages or persuade the residents to spin on the *takli*;
5. should induce pupils and teachers in schools under their influence to spin.

I have merely mentioned a few of the possible fields in which they can work. In this country of thirty crores, one can think of coun-

¹ The letter is not translated here.

tless methods of inducing people to card and spin, and I have no doubt that if all men and women who have some experience of this work exert themselves, they will change the face of the country.

I appeal to greedy traders to exclude khadi from the sphere of their operations. They should not sell khadi at all; or, if they sell it, they should sell only pure khadi and be upright in their dealings. Let it not be said of khadi that when it becomes scarce its price goes up. When khadi has won its rightful place, there will be no scarcity of it. Cotton will be grown in one's own fields and the skill will be supplied by the family; how, then, will there be any scarcity of khadi? Today we do a business which cannot but ruin us. We have cotton in our homes but we sell it away to foreign countries and, though we can manufacture khadi with our own hands, we let the hands remain idle and wear cloth imported from foreign countries. Let us, at this time of national awakening and self-purification, give up our lethargy, work hard and, with the help of khadi, make a perfect success of the programme of foreign-cloth boycott.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 4-5-1930

262. KAKASAHEB

Kakasaheb has now followed Mahadev and it can be said, therefore, that *Navajivan* has made a good contribution to the struggle. Kaka, however, was connected recently more with the Vidyapith than with *Navajivan*. He was its Principal, and so his imprisonment brings credit to the Vidyapith. The Vidyapith's Chancellor is in jail, its Principal is in jail; its graduates, its students and teachers are candidates for imprisonment or for something better even than that. Can there be any better measure than this of the worth of the Vidyapith?

But a time is now coming when imprisonment, instead of earning praise, will earn ridicule. When a thing becomes common, it no longer requires compliments. That it is necessary to praise something is not a good sign. We desire that what we praise should become common and, when it becomes so, we cease praising it. There was a time when imprisonment was looked upon as deserving praise. Now praise is given to people who are beaten by the police or who face bullets. It is, therefore, probable that in a very short time people who are imprisoned will be regarded with suspicion. They will say: 'So and so was afraid of bullets and, therefore, courted imprisonment.' We can sense such an attitude in the cases of Mahadev and Kaka, and it is natural.

In truth we can go much further than this. No one should wish to go to jail or be beaten or hanged. We should be ready to face all that and more, if there is any 'more'. If a man to whom being hanged and being garlanded are the same does national work in his home, his doing so has the same value as—or even greater value than—his being hanged. There is great honour in being hanged. But ordinarily no one honours a person who is busy writing day after day, his head bent low, keeping accounts or courteously listening to people's complaints and helping them with advice. But often such work can have greater value than facing death.

Kaka's statement teaches something else too. The description of the atrocities being committed in the Kheda district is honest testimony. It gives us some idea of the *goonda* rule which prevails there. Kakasaheb was pained, and rightly, that some people ran away when assaulted. If no one runs away in the face of a police assault, such assaults will stop automatically. When we get such strength, we shall

soon get the strength to face bullets.

In his statement, Kaka has drawn our attention to one more fact. Though there is an atmosphere of non-violence in the Kheda district, everybody has not been able to assimilate the spirit of non-violence. Kaka has drawn up the rules laying down the limits of social boycott after observing the conditions in Kheda. Everyone should read them, understand them and abide by them. There can be no malice or anger in satyagrahi boycott.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 4-5-1930

263. TELEGRAM TO MOTILAL NEHRU

JALALPUR,
May 4, 1930

I SUGGEST 10TH OR 13TH AS THE DAY FOR
THE MEETING OF THE WORKING COMMITTEE,
THE 12TH BEING MONDAY, THE DAY OF MY SILENCE.
NO DOUBT THE EARLIER DATE WOULD BE BETTER
AND I SUGGEST JALALPUR AS THE VENUE.

The Hindu, 6-5-1930

264. LETTER TO VICEROY

[May 4, 1930]¹

DEAR FRIEND,

God willing, it is my intention on . . . to set out for Dharasana and reach there with my companions on . . . and demand possession of the Salt Works. The public have been told that Dharasana is private property. This is mere camouflage. It is as effectively under Government control as the Viceroy's House. Not a pinch of salt can be removed without the previous sanction of the authorities.

It is possible for you to prevent this raid, as it has been playfully and mischievously called, in three ways:

1. by removing the salt tax;
2. by arresting me and my party unless the country can, as I hope it will, replace everyone taken away;
3. by sheer goondaism unless every head broken is replaced, as I hope it will.

It is not without hesitation that the step has been decided upon. I had hoped that the Government would fight the civil resisters in a civilized manner. I could have had nothing to say if in dealing with the civil resisters the Government had satisfied itself with applying the ordinary processes of law. Instead, whilst the known leaders have been dealt with more or less according to the legal formality, the rank and file has been often savagely and in some cases even indecently assaulted. Had these been isolated cases, they might have been overlooked. But accounts have come to me from Bengal, Bihar, Utkal, U.P., Delhi and Bombay confirming the experiences of Gujarat of which I have ample evidence at my disposal. In Karachi, Peshawar and Madras the firing would appear to have been unprovoked and unnecessary. Bones have been broken, private parts have been squeezed for the purpose of making volunteers give up, to the Government valueless, to the volunteers precious salt. At Mathura an Assistant Magistrate is said to have snatched the national flag from a ten-year old boy. The crowd that demanded restoration of the flag thus illegally seized is reported to have been mercilessly beaten back. That the flag was subsequently restored betrayed a guilty conscience. In Bengal there seem to have been only a few prosecutions and assaults about salt, but unthinkable cruelties are said to have been practised in the act

¹ The letter was drafted on the eve of Gandhiji's arrest. He was arrested at 12.45 a.m. on May 5.

of snatching flags from volunteers. Paddy fields are reported to have been burnt, eatables forcibly taken. A vegetable market in Gujarat has been raided because the dealers would not sell vegetables to officials. These acts have taken place in front of crowds who, for the sake of Congress mandate have submitted without retaliation. I ask you to believe the accounts given by men pledged to truth. Repudiation even by high officials has, as in the Bardoli case, often proved false. The officials, I regret to have to say, have not hesitated to publish falsehoods to the people even during the last five weeks. I take the following samples from Government notices issued from Collectors' offices in Gujarat:

1. Adults use five pounds of salt per year, therefore pay three annas per year as tax. . . . If Government removed the monopoly people will have to pay higher prices and in addition make good to the Government the loss sustained by the removal of the monopoly. . . . The salt you take from the seashore is not eatable, therefore the Government destroys it.

2. Mr. Gandhi says that Government has destroyed hand-spinning in this country, whereas everybody knows that this is not true, because throughout the country, there is not a village where hand-spinning of cotton is not going on. Moreover in every province cotton spinners are shown superior methods and are provided with better instruments at less price and are thus helped by Government.

3. Out of every five rupees of the debt that the Government has incurred rupees four have been beneficially spent.

I have taken these three sets of statements from three different leaflets. I venture to suggest that every one of these statements is demonstrably false. The daily consumption of salt by an adult is three times the amount stated and therefore the poll tax that the salt tax undoubtedly is at least 9 annas per head per year. And this tax is levied from man, woman, child and domestic cattle irrespective of age and health.

It is a wicked falsehood to say that every village has a spinning-wheel, and that the spinning movement is in any shape or form encouraged or supported by the Government. Financiers can better dispose of the falsehood that four out of every five rupees of the public debt is used for the benefit of the public. But those falsehoods are mere samples of what people know is going on in everyday contact with the Government. Only the other day a Gujarati poet, a brave man, was convicted on perjured official evidence in spite of his emphatic statement that at the time mentioned he was sleeping soundly in another place.

Now for instances of official inactivities. Liquor dealers have assaulted pickets admitted by officials to have been peaceful and sold

liquor in contravention of regulations. The officials have taken no notice either of the assaults or the illegal sales of liquor. As to the assaults, though they are known to everybody, they may take shelter under the plea that they have received no complaints.

And now you have sprung upon the country a Press Ordinance surpassing any hitherto known in India. You have found a short cut through the law's delay in the matter of the trial of Bhagat Singh and others by doing away with the ordinary procedure. Is it any wonder if I call all these official activities and inactivities a veiled form of Martial Law? Yet this is only the fifth week of the struggle!

Before, then, the reign of terrorism that has just begun overwhelms India, I feel that I must take a bolder step, and if possible divert your wrath in a cleaner if more drastic channel. You may not know the things that I have described. You may not even now believe in them. I can but invite your serious attention to them.

Anyway I feel that it would be cowardly on my part not to invite you to disclose to the full the leonine paws of authority so that the people who are suffering tortures and destruction of their property may not feel that I, who had perhaps been the chief party inspiring them to action that has brought to light the Government in its true colours, had left any stone unturned to work out the satyagraha programme as fully as it was possible under given circumstances.

For, according to the science of satyagraha, the greater the repression and lawlessness on the part of authority, the greater should be the suffering courted by the victims. Success is the certain result of suffering of the extremest character, voluntarily undergone.

I know the dangers attendant upon the methods adopted by me. But the country is not likely to mistake my meaning. I say what I mean and think. And I have been saying for the last fifteen years in India and outside for twenty years more and repeat now that the only way to conquer violence is through non-violence pure and undefiled. I have said also that every violent act, word and even thought interferes with the progress of non-violent action. If in spite of such repeated warnings people will resort to violence, I must disown responsibility save such as inevitably attaches to every human being for the acts of every other human being. But the question of responsibility apart, I dare not postpone action on any cause whatsoever, if non-violence is the force the seers of the world have claimed it to be and if I am not to belie my own extensive experience of its working.

But I would fain avoid the further step. I would therefore ask you to remove the tax which many of your illustrious countrymen have condemned in unmeasured terms and which, as you could not

have failed to observe, has evoked universal protest and resentment expressed in civil disobedience. You may condemn civil disobedience as much as you like. Will you prefer violent revolt to civil disobedience? If you say, as you have said, that the civil disobedience must end in violence, history will pronounce the verdict that the British Government, not bearing because not understanding non-violence, goaded human nature to violence which it could understand and deal with. But in spite of the goading I shall hope that God will give the people of India wisdom and strength to withstand every temptation and provocation to violence.

If, therefore, you cannot see your way to remove the salt tax, and remove the prohibition on private salt-making, I must reluctantly commence the march adumbrated in the opening paragraph of my letter.

I am,
Your sincere friend,
M. K. GANDHI

Young India, 8-5-1930

265. LETTER TO DR. SYED MAHMUD

P. O. JALALPUR,
May 4, 1930

DEAR DR. MAHMUD,

I was delighted to receive your frank letter. I would have been disappointed if you had concealed your opinion.

I do not plead guilty. I was not indifferent. I was most considerate to every Mussalman who came to me. I spent hours with several who had come to see me. This is no matter to parade about. I simply acted according to my wont. There was nothing special about it. But with you I stood on no ceremony. I felt that it was no business of mine to pay attention to you. I expected you to tackle me on any and every point that called for criticism or alteration. You may not know that to those who know me and whom I know and work with I am most inattentive. In no other way can I possibly go through the work before me. I wonder if I have made my point clear and given you satisfaction. If not, please tackle me again.

I have not yet got your appeal which you said you were sen-

ding. But I have seen a reference to it. Nevertheless I am concocting some formula and if I succeed I shall publish it in *Y. I.*

I expect to see you at W.C.¹ meeting if I am still free.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

[PS.]

This was written at three places: at the camp, in the train and finally at Surat.

From a photostat: G.N. 5082

266. LETTER TO PADMAVATI

May 4, 1930

CHI. PADMAVATI,

I was very glad to read your letter. I do remember our conversation. Keep the pledge which you have taken. Give yourself wholly to the work there. Go outside and work fearlessly. If you do so other women will also come out. Forget the difference between Gujaratis, Madrasis, etc. Like Draupadi, have trust in God and give up all fear.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4587

¹ The Working Committee of the Congress; *vide* "Telegram to Motilal Nehru", 4-5-1930.

267. LETTER TO SURAJBHAN AGRAWAL

KARADI,
May 4, 1930

BHAI SURAJBHAN,

I have your letter. You all have my blessings of course. Keep writing to me. Where is Yashoda Devi? What work are the ladies doing? No doubt there are difficulties. But endeavour and God's grace will overcome them.¹

It does not surprise me that Lala Dunichand's wife is engaged in work.

Blessings from
BAPU

SJT SURAJBHAN AGRAWAL
SATYAGRAHA CAMP
ROHTAK (PUNJAB)

From a photostat of the Hindi: Sumangal Prakash Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

268. INTERVIEW TO J. B. KRIPALANI²

May 4, 1930

Mahatmaji had anticipated the situation which had arisen today. He had fully expected that his lieutenants would be taken from him and he was glad to observe that the younger folks had kept up their spirits and were yearning for more work. He was, however, most anxious that this energy should be harnessed to the utmost in constructive work. If the Government did not arrest the volunteers, Mahatmaji felt they should engage themselves in constructive work, such as producing more yarn and carrying on intensive propaganda to popularize the charkha and the *takli*. He also wanted them to learn to live the camp life, and to live like soldiers. The soldiers did their own cleaning and polishing and engaged in mock fights and other healthy sports and the volunteers also should do so. Volunteers should not lose sight of drilling. Discipline, Mahatmaji felt, would be half the battle won.

¹ On hearing of the arrest of Lala Shamlal of Rohtak, the addressee with Gandhiji's permission, had gone to Punjab in April; *vide* also. "Letter to Lala Dunichand", 6-4-1930.

² Based on a report of the interview. J. B. Kripalani had met Gandhiji a few hours before the latter's arrest.

Mahatmaji felt that it was the Government game not to arrest the rank and file of law-breakers but to tire them out. He wanted the volunteers not to play into the Government's hands by losing their patience. He wanted them to carry on the work in every branch of national regeneration, namely, production of khaddar and more khaddar to replace foreign cloth. He also wanted the volunteers to engage themselves in an intensive prohibition programme by propaganda, picketing and felling of date trees. It was not necessary that women alone should do all this, especially in the United Provinces and Bihar, where there are very few women. In provinces like Bihar and U.P., Mahatmaji wanted that women should be helped by men. He felt that the initiative in these provinces should be taken by men.

. . . Mahatmaji also felt that the people could select other laws also to break wherever they could conveniently do so without prejudice to the salt laws. Mahatmaji also felt that this should be the case particularly in the provinces in which salt could not be produced on an economic basis, or where there were no facilities to manufacture salt. Mahatmaji had in view in this connection, the Chaukidari Tax in Bihar and the Forest Laws in the Central Provinces.

Mahatmaji also felt . . . that Dharasana would supply many volunteers with work, as volunteers from other parts of the country might be required if the Government were to effect the arrest of the "raiders". Mahatmaji saw the possibility of another Gurukabag at Dharasana. He also felt that the stage had come when those who could do constructive work need not court jail. If the present enthusiasm were to be utilized for the lasting good of the country, it must be directed into constructive channels even as the electric current generated by a dynamo.

Regarding picketing, Acharya Kripalani said that he had narrated to Mahatmaji his experiences of picketing of shops, which contained both foreign and swadeshi cloth. He explained how some merchants dumped on the market mill-cloth as khaddar. In reply, Mahatmaji said that he had expected that picketing would not be quite effective but it was necessary to create an atmosphere for swadeshi, which could succeed only by the production of khaddar on a mass scale. Will agents, he said, could help if they co-operated with the political workers, and themselves helped in the production of khaddar by refraining from producing cloth below a particular count, which could be left to hand-spinning.

In this connection, Mahatmaji said he had many talks with Seth Ambalal Sarabhai and Mr. Birla. Mr. Birla had understood his point of view, and had decided to open a khadi organization near his village in Marwar under his own supervision. Seth Ambalal Sarabhai also had very nearly understood his point; but it looked as if other mill-owners only wanted to use him (Gandhiji) as their advertising agent. Mahatmaji was apprehensive that unless there was extensive spinning taken on hand at once the swadeshi movement would fail in the absence of production and it would be possible for merchants to cheat the public. When once the public discerned that they were paying higher prices for doubtful stuff, their confidence in the national workers would be so shaken that they would cease to listen to them and even would fight them.

Therefore, the only possible way for the mill-owners to fight Lancashire and Japan was to co-operate with the nationalist workers by refusing to spin yarn below a particular count and, what was also equally important, by controlling the prices.

The Hindu, 14-5-1930

269. SPEECH AT SURAT

May 4, 1930

It is not by means of the power of intellect that people are able to observe vows they take.¹ There must be a thorough change of heart and faith in God, which alone could give them the necessary strength. I have been defeated in prohibition campaign as a man and therefore I have asked women to help the movement. If anybody could melt the heart of drunkards it is woman. I have often asked Ministers in charge of Excise Department to put a stop to drink traffic. They have replied that I must find out for them new sources of revenue. I have told them to stop giving education to boys but they would not adopt the suggestion. If in swaraj we have liquor traffic, our President will have to face a similar problem afterwards. We are also not as adventurous as Americans, who are successfully making America dry. We have become emasculated and therefore I appeal to you to tackle this question first.

The present time is the most opportune and auspicious. I appeal to you with all earnestness to observe the vows you have taken. Do not deceive me; if you are unable to give up drinking, say so openly; I will congratulate you even then. My own son confesses honestly that he is not able to give up the drinking habit, and I congratulate him on his truthfulness. Even so you must be truthful so that I may not miscalculate. God alone will help him, my son, and you, who are unable to give up drink. If you deceive me, you deceive your community and the whole country.

Referring to the insult offered to some women picketers at some places Gandhiji said that if they had not considered women as low creatures working for men and as objects of their lust then nobody could have dared to raise a finger against them.

But even if they will stone them, they will continue picketing. "Pussyfoot" lost his eye in anti-drink propoganda to make America dry, but did not give up his campaign. India will have to answer for every insult offered to women. This is my last throw; and I am out to lose my all. But all this I do for the liberation of India. If one district

¹ Panchayats of Surat city had passed resolutions asking members of their respective communities not to drink liquor.

is ready, we will surely have swaraj. You must purify yourself, you must be industrious; there is no other way for achieving swaraj.

The Bombay Chronicle, 6-5-1930

270. THE PROBLEM OF MINORITIES

[Before May 5, 1930]¹

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru sent the following note² to Mahadev Desai on March 16th. Mahadev Desai being too busy was unable to attend to it. It has now been forwarded to me, and I have no hesitation in presenting to the public the President's views on the vexed question of minorities. It derives added significance from the fact of his incarceration.

Young India, 15-5-1930

271. NOTE ON J. B. PENNINGTON'S LETTER³

[Before May 5, 1930]

Mr. Pennington's argument cannot appeal to one like me who has experience. A mountain of argument is dissolved before one touch of experience. Great as is my regard for the late Sir T. Madhav Rao, I must be pardoned for not endorsing his encomium of British rule. I shared the deceased statesman's views myself at one time. But bitter experience corrected them. Every one of the arguments advanced by Mr. Pennington has been answered in these pages.

Young India, 8-5-1930

¹ This was evidently written before Gandhiji's arrest on May 5.

² *Vide* Appendix III.

³ The letter is not reproduced here.

272. LETTER TO SATYAGRAHA COMMITTEE, BOMBAY

[Before May 5, 1930]

Friends from Bombay have been to me asking me to lead a raiding party from there instead of from Karadi, assuming of course that a raid is to be decided upon. I should be proud and consider it a privilege to lead it provided that certain preliminary conditions are fulfilled. I observe that there is a great deal of misunderstanding about this contemplated raid. It has arisen because of the use of the word "raid". Now all my speeches in Gujarat are invariably delivered in Gujarati. The word "raid" therefore is not the one I had used. I admit, however, that it is a legitimate translation of the original. But my audience knew the original word "dhad" used to alliterate with "dhar" in "Dharasana", was used playfully. Fortunately or unfortunately even for a non-violent war military expressions have got to be used. But even as nobody is deceived by the use of such military expressions, no one need be perturbed over the use of the word "raid" when it is to be civil, non-violent or satyagrahi. The use of that potent adjective alters the whole colour of the transaction. But however innocent the raid, if it ever comes into being, may be, it will be fraught with consequences perhaps far more serious than those flowing from a violent raid. Those, therefore, who would join the contemplated raid have to satisfy some test, and since the battle is meant not merely for the removal of the salt tax but for establishing Purna Swaraj, the conditions have to be in keeping with the objective. They are three: 1. Observance of complete discipline. 2. Complete abstention from drink under a permanent pledge. 3. Wearing of hand-spun khaddar also under a permanent pledge and actual spinning on the *takli* for one hour per day except when spinning is made impossible through want of time or capacity. If Bombay produces a hundred thousand such men I should lead them without the slightest hesitation. I know that the citizens of Bombay will not laugh at my conditions nor will they consider them impossible of fulfilment. The only difficulty they might feel will be about the *takli*. Surely if a hundred thousand men in Bombay have the will *takli* spinning is child's play. Sustained work from day to day may be a task for easy-going citizens of Bombay but Freedom's battle has never been won by easy going people. No one need be irritated against me for maintaining these conditions because they are not in

any sense obligatory; they are meant to be a consideration in a voluntary contract. It is open to the citizens of Bombay to reject my terms and do as they please. Rejection then of terms will not make them less Congressmen than they are today.

The Bombay Chronicle, 5-5-1930

273. ARREST AT MIDNIGHT

KARADI,
May 5, 1930

The Magistrate proceeded to Gandhiji's hut and woke him up.¹ "I have a warrant for your arrest, Mr. Gandhi," said the Magistrate. Gandhiji asked politely:

I am not surprised, but will you read out the warrant to me?

The Magistrate complied with this request and read the following which was signed by Sir Frederick Sykes, Governor of Bombay.

"Whereas the Government view with alarm the activities of Mr. M. K. Gandhi, they direct that he should be placed under restraint under Regulation 25 of 1827 and suffer imprisonment during the pleasure of the Government and be immediately removed to the Yeravda Central Jail."

Gandhiji was smiling when the warrant was being read. He said:

I am prepared to accompany you, but will you allow me to have a wash and clean my teeth?

"With pleasure," said the Magistrate.

In the meantime, the whole Ashram was up, and everyone was anxious to have a parting 'darshan' of Gandhiji. Having finished his wash, Gandhiji came out of the cottage to say his prayers. The whole Ashram knelt down to recite the prayers while the police officers watched. Gandhiji himself led the chorus. He then collected his papers and gave them in charge of a volunteer whom he had chosen as Captain during his incarceration.

The Bombay Chronicle, 6-5-1930

¹ The District Magistrate accompanied by the Superintendent of Police and a party of 20 armed constables arrived at Gandhiji's camp at 12.45 a.m., when Gandhiji was asleep.

274. INTERVIEW TO "THE DAILY TELEGRAPH"

BORIVLI,
May 5, 1930

Gandhi seemed surprised when he saw my companion and myself, for both of us were known to him. He greeted us in the most friendly manner.

"Have you a farewell message you would like to give, Mr. Gandhi?" I asked. He replied:

Shall I give it now or shall I wait?

"You had better give it now," I replied.

He paused, seeming to be at a loss for words and somewhat dazed by events. Then he answered:

Tell the people of America to study the issues closely and to judge them on their merits.

"Have you any bitterness or ill will towards anyone?" I asked.

None whatsoever; I had long expected to be arrested.

Do you think your arrest will lead to great disturbances throughout India?

No, I do not; in any case I can honestly say that I have taken every possible precaution to avert disturbances.

Then you anticipate no troubles?

The Mahatma hesitated for a moment and then replied:

I hope not; I have done my best to prevent them.

At this point the law intervened. Inspector Gordon stepped forward, saying; "Now, Mr. Gandhi, if you are ready, please." Only one person accompanied Gandhi from the train, a doctor of the Indian Medical Service, who remained silent in the background. He now took his seat alongside the prophet, with Inspector Gordon sitting by the chauffeur. . . .¹

The Hindu, 27-5-1930

¹ Gandhiji was escorted in a train to Borivli, a suburban station of Bombay, and from there taken by car to Yeravda. *Vide* "Extracts from *The Daily Telegraph* report", 27-5-1930.

275. LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL ROHTAGI

May 6, 1930

DEAR DR. JAWAHARLAL,

Sjt. Ramratan Gupta has been to see me regarding foreign- cloth picketing. I have given it as my opinion that picketing once begun cannot be easily suspended. But I do feel that it should be done methodically and by women even if they are few. It is suggested there will be no picketing in Delhi and none in Calcutta. I do not know what is happening at the two places.¹ But I feel sure that Cawnpore alone should not be singled out for picketing. But of course what I am saying is to be taken for what it is worth. Not knowing all the facts, I am unable to say anything about the parti-cular Cawnpore case. I can therefore suggest a general formula which I have done.²

Yours,

M. K. GANDHI

From a facsimile: *Dr. Jawaharlal Rohtagi Abhinandan Granth*, between pp. 176-7

¹ *Vide* also "Notes", 1-5-1930.

² *Ibid.*

276. LETTER TO E. E. DOYLE¹

YERAVDA,
May 10, 1930

DEAR MAJOR DOYLE,

Having thought over our conversation, I have come to the conclusion that I must avoid, as much as possible, the special privileges offered to me by the Government!

Books and newspapers I do not want through the Government. Of newspapers, I would send for these if permitted:

The Bombay Chronicle,

The Times of India,

Indian Social Reformer,

Modern Review,

Young India and *Navajivan* (Hindi and Gujarati).

If these are allowed, I take it that they will not be mutilated.

The Government have suggested Rs. 100 as monthly allowance. I hope I shall need nothing near it. I know that my food is a costly affair. It grieves me, but it has become a physical necessity with me.

Neither you nor the Government will, I hope, consider me ungrateful for not accepting all the facilities offered to me. It is an obsession (if it is to be so called) with me that we are all living at the expense of the toiling semi-starved millions. I know too that the saving caused by my economy can but be an infinitesimal drop in the limitless ocean of waste I see going on round me, whether in prison or outside of it—much more out of it. I admit nevertheless it is given to man only to do very little. He dare not omit to do that little.

Again, I hold radical views about prison treatment.

I have never taken kindly to the classification recently made. I hold that a murderer is just as much entitled to have his needs supplied as any other prisoner. What is therefore needed is not a mechanical makeshift, but a human adjustment.

¹The text of this was communicated by Doyle to the Home Department on May

One thing I must mention. I do feel the necessity of contact with the satyagrahi prisoners who are in this jail. It is wholly unnecessary, it is cruel, to isolate me from them.

Yours truly,
M. K. GANDHI

Bombay Secret Abstracts, 750(5)-A; also S.N. 19971

277. *LETTER TO MIRABEHN*¹

YERAVDA,
May 12, 1930

CHI. MIRA,

Yours is the first letter I take up to write from the jail and that on the silence day.

I have been quite happy and have been making up for arrears of rest. The nights here are cool and as I am permitted to sleep right under the sky, I have refreshing sleep. About the change made in the manner of taking the diet, you will learn from my general letter.

It was a great treat to receive the wheel so thoughtfully sent and with things so carefully packed in it. The carding-bow, the Superintendent tells me, was lost on the way by the friends who brought it. I am in no hurry for it as you have sent me a liberal quantity of slivers.

I do not know who sent me the books. They are not what I wanted. They were to be sent back to the library. The list of books that were to be sent to me when I was arrested was given by me to Kusum. But I suppose she left the Ashram without giving instructions to anybody as to what was to be sent or, if she did, she gave wrong instructions. However this mistake does not matter much as I do not miss the books just now. I am giving as much time as I can to the *takli*. I find that I have no speed on it at all. I hardly get thirty rounds in one hour. For the first day I gave nearly seven hours to nearly reach 160 rounds. I was washed out at the end of the performances. I must learn the trick of getting more speed. I am therefore in no hurry to go to the books.

¹This was actually posted on May 16; *vide* "Letter to Miraben", 18-5-1930.

I hope you had good news from mother about her health and otherwise.

The prison officials are all kind and attentive.

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

I believe it will be possible for me to receive the Ashram post. You may therefore send a weekly letter together with the Ashram post.

From the original: C.W. 5395. Courtesy: Mirabehn; also G.N. 9629

278. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

[May 12, 1930]¹

CHI. NARANDAS,

Show this letter to all, so that I need not write about the same things to everyone.

Most probably I shall be able to write to you and you will be able to send a reply once a week.

I keep excellent health. I get up in the morning and go through the routine according to the Ashram rules. There is a light in the room so that, according to my rule, I can read chapters from the *Gita*. I have been resting after many days of fatigue and, therefore, must be sleeping for probably two or three hours during the day. Generally I sleep at eight in the morning and twelve at noon. I have resumed eating oranges, which I had given up during the march. On the first day I took cold milk, and I have continued it for the time being. I take about three seers. Probably I shall have to reduce the quantity a little. Or I may have some of it made into curds. In the morning, too, I drink cold water instead of hot water. This I do only as an experiment. The authorities have of course supplied the facilities for heating water, etc. If, however, I can preserve my health with cold water, why should I go to the trouble of heating it? I have given up honey. Even for bathing I have been using cold water, but I intend to change over to hot water from tomorrow. The goat is brought before me and milked in my presence, so that the milk is as clean as I would like it to be. If cold milk does not suit me, I will certainly heat it. They have given me

¹From *Bapuna Patro* — 9: *Shri Narandas Gandhine*, Part I

one person to clean the utensils and do other work. The diet includes dates and raisins too. No one need worry in the least about my food. Write to Jamnabehn and tell her that no one need take the trouble to send me any fruit. I shall get from here everything I may require. Tell Anasuyabehn that she need not pay any money here, as she used to do on the previous occasion. It is not at all necessary to do so. We have no time, ought to have none, to take unnecessary care of anyone. We have no money, ought to have none, to throw away.

The air here is considered to be good. I sleep in the open as I used to do there.

If you have still not received the money from Gordhanbhai Patel, remind him to send it.

I do spinning regularly. I make a skein of what I spin each day and get someone to spray water over it. Send me *Vanatshastra* and *Takli-shikshak* along with other books. I never ascertained my speed with the *takli* when I was outside. I tried to ascertain it here and found that I hardly spin 30 rounds in one hour. I ought to be ashamed of this speed. It means that I went on spinning but did not learn the secret of doing it well. I can now master it only by experimenting. I, therefore, give plenty of time to the work. I practise on a bamboo *takli*. It is necessary for everyone of us to acquire complete control over the *takli*. It is easy to do so if there is someone to teach us. I saw children in Karadi who could draw out thread with playful ease. All that is necessary is that they should feel interest in the work. In Wardha there are persons who have reached the speed of 80 rounds in half an hour. Kanti Parekh told me that he spun that many. The people there who have learnt to spin on the *takli* should ascertain their speed; let me know what it is in each case.

How is Purushottam? How is Kanu?

Give me news about Khushalbai. I had written to him.

Is Mathew at peace?

Blessings from

BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 8110. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

279. LETTER TO PREMABEHN KANTAK

YERAVDA,
Silence Day, May 12, 1930

CHI. PREMA,

You had stopped writing to me. But I knew that you did not write because you wished to save my time and also because you yourself had no time. Nevertheless, I regularly enquired after you and got news of you. I like your self-restraint very much. I had not expected it from you. You should now write to me every week without fail.

You will get news about me from my letter to Narandas.

To whom did Kusum hand over my things when she left the Ashram? Did she entrust to you the books which were to be sent to me in prison if I was arrested? Among them were the *Ramayana*, the Koran, etc. Inquire about the matter and if you find the books easily, send them to me. I am in no hurry to get them.

Write to me and tell me who remain in the Ashram and what work they are doing. What is your own special work?

No one should worry about me.

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

Who is in charge of the library?

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 6669. Courtesy: Premabehn Kantak

280. LETTER TO GANGABEHN VAIDYA

YERAVDA,

Silence Day, May 12, 1930

CHI. GANGABEHN,

I hope you do not worry. I often think about you. Write to me. Did Nath pay a visit there? For how many persons do you have to cook now? I am not writing today to the other women.

You will get news about me from my letter to Narandas. Inquire from Narahari and let me know how Kamalnayan, who lives in the Vidyapith, is faring.

Who has been specially asked to look after Hari and Vimala? How is Lakshmi? The manner in which we look after Hari and Vimala will be a test of our love.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3083

281. LETTER TO ASHRAM CHILDREN

YERAVDA PALACE,
*Silence Day [May 12, 1930]*¹

BIRDS,

Birds are real birds when they can fly without wings. With wings any creature can fly. If you, who have no wings, can fly, you will feel no fear at all. I will teach you how to fly in this manner. See, I have no wings and still I fly every day and come to you, for in my mind I am in your midst. There is Vimla, and here are Hari, Manu and Dharmakumar. You also can fly with your minds and feel that you are with me. A child who can think does not require much help from a teacher. A teacher may guide us, but cannot give us thoughts. Thoughts arise in our own minds. A child that behaves well will always have good thoughts. Who, amongst you, does not pray properly with Prabhuhai?² Write a letter to me, signed by all of you. Any child who cannot sign may draw a swastika.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati *Ashram Samachar*, 18-5-1930: S.N. 16834-a

¹The Monday before May 18, 1930, the date of the source

² The name is omitted in the source. This is taken from *Young India*, 22-5-1930, where Mirabehn has translated this letter.

282. LETTER TO BALBHADRA¹

[On or after *May 12, 1930*]²

CHI. BUDDHICHAKRA,

It seems the name Buddhichakra has clung to you. It is not a bad name. One whose *buddhi*³ is like a *chakra*⁴ may also be a person of perfect character, for a circle is a perfect thing. It has no beginning and no end as a straight line has. Moreover, he who lives with his mind turned inward should be regarded as a person whose intellect is like a circle. That is the true intellect which turns our mind inward.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati *Ashram Samachar*, 18-5-1930: S.N. 16834-a

283. LETTER TO KASTURBA GANDHI⁵

[On or after *May 12, 1930*]

Take this letter as meant for all. How good it was that I met you all on Sunday evening and accompanied you back as far as your camp? I was very happy that I did so. God is showering His grace on me. Let all the women write to me. All the letters should be put in one envelope. Most likely I shall get those letters. If I don't get them, it will not matter. Do not feel nervous, any of you. All the verses in the section of women's prayer were purposely selected. The very first verse teaches us a great deal. The last three verses of the *Gita* which have been included sum up the whole prayer. They are like the *kalasha* on the top of a temple which adds lustre to the temple and completes its beauty. I hope the verses in this prayer are recited every morning with careful attention to their meaning.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati *Ashram Samachar*, 18-5-1930: S.N. 16834-a

¹ *Vide* "Letter to Balbhadra", 11-9-1930.

² Gandhiji started writing letters from jail on May 12, 1930.

³ Intellect

⁴ Wheel

⁵ The source does not mention the addressee, but Mirabehn, writing *Young India*, 22-5-1930, says that this was addressed to Kasturba Gandhi.

284. *EXTRACTS FROM LETTERS TO ASHRAM INMATES*¹

[On or after *May 12, 1930*]

1

This letter is for all the girls. Do all of you live as you should? Do you work? Do you think Gangabehn would give you a certificate? Have you kept up the habit of rising early? If you have given it up, resume it.

Blessings from

BAPU

2

CHI.

I was often told that you were impatient to go outside the Ashram and work. You are now of an age when you can understand things. We should do with the fullest sense of responsibility any work which falls to our lot. What difference does it make whether you go outside to work or remain in the Ashram?

Blessings from

BAPU

3

CHI.

I hope you had calmed down soon afterwards. I had not thought that you were such a nervous type. But do not worry. Are Kasturbehn and you still together or have you separated? You should not feel it necessary to remain with her all the time. One should learn to be independent and take up responsibility on oneself.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati *Ashram Samachar*, 18-5-1930: S.N. 16834-a

¹ Addressees are not known.

285. *LETTER TO KUSUM DESAI*

YERAVDA MANDIR,
[On or after *May 12, 1930*]

CHI. KUSUM (SENIOR),

Does your being senior mean that you are counterfeit or genuine? You have left the Ashram but do not forsake the path of service. You can write to me. May God bless you.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1799

286. *LETTER TO RAMABEHN JOSHI*

YERAVDA MANDIR,
Silence Day [On or after *May 12, 1930*]¹

CHI. RAMA,

I used to be happy to see you. I had not thought that you would show such courage and fortitude. How is Mahalakshmi? How are the two Dahibehns?

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5321

¹The year is given in *Bapuna Patro—7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine*.

287. *EXTRACT FROM LETTER TO DEVDAS GANDHI*

YERAVDA MANDIR,

May 13, 1930

CHI.

Since I do not know where you are, I write to you at the Ashram address. There is God to worry for us all and we need not, therefore, worry on account of one another. You know about me, that ultimately I never come to harm. God always clears my path. Where else in the world would you find a sweeper like Him? If he did not always purify us of our mental uncleanness the world would have become unbearably filthy long ago. Outward filth is only a sign of the uncleanness in our minds. If the inner uncleanness remains, what does it help however completely we wash away the outward filth? I at any rate derive much strength from this thought. . . .²

Blessings from

BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati *Ashram Samachar*, 18-5-1930: S.N. 16834-a

¹ Mirabehn, in *Young India*, 22-5-1930, says that this was addressed to Devdas Gandhi.

² As in the source

288. LETTER TO VICEROY

YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON,
May 18, 1930¹

H. E. THE VICEROY OF INDIA

DEAR FRIEND,

The authorities having permitted the use of newspapers, I am able somewhat to follow the course of events in the country. I should fail in my duty if I did not express my opinion on your latest statement.²

You seem to ignore the simple fact that disobedience ceases to be such immediately masses of people resort to it. Do you not see that hundreds of men who have been known for their peaceful nature, who have an unbroken record of service to their credit³ and whose integrity is beyond suspicion are imprisoned? They are no law-breakers; they are no haters of the English. And what of the most peaceful demonstration of thousands of simple villagers who are by instinct the most law-abiding? To describe the movement of such men and women as lawlessness is, in my opinion, doing violence to the language. The very motive which is the essence of crime is lacking. It is the noblest of motives which⁴ takes away men like the hoary-headed Abbas Tyabji from their soft ease to court the hardships of a jail life.⁵

You protest your affection for India. I believe in your profession. But I deny the correctness of your diagnosis of India's disease. The best constitution that can be devised will fail to bring real contentment and peace unless the grievances on which public attention is concentrated are immediately removed. The salt tax cannot remain. The liquor revenue must go. The foreign cloth importation which has produced a partial paralysis of the village life must be stopped. Have you not noted the strength of popular feeling in these matters? Or are the hundreds of thousands of men and

¹ The letter was drafted on May 12, finalized on May 18 and handed to the Superintendent, Major Martin, the following day.

² On May 12, announcing that steps were being taken to hold the Round Table Conference in October, the Viceroy had declared: "Neither my Government nor His Majesty's Government will be deflected by these unhappy events from our firm determination to abide by the policy I was privileged to announce in November last."

³ The draft did not have the words: "to their credit".

⁴ The draft has "that".

⁵ Abbas Tyabji was arrested on May 12.

women who are taking part in the movement wicked-minded or misled or fools and the English officials the best judges of what is good for India?

If I am not mistaken, you will find the spirit of the people to be proof against repression, no matter how severe¹ it may be. You will not coerce millions of people into subjection for all time. India must not live for England. She must live for herself, so as to enable her to make her contribution to the world's progress. As a slave nation she is a mere burden on earth because it is a false life. No Round Table Conference can therefore be of any avail, unless you see things from our standpoint and, leaving coercion, rely simply on carrying conviction. Even those who you think are with you are with the Congressmen so far as wants are concerned.

I remain,

Your sincere friend,

M. K. GANDHI

Bombay Secret Abstracts, 750(34), pp. 41-2; also S.N. 19972

289. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

Unrevised

May 18, 1930

CHI. MIRA,

You must be in possession of my last silence day letter. It was posted only on Friday I fear. This should go earlier. It is now after 8 p.m. Sunday. I take silence at 3 p.m. on Sundays as a rule. Of my life here you will learn from my general letter. I have more than doubled the quantity of yarn spun. It is nearly 400 rounds on the wheel and 55 to 60 on the *takli*. It is all well moistened and properly packed. For the wheel yarn it is 5 strands of 75 C.A.² put together daily. The *takli* yarn is one strand of nearly 160 rounds. It will be interesting to know what strength I am spinning. The whole performance takes up 6 hours daily. I do not grudge the time. I am not doing much reading this time nor do I want to collect a lot of books as I did last time. I should like to perfect my spinning if I can. Presently I shall have to card. I observe I have still 10 days' supply of slivers. All this news is not given in the letter to N.

¹ The draft here has "however severe".

² The letter as published in *Bapu's Letter's to Mira* here has "rounds".

And how is Reynolds getting on? How is he taking the heat? My love to him. In your weekly letter you may give all the news that is not political.

I think I told you last time that I had started translating the verses and hymns in the hymn book. I am nearing the end of the morning verses.

I hope you are keeping perfect health. You will not overstrain yourself on any account.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 5396. Courtesy: Mirabehn; also G.N. 9630

290. LETTER TO PRABHUDAS GANDHI

May 18, 1930

CHI. PRABHUDAS,

Hope you are keeping well. What have you ultimately decided about Vijapur? Write to me in detail. Do the children now pay attention to the prayers? Has the heat affected you adversely?

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original: S.N. 32947

291. LETTER TO GANGABEHN VAIDYA

*Silence Day [May 19, 1930]*¹

CHI. GANGABEHN,

I remember every day all the women and the children, but I do not worry about anything. Here, too, I keep myself busy and do not remain unoccupied even for a minute. That way alone can I have peace of mind. I can see God only through work. The Lord says that He is ever working without taking a moment's rest. How else, then, can we know Him except through work?

If you do not read the translation of the *Gita* and if you have time, read it. If, however, you have no time, you need not read it. Devotion to duty is the living *Gita*; the other one is merely a book.

I have written to as many persons as I could. But I do think of even those men and women to whom I have not written. How can I possibly write to all? I write to those who I feel specially need some words of comfort from me.

How is your son-in-law?

Does Nath visit the Ashram? When you write to him, tell him that I often remember him. He ought to visit the Ashram occasionally.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 8749. Courtesy: Gangabehn Vaidya

¹From *Bapuna Patro* — 6: G. S. Gangabehnne

292. *LETTER TO MANIBEHN PATEL*

May 19, 1930

CHI. MANI,

God will be your shepherd. I remember you daily. I hope you are no longer depressed.

Blessings from

BAPU

CHI. MANIBEHN PATEL

NADIAD

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro — 4: Manibehn Patelne, p. 71

293. *LETTER TO NARAHARI PARIKH*

May 20, 1930

CHI. NARAHARI,

I do not know if your tongue dances, but I see that your pen has been dancing. How many benefits flow from my living in the jail palace?

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9053

294. *LETTER TO PREMLILA THACKERSEY*

YERAVDA JAIL,
May 20, 1930

DEAR SISTER,

I can do a little sewing on the machine. While I have time here, I wish to learn it well. The authorities have permitted me to secure a machine. Since you are helping some women to earn their livelihood, I believe that you will certainly have some machines, and hence I trouble you with this request. If you have them and if you can spare one, kindly send it. If you don't have any, please let me know. I shall get your letter.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

LADY PREMLILA VITHALDAS THACKERSEY
POONA

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 4813. Courtesy: Premlila Thackersey; also G.N. 71

295. *LETTER TO PRABHAVATI*

May 20, 1930

CHI. PRABHAVATI,

What shall I say to comfort you? God will assuredly protect you. You can write to me. I should indeed like you to do so. Tell Kamalabehn¹ to take care of her health. Convey my respectful greetings to Swarup Rani². My blessings to Sarup³, Krishna⁴. If Jayaprakash is outside convey my blessings to him. Write to me at the Ashram address. I keep fine health. I eat the same food here that I did outside.

Do not worry about me.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3388

¹ Wife of Jawaharlal Nehru

² Wife of Motilal Nehru

³ Vijayalakshmi Pandit

⁴ Krishna Hutheesingh

296. INTERVIEW TO “DAILY HERALD”¹

May 20, 1930

Our conversation began with a general exchange of ideas on British and Indian politics. I then asked him to explain frankly what he meant by Independence. Did he demand Independence as ultimately implied in Dominion Status? Or did he insist on separation from the British Commonwealth?

I have always heard that in England Dominion Status is understood to mean Independence, but by the Indian authorities it is not so understood. Therefore when Independence is resisted by them in contradistinction to Dominion Status we naturally asked for Independence.

When I asked him if he thought that Canada and South Africa were not in all essential respects independent, he acknowledged they were. He added significantly:

But we are not offered a status like theirs.

I asked him if he had calculated all the perils involved in his campaign of civil disobedience. He replied that he had:

I have taken what has been called a mad risk. But it is a justifiable risk. No great end has been achieved without incurring danger.

Nevertheless he was gravely alarmed at the violence said to have been committed at Sholapur. He grieved at the death of two policemen killed there, but he was convinced the violence had not come from the civil resisters. They had, he said, been ordered to suffer everything, even violence, without offering resistance.

I asked if he thought that in a struggle between law-breakers and the authorities Government could acknowledge defeat, and Gandhi smiled. He said:

I am an optimist. In forty years of struggle I have frequently been told I was attempting the impossible, but invariably I proved the contrary.

Nevertheless he did not refuse to negotiate.

My life has been nothing but a record of settlements. If the Government is in earnest in its desire to satisfy India it should grant the eleven points demanded in my last letter to the Viceroy.

¹The interviewer was George Slocombe.

I can only judge the tree by its fruits. Until we get satisfaction we shall fight on until the end, and give our lives if need be in the cause of Indian freedom. We shall fill all the jails in India with our passive resisters and our breakers of the salt laws, and we shall make all administration impossible by our opposition.

Mr. Gandhi admitted, however, that even in the remote event of victory negotiation would still be necessary, and he was prepared to do anything to avoid bloodshed and suffering if the essential cause of Indian nationalism did not lose thereby.

From our subsequent conversation I gathered that even at this critical hour a settlement is possible and that Mr. Gandhi is prepared to recommend to Congress the suspension of the Civil Disobedience Movement and co-operation in the Round Table Conference on the following terms:

(1) The terms of reference of the Round Table Conference to include the framing of a Constitution giving India "the substance of independence".

(2) Satisfaction to be granted to Mr. Gandhi's demands for the repeal of the salt tax, the prohibition of liquor, and a ban on foreign cloth.

(3) An amnesty for prisoners convicted of political offences to coincide with the end of the Civil Disobedience campaign.

(4) The remaining seven points raised in Mr. Gandhi's letter to the Viceroy to be left for future discussion.

The Bombay Chronicle, 23-5-1930

297. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

YERAVDA MANDIR,
May 18/21, 1930

CHI. NARANDAS,

The letter I wrote to you last Monday seems to have been posted as late as Friday. That is what a jail is, after all.

See that my letters are not published.

Write to Thakkar Bapa and inquire whether the work on wells for *Antyajas* is proceeding. If he is short of funds, give him some money from what is lying with us, that is, from the money which we have handed over to Jamnalalji.

My hours are divided as follows:

Brushing the teeth, lavatory, bath	2	hours
Prayers, twice	1	hour
Nap during day-time	1_	hours
Meals and preparation for them	3	hours
Repairing the spinning-wheel, blowing and spraying the yarn, etc.	3_	hours
Spinning on the <i>takli</i>	2_	hours
Walking in the yard	1_	hours
Reading, meeting the Jailer	2	hours
From 4 a.m. to 9 p.m.	<u>17</u>	hours

I discovered from experience that oranges were not necessary. I have, therefore, given them up for the present. This means that my diet consists of dates, raisins, milk and curds, and sour lime and soda bicarb. If I find it necessary to do so, I will include oranges. I found today that by adding a fairly good quantity of curd to unboiled milk, we get well-formed curd. Yesterday I had mixed curd in unboiled milk. I still take unboiled milk. I keep good health. I was weighed again and I found that I had lost no weight.

I am at present reading Edwin Arnold's *The Light of Asia*. I do get a newspaper. It is the *Times*¹. I shall now be supplied the *Chronicle*

¹*The Times of India*

too. I have been permitted to get *Young India*, *Navajivan*, *The Modern Review* and *Indian Social Reformer*. If I want, I can get some others too.

I think I wrote to you that I had started bathing in hot water.

You need not worry about me at all. This time going to jail is enjoying oneself.

I was very glad to read Kumarappa's name in *Young India*. He is certainly a worthy man.

You can write a letter giving general information and send with it as many others of the same type as you like.

I cannot give any political message. You can give information about everyone.

Does Rukhi write to you? How is she? Do you hear from Umiya? Tell Kusum junior that she has not replied to my special letter. She is a cunning girl. Navin and Dhiru must be doing fine. Boys, girls, all of them can write to me.

How is Dr. Kanuga, the person for whom vegetables are sent from the Ashram?

You must have made arrangements for Amina's confinement. Where is Imam Saheb? How is he?

Who were the four boys who were let off as being too young? Where are they? Which are the places the women have spread themselves over?

How is the work going on in the dairy, the tannery and on the farm? How many looms are working?

The well near the office was to be cleaned. If it has not been cleaned and if it can be, get it cleaned. Is Keshu contented? How is his health?

Tell Radha to write to me. I do not write separately to her. I feel like writing to many others, but how can I do that ?¹

Blessings from

BAPU

¹ This was written on May 18 and 19. The postscripts were written on May 21.

[PS.]

I do not regard the experiment of making curds from unboiled milk to have succeeded completely. On the first day, I thought it was all right. I do not know whether the quantity of curd mixed in the milk was not correct, but the next sample was not well formed. The experiment is continuing.

BAPU

[PPS.]

Prabhavati's address: A.I.C.C. Office, Allahabad.

From Gujarati: C.W. 8111. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

298. LETTER TO REGINALD REYNOLDS

May 22, 1930

MY DEAR REYNOLDS,

I have your love-letter as also news about you from Mira. By all means go. If you feel like coming and seeing me before you leave, do come. There will be no difficulty about your seeing me.

God be with you wherever you may be.

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

I wanted to write to your fiancée but it was not to be. But if you send me her address, I would still write. Tell her I received her letter the day of my arrest.

From a photostat: C.W. 4536. Courtesy: Swarthmore College, Philadelphia

299. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

YERAVDA PLEASURE HOUSE,

May 25, 1930

CHI. MIRA,

Again I commence this on Sunday after the silence and after the evening prayer.

When you came time seemed to be running against us. I therefore simply allowed you all to talk instead of myself talking and asking a lot of questions. You were not at all looking well. You seemed to have been pulled down. That won't do. You must take proper exercise and proper food. You must take all the fruit you may need and keep yourself fit.

I realize now as never before how careless I was not to have mastered the details about arranging the large bow. As I have some mechanical ability, I have suspended it and have already begun working at it since Thursday last and have a fair stock of *punis*¹ but there is something wrong about it. The long cord hangs from the roof. There are two strings hanging from the bamboo. I have joined the two and I pass the thin cord over the joined strings thus:

The bamboo work does not stand steady but is inclined to turn round and round. Of course, the wall prevents it. But I fancy that it should not turn at all even if there was no wall preventing it. If you have understood what I have described and if there is any flaw, you will tell me.

Your *takli* is well made but it [is] too heavy for fine spinning. I have no doubt that the bamboo is the thing. My speed is better now. I have done 65 rounds today in 1_ hours—not bad for me. I would do better when I shed my nervousness and draw the thread without fearing to break it.

My translation of one verse per day from the prayer-book continues. I wish I could do more. But the spinning and carding won't leave me any more time. And now I must make time for the sewing-machine. I was glad you came.

Love.

BAPU

¹ Slivers

[PS.]

How do you make rigid the little wheel on the spindle when it gets loose?

From the original: C.W. 5397. Courtesy: Mirabehn; also G.N. 9631

300. LETTER TO SARALADEVI

YERAVDA MANDIR,
May 25, 1930

DEAR SISTER,

I have received the fruit sent by you. I am asked to write to you not to send them hereafter. Any fruit I require is given to me here. Mangoes and oranges are given to the Jailor to eat. When there has been conflagration on all sides how can I eat mangoes? I took oranges for two or four days and [then] gave them up. I do not see any necessity for them. [If] I require I shall indeed take them. I shall ever cherish the love behind the idea of sending fruit. I hope the children are all right.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

Mahatma Gandhi: Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement in India, Vol. III, Part III, p. 574

¹ This is a translation. The original letter is not available.

301. LETTER TO CHANDRASHANKAR SHUKLA¹

YERAVDA MANDIR,
May 25, 1930

DEAR CHANDRASHANKAR,

The Jail Superintendent has shown me your letter. For the present I will not ask for any book. The books already here are lying [unread]. The whole of the spare time is spent in spinning and carding. Some time is devoted to reading.

I hope your health is all right. If it is not so, improve it. You must have forgotten the pang [of separation]. You must be seeing Kaka. Where is Kamalnayan? If he is there, ask him to write.

Blessings from
BAPU

Mahatma Gandhi: Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement in India, Vol. III, part III, P. 573

302. LETTER TO SUSHILA GANDHI

YERAVDA MANDIR,
May 26, 1930

CHI. SUSHILA,

What kind of a husband have I given you? But no, you cannot say that I gave him to you. He was your own choice. You cannot, therefore, blame me. I hope you do remember how much I had cautioned you. In any case, you can go one better than he; so how can you or I complain? I hope Sita alias Dhairyabala is quite happy.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 1180. Courtesy: Sushila Gandhi; also G.N. 4768

¹This is a translation. The original letter is not available.

303. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

YERAVDA MANDIR,

May 26, 1930

CHI, NARANDAS,

Gujarati letters were received here last week, but they have not yet been given to me. I got Mirabehn's and Mathew's letters because they were in English. That is how it is! But this will not go on for many days—if God wills.

My weight is practically the same; perhaps it has gone up by half a pound.

The diet, too, continues to be the same. Now I get perfect curds from unboiled milk. The milk forms into curd in 24 hours. I had mixed a fairly good quantity of curd with the milk.

I have finished reading two books: *The Light of Asia* and *The Saints of Islam*. I am now reading a book on prisons written by an Inspector-General of Prisons of the Punjab, which was sent to me by a friend. I simply get no time for reading. Seven hours are taken up by the spinning-wheel, the *takli* and carding. On some days, when the wheel requires no repair, it is less than seven hours, and on some other days it is more. I am not unhappy about this. I love work. My skill in the work increases because I have to do everything myself, and I discover very small faults. The yarn which I spin on the *takli* has improved very much in quality. The speed, too, has gone up.

I think very little about things outside. I am so busy with work that I get no time to think about them. I fix my eyes on the central teaching of the *Gita*, and so enjoy peace of mind. If I did not do that, though I am supplied newspapers, reading about all that happens would have made it difficult for me to experience peace. The prayers twice a day and the daily reading of the *Gita* have proved a great support to me.

Is there any news about Krishna Nair, Surajbhan and Jayanti Prakash? How is Satis Babu? Write to all to whom you send letters and tell them that they are not to be published. Friends may certainly read them.

How is Jamna's health?

Blessings from

BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 8112. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

304. LETTER TO JANAKIDEVI BAJAJ ¹

YERAVDA MANDIR,
*Silence Day [May 26, 1930]*²

DEAR JANAKIBEHN,

How are you? I hope you have not lost your courage. How is Madalasa? Do not be anxious about Kamalnayan. Have you not learnt this much by hearing *Gita* from Vinoba that we need not be anxious about anything?

Blessings from

BAPU

Mahatma Gandhi: Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement in India, Vol. III, Part III, p. 575

305. LETTER TO JAMNABEHN GANDHI ³

YERAVDA MANDIR,
*Silence Day [May 26, 1930]*⁴

DEAR JAMNABEHN,

This is to tell you this much that no women should be anxious about me. I remember you all daily. Get a letter written to me and send it through the Ashram.

Blessings from

BAPU

Mahatma Gandhi: Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement in India, Vol. III, Part III, p. 576

¹ This is a translation. The original letter is not available.

² The date has been inferred from the placing of the item in the source.

³ This is a translation. The original letter is not available.

⁴ The date has been inferred from the placing of the item in the source.

306. LETTER TO NIRMALA GANDHI ¹

Silence Day [May 26, 1930] ²

DEAR NIMU,

I hear from Ba that both you and your mother have returned to the Ashram. It was good. But what about your complaint about constipation? Are you not brave? How is Savitri³? Is she called by this name or any other?

Blessings from

BAPU

Mahatma Gandhi: Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement in India, Vol. III, Part III, p. 576

307 LETTER TO RADHA GANDHI ⁴

*Silence Day [May 26, 1930]*⁵

DEAR RADHA,

Your letter must be in the post which I have not received. If you have not written to me any letter, write to me one giving all the news. Where is Rukhi? How is she?

In great haste.

Blessings from

BAPU

Mahatma Gandhi: Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement in India, Vol. III, Part III, p. 578

¹ This is a translation. The original letter is not available.

² The date has been inferred from the placing of the item in the source.

³ This seems to be a slip for "Sumitra", daughter of the addressee.

⁴ This is a translation. The original letter is not available.

⁵ The date has been inferred from the placing of the item in the source.

308. LETTER TO MAITRI GIRI ¹

*Silence Day [May 26, 1930]*²

DEAR MAITRI,

Have you become wise? Be a credit to the name of your father. How is Krishnamaiya Devi? Write to me a letter.

Blessings from

BAPU

Mahatma Gandhi: Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement in India, Vol. III, Part III, p. 578

309. LETTER TO GANGABEHN JHAVERI ³

YERAVDA MANDIR,

*Silence Day [May 26, 1930]*⁴

DEAR GANGABEHN JHAVERI,

[I hope] you and Nanibehn are all right. Now can you stay alone? I do not write more as it is dark.

Blessings from

BAPU

Mahatma Gandhi: Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement in India, Vol. III, Part III, p. 576

¹ This is a translation. The original letter is not available.

² The date has been inferred from the placing of the item in the source.

³ This is a translation. The original letter is not available.

⁴ The date has been inferred from the placing of the item in the source.

310. LETTER TO GOMATI MASHRUWALA¹

YERAVDA MANDIR,
*Silence Day [May 26, 1930]*²

DEAR GOMATI,

I hear that Kishorelal is keeping good health. Write to me in detail. How is your health? Where is Tari? If she is there ask her to write. Where is Nathu? How is he? Does he go to the Ashram? Which sisters are there?

Blessings from

BAPU

Mahatma Gandhi: Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement in India, Vol. III, Part III, p. 575

311. LETTER TO MOTIBEHN³

*Silence Day [May 26, 1930]*⁴

DEAR MOTIBEHN⁵,

Ba told me that you were melancholy. How is that? One who studies *Gita* cannot have melancholia. How can one be melancholy who is daily in meditation with God and believes that He resides in the heart? Drive out melancholia.

Blessings from

BAPU

Mahatma Gandhi: Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement in India, Vol. III, Part III, p. 577

¹ This is a translation. The original letter is not available.

² The date has been inferred from the placing of the item in the source.

³ This is a translation. The original letter is not available.

⁴ The date has been inferred from the placing of the item in the source.

⁵ Wife of Mathuradas Purushottam

312. LETTER TO DR. PRANJIVANDAS MEHTA¹

YERAVDA MANDIR,
May 26, 1930

DEAR BROTHER PRANJIVAN,

I remember you many times in the jail. You must be in good health. Do not worry about me.

Vandemataram from

MOHANDAS

Mahatma Gandhi: Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement in India, Vol. III, Part III, p. 577

313. LETTER TO RATILAL MEHTA²

May 26, 1930

DEAR RATILAL,

How do you and Champa fare? What work do you do? Do you write letters to Bapu³?

Blessings from

BAPU

Mahatma Gandhi: Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement in India, Vol. III, Part III, p. 578

¹ This is a translation. The original letter is not available.

² *ibid*

³ Addressee's father, Dr. Pranjivan Mehta

314. LETTER TO MANIBEHN PARIKH¹

May 26, 1930

DEAR MANIBEHN,

Narahari did after all go to jail. He received beating also. He is doubly fortunate. Are you completely courageous? Take care of your health.

Blessings from

BAPU

Mahatma Gandhi: Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement in India, Vol. III, Part III, p. 577

315. LETTER TO MITHUBEHN PETIT²

YERAVDA MANDIR,

May 26, 1930

DEAR MITHUBEHN,

May God protect you.

Blessings from

BAPU

Mahatma Gandhi: Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement in India, Vol. III, Part III, p. 576

¹ This is a translation. The original letter is not available.

² *ibid*

316. LETTER TO AMINA QURESH¹

May 26, 1930

DEAR AMINA,

At last Imam Saheb has after all gone to the jail palace. Perhaps Qureshi may have also gone. Is your health good? What arrangements have been made about confinement? How do children fare?

Blessings from

BAPU

Mahatma Gandhi: Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement in India, Vol. III, Part III, p. 578

317. LETTER TO SHANTA²

*Silence Day [May 26, 1930]*³

DEAR SHANTA,

How do you fare? Is your mind absolutely calm? Perhaps there might be a letter from you in the post which I have not received. If you have not written to me any letter, write to me.

Blessings from

BAPU

Mahatma Gandhi: Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement in India, Vol. III, Part III, p. 578

¹ This is a translation. The original letter is not available.

² *ibid*

³ The date has been inferred from the placing of the item in the source.

318. *LETTER TO SONAMANI* ¹

Silence Day [May 26, 1930]²

DEAR SONAMANI,

How are both you sisters? Have you learnt Hindi well? Write me all news.

Blessings from

BAPU

Mahatma Gandhi: Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement in India, Vol. III, Part III, p. 576

319. *LETTER TO KALAVATI TRIVEDI* ³

Silence Day [May 26, 1930]⁴

DEAR KALAVATI,

I await a letter from you. How is the state of your mind at present? What are you doing? Write to me your account.

Blessings from

BAPU

Mahatma Gandhi: Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement in India, Vol. III, Part III, p. 575

¹ This is a translation. The original letter is not available.

² The date has been inferred from the placing of the item in the source.

³ This is a translation. The original letter is not available.

⁴ The date has been inferred from the placing of the item in the source.

320. LETTER TO GANGABEHN VAIDYA¹

[May 26, 1930]²

DEAR GANGABEHN (ELDER),

I remembered you when I was reading Ch. XII and XIII. I have written at the top of the translation of Ch. XII,³ which is short, that it is worthy of being committed to memory by all, if not in Sanskrit, at least in Gujarati. It is easy to understand it in Gujarati. When we know the line of devotion shown therein, we have finished all. You must have undoubtedly written a letter, but it has not yet come to my hands.

Blessings from

BAPU

Mahatma Gandhi: Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement in India, Vol. III, Part III, p. 575

321. LETTER TO P. G. MATHEW

May 26, 1930

MY DEAR MATHEW,

I was glad to have your note. If you have patience God will give you light and peace.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 1552

¹ This is a translation. The original letter is not available.

² The date has been inferred from the placing of the item in the source.

³ In *Anasaktiyoga*; vide "Anasaktiyoga".

322. LETTER TO PATRICK QUINN

May 27, 1930

DEAR MR. QUINN¹,

Will you please order raisins 2 lb., *kishmish* 1 lb. and send me some common writing paper or a scribbling pad?

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

Mahatma Gandhi: Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement in India, Vol. III, Part III, p. 240

323. LETTER TO MOHANLAL BHATT²

Tuesday [May 27, 1930]³

DEAR BROTHER MOHANLAL,

You are indeed doing well. Some two mistakes have been observed in the [translation of] *Gita*. I shall rewrite. Please send *Indian Social Reformer* and *The Modern Review* to me. We [used to] receive both of them. If they are not received please write to Messrs Natarajan and Ramananda Babu.

Blessings from

BAPU

Mahatma Gandhi: Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement in India, Vol. III, Part III. p. 577

¹ Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison

² This is a translation. The original letter is not available.

³ The date has been inferred from the placing of the item in the source.

324. LETTER TO E. E. DOYLE

YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON,
May 30, 1930

DEAR MAJOR DOYLE,

Today four visitors came to see me. Among these were Mrs. Captain and Mr. Reginald Reynolds. The other two were Miss Slade (Mirabai) and Mr. Mathuradas Trijumjee. The last two were admitted. As the Superintendent could not admit the other two, I had to decline to see Miss Slade and Mr. Mathuradas. At our very first conversation, you will recollect, I made it clear to you that I recognized no distinction between blood relations and others and that if the Government wanted me to meet my blood relations they should appreciate my viewpoint and let me also see those who like Mrs. Captain and Mr. Reynolds are as good as blood relations. I thought you had agreed to the position. But I may have misunderstood you. I want to blame nobody. I want no special privileges. I simply wish [you] to understand my position and would like the Government to know my viewpoint though they may not endorse it. I may not see my relatives if I may not see the others. This is no new attitude with me. I took it up in 1922 also and at that time there was no difficulty about my seeing those who were not blood relations. Of course, it is understood all along that there can be no political messages received or sent by me.

There are, too, my weekly letters hanging fire. These too I wrote as per our understanding, as I thought it was, namely, that non-political affairs¹ written to my Ashram friends in one envelope would count as one letter.

I would appreciate an early clearance of both these issues.

I am,
Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

Bombay Secret Abstracts, 750(5) A, p. 65; also S.N. 19973

¹The draft (S.N. 19973) here has "letters".

325. LETTER TO EDITOR, "WORLD FEDERATION"

May, 1930

DEAR FRIEND,

Just a line to thank you for your letter. I am too preoccupied to say more just now. I know that you are doing all you can for the country.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: Pyarelal Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Courtesy: Beladevi Nayyar and Dr. Sushila Nayyar

326. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

[May-June, 1930]¹

CHI. PRABHAVATI,

I get your letters regularly now. I have already written to you about my health. Mirabehn wrote saying that she would give you some work where you are. If she has not done so, and if Jayaprakash is willing and Kamalabehn permits you may certainly go and join Ba. There is much to learn there these days. My weight is normal. You can write to me about anything you wish to do.

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

What is Mrityunjai² doing? How is Grandmother³? How does Vidyavati keep? Write to Father and tell him that I often think of him.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G. N. 3307

¹ From the contents the letter appears to have been written some time in May-June, 1930 when Prabhavati was staying with Kamala Nehru; *vide* "Letter to Prabhavati", 20-5-1930 and "Letter to Prabhavati", 29-6-1930.

² Son of Rajendraprasad and husband of Vidyavati, addressee's sister

³ Rajendraprasad's wife

327. LETTER TO PATRICK QUINN

June 4, 1930

DEAR MR. QUINN,

Could you please send a jailor inspector if only for half an hour at the outside?

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

Mahatma Gandhi: Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement in India, Vol. III, Part III, p. 241

328. LETTER TO R. V. MARTIN

YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON,

June 11, 1930¹

DEAR MAJOR MARTIN,

You have told me that the Government will permit seven of my blood relations to see me twice per week and the others only by their special permission. This means that my wife, who is not a blood relative, and naturally her brothers and other relatives, have to obtain special permission. I am sure this is a mere slip. But what is obviously contemplated is that those who are not related to me by blood or through marriage can, except Shrimati Mirabai Slade,² see me only by special permission of the Government. If this decision is not revised, I fear I must not see my relatives. I have in the Ashram and outside many widows, girls, boys and men, who are perhaps more to me than many a blood relative. If they may not see me on the same terms as relatives, to be just to the former, I must not see the latter.³

¹ The letter was delivered to R. V. Martin, the Jail Superintendent, the next day.

² The words "except Shrimati Mirabai Slade" do not appear in the draft available under S.N. 19974.

³ Regarding the privileges to be allowed to Gandhiji, the Secretary of the Home Department on June 17 wrote to the Inspector General of Prisons: ". . . I am directed to state that the word 'relations' should be substituted for the words 'blood relations' It was of course not intended to exclude Mr. Gandhi's wife, or his brother-in-law and the like. I am further to say that if Mr. Gandhi refuses to see his relations, the only thing that can be done is to treat them like strangers and interviews regulated accordingly. . . ."

Although it is now a fortnight, I do not know what has happened to the Ashram letters that were received and those that I wrote. You told me that you had sent them¹ to the I.G.

There is one more matter. I see Sjt. Kalelkar is to be brought here as companion for me. He is an esteemed co-worker, but if I conveyed the impression that I would like him to be brought here to keep me company, I am sorry. I would not like him to be torn from so many companions with whom he is placed at the Sabarmati Jail and come here to share my isolation. If he could mix freely with the other satyagrahi prisoners and keep company with me, I would naturally value his company, but I have no desire to have the joy of his company at his expense. What I would desire is naturally to be able to see all my satyagrahi friends who are in this jail. I repeat what I have told you so often: I do not desire special privileges. But if an ordinary prisoner may have the company of his fellows who may chance to be in the same prison, it may be lawful for me to entertain such a desire.

I am,

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the original: C.W. 9316; also S.N. 19974

329. LETTER TO PREMABEHN KANTAK

YERAVDA MANDIR,

Silence Day [On or before *June 16, 1930*]²

CHI. PREMA,

It seems it is your letter the authorities have held back. I am sure it was entirely innocent. But what can we do? If every letter were to be received a jail would have no meaning. Write again.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 6676. Courtesy: Premabehn Kantak

¹ The draft has “both”.

² In *Bapuna Patro—5: Ku. Premabehn Kantakne* it is suggested that this might have been written between May 12 and June 23.

330. LETTER TO RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON,
June 18, 1930

DEAR RAMANANDA BABU,

Your letter of 25th May was given to me three days ago. I thank you for all you say in it. I was glad to learn that my brief account of Kavi Rajchandra was safely in your hands.¹ I was wondering whether it had reached you or not.

I have permission to receive *The Modern Review* among other magazines. Will you please send me copies from the May number? I asked the *Young India* office some time ago to send me the magazine but somehow I have not received the copies. I did not write directly.

I hope to see your contribution in *Young India* before long.

Please remember me to Pandit Benarsidas Chaturvedi.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SJT. RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE
120-2 UPPER CIRCULAR ROAD
CALCUTTA

From the original: C.W. 9314. Courtesy: Sita Devi

¹ *Vide* "A great seer", 18-3-1930.

331. LETTER TO PATRICK QUINN

June 18, 1930

DEAR MR. QUINN,

Will you please order:

Raisins 2 lb.

Dates 2 lb.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

Mahatma Gandhi: Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement in India, Vol. III, Part III, p. 266

332. LETTER TO KASHI GANDHI

June 18, 1930

CHI. KASHI,

I hope you are keeping well. I take it that you are at Vijapur. I will not write separately to Krishnadas. He should write to me a detailed letter. Who are the other persons with you there?

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original: S.N. 33084

333. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

June 22, 1930

CHI. MIRA,

After many weeks I take up the pen to write Ashram letters again. The batch I sent you last I knew was held up and so was the batch from the Ashram. In the circumstances, I did not want to write. The way now seems to be fairly clear though I have not yet got all the weekly letters and I know that some have been withheld. They are from children. I am trying to secure them. I must have some reminders now and then at least of prison life.

No visits can be entertained so long as the difficulty remains, as it does, unremoved. If visits cannot be had on honourable terms, we must be content with writing letters if they can be honourably continued. If, therefore, you do not hear from me regularly, know that I am a prisoner. If I am really ill, walls will speak. The authorities will themselves proclaim it as they did last time and you could always inquire from them whenever you hear rumours, and I expect they will promptly give you the information. But I am hoping that there will be plain sailing so far as letter-writing is concerned. Just at present there is nothing wrong with me save for a trifling constipation. There is no cause for any anxiety whatsoever.

I have your latest letter, i.e., of the 9th instant. Nothing since. The instructions you give about the bow are quite good and quite enough. Yet I have hung it up the wrong way up but it has worked with perfect smoothness. The bow itself has not required any attention. I have finished carding all the cotton I had. The gut has not given in at all as yet. I used not *neem* leaves but leaves of some other tree resembling the tamarind. They are quite serviceable. You may send two pounds of cotton per anyone who may be going to Poona. There is no hurry. I have slivers enough to last till 15th July at least. I need not touch the bow till then. When I do, I shall rearrange the apparatus in accordance with your instructions.

About adjusting the wheel on the spindle too I understand. But here again nature has been kind to me. I adjusted the wheel in my own way and it has remained quite fixed. If there is trouble I shall try your prescription.

I note all you say about your own work. You shall act just as

God leads you and your strength permits. May God bless you. More from the general letter.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 5398. Courtesy: Mirabehn; also G.N. 9632

334. *LETTER TO PATRICK QUINN*

June 22, 1930

DEAR MR. QUINN,

- (1) Will you please order 2 lb. dates?
- (2) My companion did not get vegetables and salt yesterday.
- (3) He is still without the commode-pot, he has the box.
- (4) He has not got his utensils, charts, etc., returned to him.

I am obliged to write for him because he has been brought here for my sake. His discomfort therefore becomes my discomfort. I therefore write about him quite selfishly.

And of course the eternal letters!!!

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

Mahatma Gandhi: Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement in India, Vol. III, Part III, p. 266

335. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

YERAVDA MANDIR,
June 22/23, 1930

CHI NARANDAS,

I get your letters one by one. You will read about this from my letter to Mirabehn. I got three letters of yours, of 19th and 26th May and 10th June, one after another during the last six days. Other letters sent by you must be passing from hand to hand. I think I have still to receive two letters, of June 2 or 3 and of June 16. In future give me in your letters the names of those whose letters you may have forwarded. This is because some of them have not been given to me.

Do everything you can to please Ratilal. I am writing to him.

Please give the Japanese friend who wants to translate *My Experiments with Truth* the permission to do so. With this is a letter for the Bengali women. Rasjibhai and Shivabhai must have completely recovered now.

What work is Jagannath doing?

The experiment of making curds from unboiled milk has proved completely successful. Mostly I take curds instead of milk. Hence my present diet is curds, raisins or dates and juice of a lemon once a day. I still do not take any hot drink. Once only, when I had to take castor oil, I had taken hot water, lemon juice and salt twice. I drank milk on that day, but it was unboiled. This diet has had no harmful effects. I think, therefore, that I shall keep to this diet for the present. The weight is practically steady. It fluctuates by a pound. It is 105 at present.

Kakasaheb was brought here four days ago. He is keeping very fit. His diet is milk, bread, ghee and some fruit from what is allowed to me. He has made a request for vegetables, which will probably be granted.

I have added sewing to my daily work. I had asked for a sewing-machine from Lady Vithaldas and it has now arrived. I sew jail caps at present. I give to this work three-quarters to one hour daily.

My rate of spinning is 375 rounds minimum. The average would be 400. Spinning on the *takli* is also going on. I also spend considerable time in making my *takli*. I am trying to spin fine yarn.

The hand has set well and I spin with greater ease every day. I discover new virtues in the *takli* daily. Even more than the spinning-wheel it may prove to be the support of people in want, though, of course, both give peace of mind. I compared them today with the sewing-machine and clearly realized the moral value of manual work. Though I look upon the sewing-machine as an invaluable benefit, I do not regard it as a source of peace. When you work on it, you naturally wish to increase the speed and in the end the brain is bound to get tired. But once a person has acquired control over the *takli*, time passes more peacefully for him as he works on it than for the driver of a bullock-cart. This is my experience, though I have not become an expert spinner as yet I must wait and see what experience I have when I have acquired perfect control over the *takli*. Kak-asaheb, too, spins on it, but he has not discovered its secret yet.

These things are difficult for him to master. He knows that they are for our good and, therefore, is trying to love them. He does not want to start the spinning-wheel at present. He wishes to master the *takli* first.

I read only after I have performed the spinning *yajna*. I look upon sewing as a part of this sacrifice. I had received, and welcomed, the suggestion sent by Mathuradas. I implement it whenever I get an opportunity. Since Kaka is here, I am quite eager now. I started Marathi yesterday. I would be happy if I make at least some progress in it. If I advise everyone to commit the verses of the *Gita* to memory, should not I, too, do that? The attempt is like fixing the shape of a pot after it is baked. If at all it is worth making, however, this is the right place. I, therefore, started learning the verses eight days ago. I have learnt by heart Chapter XII and have now started Chapter XIII. Kaka's coming has naturally interrupted the progress. I will do nothing by stealing time from the hours apart for the spinning *yajna*. I, therefore, do these things in spare moments in the course of other work or in the "library"¹, etc. Let no one be shocked to read that I try to learn the verses of the *Gita* by heart in the "library". We have learnt from childhood that there is no spot where He is not present. We should, therefore, feel no qualms in taking His name or doing His work there. Yes, this certainly means that our "libraries" should be as clean as the buildings in which books are stored. Mine at any rate is.

¹ Lavatory

For here in the jail everyone has to do all the things in the cell itself. They have given me three cells. That does not mean that the position is different. In jail I, too, have done all the things in the same cell, whether in South Africa or here. I have had to do that. Both of us felt that your long letter of 26th May was none the less short, or rather not too long. It did not contain one superfluous word. If anything was left out, the letter was short to that extent, but we did not feel at all that anything was left out. I got this letter of the 26th after I had received that of June 10th. In fact I got it only yesterday.

I shall not write more now. I think I have replied to all your questions.

In the letters which you write in future, mention the names of those whose letters you may enclose.

I have written this letter in two sittings. The first part was written yesterday evening. I suppose it is Purushottam who attends on Khushalbhai at present.

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

If Mirabehn is not there, or if she is too busy otherwise to find time, you should, when you can, carry out the suggestion about sending cotton. I will reply to Balkrishna next time.

From Gujarati: C.W. 8113. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

336. LETTER TO PREMABEHN KANTAK

YERAVDA MANDIR,

June 23, 1930

CHI. PREMA,

I got your beautiful letter. If I were not eager to get your letters, I would not merely out of courtesy ask you to write.

I like Dhurandhar and Kamala very much. I do not know when I shall meet the other lady.

You should not stop eating uncooked vegetables. You can certainly eat bitter gourds uncooked. I have done so. You should take some tender ones, mash them and mix lemon juice with the pulp. If, however, you get no vegetables on some day, you should do without. You may eat raisins instead. Your health has improved and you should not spoil it again. If you feel more hungry than before, you may increase the quantity of milk or curds. Do not worry about the expense. Write to me and tell me what you finally decide.

If I have left out any point in my reply ask me again.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 6671. Courtesy: Premabehn Kantak

337. LETTER TO CHANDRAKANTA

Y.M.,
June 24, 1930

CHI. KANTA,

You must know Gujarati by now. I am writing in Devanagari today, but later on, when you are willing, I shall write in the Gujarati script. I have not received your letter. Write again. Give me news of your parents.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: Chandrakanta Papers. Courtesy: Gandhi National Museum and Library

338. LETTER TO SUMANGAL PRAKASH

YERAVDA MANDIR,
June 24, 1930

CHI. SUMANGAL PRAKASH,

I have your letter. It is good you have arrived. Please keep writing to me.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: Sumangal Prakash Papers. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

339. *LETTER TO KALAVATI TRIVEDI*

YERAVDA MANDIR,
June 24, 1930

CHI. KALAVATI,

You must be following Gujarati well enough by now. Write to me and tell me all your thoughts. Is your mind at peace? How do you occupy yourself?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 5245

340. *LETTER TO PATRICK QUINN*

June 26, 1930

DEAR MR. QUINN,

I hope you have ordered dates.
Please send salt and commode-pot.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

Mahatma Gandhi: Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement in India, Vol. III, Part III, p. 269

341. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

June 27, 1930

CHI. PRABHAVATI,

You must now be getting my letters regularly. You should assume that as long as I am permitted to write from here I will regularly write to you. My weight is satisfactory. It is a little above 103, and so there is no cause for worry. It is indeed welcome news that Father's health is improving. You have lost much weight. How is that?

Take special care and improve your health. You should take milk or curds and fruit, and also have exercise. A letter for Jayaprakash is enclosed.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3360

342. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

YERAVDA MANDIR,

June 29, 1930

CHI. PRABHAVATI,

I got your letter. My letter-writing had stopped, and so how could you get any letter from me? Probably I shall be able to write regularly now. I keep fairly good health. My diet consists of milk or curds, raisins or dates and lemons; this seems enough. Even milk, I have been taking unboiled. That has done me no harm. They have been keeping Kakasaheb with me since about a week ago.

How do you two manage about your food? Do you have a servant or do you cook for yourself? Do you read anything? I had sent you a copy of *Anasaktiyoga*¹; did you get it? Have you read it? Did you understand it?

Write to Father and tell him that I often remember them all.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3392

¹ A Gujarati translation of the *Bhagavad Gita* by Gandhiji.

343. *LETTER TO RUKMINI BAZAJ*

YERAVDA MANDIR,
June 29, 1930

CHI. RUKMINI,

I got your letter. You must have gone to the Ashram by now. Your first duty is to make your body strong. You have no excuse now to neglect doing that. Now that you are married and live with your husband's family, you ought not to fall ill. If you do, will not the elders in the family lose face in society?

Write to me and tell me about your experiences in your husband's family. Do not be restrained by a false sense of shame when writing.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 9049

344. *LETTER TO KALAVATI TRIVEDI*

YERAVDA MANDIR,
*[June 29, 1930]*¹

CHI. KALAVATI,

Your letter. The earlier one was not given to me. It is good that Shantabehn has come. She must be quite well by now. Improve your handwriting.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 5244

¹ The source has "29-3-1930", which seems to be a slip.

345. *LETTER TO BENARSILAL BAZAJ*

YERAVDA MANDIR,
June 29, 1930

CHI. BENARSILAL,

I heard something about you. I hope you are happy with Chi. Rukmini. Write to me frankly.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 9050; also C.W. 9303

346. *LETTER TO RAIHANA TYABJI*

YERAVDA MANDIR,
June 30, 1930

MY DEAR RAIHANA,

I do hope you left your bed long ago. Tell me how you are faring. Have you seen Father? Please remember me to Mother.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: S.N. 9617

347. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

YERAVDA MANDIR,
June 30, 1930

CHI. MIRA,

I have your letter.

I think the Ashram letters will be now regularly received by me and mine by you all. The condition is that no politics can be discussed on either side. But if you find again an interruption, you will infer that some hitch has occurred.

I am glad you are keeping fit. Only your weight must not go below a minimum which for your build must be 116 lb.

Yes, I am doing some sewing regularly. Of course, it is all jail work. When Mathuradas suggested it for cheapening khadi, I was attracted to the suggestion. I thought I would practise on the machine here. The machine has been sent by Lady Vithaldas who was for some time in the Ashram, if you can recall her.

As I am not likely to have visitors now, it would [be] better to send me 3 lb. of cotton. I said 2 in my last letter¹ but perhaps it is as well to send me 3. Kakasaheb too will need slivers. You may pack the cotton in paper and then sew it up in sacking. This suggestion is made to save khadi.

I told you all about the bow in my last letter. Though the way I have fixed it works all right, I shall try your way when I get the cotton.

My love to all the friends.

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

If you cannot attend to cotton, let someone else do it.

From the original: C.W. 5399. Courtesy: Mirabehn; also G.N. 9633

¹ *Vide* "Letter to Mirabehn", 22-6-1930.

348. LETTER TO PURUSHOTTAM GANDHI

YERAVDA MANDIR,
Silence Day, June 30, 1930

CHI. PURUSHOTTAM,

I have had no letter from you. Send me your diary. What is your weight? Do you still take medicine? My respectful greetings to the elders.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 899. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

349. LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR

YERAVDA MANDIR,
June 30, 1930

CHI. LILAVATI,

I have your letter. From here I cannot send you a letter in a sealed envelope. But what is there to hide for one who has a pure heart? You should throw away the letter you have received. After having once given up the thought of marriage, why think about the matter again? Moreover, for you now true marriage lies in clinging to the duty to which you have wedded yourself. It is only in such marriage that true happiness is found. It gives rise to no problems and there is no possibility of widowhood in it. So you should dismiss the thought altogether from your mind. Meditate on the last portion of the second chapter of the *Gita* which we daily recite. If this does not help you to feel at peace you may write to me again and you should have no hesitation in writing freely. Forget the past. Take care of the present, and the future will then take care of itself. This is the meaning, plain and simple, of non-attachment. If we do our duty today, we shall automatically know our duty tomorrow.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 9563

350. LETTER TO MUNNALAL

YERAVDA MANDIR
June 30, 1930

BHAI MUNNALAL,

I am both surprised and pained to know that you have fled. As long as we live in the body, how can we run away from work? Even if it is right for some persons to refrain from physical activity altogether, that cannot be so for you or me. One who has attained perfection can perhaps become free from the duty of working. I have already drawn your attention to your unsettled state of mind. Wake up and start working.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 6648. Courtesy: Munnalal; also G.N. 8648

351. LETTER TO SUSHILA GANDHI

YERAVDA MANDIR,
June 30, 1930

CHI. SUSHILA,

I got your letter. How can you deny that you are a Parsi lady? If you were not one, you would not write *anadharya*¹. Vaniyas pronounce the word with a palatal *na*. You seem, however, to be better than even a Parsi lady. It seems you have given up all fear. It is because you know that Manilal is not a body but a soul that you expressed sentiments which befit a brave woman. My choice has been fully justified. May God grant you a long life.

Convey my blessings to Father and Mother.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 1181. Courtesy: Sushilabehn Gandhi; also G.N. 4769

¹ Literally, 'unexpected'. She had spelt the word the way Parsis usually pronounce it.

352. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

YERAVDA MANDIR,

June 30, 1930

CHI. NARANDAS,

I have now received all your letters.

We have thought long about the trouble being given by the Bharwads. To me our dharma is plain. It is the same towards the entire world. We should win over the Bharwads by love, and at the same time try to protect what it is our duty to protect. That can be done only by giving our lives to the Bharwads. In other words, we should lay down our lives in protecting our things but should never attack the Bharwads in doing so. However, I do not wish to blame anyone for what has happened. We can follow dharma only within the limits of our capacity, otherwise we would be guilty of artificiality. We should, therefore, do what the impulse of the moment dictates. That impulse is the measure of our strength. As for the future, I have no doubt that our dharma is what I have stated it to be. But before and after adopting that course for protecting our things, we should discharge two other duties. I have been observing and saying for the last fifteen years that we have not mixed with our neighbours. What pains me is that I myself did not follow that path. I tried to persuade Maganlal to follow it. Some kind of a start was made. There were, however, difficulties in the way and the attempt was abandoned. We are now paying for our indifference. But recalling the past is of no value except for drawing lessons from it. Let us look to the present. Just now, therefore, we should discuss the problem with the Bharwads. We should ourselves try to plead with them in the presence of persons who know them. We should also tell them what we wish. If they want to graze their cattle [on our land], they should pay us something. If, however, we have no land we should explain that to them. We should also appeal to our neighbours to plead with the Bharwads. We should render them whatever other service we can, and should continue to do so irrespective of their behaviour. We should explain to them why the Ashram has been established and what it aims at doing. Even if we do all this, it is possible that they will occasionally raid the Ashram. If they do, those

of us who can, may lay down their lives and let the Bharwads take away what they will after killing them. If we do not have the will and the strength for this, you may do what seems best to all of you. I have only explained the duty, as I understand it, that is proper to an Ashram. You should, however, put out of consideration what I may write, for beyond expressing my views I can do nothing. Moreover, an opinion expressed from a distance is likely to be erroneous. What I might think if I were present there may very well be different from what I think from here. Moreover, no matter with what detachment a prisoner tries to think, his conclusions are likely to be based on incomplete data. You need not, therefore, attach much weight to my view. I shall be satisfied if it helps you to come to your own decision. In any case it was good that afterwards you treated the Bharwads for injuries.

I am writing to Bhansali; read that letter. Your decisions about Chandrakanta and Giriraj seem all right.

I am getting on well. These days I am also trying to learn by heart verses from the *Gita*. I have completed Chapter XII and done half of Chapter XIII. Does man know what he wants? I liked Kaka's coming, but I also see that it has turned out to be an obstacle. Since his coming my daily study has fallen behind. Without him I would have proceeded faster with the *Gita*. Actually, I tried to prevent his coming, but failed. My reason for doing that was quite different. I did not like that he, too, should be confined within four walls as I was. But the Government had made up its mind to provide me company and did so. I, therefore, tolerate Kaka. And he has to bear separation from the large company at Sabarmati. Thus we find the situation a mixture of all sentiments—there are at least the pathetic, the humorous and the heroic. However, if I have relaxed in one field of my daily study, I have started Marathi. I would have become proud if I had become altogether self-reliant. Now that I have been receiving invisible services from Kakasaheb, they will help me in reminding me of my right place. Besides, the exercise which my reason gets in sweet discussions about the *Gita* and other works is an additional benefit. Thus I get an opportunity of another kind for self-examination. I can, therefore, say that I would have been content if Kaka had not come, and am also content now that he has come. Who can weigh and decide whether his coming is a gain or a loss to me? To him who believes that

anything he gets unasked comes from God, every such thing is a benefit—is a gift of His grace. Kaka’s coming, therefore, is such a gift. It does not matter if the study of the *Gita* has slowed down.

Convey my greetings to Vallabhbhai. The question of Kaka’s diet has been settled. He gets two pounds of cow’s milk, ten *tolas* of butter, twenty *tolas* of fresh, uncooked vegetables and twenty *tolas* of chapati. He turns the milk into curds. He is getting on quite well. His weight has increased by one pound. By way of vegetables, he gets brinjals and radishes by turn during the week. He cooks the brinjals and eats the radishes raw.

Blessings from

BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 8114. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

353. LETTER TO GANGABEHN VAIDYA

YERAVDA MANDIR,

*Silence Day [June 30, 1930]*¹

CHI. GANGABEHN,

All of us are far away from our ideal and will remain so. Our duty lies in striving to reach it. Man’s ideal grows from day to day and that is why it ever recedes from him. You are ever striving and that is all that you can do. Our effort should be pure and unremitting.

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

I do not write separately about Kaka, because the long letter contains all the news.

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 8751. Courtesy: Gangabehn Vaidya

¹ From the reference to news about Kaka Kalelkar; *vide* the preceding item.

354. LETTER TO CHANDRAKANTA

Y.M.,
June 30, 1930

CHI. KANTA

I have your letter of May 26th. They did not give me the previous one. Do you follow my Gujarati? Did you get my Gujarati letter of last week?

It seems quite proper that you went and stayed with Mother. She must have left by now. Your good lies in the attitude you have now adopted. It is to one's good to abide by the advice of a person whom one has willingly accepted as one's guardian. It makes for peace of mind at least. Keep perfectly cheerful and remain engrossed in your duty. I have high expectations of you. Write to me frankly about everything.

I am very happy to learn that Krishna Kumari feels at home.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: Chandrakanta Papers. Courtesy. Gandhi National Museum and Library

355. *LETTER TO NIRMALA GANDHI*

YERAVDA MANDIR,

June 30, 1930

CHI. NIMU,

I got your letter. Nobody will object to your experimenting with *juwar*¹ in order to improve your health. Try it once and if it does not agree with you, give it up. Moreover, when our dear ones are in jail, we may certainly eat what they do, provided it is possible for us to do so. You may stay wherever you like. Blessings to Ba. You seem to be quite engrossed in your work. 'Sumitra' is a good enough name for the baby.

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

What is Navanit doing?

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

¹ A variety of millet

356. *LETTER TO KAMALA NEHRU*

June 30, 1930

CHI. KAMALA,

I was very happy to have your letter. You must not let your body become weak. It has to render much service. How is Indu keeping now? Has she grown up a little?

My *pranam* to Mother and blessings to Sarup and Krishna.

Blessings from

BAPU

[From Hindi]

Gandhi-Nehru Papers, 1930. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

357. *LETTER TO AMINA QURESHI*

YERAVDA MANDIR,¹

Tuesday [July 1, 1930]²

CHI. AMINA,

I think of you every day. Your confinement must be over by now.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 6670

¹ Gandhiji was arrested on May 5, 1930, and placed in Yeravda Central Prison, Poona.

² In his letter to the addressee dated July 6, 1930, Gandhiji mentions the addressee having had a baby. Presumably this letter was written on the preceding Tuesday.

358. LETTER TO HEMPRABHA DAS GUPTA

YERAVDA MANDIR,
July 1, 1930

DEAR SISTER,

How is your state of mind now? And your health? When did you see Satis Babu last?¹ How is he? Who are all at Sodepur? What do you study and what is your daily routine? Keep this in mind:

Who rejoices not, neither frets nor grieves, who covets not, who abandons both good and evil—that devotee of Mine is dear to Me.²

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Write to me care of the Ashram.

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 1667

359. LETTER TO GANGABEHN JHAVERI

YERAVDA MANDIR,
July 3, 1930

CHI. GANGABEHN JHAVERI,

The letters received in May were handed over to me only a short while ago. I have faith in your strength and devotion to God. He will certainly give you wisdom. Take care of your health.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Give my *Vandemataram* to Chhotubhai.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3101

¹ Satis Chandra Das Gupta had been arrested and sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment on a charge of sedition in connection with the publication of Satyagraha Bulletins.

² *Bhagavad Gita*, XII. 17

360. LETTER TO NANIBEHN JHAVERI

YERAVDA MANDIR,
July 3, 1930

CHI. NANIBEHN (JHAVERI),

I got your letter of May 27, 1930 only a little while ago, more than a month after it was received here. This is what being a prisoner means. It was their kindness that I got it at all.

If you can digest cereals and pulses, by all means eat them. But don't eat them for the pleasure of the palate. Your body will become strong only if you live on milk and curds. Give up all worries. Meditate on the verses which we used to recite daily. Read the *Anasaktiyoga*¹ over and over again, reflect over its teaching and follow it in practice.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3100

361. LETTER TO MANU GANDHI²

YERAVDA MANDIR,
July 3, 1930

CHI. MANUDI,

So Balibehn³ has turned you away. Never mind. Only learn now to behave like a grown-up girl. Do household work. Spin and card as much as you can, and write to me.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 1502. Courtesy: Manubehn Mashruwala

¹ A Gujarati translation of the *Bhagavad Gita* by Gandhiji; vide "Anasaktiyoga".

² Daughter of Harilal Gandhi

³ Balibehn Vora, addressee's maternal aunt

362. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

YERAVDA MANDIR,
July 3, 1930

CHI. VASUMATI,

After I started addressing Ramdas, Devdas and others in the second person singular, I don't feel at ease addressing you in the plural. And now I simply cannot bring myself to do that. From today, therefore, I have started using the singular form of the pronoun, which is the right one. Ever since I came to know you, you have held a daughter's place in my heart. And you have shown yourself fully worthy of that place. Need I say more? Show yourself worthier still. I don't know when I shall be a worthy father to the many daughters whom I have adopted. Don't regard this merely as the language of modesty. Let this be enough for today. I am all right. Kakasaheb¹ has been placed with me.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9276

363. LETTER TO LAKSHMIBEHN KHARE

YERAVDA MANDIR,
July 5, 1930

CHI. LAKSHMIBAI,

It was in July that I was given your letter of May. There is little we can do about this. It would be enough if I could write Marathi as well as you write Gujarati. I am of course learning it from Kakasaheb.

Always look upon all children of Vasant's age as if they were Vasant himself.

Write to me regularly.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 285. Courtesy: Lakshmibehn Khare

¹ D. B. Kalelkar

364. LETTER TO MOTIBEHN

YERAVDA MANDIR,
July 5, 1930

CHI. MOTIBEHN,

The letter which you wrote to me long ago was handed to me just now. You must have received the letters which I wrote to you. Read Chapter XII¹ over and over again and reflect on it. I am sure you get news about the children regularly from Cochin. Don't grieve about Meghji at all. He rests in peace. He who dies uttering Ramanama with devotion, what evil can he meet with ?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3737

365. LETTER TO AMINA QURESHI

YERAVDA MANDIR,
July 6, 1930

CHI. AMINA,

I was very happy to read your letter. I was glad to know that you had a baby. May God grant him long life and may he be as brave as Qureshi and you. Do the girls remember me? I trust you keep good health.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 6656

¹ Of *Bhagavad Gita*

366. LETTER TO PREMABEHN KANTAK

YERAVDA MANDIR,
July 6, 1930

CHI. PREMA,

They gave me your letter of July 1. It is good that you get fruit with your meals.

I took in Dhurandhar because I saw that he was scrupulous in observing rules. I also liked his frankness. This should not be published at present.

Give my love to the flower plants and trees. Here, too, I see their brothers and sisters. Shouldn't I be satisfied with that?

In all, I got only two letters from you. I didn't get the one in English.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10224; also C.W. 6672. Courtesy: Premabehn Kantak

367. LETTER TO DAHIBEHN PATEL

YERAVDA MANDIR,
July 6, 1930

CHI. DAHIBEHN (RAOJIBHAI),

You should write to me. I often remember you two Dahibehns.

I hope you never get fainting fits now. My blessings to all the women who may be with you.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 9204

368. LETTER TO MAHALAKSHMI THAKKAR

YERAVDA MANDIR,
July 6, 1930

CHI. MAHALAKSHMI,

I got your letter. I was happy to learn that all the women were doing their work well. Please tell Ramabehn that I got her letter. I am not writing to her this time. The women to whom I don't write must not think that I have forgotten them. I write to as many as I can. But when I write to one, the letter should be regarded as meant for all. I note what you say about the children. I was pained by their going away. I get news about Madhavji from time to time.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 6826

369. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

YERAVDA MANDIR,
July 7, 1930

CHI. MIRA,

I have your letter given to me intact and in good time. There is not likely to be any difficulty now in the early delivery of letters on either side.

I am glad you have good news from London. It was evidently a thoroughly successful operation.¹ The West has always commanded my admiration [for] its surgical inventions and all-round progress in that direction.

In your menu you do not tell me how much ghee you are taking and whether you are taking oranges or not. Ghee you need and so also oranges. I would like you not to cut off or reduce these two things.

If you have not sent cotton as yet it should now be sent at once. I have told you 15th July is the last day.

I am keeping well. I find the doing of 375 rounds somewhat of

¹ The addressee's mother had undergone an operation.

a strain nowadays. I am trying to probe the cause. That being so the *takli* practice has slowed down considerably.

I have complaints about the non-appearance of extracts from my letters. You may, therefore, resume publishing extracts of a general character. I have discussed this with the Superintendent. The people will be intensely dissatisfied if they see nothing from my letters.

Nothing yet settled about interviews.¹

My love to all those to whom I do not write but of whom I constantly think.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 5400. Courtesy: Mirabehn; also G.N. 9634

370. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

YERAVDA MANDIR,

July 7, 1930

CHI. NARANDAS,

What does Bhansali write about Lilabehn²? Has she left the Ashram?

This time I got your letter of July 2 soon after it was received here. I had received the wire about Revashankerbhai and replied to him direct.

I suppose Ratilal is quiet now.

Some portions of my letters can certainly be published. I have suggested the limits in my letter to Mirabehn.

Amina, I hope, is all right now. If necessary, you can write to me at any time. Most probably I shall get the letter immediately.

Where was Shambhu beaten up?

You are being put to a good test. You had no choice but to endure the wild behaviour of the sadhu; not because he was a sadhu,

¹ Gandhiji had refused to see anyone in Yeravda prison till permission as of right was given to him to see close friends as well as blood relations; *vide* "Letter to R.V.Martin", 8-7-1930; also "Letter to R.V.Martin", 11-6-1930.

² Bhansali's widowed sister-in-law who lived in the Ashram with her three children.

for to us a sadhu and an emperor are the same. Would we not treat an emperor in the same manner if he created similar nuisance? If we could and had the time to do so, we would try to come into closer contact with the mischief-makers and to teach them to be civil. We would go and see them at their places and plead with them. We would try to discover their disease and observe their way of living. I know that all this is difficult. But that is the only way. What would we do if such a sadhu were our own brother? Would we not spend on him as much time as we could spare and plead with him? The next thing is that we should learn from such experiences to reduce our possessions. This of course cannot be done in regard to milk,¹ for we have regarded running the dairy as our duty and done that duty. We cannot, therefore, stop it. The only thing for us to do is to think out methods of protecting it which would be worthy of the Ashram. I have written this only by way of discussion. You may take from it what is practicable.

The problem of the thieves, whom you are not able to catch, is more difficult than that of the mendicant. Its only solution is that we should mix with the people of the villages in our neighbourhood. These are external remedies, and necessary ones. In the last resort, and even as the first, we have prayer. "So long as the elephant depended on his own strength, nothing availed him; if a weak person cries out for help to Rama, He will come the moment His name is uttered." This is a great truth. It is realized in experience in the measure we have faith in it.

Do write and inform me about every harassment. Such things give me spiritual exercise. I get an opportunity to think what my mind would prompt me to do in such circumstances.

Keep me informed about the results of Prabhudas's experiments with the spinning-wheel.

If they want to translate the *Anasaktiyoga* into Urdu, permit them to do so.

The article on *brahmacharya* is kept in a safe place—only Pyarelal or Kusum can say where. You will find it nowhere but among the papers which are kept duly arranged.

Blessings from

BAPU

¹ The sadhu had been wasting the milk in the dairy.

[PS.]

There are 47 letters today. I don't see Kanu's and Sharja's letters which you have mentioned in your list.

If you have not sent cotton, send it by return of post. Today I am short of time and, therefore, a few things are left out.

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

371. LETTER TO BHAGWANJI PANDYA

July 7, 1930

CHI. BHAGWANJI,

I have your letter. Please do not feel miserable. Since you have not given up effort I have no doubt all will end well. The body is under our control and therefore we ought to check it and restrain our feelings. One who makes a show of physical self-control but indulges in all manner of pleasures mentally is a hypocrite, a double-dealer. One who controls one's body and also endeavours to always restrain one's mind is an active aspirant; one whose mind as well as body are fully under control is God [Himself]. It is enough if we are or [try to] become active aspirants of the middling category. We should never let our minds remain unclean. An evil thought should be thrown out no sooner than it occurs. We should know that our mind is like our body, which gets soiled every day and which we clean every day. The fact that we are obliged to accommodate Shankarbhai's father or others like him is a help to us in preserving our dharma. Non-violence means being strict towards one's self and liberal towards others; this is the sign of tolerance. Those who do not observe the rules, etc., deserve to be pitied, never to be hated. That we have given up tea, etc., that we abide by the rules is because we like it; if some do not, how can it be an excuse for us to swerve from our own stand? On the contrary let us hope that having observed our humble yet firm conduct people like Shankarbhai's father would be touched and give up their undesirable habits.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 320. Courtesy: Bhagwanji Purushottam Pandya

372. LETTER TO R. V. MARTIN

YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON,
July 8, 1930

DEAR MAJOR MARTIN,

With further reference to my letter about interviews, I enclose herewith a trial list to show what I mean when I say that I can see Mrs. Gandhi and others of my family only if on the same terms I can see those who are like blood relations to me, as those in the list are.

The alternative proposed by the Government is unacceptable to me for the simple reason that I do not wish to expose my wife and children to the indignity of having to apply to the Government for permission each time they may desire to see me.¹ I recognize that the Government need not let anybody see me. But if they do let me see anybody, I must refuse to avail myself of such permission if it is bereft of grace as, in my opinion, the present position about interviews is.

I know the Government's preoccupations and it pains me to have to take up their time over what is for them comparatively a trivial matter. I have reverted to it only because I had a talk with you about it and because I would like it finally decided one way or other.

If the list is approved, I reserve the right to submit a further list. It is impossible for me to recall at once the names of all who are intimately connected with me and are not known to political fame. I may observe that such names I have purposely omitted. A large number are boys and girls under 16. I have also omitted the names of relatives as they are already allowed and I have omitted those who to my knowledge are already imprisoned.

I am,

Yours sincerely,

M . K. GANDHI

¹ Vide "Letter to R.V.Martin", 11-6-1930.

[Enclosure]

Trial list referred to in the letter to which this is the enclosure.

Damodardas and his wife	Harihar Sharma
Manibai Galiara and her children	Begum Tyabji Raihana Tyabji
Lakhmidas Asar	Hamida Tyabji
Vellabai Asar	Pyar Ali
Laxmibehn Bar	Noorbanu
Motibehn Choksi	Abdullabhai
Mani Asar	Gomatibai Mashruwala
Lilavati Asar	Naoroji Sisters
Amina Qureshi	Khambhatta
Mathuradas Purushottam	Tehmina Khambhatta
Motibai Mathuradas	Mithubai Petit
Jankibai	Gangabehn Senior
Laxmibai Khare	Gangabehn Jhaveri
Rambhau	Manilal Jhaveri
Chhaganlal Joshi	Gulabbehn Manilal
Ramabai Joshi	Ratilal Mehta
Motibai Ranchhodlal	Champabehn Mehta
Ramabehn Ranchhodlal	Nanibehn Jhaveri
Sarla Devi Ambalal	Nanibehn Budhabhai
Nirmalabai	Bhansali
Ambalal Sarabhai girls and boys	Mathew
Ansuyabai Sarabhai	Kumarappa
Shankerlal Banker	Chandrashanker Shukla
Vinoba	Manibehn Parikh
Gopalrao	Manibehn Patel
Balkrishna	Nandabehn Kanuga
Shardabehn Mehta	Lalita
Dahibehn Patel	Lilabehn
Dahibehn Somabhai	Shantabai
Kamalabehn Patel	Shantabehn

Kamala Haridas	Jankibai Bajaj and children
Vasumatibehn	Kamalnayan
Kusum Desai	Nathji
Jethalal Gandhi	Kunverji Patel
Maganbhai Patel	Pundit Sukhlal
Kapilrai	Bechardas
Mahavir	V. Sundaram
Maitri	Emma Harker
Durga	Padmaja Naidu
Krishnamaiya Devi	Krishnabai Santanam
Sarojini Devi	Laxmi Rajgopalachari
Satyavati	Dahyabhai Patel
Kantabehn	Narmada Dahyabhai
Krishna Kumari	Shanti Kumar Narottamdas
Kasturbehn	Narsimha Prasad
Prithuraj	Mama Phadke
Laxmi Dadabhai	Haribhai Phatak
Lalji	Dilkhush Divanji
Vithal	Nandlal Shah
Jethalal Bhatia	Punjabhai
Babalbhai	Budhabhai
Kevalram	Karasandas Chitalia
Nirmala Kevalram	Surajbehn Manilal
Godse	Gangabehn Ramji
Somabhai	Motibehn Ramji
Hasmukhrai	Chelibehn Shah
Giriraj	Keshavrao Deshpande
Mannalal	Ramibai Kamdar
Jagannath	Lady Vithaldas
Shambhu	Kamalabai
Ishvarlal	Vithaldas Jerajani
Tapu	Chhotelal
Shivabhai Patel	Kikibehn Lalvani
Rowjibhai Patel	Girdhar

Sharjabehn
Premabai
Sarda Kotak
Harijivan Kotak
Parvati
Nirmala Desai
Balbhad[r]a
Dudabhai Motji
Anandi
Indu Parekh
Kantilal Parekh
Amritlal Nanavati
Samalbhai

Mangala
Pushpa
Mahalaxmi
Nirmala Pandya
Durgabeht Desai
Ramchandran
Juthabhai
Punjabhai Junior
Chimanlal
Gulab Bajaj
Kaku
Bapubhai Shelat

M.K.G.

From a photostat: G.N. 3850; also S.N. 19975

373. LETTER TO KAPILRAI MEHTA

YERAVDA MANDIR,
July 8, 1930

CHI. KAPILRAI,

Whence this illness again? It is the duty of every student to shake off illness forthwith. It is a crime to fall ill.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3973; also C.W. 19595. Courtesy:
Kapilrai Mehta

374. *LETTER TO PRABHAVATI*

YERAVDA MANDIR,
July 8, 1930

CHI. PRABHAVATI,

How is it that there is no letter from you? How are you?

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3389

375. *LETTER TO ISHVARLAL JOSHI*

YERAVDA MANDIR,
July 8, 1930

CHI. ISHVARLAL,

How are things with you? What progress have you made? Have you kept up your study of English ? Is Lakshmidasbhai satisfied with your progress?

Is Indu there? How is she? Ask her to write to me.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the original in Gujarati: C.W. 9311. Courtesy: Ishvarlal Joshi

376. *LETTER TO GANGABEHN VAIDYA*

July 8, 1930

CHI. GANGABEHN,

I got your letter. How is Kaka? What news of Ramibai?

Blessings from

BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro-6: G. S. Gangabehnne, p. 39; also C.W. 8752. Courtesy: Gangabehn Vaidya

377. *LETTER TO SHARDA C. SHAH*

YERAVDA MANDIR,

Silence Day, July 9, 1930

CHI. SHARDA (BABU),¹

Is it any wonder that we who are housed in the Mandir are in fine spirit? But why should you be suffering from asthma? Is it not due to their own fault that children or grown-ups fall ill? If this is true, you must find out where your fault lay and should not repeat it. Once you have recovered, your asthma would not visit you again if you follow a regular course of deepbreathing exercises, sun-bathing, massage, etc., and if you observe restraint in food, etc.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 9885. Courtesy: Shardabehn G. Chokhawala

¹ Daughter of Chimanlal and Shakaribehn

378. LETTER TO WILFRED WELLOCK¹

YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON,
July 11, 1930

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter. From a prison cell it would not be proper for me to enter into any argument. But you may depend upon my not missing a single real opportunity for co-operation. But I confess that I see no sign as yet in the midst of fraud, falsehood and force that appear to me to surround so many of the acts of the powers that be.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

Bombay Secret Abstracts, 750(34), p. 117

379. LETTER TO KASHINATH TRIVEDI

YERAVDA MANDIR,
July 11, 1930

CHI. KASHINATH,

I got your letter. It is good that you poured out your heart in it. I have known very few persons who have been free from the evil which you have described. The environment in which we live is so demoralizing that most young men are unable to save themselves from that evil. But, now, instead of repenting for the past, take proper care of the present, and leave nothing wanting in the attempt.

By all means, take Kalavati to a doctor. Let that lady doctor examine her. A note from me is not necessary, and it would be improper to send one from here. If you require any, a note from Narandas will serve the purpose. She is a kind-hearted lady.

I understand what you say about the *Gita*. I will try to read the Calcutta translation. I am sending a letter to Mahavir Prasad along with this. Read it. You did the right thing in showing it to Vinoba.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5247

¹ Member of Parliament, Birmingham

380. *LETTER TO KALAVATI TRIVEDI*

July 11, 1930

CHI. KALAVATI,

Your letter.

The only desire you may keep should be that for service. In or out of the Ashram, all service should be the same to you. It is no service if we find joy in doing those things only that suit us. It will mean self-satisfaction not service. We must never indulge in that. Kashinath has written about your pain. You need hipbaths and certainly purity of heart. Try to keep your mind calm.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 5246

381. *LETTER TO KAMALNAYAN BAJAJ*

YERAVDA MANDIR,

July 12, 1930

CHI. KAMALNAYAN,

I have your letter. Just now your duty is to make your body strong. Your diet is all right. Take proper exercise. Do as much khadi work as you can. Write to me regularly. How is Kamala? And Madalasa? Ask Janakibehn to write to me. What does Father eat? How much do you spin daily? Do you get time to do any reading?

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

Kakasaheb sends you his blessings.¹

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3043

¹ This is in Hindi.

382. LETTER TO CHANDRAKANTA

Y.M.,
July 12, 1930

CHI. KANTA,

I have your letter. Only the woman who controls her desires and finds joy only in doing her duty can truly serve. There is always a conflict going on in our minds between the good and the desirable. To be truly human one must choose the good and find it desirable. We are not always certain what should be regarded as good. Hence, in the course of one's striving it is necessary to have faith in one's superiors and in the received word and to act accordingly. Of course, it will always be well with you.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

What is Brother doing? Give him my blessings.

From a photostat of the Hindi: Chandrakanta Papers. Courtesy: Gandhi National Museum and Library

383. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

YERAVDA MANDIR,
July 13, 1930

CHI. VASUMATI,

I got your letter. What does work mean? Is not spinning and carding work? All work done sincerely has equal value. True soldiership or devotion to God or spiritual living consists in being content with the duty which falls to our lot. Absorption in the work of service which has come to us unasked is the only true *samadhi*. It is quite true that attaining this state of mind is a slow process. All that one can do, therefore, is to go on striving. The result lies in God's hands. We are both in good health. I will give more information on this subject in the common letter for the Ashram.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 3283

384. LETTER TO PREMABEHN KANTAK

YERAVDA MANDIR,

July 13, 1930

CHI. PREMA,

I have your letter. Nirmala's letters reveal the beautiful influence of her Hindi and yours that of Marathi. For instance, *bet rahit karyo*¹. I like a language being enriched in this manner. I hope in a short time to be able to follow Marathi very well. I am at it every day.

I have finally given up hope of getting the English letter.

I know about Krishnan Nair.

Your handwriting in Gujarati seems to be improving.

Idealism sometimes causes pain but a human being without idealism is like a brute. Our highest duty is to see that our idealism takes the right direction.

You should try once to eat bitter gourds uncooked.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10225; also C.W. 6673. Courtesy: Premabehn Kantak

¹ "Dropped the intention for the time being".

385. LETTER TO MATHURADAS PURUSHOTTAM

YERAVDA MANDIR,

July 13, 1930

CHI. MATHURADAS,

I got your letters. I was glad that you wrote out and sent me the instructions for improving the method of carding. How can I expect to get copies of the *Navajivan* here ? I have no copy of the *saptapadi*¹ pledge with me. If you send one, I will try to revise and improve it with Kakasaheb's help.

As for the book on non-violence, I am at present trying to live it. The book will have real value only if I can practise the idea in my own life. What I write will become a dead letter one day. What I live will ever grow. And haven't I written enough on the subject in short articles from time to time? What can I say now which I have not said already? Even if I try, I cannot think of anything new to say. However, the request which you have made has been made by some others too. If, therefore, I feel an urge within me in future, I may write one. Cease grieving over Meghji's death. We have countless Meghjis with us.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3739.

¹ *Vide* "With bare religious rites", 7-3-1926.

386. *LETTER TO SHANKERLAL BANKER*

Y.M.,
July 13, 1930

CHI. SHANKERLAL,

I have your letter. One who understands the meaning of ahimsa must realize the importance of the *takli* and the charkha. It becomes clearer each day that they are visible manifestations of ahimsa.

Take care of your health. Did Gulzarilal receive my letter? Ask him to write to me.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original: G.N. 11549

387. *LETTER TO ANASUYABEHN SARABHAI*

Y. M.,
July 13, 1930

CHI. ANASUYABEHN,

I was pleased to read your letter. The weaving school students are doing credit to the name and the work of their Ashram. I am getting along well. Take care of your health.

What more need I write?

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original: G.N. 11550

388. LETTER TO DURGA GIRI¹

YERAVDA MANDIR,
July 13, 1930

CHI. DURGA,

Your letter is good. The handwriting too is good. Will you test me in sewing or shall I test you? Over there you are learning cutting too. Who can teach me all this here ? But I shall see who surpasses, my walking sticks² or I? I have praised your handwriting in the hope that you would further improve it. You girls have an example in Radhabehn's handwriting. Mistakes due to oversight can be corrected by revising the letter.³

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Hindi]

Bapuki Virat Vatsalata, p. 30

389. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

UNREVISED,
July 14, 1930

CHI. MIRA,

I have your letter. I am likely now to get the Ashram post regularly.

Your taking cold baths I do not mind so long as the body reacts immediately. There should be no chill felt. The full benefit of a cold bath according to the Indian style is dependent upon vigorous rubbing as the water is being poured. This is followed by equally vigorous rubbing with a dry towel till all the parts are thoroughly dry. But please do not try unboiled water. My case here is different. I get the same water, which is strained and stored in a separate earthen pot. The whole water supply for the jail is filtered.

¹ Daughter of Dalbahadur Giri who, along with her brothers, sisters and widowed mother, was residing in the Ashram

² Girls on whose shoulders Gandhiji leaned while walking

³ The original letter was in Gujarati.

My constipation has almost altogether abated. This was due to my having reverted to milk in the morning instead of curds. If I find the heating of milk or hot water necessary, I shall not hesitate to take either or both. But I am hoping that it will not be necessary. Fresh fruit does not appear to be necessary for me. I am not losing weight. Last week it was between 103 and 104 lb. I do not consider this a bad weight. You will thus see that there is no cause for anxiety on my account.

You ask for the *Gita* translation. I should love to do it. But just now what little time I do get is given to the translation of the *Bhajanavali*¹ also undertaken for you. I am going at a snail's pace. I therefore do not know when that will be finished. The *Gita* translation is a big task. You will agree I may not suspend the spinning for it. For the spinning is applied translation of the *Gita* if one may coin that expression. But if I have long enough of this quiet, I shall certainly undertake the translation.

We cannot have at the Ashram the worship of the kind you refer to. Of course, we have the little *samadhi* near Magan Kutir. But nobody save a few look at it. The inmates of the Ashram have no living faith in that kind of worship. For the worship of the invisible, the intellect is ready but the heart does not respond. We have, however, to plod in that direction. As pointed out in the 12th chapter, that way is undoubtedly hard to tread but it is not impossible. It will come. Everyone is subconsciously recognizing the worth of the Ashram prayer. It has been the sole solace of many. Those that attend it are not scoffers. They are not wittingly irreverent either. The spirit is willing, the flesh is weak. They are all striving. And no one who has honestly striven has ever been known to have failed. Ours is, you should remember, a somewhat original attempt. We have no solemn-looking building for prayer. We have simply the open space. But it is a sound thing especially as we represent the famishing millions. For us the sky must be an all-sufficing roof and the four directions our limitless walls. But we shall take time before we outgrow habits handed down from generations, if not ages. And yet, if we are to break through all bonds of race, class and creed, we can have but the openest of house of prayer and in the way we are having it. Am I clear?

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 5401. Courtesy: Mirabeehn; also G.N. 9635

¹ Vide "*Ashram Bhajanavali*", the last item in this volume.

390. LETTER TO KUSUM DESAI

YERAVDA MANDIR,
July 14, 1930

CHI. KUSUM (SENIOR),

I have a letter from you after many days. You have joined a good place. Ultimately, you will have to return to the Ashram. Do not ruin your health. Write to me from time to time. Don't take up sewing before you have acquired mastery over carding and spinning on the wheel and the *takli*. It is easy to learn sewing. Nor is it absolutely necessary. I would be satisfied if your spinning could become perfect. Is Purani still out?

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1800

391. LETTER TO MANIBEHN PATEL

YERAVDA MANDIR,
July 14, 1930

CHI. MANI (PATEL),

Well done. No sooner did you meet the real father¹ than you forgot the adopted father. And now you are a speaker at public meetings and thus all the more likely to forget me. How are you in body, and in mind? Did you get my letters?

How is Dahyabhai ? And how is Yashoda ? Has she recovered completely?

Blessings from

BAPU

CHI. MANIBEHN PATEL

DR. KANUGA'S BUNGALOW

ELLIS BRIDGE

AHMEDABAD

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro-4: Manibehn Patelne, p. 71

¹ Vallabhbhai Patel, who was released from jail on June 26, 1930.

392. LETTER TO HARIPRASAD

YERAVDA MANDIR,

July 14, 1930

CHI. HARIPRASAD,

It is good that you have returned. Now tell me your routine and also your thoughts.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2549

393. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

YERAVDA MANDIR,

July 13/15, 1930¹

CHI. NARANDAS,

This time all the letters were delivered to me as soon as they were received, and probably that is what they will do in future too .

Last time I wrote 47 letters and then added two at the last moment, but could not change the figure which I had mentioned in your letter. For the Jail Superintendent arrived then and I handed over the packet to him after inserting into it those two slips of paper.

My speed has not increased to 400 rounds, or even yards, and it is not likely to do so. I believe that my body simply does not have the capacity for that. Formerly I used to spin 160 rounds during the day; instead, I now spin 375 rounds. But to spin that takes on an average four hours. Even on days on which everything goes well, I take not less than three hours. The average probably comes to 400 rounds a day. The speed used to be 160, which has now risen to 200 rounds, but that only on the day on which I have sufficient energy and the materials are well arranged. Make this correction. I have become slackabout the *takli* these days. I get pretty tired working on the spinning-wheel. Ever since my illness I have lost the strength to sit up

¹ This letter written on different days is placed under the date on which it was completed. Similar letters to Narandas Gandhi and Mirabehn are placed accordingly.

for four hours at a stretch. I, therefore, find it difficult to accustom the body to that. But this is my only spiritual discipline at present and hence I cling to it. Of course I take care of the body. The weight is steady, so I don't believe any harm is being done. I have good sleep. I of course give some time to the *takli*. I cannot yet make a very good *takli* with my own hands and, for want of time, I do not try to learn to do so by constant practice. I give primary importance to spinning, as I should like to spin as much yarn as I can. Sewing is going on all right. The hand has set well on the machine. I still do not know its intricacies, for there is no one here to teach them to me. You will read more about these matters in my letters to Mirabehn.

Kakasaheb is in excellent health. After his coming here his weight has increased by two pounds. He walks for about two and a half hours daily, in addition to the walking he has to do in connection with work. He takes all the milk in the form of curds, so that the milk he consumes is easily digested. He toasts bread. Ordinarily he gets the vegetables by turns. He gets radishes and brinjals, and sometimes *turiya* or *guvar*. He does not cook the radishes. He digests ten *tolas* of butter. He still spins on the *takli* only. A Gandiva spinning-wheel arrived from Surat only recently and Kakasaheb has started to learn spinning on it from today. He continues to teach me Marathi. It is he, again, who puts the fruit into water for me or washes it and also washes the utensils in the evening. Besides these, I accept many other small services from him.

You need not worry about either of us.

I am happy that the problem of the Bharwads has been solved.

I have not received any cotton from there till today. I am writing this on Saturday night. If no cotton has been sent up to the time that you get this letter, post some immediately. I think there will be no difficulty if I get it by return of post in reply to this letter. I do hope, indeed, that since I have given the time-limit up to the 15th, I shall get the cotton on or before Tuesday. As days pass, I have certainly become a little impatient.

I did not see Sharja's letter. Kanu's I got this time.

Give me news about Punjabhai. How is he ? Where does he live? How does he spend his time?

July 14, 1930

One of the boys asks me in his letter why I use slips of paper. The reply is that a prisoner should consume the minimum of everything. Secondly, he who observes the vow of non-possession is a trustee of all property and, therefore, I must use the property of this prison, too, like a miser. Thirdly, isn't this property really ours? With whose money have these things been bought? Fourthly, in this poor country the less the consumption of such things the better. Fifthly, it hurts me to use anything extravagantly at a time like this.

I hear today that there is a railway receipt in the office, which means that the cotton is likely to have arrived. If I cannot mention the total number of letters, I am sure you will see the serial number on the last letter.

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

It is now 5.30 a.m. on Tuesday.¹ I stop writing the letters. In all there are 52. If there are people to whom I have omitted to write and if they expect letters from me, send me their names. How is a man with a large family to decide whom he would write to and whom he may omit? Where is Subbiah?

BAPU

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

¹ July 15

394. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

YERAVDA MANDIR,
July 15, 1930

CHI. PRABHAVATI,

The last two packets from the Ashram contained no letter from you. Since as a rule you write regularly, the absence of a letter from you worries me. How is Father? What is Jayaprakash engaged in at present? I am all right.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3390.

395. LETTER TO PRABHUDAS GANDHI

YERAVDA MANDIR,
July 15, 1930

CHI. PRABHUDAS,

Because I do not write to you every week, it does not follow that you need not do so either. I can know about the state of your health and your group's only if you write and tell me every week. You may write whatever else you wish to.

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

Send me the names of all the children in the Bal Mandir.

From the Gujarati original : S.N. 33012

396. *LETTER TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA*

YERAVDA MANDIR,
July 15, 1930

CHI. BRIJKRISHNA,

Give me an account of your health and your mental state. You can write care of the Ashram. Do you see Devdas?¹ Where is Krishnan Nair?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2382

397. *LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK*

YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON,
July 16, 1930

MY DEAR HENRY,

Your cable was given to me only yesterday.

As a prisoner, I may not write to you as fully as I would like. All therefore I can say is that if you knew the circumstances as much as I do, you would not press me to go to the R.T.C. I should be perfectly useless there. I see nothing in the Viceregal statement to give me any cause for hope. The fact is swaraj is for us to take. It cannot come by way of donation.

My love to Millie, Celic, Leon and all those we knew. Where is Maud nowadays? With my love to Andrews tell him I had his cable just after my imprisonment.

Yours,
BHAI

Mahatma Gandhi: Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement in India, Vol. III, Pt. III, p. 182

¹ Devdas Gandhi had been arrested and sentenced in Delhi early in April for offering civil disobedience.

398. LETTER TO GOVIND PATEL

YERAVDA MANDIR,
July 17, 1930

CHI. GOVIND,

I was glad to see your letter written in a beautiful hand. Now write to me regularly in future. I had altogether forgotten you. Probably all persons with a large family find themselves in such a plight. Out of sight, out of mind.

I am very happy to learn that your health has improved. I have no doubt at all that you will always do your work carefully. May God give you a long life and make you a true servant.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3944

399. NOTE TO MIRABEHN

[July 18, 1930]¹

CHI. MIRA,

It hurts me but I must deny myself this pleasure, if I am to be consistent with myself.² Please leave the wheel, etc., and I shall manage the best way I can. It is on such occasions that we test ourselves. God be with you.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 5402. Courtesy: Mirabehn; also G.N. 9636

¹ According to a note by Mirabehn in *Young India*, 24-7-1930, she took the wheel to Gandhiji on Friday, which was July 18. *Vide* also "The final test", 9-3-1930.

² The following note by Mirabehn appears along with this letter in *Bapu's Letters to Mira*, p. 101: "I had prepared a wheel on the Bihar pattern and taken it to Yeravda Jail, as I knew it would be difficult for Bapu to understand the method of fitting it if I did not explain it personally. But this proved not to be possible, and Bapu sent me the following note in the Superintendent's office."

400. LETTER TO RAOJIBHAI PATEL

YERAVDA MANDIR,
July 18, 1930

CHI. RAOJIBHAI,

I have your letter. To be ready for jail is a duty. To wish to go to jail is ignorant attachment. We should have only one wish, and that is to serve. Any condition in which we can serve should be welcomed.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8988

401. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

YERAVDA MANDIR,
July 18, 1930

CHI. NARANDAS,

I got the bag of this week's love letters yesterday evening. I will reply to most of them on the Silence Day. I write this just to tell you that you should either put the letters in an envelope lined with cloth or secure the packet with a string on all sides. The letters were about to fall out of the packet. I got the cotton on the 16th.

Blessings from
BAPU

CHI. NARANDAS GANDHI
SABARMATI ASHRAM
B.B. [&] C.I. RLY.

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

402. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

YERAVDA MANDIR,
July 18, 1930

CHI. PRABHAVATI,

I had a letter from you after many weeks. I was relieved.

I keep good health. The weight remains at about 103-104. The diet consists of milk, curds, raisins, dates and lemons. Do not worry on my account. I spin 375 rounds daily. I have learnt sewing on the machine. Kakasaheb is with me.

You may write anything you wish to.

Does Father tour in villages?

My blessings to Jayaprakash.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3365

403. LETTER TO PRABHUDAS GANDHI

YERAVDA MANDIR,
July 18, 1930

CHI. PRABHUDAS,

I got your letter. Stop worrying about your health. It will be as God has ordained. Worrying about health will not improve it. We may try our best. This is my emphatic advice. You should go away purely for the sake of your health to some hill station where you can stay comfortably. You may do there whatever khadi work in cotton or wool you can. Live as if the fight¹ was not going on at all.

If this advice does not appeal to you or is rejected by Chhaganlal or Kashi, do as they advise you. You should not decide on your own because just now, it is beyond your capacity to do so. You may, if you wish, consult the Vaidyaraj at Morbi. I insist on one thing only. I cannot order you from here. Do as Chhaganlal and Kashi advise you after reading this letter. Regard their advice as an

¹ That is, the civil disobedience movement which was then in progress

order. If Narandas has any suggestion to make in this matter, listen to him. I have not shown this to Kakasaheb. If his view is different from mine, I will include it in this letter.

Kakasaheb has not yet gone through what you have written about the *Ramayana*. I will let you know his opinion after he has done so. Go on doing what you have been doing by yourself.

What you say about prayer is quite right. All our undertakings are in the experimental stage. None among us is omniscient. All of us are blind, but some of us who have more knowledge than the others, are trying to find remedies for the blindness and to employ them. That being so, how can it be otherwise than that our prayer should be imperfect? If Narandas has the time to do so, I have suggested to him to introduce whatever reforms are possible. The prayer ultimately is a matter of faith. We have to bring ourselves to take sufficient interest in prayer to keep up that faith. After all, if you go in the mornings and join the prayer group in that spirit, it will be sufficient prayer for you, no matter in what language the prayer is offered. The practice of collective silent prayer also is prevalent in the world. Devout men and women among the Roman Catholics can sit for hours together, absorbed in silent prayer. Our aim is somehow to find peace of mind. You need to cultivate the habit of reading with proper attention whatever you read. It can be cultivated by practice. Even in this, however, if thinking too much confuses your mind, then give up the effort to think. Do not be overeager in this matter either. We have clung to the practice of prayer all these years with a pure motive. We are therefore sure to discover the right key some day. Till then, be content with the fact that the people have begun coming. For some things, time is the only remedy. The more we think about it, the worse the thing gets but if we wait in patience, we will discover the remedy. This is not likely to give much satisfaction to one like you. But just now I cannot think of anything more satisfying than this. It is therefore best to endure what cannot be cured.

I understand what you say about the spinning-wheel. Insist that all the girls who are carrying on the experiment, clean their spinning-wheels properly. Banish from your mind the thought that the girls will never do or cannot do this work.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original: S.N. 32998

404. LETTER TO SHIVABHAI

YERAVDA MANDIR,
July 19, 1930

CHI. SHIVABHAI,

I got your letter. The Lord has stated it as a law, to which there is no exception, that everyone gets what he seeks with devotion. We seek the spirit of disinterested service which would require us to sacrifice our all. If, therefore, we fail to cultivate such a spirit, the Lord's words would be proved untrue or maybe our aspiration is not sincere. We should, therefore, have faith and pursue with single-minded devotion the task to which we have dedicated ourselves.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9499

405. LETTER TO DUDHIBEHN DESAI

July 19, 1930

CHI. DUDHIBEHN,

I have your letter. You must have returned to the Ashram now. Do you go and see Valji? How is he? When you meet him next, tell him that I often think of him. Take care of your health.

How are Hari-ichchha and the others?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 7404. Courtesy: V. G. Desai

406. LETTER TO AMINA QURESHI

YERAVDA MANDIR,
July 19, 1930

CHI. AMINA,

I have your letter. Father and Qureshi are in jail. You wish to be there and, moreover, you live in the Ashram. You should, therefore, believe that you are in the struggle too. It is more than enough if we are content to live where and in the condition that God wills. Do not give up your study of Urdu. Giriraj will be able to teach you. Tell Father or Qureshi, whoever it is you see, that I cannot forget either of them.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 6657

407. LETTER TO GANGABEHN VAIDYA

YERAVDA MANDIR,
July 19, 1930

CHI. GANGABEHN (SENIOR),

I have your letter. It seems Kaka is getting useful experience. Write to Ramibai and ask her to write to me. I often remember her and Kamdar¹.

What you said to Shankerlal was quite correct. We should certainly take in any *Antyajas* who may wish to join.

Don't be anxious to economize on fruit at the cost of your health.

You must have read about Kakasaheb's diet. If you wish to suggest any change in it, do so. He does indeed keep good health.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro-6: G. S. Gangabehnme, p. 39; also C.W. 8753. Courtesy: Gangabehn Vaidya

¹ Ramibai's husband

408. LETTER TO PREMABEHN KANTAK

YERAVDA MANDIR,
July 19, 1930

CHI. PREMA,

I got your humorous letter crammed with news. Continue to write in this manner. I do hope that I shall not fall ill here. How can I have here Prema and Vasumati who would remain by my side whenever I seemed to be passing through a difficult time, fearing that something must have happened to me? Don't believe the rumour about my having lost weight. My health is indeed good.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10226; also C.W. 6674. Courtesy: Premabehn Kantak

409. LETTER TO LALJI PARMAR

YERAVDA MANDIR,
July 19, 1930

CHI. LALJI,

Kakasaheb and I were pleased to read your long letter. In future, write in ink. Work very hard. Never swerve from truth or forsake self-restraint and modesty. As far as you are concerned, you should form the habit of getting up regularly at four. You will realize in future the great benefit of such a habit.

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

Ask Mamasahab to write to me

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3294

410. LETTER TO MATHURADAS PURUSHOTTAM

YERAVDA MANDIR,
July 19, 1930

CHI. MATHURADAS,

Both of us have gone through your glossary of technical terms. I should like to suggest one change. For *baithak*, it is not enough merely to sit on the floor with the right leg drawn in. It is necessary to sit with the toes of the right foot pressed, under the left thigh. If this is not done, the leg may at times brush against the string or the rod. Think over this. If I can do so, I will think about the other definitions too. I like your zeal for perfection very much.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3740

411. LETTER TO RAMABEHN JOSHI

YERAVDA MANDIR,
July 19, 1930

CHI. RAMA,

I have your letter. It is beautiful. You have taken upon yourself a big responsibility, but I know that it is not beyond your strength. Haven't we, moreover, learnt that verse which tells us that the Lord takes upon Himself the burden of the prosperity and welfare of those who think of Him with single-minded devotion?¹ Why then should we worry? You have done quite right in changing the time of the prayer.

My blessings to all the women.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5322

¹ *Bhagavad Gita*, IX. 22.

412. LETTER TO CHANDRAKANTA

Y. M.,
July 19, 1930

CHI. KANTA,

I have your letter. I have received Brother's also. Has not the Lord said in Ch. XII [of the *Gita*] that if we cannot absorb ourselves in this service, that is, in the service of His creation, we shall be able to do so by practice and yoga? By "practice" we should here understand effort. Very few persons are inclined by nature towards service, but everyone can make an effort. Sincere effort makes it natural in the end and then it becomes a thing of joy. Do you follow this? Should I continue to write in the Devanagari script or may I change that also to Gujarati?

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: Chandrakanta Papers. Courtesy: Gandhi National Museum and Library

413. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

UNREVISED

July 20, 1930

CHI. MIRA,

It pained me to have to refuse to see you.¹ But the proof of my having done the right thing came the next morning. The Government have rejected my offer and therefore there can be no interviews now. It would be unbecoming for me to press my view-point. They are entitled to refuse every facility to prisoners as was done all the world over only a century ago or even much later. It is enough that the exchange of letters is permitted. But you will recognize that even this is a precarious thing. Any moment they may stop the correspondence or impose unacceptable conditions. We can only gain by self-denial. Therefore, there need be no heartburning over this stoppage of interviews. It is better that spirit meets spirit. No power on earth can stop that blessed contact.

Now for the gifts you left. I note the extraordinary care over the smallest detail. I began the use of the new wheel immediately. This, therefore, was the second day of use. Today is Sunday after the commencement of silence. But whilst this love is deep, it is not as wise as it might be. Your wheel has not lessened the strain. As I explained to Mathuradas, the strain was in the having to sit out for five hours in practically one posture. If I could reduce the hours and get the same amount of production, it would be another matter. That the new wheel is not likely to do. As it is, the strain on the left arm is felt in using the new wheel. For in this you have to move the arm away from you and raise it too, where [-as] in the box wheel, the arm is in a horizontal position and moves towards oneself. Moreover, you could ill afford to give time to a matter like this and take up that of skilled workmen unless it is required by me. I must be allowed to be capable of looking

¹ *Vide* "Note to Mirabehn", 18-7-1930.

after myself and expressing my wants. Thirdly, I have not yet been able to draw as fine a thread as on the box wheel. The result is the use of 50 per cent more slivers—a national waste! Enough however of criticism. I am not going, lightly, to leave aside a thing that has come charged with so much love. I am, therefore, going to continue the use of the wheel and report to you from time to time. What oil do you use for the holders and the axle ? How often do you apply the resin to the *mal*? The *taklis* I have tried. They are not as good as the one I have made here. The discs are too large, the bamboo not well polished. There seems to be a proportion between the thickness of the rod and the circumference of the disc. If weight is wanting, it must be made up by making the disc thicker. Next time you make a *takli*, you will consider these points and let me know your opinion.

There is nothing new to report about my health. The weight keeps steady.

You will please take no liberties with your body during the tour.

I am putting in more time for the translation of the *bhajans*. I have now finished the Sanskrit verses and am now on the *bhajans*.

Give my love to Hariprasad.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 5403. Courtesy: Mirabehn; also G.N. 9637

414. LETTER TO PATRICK QUINN¹

July 20, 1930

DEAR MR. QUINN,

Will you please post the enclosed p.c. which you will see is a mere acknowledgment? Did you order the irrigator?

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

Mahatma Gandhi: Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement in India, Vol. III, Pt. III, P. 284

415. LETTER TO PATRICK QUINN

[July 20, 1930]²

DEAR MR. QUINN,

Will you please send for dates 2 lb., raisins 2 lb.?

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

Mahatma Gandhi: Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement in India, Vol. III, Pt. III, P. 285

¹ Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison

² The date has been inferred from the placing of the item in the source.

416. LETTER TO RATILAL SHAH

July 20, 1930

BHAISHRI RATILAL,

I have your letter. The event is sad but it is the kind of thing that is going on all the time. I have come to the conclusion that we needlessly regard death as a matter for sorrow. Like all other natural processes, death is also a necessary and beneficial phenomenon. Hence even to a person denying the existence of the soul or its attributes, it is no cause for fear, and it is much less so for one who believes in the soul and its immortality. We should not regard it as a cause for grief that Behn Zabak left the body that had outlived its utility.

As for books, I have not come across many which deserve to be read carefully and pondered. For me, the *Gita* and Tulsidas suffice, and, among modern writings those of Raychandbhai. However, if you wish to read anything recent you may read Kishorelal's *Jivanshodhan*.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 7164; also C.W. 4658. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

417. LETTER TO PURUSHOTTAM D. SARAIYA

YERAVDA MANDIR,
July 20, 1930

CHI. KAKU,

I hope you have not taken a vow not to write to me. Or probably you are waiting for a letter from me before writing yourself. You had escaped very cleverly indeed. But it must have been God's will to reserve you for a greater task. We shall have done our duty if we do our work with single-minded devotion. Do write to me. Both Kakasaheb and I shall be pleased.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 2805. Courtesy: P.D. Saraiya

418. LETTER TO RAMESHWARDAS PODDAR

YERAVDA MANDIR,
July 20, 1930

BHAI RAMESHWARDAS,

We got the letter addressed to us both. You are serving to the best of your ability and that is enough. This will give you strength to do more. If you let Ramanama sink from the lips into the heart, your discontent will disappear.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 217

419. LETTER TO J. C. KUMARAPPA

YERAVDA MANDIR,
July 21, 1930

MY DEAR KUMARAPPA,

Your note. When your brother returns he must first come to the Vidyapith and see things for himself. Then, but not till then, he is free to make his choice. You had my previous letter sent from Karadi about him, had you not? Give my love to him when he comes. And remember me to your sister when you write to her.

'Thodsow' is a Tamil corruption of 'Dodhso' nks<lks-
Love from us both.

Yours,
BAPU

[PS.]

Yes, your book was duly received, thanks.

From a photostat: G.N. 10087

420. LETTER TO MANSHANKAR J. TRIVEDI

YERAVDA MANDIR,
July 21, 1930

CHI. MANU (TRIVEDI),

Maganbhai has given detailed news about you. We were both happy to read it. May God grant you good health and increase your zeal for service from day to day. I have certainly not forgotten that you used to bring fresh grapes for me. When you write to Father, tell him that I have many sweet memories of him.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 7758

421. LETTER TO HEMPRABHA DAS GUPTA

YERAVDA MANDIR,

July 21, 1930

DEAR SISTER,

I got your two letters together.

Some of the devotees are tried very severely. God is testing you thus. But that He grants strength to endure is also His blessing. How is Arun¹ now? Is any improvement noticed in Tarini and Charu's health? How many people are working at Sodepur? By the grace of God Kshitish Bapu² is with you and has been blessed with a sound constitution and a stout heart. You have also the support of Dr. Ray. Convey my best wishes to both.

Does Satis Babu get milk, etc.? Has he proper facilities for sleeping and resting?

Give me all the news.

May God grant you health, peace and patience.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 1668

¹ Addressee's youngest and the only surviving child

² Younger brother of Satis Chandra Das Gupta

422. CABLE TO V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI¹

[YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON,
July 22, 1930]²

THANKS CABLE. DEPEND UPON DOING MY BEST.
AM PRAYING FOR LIGHT. LOVE.

Bombay Secret Abstracts, 750(56), p. 21

423. LETTER TO G. A. NATESAN

YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON,
July 22, 1930

DEAR FRIEND,

I have been given your letter with enclosures. Many thanks. You may depend upon my doing my best. I had a cable from Shastriar. I am praying for light, but as yet I do not see a ray in this impenetrable darkness.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SJT. G. A. NATESAN
“INDIAN REVIEW”
GEORGE TOWN, MADRAS

From a photostat: G.N. 2236

¹ Srinivasa Sastri had cabled to Gandhiji “to receive the proposals of Sapru and Jayakar with sympathy”.

² According to a note just below the cable, the covering letter from Major Doyle with which this was forwarded was dated July 22, 1930; *vide* also the following item.

424. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

July 18/22, 1930

CHI. NARANDAS,

I got your packet yesterday. So many letters cannot be carried safely in an envelope of ordinary paper. It was quite torn when it arrived. You should either use envelopes lined with cloth or even though the cover is treated as a letter for purposes of postage, you should secure it strongly with a string on all sides so that the letters cannot slip out unless the string is broken.

I got the cotton as late as on the 16th. But I was put to no difficulty. Prabhudas and Munnalal speak in their letters about the prayers being dull. Does not Balkrishna lead *bhajans*? Would not you or somebody else speak something about the *Gita* or on some other subject? Balkrishna can do so if he decides. If we cannot do anything besides reciting Sanskrit verses, we may be content with that, but if we can we must introduce something more. Or start reading something in Gujarati. Discuss the matter with Prabhudas and Munnalal, then have a talk with Balkrishna and do what you think proper. I know that you cannot spare time even to think about a matter like this. Even then I make the suggestion. Do what is possible.

We should make an attempt to mix with the Bharwads and make them feel one with us.

July 19, 1930

Much of what I write in these letters is meant for the whole of our group there and so I don't mention those things in the letters to others. One such thing is Kakasaheb's blessings. Let everyone know that the letter to him or her carries them. Kakasaheb receives greetings from all the persons there, for he reads all the letters which they write and his name is mentioned in every one of them. Both of us are glad to know this and to realize that the members of our group have humility.

Thinking about the diary, I feel that it is of priceless value to me. For a person who has dedicated himself to the pursuit of truth, it

serves as a means of keeping watch over himself, for such a person is determined to write in it nothing but the truth. If he has idled away his time or has done less work than usual, he must mention that. Thus a diary helps in many ways. It is, therefore, necessary that everyone there should realize its value. Once we start keeping a diary regularly, we know automatically what to write and how to write it. Yes, there is one condition, namely, that we should aim at being truthful. If that is not so, a diary will be like a false coin. If it contains nothing but the truth, it is of greater value than a gold mohur.

Letter No. 60 is for Mrs. Zaulinger; read that. Try to find out from her what her difficulty is.

I see that it is a hardship for you to have to make a list of the letters. If that takes too much of your time, you may stop doing it. It will suffice if you merely give the total number. You may make a list if you can do so without inconvenience.

I must now write off visits. You will know the reason from my letter to Mirabehn. I don't write about it again in this letter. What would I do if I could not even write? I should give up doing that, too, if I cannot preserve my self-respect while writing. The path of *bhakti* is a difficult one. But we have no other before us.

Do not worry if the number of letters goes on increasing. Let anyone who wants to write do so freely. It will be enough if they observe the restrictions imposed by jail rules. Political questions should not be discussed, nor can I write anything about them. There is, and should be, no objection to giving news about everyone.

Tell Dr. Haribhai that I often remember him. Has Dr Kanuga completely recovered now?

After morning prayers, July 22, 1930

There is a suggestion in Vishvanath's letter that every week I should write and send a discourse to be read out at prayer time. I thought about the request and felt that it deserved to be complied with. Treat these discourses as my contribution to the attempt to make the prayers more alive. I am considering with Kakasaheb if we can send anything for the other six days as well. Here is something for this week.¹

¹ This and the other discourses on the Ashram vows contained in the letters to

I deal first with truth, as the Satyagraha Ashram owes its very existence to the pursuit and the attempted practice of truth.

The word '*satya*' is derived from *sat*, which means that which is. *Satya* means a state of being. Nothing is or exists in reality except Truth. That is why *sat* or *satya* is the right name for God. In fact it is more correct to say that Truth is God than to say that God is Truth. But as we cannot do without a ruler or general, the name God is and will remain more current. On deeper thinking, however, it will be realized that *sat* or *satya* is the only correct and fully significant name for God.

And where there is Truth, there also is knowledge which is true. Where there is no Truth, there can be no true knowledge. That is why the word *chit* or knowledge is associated with the name of God. And where there is true knowledge, there is always *ananda*, bliss. There sorrow has no place. And even as Truth is eternal, so is the bliss derived from it. Hence we know God as *Sat-chit-ananda*, one who combines in Himself Truth, knowledge and bliss.

Devotion to this Truth is the sole justification for our existence. All our activities should be centred in truth. Truth should be the very breath of our life. When once this stage in the pilgrim's progress is reached, all other rules of correct living will come without effort and obedience to them will be instinctive. But without Truth it is impossible to observe any principles or rules in life.

Generally speaking, [observance of the law of] Truth is understood merely to mean that we must speak the truth. But we in the Ashram should understand the word *satya* or Truth in a much wider sense. There should be Truth in thought, Truth in speech and Truth in action. To the man who has realized this Truth in its fullness, nothing else remains to be known, because, as we have seen above, all knowledge is necessarily included in it. What is not included in it is not Truth, and so not true knowledge; and there can be no real bliss without true knowledge. If we once learn how to apply this never-failing test of Truth, we will at once be able to find out what is worth doing, what is worth seeing, what is worth reading.

But how is one to realize this Truth, which may be likened to the

Narandas Gandhi first appeared in book form under the title *Mangal Prabhat* (Tuesday Morning). The translation is reproduced from *From Yeravda Mandir*, with a few changes to bring it into conformity with the Gujarati. Gandhiji states in the preface to the booklet that he had gone through it carefully and revised the translation in places.

philosopher's stone or the cow of plenty? By *abhyasa*, single-minded devotion, and *vairagya*, indifference to all other interests in life—replies the *Bhagavad Gita*. Even so, what may appear as truth to one person will often appear as untruth to another person. But that need not worry the seeker. Where there is honest effort, it will be realized that what appear to be different truths are like the countless and apparently different leaves of the same tree. Does not God Himself appear to different individuals in different aspects? Yet we know that He is one. But Truth is the right designation of God. Hence there is nothing wrong in every man following Truth according to his lights. Indeed it is his duty to do so. Then if there is a mistake on the part of anyone so following Truth, it will be automatically set right. For the quest of Truth involves *tapascharya*, self-suffering, sometimes even unto death. There can be no place in it for even a trace of self-interest. In such selfless search for Truth, nobody can lose his bearings for long. Directly he takes to the wrong path he stumbles, and is thus redirected to the right path. Therefore the pursuit of Truth is true *bhakti*, devotion. Such *bhakti* is “a bargain in which one risks one's very life”. It is the path that leads to God. There is no place in it for cowardice, no place for defeat. It is the talisman by which death itself becomes the portal to life eternal.

But now we have come to the border-line beyond which lies ahimsa. We shall discuss it next week.

In this connection, it would be well to ponder over the lives and examples of Harishchandra, Prahlad, Ramachandra, Imam Hasan and Imam Husain, the Christian saints, etc. How beautiful it would be if all of us, young and old, men and women, meditated, till next week, on these thoughts at all hours of the day, whether working, eating, drinking or playing, and were rewarded with innocent sleep?

God as Truth has been for me, at any rate, a treasure beyond price. May He be so to every one of us.

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

There are 66 letters. If you do not read all the letters before handing them over to the persons concerned, do so henceforth. Some of the accompanying letters contain suggestions to those to whom they are addressed.

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

425. NOTE TO NEHRUS¹

YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON,
July 23, 1930

CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUE²

1. So far as this question is concerned, my personal position is that if the Round Table Conference is restricted to a discussion of safeguards that may be necessary in connection with full Self Government during the period of transition, I should have no objection, it being understood that the question of independence should not be ruled out if anybody raises it. I should be satisfied before I could endorse the idea of the Congress attending the Conference about its whole composition.

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE AND ITS CALLING OFF³

2. If the Congress is satisfied as to the Round Table Conference, naturally civil disobedience would be called off, that is to say, disobedience of certain laws for the sake of disobedience, but peaceful picketing of foreign cloth and liquor will be continued unless the Government themselves can enforce prohibition of liquor and foreign cloth. But manufacture of salt by the populace will have to be continued and the penal clauses of the Salt Act should not be enforced. There will be no raids on Government Salt Depots or private depots. I will agree even if this clause is not made a clause in these terms, but is accepted as an understanding in writing.

3 (a) Simultaneously with the calling off of the civil disobedience, all satyagrahi prisoners and other political prisoners convicted or under-trial, who have not been guilty of violence or incitement to violence should be ordered to be released, and

(b) properties confiscated under the Salt Act and Press Act and

¹ With a view to restoring normal conditions and ameliorating "the present situation by discussing the question" Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and M. R. Jayakar wrote to the Viceroy on July 13 seeking his permission to interview Gandhiji in Yeravda and Motilal Nehru and Jawaharlal Nehru in Naini Jail. On July 23 and 24 they met Gandhiji who gave them this note to be delivered to Motilal Nehru and Jawaharlal Nehru.

² These sub-headings are in Gandhiji's hand in S.N. 19976.

³ *ibid*

Revenue Act and the like should be restored, and

(c) fines and securities taken from convicted satyagrahis—or under the Press Act should be refunded.

(d) All officers including village officers who have resigned or who may have been dismissed during the civil disobedience movement and who may desire to rejoin Government service should be restored.

N.B. The foregoing should refer also to the non-co-operation period.

(e) Viceregal ordinances should be repealed.¹

This opinion of mine is purely provisional, because I consider that a prisoner has no right to pronounce any opinion upon political activities of which he cannot possibly have a full grasp while he is shut out of personal contact. I therefore feel that my opinion is not entitled to the weight I should claim for it if I was in touch with the movement.

Mr. Jayakar and Dr. Sapru may show this to Pandit Motilal Nehru, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel and those who are in charge of the movement. Nothing to appear in the Press.

This is not to be shown to the Viceroy at this stage.

Even if the foregoing terms are accepted I should not care to attend the Conference unless, in the event of going out of the prison, I gained self-confidence which I have not at present and unless among those Indians who would be invited there was a preliminary conversation and an agreement as to the minimum by which they should stand under all circumstances.

I reserve to myself the liberty, when the occasion arises, of testing every swaraj scheme by its ability to satisfy the object underlying the eleven points² mentioned in my letter to the Viceroy.³

M. K. GANDHI

Gandhi-Sapru Correspondence. Courtesy: P.N. Sapru; also S.N. 19976

¹ These clauses were incorporated in the joint letter to T. B. Sapru and M. R. Jayakar, pp. 81-4.

² *Vide* "Clearing the issue", 30-1-1930.

³ This note was handed to Sapru and Jayakar along with the covering letter, *vide* the following item.

426. LETTER TO MOTILAL NEHRU

YERAVDA MANDIR,

July 23, 1930

DEAR MOTILALJI,

My position is essentially awkward. Being temperamentally so built, I cannot give a decisive opinion on matters happening outside the prison walls. What I have therefore given to our friends is the roughest draft of what is likely to satisfy me personally. You may not know that I was disinclined to give anything to Slocombe and wanted him to discuss things with you. But I could not resist his appeal and let him publish the interview¹ before seeing you.

At the same time I do not want to stand in the way of an honourable settlement, if the time for it is ripe. I have grave doubts about it. But after all, Jawaharlal's must be the final voice. You and I can only give our advice to him. What I have said in my memorandum given to Sir Tej Bahadur and Mr. Jayakar is the utmost limit to which I can go. But Jawahar and, for that matter, also you may consider my position to be inconsistent with the intrinsic Congress policy or the present temper of the people. I should have no hesitation in supporting any stronger position up to the letter of the Lahore resolution. You need therefore attach no weight to my memorandum unless it finds an echo in the hearts of you both.

I know that neither you nor Jawahar were enamoured of the eleven points brought out in my first letter to the Viceroy. I do not know whether you still have the same opinion. My own mind is quite clear about them. They are to me the substance of independence. I should have nothing to do with anything that would not give the nation the power to give immediate effect to them. In restricting myself to the three only in the memorandum, I have not waived the other eight. But the three are now brought out to deal with civil disobedience. I would be no party to any truce which would undo the

¹ Vide "Interview to *Daily Herald*", 20-5-1930.

position at which we have arrived today.¹

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

Gandhi-Sapru Correspondence. Courtesy: P. N. Sapru; also S.N. 19976

427. LETTER TO HARI-ICHCHHA DESAI

YERAVDA MANDIR,

July 26, 1930

CHI. HARI-ICHCHHA,

I often think about you, of course, but I have been prompted to write this on seeing your name mentioned in Haribhai's letter. I trust that you and all your sisters keep good health. What work do you do these days? If you are permitted to go to the Ashram, and if you yourself wish to do so, I should certainly like to tempt you to join it. If you feel tempted, take the step. Write to me.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 7464

428. LETTER TO BALI AND KUMI

YERAVDA MANDIR,

July 26, 1930

CHI. BALI, KUMI,

I got Bali's letter. Kumi also should write. I don't mind your having taken away Manu. Anything which pleases you two sisters pleases me. Your love for these children sometimes brings tears of joy to my eyes. I used to restrain you lest your love should become blind attachment. I caution you both against it from time to time. But, knowing your nature, I hesitate to do even that. How can I ever hurt you? Are the relations of you two sisters happy?

¹ With this letter and the note to Nehrus, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and M. R. Jayakar met Motilal Nehru and Jawaharlal Nehru on July 27 and 28. For the text of joint note from them and a letter from Jawaharlal Nehru, *vide* "Note from Nehrus",

28-7-1930 & "Letter from Jawaharlal Nehru", 28-7-1930.

I was happy to know that Tulsidas had recovered.
Kusum must be perfectly all right now.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 5060. Courtesy: Surendra Mashruwala

429. LETTER TO RAMI GANDHI

YERAVDA MANDIR,

July 26, 1930

CHI. RAMI,

I got your letter. Ba had written to me about you. How did it happen that Kusum fell ill so seriously? Ask Kunvarji to write to me. I don't write a separate letter to him. Write to me from time to time.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 5061. Courtesy: Surendra Mashruwala

430. LETTER TO MANU GANDHI

YERAVDA MANDIR,

July 26, 1930

CHI. MANUDI,

I have your letter. Even if, as you say, you went away of your own accord, I don't mind. I only wish that you should become a real worker and that your body should become strong. In future write in ink.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 1503. Courtesy: Manubehn Mashruwala

431. LETTER TO BHAGWANJI PANDYA

July 26, 1930

CHI. BHAGWANJI,

I have your letter. What you did in the case of Manibehn is quite correct. In the case of a lady whom we have accommodated we would have done our duty after having pointed out her faults dispassionately. In this case too you should do the same. You should explain to her that your suspicion will not be removed by [her] undertaking a fast. Why should she undertake a fast if she has committed no fault? If she has, fasting is no cure. She should confess it and resolve never to do it again. If she refuses to be persuaded in spite of all this, let events take their own course. But tell Manibehn on my behalf that fasting without my permission is forbidden. She should therefore give up her fast if she hasn't already done so.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 321. Courtesy: Bhagwanji Purushottam Pandya

432. LETTER TO BALIBEHN M. ADALAJA

[After July 26, 1930]¹

CHI. BALI,

Your letter has come after a long time. I can understand that Harilal's behaviour pains you. But what else do we have to learn in the world except facing happy as well as unhappy times?

It is true that even though I have regarded you sisters as daughters. I have not been able to do anything. Nor has Ramdas been able to do anything. But at present, do I have anything except good feelings for my kith and kin? My way of life is unusual. If you can understand that while serving a miserable untouchable I am also serving you, then you will forgive me; but if you do not understand, you are bound to be angry. I must put up with it. I asked you to live with me and absorb yourselves with my work, but you have not done it. Hence, far that I am, what more can I do except wish you well? You have started giving ornaments to Manu². I have just heard that you have pierced her ears. I was pained to hear that. By doing that, you have broken your agreement with me. I do not wish to hurt your feelings. But let us not make Manu a shuttle-cock between us. If you are agreeable to my request, bring her up according to my wishes. If you insist on not listening, then what can I say to you? I am not able to tell you anything and I am not able to bear such an act on your part. Write and explain.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : C. W. 5050. Courtesy : Surendra Mashruwala

¹ From the contents; *vide* "Letter to Bali and Kumi", 26-7-1930.

² Manu Gandhi, addressee's niece

433. LETTER TO RAMI GANDHI AND MANU GANDHI

[After July 26, 1930]¹

CHI. RAMI AND MANU,

It is not nice that both of you have written the letter as Bali Masi dictated. I can understand if Manudi does not realize this. But what should I say about Rami? I have not the faintest memory of having turned back Rami from Amreli. Of course, I was not in favour of giving more money for meeting Manilal. I had asked Manilal to spend the money if he had something on him. But surely he did not have. Kunvarji is a poor man and how can he be made to spend? And what money can I have? After all, public money cannot be used indiscriminately. I would certainly wish that Rami should remember this much teaching. Bali Masi is an elder, her ideas are great, her capacity is great. You cannot imitate her.

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

Manu should have taken my permission before she had her nose and ears pierced.

From a photostat of the Gujarati : S. N. 9704

¹ *Vide* the preceding item which has reference to piercing of Manu's ears.

434. LETTER TO PRABHUDAS GANDHI

July 26, 1930

CHI. PRABHUDAS,

I have your letter. Do not at all hesitate to write to me a long letter. I like your letters and for you that is a kind of consolation. I have already written to you about your health last week. It is better for you to go somewhere on the hills. Your decision regarding Chandradutt and Devidutt is correct. Pampering them is a sin. If we let them go, they will learn and when they get tired, they will come back. At that time, we should welcome them.

I do not think there is any responsibility on you and if there is, it is only one of improving your health. However, you should not consider that as a responsibility. Do what you easily can. Kakasaheb will not be able to send your writing as early as you expect.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original : S.N. 32939

435. LETTER TO PRABHUDAS GANDHI

[About July 26, 1930]¹

CHI. PRABHUDAS,

It seems that you have come to the Ashram to fall ill. Only yesterday I came to know from Krishnadas's letter that your health has again deteriorated. So far, I have not received a telegram from you and therefore believe that the illness is not serious. Why did you leave Ranavav? If your health is not improving there, would not it be better to return to Ranavav? I am waiting for more details. I am all right.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original: S.N. 32936

436. LETTER TO GANGABEHN JHAVERI

YERAVDA MANDIR,

July 27, 1930

CHI. GANGABEHN (JHAVERI),

I have your letter. I trust that you take proper care of your health. Kanjibhai's self-sacrifice is great indeed. My blessings to him, to all the members of his family and to the women who live with you.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3102

¹ From the reference to addressee's ill health, this letter appears to have been written about the same time as the preceding one. Also, references in *Vive* "Letter to Narandas Gandhi", 7-7-1930 and 18/22-1930 confirm that the addressee was at the Ashram in July 1930 as indicated in the first sentence above.

437. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

YERAVDA MANDIR,
July 27, 1930

CHI. VASUMATI,

I have your letter. How many women live with you ? Have they learnt the prayers? Do you get time to read the *Anasakti-yoga*? Is your mind at peace? I am all right.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9277

438. LETTER TO KALAVATI

YERAVDA MANDIR,
July 27, 1930

CHI. KALAVATI,

I have your letter. Since you are learning Gujarati, I write this letter in Gujarati. If you ask me not to write in Gujarati in future, I shall write in Hindi. You, in any case, should write in Hindi. Improve your handwriting. Now that you have started spinning on Prabhubhai's spinning-wheel, put your whole heart into the work. Learn how to clean and repair the wheel. Whatever you do, you should do with proper care and as well as you can do it. Working in this manner develops both the intellect and the heart. Get Shantabehn examined by a doctor.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5242

439. *LETTER TO KASHINATH TRIVEDI*

YERAVDA MANDIR,
July 27, 1930

CHI. KASHINATH,

I have your letter. What I said in my last letter regarding prayers must have partly answered the questions which you ask in your letter. Regarding image-worship, we don't forbid anyone to use an image. But we cannot have one in our common prayer.

I have suggested that Shantabehn should be examined by a doctor. But I can offer no proper guidance from this distance.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I get no time to attend to the Hindi translation.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5243

440. *LETTER TO JANAKIDEVI BAJAJ*

YERAVDA MANDIR,
July 27, 1930

CHI. JANAKIBEHN,

I have your letter. It would be strange if you did not feel cheerful now. You make speeches and your name appears in newspapers. As I frequently see the name Janakibai Bajaj in papers, what else should I think but that it was good that Jamnalal and I were arrested and that we had better remain in prison. I was sure that there was confidence behind your seeming diffidence. May God increase it. Kamalnayan need not be in a hurry. Let him remain occupied in khadi production work. When the batch comes forward, he may write to Valjibhai.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2888

441. LETTER TO MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI¹

YERAVDA MANDIR,
July 27, 1930

CHI. MATHURADAS (TREASURER),

Have you understood me regarding the interviews? The Government has found my list too long. Now I shall not get into further argument. Let us be content with exchange of letters.

You must take Tara Mashruwala², who was injured while picketing liquor shops, to Dr. Jivraj and have her examined for head injury. I hope it has not left any permanent damage.

Tell Hansabehn³: ‘Congratulations. May you live long.’

Blessings from

BAPU

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

442. LETTER TO VITHALDAS JERAJANI

YERAVDA MANDIR,
July 27, 1930

BHAI VITHALDAS,

I got the figures for April, May and June. I see from them that no one yet gives yarn in sufficiently large quantity. You can write to me a detailed letter on this subject.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9775

¹ An extract from this letter appears in *Vide* “ Letter to Mathuradas Trikumji”, 16-11-1936

² Nanabhai Mashruwala’s daughter

³ Hansa Mehta, wife of Dr. Jivraj Mehta, who had begun the work of prohibition in Bombay in April with a band of Gujarati women

443. *LETTER TO HEMPRABHA DAS GUPTA*

YERAVDA MANDIR,

July 27, 1930

DEAR SISTER,

I have your two letters. They are a boon for me. It gives me great joy to note that your self-confidence is growing day by day. May God increase it further. What can I write about Satis Babu? I have been watching him grow for quite a time.

You have such faith in khadi that God will provide you with the required assistance. The sacred text goes: to each according to his faith. It cannot prove false.

May God grant some peace to Charu. Where is Arun?

Convey my blessings to Satis Babu and also to Charu, Arun and Tarini.

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

You can write everything in connection with khadi.

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 1669

444. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

[July 28, 1930]¹

CHI. MIRA,

I have your letter. I am sticking to your wheel. It is now causing less strain. The *mal* has not given any trouble at all. In that respect yours is a better wheel. I have still difficulty in getting the required fineness. Anyway, I shall not easily let it go. The speed is still poor. Today for the first time I got 154 rounds in 65 minutes. This was encouraging for me. On the travelling wheel I had reached 200 rounds per hour when the machine went on without a break.

In translating the hymns for you I am giving myself much joy. Have I not expressed my love oftener in storms than in gentle soothing showers of affection? The memory of these storms adds to the pleasure of this exclusive translation for you. But it is a long affair. I did the 10th hymn today. The verses took me a long time. The hymn I am doing one per day. And I have still nearly 170 to do! There is, therefore, not much likelihood of my reaching the *Gita* just yet.

Your fever is disturbing. You are still sensitive to changes. Do please take care of yourself and do not hesitate to travel 2nd if you find it at all necessary. I am looking forward to this week's letter.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 5404. Courtesy: Mirabehn; also G.N. 9638

¹ The 10th hymn referred to in the letter was translated on this date, *vide* "Ashram Bhajanavali", 15-12-1930. The letter, however, bears the date "27th July 1930" in Mirabehn's handwriting.

445. LETTER TO GANGABEHN VAIDYA

YERAVDA MANDIR,
*Silence Day [July 28, 1930]*¹

CHI. GANGABEHN (SENIOR),

I am glad to see that you are completely at peace. In being content with opportunities of service which come to us unsought lies the growth of the soul; that is the only way in which we can realize it.

Blessings from

BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro-6: G. S. Gangabehnne, p. 40; also C.W. 8754. Courtesy: Gangabehn Vaidya

446. LETTER TO PREMABEHN KANTAK

YERAVDA MANDIR,
July 28, 1930

CHI. PREMA,

It is no trouble to me to write to you. Your diagnosis is correct. We should feel more interest in solving the problems of the Ashram, especially of the women in it; than we do in solving the problems of the country. For the solution of these problems contains the key to the solution of bigger problems. "As in the body, so in the universe." Trying to know the universe we would lose our way, but the body is in our hands.

The infant class seems to be getting well organized.

Shila must have recovered now.

I have deliberately advised you to try bitter gourds.

Idealism can follow the right path. To lead it along that path is

¹ From the printed source.

*paramartha*¹. The word '*purushartha*'² is one-sided in its connotation. Can you think of a neutral word?

Dhurandhar may certainly translate *Anasaktiyoga*. :

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10227; also C.W. 6675. Courtesy: Premabehn Kantak

447. LETTER TO GANGABEHN VAIDYA

YERAVDA MANDIR,

July 28, 1930

CHI. GANGABEHN (SENIOR),

I have your letter. The family seems to be increasing. That is as it should be. So long as we have the spirit of service in us, people will continue to come.

How serious was Nath's eczema?

Blessings from

BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro-6: G. S. Gangabehnne, p. 40; also C.W. 8755. Courtesy: Gangabehn Vaidya

¹ The highest end

² Human effort; the goal or purpose of human life, the four traditionally accepted ones being *dharma*, *artha*, *kama* and *moksha*

448. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

YERAVDA MANDIR,

July 28, 1930

CHI PRABHAVATI,

I have your letter. Where does Mrityunjaya live? What are his present activities ? Does Mataji¹ feel the separation from Rajendra Babu ? How is Vidyavati's health ?

My diet continues to be the same. The weight remains steady at 103-104. That is not bad.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3391

449. LETTER TO RAIHANA TYABJI

YERAVDA MANDIR,

July 28, 1930

*Bismillah*²

CHI. RAIHANA,

*Khuda Hafiz*³

I was filled with joy to see your letter in Gujarati. Your handwriting also was fairly good, and the language simply could not be improved upon. Even the prayers of the pure in heart serve the cause as well as, or even better than, public work. Hence, what does it matter if you cannot work actively? Don't feel unhappy about that. How did you find Father's health? Is he happy and cheerful? How is Mrs. Lukmani now? The Tyabji family has indeed given a wonderful account of itself. Tell Mother that her smiling and modest face comes before me every day.

¹ Wife of Rajendra Prasad

² These expressions are in Urdu.

³ *Ibid*

Write to me again.

If you experience any difficulty in reading this, let me know.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9618

450. LETTER TO MANIBEHN PATEL

YERAVDA MANDIR,

July 28, 1930

CHI. MANI (PATEL),

It is after many a week that you have favoured me with a letter. I know you are busy and doing good work in a field of your own choice, but I want you to write all the same.

Live long and serve the country to the best of your ability.

Blessings from

BAPU

CHI. MANIBEHN PATEL

SHRIRAM MANSION

SANDHURST ROAD, BOMBAY

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro—4: Manibehn Patelne, p. 72

451. LETTER TO CHANDRAKANTA

Y.M.,
July 28, 1930

CHI. KANTA,

I got your letter. Get your teeth examined by Haribhai immediately. Kaka Saheb says that he has been advised by a competent doctor that saline gargle repeated ten or twelve times a day helps the teeth. He has also suggested gargling with coconut oil. Both things can be done side by side, though not at the same time. Even while trying this remedy, you must consult a doctor. There is no need at all to worry. The jaw must be healing. You of course did well to write to me. Write and give my blessings to Brother.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: Chandrakanta Papers. Courtesy: Gandhi National Museum and Library

452. LETTER TO ANASUYABEHN SARABHAI

Y.M.,
July 28, 1930

CHI. ANASUYABEHN,

I have your and shankarlal's letters. I am observing all the work and see God's grace in it.

Do keep writing to me.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original: G. N. 11551

453. LETTER TO SHOORJI VALLABHDAS

YERAVDA MANDIR,
July 29, 1930

BHAISHRI SHOORJI VALLABHDAS,

I got your English letter and the book. I have still not got the Gujarati letter. The Superintendent has definitely no authority to permit me to send a Foreword from here. He must write to the Government, and the latter will never give such permission. If you think it proper to write to the Government yourself, you may do so.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4094

454. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

YERAVDA MANDIR,
July 29, 1930

BHAI GHANSHYAMDASJI,

Your letter. Now I am given almost all the letters. Still, you did well in writing in English. It was good that you did not come to Poona. I cannot see anybody. The conditions placed on receiving visitors are not acceptable to me; I have therefore had only one visit so far. There is no possibility of a second. It causes me no pain. In fact a prisoner has no rights at all. Incarceration is a kind of moral death, it can mean only that.

I had a good laugh over your account of the dream. That dream is a sign of love. We do not dream of strangers.

I am keeping well. The water here is somewhat constipating. But it causes me no trouble.

If you are plying the *takli* now and then, why not ply it regularly? My experience is that the worth of a job done irregularly increases at least fourfold if performed regularly. The whole world is governed by order. Such experiences have given rise to the saying: To disordered minds even blessing comes as a calamity.

Your description of the trend for khadi gave me joy. Your son must have fully recovered by now.

How is your health? What do you eat? My diet consists of milk, curds, raisins, dates and lemons. I take the lime juice with soda or hot water and salt.

Tell Bhai Manmohan Gandhi that I have received his book as also his letter. There is very little time for reading books. Almost all my energy is devoted to spinning and carding.

Yours,

MOHANDAS

From Hindi: C.W. 6186. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

455. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

July 28/31, 1930

CHI. NARANDAS,

I got your letter. Kakasaheb remarks that the ink and the paper which you use are such that the ink comes out on the other side of the sheet, and hence it will not do to write on both sides. What he says is correct. In such a case, it is desirable to write on one side only.

This time the letters were properly packed. I preserve the envelopes and will use them when I need them. I have already told you in my previous letter that I had received the cotton. I could card some of it only today. The air was very moist because of the rains. It is not the spinning which tires me out, but the sitting for long hours. I shall discover some way by and by. I will not readily accept defeat. There is nothing in this which need cause you concern. Even when I was out of jail, did I ever sit at the spinning-wheel for four or five hours at a stretch?

The injury to Keshu's finger must have healed by now. Can Balkrishna's body stand the strain of night watch? He should not do anything beyond his strength.

Both of us keep good health. On a spring balance Kakasaheb weighed 109 lb. He must be walking about 8 miles a day, including the walking he does for exercise and during work. The exertion of spinning is in addition to this. His diet is still the same.

If there are any men or women to whom I have not written and who expect letters from me, let me know their names. I should have had a letter from Ramabehn (Ranchhodbhai's). She must have received mine.

Now about ahimsa.

Tuesday morning

The commencement of this discourse is both comic and painful. We two had a discussion on how to economize in the use of cloth-lined envelopes and save the same envelopes for use again and again. The question was whether to paste a blank sheet on the whole side of the envelope or paste only slips over portions where something was written. This was a futile discussion. We wasted on it 15 minutes of beautiful time after prayers, demonstrating our foolishness thereby. In doing this we violated truth and ahimsa and displayed lack of discrimination. Truth was violated, because the discussion was not inspired by an ardent desire for its search. Ahimsa was shamed, because I, who ought to give every moment of my time to discover the sufferings of the people and in thinking about the ways of ending them, wasted 15 priceless minutes in a futile discussion. We displayed lack of discrimination, because if we had thought about the utility of the discussion, it would not have lasted even a minute. After we had stolen 15 minutes from people's time, we realized our foolishness and thanked God for opening our eyes.

I have purposely given this introduction.

The path of Truth is as narrow as it is straight. Even so is that of ahimsa. It is like balancing oneself on the edge of a sword. By concentration an acrobat can walk on a rope. But the concentration required to tread the path of Truth and ahimsa is far greater. The slightest inattention brings one tumbling to the ground. One can realize Truth and ahimsa only by ceaseless striving.

But it is impossible for us to realize perfect truth so long as we are imprisoned in this mortal frame. We can only visualize it in our imagination. We cannot, through the instrumentality of this ephemeral body, see face to face truth which is eternal. That is why in the last resort we must depend on faith.

It appears that the impossibility of full realization of truth in this mortal body led some ancient seeker after truth to the appreciation of ahimsa. The question which confronted him was: "Shall I bear with those who create difficulties for me, or shall I destroy them?" The seeker realized that he who went on destroying others did not make headway but simply stayed where he was, while the man who suffered those who created difficulties marched ahead and at times even took the others with him. The first act of destruction taught him that the truth which was the object of his quest was not outside himself but

within. Hence the more he took to violence, the more he receded from truth. For in fighting the imagined enemy without, he neglected the enemy within.

We punish thieves because we think they harass us. They may leave us alone; but they will only transfer their attentions to another victim. This other victim, however, is also a human being, ourselves in a different form, and so we are caught in a vicious circle. The trouble from thieves continues to increase, as they think it is their business to steal. In the end we see that it is better to tolerate the thieves than to punish them. The forbearance may even bring them to their senses. By tolerating them we realize that thieves are not different from ourselves, they are our brethren, our friends, and may not be punished. But whilst we may bear with the thieves, we may not endure the infliction. That would only induce cowardice. So we realize a further duty. Since we regard the thieves as our kith and kin, they must be made to realize the kinship. And so we must take pains to devise ways and means of winning them over. This is the path of ahimsa. It may entail continuous suffering and the cultivating of end-less patience. Given these two conditions, the thief is bound in the end to turn away from his evil ways and we shall get a clearer vision of truth. Thus step by step we learn how to make friends with all the world; we realize the greatness of God, of Truth. Our peace of mind increases in spite of suffering; we become braver and more enterprising; we understand more clearly the difference between what is everlasting and what is not; we learn how to distinguish between what is our duty and what is not. Our pride melts away and we become humble. Our worldly attachments diminish and likewise the evil within us diminishes from day to day.

Ahimsa is not the crude thing it has been made to appear. Not to hurt any living thing is no doubt a part of ahimsa. But it is its least expression. The principle of ahimsa is hurt by every evil thought, by undue haste, by lying, by hatred, by wishing ill of anybody. It is also violated by our holding on to what the world needs. But the world needs even what we eat day by day. In the place where we stand there are millions of micro-organisms to whom the place belongs and who are hurt by our presence there. What should we do then? Should we commit suicide? Even that is no solution, if we believe, as we do, that so long as the spirit is attached to the flesh, on every destruction of the body it weaves for itself another. The body will cease to be only when

we give up all attachment to it. This freedom from all attachment is the realization of God as Truth. Such realization cannot be attained in a hurry. Realizing that this body does not belong to us, that it is a trust handed over to our charge, we should make the right use of it and progress towards our goal.

I wished to write something which would be easy for all to understand, but I find that I have written a difficult discourse. However, no one who has thought even a little about ahimsa should find any difficulty in understanding what I have written.

It is perhaps clear from the foregoing that without ahimsa it is not possible to seek and find Truth. Ahimsa and Truth are so intertwined that it is practically impossible to disentangle and separate them. They are like the two sides of a coin, or rather of a smooth unstamped metallic disc. Who can say which is the obverse and which is the reverse? Nevertheless, ahimsa is the means and Truth is the end. Means to be means must always be within our reach, and so ahimsa becomes our supreme duty and Truth becomes God for us. If we take care of the means, we are bound to reach the end sooner or later. If we resolve to do this, we shall have won the battle. Whatever difficulties we encounter, whatever apparent reverses we sustain, we should not lose faith but should ever repeat one *mantra*: “Truth exists, it alone exists. It is the only God and there is but one way of realizing it; there is but one means and that is ahimsa. I will never give it up. May the God that is Truth, in whose name I have taken this pledge, give me the strength to keep it.”

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

There are 57 letters.

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

456. LETTER TO GOVIND PATEL

Wednesday [July, 1930]¹

CHI. GOVIND,

I was happy to read your letter. Your handwriting is beautiful and your spelling is better than mine. You could certainly have given me news of your health. Do so in your next letter. How did Rambhau fall ill? How is Jayanti now? How do you spend your day? What do you eat? Where do you live, and what is your weight?

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G. N. 3947

457. NOTE TO M. R. JAYAKAR²

August 2, 1930

(1) No constitutional scheme would be acceptable to Mr. Gandhi which did not contain a clause allowing India the right to secede from the Empire at her desire and another clause which gave the right and power to India to deal satisfactorily with his eleven points.

(2) The Viceroy should be made aware of this position of

Mr. Gandhi in order that the Viceroy should not consider later that these views of Mr. Gandhi had taken him by surprise when they were urged at the Round Table Conference. The Viceroy should also be made aware that Mr. Gandhi would insist at the Round Table Conference on a clause giving India the right to have examined by an independent tribunal all the British claims and concessions given to Britishers in the past.

The Hindu, 5-9-1930

¹ From the contents; *vide* "Letter to Govind Patel", 17-7-1930.

² On July 31, August 1 and August 2, M. R. Jayakar again saw Gandhiji who dictated this note which was to form the basis of negotiations with the Viceroy.

458. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

YERAVDA MANDIR,
August 2, 1930

CHI. VASUMATI,

I got your letter. When we are required to assume leadership only for service, we should do even that and carry on the work. It may be that faith begins as faith in the doer but it should be transformed into faith in his work. Only then can we feel satisfied. The doer lives for a while and is no more; he is only an instrument. Actions live for ever. Where is Harishchandra now? But truth has always been, and is and will be. Harishchandra's immortality is the result of his action in the service of truth. Truth existed even before he was born. He served only as an instrument. Fix this thought in your mind with the help of other examples; the goblin of despair will then run away from you.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9298

459. LETTER TO PREMABEHN KANTAK

YERAVDA MANDIR,
August 2, 1930

CHI. PREMA,

In order to get dreamless sleep one's thoughts and conduct during waking hours should be pure. The state of sleep is a mirror reflecting one's condition during the waking state. All of us have the strength to prevent our idealism from following the wrong path. That is the supreme end. There is no question of defeat in such striving.

In what does Krishnakumari differ from Kamalabehn?

Here we have been seeing clouds in the sky for the last one and a half months, but there has been very little rain, though not less than the average in Ahmedabad.

Convey my blessings to Krishnan Nair and tell him that it is my understanding with the authorities that I should not write to prisoners. I

have great hopes of him.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10228; also C.W. 6676. Courtesy:
Premabehn Kantak

460. LETTER TO KAMALNAYAN BAJAJ

YERAVDA MANDIR,

August 2, 1930

CHI. KAMALNAYAN,

I got your letter. Can you read my handwriting in Gujarati? If you cannot read it, I will write in Hindi. Write to me often in the same way that you have done this time. Anyone who goes to visit Father should tell him that he should come out with added weight.

You should write a neat and clear handwriting. Improve your health as much as you can.

Kakasaheb sends you his blessings.

Where is Om? Tell Madalasa that she should write to me. Ask Kamala and Rameshwar also to write.

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

Where is Radhakisan? How is he?

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3044

461. LETTER TO CHANDRAKANTA

Y. M.,
August 2, 1930

CHI. KANTA,

All right, here is a letter in Devanagari. You will have fully recovered. I can understand Mother's continuing to worry. You should write to her politely but firmly. If you do so, she will calm down. Have faith that all will be well with you.

I hope Brother is now keeping good health. How many persons are there with him in the Ashram? How many women? My blessings to him.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: Chandrakanta Papers. Courtesy: Gandhi National Museum and Library

462. LETTER TO SHARDA G. SHAH

YERAVDA MANDIR,
August 3, 1930

CHI. SHARDA (BABU),

I receive your letters fairly regularly. You must make it a habit to revise whatever you may write. No letter should be regarded as completed unless you have revised it. Ask Chimanlal to write to me. I hope you are having no more asthma.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 9886. Courtesy: Shardabehn G. Chokhawala

463. LETTER TO KUSUM DESAI

August 3, 1930

CHI. KUSUM (SENIOR),

I got your letter. No one inspired by a noble idea has ever laboured in vain. You are the first to give me precise information about Indulal¹. I am glad.

I see that you are keeping up a fairly good correspondence with all friends. Do you write to Sushila (the Punjabi) ? If you know her address, ask her to write to me. What does she do?

My regards to all.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1801

464. LETTER TO BHAGWANJI PANDYA

August 3, 1930

CHI. BHAGWANJI,

I have your letter. We cannot ask Manibehn to leave so long as she observes the rules as far as her conduct goes. You are needlessly worrying. No matter how she has fallen, you are equally responsible for it. You should realize this and hold your patience. [I say] you were equally responsible because you had not given up your conjugal relationship. As long as a man continues his carnal relationship with his wife it should be regarded as pardonable if the wife is drawn by such passion even towards other quarters, just as a wife tolerates such weakness in her husband.

After such relationship has ceased, if a woman commits adultery the man may be separated from her and support her if necessary.

Please calm down. The *bhajan* is nice.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 322. Courtesy: Bhagwanji Purushottam Pandya

¹ Indulal Yajnik

465. *LETTER TO NIRMALA GANDHI*

YERAVDA MANDIR,
August 3, 1930

CHI. NIMU,

I got a letter from you after so many weeks. Do not be tardy in writing to me. I hope Sumitra has completely recovered by now. Do not worry about Ramdas. Rama will protect him. He has always enjoyed Rama's blessings. You may stay where and as you like.

Blessings from

BAPU

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

466. *LETTER TO MIRABEHN*

YERAVDA MANDIR,
August 4, 1930

CHI. MIRA,

I want to be brief this week. There is no special reason for it. As a matter of fact the general letter is long enough.

I do hope your health has kept quite good throughout the travel.¹

I am glad you met Parasram. I wonder if he had received my note.

The wheel has worked better. I reached today more than 160 rounds in an hour. I have rearranged the bow and it works better. I realize more and more that good slivers are indispensable for gaining speed in spinning. It is wonderful how attention to every detail counts.

Health keeps all right.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 5405. Courtesy: Mirabehn; also G.N. 9639

¹ The addressee had set out on "an extensive khadi tour".

467. LETTER TO GANGABEHN VAIDYA

YERAVDA MANDIR,
August 4, 1930

CHI. GANGABEHN (SENIOR),

Your handwriting is improving. Just as you may be said to have spun only if you have done it well, so also about handwriting. You may write only one line, but it should be neatly written. If we have resolved that every breath of ours will be for the love of God, then even the least important work which we do should be done well.

I have written to Bal and told him that most probably he will be able to see Kakasaheb.

I have received the clothes sent by you.

Blessings from

BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro-6: G. S. Gangabehnne, p. 40; also C.W. 8756. Courtesy: Gangabehn Vaidya

468. LETTER TO MANSHANKAR TRIVEDI

YERAVDA MANDIR,
August 4, 1930

CHI. MANU,

Both of us liked your letter. You do everything with determination and you will, therefore, do well whatever you attempt. Don't be eager to do anything beyond your strength. When Shankar is released, tell him that I expect a detailed letter from him.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 7759

469. LETTER TO RUKMINI BAZAJ

YERAVDA MANDIR,
August 4, 1930

CHI. RUKMINI,

How is it that though you have come to the Ashram, you have not been able to find time to write two lines to me ? Do you have peace of mind and are you contented and happy ? I shall be satisfied if you tell me this.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 9312. Courtesy: Benarsilal Bazaj

470. LETTER TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA

YERAVDA MANDIR,
August 4, 1930

CHI. BRIJKRISHNA,

I was awaiting your letter. It has been hinted that I should not write to Devdas, Krishnan Nair and other prisoners. Give my blessings to all.

Never lose cheerfulness. Take up whatever duties come your way. Keep your body healthy and of course it will help if you give up worrying.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2383

471. LETTER TO AN ASHRAM INMATE

[Before August 5, 1930]¹

² . . It is our duty to be ready for jail, but it is ignorant attachment to wish to go to jail. . . ³ Work is becoming slack; try to put life into it. Anyone who does not do his best is a thief, and we have taken a vow not to steal. Those who work but without proper care, are also thieves. If we are really sincere in what we profess, we should, at long last, start working. We should daily pray to God, as we rise in the morning and go to bed at night, that our laziness may leave us, that He may make us sincere and give us the strength to be good.

From a copy of the Gujarati: S.N. 16865

472. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

YERAVDA MANDIR,
August 3/5, 1930

CHI. NARANDAS,

You need not have written the letter despite the pain in your hand; or you should have dictated it to Radha or somebody else. It is God's grace that even in this condition you could go on with the *yajna* of spinning. How did the hand slip? It must be completely all right by now.

Ask the person who bakes our bread to write to me and explain the process. How does he make the yeast? How much does he add to a given quantity of flour? When does he knead the flour, and after kneading it how long does he let it remain? Let him give all these details. There is a bakery adjoining our cells. They make quite good bread from *maida*⁴ but cannot produce fermentation in whole-wheat flour like that which we use. So they were asking me. This need not be published.

The fact that Mirabehn got her letter late indicates my subject

¹ From the *Ashram Patrika*, 5-8-1930

² Omissions as in the source

³ *Ibid*

⁴ White flour

state. I will play on the pipe as long as I can.¹ You should not, therefore, be surprised if my letters stop. I will go on writing them as long as I can with self-respect. Can a prisoner write letters at all? He and his relations and friends should know that he has no rights with regard to the outside world. Be that as it may, both of us are doing fine.

The . . . behn's² affair was a painful one. I am not at all surprised by such occurrences now. Our experiment does carry with it such risks. Since you will be reading my letter to . . . behn and others, I need not write more here. In such situations we should show the utmost charity. God is the only witness of secret sins. We should never persecute those whose sins become known. We may explain to such persons their duty as we understand it and leave them to God. You did right in not giving . . . behn the permission asked for. I do hope that both . . . behn and . . .³ will see their error one day.

If Amidas has confidence in himself and knows how to make the experiments, you need not interfere with him. Personally I feel that 72 lb. weight is too little. Dates are not enough. I think there will be no harm if he takes curds or milk at the same time. Show this to him. If he has no experience in this matter, he should be guided by my advice. If he feels cold, he should not be obstinate and avoid using a covering. If he does, not feel cold, there will be no harm in keeping the body uncovered. Ask him to write to me.

If Damodardas continues to spit blood, he must go to a place like Panchgani. He may return after he is all right. It is my experience that persons who suffer from such a disease do not get well in the air on the banks of Sabarmati. Instead of going to Panchgani or some such place when it is too late for recovery, if he goes now when the disease is under control he will get well in a short time and return to Sabarmati.

In my letter to Giriraj, read what I have written concerning him.

Write to Jamnalalji, Kishorelal and others that there is an understanding [with the Government] that I cannot write to other prisoners. I got Kishorelal's letter. If his experiment in diet succeeds, I would envy him. Ramniklal's matter is settled quite satisfactorily now. I cannot write to him either. Write to Narahari and tell him that he enjoys the fullest grace of God, otherwise he would not again and again get such opportunities for service.

¹ A Gujarati saying

² The names have been omitted.

³ *ibid*

It is not likely to help me even if you send me a spinning-wheel made of bamboo. I am a lame duck in so far as spinning is concerned. I love it, I work hard and pay great attention to it but the speed simply does not increase. How can I blame the spinning-wheel which I use? I have not been able to see where my stupidity lies. When I was out of jail, no one took the courage to explain it to me. I was satisfied with drawing 160 rounds and did not pay sufficient attention to increasing the speed. I see my error now. But every fool has the words 'too late' inscribed on his forehead. If now I let you send a bamboo spinning-wheel, that would be our illustration of the saying "a dull student needs a lot of pens to use". I don't want that. I must suffer the consequences of my folly. I am patiently observing, and improving my method wherever improvement is possible. Moreover, I can increase the speed if my physical strength improves. If it does not, I shall be content to live as Rama wills. Ultimately, the blame will be His. If I do my best, He cannot blame me. His law ever prevails without exception, and since He is the first to obey His law, and does that perfectly, we need have no fear. Being as great as He is, if He were to act wilfully, wouldn't we be utterly destroyed ?

Tuesday morning

Next among our observances comes *brahmacharya*. As a matter of fact all observances are deducible from Truth and are meant to subserve it. The man who is wedded to Truth and worships Truth alone proves unfaithful to it if he applies his talents to anything else. How then can he minister to the senses? A man, whose activities are wholly consecrated to the realization of Truth, which requires utter selflessness, can have no time for the selfish purpose of begetting children and running a household. Realization of Truth through self-gratification should, after what has been said before, appear a contradiction in terms.

If we look at it from the standpoint of ahimsa, we find that the fulfilment of ahimsa is impossible without perfect *brahmacharya*. Ahimsa means universal love. If a man gives his love to one woman, or a woman to one man, what is there left for all the world besides? It simply means, "we two first, and the devil take all the rest of them." As a faithful wife must be prepared to sacrifice her all for the sake of her husband, and a faithful husband for the sake of his wife, it is clear that such persons cannot rise to the height of universal love, or look upon all mankind as kith and kin. For they have created a boundary wall or

one has been created round their love. The larger their family, the farther are they from universal love. We see this in the whole world. Hence one who would obey the law of ahimsa cannot marry, not to speak of gratification outside the marital bond.

Then what about people who are already married? Will they never be able to realize Truth? Can they never offer their all at the altar of humanity? There is a way out for them. They can behave as if they were not married. On this path I have known nothing as beautiful as such a relationship. Those who have enjoyed this happy condition will be able to bear me out. Many have to my knowledge successfully tried the experiment. If the married couple can think of each other as brother and sister, they are freed for universal service. The very thought that all the women in the world are his sisters, mothers or daughters will at once ennoble a man and snap his chains. The husband and wife do not lose anything here, but only add to their resources and even to their family. Their love becomes free from the impurity of lust and so grows stronger. With the disappearance of this impurity, they can serve each other better, and the occasions for quarrelling become fewer. There are more occasions for quarrelling where the love is selfish and bounded.

If the foregoing argument is appreciated, a consideration of the physical benefits of chastity becomes a matter of secondary importance. How foolish it is intentionally to dissipate vital energy in sensual enjoyment! It is a grave misuse to fritter away for physical gratification that which is given to man and woman for the full development of their bodily and mental powers. Such misuse is the root cause of many a disease.

Brahmacharya like all other observances must be expressed in thought, word and deed. We are told in the *Gita*, and experience will corroborate the statement, that the foolish man who appears to control his body but is nursing evil thoughts in his mind makes a futile effort.¹ It may be harmful to suppress the body, if the mind is at the same time allowed to go astray. Where the mind wanders, the body must follow sooner or later. It is necessary here to appreciate a distinction. It is one thing to allow the mind to harbour impure thoughts; it is a different thing altogether if it strays among them in spite of ourselves. Victory will be ours in the end if we non-co-operate with the mind in its evil

¹ III. 6

wanderings. We experience every moment of our lives that often while the body is subject to our control the mind is not. This physical control should never be relaxed, and in addition we must put forth a constant endeavour to bring the mind under control. We can do nothing more, nothing less. If we give way to the mind, the body and the mind will pull in different ways and we shall be false to ourselves. Body and mind may be said to go together so long as we continue to resist the approach of every evil thought.

The observance of such *brahmacharya* has been believed to be very difficult, almost impossible. In trying to find a reason for this belief, we see that the term *brahmacharya* has been taken in a narrow sense. Mere control of animal passion has been thought to be tantamount to observing *brahmacharya*. I feel that this conception is incomplete and wrong. *Brahmacharya* means control of all the organs of sense. He who attempts to control only one organ and allows all the others free play is bound to find his effort futile. To hear suggestive stories with the ears, to see suggestive sights with the eyes, to taste stimulating food with the tongue, to touch exciting things with the hands, and yet at the same time to expect to control the generative organ is like putting one's hands in the fire and expecting to escape being burnt. He, therefore, who is resolved to control the one must be likewise determined to control the rest. I have always felt that much harm has been done by the narrow definition of *brahmacharya*. If we practise simultaneous self-control in all directions, the attempt will soon be possible of success; nay, only then will it be possible. Perhaps the palate is the chief sinner. That is why in the Ashram we have assigned the control of the palate a separate place among our observances. We shall discuss it next time.

Let us remember the root meaning of '*brahmacharya*' '*Charya*' means course of conduct; '*brahmacharya*', conduct adapted to the search of Brahman, i.e., Truth. From this etymological meaning arises the special meaning, viz., control of all the senses. We must entirely forget the incomplete definition which restricts itself to the sexual aspect only.

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

There are 45 letters.

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

473. LETTER TO J. C. KUMARAPPA

YERAVDA MANDIR,
August 5, 1930

MY DEAR KUMARAPPA,

I have read your essay¹. It is very good.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 10088

474. LETTER TO RADHA GANDHI

YERAVDA MANDIR,
August 8, 1930

CHI. RADHIKA,

I got your letter written in a hand as neat as print. I wish I could write like that. Don't think that one can never practise truth as I have defined it.

Write to me and tell me, if you know, about Rukmini's mental condition.

I had completely forgotten about the poems. After you have read and fully understood Gray's *Elegy*, *Horatius* and the *Psalms* of David, I may suggest other poems. The three are different kinds of works and are among the best. You will be able to understand them.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 8683. Courtesy: Radhabeen Chaudhri

¹ Not available

475. LETTER TO BALIBEHN VOHRA

YERAVDA MANDIR,
August 8, 1930

CHI. BALI,

I got the letters of you two sisters, and also Manudi's. I read the news about Rami having delivered. I hope the baby is growing well. You two sisters are excellent nurses, and so I need not worry about Rami at all. No one can equal you in serving those whom you love.

I was very happy indeed to know that there is nothing but love between you two.

I don't write to Manudi this time. I have many other letters to write.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 5059. Courtesy: Surendra Mashruwala

476. LETTER TO MAITRI GIRI

YERAVDA MANDIR,
August 8, 1930

CHL. MAITRI,

I have your letter. Don't mind if you make mistakes. You should go on writing to me, with proper care. I was very happy to learn that your health had improved.

You are perfectly right when you say that, as moderation in eating is good, so is moderation in providing food to the mind. Prabhubhai is very well qualified to teach you; learn from him.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 6216

477. *LETTER TO PREMABEHN KANTAK*

YERAVDA MANDIR,
August 8, 1930

CHI. PREMA,

I remember last year's *Rakshabandhan*¹ as also everyone's surprise. The fact that you, too, became bound with it need not be recalled, for that bond between us continues. Your privilege will be exercised by Kakasaheb this time. Will not he, too, become bound then? But, then, why should he fear that, being already bound? There will be, therefore, no difficulty in the matter. The position is all right from the point of view of the person who lets his wrist be tied with it.

I like your paying such attention to the library. Shila's health ought to improve.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10229; also C.W. 6677. Courtesy: Premabehn Kantak

478. *LETTER TO RUKMINI BAZAJ*

YERAVDA MANDIR,
August 8, 1930

CHI. RUKMINI,

At last I have a letter from you. Take immediate steps to make your body strong. Let there be no weight on your mind. Occupy yourself with any work or reading you can take up. I shall be happy if you write to me and open your heart. What does the doctor say now?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 9313. Courtesy: Benarsilal Bazaj

¹ A festival during which sisters tie wrist-bands on brothers as token of securing their protection

479. LETTER TO CHANDRAKANTA

Y.M.,
August 8, 1930

CHI. KANTA,

I have your letter. True, I have written to you about saline gargle, but you should still have your teeth examined by the dentist. Visit him again. You must improve your impaired health at once. It is said that a disease should be tackled at its incipient stage.

Your jaw will have healed by now.

Keep writing to Krishna Kumari.

Blessings to Brother. Let him not feel disappointed because women's work cannot be done at present.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Read the discourse on truth and non-violence over and over again.¹

From a photostat of the Gujarati: Chandrakanta Papers. Courtesy: Gandhi National Museum and Library

¹ *Vide* "Letter to Narandas Gandhi", 28/31-7-1930.

480. *LETTER TO MANGALA S. PATEL*

YERAVDA MANDIR,
August 8, 1930

CHI, MANGALA,

Are you a walking-stick or a spoilt girl or both? I did not write to you because I wanted to save time. Do you get letters from Kamala¹? I hope you are not neglecting spinning?

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 11087. Courtesy : Pushpa Naik

481. *LETTER TO SHARDA C. SHAH*

YERAVDA MANDIR,
August 9, 1930

CHI. SHARDA (BABU),

I received your delightful letter. If we sing *bhajans* in our dreams, come face to face with God or meet saintly people, our dreams are innocent. If we pamper our palate, cheat people, get angry and have impure thoughts, our dreams are sinful.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 9887. Courtesy: Shardabehn G. Chokhawala

¹ Addressee's sister

482. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

YERAVDA MANDIR,

August 9, 1930

CHI. PRABHAVATI,

I have your letter. I can't understand why you did not get my letter. I don't remember to have missed a single post in writing to you. If, however, you do not occasionally get a letter from me, you should know that I am not a free man. Generally all the letters are now dispatched from here. Don't worry about me. Take care and see that you do not become weak. Replies to your other questions were given in my last letter. How shall I admire Father? Though ill in bed, he has the energy and courage of a lion. That you are born his daughter is bound to show itself. God will make you a lioness.

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

Kakasaheb is doing fine. He asks me to convey his blessings to you.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N: 3366

483. LETTER TO SATYADEVI GIRI

YERAVDA MANDIR,
August 9, 1930

CHI. SATYADEVI,

I have your letter. You have drawn the trees well. Now you should have real trees as your models so that your drawing may give an impression of reality. You must practise your letters well before you start giving them curves. You like learning good things that is why I ask you to learn correct spelling even from now. Do not slacken about spinning.¹

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Hindi]

Bapuki Virat Vatsalata, pp. 33-4

484. LETTER TO HEMPRABHA DAS GUPTA

YERAVDA MANDIR,
August 9, 1930

DEAR SISTER,

The account of Satis Babu's daily routine gives me great pleasure. If a man spins 1,000 yards of yarn on the *takli* in one day, what would be his output for an hour? This speed is beyond me. Who is looking after the children of the lady who has been arrested?

Have you any news of Krishnadas? Do you have any letters from him?

Give my blessings to Tarini. Where is Arun ? Is Charu with you? My blessings to both,

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 1670

¹ The original was in Gujarati.

485. *LETTER TO MIRABEHN*

YERAVDA MANDIR,
August 10, 1930

CHI. MIRA,

I have your love letter from Patna. Your experiences are valuable. I hope that the symptoms of dysentery have disappeared altogether.

I am sticking to the new wheel. The speed is still the same. But I am not going to give it up. It is a precious possession.

The translation of the hymns is going on with clock-work regularity but I have not been able to give them more time; the time-limit therefore remains as I said in one of my letters.

When you write to Mr. Hassan Imam remember me to him and tell him I was delighted to learn that he recalled the conversation of ten years ago.

My weight has gone down by 2 lb., but there is nothing to worry over. The obstinate constipation necessitated reduction in the quantity of milk. I shall pick up if I can revert to the original quantity. It is better to lose weight than to lose health. Energy remains the same. This news is not for publication. I have given it to you for the sake of truth. I am bound to tell you about my health and I may not suppress the fact of the loss of weight.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 5406. Courtesy: Mirabehn; also G.N. 9640

486. LETTER TO SHIVABHAI PATEL

YERAVDA MANDIR,
August 10, 1930

CHI. SHIVABHAI,

I don't remember if I got the letter you posted to me separately. What had you written in it?

One method of overcoming one's weaknesses is this. Pick up any verse you like from the chapter of the *Gita* read on the particular day and go on reciting it while doing any work during the whole day. This will keep away other harmful thoughts from your mind. I have tried this method. I know that Raychandbhai used to do this. Many others too have had the same experience.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9500

487. LETTER TO HARI-ICHCHHA DESAI

YERAVDA MANDIR,
August 10, 1930

CHI. HARI-ICHCHHA,

I was very happy to read your letter. Why was the handwriting so poor? There are some *ovis*¹ of Ramdas Swami² on how to acquire a good handwriting. I have sent a translation to the Ashram. Ask Haribhai to send you a copy of it.

See that in the spinning competition one of the women wins. How did you become ill? I thought that you were quite strong. Get rid of your fever. How is your eye? I should be happy if all of you immediately went to the Ashram. Chandan, Tara and Vasant should also write to me. Kakasaheb sends his blessings.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 7465

¹ Stanzas

² Seventeenth-century saint poet of Maharashtra

488. *LETTER TO KASHINATH TRIVEDI*

YERAVDA MANDIR,

August 10, 1930

CHI. KASHINATH,

I have your letter. I hope it is not necessary for you to leave the Ashram. I think, however, that you have not realized the importance of sacrificial work and the necessity of keeping a diary. It is at a time like the present that discipline proves to be the fabled wish-fulfilling tree. All persons cannot realize the value of a thing equally well. The best course, therefore, is to obey blindly all the rules of an institution of which we are members. It would not matter if the entries in the diary were the same every day. The importance of the diary lies in this very fact, provided the entries are a faithful record. Anyone who can truthfully record that his days pass with the unvarying movement of the planets of the solar system would be truly blessed. I would, therefore, advise you to do, with full faith, everything which Narandas may ask you to do. I have the utmost confidence in his decisions.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5248

489. *LETTER TO LAKSHMIBEHN KHARE*

YERAVDA MANDIR,
August 11, 1930

CHI. LAKSHMIBEHN (KHARE),

Chhaganlal has written to me about your adventures. May God give you all strength and a long life.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 275. Courtesy: Lakshmibehn Khare

490. *LETTER TO V. G. DESAI*

YERAVDA MANDIR,
August 11, 1930

BHAISHRI VALJI,

This letter is meant for the whole batch. Write to me and tell me how many of you have been released and how everyone is. What did you all do [while in jail]? How did you keep there? Have you improved your health and become stronger?

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Anyone who wishes to write to me may do so.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 7405. Courtesy: V. G. Desai

491. LETTER TO PRABHUDAS GANDHI

August 11, 1930

CHI. PRABHDAS,

I got your letter. Kakasaheb has liked your translation of the *sthitaprajna*¹. I had expected something different. I cannot of course make any corrections from here² and send the thing back to you. For the present, therefore, the translation will remain with me. Your effort is certainly very good. Continue learning in that manner. It will be good if now you go to Almora as early as possible. Let me caution you somewhat regarding your model of the spinning-wheel. I am of no use and you may take it that Kakasaheb is of no use either, nor Vinoba. Our reasons for desiring that you should study the matter, are different from one another's. But from your point of view, it is sufficient that we are useless for your purpose. Your reasoning does not seem to be correct. The experiences which you have gathered through others, convincingly show that there will not be much increase in speed, nor will the yarn spun be even. The fact is that your model of the spinning-wheel follows the model in use at present, that is, it is not purely a machine. A machine is that which requires no intelligence or dexterity. Plying the spinning-wheel is an art and it can, therefore, be mastered only by one who has the required skill. You should copy the Singer [sewing-machine] or the spinning-jenny but you are not such an expert mechanic. It seems that a spinning-wheel on which the speed can be increased only with great difficulty and which moreover is costly, has no place in our programme. Have I been able to make this quite clear to you? If not, write to me again. It will be a different matter if, though you have understood what I have said, you think that my reasoning is faulty. I have not written all this to dishearten you, but only to suggest that you should not lose your head over this particular model of the spinning-wheel. You have many other things to do in that

¹ Presumably the verses 54 to 72, chapter II of the *Bhagavad Gita* which describe the characteristics of a *sthitaprajna*, i.e., of one who is firmly established in spiritual wisdom.

² In Yeravda Prison

direction.

Try to understand what I have been saying about the *takli*. I do not propose the *takli* as a substitute for the spinning-wheel but the *takli* can enter a field where the spinning-wheel cannot. The whole plan of spinning depends upon the number of people who take it up. If merely a handful of us had occupied this vast country, spinning would have had no place here. If a small number of people occupy a large area, that small number has to be violent by nature. Of what use is the *takli* or the spinning-wheel to them as a symbol of ahimsa? The *takli* or the spinning-wheel is a tool to man as man destroys the very basis of competition. We must not think of either of them from the present day commercial point of view. Rather, they imply the transformation of the commercial point of view itself. In Almora, therefore, you should pursue your work in regard to wool from this point of view and not from the point of view of Kashmir. If you give more and more importance to the principle that one should wear cloth made from yarn spun by oneself, you will have no cause to be disappointed, and will readily appreciate the great value of the *takli*. Yes, if you can make suitable changes in the spinning-wheel so that wool can be spun on it, do so. That is done even in this jail. With but a few changes, even the spinning-wheels in current use will permit the spinning of wool and will produce more yarn than the *takli*. However, for the roaming tribes of cowherds and shepherds, etc., the *takli* will certainly remain. In that way, on the whole, the *takli* will be found superior from the point of view of numbers. If you have still not followed all this, ask me again. Belief in the usefulness of the *takli* is a matter not of faith but purely of reason. In such a matter, to depend on faith may be a sign of indolence.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original: S.N. 33018

492. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

Tuesday morning,
August 12, 1930

CHI. NARANDAS,

Control of the palate: Control of palate is very closely connected with the observance of *brahmacharya*. I have found from experience that the observance of celibacy becomes comparatively easy if one acquires mastery over the palate. This does not figure among the observances of time-honoured recognition. Could it be because even great sages found it difficult to achieve ? In the Satyagraha Ashram we have elevated it to the rank of an independent observance, and must therefore consider it by itself.

Aswad means not to enjoy savour; savour means pleasure. Food has to be taken as we take medicine, that is, without thinking whether it is palatable or otherwise and only in quantities limited to the needs of the body. Food means everything we eat. Hence milk and fruit are also included in it. Just as medicine taken in too small a dose does not act or acts only partially, and as too large a dose injures the system, so it is with food. It is, therefore, a breach of this observance to take anything just for its pleasant taste. It is equally a breach to take too much of what one finds to one's taste. From this it follows that to put salt in one's food in order to increase or modify its taste or in order to cure its insipidity is a breach of the observance. But the addition is not a breach if it is considered necessary for health to have a certain proportion of salt with food. Of course it would be sheer hypocrisy to add salt or any other thing to our food, deluding ourselves that it is necessary for the system if as a matter of fact it is not.

Reasoning along these lines, we find we have to give up many things that we have been enjoying, as they are not needed for nutrition. And one who thus gives up a multitude of eatables will acquire self-control in the natural course of things. The proverbs "one cooking vessel expects thirteen different ingredients", "the stomach makes one submit to forced labour", "the stomach makes one a flatterer", etc., are full of meaning. This subject has received such scant attention that choice of food with this observance in view is a very difficult matter. Parents, out of false affection, give their children a

variety of foods, ruin their constitutions and create in them artificial tastes. When they grow up, they have diseased bodies and perverted tastes. The evil consequences of this early indulgence dog us at every step; we waste much money and fall an easy prey to the medicine man. Most of us, instead of keeping the organs of sense under control, become their slaves. An experienced physician once observed that he had never seen a healthy man. The body is injured every time that one overeats, and the injury can be partially repaired only by fasting.

No one need take fright at my observations or give up the effort in despair. The taking of a vow does not mean that we are able to observe it completely from the very beginning; it does mean constant and honest effort in thought; word and deed with a view to its fulfilment. We must not practise self-deception by resorting to some make-believe. To degrade or cheapen an ideal for our convenience is to practise untruth and to lower ourselves. To understand an ideal and then to make a Herculean effort to reach it, no matter how difficult it is, this is *purushartha*, manly endeavour. (The word '*purusha*' should be interpreted in its etymological sense, and, not merely to mean a man. That which dwells in the *pura*, the body, is *purusha*. If we interpret the word '*purushartha*' in this sense, it can be used equally for men and women.) One who at all times fulfils the key observances in their perfection has nothing else left for him to do in this world, he is *Bhagavan*, perfect man; he is a yogi. We are but humble creatures, aspiring after *moksha* and seeking knowledge, determined to follow Truth and dedicated to its quest. As taught in the *Gita*, therefore, we should keep on struggling humbly but vigilantly. If we do so, one day we shall be fit for God's grace and then all our pleasures in objects of sense will disappear.

If we have realized the importance of this observance, we should make fresh effort to practise it. For that, it is not necessary to think about food all the hours of the day. The only thing needful is perpetual vigilance, which will help us to find out very soon when we eat for self-indulgence and when in order only to sustain the body. This being discovered, we must resolutely set our faces against mere indulgence. A common kitchen where this principle is observed is very helpful, as it relieves us from the necessity of thinking out the menu for each day, and provides us with acceptable food of which we may take only a limited quantity with a contented and thankful mind. By eating thus we are able to observe without any difficulty the vow of

controlling the palate. The authorities of a common kitchen lighten our burden and serve as watch-dogs of our observance. They will not pamper us, they will cook only such food as helps us to keep the body a fit instrument for service. In ideal conditions we should require the use of fire but rarely or not at all. We should find our food from what the great fire, the sun, cooks. If we look at the matter from this point of view, it becomes clear to us that man is purely a herbivorous creature. But here we need not go so deep into the matter. All that is necessary for us to consider here is the nature of the vow of controlling the palate, the difficulties involved in its observance and its close connection with the observance of *brahmacharya*. Having understood this, let everyone make an honest effort to observe the vow to the best of his or her ability.

Blessings from

BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro—9: Shri Narandas Gandhine, Part I, pp. 102-4; also C.W. 8121. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

493. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

[August 12, 1930]¹

CHI. NARANDAS,

I got the packet sent by you in time. If you have there the guide book to the Singer sewing machine, send it here. Kakasaheb has got interested in the machine and wants to know all about it.

As regards Hasmukhrai, read my letters to him, to Lilabehn and to Bhansali. I like your suggestion. Do serve Lilabehn so long as you can. If she decides to marry, she certainly cannot stay.

The English translation of my discourses² is not good. What I read in the *Bo[mbay] Chro[nicle]* is not at all good. I think the practice

¹ The discourse on 'Control of Palate' with which this letter concludes is already included in Vol. XLIV, pp. 79-81 and bears the date August 12, 1930. It is therefore not being reproduced here.

² On the Ashram vows written every Thursday morning and therefore called "Mangal Prabhat" in Gujarat, the phrase meaning 'Auspicious Morning'. The discourses commenced with the letter to the addressee dated July 22.

of translating the discourses should be stopped, or, the translations should be really good. There is no need at present to give the people the translation of the discourses. Draw Kumarappa's attention to this, or Premabehn's if she has done the translation. The quality of the English also does not do us credit. Keshu's health is bad and causes concern. If he needs change of air, arrange for it. Sheela and Rambhau must have again got back on their feet. Read the letter to Kashinath. You do get problems to solve but you are quite upto the task, and so I do not worry. Consider all this as no more than my ideas and opinions and do what you-yourself wish. Go on doing fearlessly what you can and what your conscience permits you to do. I have no right whatever to guide you from here. You have wakened up Somabhai, Vithal and the others very well indeed. The letters meant for Kakasaheb should not be put into the packet meant for me. If there are any letters which he should see, they should be addressed separately to him. Everyone has Kakasaheb's blessings of course. I have not written separately to each of you. Kakasaheb keeps quite good health. This time, too, there is some increase in his weight. It has increased at least by one pound. This increase should be considered solid since it has taken place in spite of his doing exercise. He can digest about two and a half *seer*¹ of curd. He takes less of butter. At present, he is living on fruit. I am unable to report improvement in my health. There is some information in the letter to Mirabehn. There is nothing to worry over.

I have been reading with Kakasaheb, Vinayak Ode—the third Marathi book. It contains some fine stanzas by Ramdas Swami in the *ovi* meter. I give below for you all an extract on how to write a translation which has been seen by Kakasaheb.

HOW TO WRITE?

The characters should be round, easy to read, well-formed and as black as if written with lamp-black. The lines should be so pleasing in appearance as if the characters forming a line were so many pearls smoothly moving forward. All the characters should be of uniform size, clear, neither too large nor too small, and there should be

¹ A measure of weight current before the introduction of the metric system, approximately equivalent to two pounds

sufficient space between two characters. The *kana*¹, the *matra*², the *ref*³, and the *veiaali*⁴ (the sign for ‘e’) also should be clearly formed. All the characters from the beginning of a book to its end, should be so formed that they appear to be written with the same nib. The blackness of the characters, the thickness, the bent and the corners of the nibs used, also should be of uniform quality. The lines should not touch each other. The *ref* and the *matra* should not be so marked that either might be higher than the other. The line below a vertically long character, should not touch its lower end. A line should be drawn with a pencil across the sheet and then the characters should be written along that line. The space between the lines should not be uneven. There should be no corrections anywhere. If examined, not a single error should be found⁴ Kakasaheb cannot understand the exact meaning of this *ovi*. If Balkrishna, Shripatrao or anybody else knows its meaning, let me have it. One should be very careful in childhood when learning to form the characters. They should be so formed as to be pleasing to the people. When one is young, one should not form the characters so small that when one has grown old, one cannot decipher them at all. One should cultivate the habit of forming medium-sized characters. One should leave blank spaces as margins on both sides of a line and form clearly visible characters between them. Let the sheet of paper used for writing crumble into pieces when it will, the characters should remain as clear as when they were formed.

RAMDAS

It is not as if we did not know all this. My purpose in reproducing it here is to show the great importance Ramdas Swami attached to the subject that he composed *ovis* on it. Good characters are like an ornament to one. Our ancestors wrote pearl-like characters. The art of printing had not been invented then and writing was a fine worldly accomplishment. It should be so even today. I stress all this because I myself painfully suffer [because of my deficiency in this respect]. I made no effort at all to improve my handwriting, and now I

¹ A vertical line after a letter as a sign of the long ‘a’ sound

² A bent above a letter as a sign of the sound ‘e’ as in ‘hen’

³ A circular mark ‘c’ as a sign of an indistinctly pronounced ‘r’

⁴ A verticle line half bent at the top as a sign of either the ‘i’ or ‘ee’ vowel sound

feel reluctant to spare time necessary for the effort. It seems to me that I cannot at present afford to expend the necessary energy for that. Let everyone take a lesson from my miserable deficiency in this respect and try to improve his or her handwriting as much as he or she can, while they have the time to do so.

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

There are 52 letters in all.

From the Gujarati original : S N. 33961

494. LETTER TO T. B. SAPRU AND M. R. JAYAKAR¹

YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON,

August 15, 1930

DEAR FRIENDS,

We are deeply grateful to you for having undertaken the duty of trying to effect a peaceful settlement between the British Government and the Congress. After having perused the correspondence between yourselves and His Excellency the Viceroy and having had the benefit of protracted talks with you and having discussed among ourselves, we have come to the conclusion that the time is not yet ripe for securing a settlement honourable for our country. Marvellous as has been the massawakening during the past five months and great as has been the sufferings of the people among all grades and classes representing the different creeds, we feel that the sufferings have been neither sustained enough nor large enough for the immediate attainment of the end. Needless to mention we do not in any way share your view or the Viceroy's that civil disobedience has harmed the country or that it is ill-timed or unconstitutional. English history teems with instances of bloody revolts whose praises Englishmen have sung unstintingly and

¹ A joint interview took place in the Yeravda Jail on August 14 and 15 between Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and M. R. Jayakar on the one hand and Gandhiji, Motilal Nehru, Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbai Patel, Dr. Syed Mahmud, Jairamdas Doulatram and Sarojini Naidu on the other. After the discussions this letter was given to Sapru and Jayakar with permission to show it to the Viceroy. For Sapru and Jayakar's reply, *vide* "Letter from T.B.Sapru and M.R.Jayakar to congress leaders", 16-8-1930.

taught us to do likewise. It therefore ill becomes the Viceroy or any intelligent Englishman to condemn a revolt that is in intention and that has overwhelmingly remained in execution peaceful, but we have no desire to quarrel with condemnation, whether official or unofficial, of the present civil disobedience campaign. The wonderful mass response to the movement is, we hold, its sufficient justification. What is, however, the point here is the fact that we gladly make common cause with you in wishing, if it is at all possible, to stop or suspend civil disobedience. It can be no pleasure to us needlessly to expose the men, women and even the children of our country to imprisonment, lathi charges and worse. You will, therefore, believe us when we assure you and through you the Viceroy that we would leave no stone unturned to explore any and every channel for honourable peace, but we are free to confess as yet we see no such sign on the horizon. We notice no symptom of conversion of the English official world to the view that it is India's men and women who must decide what is best for India. We distrust the pious declarations of the good intentions, often well meant, of officials. The age-long exploitation by the English of the people of this ancient land has rendered them almost incapable of seeing the ruin, moral, economic and political, of our country which this exploitation has brought about. They cannot persuade themselves to see that one thing needful for them to do is to get off our backs and do some reparation for the past wrongs, by helping us to grow out of the dwarfing process that has gone on for a century of British domination, but we know you and some of our learned countrymen think differently. You believe a conversion has taken place, at any rate, sufficient to warrant participation in the proposed Conference. In spite, therefore, of the limitation we are labouring under, we would gladly co-operate with you to the extent of our ability.

The following is the utmost response it is possible for us, circumstanced as we are, to make to your friendly endeavour.

We feel the language used by the Viceroy in the reply given to your letter about the proposed Conference is too vague to enable us to assess its value in terms of the National Demand framed last year in Lahore nor are we in a position to say anything authoritative without reference to a properly constituted meeting of the Working Committee of the Congress and if necessary to the A.I.C.C., but we can say that for

us individually no solution will be satisfactory unless (a) it recognizes in as many words the right of India to secede at will from the British Empire, (b) it gives to India complete national Government responsible to her people including the control of defence forces and economic control and covers all the eleven points raised in Gandhiji's letter to the Viceroy and (c) it gives to India the right to refer if necessary to an independent tribunal such British claims, concessions and the like including the so-called public debt of India as may seem to the national Government to be unjust or not in the interest of the people of India.

NOTE. Such adjustments as may be necessitated in the interests of India during the transference of power to be determined by India's chosen representatives.

(2) If the foregoing appears to be feasible to the British Government and a satisfactory declaration is made to that effect, we should recommend to the Working Committee the advisability of calling off civil disobedience, that is to say, disobedience of certain laws for the sake of disobedience but peaceful picketing of foreign cloth and liquor will be continued unless Government themselves can enforce prohibition of liquor and foreign cloth. The manufacture of salt by the people will have to be continued and the penal clauses of the Salt Act should not be enforced. There will be no raids on Government or private salt depots.

(3) Simultaneously with the calling off of civil disobedience (a) all the satyagrahi prisoners and other political prisoners convicted or under trial who have not been guilty of violence or incitement to violence should be ordered to be released, (b) properties confiscated under the Salt Act, the Press Act, the Revenue Act and the like should be restored, (c) fines and securities taken from convicted satyagrahis or under the Press Act should be refunded, (d) all the officers including village officers who have resigned or who may have been dismissed during the civil disobedience movement and who may desire to rejoin Government service should be reinstated.

NOTE. The foregoing sub-clauses refer also to the Non-cooperation period.

(e) All the Viceregal Ordinances should be repealed.

(4) The question of the composition of the proposed Conference and of the Congress being represented at it can only be decided after the foregoing preliminaries are satisfactorily settled.¹

Yours sincerely,

MOTILAL NEHRU
M. K. GANDHI
SAROJINI NAIDU
VALLABHBHAI PATEL
JAIRAMDAS
DOULATRAM
SYED MAHMUD
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

The Hindu, 5-9-1930

495. LETTER TO RADHABEHN GANDHI

YERAVDA MANDIR,
August 18, 1930

CHI. RADHIKA,

I have your letter. How much milk do you drink and what fruits do you eat? Do you feel constipated? If you drink enough milk, I am sure you will not feel tired.

Blessings from

BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 8684. Courtesy: Radhabehn Chaudhri

¹ With this letter Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and M. R. Jayakar met Lord Irwin at Simla between August 21 and 28.

496. LETTER TO PREMABEHN KANTAK

YERAVDA MANDIR,
August 18, 1930

CHI. PREMA,

You should not lose patience. It is not easy to control the mind. But you should have faith that, with proper effort, it can be done.

What effect did the eating of bitter gourds have on your health? It is not necessary to squeeze out the juice from them. If you crush or mash them, you can eat the pulp after adding lemon juice and salt.

The necessity of prayers is a matter of universal experience. If you have faith in them, you will feel interest in them.

I am in a great hurry.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10230; also C.W. 6678. Courtesy: Premabehn Kantak

497. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

YERAVDA MANDIR,
August 18, 1930

CHI. VASUMATI,

I have your letter. We should learn to preserve peace of mind in all circumstances. Today I could get a little time only at the end to write letters.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9285

498. LETTER TO RUKMINI BAZAJ

August 18, 1930

CHI. RUKMINI,

I have your letter. Who reads everyone's letters? Those which are marked "not to be read" should certainly not be read. Make your health absolutely all right.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 9051

499. LETTER TO KUNVARJI PAREKH

August 18, 1930

CHI. KUNVARJI,

I have your letter. Let me know what ultimately happened about the cap. Write to me from time to time.

Convey my compliments to Bhai Hirji.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9716

500. LETTER TO RAIHANA TYABJI

YERAVDA MANDIR,
August 18, 1930

CHI. RAIHANA,
*Khuda Hafiz*¹,

Your Gujarati letters are wonderful. Do continue to write to me. It is fine indeed that you taught prayer songs to Mrs. Lukmani's monkey-army. Take care of your health in everything you do. I have not seen your card and public letter.

Which *Sirat* is Father translating? Convey my *Vandemataram* to Mother, as also to other members of the family who may be there.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9619

501. LETTER TO ROHINI KANAIYALAL DESAI

August 18, 1930

CHI. ROHINI,

I have your letter. I was very glad. When you get an opportunity, teach Hamidabehn Gujarati. May God grant long life to every one of you and make her a sincere worker.

Blessings from.
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2651

¹ In Urdu.

502. LETTER TO MANIBEHN PATEL

YERAVDA MANDIR,
August 18, 1930

CHI. MANI (PATEL),

I have your letter. Father was brought here and stayed with me for four or five days. I got news of you. God will see that it is all well with you. Do write to me, and ask Dahyabhai also to write.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro—4: Manibehn Patelne, p. 72

503. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

YERAVDA MANDIR,
August 18, 1930

CHI. PRABHAVATI,

I have your letter. With the conditions prevailing in the country I do not feel like taking dry fruit unless necessary. I have no time to write more today.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3427

504. LETTER TO CHANDRAKANTA

Y. M.,
August 18, 1930

CHI. KANTA,

I have your letter. If you take to Premabehn's diet your blood may show improvement. Do you go for walks? Are Your periods regular? Your body must become as hard as steel. Blessings to Brother.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: Chandrakanta Papers. Courtesy: Gandhi National Museum and Library

505. LETTER TO JAYAPRAKASH NARAYAN

YERAVDA MANDIR,
August 18, 1930

CHI. JAYAPRAKASH,

Your letter. I am glad to note that you are calm. These days Jawaharlal is with me. I hope you are both keeping good health.

Keep writing to me.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 3428

506. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

YERAVDA MANDIR,
August 18, 1930

CHI. MIRA,

I must be briefer even than last week. It is just striking 10 p.m. — very unusual for me. And this is the last night, if I am to keep time as I must. But there is nothing much to say either.

Yesterday I went back to the travelling wheel. The strain was at once reduced and the output greater for the same time— though not much. But I know that I shall get a greater output on it. I saw that it was a wrong expression of love to persist in using your charkha if it did not fulfil the purpose for which you sent it. Only I did not want to give it up without a full trial. My health is all right but the weight is still on the downgrade. But that is nothing. As soon as constipation is under control, it will go up. I expect a rise this week.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 5408. Courtesy: Mirabehn; also G.N. 9642

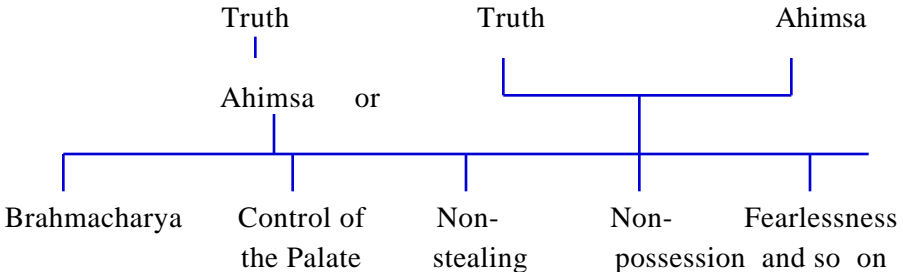
507. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

Unrevised

YERAVDA MANDIR,
Tuesday morning, August 19, 1930

CHI. NARANDAS,

We now come to the observance of non-stealing. On deeper reflection we see that all observances are implicit in Truth and ahimsa or truth alone. This can be expressed thus:



Ahimsa may be deduced from Truth, or may be paired with Truth. Truth and ahimsa are one and the same thing. I am partial to Truth, however. In the final analysis there can only be a single reality. The highest Truth stands by itself. Truth is the end, ahimsa is the means thereto. We know what ahimsa or non-violence is, although we find it difficult to follow the law of love. But as for Truth, we know only a fraction of it. Perfect knowledge of Truth is difficult of attainment for man even like the perfect practice of non-violence.

Asteya means non-stealing.

It is impossible that a person should steal and simultaneously claim to know Truth or cherish love. Yet every one of us is consciously or unconsciously, more or less, guilty of theft. We may steal not only what belongs to others, but also what belongs to ourselves, as is done, for instance, by a father who eats something secretly, keeping his children in the dark about it. The Ashram kitchen stores are our common property, but one who secretly removes a single crystal of sugar from it stamps himself a thief. A child who takes another's pen steals. It is theft to take anything belonging to another without his permission, even if it be with his knowledge. It is equally theft to take something in the belief that it is nobody's property. Things found on the roadside belong to the ruler or the local authority. Anything found near the Ashram must be handed over to the secretary, who in his turn will pass it on to the police if it is not Ashram property. Thus far, it is pretty smooth sailing. But the observance of non-stealing goes very much farther. It is theft to take something from another even with his permission if we have no real need of it. We should not receive any single thing that we do not need. Theft of this description generally has food for its object. It is theft for me to take any fruit that I do not need, or to take it in a larger quantity than is necessary. We are not always aware of our real needs, and most of us improperly multiply our wants and thus unconsciously make thieves of ourselves. If we devote some thought to the subject we shall find that we can get rid of quite a number of our wants. One who follows the observance of non-stealing will bring about a progressive reduction of his wants. Much of the distressing poverty in this world has arisen out of breaches of the principle of non-stealing.

Theft thus far considered may be termed external or physical theft. There is, besides, another kind of theft, subtler and far more

degrading to the human spirit. It is theft mentally to desire acquisition of anything belonging to others, or to cast a greedy eye on it. It is mental theft if anyone, whether a grown-up person or a child, feels tempted by the sight of an attractive thing. One who takes no food, physically speaking, is generally said to be fasting, but he is guilty of theft as well as a breach of his fast if he gives himself up to a mental contemplation of pleasure when he sees others taking their meals. He is similarly guilty if, during his fast, he is continually planning the varied menu he will have after breaking the fast. One who observes the principle of non-stealing will refuse to bother himself about things to be acquired in future. This evil anxiety for the future will be found at the root of many a theft. Today we only desire possession of a thing; tomorrow we shall begin to adopt measures, straight if possible, crooked when thought necessary, to acquire its possession. Ideas may be stolen no less than material things. One who egotistically claims to have originated some good idea, which, really speaking, did not originate with him, is guilty of a theft of ideas. Many learned men have committed such theft in the course of world history, and plagiarism is by no means uncommon even today. Supposing, for instance, that I see a new type of spinning-wheel in Andhra and manufacture a similar wheel in the Ashram, passing it off as my own invention, I practise untruth and am clearly guilty of stealing another's invention.

One who takes up the observance of non-stealing has, therefore, to be humble, thoughtful, vigilant and in habits simple. I have written the Ashram letters today under much pressure of time. Motilalji and others are here and I spent practically the whole of the last week in discussions with them. Even now I must give some time to them. I could, therefore, take up writing letters only yesterday evening after the prayers and started writing this after the morning prayers today. There are, therefore, the fewest letters this time and I have made them as short as I could. You will read about . . . behn¹ in my letters to Gan-gabehn and Bhansali. Be firm and go on doing what you think proper. My immediate reaction is that, if . . . behn's mind has become steady and recovered its purity, we can condone her violation of the pledge to go away and live outside the Ashram. The chief thing to consider now is how to help her to overcome her passion and, on the other hand, to safeguard her freedom. Women have been so completely suppressed that in their helplessness they cannot even think. The Ashram,

¹ The name has been omitted.

therefore, should adopt a very liberal attitude towards them. This involves many risks. We should take them if we wish to serve women. Act upon this view within the limits of your capacity. When I see . . . behn's face in my mind's eye, I see nothing but innocence and fear on it. She is not the cause of her fall. After hearing about this misconduct, I can see the signs of impurity on the face of . . .¹ I cannot see such signs on the face of . . . behn. What I see on her face is simplicity. And ignorance, of course. She can almost be compared to Rishyashringa. There is of course this important difference that . . . behn has had the experience of passion, whereas Rishyashringa had never had such experience. The poet, however, has described him as if he was only waiting for a touch. That is the condition of countless seemingly innocent men and women today. "Desire is aroused by coming together." Hence we have no right to condemn anyone. Our duty, plainly, is to show love and to exercise more vigilance in regard to ourselves. I have written enough today.

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

There are 30 letters in all.

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

508. LETTER TO RAMABEHN JOSHI

YERAVDA MANDIR,

August 21, 1930

CHI. RAMABEHN,

I have a letter from you after a long time. I was indeed eager for one. I never feel concerned about Dhiru and Vimu. I have observed that children who are troublesome like them afterwards become very quiet. You have done well in restraining your desire to go and see them. Look upon any children who may come to you as Dhiru and Vimu and show them love. Then in course of time your love for

¹ The name has been omitted.

Dhiru and Vimu will become pure and help them to become good.

My blessings to all the women.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5323

509. LETTER TO MANSHANKAR J. TRIVEDI

YERAVDA MANDIR,

August 21, 1930

CHI. MANU,

I don't mind your having written a "long" letter. I don't think it was "long". My advice to you is that, till Kakasaheb arrives there, you should do what work you can staying where you are. That will be true self-dedication on your part and will also be a test for you. A public worker should also learn to keep patience. It is for the leader to think in what way any worker can serve best. If we do with perfect devotion the work assigned to us, we shall have done our true dharma. Only through experience can one know what is beyond one's strength. If we are free from ignorant attachment to anything, it is easy enough for us to discover the limits of our strength. I have given this advice after discussing the matter with Kakasaheb. If you still do not feel peace of mind, write to me.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 7760

510. LETTER TO NARAYAN M. KHARE

YERAVDA MANDIR,
August 21, 1930

BHAI PANDITJI,

Both of us felt happy after reading your letter. I had heard that your health had suffered. Since you have brought no disease with you, you will recover your former strength by and by. Take care of your health. Rambhau¹ and Mathuri² do write to me occasionally. I read in one or two letters that Lakshmibehn had displayed great courage and fortitude. Her face itself reveals her courage. Your voice as you used to sing at the time of prayers haunts me every day. Neither of us can sing *bhajans*, as you know. We content ourselves with *Ramadhun*.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 231. Courtesy: Lakshmibai Khare

511. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

YERAVDA MANDIR,
August 21, 1930

CHI. VASUMATI,

I have your letter. After some time, we get used to working for a public cause under anyone's leadership and don't feel hurt. We can claim to have become true servants only if we learn to do so. When the sense of 'I' has vanished, we cease to feel that we are subject to anyone's authority. He who feels himself to be a cipher experiences peace in all conditions of life. Such a state of mind is not easy to attain, but it is certainly possible for everyone who strives for it. I have no doubt at all that you, at any rate, will attain it one day.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9284

¹ Addressee's son and daughter

² *ibid*

512. LETTER TO MATHURADAS PURUSHOTTAM

YERAVDA MANDIR,
August 21, 1930

CHI.MATHURADAS,

I have your letter and the chapter on carding. The oil has not arrived yet. Have you tried the use of kerosene ? It also helps to keep away mosquitoes. If the spot where they often settle is besmeared with kerosene, they keep away from it. I did not know about cotton-seed oil. As we are permitted to sleep in the open here, we are not harassed.

I like all your articles on carding. In some places the language seems to be unduly emphatic. My experience is that there can be no guarantee that yarn will be evenly drawn if the cotton has been well carded. Though I am a very careful spinner, the yarn is not always even, even if the carding has been of the highest quality. The drawing of even yarn is also an art by itself and depends on deftness in using one's fingers. Anyone whose fingers have become inert, so to say, will certainly find difficulty in drawing even yarn. I have seen spinners with quick fingers drawing even yarn from badly carded cotton. I do not say this to minimize the importance of carding. I only wish to make it clear that good carding does not solve all the difficulties of the spinner. The art of spinning, as I have said, includes all activities from the plucking of cotton from the pods to the making of hanks, and a spinner should have acquired mastery over all of them. If even one of these processes has not been efficiently carried out, careful spinning by itself will not compensate for the deficiency. We should not assert anything if we are not perfectly sure about it. Ask Lakshmidas to go through your articles before publishing them. It will be good if you show them to some other person also who is an expert in the craft. Perhaps Shankerlal will help you. It is desirable that the book should be as perfect as possible. Once again, I find Motibehn's letters have stopped coming. How is she now?

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3742

513. LETTER TO MATHURADAS PURUSHOTTAM

[After August 21, 1930]¹

CHI. MATHURADAS,

I have your letter. You have taken much care about the book. I have not yet been able to read the last portion. Spinning leaves me very little time for anything else. Most of what remains is taken up in writing letters. See that you do not harm your eyes. If necessary, get them examined by Dr. Haribhai. He has very good knowledge of the subject. The parcel of cotton-seed oil has arrived in the office. Motibehn has not yet replied to my last letter.

About *saptapadi*, in my next letter.²

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3743

514. LETTER TO RADHABEHN GANDHI

YERAVDA MANDIR,
August 22, 1930

CHI. RADHIKA,

I shall wait for your letter. I can't bear the thought of Keshu's remaining ill all the time. You should take special care of his health. How did he again get fever ? What food does he eat ? Give me all details.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I have just received your letter. I understand.

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 8685. Courtesy: Radhabehn Chaudhri

¹ From the reference to cotton-seed oil it appears this was written some time after the preceding item.

² The rest of the letter is not available.

515. LETTER TO MANIBEHN PATEL

YERAVDA MANDIR,
August 22, 1930

CHI. MANI (PATEL),

You have given a good report of your experiences. I now know you met Father. But he has not met me [since then]. Write to me regularly. When in Bombay, meet Perinbehn [Captain] and Lilavati [Munshi].

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro-4: Manibehn Patelne, p. 73

516. LETTER TO MAHAVIR GIRI

YERAVDA MANDIR,
August 22, 1930

CHI. MAHAVIR,

I have your letter. Dhanurdhari's batch will be a fine sight. We should acquire the utmost proficiency in the work which falls to our share and feel satisfied. If you try and make an effort, you will be able to improve your handwriting. What vows did you take on the *Janmashtami*¹ day? Don't neglect to write the diary through laziness.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 6217

¹ Krishna's birthday, observed on the 8th day of the dark fortnight of *Bhadrapada* (*Shravan* in Gujarat) corresponding to August-September.

517. LETTER TO KUSUM DESAI

YERAVDA MANDIR,
August 22, 1930

CHI. KUSUM (DESAI),

I have your letter. You see that I am never behind in replying to any of your letters. Learn from Sushila all that you can. But do you get any time for reading? Do you write the diary? Have you kept up prayers? I keep good health.

How many women work there? Is there any news from Kapadwanj ?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1802

518. LETTER TO PREMABEHN KANTAK

YERAVDA MANDIR,
August 22, 1930

CHI. PREMA,

I have your letter. Kaka tied the sacred string on my wrist on the *Balev*¹ day and also bowed to me on your behalf.

Panditji's patience and capacity for self-sacrifice are as great as you describe them to be. He has also displayed forbearance of a high order.

Henceforth, you should not delay your going to bed or prevent someone from doing so till ten. The moment it strikes nine, we should be in bed.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10231; also C.W. 6679. Courtesy: Premabehn Kantak

¹ *Rakshabandhan*

519. LETTER TO KAPILRAI MEHTA

YERAVDA MANDIR,
August 22, 1930

CHI. KAPIL,

I don't mind your staying at Vile Parle. Who else are there ? How is Abdulla Sheth ? Improve your health and make it robust. Kakasaheb keeps good health.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Kakasaheb sends his blessings.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3974

520. LETTER TO SATYADEVI GIRI

YERAVDA MANDIR,
August 22, 1930

CHI. SATYADEVI,

It is better you correct the mistakes in your letter then and there than that I should read it making the corrections. The benefit is twofold. You will notice your own errors and I will have no corrections to make. Isn't it good?

Tell Mother¹ to write to me describing her present activities.²

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Hindi]

Bapuki Virat Vatsalata, p. 34

¹ Krishnamaiya Devi.

² The original was in Gujarati.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

PERSONS WHO ACCOMPANIED GANDHIJI ON THE DANDI MARCH ¹

GUJARAT, 31: 1. Chhaganlal Joshi, 2. Jayanti Parekh, 3. Rasik Desai, 4. Vitthal, 5. Harakhji, 6. Tansukh Bhatt, 7. Kanti Gandhi, 8. Chhotubhai Patel, 9. Valjibhai Desai, 10. Pannalal Jhaveri, 11: Abbas, 12. Punjabhai Shah, 13. Somabhai, 14. Hasmukhram, 15. Ramjibhai Vankar, 16. Dinkarrav, 17. Bhanushankar, 18. Ravjibhai Patel, 19. Shivabhai, 20. Shankarbhai, 21. Jashbhai, 22. Haridas Varjivandas Gandhi, 23. Chimanlal, 24. Ramaniklal Modi, 25. Haridas Majumdar, 26. Ambalal Patel, 27. Madhavlal, 28. Manilal Gandhi, 29. Lalji, 30. Ratnaji, 31. Puratan Buch.

MAHARASHTRA, 13: 32. Pandit Khare, 33. Ganpatrav Godshe, 34. Bal Kalelkar, 35. Dwarkanath, 36. Gajanan, 37. Govind Harkare, 38. Pandurang, 39. Vinayakrav Apte, 40. Keshav Chitre, 41. Vishnu Pant, 42. Haribhau Mohani, 43. Vishnu Sharma, 44. Chintamani Shastri.

U.P., 8: 45. Ramdihalray, 46. Munshilal, 47. Sumangal Prakash, 48. JayantiPrasad, 49. Hari Prasad, 50. Jyotiramji, 51. Bhairv Datta, 52. Surendraji.

CUTCH, 6: 53. Prathviraj Asar, 54. Madhavjibhai, 55. Naranjibhai, 56. Maganbhai Vora, 57. Dungarsibhai, 58. Jethalal.

KERALA, 4: 59. Raghavanji, 60. Titusji, 61. KrishnaNair, 62. Shankaran.

PUNJAB, 3: 63. Pyarelalji, 64. Surajbhan, 65. Premrajji.

RAJPUTANA, 3: 66. Sultansinh, 67. Madan Mohan Chaturvedi, 68. Narayan Dutta.

BOMBAY, 9: 69. Daudbhai, 70. Harilal Mahimtura.

SIND, 1: 71. Anand Hingorani.

NEPAL, 1: 72. Mahavir.

TAMILNAD, 1: 73. Tapan Nair.

ANDHRA, 1: 74. Subrahmanyam.

UTKAL, 1: 75. Motibasdas.

KARNATAK, 1: 76. Mahadev Martanda.

BIHAR, 1: 77. Girivardhari Chaudhari.

BENGAL, 1: 78. Durgesh Chandra Das.

Young India, 12-3-1930

¹ *Vide* "Speech at prayer meeting, Sabarmati ashram", 12-3-1930.

APPENDIX II

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU'S NOTE ON MINORITIES¹

The curtain has gone up again on the Indian stage and all the world is witness to our struggle for freedom. It is a strange struggle and our methods are novel. But it is also a grim struggle and the pledge that India took on Independence Day, January 26th, will not be forgotten. The spark that was lit by our leader on the banks of the Sabarmati is already spreading like a prairie fire throughout the country, and soon the whole land will try to redeem that pledge. Many a tragic scene will be enacted and many an actor on this vast stage will suffer torment before the curtain rings down finally on a free India.

But even when the fight is fiercest and consumes all our energies we must remember that the true solution of our difficulties can come only when we have won over and given satisfaction to our minorities. Today it is unfortunately the fact that some of them fear the majority and for fear of it keep apart from the struggle for freedom. It is sad that some who were our comrades-in-arms ten years ago are not with us today. None of us who had the privilege of marching shoulder to shoulder with them then can forget the brave part they took and the sacrifices they made. We cherish that memory and we are assured that when the fight thickens they must take their rightful place in the forefront.

The history of India and of many of the countries of Europe has demonstrated that there can be no stable equilibrium in any country so long as an attempt is made to crush a minority or to force it to conform to the ways of the majority. There is no surer method of rousing the resentment of the minority and keeping it apart from the rest of the nation than to make it feel that it has not got the freedom to stick to its own ways. Repression and coercion can never succeed in coercing a minority. They but make it more self-conscious and more determined to value and hold fast to what it considers its very own. It matters little whether logic is on its side or whether its own particular brand of culture is worth while or not. The mere fear of losing it makes it dear. Freedom to keep it would itself lessen its value. The new Russia has gone a long way in solving its minorities' problem by giving each one of them the fullest cultural, educational and linguistic freedom.

Therefore we in India must make it clear to all that our policy is based on granting this freedom to the minorities and that under no circumstances will any

¹ *Vide* "The Problem of Minorities", 5-5-1930.

coercion or repression of them be tolerated. There is hardly any likelihood of economic questions affecting the minorities as such, but should they do so we can also lay down as our deliberate policy that there shall be no unfair treatment of any minority. Indeed we should go further and state that it will be the business of the State to give favoured treatment to minority and backward communities.

In a free India political representation can only be on national lines. I would like this representation to be on an economic basis which would fit in with modern conditions far more than territorial representation and would also automatically do away with the lines of demarcation along communal lines. With religious and cultural and linguistic freedom granted, the principal questions that will arise in our legislatures will be economic ones and divisions on them cannot be on communal lines. But whatever the method of representation adopted may be, it must be such as to carry the goodwill of the minorities.

If these principles are accepted and adhered to, I do not think any minority can have a grievance or feel that it is ignored. It is possible however that, while agreeing to these principles, the minority may doubt the *bona fides* of the majority in giving effect to them. To that the only effective answer can be the translation of these principles into action. Unfortunately the ability to translate them into action can only come with the conquest of power in the State. If the *bona fides* of the majority are doubted, as they might well be, then even pacts and agreements are of little value. A general and countrywide adoption of certain broad principles can create a public opinion strong enough to prevent even an aggressive and evil-intentioned majority from going astray. But temporary pacts between individuals or even representatives cannot have the same value.

These principles should apply to all minority groups. To the Muslims who really are in such large numbers in India that it is inconceivable that any majority can coerce them; to the Sikhs who, although small in number, are a powerful and well-knit group; to the Parsis; to the Anglo-Indians or Eurasians who are gradually drifting to nationalism; and to all other minorities.

What is the present position of the Congress on this vital question? The Nehru Report has lapsed, but surely the non-controversial parts of the report remain. The Fundamental Rights, as stated there, included religious, cultural, linguistic and educational freedom. This declaration must remain, and it removes at once the major fears of a minority. So far as other matters are concerned, minorities as such will hardly be affected, and the Lahore Congress has declared that in an Independent India such questions should be solved on strictly national lines. It has gone further. It has assured the Muslims, the Sikhs and other minorities that if any solution of any communal problem is proposed in future, it will not be accepted by the Congress unless it gives full satisfaction to the parties concerned. A more complete guarantee

could not have been given, and if the Congress remains true to its word no minority need have the least fear.

Thus the Congress has endeavoured to give effect to the principles that should govern the treatment of minorities. If in the eyes of some it is still suspect, it is not because of what it has done but because of want of trust and unjustified fear. The Congress, I trust, will remain true to these principles and will demonstrate to the country that in communal matters it will not deviate to the right or the left and will hold the centre impartially. It will, I hope, prove to the minority communities that in Independent India, for which we strive, theirs will be an honoured and a favoured place. And by its sacrifices and its determined courage in the fight for freedom it will convince all of its *bona fides*.

Young India, 15-5-1930

APPENDIX III

*EXTRACTS FROM "THE DAILY TELEGRAPH" REPORT*¹

The prophet is no longer at large, and he is now safely interned at Yeravda, close to Poona, in the most comfortable prison in the presidency, writes Mr. Ashmead Bartlett, the special correspondent of *The Daily Telegraph* in its issue of 6th instant.

Gandhi will be charged with no specific offence as his followers have been: he will be interned under Ordinance 25 of 1827, without trial in Bombay.

This Ordinance is framed in such general terms that it enables the Government to intern almost anyone on any charge which can possibly be construed as a menace to public order, or for stopping internal commotion. It was last employed in the year 1906 for the detention of the Natu brothers after the Rand murder.

The arrest itself was carried out with the utmost quietude at dead of night.

The Mahatma was fast asleep in his camp at Karadi, near Surat, when about 1 a.m. the District Police Superintendent with the District Magistrate and a score of armed police, entered his room. They turned a flash lamp on him and he awoke at once.

Gandhi took matters very coolly, and merely asked that the warrant be read to

¹ *Vide* "Interview to *The Daily Telegraph*", 5-5-1930.

him, and that he be allowed to clean his teeth, which is with the Hindus an invariable religious rite on getting up.

Both requests were complied with, and shortly afterwards he was taken to a motor lorry, which, accompanied by police, was driven off to the railway station. There he and his guards entered a special saloon attached to the Ahmedabad-Bombay Express, *en route* for Borivli, whence he was to be taken by motor to the Yeravda prison. On arrival at the jail he appeared to be in excellent health and spirits, and expressed gratitude for the manner in which his journey had been arranged.

It was generally known throughout Bombay yesterday that Gandhi's arrest was imminent, and in the afternoon details of the Government plan of operations were made known to foreign correspondents, but not a word was allowed to be cabled, a strict censorship having been in force for the past three days. . . .

The main object of the Government has been to put Gandhi safely under lock and key, before the news became known to the public, so as to avoid any demonstrations leading to riots and bloodshed in the course of his journey to Poona. The mere fact of handing in despatches to the cable office containing the news would at once have made known the Government's plans all over Bombay.

Gandhi's arrest was finally decided upon at the Council of State held in Simla a few days ago, and was originally planned for May 4, but the change was decided upon to avoid Sunday, and 1 a.m. on Monday (Indian time) was therefore named as the "zero hour" for his apprehension in Surat.

Mr. Hotson kindly informed me of his programme, which was to take Gandhi from the train at a small wayside station called Borivli, thirteen miles from Bombay, and from there to send him by car to Poona. . . .

The Hindu, 27-5-1930

APPENDIX IV (A)

NOTE FROM NEHRUS¹

CENTRAL PRISON,
NAINI, ALLAHABAD,
July 28, 1930

We have had a long conversation with Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. Jayakar and they have informed us of the various events which led to their seeking interviews with Gandhiji and with us in our respective prisons in order, if possible, to terminate or suspend the present hostilities between the people of India and the British Government. We appreciate their earnest desire for peace and would gladly explore all avenues which might lead to it provided such a peace was an honourable one for the people of India who have already sacrificed so much in the national struggle and want freedom for our country. As representatives of the Congress we have no authority to alter in any material particular its resolutions, but we might be prepared under certain circumstances to recommend variation in details provided the fundamental position taken up by the Congress was accepted. We are, however, faced with initial difficulty. Both of us are in prison and for some time past have been cut off from the outside world and the national movement. One of us for nearly three months was not allowed any daily newspaper. Gandhiji has also been in prison for several months. Indeed almost all our colleagues of the original Working Committee of the Congress are in prison and the Committee itself has been declared an illegal organization. Of the 360 members of the All-India Congress Committee which is the final authority in the National Congress organization subject only to a full session of the Congress, probably 75 per cent are in prison. Cut off as we are from the national movement, we cannot take upon ourselves the responsibility of taking a definite step without the fullest consultation with our colleagues and especially Gandhiji. As regards the Round Table Conference we feel unlikely to achieve anything unless an agreement on all vital matters is previously arrived at. We attach great importance to such an agreement which must be definite and there must be no room for misunderstanding or misinterpretation. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. Jayakar have made very clear and Lord Irwin has also stated in his published letter to them that they are acting on their own behalf and cannot commit him or his Government. It is, however, possible they may succeed in paving way to such an agreement between the Congress and the British Government. As we are unable to suggest any definite terms for truce without

¹ *Vide* "Letter to Motilal Nehru", 23-7-1930.

consulting Gandhiji and other colleagues, we refrain from discussing the suggestions made by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. Jayakar and by Gandhiji in the note of his dated 23rd July which has been shown to us. We might, however, agree generally with Gandhiji's 2nd and 3rd points, but we should like the details of these points and specially his point (I) to discuss with him and others before we can finally make our suggestions. We suggest this note of ours be treated confidential and be shown only to such persons as see Gandhiji's note dated 23-7-1930.

The Hindu, 5-9-1930

APPENDIX IV (B)

LETTER FROM JAWAHARLAL NEHRU¹

CENTRAL PRISON, NAINI,

July 28, 1930

MY DEAR BAPUJI,

It is a delight to write you again after a long interval even though it be from one prison to another. I would like to write at length, but I am afraid I cannot do so at present. I shall, therefore, confine myself to the matter in issue. Dr. Sapru and Mr. Jayakar came yesterday and had a long interview with father and me. Today they are coming again. As they have already put us in possession of all facts and shown us your note and letter, we felt we could discuss the matter between us two and arrive at some decision even without waiting for a second interview. Of course if anything new turns up at the second interview we are prepared to vary any previously-formed opinion. Our conclusions for the time being are given in the note which we are giving to Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. Jayakar. This is more or less brief but it will, I hope, give you some idea of how our minds are working. I might add that father and I are in full agreement in regard to what our attitude should be. I might confess your point (1) regarding the constitutional issue has not won me over nor does father fancy it. I do not see how it fits in with our position or our pledges or with the realities of today. Father and I entirely agree with you that we can be "no parties to any truce which would undo the position at which we have arrived today". It is because of this that fullest consideration is essential before any final decision is arrived at. I must confess I do not see an appreciable advance yet from the other side and I greatly fear a false or weak move on our part. I am expressing myself moderately. For myself I delight in warfare. It makes me feel that I am alive. Events of the last four months in

¹ *Vide* "Letter to Motilal Nehru", 23-7-1930.

India have gladdened my heart and have made me prouder of Indian men, women and even children than I had ever been, but I realize that most people are not warlike and like peace and so I try hard to suppress myself and take a peaceful view. May I congratulate you on the new India you have created by your magic touch! What the future will bring I know not, but the past has made life worth living and our prosaic existence has developed something of epic greatness in it. Sitting here in Naini Jail I have pondered on the wonderful efficacy of non-violence as a weapon and have become a greater convert with the response of a convert to it than ever before. I hope you are not dissatisfied with the response of the country to the non-violence creed. Despite occasional lapses, the country has stuck to it wonderfully, certainly far more grimly than I had expected. I am afraid I am still somewhat of a protestant regarding your eleven points. Not that I disagree with any one of them. Indeed they are important. Yet I do not think that they take the place of independence. But I certainly agree with you that we should have "nothing to do with anything that would not give the nation power to give immediate effect to them". Father has been unwell the last eight days ever since he took an injection. He has grown very weak. This long interview last evening tired him out.

JAWAHARLAL

Please do not be anxious about me. It is only a passing trouble and I hope to get over it in two or three days. Love.

MOTILAL NEHRU

PS.

We have had another talk with Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. Jayakar. At their desire we have made some alterations in our note, but they do not make any vital difference. Our position is quite clear and I have no doubt whatever about it. I hope you will appreciate it.

The Hindu, 5-9-1930

APPENDIX V
*LETTER FROM T. B. SAPRU AND M. R. JAYAKAR
TO CONGRESS LEADERS*¹

WINTER ROAD, MALABAR HILL,
BOMBAY,
August 16, 1930

DEAR FRIENDS,

We desire to express our thanks to you all for the courteous and patient hearing which you have been good enough to give us, on the several occasions on which we have visited you either at Poona or at Allahabad. We regret that we should have caused you so much inconvenience by these prolonged conversations, and we are particularly sorry that Pandit Motilal Nehru should have been put to the trouble of coming down to Poona, at a time when his health was so bad.

We beg formally to acknowledge receipt of the letter which you have handed to us and in which you state the terms on which you are prepared to recommend to the Congress the calling off of Civil Disobedience and participation in the Round Table Conference.

As we have informed you, we took up this work of mediation on the basis of

(1) the terms of an interview given by Pandit Motilal, the then Acting President of the Congress, to Mr. Slocombe in Bombay on 20th June 1930, and particularly

(2) the terms of the statement submitted by Mr. Slocombe to Pandit Motilal Nehru in Bombay on 25th June, 1930, and approved by him (Pandit Motilal Nehru) as the basis of informal approach to the Viceroy by us.

Mr. Slocombe forwarded both the documents to us, and we thereupon approached His Excellency the Viceroy for permission to interview Mahatma Gandhi, Pandits Motilal Nehru and Jawaharlal Nehru, in order to explore the possibilities of a settlement. A copy of the second document referred to above has been taken by you from us.

We now find that the terms embodied in the letter you gave us on the 14th instant are such that, as agreed between us, it must be submitted to His Excellency the Viceroy for his consideration, and we have to await his decision.

We note your desire that the material documents relating to these peace negotiations including your said letter to us should be published, and we shall proceed

¹ *Vide* "Letter to T. B. Sapru and M. R. Jayakar", 15-8-1930.

to do so after His Excellency the Viceroy has considered your letter.

Before we conclude, you will permit us to say that we had reasons to believe, as we told you, that with the actual calling off of the Civil Disobedience Movement, the general situation would largely improve, non-violent political prisoners would be released, all Ordinances, with the exception of those affecting Chittagong and the Lahore Conspiracy cases would be recalled, and the Congress would get a representation at the Round Table Conference, larger than that of any other single political party. We need scarcely add that we emphasized also that, in our opinion, there was substantially no difference between the point of view adopted by Pandit Motilal Nehru in his 'interview' and the statement sent to us by Mr. Slocombe with Pandit Motilal's approval and His Excellency the Viceroy's letter to us.

Yours sincerely,

T. B. SAPRU

M. R. JAYAKAR

Gandhi-Sapru Correspondence. Courtesy: P. N. Sapru