

Notes of Guha on Gandhi Annotated

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III. [Annotator's Afterword](#)

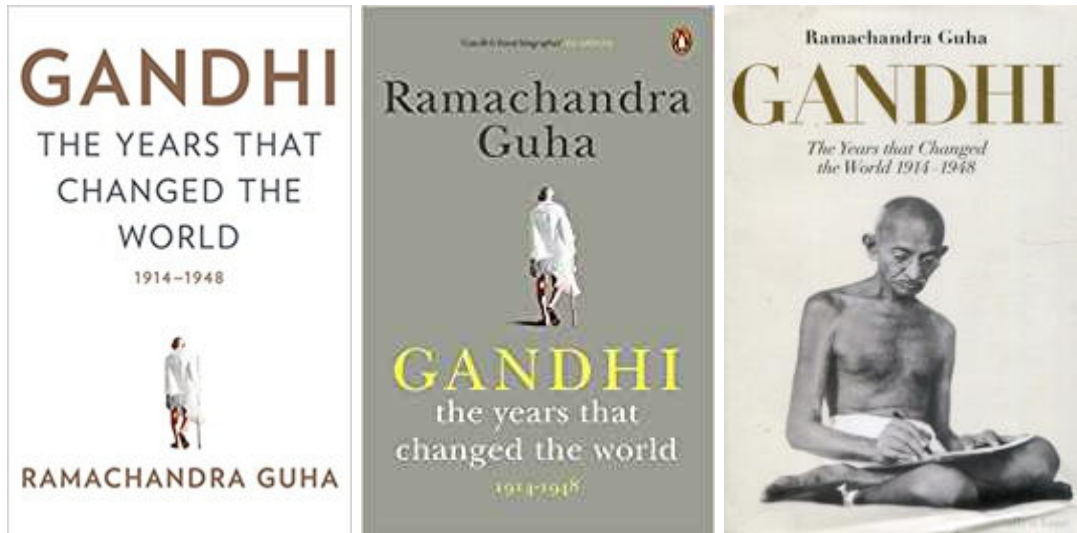
IV. [Transformation of the Notes](#)

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I. Guha's Gandhi

Ramachandra Guha's seminal biography of Mahatma Gandhi, *Gandhi: The Years That Changed the World, 1914-1948*, may be obtained in the following locations:



- Published by Knopf for distribution in the U.S. [[Amazon.com](https://www.amazon.com)]
- Published by Penguin for distribution in India [[Amazon.in](https://www.amazon.in)]
- Published by Allen Lane for distribution in Europe [[Amazon.co.uk](https://www.amazon.co.uk)]

The present document contains the footnotes from Guha's *Gandhi* with annotations that include links to source materials. Please note we make no claims to any copyright over the book or the footnotes nor do we claim any intellectual property rights in the annotations. This work is unauthorized, but was pursued for the purpose of the increase and diffusion of knowledge. Jai Gyaan. जय ज्ञान.
Please see [Annotator's Afterword](#) *et seq* for more information.

II. Notes of Guha on Gandhi

Abbreviations Used in the Notes

Abbreviation	Explanation
ABP	<i>Amrita Bazar Patrika</i> (newspaper published from Calcutta)
<i>Autobiography</i>	M.K. Gandhi, <i>An Autobiography, or the Story of My Experiments with Truth</i> , translated from the Gujarati by Mahadev Desai (first published in 1927; second edition: Ahmedabad, Navajivan Press, 1940—reprinted many times since). There are many print editions of Gandhi's autobiography around the world, licensed by Navajivan; and there will be many more, especially since the work is now out of copyright. The pagination of these works varies enormously. Therefore, in my references to this book, I have cited Part and Chapter rather than page numbers. However, since the book originated from a series of newspaper articles, each chapter is only a few pages long, so my citations will be relatively easy to track down.
APAC/BL	Asia, Pacific and Africa Collections, British Library, London
BC	<i>Bombay Chronicle</i> (newspaper published from Bombay)
CWVG	<i>Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi</i> (New Delhi: Publications Division, 1958-1994)
D	<i>Dawn</i> (newspaper published from Delhi till 1947, and later from Karachi)
DTDG	Mahadev H. Desai's <i>Day-to-Day with Gandhi</i> , in six volumes, edited by Narhari D. Parikh, translated from the Gujarati by Hemantkumar G. Nilkanth (Varanasi: Sarva Seva Sangh Prakashan, 1968)
FR	Fortnightly Report
GBI	Ramachandra Guha, <i>Gandhi Before India</i> (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2014)
Gol	Government of India
H	<i>Harijan</i> (weekly published from Ahmedabad)
HT	<i>Hindustan Times</i> (newspaper published from Delhi)
IAR	<i>Indian Annual Register</i> (edited by H.N. Mitra, and published from Calcutta from 1919 to 1947)
MSA	Maharashtra State Archives, Mumbai
MG	<i>Manchester Guardian</i> (newspaper published from Manchester, predecessor of Guardian)
N	<i>Navajivan</i> (weekly published from Ahmedabad)
NAI	National Archives of India, New Delhi
NAUK	National Archives of the United Kingdom, Kew
NMML	Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi
NYPL	New York Public Library, New York
PRMGMC	<i>Printed Record of the Mahatma Gandhi Murder Case (in the High Court of Judicature for the Province of East Punjab at Simla)</i> , eight volumes, in the Rare Book Collection, Law Library, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
PSV	Private Secretary to Viceroy
SN	Serial Number
SAAA	Sabarmati Ashram Archives, Ahmedabad
<i>Source Material</i>	N.R. Phatak, editor, <i>Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement in India</i> , published in multiple volumes and parts (Bombay: Government of Maharashtra, 1965)

Abbreviation	Explanation
<i>Tol</i>	<i>Times of India</i>
<i>ToP</i>	Nicholas Mansergh, editor, <i>Constitutional Relations Between Britain and India: The Transfer of Power, 1942-47</i> , published in twelve volumes (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1970-1983).
<i>TS</i>	<i>The Statesman</i> (newspaper published from Calcutta)
<i>TT</i>	<i>The Tribune</i> (newspaper published from Lahore)
UP	United Provinces
VAN	Vidarbha Archives, Nagpur
<i>YI</i>	<i>Young India</i> (weekly published from Ahmedabad)
[an: ...]	[an: Additional material added during annotation.]
<gb>	Link to a Google Books page for a book that is still in copyright.

Preface

1. Gandhi to C.F. Andrews, 15 June 1933, CWMG, [LV, pp. 198-99.](#)
2. Josiah Oldfield, quoted in 'Victor [an: French] Trench' (pseudonym), [Lord Willingdon in India](#) (Bombay: Karnatak Printing Press, 1934). On Oldfield's early friendship with Gandhi, see *GBI*, pp. 44-45, 216-17, etc. <gb>
3. CWMG, [LXXXV, p. 151.](#)
4. The most readily accessible biographical study by an Indian is by Rajmohan Gandhi, who was born in 1935; that by a non-Indian, by Joseph Lelyveld, who was born in 1937. I was born in 1958.
5. 'Higher Education', *H*, [9 July \[an: 1937 1938\]](#), CWMG, [LXVII, p. 159.](#)
6. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, quoted in C.D. Narasimhaiah, *The Writer's Gandhi* (Patiala: Punjabi University, 1967), pp. 54-55. <gb> To this, Narasimhaiah adds his own assessment, which was that Gandhi 'broke the cumbrous, Victorian periods which had enslaved the Indian writer like his counterpart in England ... and made us speak like men who had something to say, and not exhort like gods or rant like demons.'
7. See V.S. Naipaul, *Letters between a Father and Son* (London: Little, Brown and Company, 1999), pp. 29-30. <gb>
8. Quoted in Ved Mehta, *Mahatma Gandhi and His Apostles* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1977), p. 35. <gb>

Chapter One: The Returning Hero

1. Gandhi to G.A. Natesan, c. 29 October 1909, CWMG, [IX, pp. 506-07.](#)
2. CWMG, [XII, pp. 507, 521.](#)

3. On the friendship between Gandhi and Kallenbach in South Africa, see *GBI*, pp. 187-88, 418-19, 459-60, 600-01, etc. Cf. also Shimon Lev, *Soulmates: The Story of Mahatma Gandhi and Hermann Kallenbach* (Hyderabad: Orient Blackswan, 2012). <gb>
4. *Autobiography*, [Part IV, Chapter XXXVIII](#).
5. Sarojini Naidu to Lady Pherozeshah Mehta, undated letter reproduced in the *Indian Review*, [January 1915](#). See also James Hunt, *Gandhi in London* (New Delhi: Promilla Books, 1993), p. 163, for a later (but equally colourful) recollection of Mrs Naidu's. <gb>
6. See *Autobiography*, [Part IV, Chapter XXXVIII](#), 'My Part in the War'.
7. See *GBI*, pp. 135-37, 193-94.
8. *CWMG*, [XII, pp. 523-25](#).
9. Olive Schreiner to Hermann Kallenbach, 2 October 1914, in Kallenbach Papers, NAI; Schreiner to Gandhi, 2 October 1914, letter quoted in Ruth First and Ann Scott, *Olive Schreiner: A Biography* (New York: Schocken Books, 1980), pp. 304-05, emphasis in the original. <gb> On Gandhi's friendship with Olive Schreiner and her brother, the liberal politician W.P. Schreiner, see *GBI*, pp. 328, 433-34, 494-95, 527.
10. Gandhi to Maganlal, 18 September 1914, *CWMG*, [XII, pp. 531-32](#).
11. Gandhi to Pragji Desai, 15 November 1914, *CWMG*, [XII, pp. 554-55](#). During the Anglo-Zulu war of 1906, Gandhi, while officially on the British side, ministered to many Zulus as well. See *GBI*, p. 194.
12. Gandhi, *Autobiography*, [Part IV, Chapter XLI](#), and [Part V, Chapter IV](#).
13. *CWMG*, [XII, pp. 523-25](#).
14. Andrews to Gokhale, 27 December 1912, in File 11, G.K. Gokhale Papers, NAI, emphases added. In the time they spent together in South Africa, Andrews and Gandhi had become very close, with the Englishman acquiring an acute understanding of the Indian's mind. See *GBI*, pp. 500-09.
15. *BC*, 11 January 1915.
16. See *GBI*, pp. 342-44.
17. Narandas Gandhi to Chhaganlal Gandhi, 21 January 1915, S.N. 6114, SAAA.
18. *BC*, 13 January 1915.
19. *CWMG*, [XIII, p. 7](#).
20. *BC*, 15 January 1915.
21. See *GBI*, pp. 129-30.

22. See Stanley Wolpert, *Jinnah of Pakistan* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1985), Chapters 2 and 3. <gb>
23. Jinnah's speech was reproduced in *BC*, 15 January 1915.
24. *CWVG*, [XIII, pp. 9-10.](#)
25. *BC*, 16 January 1915.
26. Narandas Gandhi to Chhaganlal Gandhi, 21 January 1915, S.N. 6114, SAAA.
27. Japaan to Chhaganlal Gandhi, 6 March 1915, S.N. 6161, SAAA.
28. *Autobiography*, [Part V, Chapter II](#), 'With Gokhale in Poona'.
29. *CWVG*, [XIII, pp. 26-28.](#)
30. See P. Kodanda Rao, [The Right Honourable V.S. Srinivasa Sastri: A Political Biography](#) (Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1963).
31. Entries for 22 and 27 February 1915, in 'Diaries for 1915-1920', V.S. Srinivasa Sastri Papers, NMML. 'Hariji' was Hriday Nath Kunzru, later a member of the influential States Reorganization Commission of independent India.
32. *Source Material*, [Volume III, Part I, p. 3.](#)
33. See Gopalkrishna Gandhi, editor, *A Frank Friendship: Gandhi and Bengal* (Kolkata: Seagull, 2015), pp. 47-50. <gb>
34. See *GBI*, pp. 419-23, 509-10, etc.; S.R. Mehrotra, *The Mahatma and the Doctor: The Untold Story of Dr Pranjivan Mehta, Gandhi's Greatest Friend and Benefactor* (Mumbai: Vakils, Feffer & Simons Private Limited, 2014). <gb>
35. *CWVG*, [XIX, p. 251.](#) Cf. also J.T.F. Jordens, *Swami Shradhdhananda: His Life and Causes* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1981). <gb>
36. 'Mr. Gandhi's Visit', *St. Stephen's College Magazine*, number 32, April 1915.
37. *CWVG*, [XIII, p. 47](#); Manian Natesan, 'Bapu and I', *Indian Review*, [February 1958](#); A.S. Iyengar, 'Gandhiji's First Visit to Madras', *Indian Review*, May 1965.
38. *CWVG*, [XIII, pp. 51-52, 58-61.](#)
39. Letter of 4 May 1915, *CWVG*, [XIII, p. 72.](#)
40. Entry for 30 April 1915, in 'Diaries for 1915-1920', V.S. Srinivasa Sastri Papers, NMML.

41. K. Venkatappayya to Gandhi, 26 April 1915, in SAAA. For the later development of the Andhra movement, and Gandhi's own endorsement of it, see Ramachandra Guha, *India After Gandhi* (London: Macmillan, 2007), Chapter 9. <gb>
42. Bhushan Chandra Joshi to Gandhi, 24 April 1915, S.N. 6177, SAAA. Cape Comorin, now known as Kanyakumari, is the southernmost tip of India.
43. K. Natarajan to Gandhi, 26 May 1915, S.N. 6195, SAAA.
44. *GBI*, pp. 201-04, 413-18, 502-03, 510-11, etc.
45. Gandhi to Narandas Gandhi, 14 March 1915, *CWMG*, [XIII, p. 36](#).
46. The letter is reprinted in full and in English translation in C.B. Dalal, *Harilal Gandhi: A Life*, translated from the Gujarati by Tridip Suvrud (Hyderabad: Orient Longman, 2007), Appendix 1, pp. 127-45. <gb>
47. Gandhi to Narandas Gandhi, 25 April 1915, *CWMG*, [XIII, p. 62](#).
48. See Kenneth L. Gillion, *Ahmedabad: A Study in Indian Urban History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968). <gb>
49. The family home of Mangaldas Girdhardas in Ahmedabad has now been converted into a splendid heritage hotel named '[House of MG](#)'.
50. *CWMG*, [XIII, pp. 84-87](#).
51. Achyut Yagnik and Suchitra Sheth, *Ahmedabad: From Royal City to Megacity* (New Delhi: Penguin Books, 2011), pp. 195-96. <gb>
52. 'Draft Constitution for the Ashram', *CWMG*, [XIII, pp. 91-98](#); *Autobiography*, [Part V, Chapter IX](#).
53. Untitled notes by Satyananda Bose, c. 1915, S.N. 6184, SAAA.
54. *GBI*, pp. 195-98, 200-01.
55. Robin Lane Fox, *Augustine: Conversions to Confessions* (London: Allen Lane, 2015), pp. 107, 111, 336, etc. <gb>
56. *GBI*, p. 195f.
57. *Autobiography*, [Part V, Chapter X](#).
58. *CWMG*, [XIII, p. 94](#).
59. J.M. Lazarus to Gandhi, dated Durban, 21 December 1914, S.N. 6068, SAAA.
60. *CWMG*, [XIX, p. 154](#).
61. *CWMG*, [XIII, pp. 127-28](#).
62. Howard Spodek, *Ahmedabad: Shock City of Twentieth Century India* (New Delhi: Orient Blackswan, 2012), pp. 33-39. <gb>
63. Gandhi, *Autobiography*, [Part V, Chapter X](#).

64. *Source Material*, [Vol. III, pp. 7-8.](#) [an: Part 1?]
65. Quoted in B.R. Nanda, *Gandhi, Pan-Islamism, Imperialism and Nationalism in India* (Bombay: Oxford University Press, 1989), p. 1. <gb>

Chapter Two: Coming out in Banaras

1. See Arthur H. Nethercot, *The Last Four Lives of Annie Besant* (London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1963), pp. 62-63, 161-63, 242-43. <gb>
2. As reported in the *Pioneer*, 6 February 1916.
3. Lord Hardinge of Penshurst, *My Indian Years, 1910-1916* (London: John Murray, 1948), [p. 137.](#)
4. Gandhi's edited version is in CWMG, [XIII, pp. 210-16](#); the unexpurgated text is available in File Number 221 of 1916, General Administrative Department, Uttar Pradesh State Archives, Lucknow (hereafter cited as File 221).
5. Macaulay's 'Minute on Education' can be accessed at http://www.columbia.edu/itc/meaac/pritchett/00generallinks/macaulay/txt_minute_education_1835.html.
6. As recounted in the statement of E.M. Nanavatty, ICS, Officiating District and Sessions Judge, Banaras, dated 9 February 1916, in File Number 221.
7. This account of how Gandhi's speech was interrupted and ended is based on documents in File 221.
8. Typescript entitled 'The Benares-Gandhi Incident', signed 'An Observer', Simla, 25 February 1916, in Reel number 4, Annie Besant Papers (on microfilm), NMML.
9. CWMG, [XIII, pp. 216-17.](#)
10. CWMG, [XIII, pp. 217-18.](#)
11. Statements by Annie Besant in *New India*, 10 and 16 February 1916.
12. Commissioner, Banaras Division, to Chief Secretary, 7 February 1916, in File 221.
13. Chief Secretary to Lieutenant Governor, 9 February 1916, in *ibid.*
14. Note by J.S. Meston, Lieutenant Governor of the United Provinces, dated 17 March 1916, in *ibid.*
15. Hardinge, *My Indian Years*, [pp. 79-81.](#)
16. CWMG, [XIII, pp. 244-45.](#)
17. CWMG, [XIII, pp. 350-51.](#)
18. 'Railway Passengers', CWMG, [XIII, pp. 284-86.](#)

19. 'The Hindu Caste System', CWMG, [XIII, pp. 301-03.](#)
20. Gandhi to Narhar Shambhuroo Bhawe, 7 June 1916, CWMG, [XIII, p. 279.](#)
21. C. Rajagopalachar[i], 'M.K. Gandhi: His Message to India', *Indian Review*, May 1916.
22. CWMG, [XIII, pp. 303-04.](#)
23. Polak to Kallenbach, 18 November 1916, Kallenbach Papers, NAI.
24. H.F. Owen, 'Towards Nationwide Agitation and Organization: The Home Rule Leagues, 1915-18', in D.A. Low, editor, *Soundings in Modern South Asian History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968). [<gb>](#)
25. D.V. Tahmankar, *Lokamanya Tilak: Father of Indian Unrest and Maker of Modern India* (London: John Murray, 1956), [pp. 241-42.](#)
26. See Wolpert, *Jinnah of Pakistan*, Chapter 4.
27. S.R. Mehrotra, *A History of the Indian National Congress: Volume One, 1885-1918* (Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1995), [pp. 142-43.](#)
28. Khwaja Razi Haider, *Ruttie Jinnah* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 17-18. [<gb>](#)
29. Ruttie Petit to Padmaja Naidu, 7 January 1917, in Padmaja Naidu Papers, NMML.
30. Entry for 24 December 1916, 'Diaries for 1915-20', V.S. Srinivasa Sastri Papers, NMML.

Chapter Three: Three Experiments in Satyagraha

1. B.B. Misra, editor, *Select Documents on Mahatma Gandhi's Movement in Champaran, 1917-18* (Patna: Government of Bihar, 1963) (hereafter *Select Documents*), [pp. 54-55.](#)
2. See Bhairav Lal Das, editor, *Gandhiji Ké Champaran Andolan Ké Sutradhar Raj Kumar Shukla Ki Diary* (Darbhanga: Maharajadhiraj Kameshwar Singh Kalyani Foundation, 2014). [\[an: ISBN 978-93-83647-01-9\]](#)
3. *Autobiography*, [Part V, Chapter XII.](#)
4. Quoted in Kalikinkar Datta, *Gandhiji in Bihar*, (Patna: Government of India, 1969), pp. 3-4. [\[an: The cited document is unavailable, but an earlier document by the same author is. K.K. Datta, *Writings and Speeches of Mahatma Gandhi Relating to Bihar, 1917-1947*, \(Patna: Government of Bihar, 1960\)\]](#)
5. See Mohammad Sajjad and Afroz Alam Sahil, 'The Unsung Heroes of the Champaran Satyagraha', <https://thewire.in/history/champaran-pir-munis-raj-kumar-shukla> (accessed on 19 April 2017).

6. This account of the indigo economy of north Bihar is based on Jacques Pouchepadass, *Champaran and Gandhi: Planters, Peasants and Gandhian Politics* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1999), especially Chapters I to III. <gb> But cf. also Girish Mishra, *Agrarian Problems of Permanent Settlement: A Case Study of Champaran* (New Delhi: People's Publishing House, 1978). <gb>
7. Pouchepadass, *Champaran and Gandhi*, pp. 165f.
8. As related in R.M. Lala, *Encounters with the Eminent* (Bombay: International Book House, 1981), p. 48. <gb>
9. *Select Documents*, pp. 58-62.
10. CWMG, XIII, p. 363.
11. Rajendra Prasad, *Satyagraha in Champaran* (Madras: S. Ganeshan, 1928), pp. 137-40. Motihari was the birthplace of Eric Blair, later known as George Orwell.
12. Gandhi to District Magistrate, Champaran, 16 April 1917, CWMG, [an: XIII,] p. 367.
13. Gandhi to Private Secretary to Viceroy, 16 April 1917, CWMG, XIII, pp. 368-69.
14. Letters to Polak and Kripalani, both dated 17 April 1917, CWMG, XIII, pp. 371-72. For more on Naidoo, Sorabji and Cachalia, see GBI, pp. 308-09, 323, 352-53, etc.
15. Prasad, *Satyagraha in Champaran*, pp. 146-49.
16. See *Select Documents*, pp. 68-78.
17. Prasad, *Satyagraha in Champaran*, pp. 153-56.
18. J.B. Kripalani, *My Times: An Autobiography* (New Delhi: Rupa and Co., 2004), pp. 66-68. <gb>
19. Herbert Cox, Secretary, Bihar Planters' Association, to L.F. Morshead, Commissioner, Tirhut Division, 28 April 1918, in *Select Documents*, pp. 95-96.
20. Quoted in Datta, *Gandhiji in Bihar*, p. 37.
21. W.H. Lewis, Subdivisional Officer, Bettiah, to W.B. Heycock, District Magistrate, Champaran, 29 April 1917, in *Select Documents*, pp. 99-104.
22. CWMG, XIV, pp. 542-44.
23. CWMG, XIV, pp. 150-52.
24. CWMG, XIII, p. 479.
25. *Select Documents*, pp. 396-99.

26. Quoted in D.G. Tendulkar, *Gandhi in Champaran* (New Delhi: Government of India, 1957), [pp. 97-98](#).
27. Untitled, undated note, c. July 1921, by H. McPherson, Member of Council, Bihar and Orissa, in File No. 65 of 1921, Home (Political), NAI.
28. David Hardiman, *Peasant Nationalists of Gujarat: Kheda District, 1917-1934* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1981), pp. 59, 80. <gb>
29. See Narhari D. Parikh, *Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Volume 1* (1953; reprint Ahmedabad: Navajivan, 1996), [Chapters I-VI](#).
30. See Narhari D. Parikh, *Mahadev Desai's Early Life*, translated from the Gujarati by Gopalrao Kulkarni (Ahmedabad: Navajivan Publishing House, 1953), [pp. 45-53](#) and passim.
31. *Autobiography*, [Part IV, Chapter XXI](#).
32. Cf. <https://gandhiashramsabarmati.org/en/about-gandhi-ashram-menu/history-menu.html> (accessed on 24 September 2014).
33. Hardiman, *Peasant Nationalists of Gujarat*, p. 89.
34. CWMG, [XIV, pp. 68-69](#).
35. 'Speech at Gujarat Political Conference', Godhra, 3 November 1917, in CWMG, [XIV, pp. 48-66](#).
36. Parikh, *Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Volume 1*, [Chapter IX](#).
37. Hardiman, *Peasant Nationalists of Gujarat*, Chapter 5.
38. Bombay Government, fortnightly report for second half of January 1918, in Proceedings No. 18 of May 1918, Home Department (Political-Deposit), NAI.
39. DTDG, [Volume I, pp. 17-18, 96-97](#).
40. Sujata Patel, *The Making of Industrial Relations: The Ahmedabad Textile Industry, 1918-1939* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1987), Chapter III. <gb>
41. Mahadev Desai, *A Righteous Struggle*, translated from the Gujarati by Somnath P. Dave, edited by Bharatan Kumarappa (Ahmedabad: Navajivan, 1951), [pp. 4-7](#).
42. See Ela Bhatt, editor, *Motaben: Anasuya Sarabhai (1885-1972)* (Ahmedabad: Shantisadan, 2012). [an: Book appears to be unavailable anywhere.]
43. Gandhi to Ambalal Sarabhai, Motihari, 21 December 1917, CWMG, [XIV, p. 115](#).
44. Erik H. Erikson, *Gandhi's Truth: On the Origins of Militant Nonviolence* (London: Faber and Faber, 1970), pp. 330-33. <gb>

45. Desai, *A Righteous Struggle*, [pp. 16-17](#).
46. CWMG, [XIV, pp. 224-25, 232-33, 237-39, 248-49](#), etc.
47. CWMG, [XIV, pp. 229-30](#). The letter was, of course, originally written in Gujarati. The translation was most likely the handiwork of C.N. Patel, the Deputy Editor of the Collected Works.
48. Spodek, *Ahmedabad*, pp. 61-62.
49. Desai, *A Righteous Struggle*, [pp. 25-26](#).
50. CWMG, [XIV, pp. 258-67](#).
51. Desai, *A Righteous Struggle*, [pp. 92-93](#).
52. Hardiman, *Peasant Nationalists of Gujarat*, pp. 104-07.
53. *DTDG*, [I, pp. 84, 92-93](#).
54. *Hindusthan*, 2 April 1918, in *Report on Newspapers in the Bombay Presidency, January to December 1918*, L/R/5/174, APAC/BL.
55. CWMG, [XIV, pp. 369-70](#).
56. Gandhi to PSV, 30 April 1918, CWMG, [XIV, pp. 380-81](#).
57. CWMG, [XIV, pp. 479, 493](#).
58. Erikson, *Gandhi's Truth*, pp. 370-71.
59. CWMG, [XIV, pp. 414-19](#).
60. CWMG, [XIV, pp. 240, 447-48](#).
61. Letters of 29 and 31 July 1918, both written from Nadiad, CWMG, [XIV, pp. 515, 517](#).
62. Gandhi to Pranjivan Mehta, 2 July 1918, CWMG, [XIV, p. 467](#).
63. CWMG, [XV, pp. 21-23](#).
64. CWMG, [XV, pp. 32, 67, 70-71](#).
65. H.S.L. Polak to Mahadev Desai, 20 February 1919, SN 6428, SAAA.
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11. Desai, *DTDG*, I, p. [271](#).
12. *CWMG*, [XV, pp. 86-88](#).

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54. 'Turkey', *Navajivan*, 7 September 1919, CWMG, [XVI, pp. 104-05.](#)
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3. CWMG, [XVI, p. 517](#).
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27. Gandhi to Saraladevi, 2 May 1920, CWMG, [XVII, pp. 374-76](#).
28. Gandhi to Balwantrai Mehta, c. 2 September 1927, CWMG, [XXXIV, pp. 439-40](#).
29. Gandhi to Kallenbach, 10 August 1920, CWMG, [XVIII, pp. 129-31](#).
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Chapter Six: Capturing the Congress

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42. CWMG, [XIX, pp. 137-38](#).
43. Gandhi to Rajagopalachari, 24 August 1924, CWMG, [XXV, p. 137](#).
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52. Viceroy to Secretary of State, 5 January 1921, in Mss Eur E 264/6, APAC/BL.

Chapter Seven: The Rise and Fall of Non-Cooperation

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8. Speech in Jhansi, 20 November 1920, in *ibid.*
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13. See Minault, *The Khilafat Movement*, p. 131.
14. Quoted in *Trial of Gandhiji* (Ahmedabad: High Court of Gujarat, 1965), [p. xiv.](#)
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16. CWMG, [XIX, pp. 277-78.](#)

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Chapter Eight: The Mahatma from Above and Below

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6. Anon., *27 January 1915: A Historical Occasion celebrated 53 years ago: Title Mahatma and Address Offered to Mahatma Gandhi at Gondal* (Gondal: The Rasashala Aushadhashram, 1968).
7. CWMG, [XIX, p. 216](#).
8. These lines are based on *Source Material*, [Vol. III, Part I, pp. 201-04, 561-67](#). 'Kavi' is Gujarati (and Hindi) for poet.
9. Raihana Tyabji to Gandhi, 17 March 1922, SN 7996, SAAA.
10. Desai, *DTDG*, [III, pp. 262-65](#).
11. See Shahid Amin, 'Gandhi as Mahatma: Gorakhpur District, Eastern UP, 1921-2', in Ranajit Guha and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, editors, *Selected Subaltern Studies* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988). <gb>

12. Untitled note, c. February 1921, on agrarian disturbances in Oudh, in Mss Eur 264/5, APAC/BL.
13. See Proceedings Nos 195-216A for February 1921, Home Department (Political-B), NAI.
14. See File No. 525 of 1922, Home (Political), NAI.
15. Bamford, *Histories of the Non-Co-operation and Khilafat Movements*, pp. [60-61](#).
16. N.E. Marjoribanks, Chief Secretary, Madras Government to S.P. Donnell, Home Secretary, Government of India, 2 September 1921, in File No. 24111A of 1921, Home (Political), NAI.
17. See K.P.S. Menon, *C. Sankaran Nair* (New Delhi: Publications Division, 1967).
18. C. Sankaran Nair, *Gandhi and Anarchy* (Madras: Tagore and Co., 1922), pp. [xii](#), [xiv](#), [10](#), [17](#), [45](#), [47](#), [51](#), [58](#), [109-110](#), [121](#), etc.
19. M. Ruthnaswamy, *The Political Philosophy of Mr. Gandhi* (Madras: Tagore and Co., 1922), pp. [1-4](#), [46-47](#), [82-90](#), [50-51](#), [80](#), [75-76](#), [93](#), [95](#).
20. S.A. Dange, *Gandhi vs Lenin* (Bombay: Liberty Literature Co., 1921), especially [Chapter III](#). Cf. also Muzaffar Ahmad, *Myself and the Communist Party of India, 1920-1929* (Calcutta: National Book Agency, 1970), pp. 108-12. [<gb>](#)
21. M.N. Roy, 'Non-Violence and Revolution', *Advance Guard*, Volume 1, No. 5, December 1922, clipping in File No. 128 of 1922, Home (Political), NAI.
Interestingly, Roy's assessment of Gandhi and his movement was not shared by Lenin himself. The Bolshevik leader, basing himself on Marx's five-stage theory of history, thought that Gandhi was leading a bourgeois-nationalist revolution that would destroy the feudal remnants in Indian society. Thus it must be supported, for it would in time lead to the next and highest stage of human evolution, namely, socialism. Roy vigorously disagreed, arguing that Gandhism was a reactionary movement which communists should reject rather than support. See, for more details, Sibnarayan Ray, *In Freedom's Quest: Life of M.N. Roy, Volume I* (Calcutta: Minerva Associates, 1998). [<gb>](#)
22. Kantilal Amratlal to Gandhi, 31 December 1920, SN 7434, SAAA.
23. Note by W.S. Marris, 2 June 1919, in Proceedings No. 705 for June 1919, Home Department (Political-B), NAI.
24. J.H. Du Boulay, Home Secretary, Government of India, note dated 23 April 1919, in Proceedings Nos 763 to 685, Part B, May 1919, in Home (Political), NAI.

25. Letter by W.S. Irwin in the *Pioneer*, 21 June 1917.
26. *Gandhi and the Anglican Bishops* (Madras: Ganesh and Co., 1922), [pp. 45, 49-51, 53, 55-56.](#)
27. See W.B. Heycock, District Magistrate, Champaran, to L.F. Morshead, Commissioner, Tirhut Division, 5 June 1917, in *Select Documents*, [pp. 201-03.](#)
28. Note by H.D. Craik, Home Secretary, Government of India, dated 25 June 1921, in File 49 of 1921, Home (Political), NAI.
29. Gilbert Murray, 'The Soul as It Is, and How to Deal with It', the *Hibbert Journal*, Volume 16, Number 2, [January 1918.](#)
30. Valentine Chirol, *Indian Unrest* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1910), [pp. 41ff.](#)
31. Valentine Chirol, *India Old and New* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1921), [pp. 165, 175,](#) etc.
32. Anthony Clyne, 'M.K. Gandhi', *Review of Reviews* (London), April 1922.
33. Sir Michael F. O'Dwyer, 'Gandhi and the Prince's Visit to India', *Fortnightly Review*, February 1922.
34. The article in the *Glasgow Herald* was reprinted in *YI*, [4 August 1921.](#)
35. The *Tribune* report is reproduced in the *Rangoon Mail*, undated clipping in SN 7506, SAAA.
36. Clare Price, 'Gandhi and British India', *New York Times*, [10 July 1921.](#)
37. See John Haynes Holmes, *My Gandhi* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1953), [pp. 21, 29-31.](#)

Some Englishmen in India were appalled by the comparison of Gandhi to Jesus, and wrote in protest to Reverend Holmes, who, just as spiritedly, defended and expanded upon the comparison. This correspondence is reproduced in 'The Gandhi-Jesus Parallel', *Searchlight*, 26 November 1922, clipping in SN 8653, SAAA.
38. 'Gandhi as World Savior', report in *New York Times*, [13 March 1922.](#)
39. Sudarshan Kapur, *Raising Up a Prophet: The African-American Encounter with Gandhi* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1993), Chapter 2 and passim. [<gb>](#)
40. Myrtle and Gordon Law, 'Gandhi in Jail', *Outlook*, 19 April 1922.
41. 'E.M.S.', 'Gandhi at First Hand', *Atlantic Monthly*, [May 1922.](#)
42. 'Her Impressions of Gandhi', *New York Times*, [23 April 1922.](#)
43. See Harnam Singh, *The Indian National Movement and American Opinion* (New Delhi: Rama Krishna and Sons, 1962), [pp. 188-89.](#)

44. See *GBI*, pp. 120-21.
45. 'The New Light of Asia', the *Nation*, 14 September 1921.
For an overview of Gandhi's reception in the West in the 1920s, see Sean Scalmer, *Gandhi in the West: The Mahatma and the Rise of Radical Protest* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), Chapter 1. <gb>
46. J. Augustin Leger, 'Mahatma Gandhi', *Revue de Paris*, Volume 29, Number 2, 1 April 1922.
47. See Keith Kyle, 'Gandhi, Harry Thuku and Early Kenyan Nationalism', *Transition*, Number 27, 1966; Ngugi Wa Thiong'o, *Dreams in a Time of War: A Childhood Memoir* (London: Harvill Seeker, 2010), pp. 188-91. <gb>
48. Cf. S. Natarajan, *A History of the Press in India* (Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1962) <gb>; Milton Israel, *Communications and Power: Propaganda and Press in the Indian Nationalist Struggle, 1920-1947* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994) <gb>; N.S. Jagannathan, *Independence and the Indian Press* (New Delhi: Konark Publishers, 1999). <gb>

Chapter Nine: Prisoner Number 827

1. See *Source Material*, Volume III, Part II, p. 5.
2. C. Rajagopalachari, 'My Great Disappointment', *YI*, 6 April 1922.
3. *CWMG*, XXIII, pp. 122-28.
4. *CWMG*, XXIII, pp. 553-54, 129-36.
5. See *Source Material*, Volume III, Part II, pp. 2-3.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 27-29.
7. *CWMG*, XXIII, pp. 143-53.
8. 'My Jail Experiences-XI', *CWMG*, XXV, pp. 125-27.
9. 'My Jail Experiences-IX', in *CWMG*, XXIV, pp. 289-92.
10. See SN 8078, SAAA.
11. *Source Material*, Volume III, Part II, p. 191.
12. *CWMG*, XXIII, Appendix VI. [an: p. 556]
13. Jane Addams to J.H. Holmes, Delhi, 10 February 1923, copy in E.S. Reddy Papers, NMML.
14. See *CWMG*, XXIII, Appendix IV. [an: p. 554]
15. *YI*, 18 May 1922.
16. *YI*, 1 June 1922.
17. *YI*, 22 June 1922.
18. *YI*, 20 July 1922.

19. *YI*, [28 September 1922](#).
20. *IAR*, 1923, Volume I, [pp. 812, 835, 872ff](#).
21. *IAR*, 1923, [Volume II, pp. 143-44, 161-66](#).
22. See the correspondence in File 10 of 1922, AICC Papers, First Instalment, 1922, NMML.
23. Jordens, Swami Shraddhananda, p. 143.
24. Viceroy to Secretary of State for India, 18 December 1922, File No. 14 of 1922 Home (Political), NAI.
25. *CWVG*, [XXIII, pp. 178-88](#).
26. *YI*, [26 July 1923](#).
27. *CWVG*, [XXIII, pp. 161-62](#).
28. These paragraphs are based on documents printed in *Source Material*, [Volume III, Part II, pp. 33-34, 73-74, 105-08, 137, 141, 193](#), 827. [an: There is no page 827.]
29. *Ibid.*, [p. 186](#).
30. This section is based on material in File 606 of 1922, Home (Special), MSA.
31. *Select Writings and Speeches of Maulana Mohamed Ali*, [pp. 248, 276](#).
32. Colonel Maddox to Home Secretary, Bombay Government, 19 January 1924, in File 355(35) M of 1924, Home (Special), MSA.
33. *BC*, 14 January 1924. The European nurse tried hard to convince Gandhi to temporarily abjure his vow and take cow's milk to regain his strength. He refused. See SN 8189, SAAA.
34. Colonel Maddox to a 'Sir Maurice', 18 January 1924, in File 355(35) M of 1924, Home (Special), MSA.
35. *BC*, 20 January 1924.
36. File note dated 15 January by Home Secretary, Bombay Government, in File 355(35) M of 1924, Home (Special), MSA.
37. *Source Material*, [Volume III, Part II, pp. 216-18](#).
38. See Home Secretary, Bombay Government, to Home Secretary, Government of India, 1 February 1924, in File 355(35) M of 1924, Home (Special), MSA.
39. Colonel Maddox to Home Secretary, Bombay Government, 30 January 1924, in *ibid.*
40. See *DTDG*, [IV, pp. 17-21, 48-49](#).
41. Devadas Gandhi to 'Dear Friend' (whom I have been unable to identify), from Sassoon Hospital, Poona, 6 February 1924, SN 8286, SAAA.

42. Gandhi to Mohammad Ali, from Sassoon Hospital, Poona, 7 February 1924, CWMG, [XXIII, pp. 199-202.](#)
43. Gandhi to Mohammad Ali, 5 March 1924, CWMG, [XXIII, p. 221.](#)

Chapter Ten: Picking up the Pieces

1. 'Appeal to the Public', 24 March 1924, CWMG, [XXIII, pp. 305-06.](#)
2. Ruttie Jinnah to Gandhi, 31 March 1924, SN 8630, SAAA. We do not know whether Ruttie had shown her (handwritten) letter to her husband before sending it to Gandhi.
3. Letter dated 2 April 1924, SN 8645, SAAA.
4. Polak to Gandhi, 24 March 1924, SN 8566, SAAA.
5. CWMG, [XXIII, pp. 238-40.](#)
6. See Robin Jeffrey, 'The Social Origins of a Caste Association, 1875-1905: The Founding of the S.N.D.P. Yogam', *South Asia*, Volume 14, Number 1, 1975. [an: DOI: [10.1080/00856407408730687](https://doi.org/10.1080/00856407408730687)]
7. CWMG, [XXI, pp. 185-88.](#)
8. On the background and origins of the Vaikom Satyagraha, see T.K. Ravindran, *Eight Furlongs of Freedom* (New Delhi: Light and Life Publishers, 1980), Chapter 2 <gb>; George Gheverghese Joseph, *George Joseph: The Life and Times of a Kerala Christian Nationalist* (Hyderabad: Orient Longman, 2003), Chapter 9. <gb>
9. K.P. Kesava Menon, Secretary, Kottayam District Congress Committee, to Gandhi, 12 March 1924; Gandhi to K.P. Kesava Menon, Secretary, Kottayam District Congress Committee, 19 March 1924, CWMG, [XXIII, pp. 560-61, 272-73.](#) Cf. also George Joseph to Devadas Gandhi, 31 March 1924, SN 10264, SAAA.
10. Mary Elizabeth King, *Gandhian Nonviolent Struggle and Untouchability in India: The 1924-25 Vykom Satyagraha and the Mechanisms of Change* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 131-32. <gb>
11. These paragraphs are based on Ravindran, *Eight Furlongs of Freedom*, pp. 57ff.
12. See CWMG, [XXIII, pp. 419-20.](#)
13. Gandhi to George Joseph, 6 April 1924; 'Vaikom Satyagraha', 1 May 1924, CWMG, [XXIII, pp. 391, 515-16.](#) On the same principle, Gandhi also asked a group of Sikhs to close a free kitchen they had started in Vaikom. The 'Hindu reformers of Malabar', he pointed out, 'will estrange the entire

- Hindu sympathy if they accept or encourage non-Hindu interference or assistance beyond sympathy'. See 'Vaikom Satyagraha', *YI*, [8 May 1924](#), CWMG, [XIII, p. 7](#).
14. 'Vykom Satyagraha', *YI*, [24 April 1924](#), CWMG, [XXIII, pp. 476-77](#).
 15. 'Interview to Vaikom Delegation', CWMG, [XXIV, pp. 90-94](#).
 16. See *GBI*, p. 473f.
 17. CWMG, [XXIII, pp. 413-14](#).
 18. CWMG, [XXIV, pp. 109-11, 585-88](#).
 19. *IAR*, 1924, [Volume II, pp. 25f](#).
 20. M. Asaf Ali to Gandhi, 28 April 1924, SN 10378, SAAA.
 21. *YI*, [29 May 1924](#), CWMG, [XXIV, pp. 136-54](#).
 22. See undated clipping, c. May-June 1924, SN 8948, SAAA.
 23. CWMG, [XXIV, pp. 371-73, 403-05, 434-38](#).
 24. CWMG, [XIII, p. 518](#).
 25. CWMG, [XXIV, pp. 267-68, 307](#).
 26. Motilal Nehru to Gandhi, 28 July 1924, CWMG, [XXIV, pp. 595-96](#).
 27. 'Who Shall Be President', *YI*, [17 July 1924](#), CWMG, [XXIV, pp. 398-99](#).
 28. CWMG, [XXV, pp. 171, 174-76](#).
 29. Reports in *BC*, 18 and 19 September 1924.
 30. CWMG, [XXV, pp. 181-83](#).
 31. CWMG, [XXV, pp. 199-202](#).
 32. *Aaj*, 23 September 1924.
 33. *BC*, 27 September 1924.
 34. Rajagopalachari to Devadas Gandhi, 26 September 1924, Devadas Gandhi Papers, NMML.
 35. See M. Mohd Shoaib to Gandhi, 21 September 1924, SN 10190, SAAA.
 36. *BC* and *Aaj*, issues of 1 and 2 October 1924.
 37. C.F. Andrews, 'How the Fast was Broken', *YI*, [16 October 1924](#).
 38. *Aaj*, 13 October 1924.
 39. *BC*, 29 October 1924.
 40. CWMG, [XXV, pp. 425-26](#).
 41. CWMG, [XXV, pp. 464-70](#).

42. Eugene F. Irschick, *Politics and Social Conflict in South India: The Non-Brahmin Movement and Tamil Separatism, 1916-1929* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), pp. 268-69. <gb> Ramasamy was later to break with the Congress—whose approach to attacking caste he found too timid—and found the Dravida Kazhagam, the forerunner of the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK). A sharp critic of idol worship and of patriarchy, he remains a figure much admired by intellectuals and activists in South India.
43. 'Vykom Satyagraha', *YI*, [19 February 1925](#), CWMG, [XXVI, pp. 158-59](#).
44. CWMG, [XXVI, pp. 269-71](#).
45. Mahadev Desai, *The Epic of Travancore* (Ahmedabad: Navajivan Karyalaya, 1937), [pp. 17-21](#). Mahadev Desai was appalled at the combination of insolence and ignorance that the Namboodiris showed; their 'haughty air', he remarked, would 'put to shame those of the Nagars [Gujarati Brahmins] in their heyday'. *DTDG*, [\[an: VI,\] p. 56](#).
46. CWMG, [XXVI, pp. 293f](#).
47. M.K. Sanoo, *Narayana Guru: A Biography*, translated from the Malayalam by Madhavan Ayyappath (first published in 1978; reprint Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1998), pp. 189-90. <gb>
48. Quoted in Ravindran, *Eight Furlongs of Freedom*, p. 13.
49. CWMG, [XXVI, pp. 303-04](#).
50. See M.S.A. Rao, *Social Movements and Social Transformation: A Study of Two Backward Classes Movements in India* (first published in 1979; reprint New Delhi: Manohar, 1987), p. 66. <gb>
51. The two statements appear side by side in *IAR*, 1925, [Volume I, pp. 97-106](#).
52. Letter of March 1925, quoted in John Grigg, 'Myths about the Approach to Indian Independence', in Wm. Roger Louis, editor, *More Adventures with Britannia: Personalities, Politics and Culture in India* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1998), p. 211. <gb>
53. E.A. Ross, 'The United States of India', typescript of article published in *Comrade*, 22 January 1926, copy in L/PJ/12/229, India Office Records (hereafter IOR), APAC/BL.
54. Clarence Marsh Case, 'Gandhi and the Indian National Mind: A Fragment and a Suggestion', in *Journal of Applied Sociology* (Los Angeles), July 1923, [pp. 293-301](#). [\[an:Volume VII, No. 6\]](#)
55. Harry F. Ward, 'Lenin and Gandhi', in *The World Tomorrow*, April 1925.

56. See *Romain Rolland and Gandhi Correspondence* (New Delhi: Publications Division, 1976), [pp. 3-10](#).
57. Romain Rolland, *Mahatma Gandhi: The Man Who Became One with the Universal Being* (New York and London: The Century Co., 1924), [pp. 3-5](#).
58. Ibid., [p. 227](#). [an: This citation and the next are apparently to *Romain Rolland and Gandhi Correspondence* in footnote 56. *The Man Who Became One with the Universal Being* only has 160 pages.]
59. Ibid., [pp. 241-42, 247-48](#).
60. Holmes to Romain Rolland, 15 January 1924, Box 3, John Haynes Holmes Papers, Library of Congress, Washington D.C.
61. A useful introduction to Mariátegui's life and work is contained in the chapter on him in Enrique Kreuzer, *Redeemers: Ideas and Power in Latin America* (New York: HarperCollins, 2011). <gb>
62. See 'Gandhi', in Jose Carlos Mariátegui, *La Escena Contemporánea* (first published in Lima in 1925), available at <https://www.marxists.org/espanol/mariateg/1925/escena/06.htm>.
63. CWMG, [XXVII, pp. 229, 251-52, 354-55](#).
64. Ibid.
65. CWMG, [XXVII, pp. 248-49](#).
66. CWMG, [XXVIII, pp. 275-76](#).
67. Annie Besant to David Graham Pole, 11 June 1925, Mss Eur F 264/6, APAC/BL.
68. Rajagopalachari to Devadas Gandhi, 19 July 1925, Devadas Gandhi Papers, NMML.
69. CWMG, [XXVII, pp. 73, 259-60](#).
70. Madeleine Slade to Gandhi, 29 May 1925, SN 10541, SAAA; Madeleine Slade, *The Spirit's Pilgrimage* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1960), [Chapters XV to XVII](#).
71. CWMG, [XXIX, pp. 280-82](#).
72. IAR, 1925, [Volume II, p. 320](#).
73. Aldous Huxley, *Jesting Pilate: The Diary of a Journey* (first published in 1926; reprint London: Chatto and Windus, 1948), [pp. 98-100](#).
74. Mirabehn to Devadas Gandhi, 28 December 1925, Devadas Gandhi Papers, NMML.

Chapter Eleven: Spinning in Sabarmati

1. 'Indulgence or Self-Denial', *YI*, [7 January 1926](#), CWMG, [XXIX](#), pp. 380-82.
2. 'How Should Spinning Be Done', *N*, 11 July 1926, CWMG, [XXXI](#), pp. 119-21.
3. Cf. Lisa Trivedi, *Clothing Gandhi's Nation: Homespun and Modern India* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007), Chapter 2 and passim. <gb>
4. On the assistance given to Miss Mayo by British officials in India, see Manoranjan Jha, *Katherine Mayo and India* (New Delhi: People's Publishing House, 1971), [p. 29f.](#)
5. CWMG, [XXX](#), pp. 119-24.
6. Charles I. Reid to Gandhi, 28 April 1926, SN 12470, SAAA.
7. Letter dated 21 April 1926, CWMG, [XXX](#), p. 337.
8. Gandhi to Manilal Gandhi, 3 April 1926, CWMG, [XXX](#), p. 229; Mesthrie, *Gandhi's Prisoner?*, pp. 175-77.
9. CWMG, [XXXII](#), pp. 564-67.
10. Gandhi to G.D. Birla, 4 December 1926, CWMG, [XXXIII](#), p. 387.
11. 'The Ten Greatest Living Indians', *Indian National Herald*, 21 December 1926.
12. CWMG, [XXXII](#), pp. 445, 450.
13. Jordens, *Swami Shradhdhananda*, pp. 166-67.
14. CWMG, [XXXII](#), pp. 451-54.
15. 'Letter to Ashram Women', 27 December 1926, CWMG, [XXXII](#), p. 464.
16. 'Speech at Bettiah', 23 January 1927, CWMG, [XXXIII](#), p. 3
17. 'Tear Down the Purdah', *YI*, [3 February 1927](#), CWMG, [XXXIII](#), pp. 44-45.
18. Gandhi to Manilal, 8 February 1927; Gandhi to Sushilabehn Mashruwala, 13 February 1927, CWMG, [XXXIII](#), pp. 55-56, 73-75.
19. 'Silence Day note to Manilal Gandhi', 7 March 1927, CWMG, [XXXIII](#), p. 148.
20. 'A Revolutionary's Defence', *YI*, [12 February 1925](#), CWMG, [XXVI](#), pp. 136-41.
21. See Sehri Saklatvala, *The Fifth Commandment: A Biography of Shapurji Saklatvala* (Calcutta: National Book Agency, 1996). <gb>
22. See *IAR*, 1927, [Volume I](#), pp. 63-68; Sehri Saklatvala, *The Fifth Commandment*, pp. 292-93.

23. CWMG, [XXXIII, pp. 163-66](#). Interestingly, while criticizing Gandhi in public, in private Saklatvala appealed to him to use his influence with the Tatas to release the pension due to the communist from his days working with the firm. See Shapurji Saklatvala to Anasuya Sarabhai, 16 April 1927, SN 124941, SAAA.
24. CWMG, [XXXIII, pp. 209-10, 489](#).
25. See Rajagopalachari's letter to Mahadev Desai, 17 April 1927, copy in Devadas Gandhi Papers, NMML.
26. The most informative biography of Ambedkar remains Dhananjay Keer, *Dr. Ambedkar: Life and Mission* (first published in 1954; third edition, Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1971). <gb>
27. CWMG, [XXXIII, pp. 267-68](#).
28. These letters are quoted in P.D. Tandon, *The Unforgettable Nehru* (New Delhi: National Book Trust, 2003), [pp. 67-68](#). <gb>
29. Gandhi to Motilal Nehru, 14 May 1927, CWMG, [XXXIII, pp. 320-21](#).
30. Gandhi to Jawaharlal Nehru, 25 May 1927, CWMG, [XXXIII, pp. 364-65](#).
31. Jawaharlal Nehru to Gandhi, 22 April 1927, SN 12572, SAAA.
32. Gandhi to Motilal Nehru, 19 June 1927, CWMG, [XXXIV, pp. 30-31](#).
33. Gandhi to M.A. Ansari, 10 August 1927, CWMG, [XXXIV, pp. 304-05](#).
34. Katherine Mayo, *Mother India* (first published in 1927; thirty-third printing, New York: Blue Ribbon Books, 1931), [p. 11](#).
35. *Ibid.*, [p. 5f](#).
36. *Ibid.*, [p. 16](#).
37. *Ibid.*, [p. 22](#).
38. *Ibid.*, [pp. 300, 378](#).
39. Mrinalini Sinha, 'Editor's Introduction', in *Selections from Mother India* (New Delhi: Kali for Women, 1998), [p. 37](#).
40. Lajpat Rai's book first appeared as a series of articles in the *Bombay Chronicle* in October 1927. See File 715 of 1927, Home (Special), MSA. [an: Lajpat Rai, [Unhappy India: Being a Reply to Miss Katherine Mayo's 'Mother India'](#) (Calcutta: Banna Publishing, 1928).]
41. BC, 24 October 1927.
42. Letter written to the *Manchester Guardian* by Rabindranath Tagore, reproduced in *Tol*, 7 October 1927.

43. Sinha, 'Editor's Introduction', in *Selections from Mother India*, p. 2. These rejoinders included a twelve-part series called 'The Facts about India: A Reply to Miss Mayo', by Gandhi's and Tagore's friend C.F. Andrews, published in *Young India* between May and August 1928. [an: [May 17](#), [May 24](#), [May 31](#), [June 7](#), [June 14](#), [June 21](#), [June 28](#), [July 5](#), [July 12](#), [July 19](#), [July 26](#), [August 2](#)]
44. 'Drain Inspector's Report', *YI*, [15 September 1927](#), CWMG, [XXXIV](#), pp. [529-37](#) (emphases added).
45. CWMG, [XXXV](#), pp. [98-99](#), [112](#).
46. Gandhi to Prabhashankar Pattani, 8 November 1927; Gandhi to C.F. Andrews, 11 November 1927, CWMG, [XXXV](#), pp. [223](#), [227-28](#).
47. Quoted in the Earl of Birkenhead, *Halifax: The Life of Lord Halifax* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1965), pp. [246-47](#).
48. Handy S. Perinpanayagam to Gandhi, 28 July 1927, in Gopalkrishna Gandhi, editor, *Gandhi and Sri Lanka, 1905-1947* (Ratmalana, Sri Lanka: Vishva Lekha Publishers, 2002), pp. 25-26. <gb>
49. Mahadev Desai, *With Gandhiji in Ceylon* (Madras: S. Ganesan, 1928), pp. [3-4](#), [31-32](#).
50. Report in the *Ceylon Independent*, 28 November 1927, in Gopalkrishna Gandhi, *Gandhi and Sri Lanka*, p. 242.
51. *Ibid.*, p. 265.
52. CWMG, [XXXV](#), pp. [324-27](#).
53. Desai, *With Gandhiji in Ceylon*, pp. [3-4](#), pp. [155-59](#).
54. CWMG, [XXXV](#), pp. [265-66](#).
55. Gandhi to Surendra, 28 November 1927, CWMG, [XXXV](#), pp. [339-40](#).
56. As recalled by Devadas and Lakshmi's eldest son, Rajmohan Gandhi, in a talk in Bangalore in 2007.
57. See *IAR*, 1927, [Volume I](#), pp. [90-93](#).
58. Shaukat Ali to Gandhi, letters of 4 March and 11 July 1927, SNs 12566 and 12604, SAAA.
59. *IAR*, 1927, [Volume II](#), pp. [39ff](#).
60. File G-64, AICC Papers, First Instalment, NMML.
61. 'Hindu-Muslim Unity', *YI*, [1 December 1927](#), CWMG, [XXXV](#), pp. [352-54](#).
62. CWMG, [XXXV](#), pp. [420-21](#), [538-39](#).

63. See *IAR*, 1927, [Volume 2 II, pp. 98-99, 384-86](#). [an: A number of references here and following to Indian Annual Register use arabic numerals instead of roman for volume indicators. These have all been changed to roman for consistency with previous references and the original texts.]
64. See Jawaharlal Nehru, [Soviet Russia: Some Random Sketches and Impressions](#) (Allahabad: Allahabad Law Journal Press, 1928).
65. Gandhi to Jawaharlal Nehru, 4 January 1928, CWMG, [XXXV, pp. 432-33](#).
66. Nehru to Gandhi, 11 January 1928, CWMG, [XXXV, pp. 540-44](#).
67. Gandhi to Nehru, 17 January 1928, CWMG, [XXXV, pp. 467-68](#).

Chapter Twelve: The Moralist

1. See *GBI*, pp. 55-56, 86-87, 140-42, etc.
2. CWMG, [XXXII, p. 96](#).
3. *Ibid.*, pp. [115-16](#), [123](#), [146](#).
4. *Ibid.*, pp. [224](#), [366](#).
5. *Ibid.*, pp. [132-34](#).
6. *Ibid.*, pp. [153-55](#), [164](#).
7. *Ibid.*, p. [141](#).
8. *Ibid.*, p. [366](#).
9. Mahadev Desai, *The Gospel of Selfless Action, or the Gita According to Gandhi* (Ahmedabad: Navajivan Press, 1946), [pp. 18, 4](#).
10. 'Crime of Reading Bible', *YL*, [2 September 1926](#), CWMG, [XXXI, pp. 350-51](#).
11. CWMG, [XXXV, pp. 461-62](#).
12. As described by Mahadev Desai, writing in *YL*, [19 January 1928](#).
13. See Ramachandra Guha, *Savaging the Civilized: Verrier Elwin, His Tribals, and India* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), pp. 37-38. <gb>
14. CWMG, [XXXVI, pp. 136-37](#).
15. See CWMG, [an: Volume] [XXXII, pp. 512-16, 586-88](#).
16. See CWMG, [XXXI, pp. 486-87, 506-07, 541](#); [XXXII, pp. 15-17](#).
17. 'When Killing May Be Ahimsa', *YL*, 4 October 1928, CWMG, [XXXVII, pp. 310-12](#).
18. 'The Tangle of Ahimsa', *YL*, 11 October 1928; 'A Conundrum', *YL*, 18 October 1928, CWMG, [XXXVII, pp. 338-39, 360-61](#) (emphasis added).
19. Gandhi to C. Rajagopalachari, 21 October 1928, CWMG, [XXXVII, p. 386](#).

20. 'Speech to Students of Satyagraha Ashram, Ahmedabad', c. July 1920, CWMG, [XVII, pp. 535-39.](#)
21. CWMG, [XXIX, pp. 270, 289-91.](#)
22. See CWMG, [XXXIV, pp. 371-74.](#)

Chapter Thirteen: The Memoirist

1. I am grateful to Gopalkrishna Gandhi for this point.
2. On the writing and reception of Hind Swaraj, see GBI, Chapter XVI.
3. CWMG, [XXXI, p. 491.](#)
4. The fifty or more languages the autobiography has appeared in range from Swedish to Swahili, and from Tibetan to Turkish. Gopalkrishna Gandhi, 'Gandhi's Autobiography: The Story of Translators' Experiments with the Text', a talk at the School of Cultural Texts and Records, Jadavpur University, October 2008.
5. *Satyagraha in South Africa* (first published in 1928; reprint Ahmedabad: Navajivan Publishing House, 1972), [p. 5.](#)
6. *Satyagraha in South Africa*, [p. 33.](#)
7. *Ibid.*, [p. 94.](#)
8. *Ibid.*, [p. 123.](#)
9. *Ibid.*, [p. 132.](#)
10. *Ibid.*, [p. 258.](#)
11. *Ibid.*, [p. 168.](#)
12. *Ibid.*, [p. 307.](#)
13. I am here adapting terms first used by Clifford Geertz in his *Works and Lives: The Anthropologist as Author* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988). Geertz distinguishes between three types of narratives: 'author-evacuated', 'author-saturated' and 'author-supersaturated'. I have added a fourth category, 'author-inflected', logically placed between the first and the second.
14. *Autobiography*, [Part I, Chapter II.](#)
15. *Ibid.*, [Part II, Chapter III.](#)
16. *Ibid.*, [Part II, Chapter XXII.](#)
17. *Ibid.*, [Part III, Chapter VIII.](#)
18. *Ibid.*, [Part IV, Chapter X.](#)
19. *Ibid.*, [Part IV, Chapter XXIII.](#)
20. *Ibid.*, [Part V, Chapter I.](#)

21. Ibid., [Part IV, Chapters XXX and XXXI](#); [Part V, Chapter XXIX](#).
22. Ibid., [Part V, Chapter XXVI](#).
23. H.S.L. Polak to Mahadev Desai, 19 March 1928, SN 13590, SAAA; Gandhi to H.S.L. Polak, 12 October 1928, CWMG, [XXXVIII, p. 356](#).
24. See Sonja Schlesin to Manilal Gandhi, 1 October 1928, SN 15047, SAAA.
25. Sonja Schlesin to Gandhi, 4 May 1928, SN 15039, SAAA (emphasis in the original).
26. Sonja Schlesin to Gandhi, 15 June 1928, SN 15041, SAAA.
27. Gandhi to Manilal Gandhi, 15 July 1928, CWMG, [XXXVII, pp. 65-66](#) (emphasis in the original).
28. Gandhi to Jane Howard, 12 March 1928, CWMG, [XXXVI, p. 101](#).
29. C. Rajagopalachari to Mahadev Desai, 6 February 1926, Subject File, No. 46, C. Rajagopalachari Papers, Fourth Instalment, NMML.
30. 'The Supreme Egotist', *Tol*, 10 April 1929.
31. 'A Saint on His Case', *The China Press* (Shanghai), 16 February 1930.
32. Gandhi to Niranjana Singh, 12 May 1928, CWMG, [XXXVI, p. 310](#).
33. Holmes to Gandhi, letters of 14 April and 13 May 1926, SNs 32219 and 32222, SAAA.
34. Gandhi to F.H. Brown, 25 May 1928, CWMG, [XXXVI, p. 337](#).
35. *Autobiography*, last, unnumbered chapter entitled '[Farewell](#)'.
36. *Sun* (Baltimore), 15 May 1928.
37. See SN 14305, SAAA.
38. Report in the *Manchester Guardian*, 14 January 1929.
39. See C.F. Andrews to Gandhi, 2 August 1928, SN 14369, SAAA.

Chapter Fourteen: Once More into the Fray

1. CWMG, [XXXV, pp. 499-500](#).
2. Gandhi to N.R. Malkani, 8 February 1928, CWMG, [XXXVI, p. 12](#).
3. Edward Cadogan, *The India We Saw* (London: John Murray, 1933), [pp. 10, 19-20, 25, 64-66, 75, 119, 132-33, 161-65, 192](#).
4. This account of the Simon Commission debate in the Legislative Assembly is based on *IAR*, 1928, [Volume I, pp. 186-201](#).
5. See reports in Home (Special) File 584-E, Part I of 1928, MSA.
6. Reports in *BC*, 10 March and 2 April 1928.
7. *BC*, 30 April 1928.

8. See reports in Home (Special) File 584-E, Part I of 1928, MSA; Mahadev Desai, *The Story of Bardoli: Being a History of the Bardoli Satyagraha of 1928 and Its Sequel* (first published in 1929; reprint Ahmedabad: Navajivan Publishing House, 1957).
9. 'The Only Issue', *YI*, [17 May 1928](#); 'Bardoli on Trial', *YI*, [31 May 1928](#); 'The Yajna at Bardoli', *N*, 10 June 1928, CWMG, [XXXVI, pp. 319-22, 353-54, 384-86](#). These methods of managing conflict and suppressing dissent are traditionally ascribed to the great political theorist of ancient India, Kautilya.
10. Mirabehn to Devadas Gandhi, 19 July 1928, Devadas Gandhi Papers, NMML.
11. N.R. Malkani, *Ramblings and Reminiscences of Gandhiji* (Ahmedabad: Navajivan Publishing House, 1972), [p. 129](#).
12. Gandhi to L.W. Ritch, 27 February 1928, CWMG, [XXXVI, pp. 60-61](#).
13. 'My Best Comrade Gone', *YI*, [26 April 1928](#), CWMG, [XXXVI, pp. 261-63](#).
14. CWMG, [XXXVII, p. 35](#).
15. Reports in Home (Special) File 584-E, Part V of 1928, MSA: *Tol*, 24 July 1938.
16. Bombay Government note dated 28 July 1928, in Home (Special) File 584-E, Part VIII of 1928, MSA.
17. Bombay Government note dated 31 July 1928, in *ibid*.
18. *BC*, 7 August 1928; *Tol*, 7 October 1928.
19. Police report dated 12 August 1928, in Home (Special) File 584-E, Part V of 1928, MSA.
20. Desai, *The Story of Bardoli*, [p. 219](#).
21. Letter of 19 February 1929, in Mss Eur F 150/1, APAC/BL.
22. *All Parties Conference 1928: Report of the Committee Appointed by the Conference to Determine the Principles of the Constitution of India* (Allahabad: All India Congress Committee, 1928), [pp. 71-72](#).
23. *Ibid.*, [p. 18](#).
24. *Ibid.*, [Chapters II, III, VII and VIII](#).
25. Gandhi to Motilal Nehru, 21 August 1928, CWMG, [XXXVII, p. 194](#).
26. Gandhi to B.G. Horniman, 28 August 1928, CWMG, [XXXVII, p. 212](#).
27. C.F. Andrews to Gandhi, 3 August 1928, SN 14370, SAAA.
28. These paragraphs are based on reports and posters in File 143-K-VIII of 1928, Home (Special), MSA.
29. *IAR*, 1928, [Volume II, pp. 94-95](#).

30. 'The Assault on Lalaji', *N*, 4 November 1928; 'The Inevitable', *YI*, [8 November 1928](#); CWMG, [XXXVIII, pp. 16-17](#).
31. CWMG, [XXXVIII, p. 65](#).
32. Lord Irwin (Viceroy) to Frederick Sykes (Governor of Bombay), 15 December 1928, Mss Eur F 150/1, APAC/BL.
33. Gandhi to Motilal Nehru, 15 July 1928, CWMG, [XXXVII, p. 64](#).
34. *Ibid.*, [p. 69](#).
35. 'Crown of Thorns', *YI*, [26 July 1928](#), CWMG, [XXXVII, pp. 91-92](#).
36. Subhas C. Bose to Gandhi, 26 July 1928, SN 13650, SAAA.
37. Saiyid Haidar Raza to Gandhi, Leonards-on-Sea, Sussex, 6 June 1928, SN 14322, SAAA.
38. See Narayani Gupta, *Delhi Between Empires, 1803-1931: Society, Government and Urban Growth* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1981), pp. 149-51. <gb>
39. <http://hosted.law.wisc.edu/wordpress/sharafi/files/2010/07/Middle-5.01.pdf> (accessed on 7 April 2015). [an: Compiled by Renu Paul, in consultation with Mitra Sharafi, *South Asians at the Inns: Middle Temple*, October 7, 2010]
40. Shaukat Ali to Gandhi, 16 July 1928, SN 13465, SAAA.
41. Gandhi to Shaukat Ali, letters of 18 July and 3 August 1928, CWMG, [XXXVII, pp. 69-71, 121](#).
42. Shaukat Ali to Gandhi, 25 November 1928, SN 13733, SAAA.
43. Gandhi to Shaukat Ali, 30 November 1928, CWMG, [XXXVIII, pp. 129-32](#).
44. 'Curse of Assassination', *YI*, [27 December 1928](#), CWMG, [XXXVIII, pp. 274-76](#).
45. CWMG, [XXXVIII, p. 271](#).
46. See A.R. Venkatachalapathy, 'Street Smart in Chennai: The City in Popular Imagination', in C.S. Lakshmi, *The Unhurried City: Writings on Chennai* (Delhi: Penguin India, 2004). <gb>

Chapter Fifteen: Father, Son, Holy Spirit

1. Entry for 8 April 1929, Diary of Lady Haig (wife of Harry Haig, then Home Secretary, Government of India), in the Haig Papers, Centre for South Asian Studies, Cambridge.
2. <http://www.shahidbhagatsingh.org/biography/c8.htm> (accessed on 8 April 1929). [an: Presumably accessed later than 1929. This document is Jatinder Sanayal, *Sardar Bhagat Singh*, Chapter 8.]

3. CWMG, [XL, pp. 223, 259-61.](#)
4. See IAR, 1929, [Volume I, pp. 78-80.](#)
5. CWMG, [XL, pp. 262-63, 317-18, 359-60, 380-81, 411, 432-33,](#) etc.
6. Gandhi to Mirabehn, 6 May 1929, CWMG, [XL, pp. 346-47.](#)
7. 'In Andhra Desa (VII)' YI, [30 May 1929, CWMG, XL, pp. 346-47.](#)
8. See Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, *The Scope of Happiness: A Personal Memoir* (1979; reprint Delhi: Orient Paperbacks, 1981), pp. 57-58. <gb>
9. Jawaharlal Nehru to Gandhi, 13 July 1929, SN 15428, SAAA.
10. Cf. Michael Brecher, *Nehru: A Political Biography* (London: Oxford University Press, 1959), Chapter V and passim. <gb>
11. See Sarvepalli Gopal, *Jawaharlal Nehru: A Biography: Volume One, 1889-1947* (Bombay: Oxford University Press, 1976), pp. 126-27. <gb>
12. Qamar Ahmad to Gandhi, 3 February 1929, SN 15323, SAAA.
13. See IAR, 1929, [Volume I, pp. 362-66;](#) Volume 2, pp. 350-52.
14. See Subject File 1, M.A. Ansari Papers, NMML.
15. Motilal Nehru to Gandhi, 14 September 1929, Personal Correspondence Files, Gandhi Papers, First and Second Instalments, NMML.
16. Gandhi to Jawaharlal Nehru, 7 August 1929, CWMG, [XLI, p. 256.](#)
17. 'Interview with Mr. Jinnah', YI, [15 August 1929, CWMG, XLI, p. 289.](#)
18. CWMG, [XLI, pp. 351-53.](#)
19. CWMG, [XLII, pp. 220-21.](#)
20. See <https://cinnamonteal.in/authors/salima-tyabji/> (accessed on 9 April 2015). [an: Salima Tyabi, *The Changing World of a Bombay Muslim Community 1870-1945* (Margao, Goa: Cinnamon Teal Design and Publishing, 2013).]
21. 'Position of Women', 17 October 1929, CWMG, [XLII, pp. 4-6.](#)
22. 'Letter to Ashram Women', 21 October 1929, CWMG, [XLII, p. 27.](#)
23. IAR, 1929, [Volume II, pp. 47-49.](#)
24. Sarojini Naidu to Gandhi, 9 November 1929, SN 15567, SAAA.
25. Polak to Gandhi, 5 December 1929, Personal Correspondence Files, Gandhi Papers, 1st and 2nd Instalments, NMML.
26. Polak to Gandhi, 12 December 1929, SN 16211, SAAA.
27. News report in *TT*, 3 December 1929.
28. Front page report in *TT*, 25 December 1929.

29. 'Minutes of conversation between His Excellency the Viceroy and Mr. Gandhi, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Sir T.B. Saprú, Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Patel on 23rd December 1929', in Subject File No. 57, Gandhi Papers, First and Second Instalments, NMML.
30. Report in *TT*, 26 December 1929.
31. Report in *TT*, 27 December 1929.
32. *TT*, issues of 14 and 27 December 1929.
33. *IAR*, 1929, [Volume II, pp. 288-97.](#)
34. *CWVG*, [XLII, p. 320.](#)
35. *IAR*, 1929, [Volume II, pp. 298ff.](#)

Chapter Sixteen: The March to the Sea

1. *CWVG*, [XLII, p. 313.](#) (The translation, from the original Hindi, has been slightly modified to make it more accurate.)
2. 'The Cult of the Bomb', *YI*, [2 January 1930](#), *CWVG*, [XLII, pp. 361-64.](#)
3. 'The Hindustan Socialist Republican Association Manifesto', pamphlet printed c. January 1930, signed by Kartar Singh, President of HSRA, Subject File No. 57, M.K. Gandhi Papers, First and Second Instalments, NMML.
4. For a fine historical analysis of these Indian revolutionaries and their attitude to Gandhi, see Kama Maclean, *A Revolutionary History of Interwar India: Violence, Image, Voice and Text* (London: C. Hurst and Co., 2015).
<gb>
5. Manishankar Upadhyaya to Gandhi, c. January 1930, Subject File No. 57, M.K. Gandhi Papers, First and Second Instalments, NMML.
6. Satyananda Bose to Gandhi, Calcutta, 10 January 1930, Subject File No. 57, Gandhi Papers, First and Second Instalments, NMML.
7. Shaukat Ali to Gandhi, 16 February 1930, Personal Correspondence Files, Gandhi Papers, First and Second Instalments, NMML.
8. M.A. Ansari to Gandhi, 13 February 1930, reproduced in *CWVG*, [XLII, pp. 518-22.](#)
9. Hasan, *A Nationalist Conscience*, p. 209.
10. Gandhi to Ansari, 16 February 1930, *CWVG*, [XLII, pp. 510-11.](#)
11. Motilal Nehru to Ansari, 17 February 1930, in *A Bunch of Old Letters: Written Mostly to Jawaharlal Nehru, and Some Written by Him* (Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1958), [pp. 81-83.](#)
12. *CWVG*, [XLII, pp. 376-77, 382.](#)

13. 'Independence Day', *YI*, [16 January 1930](#), CWMG, [XLII](#), pp. 398-400.
14. See Fortnightly Reports for the second half of January 1930, File No. 18/II of 1930, Home (Political), NAI.
15. Saifuddin Kitchlew to Gandhi, 27 January 1930; Satyapal to Jawaharlal Nehru, 27 January 1930, both in Subject File No. 57, Gandhi Papers, First and Second Instalments, NMML.
16. 'Clearing the Issue', *YI*, [30 January 1930](#), CWMG, [XLII](#), pp. 432-34.
17. 'The Salt Tax', *YI*, [27 February 1930](#), CWMG, [XLII](#), pp. 499-501.
18. 'Answers of Rammohun Roy to Queries on the Salt Monopoly (March 19, 1832)', in Jatindra Kumar Majumdar, editor, *Raja Rammohun Roy and Progressive Movements in India: A Selection from Records (1775-1845)* (Calcutta: Art Press, 1941), [pp. 467-69](#).
19. Quoted in J.B. Pennington, 'The Salt Tax', *Indian Review*, [December 1902](#). [an: J.B. Pennington, 'The Poor Man's Burden', *The Indian Review*, Vol. 3, No. 12, December 1902.]
20. Malcolm Darling, *Apprentice to Power: India, 1904-1908* (London: Hogarth Press, 1966), [p. 81](#).
21. *Indian Opinion*, [8 July 1905](#), CWMG, [V](#), p. 9.
22. CWMG, [XLIII](#), pp. 2-8.
23. CWMG, [XLIII](#), p. 51.
24. Four-page note prepared by A. Tottenham, of the Criminal Investigation Department, 8 February 1930, in File No. 59 of 1930, Home (Political), NAI.
25. See CWMG, [LXXII](#), p. 390.
26. Sarojini Naidu to Padmaja Naidu, Ahmedabad, 15 February 1930, Padmaja Naidu Papers, NMML.
27. Reports in *BC* (Sunday Edition), 2 March 1930.
28. *BC*, 9 March 1930.
29. CWMG, [XLIII](#), pp. 27-28.
30. Thomas Weber, *On the Salt March* (New Delhi: HarperCollins India 2000), pp. 92-96. <gb>
31. For more details, see *GBI*, Chapter 20.
32. 'Satyagrahis' March', *N*, 9 March 1930, CWMG, [XLIII](#), pp. 33-35.
33. Interview with Valji Govindji Desai, Oral History Transcript Number 221, NMML.
34. CWMG, [XLIII](#), pp. 48-49.
35. CWMG, [XLIII](#), pp. 454-55; Weber, *On the Salt March*, pp. 490-95.

36. See interview with Anand T. Hingorani, Oral History Transcript Number 512, NMML.
37. *Pratap*, 16 March 1930.
38. CWMG, [XLIII, pp. 62-63.](#)
39. CWMG, [XLIII, pp. 66, 72.](#)
40. *ABP*, 16 March 1930.
41. *BC*, 16 March 1930.
42. CWMG, [XLIII, p. 89.](#)
43. CWMG, [XLIII, pp. 101-02.](#)
44. *ABP*, 21 March 1930.
45. 'The Ashram Without Mahatmaji', *ABP*, 22 March 1930.
46. Reports in *ABP*, 21 and 22 March 1930.
47. *ABP*, 25 March 1930.
48. As reported in *ToI*, 25 March 1930.
49. CWMG, [XLIII, pp. 117-18.](#)
50. *ABP*, 26 March 1930.
51. *ABP*, 28 March 1930.
52. *BC*, 30 March 1930.
53. *Source Material*, [Volume III, Part III, p. 25.](#)
54. Winston Churchill to Irwin, c. first week of January 1930; C.F. Andrews to Irwin, 3 February 1930, both in Mss Eur C 152/19, APAC/BL.
55. Irwin to Lionel Curtis, 6 March 1930, in *ibid*.
56. Fortnightly reports for the second half of March 1930, in File No. 18/IV of 1930, Home (Political), NAI.
57. Lord Irwin to Archbishop of Canterbury, 31 March 1930, in Mss Eur C 152/19, APAC/BL.
58. Letter of 31 March, in File No. 18/IV of 1930, Home (Political), NAI.
59. *TS*, quoted in *ABP*, 13 March 1930; *ToI*, 13 March 1930.
60. Ashmead Bartlett, quoted in *ABP*, 16 March 1930.
61. Report in *Time*, [24 March 1930.](#)
62. See Shahid Amin, 'The Pedagogy of Nationalism', *Seminar*, issue number 686, October 2016, [p. 37.](#)
63. See *IAR*, 1930, [Volume I, p. 76.](#)
64. Reports in *ABP*, 2 and 3 April 1930.

65. *ABP*, 4 April 1930.
66. *Tol*, 5 April 1930.
67. K.C.B., 'The Great Trek: Personal Impressions', *BC*, 20 April 1930.
68. *CWMG*, [XLIII, pp. 179-80.](#)
69. 'All About Dandi', *ABP*, 8 April 1930.
70. *ABP*, 7 April 1930.
71. Sarojini Naidu to Padmaja Naidu, Dandi, 6 April 1930, Padmaja Naidu Papers, NMML.
72. This account is based on the letters, memos and clippings in File 223 of 1930, Home (Political), NAI.
73. Reports in *BC* and *ABP*, 7 April 1930.
74. Mahadev Desai to Jawaharlal Nehru, 7 April 1930, Jawaharlal Nehru Papers, NMML.
75. Shaukat Ali to Gandhi, 7 April 1930, Subject File 18, Gandhi Papers, First and Second Instalments, NMML.
76. Gandhi to Shaukat Ali, 17 April 1930, *CWMG*, [XLIII, pp. 280-81.](#)
77. Fortnightly Report for Bombay, second half of April 1930, in File No. 18/V of 1930, Home (Political), NAI.
78. Letter to Gandhi from 'A Muslim', Bombay, 30 April 1930, SN 16760, SAAA.
79. 'To the Women', *YL, N*, 6 April 1930, *CWMG*, [XLIII, pp. 189-90.](#)
80. See *CWMG*, [XLIII, p. 269.](#)
81. *BC*, 13 April 1930.
82. Vithalbhai Patel to Irwin, 20 April 1930, Mss Eur C 152/24, APAC IBL.
83. Jinnah to Irwin, 20 April 1930, in *ibid*.
84. Statement to *Associated Press*, Navsari, 21 April 1930, *CWMG*, [XLIII, p. 301.](#) Ironically, the men in the Chittagong raid had raised slogans of 'Mahatma Gandhi ki jai'. See Manini Chatterjee, *Do & Die: The Chittagong Uprising, 1930-34* (1999; reprint New Delhi, Picador India, 2010). <gb>
85. Gandhi to Narandas Gandhi, 26 April 1930; 'Speech at Chharwada', 26 April 1930, *CWMG*, [XLIII, pp. 325, 330-32.](#)
86. Irwin to Geoffrey Dawson, 7 April 1930, Mss Eur F 152/19, APAC/BL.
87. Sykes to Irwin, 23 March 1930; Notes of a meeting held in New Delhi on 27 March 1930, both in *ibid*.
88. Governor of Bombay to Viceroy, 15 April 1930, Mss Eur Mss C 152/19, APAC/BL.

89. Irwin to Sykes, 21 April 1930, Mss Eur F 150/2, APAC/BL.
90. Lord Irwin to Sir Arthur Hitzel (Undersecretary of State for India), 21 April 1930, Mss Eur C 152/19, APAC/BL.
91. Bombay Government to Government of India, telegram dated 26 April 1930; Government of India to Bombay Government, telegram dated 29 April 1930, both in Mss Eur F 150/2, APAC/BL.
92. J.E.B. Hotson, Member of the Bombay Executive Council, to Private Secretary to Governor, Mahabaleshwar, 29 April 1930; Bombay Government to Government of India, telegram dated 30 April 1930; Government of India to Bombay Government, telegram dated 30 April 1930, all in *ibid.*
93. CWMG, [XLIII, pp. 389, 399.](#)
94. Irwin to Baldwin, 13 May 1930, in Mss Eur F 150/2/APAC/BL.
95. Reports in *Time*, [31 March](#), [28 April](#), [5](#) and [12 May 1930](#) respectively.
96. Hailey, quoted in Sarvepalli Gopal, 'Drinking Tea with Treason: Halifax in India', in *Imperialists, Nationalists, Democrats: The Collected Essays of Sarvepalli Gopal*, edited by Srinath Raghavan (Ranikhet: Permanent Black, 2013), p. 89. [<gb>](#)

Chapter Seventeen: The Prison and the World

1. *Source Material*, [Volume III, Part III, pp. 135-37, 141-44.](#)
2. Gandhi to Mira; Gandhi to Narandas Gandhi; both written on 12 May 1930, CWMG, [XLIII, pp. 402-03.](#) Gandhi's cellmate Kaka Kalelkar helped with the Marathi translations; whereas for the Bengali songs, Gandhi used versions rendered into English by Tagore. [an: Gandhi's translations are available on the Gandhi Mani Bhavan site on the [Ashram Bhajnavali page](#). See also Hoyland's edition of [Songs From Prison.](#)]
3. Gandhi to R.V. Martin, 11 June 1930, CWMG, [XLIII, p. 435](#); same to same, 8 July 1930, CWMG, [XLIII, pp. 10-11.](#)
4. Gandhi to Mira, 7 July 1930, CWMG, [XLIV, p. 7.](#)
5. Gandhi to Valji G. Desai, 2 September 1930, CWMG, [XLIV, p. 113.](#)
6. This exchange was reprinted as 'The Importance of Vows: A Correspondence', Gandhi Marg, Volume 3, Number 2, April 1959, [pp. 127-31.](#)
7. Gandhi to Pyare Lal Govil, 19 November 1930, CWMG, [XLIV, pp. 324-25.](#)
8. *Source Material*, [Volume III, Part III, pp. 201-02, 219-20, 224.](#)
9. *Ibid.*, [pp. 380-85.](#)

10. P. Subba Rao to Gandhi, 9 July 1930; Tata Vasudevan to Gandhi, 4 June 1930, *Source Material*, [Volume III, Part III, pp. 278-79, 504-05.](#)
11. Upton Sinclair to Superintendent, Yerwada Jail, 9 August 1930, *Source Material*, [Volume III, Part III, p. 279.](#)
12. Gandhi to Upton Sinclair, 30 October 1930, CWMG, [XLIV, p. 263.](#)
13. *Source Material*, [Volume III, Part III, pp. 531-32, 643.](#)
14. Jayaram Jadhav to Gandhi, 23 May 1930, addressed to 'Dear and Revered Bapuji', in *ibid.*, [pp. 595-96.](#)
15. FR for Bombay, combined for second half of May and first half of June, in File No. 18/VII of 1930, Home (Political), NAI.
16. Webb Miller, '630 Hurt as Police Beat Salt Raiders in 2 India Clashes', *New York Herald Tribune*, 22 May 1930. Cf. also Webb Miller, *I Found No Peace: The Journal of a Foreign Correspondent* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1940), [Chapters XI](#) and [XII.](#)
17. Farson's report was reprinted in *Time*, [7 July 1930.](#)
18. Confidential letter from Chief Secretary, Government of Bombay, 17 June 1930, in File No. 214 of 1930, Home (Political), NAI.
19. See reports in File No. 18/VIII of 1930, Home (Political), NAI.
20. FR for western India states for first half of August 1930, in File No. 18/IX of 1930, Home (Political), NAI.
21. See Anon, 'Women Join the Struggle', *Current*, 9 November 1960.
22. This account is based on CWMG, [XLIV, pp. 81-84, 117-21, 470-72](#); *IAR*, 1930, [Volume II, pp. 83-96.](#)
23. Irwin to Baldwin, 13 September 1930, in Mss Eur C 152/19, APAC/BL.
24. A summary of the proceedings is in *IAR*, 1930, [Volume II, pp. 288-324.](#)
25. Nawab of Bhopal to Irwin, London, 21 November 1930, in Mss Eur C 152/19, APAC/BL.
26. H.G. Haig to Lord Irwin, 18 December 1930, in Mss Eur C 152/19, APAC/BL.
27. Nawab of Bhopal to Irwin, 19 December 1930, APAC/BL.
28. Iqbal's Presidential Address is printed in full in Nadeem Shafiq Malik, editor, *The All India Muslim League and Allama Iqbal's Allahabad Address 1930* (Lahore, Iqbal Academy, 2013), [pp. 372f.](#) <gb>
29. *Ibid.*, pp. 38-41.
30. Andrews, as quoted in the *Daily Boston Globe*, 1 November 1930.
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4. CWMG, [XLV, pp. 127-28, 130](#).
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49. 'A Twentieth-Century Sati', YI, [21 May 1931, CWMG, XLVI, pp. 73-75.](#)
50. 'Caste and Communal Question', YI, [4 June 1931, CWMG, XLVI, pp. 302-04.](#)
51. CWMG, [XLVI, pp. 309, 381.](#)
52. Ganga Singh, Maharaja of Bikaner, to Gandhi, letters of 4 and 9 July 1931, Subject File 84, Gandhi Papers, First and Second Instalments, NMML.
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54. Lord Willingdon to Florence Brooks, 25 July 1931, in Mss Eur F 237/3, APAC/BL.
55. Gandhi to H.W. Emerson, 24 July 1931 (from Bardoli), CWMG, [XLVII, p. 200.](#)
56. Gandhi to Amritlal Sheth, 29 July 1931, CWMG, [XLVII, p. 235.](#)
57. CWMG, [XLVII, pp. 445-46, 281, 287.](#)
58. See Dhananjay Keer, *Dr. Ambedkar: Life and Mission* (first published in 1954; reprint of fourth edition, Mumbai: Popular Prakashan, 2015), pp. 165-68 <gb>; *The Diary of Mahadev Desai: Volume I: Yeravda-Pact Eve, 1932*, translated from the Gujarati and edited by Valji Govindji Desai (Ahmedabad: Navajivan Publishing House, 1953), [p. 52](#), which quoted

Gandhi as saying, on 1 April 1932: 'Till I went to England I did know that he [Ambedkar] was a Harijan. I thought he was some brahman who took deep interest in Harijans and therefore talked intemperately.'

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6. See Muriel Lester to Gandhi, 13 March 1931, in Subject File 81, Gandhi Papers, First and Second Instalments, NMML.
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11. Reports in *MG*, 14 September 1931, and in the *Observer*, 13 September 1931.
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13. Agatha Harrison, '88 Knightsbridge, London', in Chandrashanker Shukla, *Gandhiji as We Know Him* (Bombay: Vora and Co. Ltd, 1945), [pp. 82-88.](#)
14. Lord Willingdon to Gandhi, 4 September, 1931, SN 17642, SAAA.
15. CWMG, [XLVIII, p. 12.](#)
16. CWMG, [XLVIII, pp. 13-20.](#)

17. See Vasant Moon, editor, *Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar: Writings and Speeches*, Vol. 2 (Bombay: Government of Maharashtra, 1982), [pp. 596-99.](#)
18. CWMG, [XLVII, pp. 26-34.](#)
19. C.F. Andrews, 'Mr. Gandhi: The Champion of the Very Poor', MG, 24 September 1931.
20. MG, 26 September 1931.
21. See Margarita Barns, *India: Today and Tomorrow* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1937), [p. 80.](#)
22. *Manchester Guardian*, 28 September 1931.
23. CWMG, [XLVIII, pp. 24-25.](#)
24. *Observer*, 11 October 1931.
25. Police note dated 12 October 1931, MEPO 38/156, NAUK; C. Rajagopalachari and J.C. Kumarappa, editors, [*The Nation's Voice: Being a Collection of Gandhiji's Speeches in England and Sjt. Mahadev Desai's Account of the Sojourn*](#) (Ahmedabad: Navajivan Press, 1932), p. 243. [an: There does not appear to be a page 243.]
26. *Observer*, 1 November 1931. Among the students who heard Gandhi was an American, Dean Rusk, later to be his country's Secretary of State. 'Despite his slight frame and loincloth and his philosophy of nonviolence,' recalled Rusk, 'Gandhi was far stronger than he is usually portrayed. He was a dynamic personality, vibrant and inspiring, not at all weak or feeble.' Dean Rusk (as told to Richard Rusk), *As I Saw It* (New York: Penguin Books, 1990), p. 72. <gb>
27. See Drusilla Scott, *A.D. Lindsay: A Biography* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1971), pp. 214-16 <gb>; idem, 'Gandhi in Oxford', *Balliol College Annual Record 1994*, pp. 58-62.
28. Untitled memoir by R.O. Hicks, in Hicks Papers, Centre for South Asian Studies, Cambridge.
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32. CWMG, [XLVIII, pp. 106-07.](#)
33. CWMG, [XLVII, pp. 160-61.](#)
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38. Mahadev Desai to Jawaharlal Nehru, 25 September 1931, Nehru Papers, NMML.
39. Interview with the *Daily Herald*, CWMG, [XLVIII, p. 207.](#)
40. CWMG, [XLVIII, pp. 140-41.](#)
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Alexander had visited Gandhi in Sabarmati in 1928, and kept in close touch since. See Geoffrey Carnall, *Gandhi's Interpreter: A Life of Horace Alexander* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011), Chapter 3 and passim. <gb>
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58. CWMG, [XLVII, p. 173.](#)
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62. MG, 7 December 1931.
63. See, for example, the material in Correspondence File No. 18, Gandhi Papers, First and Second Instalments, NMML, as well as SNs 17993 and 18060, SAAA.
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25. *Tol*, 19 September 1932.
26. CWMG, [LI, pp. 101, 109.](#)
27. Report in *Tol*, 21 September 1932; *IAR*, 1932, [Volume II, p. 242.](#)
28. CWMG, [LI, pp. 116-20.](#)
29. *Source Material*, [Volume III, Part IV, pp. 835-36.](#)
30. See reports in *BC*, 21 September 1932.
31. *Tol*, 22 September 1932.
32. CWMG, [LI, pp. 458-60.](#)
33. Reports in *BC*, 23 September 1932; *Tol*, 23 September 1932.
34. Horniman, 'Enthusiasm for Temple-Entry Must Not Be Allowed to Wane', *BC*, 24 September 1932.
35. Aloysius Soares, *Down the Corridors of Time: Recollections and Reflexions, Volume I: 1891-1948* (Bombay: published by the author, 1971), [p. 327.](#) <gb>
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Chapter Twenty-One: Shaming the Hindus

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13. A.V. Thakkar to C. Rajagopalachari, 19 January 1933, SN 20057, SAAA.
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15. *The Authoritative Opinion of His Holiness Shree Shankaracharya of Sankeshwar-Karavir Peeth on the Anti-Religious Bills Now Pending Before the Legislative Assembly* (Bombay: The Gomantak Press, 1934).
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18. L.R. Pangarkar to Gandhi, 15 January 1933, SN 20047, SAAA.
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21. Polak to Gandhi, 1 June 1933, SAAA.
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26. These paragraphs are based on CWMG, [LV, pp. 55, 92, 121-22, 128, 441;](#) Kasturba to Gandhi, 5 May 1933, SN 21170, SAAA; Harilal to Gandhi, 5 May 1933, SN 21213, SAAA; Mira to Gandhi, 2 May 1933, SN 21110, SAAA.
27. 'The Beginning of the Yajna', *Harijanbandhu*, 7 May 1933; 'All About the Fast', *H*, [8 July 1933, CWMG, LV, pp. 135-36, 254-56.](#)
28. Devadas Gandhi to Padmaja Naidu, 8 May 1933, Padmaja Naidu Papers, NMML.
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32. CWMG, [LV, pp. 200-01.](#)
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34. CWMG, [LV, pp. 265-69, 276.](#)
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41. CWMG, [LV, pp. 373, 425-26.](#)
42. Richard Gregg to Gandhi, 31 August 1933, Personal Correspondence Files, Gandhi Papers, NMML.
43. Gandhi to Agatha Harrison, 16 November 1933, CWMG, [LVI, pp. 232-33.](#)
44. These methods are described in some detail in the intelligence reports contained in L/PJ/7/595, APAC/BL; as well as in S. Mahadevan, [Mahatma Gandhi's Warning and Flashes in Harijan Tour](#) (Madras: Journalist Publishing House, 1936), passim.
45. BC, 11 November 1933.
46. CWMG, [LVI, pp. 250-53.](#)
47. BC, 24 November 1933.
48. Mahadevan, *Mahatma Gandhi's Warning and Flashes*, [pp. 8-12.](#)
49. Letter dated 17 November 1933 from the Chief Secretary, Central Provinces, to all Commissioners and Deputy Commissioners, in File No. 9 of 1933, Political and Military Records, Nagpur Division, VAN.
50. This account is based on letters and documents in File No. 800 (40) (17) of 1933, MSA.

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60. CWMG, [LVII, pp. 45-47, 503-04](#).
61. See <https://www.thehindu.com/opinion/op-ed/taking-a-comprehensive-view-of-quakes/article7216725.ece> [an: C.P. Rajendran, 'Taking a comprehensive view of quakes', *The Hindu*, May 18, 2015]; <https://scroll.in/article/724133/suggesting-religious-reasons-for-quakes-isnt-new-mahatma-gandhi-did-that-in-1934> (accessed 22 May 2015). [an: Shoaib Daniyal, 'Suggesting religious reasons for quakes isn't new: Mahatma Gandhi did that in 1934', *Scroll.In*, April 30, 2015]
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65. CWMG, [LVII, p. 112](#).
66. CWMG, [LVII, p. 160](#).
67. Collector of North Arcot, quoted in Chief Secretary, Madras, to Home Secretary, Delhi, 1 March 1934, in L/PJ/7/595, APAC/BL.
68. 'Draft Rules for the Disbursement of Gandhi's Harijan Purse Tour Fund', *H*, [2 March 1934](#).
69. 'Our Shame', *H*, [9 March 1934](#), CWMG, [LVII, pp. 259-62](#).
70. CWMG, [LVII, pp. 288-89, 358](#).
71. Agatha Harrison to C.F. Andrews, Patna, 7 April 1934, in Temp Mss 883/1/12, Agatha Harrison Papers, Friends House, Euston.

72. Chief Secretary, Assam, to Home Secretary, Delhi, letters of 21 April and 4 May 1934, in L/PJ/7/595, APAC/BL.
73. CWMG, [LVII, pp. 338, 352, 363-64, 449-54.](#)
74. CWMG, [LVIII, pp. 27-29, 37-38](#); Minoo Masani, *Bliss Was It in That Dawn: A Personal Memoir up to Independence* (New Delhi: Arnold-Heinemann, 1977), pp. 56ff. <gb>
75. Gandhi to Premabehn Kantak, 10 September 1935, CWMG, [XLI, p. 403.](#)
76. CWMG, [LVII, pp. 474-75.](#)
77. CWMG, [LVIII, p. 82.](#)
78. Home Secretary, Bombay, to Home Secretary, Delhi, 17 July 1934, in L/PJ/7/595, APAC/BL.
79. 'Attempt on Mr. Gandhi's Life at Poona', *Tol*, 27 June 1934; 'Poona Bomb Outrage on Mahatma', *BC*, 26 June 1934.
80. 'Congratulation', *BC*, 26 June 1934.
81. CWMG, [LVIII, pp. 108-09.](#)
82. Mahadevan, *Mahatma Gandhi's Warning and Flashes in Harijan Tour*, [Preface.](#)
83. See Chief Secretary, United Provinces, to Home Secretary, Gol, 10 August 1934, in L/PJ/7/595, APAC/BL.
84. CWMG, [LVIII, pp. 259-61, 266-68, 273-74, 277-78.](#)

Chapter Twenty-Two: A Second Sabbatical

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3. Eric Metaxas, *Bonhoeffer: Pastor, Martyr, Prophet, Spy* (Nashville, Texas: Thomas Nelson, 2010), pp. 46-47, 76, 115. <gb>
4. Larry Rasmussen, 'Gandhis Einfluss auf Bonhoeffer', Xerox of undated article in the E.S. Reddy Papers, NMML.
5. Letter excerpted in *ibid.*
6. C.F. Andrews to Gandhi, 14 May 1934, Personal Correspondence Files, Gandhi Papers, NMML.
7. Bonhoeffer to Niebuhr, 13 July 1934, copy in the E.S. Reddy Papers, NMML.
8. Bonhoeffer to Gandhi, 17 October 1934, Personal Correspondence Files, Gandhi Papers, First and Second Instalments, NMML.
9. Gandhi to Bonhoeffer, 1 November 1934, CWMG, [LIX, p. 273.](#)

10. Gandhi to Vallabhbhai Patel, c. 5 September 1934, CWMG, [LVIII, pp. 403-05.](#)
11. CWMG, [LIX, pp. 3-9.](#)
12. Lord Willingdon to Florence Brooks, 28 September 1934, in Mss Eur F 237/5, APAC/BL.
13. C. Rajagopalachari to Gandhi, 28 September 1934, in Subject File No. 3, Rajagopalachari Papers, Fourth Instalment, NMML.
14. H.S.L. Polak to V.S. Srinivasa Sastri, 31 October 1934, Sastri Papers, NMML.
15. CWMG, [LIX, pp. 174-80, 220f.](#)
16. CWMG, [LIX, p. 261.](#)
17. CWMG, [LIX, pp. 348-49.](#)
18. CWMG, [LIX, pp. 355-56, 411-12, 449-53](#); CWMG, [LX, pp. 130-31, 190-92.](#)
19. Mira to Devadas Gandhi, 13 February 1935, Devadas Gandhi Papers, NMML.
20. CWMG, [LXI, pp. 88-89.](#)
21. Pamela Kanwar, *Imperial Simla: The Political Culture of the Raj* (second edition; New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2003), pp. 238-39. <gb>
22. Rajkumari Amrit Kaur to Gandhi, letters of 2 and 8 September 1935, Personal Correspondence Files, Gandhi Papers, NMML.
23. CWMG, [LXII, pp. 11, 37.](#)
24. 'On Its Last Legs', *H*, [26 October 1935](#), CWMG, [LXII, pp. 64-65.](#)
25. 'Caste Has to Go', *H*, [16 November 1935](#), CWMG, [LXII, pp. 120-21.](#)
26. See *Tol*, 30 November 1935.
27. Letter from D.D. Pinglay, Manmad, published in *Tol*, 5 November 1935.
28. Gandhi to Harilal Gandhi, 19 September 1934, CWMG, [LIX, pp. 27-28](#); Gandhi to Narandas Gandhi, 19 September 1934, CWMG, [LIX, p. 29.](#)
29. Gandhi to Harilal Gandhi, 3 October 1934, CWMG, [LIX, pp. 110-12.](#)
30. Gandhi to Harilal Gandhi, 17 October 1934, CWMG, [LIX, pp. 187-88](#); Gandhi to Devadas Gandhi, 25 November 1934, CWMG, [LIX, pp. 399-400.](#)
31. Gandhi to Harilal Gandhi, 12 April 1935, CWMG, [LX, pp. 410-11.](#)
32. Gandhi to Narandas Gandhi, 5 May 1935, CWMG, [LXI, p. 37.](#)
33. Gandhi to Narandas Gandhi, 25 June 1935, CWMG, [LXI, p. 199.](#)
34. Gandhi to Narandas Gandhi, letters of 11 and 15 July 1935, CWMG, [LXI, pp. 246, 257.](#)
35. Gandhi to Manilal Gandhi, letters of 15 August 1935 and 11 October 1935, CWMG, [LXI, p. 333](#); CWMG, [LXII, p. 21.](#)

36. For more details, see Keith, *A Constitutional History of India*, Chapters [IX](#) and [X](#).
37. Mahadev Desai to Jawaharlal Nehru, 6 September 1935, CWMG, [XLI, pp. 474-75](#).
38. Jawaharlal Nehru to Agatha Harrison, 25 September 1935 (copy), Personal Correspondence Files, Gandhi Papers, NMML.
39. CWMG, [LXII, pp. 24-26](#).
40. Gandhi to Tagore, letters of 13 October 1935 and 27 March 1936, CWMG, [LXII, pp. 34, 290](#).
41. Gandhi to Jamnalal Bajaj, 19 March 1936, CWMG, [LXII, p. 272](#).
42. CWMG, [LXII, pp. 331-32, 345, 350, 358, 379](#).
43. 'Weekly Letter', *H*, [9 May 1936](#).
44. M[ahadev] D[esai], 'A Story to Make Us Think', *H*, [9 May 1936](#).
45. As reported in *BC*, 4 May 1936.
46. Gandhi to Amrit Kaur, 11 May 1936, CWMG, [LXII, p. 392](#).
47. CWMG, [LXII, pp. 388-89, 463-65](#); *H*, issues of [30 May](#) and [6 June 1936](#).
48. CWMG, [LXII, pp. 389-90, 392, 441-42](#).
49. CWMG, [LXIII, pp. 5-6](#).
50. R.K. Prabhu, editor, *Sati Kasturba: A Life-Sketch* (Bombay: Hind Kitabs, 1944), [pp. 65-67](#).
51. Gandhi to Dev[a]das Gandhi, 12 November 1936, CWMG, [LXIV, p. 23](#).

Chapter Twenty-Three: From Rebels to Rulers

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2. B. Shiva Rao, 'Gandhiji: Some Anecdotes', *Illustrated Weekly of India*, 14 May 1961.
3. G.D. Birla, *In the Shadow of the Mahatma: A Personal Memoir* (Calcutta: Orient Longman, 1953), [p. 207](#).
4. CWMG, [LXIII, pp. 69, 71, 140-41](#).
5. Rambhau Mhaskar's Hindi pamphlet *Sevagram* (published by the Sevagram Ashram, no date) provides a charming, but also fact-filled, history of how the settlement was founded and nurtured.
6. Mirabehn (Madeleine Slade), *The Spirit's Pilgrimage* (London: Longmans, Green and Co. Ltd, 1960), [p. 190](#).

7. B.R. Nanda, *In Gandhi's Footsteps: The Life and Times of Jammalal Bajaj* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1990), pp. 220-21. <gb>
8. See Nehru, *A Bunch of Old Letters*, pp. 182ff.
9. CWMG, [LXIII, pp. 127-28, 164-65.](#)
10. B.R. Ambedkar, *Annihilation of Caste*, first published in 1936, reprinted in *Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar, Writings and Speeches, Volume 1* (Bombay: Government of Maharashtra, 1979), [pp. 26-80.](#)
11. BC, 1 June 1936.
12. CWMG, [LXIII, pp. 31, 33-38, 42-45.](#)
13. CWMG, [LXIII, pp. 134-36, 153-54.](#)
14. See Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar, *Writings and Speeches, Volume 1*, [pp. 86-96.](#)
15. IAR, 1936, [Volume II, pp. 276-78.](#)
16. CWMG, [LXIII, pp. 174-75, 233-34.](#)
17. Cf. reports in Pile No. 800 (40)(4) A-IV-B-II, Home (Special), MSA.
18. Report in *ToI*, 11 June 1936.
19. Report in *BC*, 8 August 1936.
20. C.F. Andrews to Amrit Kaur, Wardha, 8 November 1936, copy in SAAA.
21. CWMG, [LXIV, pp. 170-72.](#)
22. Report in *Bombay Sentinel*, 22 December 1936.
23. CWMG, [LXIV, p. 217.](#)
24. CWMG, [LXIV, pp. 26-27, 47-48.](#)
25. CWMG, [LXIV, p. 237.](#)
26. M[ahadev] D[esai], 'Weekly Letter', *H*, [13 February 1937.](#)
27. CWMG, [LXIV, pp. 233-37, 275-78, 297.](#)
28. 'Need for Tolerance', *H*, [13 March 1937](#); CWMG, [LXIV, pp. 331-33.](#)
29. CWMG, [LXIV, pp. 399-401.](#)
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32. See IAR, 1937, [Volume I, pp. 28ff.](#)
33. Quoted in John Glendevon, *The Viceroy at Bay: Lord Linlithgow in India, 1936-1943* (London: Collins, 1971), p. 49. <gb>
34. CWMG, [LXV, pp. 3-4, 456-57](#); IAR, 1937, [Volume I, pp. 190-97.](#)
35. CWMG, [LXV, pp. 37-38, 261-62.](#)

36. CWMG, [LXV, pp. 174-75.](#)
37. 'Congress Ministries', *H*, [17 July 1937](#); CWMG, [LXV, pp. 406-08.](#)
38. Choudhry Khaliquzzaman, *Pathway to Pakistan* (Lahore: Longmans, Green and Co., 1961), pp. 153-57. <gb>
39. See CWMG, [LXV, p. 472.](#)
40. Rani Dhavan Shankardass, *Vallabhbhai Patel: Power and Organization in Indian Politics* (Hyderabad: Orient Longman, 1988), p. 153. <gb> Cf. also Shankerprasad S. Nanavaty, *Khurshed Nariman* (Bombay: Bombay Chronicle Press, 1959).
41. Gandhi to Nehru, 22 July 1937, CWMG, [LXV \[an: , p. 427\].](#)
42. Polak to T.R. Venkatarama Sastri, 30 April 1937, in H.S.L. Polak correspondence, T.R. Venkatarama Sastri Papers, Fourth instalment, NMML.
43. G.D. Birla to Mahadev Desai, 17 July 1937; Mahadev Desai to G.D. Birla, 1 August 1937, in Gandhi Papers, First and Second Instalment, NMML.
44. See File 54C of 1938, General Administration Department, Central Provinces, in VAN.

Chapter Twenty-Four: The World Within, and Without

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2. See P.N. Chopra, editor, *Towards Freedom, 1937-1947, Volume 1, Experiment with Provincial Autonomy, 1 January-December 1937* (New Delhi: Indian Council of Historical Research, 1985), [pp. 821-88.](#)
3. Matlubul Hasan Saiyid, *Mohammad Ali Jinnah: A Political Study* (Lahore: Shaikh Muhamad Ashraf, 1945), [p. 571.](#)
4. CWMG, [LXVI, pp. 468-69, 257, 296-97.](#)
5. See Sabyasachi Bhattacharya, *Vande Mataram: The Biography of a Song* (New Delhi: Penguin Books, 2003). <gb>
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 11-14.
7. Subhas Chandra Bose to Gandhi, 20 October 1937; Satis Chandra Dasgupta to Gandhi, 21 October 1937, both in Subject File No. 17, Gandhi Papers, First and Second Instalments, NMML.
8. CWMG, [LXVI, pp. 296-97.](#)
9. See Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada, editor, *Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah's Correspondence*, third revised and enlarged edition (Karachi: East and West Publishing Company, 1977), pp. 88-95. <gb>

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11. Typed excerpt from news report in *Roznama-e-Khilafat*, 8 June 1938, in Box 4, Harijan/Young India Files Collection, SAAA.
12. See Gandhi to Jawaharlal Nehru, 1 October 1937; Note to Vallabhbhai Patel, 1 November 1937, CWMG, [LXVI, pp. 183, 285](#).
13. M[ahadev] D[esai], 'Haripura Notes', *H*, [18 March 1938](#).
14. CWMG, [LXVI, pp. 413-14](#).
15. Untitled typescript by an unnamed visitor to Gandhi, in Box 3, Harijan/Young India Files Collection, SAAA.
16. This account is based on conversations with Narayan Desai in Sevagram, 2006, and in Ahmedabad, 2009.
17. D.G. Tendulkar, *Mahatma: Life of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi* (reprint New Delhi: Publications Division, 1990), [Volume 4, p. 238](#).
18. CWMG, [LXVI, pp. 452-53, 455-56](#).
19. The printed version of Mahadev Desai's expiation appeared under the title 'A Tragedy', in *H*, [9 April 1938](#), and is reprinted in CWMG, [LXVII, pp. 445-47](#). The original manuscript, with Gandhi's handwritten excisions, is in Box 3, Harijan/Young India Files Collection, SAAA.
20. 'Notes of a conversation with Mr M.K. Gandhi, 7 April 1938', by the Governor of Bengal, R/3/2/60, AP AC/BL.
21. 'Note of Interview between His Excellency the Viceroy and Mr. M.K. Gandhi, at New Delhi at 11.30 a.m., on Friday, 15th April, 1938', in L/P0/6/96, APAC/BL.
22. Copies of the letters exchanged between Jinnah and Nehru are in File No. 976 of 1939, Home (Special), MSA. See also *IAR*, [an: 1939?,] Volume II, pp. 362-78 [an: It is unclear if Page 362 of 1939 is the correct reference.]; and Pirzada, editor, *Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah's Correspondence*, pp. 246-69.
23. CWMG, [LXVII, pp. 30, 36-37](#).
24. Gandhi to Amritlal T. Nanavati, 2 May 1938; to Mira, 3 May 1938; to Amrit Kaur, 7 May 1938; CWMG, [LXVII, pp. 58, 60-61, 69](#).
25. 'How Non-Violence Works', *H*, [23 July 1938](#), CWMG, [LXVII, pp. 195-96](#).

26. Gandhi to Balwantsinha, 11 June 1938; to Amrit Kaur, c. 11 June 1938; CWMG, [LXVII, pp. 116-18.](#)
27. C. Rajagopalachari to Devadas Gandhi, 20 May 1938, Devadas Gandhi Papers, NMML.
28. CWMG, [LXVII, p. 50.](#)
29. Gandhi to Rajagopalachari, 21 May 1938; to Amrit Kaur, 22 May 1938, CWMG, [LXVII, pp. 90, 92.](#)
30. CWMG, [LXVII, pp. 62-68, 75-76.](#)
31. See *Report of the Inquiry Committee Appointed by the Council of the All-India Muslim League to Inquire into Muslim Grievances in Congress Provinces* (Lucknow: Pioneer Press, 1938).
32. See, among other works, Salil Misra, *A Narrative of Communal Politics: Uttar Pradesh, 1937-39* (New Delhi: Sage Publishers, 2001) <gb>; William Gould, *Hindu Nationalism and the Language of Politics in Late Colonial India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005) <gb>; Venkat Dhulipala, *Creating a New Medina: State Power, Islam and the Quest for Pakistan in Late Colonial North India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014). <gb>
33. Gandhi to D.B. Kalelkar, 18 October 1938, CWMG, [LXVIII, p. 22.](#)
34. D.G. Tendulkar, *Abdul Ghaffar Khan: Faith Is a Battle* (Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1967), [pp. 253-54.](#) Cf. also Pyarelal, [A Pilgrimage for Peace: Gandhi and Frontier Gandhi among N. W.F. Pathans](#) (Ahmedabad: Navajivan, 1950).
35. Jawaharlal Nehru to Gandhi, letters of 30 August, 16 September and 10 October 1938, Personal Correspondence Files, Gandhi Papers, First and Second Instalments, NMML.
36. 'If I Were a Czech', *H*, [\[an: 6 15 October 1938, CWMG, LXVII, pp. 404-06.](#)
37. 'What Are the Basic Assumptions?', *H*, [22 October 1938, CWMG, LXVII, pp. 435-37.](#)
38. CWMG, [LXVII, pp. 28, 43, 47.](#)
39. CWMG, [LXVIII, pp. 244-48.](#)
40. Letter, c. mid-January 1939, signed by eleven young women of Calcutta, all Hindus going by their names, in Box 5, Harijan/Young India Files Collection, SAAA.
41. 'The Modern Girl', CWMG, [LXVIII, pp. 348-50.](#)
42. 'The Jews', *H*, [\[an: 20 26\] November 1938, CWMG, LXVIII, pp. 137-39.](#)
43. CWMG, [LXVIII, pp. 189-90.](#)

44. Martin Buber, '[Gandhi, Politics and Us](#)', 1930, reprinted in Buber, *Pointing the Way: Collected Essays* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1957). <gb>
45. Buber was here reflecting the widespread prejudice of cultures based on settled agriculture against cultures based on pastoralism and shifting cultivation. The historical roots and sociological implications of this prejudice have been brilliantly explored by James C. Scott. See his works, *Seeing Like a State* <gb> and *The Art of Not Being Governed*, <gb> published by Yale University Press in 1998 and 2009 respectively.
46. *Two Letters to Gandhi from Martin Buber and J.L. Magnes* (Jerusalem: Bond, 1939). Buber's letter is also reprinted in Nahum N. Glatzer, editor, *The Letters of Martin Buber: A Life of Dialogue* (New York: Schocken Books, 1991). <gb> [an: [Jewish Virtual Library: February 24, 1939 letter from Buber, February 26, 1939 letter from J.L. Magnes](#)]
47. The Buber-Magnes pamphlet was printed in Jerusalem in April 1939, and presumably posted immediately to Segaoon. However, Gandhi was on the road all of April and May; he was back in Segaoon between 8 and 20 June, and then out again till end-July.
48. Originally published in his magazine *Jewish Frontier*, this essay is reprinted in Hayim Greenberg, *The Inner Eye: Selected Essays* (New York: Jewish Frontier Association, Inc. 1953), pp. 230-38. <gb> [an: [Jewish Virtual Library: 1937 letter from Hayim Greenberg](#)]
49. CWMG, [LXIX, pp. 289-90.](#)
50. Interestingly, in January 1944, when Bonhoeffer was in jail, he was reminded once more of Gandhi, when his fiancée Maria wrote to him: 'Ina [her sister] came in from school and said she had learnt about Gandhi in geography class, that he always did hunger strike in prison and asked whether you cannot do the same. I am not in agreement with this suggestion.' Letter dated 19 January 1944, in *Brautbriefe Zelle 92: Dietrich Bonhoeffer Maria von Wedemeyer, 1943-1945* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1994), p. 123. <gb>

Chapter Twenty-Five: (Re)capturing the Congress

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2. 'States and [an: their the] People', *H*, [3 December 1938](#), CWMG, [LXVIII, pp. 151-53.](#)
3. "'Kicks and Kisses'", *H*, [4 February 1939](#), CWMG, [LXVIII, pp. 354-56.](#)
4. 'The Incredible Mr. Gandhi', *Reader's Digest*, [December 1938.](#)

5. See Gandhi to Jawaharlal Nehru, 21 December 1938, CWMG, [LXVIII, p. 227](#).
6. See 'Kangress ke Kharabiyān aur Unke Dur Karne ke Upay' (The Defects in the Congress and the Means to Remove Them), Hindi pamphlet (undated, but probably published in November or December 1938) in Subject File No. 63, Gandhi Papers, First and Second Instalments, NMML.
7. Rabindranath Tagore to Gandhi, 22 November 1938, Gandhi Papers, First and Second Instalments, NMML.
8. James C. Wilson, 'Bose vs. Gandhi: Tripuri and After', in Jagdish P. Sharma, editor, *Individuals and Ideals in Modern India: Nine Interpretative Studies* (Calcutta: Firma KLM Private Limited, 1982), pp. 148-196 (the Chaudhuri quote is on p. 164). <gb>
9. CWMG, [LXVIII, pp. 359-60, 487-88](#); Rudrangshu Mukherjee, *Nehru and Bose: Parallel Lives* (New Delhi: Viking, 2014), Chapter 6. <gb>
10. Leonard A. Gordon, *Brothers against the Raj: A Biography of Sarat and Subhas Chandra Bose* (New Delhi: Viking, 1989), p. 375. <gb>
11. These paragraphs are based on John R. Wood, 'Rajkot: Indian Nationalism in the Princely Context: the Rajkot Satyagraha of 1938', in Robin Jeffery, editor, *People, Princes, and Paramount Power: Society and Politics in the Indian Princely States* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1980). <gb> Cf. also the correspondence printed in *H*, [4 February 1939](#).
12. See IOR, L/P&S/13/1500, APAC/BL.
13. The press clippings quoted in the preceding paragraph are contained in Mss Eur F 138/22, APAC/BL.
14. 'Note on Discussion on General Topics between H.E. the Viceroy and Mr. Gandhi on 15th March 1939', in Mss Eur F 138/22, APAC/BL.
15. CWMG, [LXIX, pp. 80, 90, 96-97, 448-54](#).
16. Rajmohan Gandhi, *Patel: A Life* (Ahmedabad: Navajivan Publishing House, 1991), pp. 236-38, 264, 277-81.
17. Bose to Gandhi, letters of 29 and 31 March 1939, Gandhi to Bose, 2 April 1939, CWMG, [LXIX, pp. 448-54, 96-97](#).
18. Subhas Chandra Bose, *The Indian Struggle*, as edited by Sisir K. Bose and Sugata Bose (first published in 1935; new edition Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 126, 326-33, etc. <gb>
19. Gordon, *Brothers against the Raj*, pp. 287-88.
20. *The Indian Struggle*, p. 351.

21. Letter to Gandhi, c. 20 March 1939, signed by members of the Bengal Provincial Youth Association, in Subject File No. 68, Gandhi Papers, First and Second Instalments, NMML.
22. CWMG, [LXIX, p. 99.](#)
23. Bose to Gandhi, 6 April 1939; Gandhi to Bose, 10 April 1939, CWMG, [LXIX, pp. 455-60, 125-27.](#)
24. Mahadev Desai to V.S. Srinivasa Sastri, 15 April 1939, Srinivasa Sastri Papers, Last Instalment, NMML.
25. Clipping from the *National Call*, 20 April 1938, in L/P&S/13/1500, APAC/BL.
26. MG, 9 May 1939.
27. News report in *Hindustan Times* (hereafter HT), 5 May 1939.
28. Report in the *National Call*, 17 April 1939, in IOR, L/P&S/13/1500, APAC/BL.
29. See Sisir Kumar Bose and Sugata Bose, editor, *Netaji Collected Works, Volume 9: Congress President, Speeches, Articles and Letters, January 1938-May 1939* (Delhi: Permanent Black, 2004), pp. 107-09. <gb>
30. Sugata Bose, *His Majesty's Opponent: Subhas Chandra Bose and India's Struggle against Empire* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2011), pp. 163-64. <gb>
31. CWMG, [LXIX, pp. 460-62, 269-71.](#)

Chapter Twenty-Six: One Nation, or Two?

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2. CWMG, [LXX, pp. 160-61.](#)
3. Gilbert Laithwaite, 'Gandhi', unpublished typescript, c. 1967-68, in Mss Eur F 138/172.
4. See Mushirul Hasan, editor, *Towards Freedom: Documents on the Movement for Independence in India, 1939, Part I* (New Delhi: Indian Council of Historical Research, 2008), [pp. 293-94.](#)
5. Jawaharlal Nehru, *Glimpses of World History* (first published in 1934: reprint London: Lindsay Drummond, 1949), pp. 813-20, 911-22. <gb>
6. See Richard Lamb, *Mussolini and the British* (London: John Murray, 1997), p. 3 and back flap. <gb>

7. See Ian Kershaw, *Making Friends with Hitler: Lord Londonderry and Britain's Road to War* (London: Allen Lane, 2003), whose early chapters demonstrate how, apart from the leading politicians of all parties, many British newspapers (not least *The Times*) were extremely indulgent towards Hitler until as late as 1938. <gb>
8. CWMG, [LXX, pp. 409-13, 175-77.](#)
9. Birla, *In the Shadow of the Mahatma*, [pp. 250, 256.](#)
10. See Sarvepalli Gopal, *Radhakrishnan: A Biography* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1989), pp. 156-57. <gb>
11. These paragraphs are based on the essays in S. Radhakrishnan, editor, [Mahatma Gandhi: Essays and Reflections on His Life and Work](#) (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1939).
12. See, for more details, Srinath Raghavan, *India's War: World War II and the Making of Modern South Asia* (New York: Basic Books, 2016), Chapter 4. <gb>
13. These paragraphs are based on CWMG, [LXX, pp. 414-20, 267-68, 279-80, 290, 327, 341-42.](#)
14. C. Rajagopalachari to Mahadev Desai, 28 October 1939, Personal Correspondence Files, Gandhi Papers, First and Second Instalments, NMML.
15. 'To Correspondents and Message-Seekers', *H*, [\[an: 47 23\] December 1939](#), CWMG, [LXXI, p. 43.](#)
16. President, Muslim League, Bezwada, to M.K. Gandhi, 9 May 1939; Representation, c. October 1939, addressed to M.K. Gandhi by five Muslim members of the Municipal Council, Bezwada, both in Subject File No. 15, Gandhi Papers, First and Second Instalments, NMML.
17. S.M. Yusuf to Gandhi, 29 July 1940, in Box 21, Harijan/Young India Files Collection, SAAA.
18. Sirajuddin Piracha to Gandhi, Lahore, 22 December 1938; Abdul Rahman Khan to Gandhi, 8 December 1939, both in Subject File No. 15, Gandhi Papers, First and Second Instalments, NMML.
19. Hussain Imam to Gandhi, Gaya, 9 October 1939, in Subject File No. 21, Gandhi Papers, First and Second Instalments, NMML.
20. Gandhi to Hossain Imam, 14 October 1939 (not in CWMG), in *ibid.*
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27. 'A Welcome Move', *H*, [20 January 1940](#); letter to Jinnah, 16 January 1940, CWMG, [LXXI, pp. 109-10, 117.](#)
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30. CWMG, [LXXI, pp. 186-91.](#)
31. CWMG, [LXXI, pp. 334, 346-47.](#)
32. CWMG, [LXXI, p. 337.](#)
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34. See Khalid B. Sayeed, *Pakistan: The Formative Phase, 1857-1948* (second edition: Lahore: Oxford University Press, 1969), Chapter 6, 'The Muslim League: Its Role and Organisation'. <gb>
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Chapter Twenty-Seven: Pilgrimages to Gandhi

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6. Lader, *The Margaret Sanger Story*, p. 290.
7. 'Gandhi and Mrs Sanger Debate Birth Control', p. 701.
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15. Herbert Fischer, *Mahatma Gandhi, Personlich Erlebt* (Mahatma Gandhi, as Seen in Person) (Berlin: Gandhi Informations Zentrum, 1994), passim.
16. Gandhi to Amrit Kaur, 29 May 1937, CWMG, [LXV, pp. 55-56.](#)
17. Cf. Mahadev Desai's weekly letters in *H*, issues of [29 May 1937, 5](#) and [12 June 1937.](#)
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22. 'Interview to S.S. Tema', *H*, [18 February 1939](#), CWMG, [LXVIII, pp. 272-74.](#)
23. See *GBI*, pp. 396, 536, etc.

Chapter Twenty-Eight: Somewhere between Conflict and Cooperation

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2. Report in *Bombay Sentinel*, 13 July 1940.
3. Srinivasa Sastri to Gandhi, 16 July 1940, V.S. Srinivasa Sastri Papers, First and Second Instalments, NMML.
4. CWMG, [LXXII, pp. 100-01, 187-89, 212-14.](#)
5. 'To Every Briton', *H*, [6 July 1940](#), CWMG, [LXXII, pp. 229-31.](#)
6. CWMG, [LXXII, p. 232.](#)
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8. These paragraphs are based on CWMG, [LXXII, pp. 467, 254-56, 472-75, 370-71, 384.](#)
9. Gandhi to Amrit Kaur, 15 September 1940, CWMG, [LXXIII, p. 3.](#)
10. CWMG, [LXXIII, pp. 450-51, 70-71, 79.](#)
11. 'Civil Disobedience', *H*, [20 October 1940](#), CWMG, [LXXIII, pp. 102-07, 137-38.](#)
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14. CWMG, [LXXIII, pp. 87, 124-25, 155-59, 186.](#)
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29. CWMG, [LXXIV, p. 404.](#)
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34. Gandhi to Agatha Harrison, 22 October 1941, CWMG, [LXXVI, pp. 37-38.](#)

Chapter Twenty-Nine: Towards 'Quit India'

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2. CWMG, [LXXV, pp. 450-52, 197-98, 298.](#)
3. CWMG, [LXXV, pp. 241-45.](#)
4. M[ahadev] D[esai], 'Jamnalalji', *H*, [22 February 1942.](#)
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8. CWMG, [LXXV, pp. 354-55.](#)
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14. CWMG, [LXXV, pp. 458-59.](#)
15. Cripps to Azad, 7 April 1942; Azad to Cripps, 10 April 1942, in Mss Eur F 138/30, APAC/BL.
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22. Minutes of AICC meeting, held at Allahabad, 27 April to 1 May 1942, Subject File No. 298, Gandhi Papers, First and Second Instalments, NMML.

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31. Gandhi to Chiang Kai-Shek, 14 June 1942, CWMG, [LXXVI, pp. 223-26.](#)
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33. Letter dated 10 July 1942 from a member of the Friends Ambulance Unit, Calcutta, to Paul D. Stuege, Friends House, London, copy in IOR/R/3/1/293, APAC/BL.
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35. Waheed Ahmad, editor, *Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah: The Nation's Voice, Volume II: Annotated Speeches and Statements, April 1940-April 1942* (Karachi: Quaid-i-Azam Academy, 1996) pp. 85-87, 96, 212, 386-87, 446, 132, etc.
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43. General Hartley, acting C-in-C, Indian Army, 22 July 1942, to R. Tottenham, Home Department, in *ibid.*
44. Governor of Nyasaland to Viceroy, 9 August 1942, in *ibid.*
45. Bihar Governor to Viceroy, 26 July 1942; Bombay Governor to Viceroy, 28 July, both in *ibid.*
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47. 'To Every Japanese', statement written on 18 July 1942, published in *H*, [26 July 1942](#), CWMG, [LXXVI, pp. 309-12.](#)
48. 'For Muslim Friends', *H*, [26 July 1942](#), CWMG, [LXXVI, pp. 315-16.](#)
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50. As reported in *BC*, 23 July 1942.
51. See *ToP*, Volume II, p. 455 fn., etc; also CWMG, [LXXVII, pp. 330-31.](#)
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56. Reports in *BC*, 28 and 30 July 1942.
57. Report in *BC*, 3 August 1942.
58. Editorial entitled, 'Why Not Now?', *BC*, 3 August 1942.
59. *BC*, 4 August 1942.
60. Reports in *BC*, 5 and 6 August 1942.
61. CWMG, [LXXVI, p. 375.](#)
62. *BC*, 8 August 1942.
63. CWMG, [LXXVI, pp. 377-81, 384-91.](#)

64. CWMG, [LXXVI, pp. 458-61.](#)
65. BC, 8 August 1942.
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68. 'Mahatmaji's Arrest', *H*, [16 August 1942.](#)
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Chapter Thirty: A Bereavement and a Fast

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2. These details on the Aga Khan Palace draw from the notes and letters in IOR/R/3/1/290, APAC/BL.
3. Gandhi to Lord Linlithgow, 14 August 1942, CWMG, [LXXVI, pp. 410-11.](#)
4. These paragraphs are based on remembrances by Sushila Nayar and Sarojini Naidu in *H*, issues of [17 February](#) and [18 August 1946.](#)
5. Nayar, *Mahatma Gandhi's Last Imprisonment*, [pp. 65-66.](#)
6. This account of Mahadev Desai's cremation draws on Narayan Desai, *The Fire and the Rose*, [Chapter 1.](#)
7. Nayar, *Mahatma Gandhi's Last Imprisonment*, [pp. 76, 78.](#)
8. These paragraphs are based on Subject File No. 404, Part I, Gandhi Papers, First and Second Instalments, NMML.
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11. 'Mah[a]dev Desai', *MG*, 19 August 1942.
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13. Gandhi to Mahadev, 14 September 1938, CWMG, [LXVII, p. 338.](#)

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16. N.C. Chatterjee to B.S. Moonje, 14 August 1942 (intercepted letter), in *ibid.*
17. Translation of a Bengali article published in *Harijan Patrika*, 16 August 1942, in *ibid.*
18. See the forty-eight-page transcript entitled 'A General Survey of the Political and Economic Condition of Assam since August, 1942 to June, 1944', in Volume 23, Series 5, Gandhi Papers, Twelfth and Fourteenth Instalments, NMML.
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20. See Chandi Prasad Nanda, 'Mapping the Mahatma: Literary Tracts and Rumours in Late Colonial Orissa', in Martin Brandtner and Shishir Kumar Panda, editors, *Interrogating History: Essays for Hermann Kulke* (Delhi: Manohar, 2006). <gb>
21. See 'Memorandum of the Andhra Pradesh Youth and Students' Congresses' (handwritten), Bezwada, 4 July 1944, in Volume 7, Series 5, Gandhi Papers, Twelfth and Fourteenth Instalments, NMML.
22. *Karnatak in Revolt*, a forty-four-page pamphlet published by the Karnataka Pradesh Congress Committee in 1944, copy in *ibid.*
23. Vijay Anand, c/o Vizianagaram Palace, Banaras, to Gandhi, 21 June 1944, in Volume 1, Series 4, Gandhi Papers, Twelfth and Fourteenth Instalments, NMML.
24. A cyclostyled sheet, entitled 'Congress Newsletter No. 18', Delhi, 2 October, issued by Delhi PCC with the instructions: 'PLEASE PASS ON THIS NEWSLETTER AFTER READING', in IOR, R/3/1/310, APAC/BL.
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27. See *The Empire at Bay*, p. 832.
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29. Sir Stafford Cripps, 'Britain and India', *New York Times Magazine*, [23 August 1942.](#)
30. Polak to Joyce of the India Office, 6 July 1940; Joyce to Polak, 30 July 1940, copies in E.S. Reddy Papers, NMML.
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34. Anon, *Congress Responsibility for the Disturbances, 1942-3* (New Delhi: Government of India Press, 1943), [pp. 15, 21, 39,](#) etc.
35. Gandhi to Linlithgow, letters of 31 December 1942 and 29 January 1943, CWMG, [LXXVII, pp. 49-53, 54-56.](#)
36. Linlithgow to Gandhi, 5 February 1943, CWMG, [LXXVII, pp. 446-47.](#)
37. Governor of Bombay to Viceroy, 10 February 1943, in IOR, R/3/1/298, APAC/BL.
38. Untitled, undated, notes by Mirabehn, in Subject File No. 300, Gandhi Papers, First and Second Instalments, NMML.
39. See Subject File No. 13, H.P. Modi Papers, NMML.
40. CWMG, [LXXVII, p. 65.](#)
41. See Subject File No. 406, Gandhi Papers, First and Second Instalments, NMML.
42. Notebooks/Diaries, Serial No. 1, in the Gandhi Papers, Third and Fourth Instalments, NMML.
43. 'Note of Mr. Gandhi's Fast, February 10th to March 3rd', Sd R.H. Candy, Surgeon General, Bombay Presidency, 5 March 1943, in R/3/1/298, APAC/BL.
44. Note dated 17 February 1943 by R. Tottenham, in IOR; Viceroy to Governors, 18 February 1943; Viceroy to Secretary of State for India, 19 February 1943, all in R/3/1/298, APAC/BL.

45. ‘“Leaders” Conference Demand Turned Down: Churchill’s Reply: Endorsement of Viceroy’s Attitude’, *Hindustan Times*, 25 February 1943.
The appeal that Churchill rejected was signed by, among others, the liberals T.B. Sapru, H.N. Kunzru, Bhulabhai Desai, M.R. Jayakar and N.M. Joshi, the Hindu Mahasabha leaders B.S. Moonje, S.P. Mookerjee and N.C. Chatterjee, the communist B.T. Ranadive, the industrialist J.R.D. Tata, the former Prime Minister of Sindh, Allahbuksh, C. Rajagopalachari (now an ex-or expelled Congressman), and several women social workers, among them Saraladevi Chaudhurani, described as ‘President, Women’s Hindu-Muslim Unity Committee’.
46. ‘Report on Visit to Poona, Feb-March 1943’, in Temp Mss 577/82b, Friends House, Euston.
47. Notebooks/Diaries, Serial No. 1, in Gandhi Papers, Third and Fourth Instalments, NMML.
48. Note by R. Tottenham, 24 February 1943, in R/3/1/298, APAC/BL.
49. Notebooks/Diaries, Serial No. 2, in Gandhi Papers, Third and Fourth Instalments, NMML.
50. Note by R. Tottenham, 1 March 1943, in R/3/1/298, APAC/BL.
51. This table is reproduced in R/3/1/298, APAC/BL.
52. *ToP*, II, pp. 961, 978-79.
53. *ToP*, III, pp. 659, 669, 730, 737, 744.
54. Roosevelt to Gandhi, 1 August 1942, copy in IOR, R/3/1/326, APAC/BL.
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56. Diary entries for 17 and 22 February 1943, in Mss Am 2232 (33), William Phillips Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University.
57. Letters dated 22 February and 3 March 1943, in *ibid*.
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59. Report in *TS*, 26 April 1943.
60. E.] Thompson to Norman Cliff, 2 April 1943, in Mss C 798, APAC IBL.

Chapter Thirty-One: The Death of Kasturba

1. Gandhi to M.A. Jinnah, 4 May 1943, CWMG, [LXXVII, pp. 75-76.](#)

2. Letter of 13 May 1943, press communique of 27 May 1943, both in IOR/R/3/1/300, APAC/BL.
3. As reported in *Dawn*, 29 May 1943.
4. Sayeed, *Pakistan*, p. 179.
5. See Jamil-ud-din Ahmad, editor, *Some Recent Speeches and Writings of Mr. Jinnah* (Fourth edition; Lahore: Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf, 1946), pp. 519-20.
6. Gandhi to Additional Secretary, Home Department, Government of India, 15 July 1943, CWMG, [LXXVII, pp. 105-99.](#)
7. Gandhi to Lord Linlithgow, 27 September 1943, CWMG, [LXXVII, p. 201.](#)
8. See, among other works, Amartya Sen, *Poverty and Famines: An Essay on Entitlement and Deprivation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981) <gb>; Paul Greenough, *Prosperity and Misery in Rural Bengal: The Famine of 1943-1944* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1983) <gb>; Madhusree Mukerjee, *Churchill's Secret War: The British Empire and the Ravaging of India During World War II* (New York: Basic Books, 2011). <gb>
9. As reported in *Tol*, 13 January 1940.
10. See R/3/2/21, APAC/BL.
11. Cf. Romain Hayes, *Bose in Nazi Germany* (Delhi: Random House India, 2011) <gb>; Christopher Sykes, *Troubled Loyalty: A Biography of Adam von Trott zu Solz* (London: Collins, 1968), Chapter 14, 'The Story of Bose'. <gb>
12. Peter Ward Fay, [The Forgotten Army: India's Armed Struggle for Independence, 1942-1945](#) (Delhi: Rupa & Co., [an: 1944 1994]). <gb>
13. Cf. M. Sivaram, *The Road to Delhi* (Rutland, Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle and Co., 1967), Chapter 7 and passim. <gb>
14. K.M. Tamhankar, editor, *On to Delhi: 23 Enthralling Speeches of Subhas Chandra Bose* (Bombay: Phoenix Publications, 1946), [pp. 1-7.](#)
15. Devadas Gandhi to C. Rajagopalachari, 6 December 1944, in IOR/R/3/1/313, APAC/BL.
16. Gandhi to Ardeshir Kateli, 6 January 1944, CWMG, [LXXVII, pp. 215-16.](#)
17. Note dated 29 January 1944, in File No. 76-I of 1943-44, Home (Special), MSA.
18. Bombay Home Department note, 22 January 1944, File No 76, 1943-44, Home (Special), MSA.
19. Note by R.M. Maxwell, 22 December 1943, in IOR/R/3/1/313, APAC/BL.
20. Clippings in File No 76-IV, 1943-44, Home (Special), MSA.

21. R. Tottenham, Additional Home Secretary, Government of India, to H.V.R. Iyengar, Home Secretary, Bombay Government, 7 February 1944; Iyengar to Tottenham, 12 February 1944; Tottenham to Iyengar, 15 February 1944, all in File No 76-IV, 1943-44, Home (Special), MSA.
22. See Files Nos 76-I and 76-II of 1944, Home (Special), MSA.
23. H.V.R. Iyengar to R. Tottenham, 7 February 1944; Notes by R. Tottenham, dated 16 and 21 February 1944, all in IOR/R/3/1/313, APACIBL.
24. See Notebooks/Diaries, Serial Nos 4 and 5, Gandhi Papers, Third and Fourth Instalments, NMML.
25. Devadas Gandhi, 'Last Moments with Kasturba', B C, 29 February 1944; Nayar, *Mahatma Gandhi's Last Imprisonment*, [p. 341](#).
26. Reports in BC, 25 February 1944.
27. Devadas Gandhi, 'Last Moments with Kasturba'.
28. See Subject File No. 409, Parts I to V, Gandhi Papers, First and Second Instalments, NMML, which has some 600 telegrams/letters of condolence to Gandhi on Kasturba's death.
29. 'Mr. Gandhi's Bereavement', D, 24 February 1944.
30. Letter dated 25 February 1944, in *My Dear Bapu*, p. 234.
31. Copies of these telegrams from Polak are in the so far unclassified E.5. Reddy Papers, NMML.
32. Lord Wavell, *The Viceroy's Journal*, edited by Penderel Moon (Oxford: Oxford University Press [[an: ,1973](#)]), [pp. 3-4, 12](#). <gb>
33. *Ibid.*, pp. 19, 23, 25, 33.
34. Gandhi to Lord Wavell, 17 February 1944, CWMG, [LXXVII, pp. 22-23](#).
35. Gandhi to Lord Wavell, 9 March 1944; Wavell to Gandhi, 28 March 1944; Gandhi to Wavell, 9 April 1944, CWMG, [LXXVII, pp. 244-50, 462-64, 257-60](#).
36. CWMG, [LXXVII, pp. 262-63, 487-88](#).

Chapter Thirty-Two: Picking up the Pieces (Again)

1. The *New York Times*, quoted in M.S. Venkataramani, 'The United States and the Release of Mahatma Gandhi, May 1944', in V.D. Rao, editor, *Studies in Indian History: Dr A.G. Pawar Felicitation Volume* (Kolhapur: Dr Appasaheb Pawar Satkar Samiti, 1968), p. 373. <gb> [[an: Editorial, 'A Prisoner Goes Free', New York Times, May 6, 1944](#); E.C. Danielby, 'Gandhi Freed Unconditionally; British Act on Health Grounds; BRITISH ANNOUNCE RELEASE OF GANDHI', *New York Times*, [May 6, 1944](#).]
2. Gandhi to C. Rajagopalachari, 26 May 1944, CWMG, [LXXVII, p. 291](#).

3. Gandhi to Wavell, 17 June 1944, Wavell to Gandhi, 22 June 1944, CWMG, [LXXVII, p. 317.](#)
4. The list of books is in Volume 147, Series 4, Gandhi Papers, Twelfth and Fourteenth Instalments, NMML.
5. Saraladevi to Gandhi, 20 July 1944, in Volume 13, Series 5, Gandhi Papers, Twelfth and Fourteenth Instalments, NMML.
6. CWMG, [LXXVII, pp. 338-41.](#)
7. See CWMG, [LXXVII, pp. 393-94.](#)
8. Gandhi to Wavell, 26/27 July 1944; Wavell to Gandhi, 15 August 1944, CWMG, [LXXVII, pp. 425-26, 480-82.](#)
9. G.E.B. Abell to Gilbert Laithwaite, 31 July 1944, in Mss Eur F 138/161, APAC/BL.
10. Gandhi to Ambedkar, 6 August 1944, CWMG, [LXXVIII, p. 13.](#)
11. Gandhi to Jagdish Munshi, c. 12 August 1944, CWMG, [LXXVIII, pp. 23-24.](#)
12. M.C. Chagla, *Roses in December: An Autobiography* (1973; reprint Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1994), pp. 55, 80. <gb>
13. Gandhi to Jinnah, 18 August 1944, CWMG, [LXXVIII, p. 39.](#)
14. A journalist who followed his career for many years remarked that Jinnah, 'apart from being an egotist, was also a narcissist. He spent a lot of time looking at himself in the mirror. He liked dressing up in Western clothes and with meticulous care. He wore a stiff collar, in fashion or out of fashion, in season or out of season. His trousers were creased to sabre-point sharpness. His thinning hair was pressed downwards. He wore a monocle for effect, while a pair of "spring" glasses were held from a black band for reading ... His well-made shoes were shined to a mirror glossiness ...' J.N. Sahni, 'Pakistan's Quaid-e-Azam', *Illustrated Weekly of India*, 26 December 1976.
15. See CWMG, [LXXVII, Appendix VIII, p. 456.](#)
16. D, 10 September 1944.
17. CWMG, [LXXVIII, pp. 87-90.](#)
18. CWMG, [LXXVIII, pp. 401-03, 92-93.](#)
19. D, 13 September 1944.
20. CWMG, [LXXVIII, pp. 96-97.](#)
21. BC, 14 September 1944.
22. Gandhi to Jinnah, 15 September 1944, CWMG, [LXXVIII, pp. 101-03.](#)

23. 'Pakistan', an anonymous typescript deposited in Mss Eur C 313/18, APAC/BL, most likely written by a senior British civil servant.
24. Jinnah to Gandhi, 17 September 1944, CWMG, [LXXVIII, pp. 406-08.](#)
25. Gandhi to Jinnah, letters of 23 and 24 September 1944, Jinnah to Gandhi, 21 September 1944, CWMG, [LXXVIII, pp. 116-17, 122-23, 409-10.](#)
26. 'The Harijan Problem', BC, 21 September 1944.
27. Indian Express, 25 and 26 September 1944, clippings in File No. 3, C.B. Khairmonday Collection, University of Mumbai.
28. Gandhi to Jinnah, letters of 19 and 22 September 1944, Jinnah to Gandhi, 26 September 1944, CWMG, [LXXVIII, pp. 124, 130-31, 415-16.](#)
29. BC, 27 September 1944.
30. Gandhi to Jinnah, 26 September 1944, Jinnah to Gandhi, 26 September 1944, CWMG, [LXXVIII, pp. 131-32, 416-17.](#)
31. 'Not the End', BC, 29 September 1944.
32. 'Lessons of Failure', D, 29 September, 1944.
33. Gandhi to Sapru, 26 February 1945, CWMG, [LXXIX, pp. 168-69.](#)
34. 'Mr Jinnah's Interview to the Representative of the "News Chronicle", London, on 4 October 1944', in *Jinnah-Gandhi Talks (September 1944): Text of Correspondence and Other Relevant Documents, etc.* (Delhi: All India Muslim League, November 1944), [pp. 75-78.](#)
35. A.F.S. T[alyarkhanJ, 'Bull's Eye', *Blitz*, 30 September 1944, in Volume 27, Series 4, Gandhi Papers, Twelfth and Fourteenth Instalments, NMML.
36. Wavell, *The Viceroy's Journal*, [p. 91.](#)
37. See Volumes 21 to 25, Series 4, Gandhi Papers, Twelfth and Fourteenth Instalments, NMML.
38. CWMG, [LXXVIII, pp. 149-51.](#)
39. See File No. 40 of 1944, Home (Special) MSA.
40. See clipping in Volume 21, Series 4, Gandhi Papers, Twelfth and Fourteenth Instalments, NMML.
41. See correspondence in Volumes 8 and 29, Series 4, and in Volumes 125 and 135, Series 5, Gandhi Papers, Twelfth and Fourteenth Instalments, NMML.
42. 'Statement to the Press', 1 December 1944, See CWMG, [LXXVIII, pp. 371-72.](#)
43. Birla, *Bapu, Volume IV*, [pp. 349-50.](#)
44. Mridula Sarabhai to Indira Gandhi, 12 January 1945, in Reel No. 57, Mridula Sarabhai Papers, on microfilm, NMML.

45. See reports in File 212-111 of 1945-47, Home (Special), MSA.
46. CWMG, [LXXIX, p. 301.](#)
47. CWMG, [LXXIX, p. 299.](#)
48. CWMG, [LXXIX, pp. 383-84.](#)
49. CWMG, [LXXX, p. 63.](#)
50. Ambalal Sarabhai to Gandhi, 16 April 1945, in Volume 49, Series 4, Gandhi Papers, Twelfth and Fourteenth Instalments, NMML.
51. Gandhi to Sarabhai, 21 April 1945, CWMG, [LXXIX, p. 405.](#)
52. CWMG, [LXXX, pp. 222-24.](#)
53. CWMG, [LXXX, pp. 440-42.](#)
54. Adrian Fort, *Archibald Wavell: The Life and Times of an Imperial Servant* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2009), pp. 382-86. <gb>
55. Statement to the press by Vallabhbhai Patel, Panchgani, 17 June 1945, in Volume 148, Series 4, Gandhi Papers, Twelfth and Fourteenth Instalments. NMML.
56. Gandhi to Wavell, 16 June 1945, CWMG, [LXXX, pp. 335-36.](#)
57. Wavell, *The Viceroy's Journal*, [p. 14.](#)
58. 'Interview to Preston Grover', 29 June 1945, CWMG, [LXXX, p. 383.](#)
59. The telegrams quoted here are in Subject File No. 36, Gandhi Papers, First and Second Instalments, NMML.
60. Cf. note by Evans Jenkins, c. late July 1945, in R/3/1/108, APAC/BL.
61. See Bimal Prasad, editor, *Towards Freedom: Documents on the Movement for Independence in India, 1945* (New Delhi: Indian Council of Historical Research, 2008), [pp. 365-68.](#)
62. Azad to Wavell, 15 July 1945, copy in Volume 150, Series 4, Gandhi Papers, Twelfth and Fourteenth Instalments. NMML.
63. Gandhi to Wavell, 15 July 1945, CWMG, [LXXX, p. 426.](#)
64. Wavell to King George VI, 19 July 1945, *ToP*, [V., p. 1279.](#)

Chapter Thirty-Three: Prelude to Partition

1. Gandhi to Lord Pethick-Lawrence, 4 August 1945, CWMG, [LXXX, p. 69.](#)
2. B.R. Ambedkar, [*What Congress and Gandhi Have Done to the Untouchables*](#) (Bombay: Thacker and Co., 1945).
3. CWMG, [LXXXI, pp. 119-20.](#)
4. CWMG, [LXXXI, p. 169.](#)

5. Excerpts from speech of 20 December 1931, in Subject File No. 23, C. Rajagopalachari Papers, Fourth Instalment, NMML.
6. C. Rajagopalachari, [*an: Ambedkarism Ambedkar*] *Refuted* (Bombay: Hind Kitabs, 1945), pp. 5-6, 13, 16-17, 23-27, 32-33, etc. <gb>
7. Gandhi to Jawaharlal Nehru, 5 October 1945, CWMG, [LXXXI, pp. 319-21.](#)
8. Nehru to Gandhi, 9 October 1945, in Uma Iyengar and Lalitha Zackariah, *Together They Fought: Gandhi-Nehru Correspondence, 1921-1948* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 452-56. <gb>
9. Letter of 19 August 1945, CWMG, [LXXXI, p. 140.](#)
10. CWMG, [LXXXII, pp. 236-42, 277-79, 333-35.](#)
11. Gandhi to Casey, 8 December 1945, CWMG, [LXXXII, pp. 180-81.](#)
12. Casey to Gandhi, 10 December 1945, in Diaries of R.G. Casey, Accession Number 3284, on microfilm, NMML.
13. Gandhi to Casey, letters of 12 and 16 December 1945, CWMG, [LXXXII, pp. 180-81, 201-02, 215.](#)
14. 'Extracts from the Governor of Bengal's diary notes dated 22nd December 1945', in R/3/2/57, APAC/BL.
15. Casey to Gandhi, letters of 30 January and 1 February 1946, in Volume 155, Gandhi Papers, Series 4, Twelfth and Fourteenth Instalments, NMML. Cf. also R.G. Casey, *An Australian in India* (London: Hollis and Carter, 1947), [pp. 55-63.](#)
16. Diaries of R.G. Casey, Accession Number 3284, on microfilm, NMML.
Casey's wife was also greatly taken with their visitor. Gandhi 'had an extraordinary power over Indian people', she wrote. Whenever he 'came and went through the portals of Government House all our staff, clerks, domestics, gardeners, of whatever religion or caste—all living creatures—crowded the entrance hall on his arrival and departure, greeting him reverently after their own fashion. This happened to no one else who visited us.' Cf. Maie Casey, *Tides and Eddies* (London: Michael Joseph, 1966), [pp. 155-56.](#)
17. CWMG, [LXXXII, p. 415.](#)
18. Sastri to Desai, 7 July 1939, in V.S. Srinivasa Sastri Papers, Last Instalment, NMML.
19. See [Translator's Preface](#) to M.K. Gandhi, *An Autobiography, Or the Story of My Experiments with Truth*, translated from the original in Gujarati by Mahadev Desai (first published in 1927; second, revised edition Ahmedabad: Navajivan Press, 1940).

20. T.N. Jagadisan, *V.S. Srinivasa Sastri* (New Delhi: Publications Division, 1969), pp. 182-83. Sastri died on 17 April 1946. Gandhi, who was then in Delhi, issued a brief, dignified statement, noting that 'though we differed in politics, our hearts were one and I could never think that his patriotism was less than that of the tallest patriot'. See CWMG, [LXXXIV, p. 19.](#)
21. CWMG, [LXXXIII, pp. 75, 78-81.](#)
22. Amrit Kaur to N.K. Bose, 5 February 1946, Group 14, Nirmal Kumar Bose Papers, NAI.
23. Jiwanji Desai to Khan Sahib Mohammed Nasrullah, Assistant Secretary, Department of Industries and Supplies, Government of India, 25 February 1946, in Volume 136, Series 5, Gandhi Papers, Twelfth and Fourteenth Instalments, NMML.
24. Lalit Mohan Garg to Pyarelal, 17 February 1946, in *ibid.*
25. See Sho Kuwajima, *Muslims, Nationalism and the Partition: 1946 Provincial Elections in India* (New Delhi: Manohar, 1998) <gb>; David Gilmartin, *Empire and Islam: Punjab and the Making of Pakistan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988) <gb>; *idem*, 'A Magnificent Gift: Muslim Nationalism and the Election Process in Colonial Punjab', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Volume 40, Number 3, July 1998. [an: [JSTOR: pp. 415-436](#)]
26. See, for more details, Kuwajima, *Muslims, Nationalism and the Partition*.
27. See Sekhar Bandyopadhyay, 'Transfer of Power and the Crisis of Dalit Politics in India, 1945-7', *Modern Asian Studies*, Volume 34, Number 4, 2000. [an: [JSTOR: pp. 893-942](#)]
28. This account of the 1946 naval mutiny draws on B.C. Dutt, *Mutiny of the Innocents* (Bombay: Sindhu Publications, 1971) <gb>; Percy S. Gorgey, *The Indian Naval Revolt of 1946* (Hyderabad: Orient Longman, 1996). <gb> Cf. also IAR, 1946, [Volume I, pp. 285ff.](#)
29. CWMG, [LXXXIII, pp. 171-72, 426-27.](#)
30. CWMG, [LXXXIII, pp. 245-46.](#)
31. See CWMG, [LXXXIII, Appendix XI, pp. 432-33.](#)
32. Pethick-Lawrence to Gandhi, 28 March 1946, in Volume 157, Series 4, Gandhi Papers, Twelfth and Fourteenth Instalments, NMML.
33. CWMG, [LXXXIII, pp. 354-55, 437-38, 376-77.](#)
34. Z.A. Khan to Gandhi, 17 April 1946; Gandhi to Z.A. Khan, 24 April 1946 (not in CWMG), both in Volume 91, Series 4, Gandhi Papers, Twelfth and Fourteenth Instalments. NMML.

35. CWMG, [LXXXIV, pp. 92-93.](#)
36. CWMG, [LXXXIV, pp. 462-63, 122-23.](#)
37. See *Correspondence and Documents Connected with the Conference between the Cabinet Mission and His Excellency the Viceroy and Representatives of the Congress and the Muslim League, May 1946* (Cmd. 6829: London: HMSO, 1946).
38. CWMG, [LXXXIV, p. 150.](#)
39. CWMG, [LXXXIV, pp. 467-76.](#)
40. Gandhi to Pethick-Lawrence, letters of 19, 20 and 22 May; Pethick-Lawrence to Gandhi, 20 May, CWMG, [LXXXIV, pp. 165, 172-74, 183, 477.](#)
41. Gandhi to Wavell, 12 June 1946, CWMG, [LXXXIV, p. 320.](#)
42. CWMG, [LXXXIV, p. 345.](#)
43. See Maurice Hallet (Governor, United Provinces) to Francis Mudie (Home Member, Government of India), undated letter, c. late June 1946, in Mss Eur F 164/1, APAC/BL.
44. Wavell, *The Viceroy's Journal*, [pp. 197, 220, 260-61, 413.](#)
45. For a broader analysis of the Cabinet Mission and why it failed, see Clarke, *The Cripps Version*, Part V.
46. For the details of how Nehru became Congress president in 1946, see Rajmohan Gandhi, *Patel*, p. 369f.
47. Cf. my essay 'Verdicts on Nehru: The Rise and Fall of a Reputation', in Ramachandra Guha, *Patriots and Partisans* (New Delhi: Allen Lane, 2012). [<gb>](#)
48. Cf. also Rajmohan Gandhi, *The Good Boatman: A Portrait of Gandhi* (New Delhi: Viking, 1995), Chapter 10, 'Sons and Heirs'. [<gb>](#)

Chapter Thirty-Four: Marching for Peace

1. 'Independence', *H*, [28 July 1946](#), CWMG, [LXXXV, pp. 32-34.](#)
2. Cf. D.P. Mishra to Vallabhbhai Patel, Nagpur, 9 September 1946, in Durga Das, editor, *Sardar Patel's Correspondence, 1945-50* (in ten volumes; Ahmedabad: Navajivan Press, 1971-74), Volume III, p. 161.
3. Gandhi to Patel, letters of 21 and 23 July 1946, CWMG, [LXXXV, pp. 35, 45.](#)
4. Gandhi to Patel, 1 August 1946, CWMG, [LXXXV, p. 102.](#)
5. Gandhi to Patel, letters of 3 August 1946, CWMG, [LXXXV, p. 120.](#)

6. Ambedkar to Patel, 12 August 1946; Patel to Ambedkar, 1 September 1946; Ambedkar to Patel, 14 October 1946, all in Volume 20, Series 4, Gandhi Papers, Twelfth and Fourteenth Instalments, NMML.
7. See Salim Yusufji, editor, *Ambedkar: The Attendant Details* (New Delhi [an: : Navayana], 2017), pp. 73, 84. <gb>
8. IAR, 1946, [Volume II, pp. 177-78.](#)
9. See Penderel Moon to Major J.M. Short, letters of 6 August and 2 September 1946, in Mss Eur F 189/13, APAC/BL.
10. This account of the Calcutta riots of 1946 is based on a first-hand account by the anthropologist Nirmal Kumar Bose, dated 2 September 1946, the copy in Volume 90, Series 4, Gandhi Papers, Twelfth and Fourteenth Instalments, NMML.
11. 'What can Violence Do?', *H*, [25 August 1946](#), CWMG, [LXXXV, pp. 186-87.](#)
12. CWMG, [LXXXV, pp. 515-16, 215-16, 235.](#)
13. CWMG, [LXXXV, pp. 276-77.](#)
14. CWMG, [LXXXV, pp. 383-86, 521-22.](#)
15. CWMG, [LXXXV, p. 416.](#)
16. The letters quoted in this section are all in Volume 88, Series 4, Gandhi Papers, Twelfth and Fourteen Instalments, NMML.
17. See notes and reports in Volume 132, Series 4, Gandhi Papers, Twelfth and Fourteenth Instalments, NMML.
18. Anon, *Noakhali Tipperah Tragedy*, a fifteen-page pamphlet in Box 1, Louis Fischer Papers, NYPL.
19. CWMG, [LXXXV, pp. 464-65, 480-81.](#)
20. CWMG, [LXXXVI, pp. 30-32.](#)
21. Alexander to Gandhi, 5 September 1946, in Volume 90, Series 4, Gandhi Papers, Twelfth and Fourteenth Instalments, NMML.
22. Alexander to Gandhi, 19 October 1946, in *ibid.*
23. Reports in *Searchlight*, 3 and 5 November 1946.
24. Speech at a prayer meeting, 31 October 1946, CWMG, [LXXXVI, p. 65.](#)
25. Gandhi to Nehru, 5 November 1946, CWMG, [LXXXVI, pp. 78-79.](#)
26. 'To Bihar', CWMG, [LXXXVI, pp. 81-82.](#)
27. CWMG, [LXXXVI, pp. 89, 98, 106.](#)
28. Cf. reports in *Searchlight*, 11 and 12 November 1946.

29. See, for more details, Volumes 132 and 133, Series 4, Gandhi Papers, Twelfth and Fourteenth Instalments, NMML.
30. See *Searchlight*, 20 November 1946.
31. Dasgupta, 'General Principles upon which Service to Hindu-Muslims of Noakhali is to be based on Gandhiji's Camp', note in Volume 39, Series 5, Gandhi Papers, Twelfth and Fourteenth Instalments, NMML.
32. As reported in *Searchlight*, 30 November 1946.
33. *Searchlight*, 22 November 1946.
34. Nirmal Kumar Bose, *My Days with Gandhi* (Calcutta: Nishana, 1953), pp. 64-65.
35. As reported in *Searchlight*, 24 November 1946.
36. Manubehn Gandhi, [Bapu—My Mother](#) (Ahmedabad: Navajivan Publishing House, 1955).
37. CWMG, [LXXXVI, pp. 144-45, 147, 149-52, 162, 182, 185, 195.](#)
38. 'Literal translation of Maulvi Hamiduddin Ahmed's statement published in the Azad of 14.12.46', in Volume 110, Series 5, Gandhi Papers, Twelfth and Fourteenth Instalments, NMML.
39. Gandhi to Hamiduddin Ahmed, 27 December 1946, CWMG, [LXXXVI, pp. 273-76.](#)
40. As reported in *Searchlight*, 12 December 1946.
41. Carl Heath, [Gandhi](#) (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1944).
42. Carl Heath to Gandhi, 14 November 1946; Gandhi to Heath, 2 December 1946 (not in CWMG), both in Volume 138, Series 4, Gandhi Papers, Twelfth and Fourteenth Instalments, NMML.
43. CWMG, [LXXXVI, pp. 213-14.](#)
44. CWMG, [LXXXVI, pp. 266-67, 283, 287.](#)
45. As reported in *Searchlight*, 4 January 1947.
46. CWMG, [LXXXVI, pp. 313, 349.](#)
47. Reports in *Searchlight*, 6, 9 and 10 January 1947.
48. As reported in *TS*, 17 January 1947.
49. Note by Sushila Nayar, dated 6 January 1947, in Volume 133, Series 4, Gandhi Papers, Twelfth and Fourteenth Instalments, NMML.

50. 'Enquiry Report about the cause of Hunger-strike by Miss Amtus Salam at Sirandi about the recovery of a Kharga (sacrificial sword)', by Raihen Ali, S[tation] I[nspector], Ramganj Police Station, 12 January 1947, copy in Volume 136, Series 4, Gandhi Papers, Twelfth and Fourteenth Instalments, NMML.
51. Note dated 20 January 1947, in *ibid.*
52. See CWMG, [LXXXVI, pp. 373-76.](#)
53. Azad to Gandhi, 2 February 1947, in Volume 33, Series 4, Gandhi Papers, Twelfth and Fourteenth Instalments, NMML.
54. Phillips Talbot to Walter S. Rogers, 16 February 1947, copy in Box 1, Louis Fischer Papers, NYPL.

Chapter Thirty-Five: The Strangest Experiment

1. Bose, *My Days with Gandhi*, pp. 130-37.
2. R.P. Parasuram to Gandhi, 1 January 1947 (copy), serial number 53 in Group 14, Nirmal Kumar Bose Papers, NAI; Gandhi to Parasuram, 2 January 1947, CWMG, [LXXXVI, pp. 299-300.](#)
3. CWMG, [LXXXVI, p. 414.](#)
4. CWMG, [LXXXVI, pp. 419-20.](#)
5. Gandhi to Vinoba Bhave, 10 February 1947, CWMG, [LXXXVI, pp. 452-53](#); Vinoba Bhave to Gandhi, 25 February 1947, SN 32683, SAAA.
6. See CWMG, [LXXXVII, pp. 15-16](#); CWMG, [LXXXVI, p. 476.](#)
7. 'Discussion with A.V. Thakkar', CWMG, [LXXXVII, pp. 14-16.](#)
8. Horace Alexander to Agatha Harrison, Calcutta, 19 March 1947, in Box 12, Horace Alexander Papers, Swarthmore College.
9. Bose to Gandhi, 4 February 1947, Group 14, Nirmal Kumar Bose Papers, NAI.
10. This section is based on Manu Gandhi, *The Lonely Pilgrim: Gandhiji's Noakhali Pilgrimage* (Ahmedabad: Navajivan Publishing House, 1964), *passim*. The quoted remarks are from [pp. 9, 12, 31, 90-91, 157, 194, 243, 83, 93, 111.](#)
11. CWMG, [LXXXVI, pp. 400-01, 486](#); CWMG, [LXXXVII, pp. 7, 13.](#)
12. See Volume 141, Series 4, Gandhi Papers, Twelfth and Fourteenth Instalments, NMML.
13. Note by K.B. Sahay (Home Minister, Bihar), 1 January 1947; note by T.P. Singh, ICS, early January 1947, both in Volume 139, Series 4, Gandhi Papers, Twelfth and Fourteenth Instalments, NMML.

14. Gandhi to H.S. Suhrawardy, 1 March 1947, CWMG, [LXXXVII, p. 31.](#)
15. Cf. Sana Aiyar, 'Fazlul Haq, Region and Religion in Bengal: The Forgotten Alternative of 1940-43', *Modern Asian Studies*, Volume 42, Number 6, 2008. [an: JSTOR: [pp. 1213-1249](#)]
16. As reported in TS, 4 March 1947.
17. CWMG, [LXXXVII, pp. 42-46, 114-16, 125-26.](#)
18. Letter of 19 or 20 March 1947, CWMG, [LXXXVII, pp. 128-29.](#)
19. CWMG, [LXXXVII, p. 168.](#)
20. Gandhi to Bhawe, 10 March 1947, CWMG, [LXXXVII, p. 63.](#)
21. Gandhi to Amrit Kaur, 18 March 1947, CWMG, [LXXXVII, p. 107.](#)
22. Bose, *My Days with Gandhi*, pp. 173-74 (emphasis added).

Chapter Thirty-Six: Independence and Division

1. Philip Ziegler, *Mountbatten* (London: Collins, 1985). <gb>
2. See IAR, 1947, [Volume I, pp. 142-43.](#)
3. Mountbatten to Gandhi, 22 March 1947, in Volume 161, Series 4, Gandhi Papers, Twelfth and Fourteenth Instalments, NMML.
4. CWMG, [LXXXVII, pp. 179-180, 199, 254-55.](#)
5. Quoted in Janet Morgan, *Edwina Mountbatten: A Life of Her Own* (London: HarperCollins, 1991), p. 394. <gb>
6. 'Report of the recent disturbances in the Punjab (March/April 1947)', twenty-one-page transcript sent by Rameshwari Nehru to Edwina Mountbatten (author unknown), in MB1/Q79, Mountbatten Papers, University of Southampton.
7. CWMG, [LXXXVII, pp. 183, 221, 223.](#)
8. CWMG, [LXXXVII, pp. 288-89, 298.](#)
9. B.M. Das to Gandhi, 16 April 1947; Gandhi to B.M. Das, 20 April 1947 (not in CWMG), both in Volume 118, Series 4, Gandhi Papers, Twelfth and Fourteenth Instalments, NMML.
10. Shahnawaz Khan, 'Report on Relief and Rehabilitation Work done by me in P.S. Masaurhi—Bihar from 24th March-5th July 1947', in Volume 121, Series 5, Gandhi Papers, Twelfth and Fourteenth Instalments, NMML.
11. See Sucheta Mahajan, editor, *Towards Freedom: Documents on the Movement for Independence in India, 1947, Part II* (New Delhi: Indian Council of Historical Research, 2015), [pp. 1974-88.](#)
12. CWMG, [LXXXVII, p. 337.](#)

13. 'Discussion with Aruna Asaf Ali and Ashok [sic] Mehta', 6 May 1947, CWMG, [LXXXVII, p. 421.](#)
14. CWMG, [LXXXVII, p. 551.](#)
15. Gandhi to Mountbatten, 8 May 1947, CWMG, [LXXXVII, p. 435.](#)
16. Letters by S. Banerji and G.J. Khan, 8 and 9 May 1947, respectively, in Volume 122, Series 4, Gandhi Papers, Twelfth and Fourteenth Instalments, NMML.
17. CWMG, [LXXXVII, pp. 452, 464, 526](#); CWMG, [LXXXVIII, p. 103.](#)
18. CWMG, [LXXXVII, p. 514.](#)
19. CWMG, [LXXXVIII, pp. 6-7, 42.](#)
20. CWMG, [LXXXVIII, pp. 99, 112, 164.](#) [an: All India Radio broadcast of Post-Prayer Speech on [1947-06-07](#)]
21. Sant Singh to Major J.M. Short, 9 April 1947, Mss Eur F 189/17, APAC/BL.
22. Evans Jenkins to Gilbert Laithwaite, 25 May 1947, in Mss Eur F 138/161, APAC/BL.
23. CWMG, [LXXXVIII, pp. 209, 313-14, 452-53.](#) [an: All India Radio broadcast of Post-Prayer Speech on [1947-07-10](#); Post-Prayer Speech on [1947-07-28](#)]
24. Nehru, *An Autobiography* (1942 edition), p. 469.
25. Moon to Major J.M. Short, 11 July 1947, in Mss Eur F 189/17, APACIBL.
 There is a voluminous literature on the partition of India; on what caused it, on how it might have been averted. Of these (at least several hundred) books, permit me to mention just three: C.H. Philips and Mary Doreen Wainwright, editors, *The Partition of India: Policies and Perspectives* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1970), valuable for, among other things, its diversity of viewpoints and contributors (including some who witnessed the Partition and its effects first-hand) <gb>; Sucheta Mahajan, *Independence and Partition: The Erosion of Colonial Power in India* (New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2000), a sober, scholarly analysis of the complex forces at work <gb>; and Alex von Tunzelmann, *Indian Summer: The Secret History of the End of an Empire* (New York: Henry Holt, 2007), a fast-paced, vividly written account of the final few months of the British Raj and the birth of the two nations that succeeded it. <gb>
26. See R/3/1/94, AP AC/BL.
27. CWMG, [LXXXVIII, p. 461.](#) [an: All India Radio broadcast of Post-Prayer Speech on [1947-07-29](#)]
28. Chandiwala, *At the Feet of Bapu*, [pp. 169-70.](#)

29. CWMG, [LXXXIX, pp. 7-8](#). [an: A number of notes have LXXXIX listed as the volume. Those have been changed to Volume 89 (LXXXIX) in all the links and in this text, including notes 29 and 32 of Chapter 36 and notes 3, 4, 8, 13 of Chapter 37.]
30. Reports in *TS*, 10, 11 and 12 August 1947.
31. Quoted in Gopalkrishna Gandhi, *A Frank Friendship*, p. 483.
32. CWMG, [LXXXIX, pp. 27, 28, 33-34](#); *TS*, 13 and 14 August 1947. [an: All India Radio broadcast of Post-Prayer Speech on [1947-08-11](#)]
33. Horace Alexander, 'India Achieves Freedom and Gandhi Starts on a New Adventure', four-page transcript, Calcutta, 16 August 1947, in Volume 114, Series 4, Gandhi Papers, Twelfth and Fourteenth Instalments, NMML.
34. Phillips Talbot to Walter S. Rogers, 19 August 1947, Talbot Papers, Centre for South Asian Studies, Cambridge.
35. Mountbatten to Cripps, 9 July 1947, in MB1/E5, Mountbatten Papers, University of Southampton.
36. CWMG, [LXXXIX, p. 21](#).
37. Alexander, 'India Achieves Freedom and Gandhi Starts on a New Adventure'.
38. As reported in *TS*, 20 August 1947.
39. Kanji Dwarkadas to Lord Scarborough, 11 February 1947, Mss Eur F 253/53, APAC/BL.
40. Amrit Kaur to Gandhi, 17 April 1947, in Volume 146, Series 4, Gandhi Papers, Twelfth and Fourteenth Instalments, NMML.
41. Gandhi to Amrit Kaur, Patna, 20 April 1947, CWMG, [LXXXVII, p. 315](#).
42. This (handwritten) letter by Nehru is in the C. Rajagopalachari Papers, NMML.
43. Jagjivan Ram to Gandhi, 9 November 1945, in Volume 19, Series 4, M.K. Gandhi Papers, Twelfth and Fourteenth Instalments, NMML. Cf. also Indrani Jagjivan Ram, *Milestones: A Memoir*, translated from the Hindi by Tara Joshi (New Delhi: Penguin Viking, 2010), p. 122. <gb>
44. Vallabhbhai Patel to B.G. Kher, 1 July 1947, in, Durga Das, editor, *Sardar Patel's Correspondence, 1945-50* (in ten volumes: Ahmedabad: Navajivan Press, 1971-74), Volume V, pp. 149-51.

Chapter Thirty-Seven: The Greatest Fasts

1. See, for example, Bhim Sen Sachar to Gandhi, 12 July 1947, in Volume 61, Series 5, Gandhi Papers, Twelfth and Fourteenth Instalments, NMML.

2. Amrit Kaur to Gandhi, 24 August 1947, in Volume 76, Series 5, Gandhi Papers, Twelfth and Fourteenth Instalments, NMML.
3. CWMG, [LXXXIX, p. 83](#); *Together They Fought*, p. 513.
4. CWMG, [LXXXIX, pp. 126-27, 130-34](#).
5. *TS*, 2 September 1947.
6. Cf. Denis Dalton, *Gandhi: Nonviolent Power in Action* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993). [<gb>](#)
7. Editorial in *TS*, 2 September 1947.
8. CWMG, [LXXXIX, pp. 139-40, 149](#).
9. As reported in Manubehn Gandhi, *The Miracle of Calcutta*, translated from the Gujarati by Gopalrao Kulkarni (Ahmedabad: Navajivan Publishing House, 1959), [pp. 85-86](#). [[an](#): Link to Page 70 of the Ebook Edition]
10. *GBI*, pp. 273-74, 328-29.
11. Reports in *TS*, 4 September 1947.
12. *TS*, 5 September 1947.
13. CWMG, [LXXXIX, pp. 151-154](#); *TS*, 5 and 6 September 1947; Manubehn Gandhi, *The Miracle of Calcutta*, [pp. 88-92](#). [[an](#): Link to Page 77 of the Ebook Edition]
14. Letter of 26 August 1947, original in Volume 161, Series 4, Gandhi Papers, Twelfth and Fourteenth Instalments, NMML.
15. Statement by Abdul Qayum Ansari, President, All-India Momin Conference and a Minister in the Bihar Government, in *Searchlight* (Patna), 7 September 1947, copy in Volume 130, Series 4, Gandhi Papers, Twelfth and Fourteenth Instalments, NMML.
16. Sir Mirza Ismail to Gandhi, 16 September 1947, in Volume 32, Series 4, Gandhi Papers, Twelfth and Fourteenth Instalments, NMML.
17. R.P. Parasuram to N.K. Bose, 15 September 1947, Group 14, Nirmal Kumar Bose Papers, NAI.
18. Vigneshwara (pseudonym), 'Sotto Voce', *Swatantra*, 27 September 1947.
19. *TS*, 10 September 1947.
20. Medha M. Kudaisya, *The Life and Times of G.D. Birla* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2003), pp. 190-91. [<gb>](#)
21. 'Notes by Rajkumari Amrit Kaur on visits to refugee camps in East and West Punjab, 26th to 28th August 1947', in MB1/Q60, Mountbatten Papers, University of Southampton.
22. CWMG, [LXXXIX, pp. 166-68](#).

23. CWMG, [LXXXIX, pp. 173-77.](#) [an: All India Radio broadcast of Post-Prayer Speech on [1947-09-12](#)]
24. Brijlal Nehru to Gandhi, Lahore 18 September 1947, in Volume 63, Series 5, Gandhi Papers, Twelfth and Fourteenth Instalments, NMML (emphasis added).
25. CWMG, [LXXXIX, pp. 179-80, 199-201, 210-11, 388.](#)[an: All India Radio broadcast of Post-Prayer Speech on [1947-09-13](#)]
26. CWMG, [LXXXIX, pp. 253-54.](#) [an: All India Radio broadcast of Post-Prayer Speech on [1947-09-28](#)]
27. CWMG, [LXXXIX, pp. 273, 524-25.](#) [an: All India Radio broadcast of Post-Prayer Speech on [1947-10-02](#)]
28. The clippings from the *Star of India* and the *Morning News*, both dated 2 October 1947, are in Volume 114, Series 4, Gandhi Papers, Twelfth and Fourteenth Instalments, NMML.
29. CWMG, [LXXXIX, p. 307.](#)
30. CWMG, [LXXXIX, pp. 413, 432-33.](#) [an: All India Radio broadcast of Post-Prayer Speech on [1947-10-26](#)] [an: All India Radio broadcast of Post-Prayer Speech on [1947-10-29](#)]
31. 'Note of an interview between H.E. the Governor General, Mr. Gandhi and Lord Ismay on Tuesday, 29th October, 1947', in MB1/E112, Mountbatten Papers, University of Southampton.
32. Nehru's Secretary, H.V.R. Iyengar, summarized this divergence in these words: 'Nehru in many of his public utterances, just like Gandhi, tended to start off by chastising the Hindus and Sikhs and then going on to say that the Muslims were just as bad. Patel, on the other hand, would start off by saying that the Muslims were responsible for all the trouble and then advise the Hindus and Sikhs to hold their hands.'
Iyengar, quoted in A.C.B. Symon, UK High Commissioner, Delhi, to Commonwealth Relations Office, London, 20 January 1948, in DO/142/307, NAUK.
33. J.B. Kripalani, *My Times: An Autobiography* (New Delhi: Rupa, 2004), p. 720. <gb>
34. See Manuben Gandhi, *Last Glimpses of Bapu* (Delhi: Shiva Lal Agarwala and Co., 1962), [p. 16.](#)
35. CWMG, [XC, pp. 37-43.](#) [an: All India Radio broadcast of Post-Prayer Speech on [1947-11-15](#)]
36. CWMG, [XC, pp. 71-73, 79.](#) [an: All India Radio broadcast of Post-Prayer Speech on [1947-11-19](#)]

37. For a moving personal account of these attempts at succour and rehabilitation, see Anis Kidwai, *In Freedom's Shade*, edited and translated by Ayesha Kidwai (New Delhi: Penguin India, 2011). <gb>
38. CWMG, [XC, pp. 191-94](#). [an: All India Radio broadcast of Post-Prayer Speech on [1947-12-07](#)]
39. CWMG, [XC, pp. 215-21](#).
40. CWMG, [XC, pp. 356-57](#). [an: All India Radio broadcast of Post-Prayer Speech on [1948-01-04](#)]
41. Mountbatten to Attlee, 12 September 1947, in MB1/E5, Mountbatten Papers.
42. On the RSS ideology and its role in Indian politics from the 1940s, see, among other works, Jyotirmaya Sharma, *Terrifying Vision: M.S. Golwalkar, the R.S.S., and India* (New Delhi: Penguin India, 2011) <gb>; Gyanendra Pandey, *Remembering Partition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001). <gb>
43. CID Report for 8 and 9 March, 1947, in File 137, Delhi Police Records, Fifth Instalment, NMML.
44. Report in *H*, [28 September 1947](#); CWMG, [LXXXIX, pp. 173-75](#). [an: All India Radio broadcast of Post-Prayer Speech on [1947-09-12](#)]
45. Raghu, 'Whither Mahatma Gandhi?', *Organiser*, 11 September 1947.
46. 'Source Report', 24 October 1947, signed Bhagwan Das Jain, S[tation] I[n]spector], in File 138, Delhi Police Records, Fifth Instalment, NMML.
47. Reports dated 10, 15 and 17 November, in *ibid*.
48. Reports by Kartar Singh, Inspector, CID, 7 and 9 December 1947, in *ibid*.
49. Richard Symonds, 'Gandhi: Some Recollections and Reflections', talk delivered on 3 February 1998, unpublished, copy in the author's possession. Cf. also Symonds, *In the Margins of Independence: A Relief Worker in India and Pakistan, 1942-1949* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2001). <gb>
50. Alan Moorehead, 'Gandhi: A Last Look', *Observer*, 1 February 1948.
51. Amrit Kaur to Rajagopalachari, 1 January 1948, Subject File 57, C. Rajagopalachari Papers, Fifth Instalment, NMML.
52. *HT*, 3 January 1948.
53. *HT*, 11 January 1948. [an: All India Radio broadcast of Post-Prayer Speech on [1948-01-10](#)]
54. CWMG, [XC, pp. 266, 282](#).

55. CWMG, [XC, pp. 408-09](#). [an: All India Radio broadcast of Post-Prayer Speech on [1948-01-12](#)]
56. Manuben Gandhi, *Last Glimpses of Bapu*, [pp. 133-34](#).
57. *HT*, 13 February 1948.
58. Reports in *HT*, 14 January 1948.
59. CWMG, [XC, pp. 413-16](#). [an: All India Radio broadcast of Post-Prayer Speech on [1948-01-13](#)]
60. Reports in *HT*, 15 January 1948.
61. CWMG, [XC, pp. 423-25](#). [an: All India Radio broadcast of Post-Prayer Speech on [1948-01-14](#)]
62. Letter from Sidney Hertzberg, quoted in Hazel Whitman to Louis Fischer, 5 February 1948, in Box 3, Louis Fischer Papers, NYPL.
63. Akhil Anand, 'Let the Old Man Die', *Mainstream*, 5 October 2002.
64. CWMG, [XC, pp. 425-29](#). [an: All India Radio broadcast of Post-Prayer Speech on [1948-01-15](#)]
65. Reports in *HT*, 16 January 1948.
66. Reports in *HT*, 17 January 1948.
67. Letter of 17 January 1948, in C. Rajagopalachari correspondence, Devadas Gandhi Papers, NMML.
68. *HT*, 18 January 1948.
69. CWMG, [XC, pp. 438-40](#). [an: All India Radio broadcast of Post-Prayer Speech on [1948-01-17](#)]
70. Reports in *HT*, 19 January 1948.
71. For a complete list of Gandhi's fasts, see <https://www.gandhiheritageportal.org/chronology/event-chronology-listing>.
72. Gandhi to Mira, 16 January 1948, CWMG, [XC, p. 430](#).

Chapter Thirty-Eight: Martyrdom

1. CWMG, [XC, pp. 438-40](#).
2. *HT*, 19 January 1948.
3. *HT*, 20 January 1948.
4. CWMG, [XC, p. 465](#). [an: All India Radio broadcast of Post-Prayer Speech on [1948-01-20](#)]
5. *HT*, 21 January 1948.
6. *HT*, 28 January 1948.

7. CWMG, [XC, pp. 501-02.](#)
8. Vincent Sheean, *Lead, Kindly Light* (London: Cassell and Co., 1950), [p. 193.](#)
[\[an: All India Radio broadcast of Post-Prayer Speech on 1948-01-27\]](#)
9. See *GBI*, pp. 247-50, 258.
10. Cordes to Gandhi, letters of 6 May and 2 July 1947, in Volume 106, Series 4, Gandhi Papers, Twelfth and Fourteenth Instalments, NMML.
11. Cordes to Gandhi, letters of 13 and 20 December 1947, in Volume 82, Series 5, Gandhi Papers, Twelfth and Fourteenth Instalments, NMML.
12. Cordes to Gandhi, letters of 18 and 20 December 1947, in *ibid.* After Gandhi's assassination in January 1948, Cordes stayed on in Sevagram, until his own death in 1960.
13. Polak to Gandhi, 23 January 1948, Volume 99, Series 5, Gandhi Papers, Twelfth and Fourteenth Instalments, NMML.
14. CWMG, [XC, pp. 526-28.](#)
15. *HT*, 30 January 1948.
16. Manubehn Gandhi, *The End of an Epoch*, translated from the Gujarati by Gopalkrishna Gandhi (Ahmedabad: Navajivan Publishing House, 1962), [pp. 38-39.](#)
17. Chandiwala, *At the Feet of Bapu*, [pp. 249-54.](#) Pyarelal, 'The Fateful Friday', *H*, [15 February 1948.](#)
18. CWMG, [XC, pp. 534-35.](#)
19. These paragraphs draw on 'MAHATMA GANDHI KILLED BY ASSASSIN'S BULLET', front-page story in *HT*, 31 January 1948; Chandiwala, *At the Feet of Bapu*, [pp. 255-56.](#)
20. 'GANDHIJI'S ASSASSIN ARRESTED ON SPOT/LAST SAD MOMENTS AT BIRLA HOUSE', back-page report in *HT*, 31 January 1948.
21. 'THE ASSASSIN', front-page report in *HT*, 31 January 1948.
22. *Tol*, 31 January 1948.
23. Chandiwala, *At the Feet of Bapu*, [pp. 259-60.](#)
24. H.S.L. Polak to P. Kodanda Rao, 27 April 1934, Kodanda Rao Papers, NMML.
25. S[ushila] N[ayar], 'He Lives', *H*, [8 February 1948.](#)
26. Alan Campbell-Johnson, *Mission with Mountbatten* (London: Robert Hale Limited, 1951), p. 278. [<gb>](#)
27. General Sir Roy Bucher to Louis Fischer, 1 December 1948, in Box 2, Louis Fischer Papers, NYPL.

28. This account of the procession and cremation is based on reports in the *HT* and the *Tol*, 1 February 1948.
29. *HT*, 1 February 1948.
30. These paragraphs draw on the tributes reprinted in *India News*, 5 February 1948, issued by the High Commission for India, London, copy in APAC/BL.
31. *Pakistan Times*, 31 January 1948.
32. 'Long Live Gandhiji', *Pakistan Times*, 2 February 1948.
33. See A.H. Ahmed Kamal, 'The Assassination of Gandhi and the Early Signs of Crisis of Muslim Nationalism in East Bengal', in Sekhar Bandyopadhyay, *Decolonization and the Politics of Transition in South Asia* (Hyderabad: Orient Blackswan, 2016).
34. See copy of speech in MB 1/Q60, Mountbatten Papers, University of Southampton.
35. Wavell, *Viceroy's Journal*, [p. 439](#).
36. Reprinted in *India News*, 5 February 1948, issued by the High Commission for India, London, copy in AP AC/BL.
37. *Vegetarian News*, Summer 1948.
38. The tributes by Blum and Smuts were reprinted in *India News*, 5 February 1948.
39. Edgar Snow, 'The Message of Gandhi', *Saturday Evening Post*, 27 March 1948.
40. Greenberg, *The Inner Eye*, pp. 137-41.
41. See *Politics*, Winter 1948, pp. 1-7.
42. A. Dfyakov, 'The Assassination of Gandhi', *New Times* (Moscow), 18 February 1948.
43. See M.V. Kamath, *A Reporter at Large* (Mumbai: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 2002), pp. 238-39. [<gb>](#)
44. Vasant Moon, *Growing up Untouchable in India: A Dalit Autobiography*, translated from the Marathi by Gail Omvedt (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield, 2001), pp. 105-06. [<gb>](#)
45. R.P. Parasuram to N.K. Bose, 15 September 1947, Group 14, Nirmal Kumar Bose Papers, NAI.
46. J.R.D. Tata to Ardeshir Dalal, 6 February 1948, in Arvind Mambro, editor, *J. R. D. Tata: Letters* (New Delhi: Rupa and Co., 2004), pp. 114-15. [<gb>](#)
47. Reports in *Tol*, 14 February 1948; Bimanesh Chatterjee, *Thousand Days with Rajaji* (New Delhi: Orient Paperbacks, 1975), p. 9. [<gb>](#)

48. *The Free Press Journal*, 13 February 1948, clipping in Box 3, Louis Fischer Papers, NYPL.
49. Statement of Prabhakar Trimbak Marathe, recorded on 5 February 1948, in Subject File No. 18, D.P. Mishra Papers, First and Second Instalments, NMML. Marathe was married to Nathuram's sister.
50. *PRMGMC*, Volume V, pp. 17-20. These letters were originally written in Marathi.
51. *PRMGMC*, Volume IV, pp. 202-16.
52. See K.L. Gauba, *The Assassination of Mahatma Gandhi* (Bombay: Jaico Publishing House, 1969), p. 383. <gb>
53. See Gopal Godse, *Gandhiji's Murder and After*, translated from the Marathi by S.T. Godbole (Delhi: Surya Prakashan, 1989), p. 171. <gb>
54. *PRMGMC*, Volume IV, pp. 89-123.
55. See *PRMGMC*, Volume II, pp. 12-21.
56. Diary entry of 31 January 1948, Box 60, Malcolm Darling Papers, CSAS, Cambridge.
57. Cf. Clive Dewey's *Anglo-Indian Attitudes: The Mind of the Indian Civil Service* (London: Hambledon Press, 1993). <gb>
58. See the correspondence between Nehru and Patel in Durga Das, editor, *Sardar Patel's Correspondence*, Volume VI, pp. 8-31.
59. See Guha, *India After Gandhi*, especially Chapters 3 to 6.
60. A.C.B. Symon, UK High Commissioner, New Delhi, to Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, nine-page report dated 4 February 1948, in D01142/307, NAUK.
61. C. Rajagopalachari, *University Addresses* (Bombay: Hind Kitab Ltd, 1949), p. 75. The speech was delivered on 20 March. <gb>
62. *CWVG*, [IX, p. 175](#). To be sure, there was one (not insignificant) difference. In 1909, Gandhi faced a possible assassination attempt from Pathans opposed to his policies. In 1948, it was a Hindu, not a Muslim, who killed him. Even so, the prediction of the likely consequences of his meeting a violent death is uncanny.

Epilogue: Gandhi in Our Time

1. *CWVG*, [XXV, p. 202](#).
2. See A.G. Noorani, *The Babri Masjid Question 1528-2003: A Matter of National Honour*, two volumes (New Delhi: Tulika Books, 2003). <gb>

3. Personal communication from Gopalkrishna Gandhi, who was told this story by Dr Nayar herself.
4. Cf. <https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/hindu-mahasabha-launchesa-website-for-nathuram-godse/article7880713.ece> (accessed on 24 April 2016). [an: Mohammad Ali, 'Hindu Mahasabha launches a website for Nathuram Godse', *The Hindu*, November 25, 2015]
5. Cf. Anil Nauriya, 'Portrait as Mirror', *The Hindu*, 3 March 2003.
6. See <https://www.hindustantimes.com/india-news/in-new-rajasthan-textbooks-veer-savarkar-overshadows-gandhi-and-nehru/story-NGzReSVik2uLKCRQDAsQ5l.html> (accessed on 4 July 2017). [an: Salik Ahmad, 'In new Rajasthan textbooks, Veer Savarkar overshadows Gandhi and Nehru', *Hindustan Times*, June 9, 2017.]
7. See, for example, this discourse by an Arya Samaj preacher: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ec8JxbBq5eM> (accessed on 3 July 2017).
8. Unfortunately, I did not retain a clipping of the newspaper in which I read this interview. It was probably published in the *Times of India* or the *Indian Express*.
9. Cf. Nandini Sundar, *The Burning Forest: [an: A Savage War in the Heart of India India's War in Bastar]* (New Delhi: Juggernaut, 2016). <gb>
10. See <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZJs-BJoSzbo> (accessed on 25 April 2016).
11. Joachim Alva, *Men and Supermen of Hindustan* (Bombay: Thacker and Co., 1943), p. 20.
12. Talk by Horace Alexander at the Royal Institute of International Affairs, 9 March 1944, Temp Mss 577/11, Friends House, Euston.
13. See R.S. Khare, *The Untouchable as Himself: Identity, Ideology and Pragmatism among the Lucknow Chamars* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), pp. 119-20. <gb>
14. Cf. Eleanor Zelliot, *From Untouchable to Dalit: Essays on the Ambedkar Movement* (Delhi: Manohar, 1992). <gb>
15. Representative of this new Ambedkarism is the website www.roundtableindia.in (which describes itself as being 'for an informed Ambedkar age'). [an: Corrected URL is www.roundtableindia.co.in]
16. Arun Shourie, *Worshipping False Gods* (New Delhi: ASA Publications, 1997), p. 3. <gb>
17. *Ibid.*, p. 102.

18. Ibid., pp. 43, 64, 229.
19. *Tol*, 25 October 1934.
20. Quoted in *Tol*, 25 September 1940.
21. Rosalind O'Hanlon, *Caste, Class and Ideology: Jotirao Phule and Low-Caste Protest in Nineteenth Century Western India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985) <gb>; Mark Juergensmeyer, *Religion as Social Vision: The Movement Against Untouchability in Twentieth Century Punjab* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982). <gb>
22. Arundhati Roy, 'The Doctor and the Saint', pp. 15-179 in S. Anand, editor, *B.R. Ambedkar, Annihilation of Caste: The Annotated Critical Edition* (New Delhi: Navayana, 2014). <gb>
23. The growing radicalization of Gandhi's views on caste and the abolition of untouchability was first set out in Dennis Dalton, 'The Gandhian View of Caste, and Caste After Gandhi', in Philip Mason, *India and Ceylon: Unity and Diversity* (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), a superb if now little-known essay that should be required reading for all students of the subject. <gb> Cf. also Nishikant Kolge, *Gandhi Against Caste* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2017). <gb>
24. CWMG, [LVIII, pp. 166-67.](#)
25. *The Free Press Journal*, 27 June 1935. [AN: Article by J.A. Spender.]
26. See Gopal Guru, 'Ethics in Ambedkar's Critique of Gandhi', *Economic and Political Weekly*, [15 April 2017.](#)
27. D.R. Nagaraj, *The Flaming Feet* (first published in 1983; second edition, Ranikhet: Permanent Black, 2011). <gb>
28. CWMG, [LXXXII, p. 362.](#)
29. Cf. Madhu Kishwar, 'Gandhi [AN: and on] Women', in two parts, *Economic and Political Weekly*, [5](#) and [12 October 1985.](#)
30. Notes by S.A. Brelvi, 8 August 1932, SN 19603, SAAA.
31. John Gunther, *Inside Asia* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1939), [pp. 404-05.](#)
32. See CWMG, [XLIV, p. 71.](#)
33. See, among other works, Tariq Ali, *The Duel: Pakistan on the Flight Path of American Power* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2008) <gb>; Farzana Shaikh, *Making Sense of Pakistan* (London: C. Hurst and Co., 2009). <gb>
34. Of this cohort of Gandhi's direct disciples, Vallabhbhai Patel died earliest, in 1950. Jawaharlal Nehru lived on till May 1964, having been prime minister for close to seventeen years at the time of his death. Maulana Azad died in 1958, Amrit Kaur in 1964; both served in Nehru's Cabinet for

more than a decade. Rajendra Prasad demitted office as President of the Republic only in 1962, dying the next year. Of those in the Opposition and in civil society, Kumarappa passed away in 1960, Rajaji in 1973, Kripalani in 1982 and Kamaladevi as late as 1988.

35. Cf. Anil Nauriya, *The African Element in Gandhi* (New Delhi: National Gandhi Museum, 2006).
36. See Susan Williams, *Colour Bar: The Triumph of Seretse Khama and His Nation* (London: Allen Lane, 2006), Chapter 11. <gb>
37. See Leo Kuper, *Passive Resistance in South Africa* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957). <gb>
38. Richard Crockatt, *Einstein and Twentieth-Century Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), p. 19. <gb>
39. Ronald W. Clark, *Einstein: The Life and Times* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1973), pp. 498, 581. <gb>
In May 1953, Einstein wrote to a Brooklyn schoolteacher who asked his opinion of the McCarthyite hearings: 'Frankly, I can only see the revolutionary way of non-cooperation in the sense of Gandhi's. Every individual who is called before one of these communities ought to refuse to testify.' See Walter Isaacson, *Einstein: His Life and Universe* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2007), p. 529. <gb>
For a detailed analysis of Einstein's views on Gandhi, from the 1920s to the 1950s, see Bhikhu Parekh, 'Einstein on Gandhi's Non-Violence', in his *Debating India: Essays on Indian Political Discourse* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2015). <gb>
40. Italo Calvino, 'IL Duce's Portraits', *New Yorker*, [6 January 2003](#).
41. Malcolm Muggeridge, *Tread Softly, for You Tread on My Jokes* (London: Fontana, 1968), p. 187. <gb>
42. J.R. Glorney Bolton to Gandhi, 2 August 1931, Subject File 82, Gandhi Papers, First and Second Instalments, NMML.
43. BC, 9 November 1935.
44. On the Chipko movement, see Guha, *The Unquiet Woods*, Chapter 7; on the Narmada movement, see Amita Baviskar, *In the Belly of the River: Tribal Conflicts over Development in the Narmada Valley* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1995). <gb>
45. Rajni Bakshi, *Bapu Kuti: Journeys in Rediscovery of Gandhi* (New Delhi: Penguin India, 1998) <gb>; Ela Bhatt, *We Are So Poor, But So Many: The Story of Self-Employed Women in India* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005). <gb>

46. Savarirayan Jesudason, 'Bapu', in Chandrashanker Shukla, editor, *Reminiscences of Gandhiji* (Bombay: Vora and Co., 1951), [an: p. 482 130.]
47. The tragedy of the Rohingyas is further proof of the relevance of Gandhi's ideas in this regard. Notably, while Aung San Suu Kyi has been reluctant to take on the fundamentalists of her own faith, the Dalai Lama has not been lacking in courage in this regard. The Tibetan leader has thus shown himself to be a better Gandhian, as well as a better Buddhist, than his counterpart in Myanmar. It is noble and brave to lead a non-violent struggle against an oppressive state; but perhaps nobler, and braver, to display compassion towards, and express solidarity with, those oppressed by one's own community.
48. 'Discussion with a Capitalist', *YI*, 20 December 1928, CWMG, XXXVIII, p. 243.
49. 'The Same Old Argument', *YI*, 7 October 1926, CWMG, [an: volume 31, XXXI,] p. 478f.
50. Muthukumara Mani, editor, *Greening India's Growth: Costs, Valuations, and Trade-Offs* (New Delhi: Routledge, 2013). <gb>
51. See Venu Madhav Govindu and Deepak Malghan, *The Web of Freedom: J. C. Kumarappa and Gandhi's Struggle for Economic Justice* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2016). <gb>
52. 'Reflections on Gandhi' (first published in 1949), reprinted in George Orwell, *Essays*, selected and introduced by John Carey (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2002), p. 1357. <gb>
53. Quoted in Joseph Epstein, *Friendship: An Expose* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2006), p. 71. <gb>
54. Reginald Reynolds, *To Live in Mankind: A Quest for Gandhi* (London: Andre Deutsch, 1951), p. 18 (emphasis in the original). <gb>

III. Annotator's Afterword

Sri Ramachandra Guha, Historian

[@Ram_Guha](#)

ramachandraguha.in

Bengaluru, Karnataka

Dear Ram Bhai:

Your latest book on Gandhi, covering the years that changed the world, has received so many rave reviews, such complimentary plaudits from so many noted scholars, my own fulsome praise can only be a drop in an overflowing bucket. The book is a truly fundamental work, exhaustively researched and beautifully written. It is a book for the ages.

I began reading the book in October while traveling through India. It was my constant companion for several weeks. I remember sitting at a bar in Bengaluru, drinking a beer and reading your book intently with pen in hand. The bartender approached me and asked “”Sir, are you a professor?” I'm sure I'm the only person who ever sat at that bar reading a 1,000 page book and I smiled and responded “Not anymore, but I am still a student. Are you?” We had a long discussion about your book, about Mahadev Desai, about Dr. Ambedkar and Sardar Patel and Tilak and Nehru, and of course about Gandhiji and his amazing connection with people.

As I read your book, I also read the footnotes very carefully and was struck by how many of your sources were already available on-line. Of course, your exhaustive research in archives around the world is not (at least yet) available for people to access without undertaking the research you have performed so ably over the course of so many years. Likewise, very few in this world have your unparalleled knowledge of Gandhiji and India, nor your sure grasp of the long arc of history.

Despite that, it struck me that it might be useful for people making a careful study of your book to be able to click into those sources that are available and dig deeper. If you quote a post-prayer meeting speech that Gandhiji delivered, perhaps a reader might wish to click into the *Collected Works* to read the full speech, or to see what letters the Mahatma wrote that day, or what visits he made the next, or even perhaps to listen to the *All India Radio* recording of that speech.

With that thought in mind, as an experiment, I removed your footnotes from my dog-eared copy, scanned them, and ran them through Optical Character Recognition (OCR). After a week fixing the OCR, I tried linking the cites to the [Collected Works](#) which I had posted in my [Hind Swaraj collection](#) on the Internet

Archive. Because the page number and volume number of each book had been made part of the Internet address, I was able to quickly add links to all 999 citations to the *Collected Works* in your footnotes. Let me add how astonished I was that you had 999 citations! This is truly a work of massive scholarship you have produced.

Over the next weeks, I became obsessed with this project, buying and scanning books I didn't have that were out of copyright, looking for on-line sources, and carrying around a printout of your footnotes with me at all times.

Why might one undertake such a project? It is because I think it shows the vast potential of the Internet if we are somehow able to move beyond today's world of Twitter trolls, WhatsApp fake news, and all else that is wrong with our net today. If somebody say something and cites a source, would it not be nice to be able to easily go read that source? And, what better place to demonstrate place to demonstrate this than a work such as yours that so carefully documents the sources behind your narrative?

I believe universal access to all human knowledge is the great unmet promise of our times, but we must try much harder if we are to realize that promise. Knowledge has become colonized, and all too often access to knowledge is a matter of access to money. We can do better.

Access to knowledge is crucial to our future. Only by educating ourselves, by becoming an informed citizenry, can we reassert ownership of our democracies and begin to address the great challenges facing our societies today. Environmental carnage, poverty, disease, bigotry, religious intolerance, growing economic inequality, access to justice only if you have access to money, these are all issues that faced India during the fight for liberation and they are all issues we face in India and the world today. Without knowledge we cannot become a better society, a more just democracy. We cannot realize the hope for a better world that fueled the fight for liberation and should fuel our struggles today.

That knowledge has become colonized is not an inevitable outcome, it didn't have to be like this. We can change that, but only with great effort, only with continuous struggle. The Internet was built on the end-to-end principle, a decentralized net where anybody could run a service on their computer or invent a new way of communicating. We do not have to depend on unfeeling centralized monoliths like Facebook who use us as a product and sell the details of our lives to the highest bidder, to those that wish to meddle in our elections. This is not the Internet that could be, nor the Internet that we wished for when we set out to build the Internet.

When I say knowledge has been colonized, I mean more than the clouds and centralized services. I mean the very core of knowledge. Scientists should not have to depend on a few Western corporations (ironically enough, many of them based in England) to access the scientific knowledge that has been colonized by those modern-day East India Companies. Scientists have become the new Indigo farmers. Journals are the new railroads they use to ship their raw materials off to London, and are then forced to buy back absurdly-priced finished goods to sow their next crop of knowledge.

Did you know that schools like Jawaharlal Nehru University spend far more on journal subscriptions than they do on support for all their graduate students? Many regional schools do not have access to even the basics a bright student would need to educate herself. Services like Sci-Hub are but unlicensed salt factories on the edge of the ocean of knowledge. Access to knowledge is as essential to salt for human life.

Linking your book to the other books you cite is but a small demonstration of the potential before us. Perhaps it is a trivial exercise, but I view it as a symbolic act. But for me, it shows us the road ahead. Imagine if we set out to scan the vast resources in the libraries of India? What if we set ourselves a goal of scanning three million books a year to build a true Public Library of India within a decade, a library with three crore books in all the languages of India. Nobody else will do that for India, India must do it for itself or it will not happen.

If we build that library, what if we also set out to make access to the Internet a universal right throughout the country, in all the villages and to all the people? What if the right to education and the practice your profession and the right to live were coupled with the right to knowledge became a reality, not just aspirational goals? We should set off down that road, we should make that crooked path straight.

I know that the footnotes to your books are not enough to reach that shining city on the hill, but perhaps they are a stepping stone. I did this project without disclosing it to you, only recently informing you what I was doing. Indeed, I did not ask your permission or authorization, but I dearly hope to have your blessing.

Thank you so much for writing your amazing book.

With best regards and great admiration,

Carl Malamud

New Delhi

December 22, 2018

IV. Transformation of the Notes

The following steps were undertaken for this transformation:

- The footnotes from the Indian (Penguin) edition were removed from the binding and scanned.
- The document was deskewed and run through Optical Character Recognition.
- The footnotes were put back into lists. Bad line breaks (hyphens) were manually examined.
- Italics were not detected during OCR, they were manually put back in.
- Typography (single quotes, double quotes, em dashes, en dashes) were manually examined and fixed.
- Links were added to the *Collected Works*. Minor inconsistencies in formatting were fixed.
- All internal links (e.g., YouTube, web sites) were checked. Links to periodicals without metadata were annotated.
- A number of books that were out of copyright were purchased and added to the Hind Swaraj collection.
- Links to commercial sites that have permanent archives (such as *Economic and Political Weekly*, *Time*, and *New York Times*) were added.
- A number of books and journals were added to the Hind Swaraj collection from sources such as the [Gandhi Heritage Portal](#).
- The [Public Library of India](#) collection was mined to add links to many books and periodicals.
- Links to Google Books were added for books still in copyright.
- Footnotes were made individual addressable by chapter and footnote in the following form: [Chapter01_Note01](#).

V. Gandhi Jayanti 150 Challenge

October 2, 2019 will be Gandhi Jayanti 150, a celebration of the 150th birth anniversary of Mohandas K. Gandhi. Throughout the year from October 2, 2018 to October 2, 2019, people throughout India and the world will be conducting activities to celebrate the legacy and spirit of Gandhiji.

We have set ourselves the task for making as many more of the links in these *Notes of Guha on Gandhi Annotated* to be live links, allowing people throughout the world to research the underlying materials that Ramachandra Guha drew upon

in creating his magisterial biography of the Mahatma.

The following materials not yet linked have been identified as being of particular importance:

- Archives from the *Times of India*, *Bombay Chronicle*, *Hindustan Times* and many other periodicals
- The *Printed Record of the Mahatma Gandhi Murder Case* is available in the rare books collection of the [U.S. Law Library of Congress](#), which has declined a request to digitize the work because of copyright worries. We believe this document has fallen out of copyright and would like a law student in India to help us appeal their decision and/or obtain appropriate permissions from governmental authorities to convince the Library of Congress that duplication would be authorized.
- The series Nicholas Mansergh, editor, *Constitutional Relations Between Britain and India: The Transfer of Power, 1942-47*, is held by [The National Archives](#) of the United Kingdom. In addition, [Hathi Trust](#) has 10 of the volumes, but has not made them available because of copyright concerns. We believe a letter from Her Majesty's Printer (which is part of The National Archives) would be sufficient to persuade the Hathi Trust to make these documents freely available and a request has been sent to The National Archives requesting as such.
- The [Hon'ble Sabarmati Ashram](#) runs the acclaimed [Gandhi Heritage Portal](#), which makes available a number of key texts. Unfortunately, the texts are made available only as low-resolution bitmaps with burnt in watermarks and copyright assertions. We have respectfully requested to the Sabarmati Ashram that policies be changed to make available high-resolution scans without watermarks and are hoping for their consideration of this request.
- A large number of government reports are cited that would be quite useful to have online. Many of them are only available by visits to archives. Indeed, should not all works of government be made available more broadly?
- A number of old books published by Navajivan Trust are no longer available in print and are unobtainable on the used book markets. We are seeking assistance to locate and digitize those materials to make them broadly available as part of the important historical record. An example is the 10 volumes of *Sardar Patel's Correspondence*, edited by Durga Das and published by the Navajivan Press from 1971 to 1974.
- The [Nehru Memorial Museum & Library](#) has a large number of pertinent documents and we would be obliged for their forbearance so that we might

be able to enter discussions with this august institution on any assistance we may be able to provide in efforts to digitize these materials.

- There are a number of books listed in the preceding notes which are out of print but in copyright. We are requesting permission from publishers such as Rupa, Oxford, UC Berkeley and others in the hope they might permit us to purchase the books on the used market and post them for non-commercial use. We would be pleased to acknowledge their consideration on the item description and provide a link back for readers to purchase their other fine works of scholarship that are still in print.
- Some materials are available on-line today, but the scans are so poor and the material so important that they must be redone. A good example are the issues of *Young India*, which provide an amazing example to today's "bloggers" on how prolific and effective a communicator Gandhiji was.
- In my travels throughout India over the last few years (as well as in several decades of such work in the United States), I have noticed a reluctance of keepers of archives to making them fully available for people to read. The reluctance seems to be based on fear, fear that bad people will do bad things by distorting the words of those historical figures for whom the archivists are the guardians. But, one cannot keep bad people from doing bad things, one can only set a better example by shining the bright light of truth. Holding back archives only gives those who to promulgate untruth the only microphone in the house. Building a better web site, making the full archives available, that is the only way to fix fake news. When somebody says something wrong, you can point to the full text in context, you can point to the full works, to all the photos, audio, and video. People are smart and when they see one bad quote on WhatsApp, but they know that the complete works are available from the authoritative source, they will believe the source. My hope in 2019 is to continue that dialogue with the gatekeepers of India and around the world to encourage them, [in the words of John Adams](#), to set every sluice of knowledge a-flowing.

VI. Caveats and Disclaimers

This work was conducted without prior approval from the author or the publisher of the book. Please be clear that neither Carl Malamud nor Public Resource assert any copyright over the underlying notes and other materials that are rightfully the property and creation of the publisher. Likewise, we do not assert any copyright over our own efforts in this regard and release any intellectual property to which we might be entitled to into the public domain.

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