Notes of Guha on Gandhi Annotated

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Contents

I. Guha’s Gandhi
II. Notes of Guha on Gandhi
   ◦ Abbreviations Used in the Notes
   ◦ Preface
   ◦ Chapter One: The Returning Hero
   ◦ Chapter Two: Coming out in Banaras
   ◦ Chapter Three: Three Experiments in Satyagraha
   ◦ Chapter Four: Going National
   ◦ Chapter Five: The Personal and the Political
   ◦ Chapter Six: Capturing the Congress
   ◦ Chapter Seven: The Rise and Fall of Non-Cooperation
   ◦ Chapter Eight: The Mahatma from Above and Below
   ◦ Chapter Nine: Prisoner Number 827
   ◦ Chapter Ten: Picking up the Pieces
   ◦ Chapter Eleven: Spinning in Sabarmati
   ◦ Chapter Twelve: The Moralist
   ◦ Chapter Thirteen: The Memoirist
   ◦ Chapter Fourteen: Once More into the Fray
   ◦ Chapter Fifteen: Father, Son, Holy Spirit
   ◦ Chapter Sixteen: The March to the Sea
   ◦ Chapter Seventeen: The Prison and the World
   ◦ Chapter Eighteen: Parleys with Proconsuls
   ◦ Chapter Nineteen: At Home in London
   ◦ Chapter Twenty: Arguments with Ambedkar
   ◦ Chapter Twenty-One: Shaming the Hindus
   ◦ Chapter Twenty-Two: A Second Sabbatical
Chapter Twenty-Three: From Rebels to Rulers
Chapter Twenty-Four: The World Within, and Without
Chapter Twenty-Five: (Re)capturing the Congress
Chapter Twenty-Six: One Nation, or Two?
Chapter Twenty-Seven: Pilgrimages to Gandhi
Chapter Twenty-Eight: Somewhere between Conflict and Cooperation
Chapter Twenty-Nine: Towards ‘Quit India’
Chapter Thirty: A Bereavement and a Fast
Chapter Thirty-One: The Death of Kasturba
Chapter Thirty-Two: Picking up the Pieces (Again)
Chapter Thirty-Three: Prelude to Partition
Chapter Thirty-Four: Marching for Peace
Chapter Thirty-Five: The Strangest Experiment
Chapter Thirty-Six: Independence and Division
Chapter Thirty-Seven: The Greatest Fasts
Chapter Thirty-Eight: Martyrdom
Epilogue: Gandhi in Our Time

III. Annotator’s Afterword
IV. Transformation of the Notes
V. Gandhi Jayanti 150 Challenge
VI. Caveats and Disclaimers
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]
- Published by Penguin for distribution in India [Amazon.in]
- Published by Allen Lane for distribution in Europe [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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Explanation</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ABP</td>
<td>Amrita Bazar Patrika (newspaper published from Calcutta)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Autobiography</td>
<td>M.K. Gandhi, <em>An Autobiography, or the Story of My Experiments with Truth</em>, 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.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APAC/BL</td>
<td>Asia, Pacific and Africa Collections, British Library, London</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BC</td>
<td>Bombay Chronicle (newspaper published from Bombay)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>Dawn (newspaper published from Delhi till 1947, and later from Karachi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FR</td>
<td>Fortnightly Report</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GoI</td>
<td>Government of India</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>Harijan (weekly published from Ahmedabad)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HT</td>
<td>Hindustan Times (newspaper published from Delhi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IAR</td>
<td>Indian Annual Register (edited by H.N. Mitra, and published from Calcutta from 1919 to 1947)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MSA</td>
<td>Maharashtra State Archives, Mumbai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MG</td>
<td>Manchester Guardian (newspaper published from Manchester, predecessor of Guardian)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>Navajivan (weekly published from Ahmedabad)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NAI</td>
<td>National Archives of India, New Delhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NAUK</td>
<td>National Archives of the United Kingdom, Kew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NMML</td>
<td>Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NYPL</td>
<td>New York Public Library, New York</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRMGMC</td>
<td>Printed Record of the Mahatma Gandhi Murder Case (in the High Court of Judicature for the Province of East Punjab at Simla), eight volumes, in the Rare Book Collection, Law Library, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PSV</td>
<td>Private Secretary to Viceroy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SN</td>
<td>Serial Number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAAA</td>
<td>Sabarmati Ashram Archives, Ahmedabad</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Preface

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.
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.’

Chapter One: The Returning Hero

2. CWMG, XII, pp. 507, 521.

4. *Autobiography*, Part IV, Chapter XXXVIII.


7. See *GBI*, pp. 135-37, 193-94.


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.


16. See GBI, pp. 342-44.

17. Narandas Gandhi to Chhaganlal Gandhi, 21 January 1915, S.N. 6114, SAAA.


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.


27. Japaan to Chhaganlal Gandhi, 6 March 1915, S.N. 6161, SAAA.


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.


36. ‘Mr. Gandhi’s Visit’, *St. Stephen’s College Magazine*, number 32, April 1915.


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.


49. The family home of Mangaldas Girdhardas in Ahmedabad has now been converted into a splendid heritage hotel named ‘House of MG’.


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.


55. Robin Lane Fox, *Augustine: Conversions to Confessions* (London: Allen Lane, 2015), pp. 107, 111, 336, etc. <gb>


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.


Chapter Two: Coming out in Banaras


2. As reported in the Pioneer, 6 February 1916.


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).


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.


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.


15. Hardinge, My Indian Years, pp. 79-81.

16. CWMG, XIII, pp. 244-45.


20. Gandhi to Narhar Shambhurao Bhave, 7 June 1916, CWMG, XIII, p. 279.
22. CWMG, XIII, pp. 303-04.
23. Polak to Kallenbach, 18 November 1916, Kallenbach Papers, NAI.
26. See Wolpert, Jinnah of Pakistan, Chapter 4.
29. Ruttie Petit to Padmaja Naidu, 7 January 1917, in Padmaja Naidu Papers, NMML.

Chapter Three: Three Experiments in Satyagraha

3. Autobiography, Part V, Chapter XII.


16. See *Select Documents*, pp. 68-78.


19. Herbert Cox, Secretary, Bihar Planters’ Association, to L.F. Morshead, Commissioner, Tirhut Division, 28 April 1918, in *Select Documents*, pp. 95-96.


22. *CWMG*, XIV, pp. 542-44.


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.


31. *Autobiography*, Part IV, Chapter XXI.


36. Parikh, *Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Volume 1*, Chapter IX.


38. Bombay Government, fortnightly report for second half of January 1918, in Proceedings No. 18 of May 1918, Home Department (Political-Deposit), NAI.


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.


53. *DTDG*, I, pp. 84, 92-93.


55. *CWMG*, XIV, pp. 369-70.


63. *CWMG*, XV, pp. 21-23.


65. H.S.L. Polak to Mahadev Desai, 20 February 1919, SN 6428, SAAA.

66. Gandhi to Harilal, 1 May 1918, *CWMG*, XIV, p. 385. For this and later letters between Gandhi and Harilal, I have sometimes supplemented the *CWMG* version with that found in Mahadev Desai’s diaries.


71. *DTDG*, I, pp. 100-01.


73. C.M.C. Marsham, Superintendent of Police, Champaran, to L.F. Morshead, Commissioner, Tirhut Division, 12 September 1917, in *Select Documents*, p. 333.


76. Gandhi to H.S.L. Polak, 8 March 1918, *CWMG*, XIV, p. 245.


### Chapter Four: Going National


5. Ibid., p. 193.


10. Secretary of State to Viceroy, 10 October 1918; Viceroy to Secretary of State, 19 November 1918, both in Mss Eur E 264/4, APAC/BL.


13. Jamnadas Dwarkadas to Annie Besant, 27 February 1919, in Reel 11, Annie Besant Papers, NMML.

14. CWMG, XV, pp. 102-03, 125-26. Gandhi called his youngest son 'Devdas', but the son himself spelt his name 'Devadas'.


20. CWMG, XV, pp. 128-66.


22. Banerjee to Sir William Vincent, 3 April 1919, in Progs Nos 141-47, May 1919, in Home (Political-B), NAI.

23. CWMG, XV, pp. 183-86.


26. See Progs Nos 284-300, April 1919, Home (Political-B), NAI.

27. CWMG, XV, pp. 190-203.


30. CWMG, XV, pp. 207-08; Desai, DTDG, II, p. 25.

31. Progs Nos 514-15, May 1919, Home (Political-B), NAI.


33. Gandhi to PSV, 14 April 1919, CWMG, XV, pp. 218-20.
34. CWMG, XV, pp. 220-24.
36. Gandhi to Tagore, 5 April 1919; Tagore to Gandhi, 12 April 1919, CWMG, XV, pp. 179-80, 495-96.
40. Mss Eur F 137/13, APAC/BL.
41. Gandhi to J.L. Maffey, 16 May 1919, CWMG, XV, p. 311.
42. CWMG, XV, pp. 354-62, 445-49.
43. DTDG, II, p. 40.
44. CWMG, XV, pp. 399-400; XV, pp. 28-29.
45. CWMG, XVI, pp. 3-4.
47. Letter to Private Secretary to Governor of Bombay, 25 August 1919, CWMG, XVI, pp 60-62.
49. A copy of this petition was provided to me by the Gandhi scholar and collector E.S. Reddy.
50. Minault, The Khilafat Movement, pp. 32-34.
51. Abdul Bari to Gandhi, Lucknow, 27 April 1919, SN 6567, SAAA.
52. See CWMG, XVI, pp. 90-91.
53. CWMG, XVI, pp. 151-52.
54. ‘Turkey’, Navajivan, 7 September 1919, CWMG, XVI, pp. 104-05.
55. CWMG, XVI, pp. 226-27.
56. George Lloyd to Lord Halifax, 1 November 1919, in Mss Eur B 158, APAC/BL.
57. Preface to CWMG, XVI, p. ix, unsigned, but this assessment is most likely the work of C.N. Patel, the editor of the Gujarati section of the Collected Works.

58. CWMG, XVI, pp. 221-22.

59. CWMG, XVI, pp. 180-81.


62. CWMG, XIII, p. 316.

63. This account of Gandhi’s visits to Lahore, Amritsar and other places in the Punjab is based on CWMG, XVI, pp. 283, 286-87, 296-97, etc.

64. BC, 30 October 1919.


66. Minault, The Khilafat Movement, p. 82.


68. GBI, p. 43.

Chapter Five: The Personal and the Political

1. CWMG, XVI, pp. 512-13, 516.
2. Gandhi to Maganlal, c. 23 January 1920, CWMG, XVI, pp. 496-97.
3. CWMG, XVI, p. 517.
4. CWMG, XVII, pp. 29-33.
5. CWMG, XVII, p. 56f.
6. CWMG, XVII, pp. 53-54; Source Material, Vol. III, pp. 251-52. [an: Part 1?]
7. YI, 11 February 1920.

10. CWMG, XVII, pp. 73-75.

11. CWMG, XVII, pp. 75, 105-07.


15. For more details, see Ian Bryant Well, Jinnah’s Early Politics: Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity (Delhi: Permanent Black, 2005), Chapter 5. <gb>

16. C.F. Andrews to Gandhi, letters of 16 November 1919 and 8 September 1920, SN 6979 and SN 7245 respectively, SAAA (emphasis in the original).

17. Nanda, Gandhi: Pan-Islamism, Imperialism and Nationalism in India, pp. 211, 374.


22. CWMG, XVII, p. 71.


27. Gandhi to Saraladevi, 2 May 1920, CWMG, XVII, pp. 374-76.


31. Progs No. 19 for July 1920, Home (Political-B), NAI.

32. CWMG, XVII, pp. 502-04.

33. CWMG, XVIII, pp. 4-7, 55-57.

34. Reports in BC, 30 July 1920.
Chapter Six: Capturing the Congress

1. 'Mr. Montagu's Threat', [an: ¥f, N,] 1 August 1920, CWMG, XVIII, pp. 100-02.
2. Chelmsford to Montagu, 4 August 1920, Mss Eur E 26416, APAC IBL.
3. CWMG, XVIII, pp. 143ff.
5. Gandhi to C.F. Andrews, 23 August 1920, CWMG, XVIII, p. 190.
8. CWMG, XVIII, pp. 191, 193-94.
10. ABP, issues of 2, 3 and 4 September 1920.
11. See Gopalkrishna Gandhi, A Frank Friendship, p. 75.
13. CWMG, XVIII, pp. 245-49, 260.
17. IAR, 1920, pp. 131-35. [an: Unclear which part of 1920 this one refers to.]
18. Mahadev Desai to Devadas Gandhi, 22 November 1920, SN 7351, SAAA.
19. Gandhi to Muhammad Iqbal, c. 27 November 1920, CWMG, XIX, p. 34.
20. Muhammad Iqbal to Gandhi, 29 November 1920, SN 7361, SAAA.
21. CWMG, XVIII, pp. 373-77.
25. S. O’Brien to Gandhi, Cannanore, Malabar, 1 January 1921, SN 7427, SAAA.
27. *CWMG*, XIX, pp. 7-9, 73.
34. As stated in Chapter 5, the bulk of Sarala’s letters to Gandhi was destroyed after his death by the latter’s family. But we do not know—how or why—these letters of October 1920 survived the bonfire, and now rest in the archives of the Sabarmati Ashram in Ahmedabad.
35. Saraladevi to Gandhi, 10 October 1920, SN 9876, SAAA.
36. Saraladevi to Gandhi, 14 October 1920, SN 9877, SAAA.
37. Saraladevi to Gandhi, 16 October 1920, SN 9878, SAAA.
38. Saraladevi to Gandhi, 22 October 1920, SN 9889, SAAA.
45. *CWMG*, XIX, pp. 147-54.
46. *CWMG*, XIX, p. 159.
47. See File 13 of 1920, AICC Papers, 1st Instalment, NMML.


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


2. Ibid., p. 425.


5. *GBI*, pp. 143-44.


7. Speech in Marehra, Etah district, 13 May 1921, in File 111 of 1921, Home (Political), NAI.


11. Speech in Broach, 1 June 1921, translated in File 11 of 1921, Home (Political), NAI.


17. Gandhi to Lala Lajpat Rai, c. 30 June 1921, CWMG, XIX, p. 300.

18. CWMG, XIX, pp. 4, 659-771. [an: Text reads 4659-771, changed to 4, 659-771.]

19. CWMG, XX, p. 286.


21. See File No. 5, AICC Papers, First Instalment, NMML.

22. CWMG, XX, pp. 454-55, 472.


25. ‘Ethics of Destruction’, YI, 1 September 1921, CWMG, XXI, pp. 41-44.

26. Young India, 27 April 1921, CWMG, XX, pp. 42-43.


33. Dwijendranath Tagore to Gandhi, 1 September 1921, marked ‘Most Private and Confidential’, SN 7607, SAAA.

34. P.C. Ray to Gandhi, 5 October 1921, SN 7634, SAAA.

35. See File No. 188/IV of 1922, Home (Political), NAI.

36. Shaukat Ali to Gandhi, 11 September 1921, SN 7611, SAAA.
41. CWMG, XXI, pp. 116-18, 120-21.
42. CWMG, XXI, pp. 232-33.
43. Gandhi to Mahadev Desai, 31 October 1921, CWMG, XX, p. 375.
44. CWMG, XX, p. 350f.
45. CWMG, XXI, pp. 462-64, 481.
47. Abul Kalam Azad to Gandhi, Calcutta, 6 December 1921, SN 7692, SAAA.
49. CWMG, XXII, p. 15.
50. See clipping from the Pioneer, 15 March 1922, in File 489 of 1922, Home (Political), NAI.
51. CWMG, XXII, pp. 94-101, 166-68.
52. CWMG, XXII, pp. 191-92.
53. Governor of Bombay to Viceroy, 4 January 1922; Note by S.P. O’Donnell, 6 January 1922, both in File 489 of 1922, Home (Political), NAI.
54. CWMG, XXII, p. 271.
55. CWMG, XXII, pp. 287-98.
56. Gandhi to Viceroy, dated Bardoli, 1 February 1922, CWMG, XXII, pp. 302-05.
57. CWMG, XXII, pp. 512-14.
58. CWMG, XXII, pp. 344-50.
60. CWMG, XXII, pp. 350-51.
61. CWMG, XXII, p. 377.
63. Gandhi to Devadas Gandhi, 12 February 1922, CWMG, XXII, p. 397.
64. See Gandhi to Jawaharlal Nehru, 19 February 1922, CWMG, XXII, p. 435.
66. These paragraphs on the Government of India's prolonged discussion on whether to arrest Gandhi are based on the correspondence in File No. 489 of 1922, Home (Political), NAI.
67. CWMG, XXIII, pp. 84-85.
69. This account is based on a pamphlet called The Historic Trial of Mahatma Gandhi, printed at the International Printing Works, Karachi, and reproduced in Source Material, Volume III, Part I, pp. 657-66.

Chapter Eight: The Mahatma from Above and Below

2. E.M. Craik, Finance Secretary, Government of Bombay, to H.D. Craik, Home Secretary, Government of India, 16 July 1921, in File No. 170 of 1921, Home (Political), NAI.
4. See Proceedings Nos 174-82 for September 1919, Home Department (Political-B), NAI.
5. See GBI, pp. 348-49.
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.
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.


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.


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.


   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.


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.


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.


   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*.


41. 'E.M.S.’, ‘Gandhi at First Hand’, *Atlantic Monthly*, *May 1922*.

42. ‘Her Impressions of Gandhi’, *New York Times*, *23 April 1922*.

Chapter Nine: Prisoner Number 827

4. CWMG, XXIII, pp. 553-54, 129-36.
6. Ibid., pp. 27-29.
7. CWMG, XXIII, pp. 143-53.
10. See SN 8078, SAAA.
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.
22. See the correspondence in File 10 of 1922, AICC Papers, First Instalment, 1922, NMML.
24. Viceroy to Secretary of State for India, 18 December 1922, File No. 14 of 1922 Home (Political), NAI.
25. CWMG, XXIII, pp. 178-88.
27. CWMG, 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.
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.
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.
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.


7. CWMG, XXI, pp. 185-88.


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.


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


16. See *GBI*, p. 473f.


20. M. Asaf Ali to Gandhi, 28 April 1924, SN 10378, SAAA.


22. See undated clipping, c. May-June 1924, SN 8948, SAAA.


29. Reports in *BC*, 18 and 19 September 1924.


32. *Aaj*, 23 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.


44. CWMG, XXVI, pp. 269-71.


46. CWMG, XXVI, pp. 293f.


49. CWMG, XXVI, pp. 303-04.


56. See Romain Rolland and Gandhi Correspondence (New Delhi: Publications Division, 1976), pp. 3-10.


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.]


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.


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.
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.
12. CWMG, XXXII, pp. 445, 450.
14. CWMG, XXXII, pp. 451-54.
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.
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.


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>


31. Jawaharlal Nehru to Gandhi, 22 April 1927, SN 12572, SAAA.


33. Gandhi to M.A. Ansari, 10 August 1927, CWMG, XXXIV, pp. 304-05.


35. Ibid., p. 5f.

36. Ibid., p. 16.

37. Ibid., p. 22.

38. Ibid., pp. 300, 378.


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]


51. Ibid., p. 265.


56. As recalled by Devadas and Lakshmi’s eldest son, Rajmohan Gandhi, in a talk in Bangalore in 2007.


58. Shaukat Ali to Gandhi, letters of 4 March and 11 July 1927, SNs 12566 and 12604, SAAA.


60. File G-64, AICC Papers, First Instalment, NMML.


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.]


Chapter Twelve: The Moralist

1. See *GBI*, pp. 55-56, 86-87, 140-42, etc.


3. Ibid., pp. 115-16, 123, 146.

4. Ibid., pp. 224, 366.

5. Ibid., pp. 132-34.


7. Ibid., p. 141.

8. Ibid., p. 366.


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.
7. Ibid., p. 94.
8. Ibid., p. 123.
9. Ibid., p. 132.
10. Ibid., p. 258.
11. Ibid., p. 168.
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.
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.
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.
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.
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.
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.

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.


18. *BC*, 7 August 1928; *ToI*, 7 October 1928.


21. Letter of 19 February 1929, in Mss Eur F 150/1, APAC/BL.


23. Ibid., p. 18.

24. Ibid., *Chapters II*, III, VII and VIII.


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.


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.


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.


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.


44. ‘Curse of Assassination’, Yi, 27 December 1928, CWMG, XXXVIII, pp. 274-76.

45. CWMG, XXXVIII, p. 271.


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.

9. Jawaharlal Nehru to Gandhi, 13 July 1929, SN 15428, SAAA.
12. Qamar Ahmad to Gandhi, 3 February 1929, SN 15323, SAAA.
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.
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.
29. 'Minutes of conversation between His Excellency the Viceroy and Mr. Gandhi, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Sir T.B. Sapru, Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Patel on 23rd December 1929’, in Subject File No. 57, Gandhi Papers, First and Second Instalments, NMML.


32. TT, issues of 14 and 27 December 1929.


34. CWMG, XLII, p. 320.


Chapter Sixteen: The March to the Sea

1. CWMG, XLII, p. 313. (The translation, from the original Hindi, has been slightly modified to make it more accurate.)


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).

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.


12. CWMG, XLII, pp. 376-77, 382.
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.
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.
31. For more details, see GBI, Chapter 20.
33. Interview with Valji Govindji Desai, Oral History Transcript Number 221, NMML.
34. CWMG, XLIII, pp. 48-49.
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.
46. Reports in ABP, 21 and 22 March 1930.
47. ABP, 25 March 1930.
48. As reported in Tol, 25 March 1930.
49. CWMG, XLIII, pp. 117-18.
50. ABP, 26 March 1930.
51. ABP, 28 March 1930.
52. BC, 30 March 1930.
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; Tol, 13 March 1930.
60. Ashmead Bartlett, quoted in ABP, 16 March 1930.
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.
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>
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, Mahableshwar, 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.

Chapter Seventeen: The Prison and the World

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.
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.
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.
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.
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.
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.


34. Review by Lewis Gannett, in the *New York Herald Tribune*, 25 September 1930.


Chapter Eighteen: Parleys with Proconsuls


5. FR for Bombay City for second half of January 1931, in File No. 18/1931, Home (Political), NAI.


10. Polak to Gandhi, 28 January 1931, SN 16940, SAAA.


12. This account of the Gandhi-Irwin meetings is based on *CWMG*, XLV, pp. 185-207; and Irwin’s notes of his interviews with Gandhi on 27 February and 1 March 1931, Mss Eur C 152/6, APAC/BL. Cf. also S. Gopal, *The Viceroyalty of Lord Irwin, 1926-1931* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), Chapter VI. <gb>


14. See Subject File 81, Gandhi Papers, First and Second Instalments, NMML.
15. Chinniah, Secretary of the Depressed Classes Prajanika Sangam, Madras, to Gandhi, 19 March 1931, in Subject File 78, Gandhi Papers, First and Second Instalments, NMML.

16. Mohammed Kitayatullah, President, Jamiat Ulamai Hind, Delhi, to Gandhi, 22 March 1931, in Subject File No. 2, Gandhi Papers, First and Second Instalments, NMML.

17. M.C. Chagla to Gandhi, 16 March 1931, in ibid.

18. These mails are based on Subject File 78, Gandhi Papers, First and Second Instalments, NMML.

19. Raymond Chagnon to Gandhi, 30 March 1931; Chas. S. Field to Gandhi, undated, c. May 1931; Blake A. Hoover to Gandhi, 27 April 1931; Charles Frederick Waller to Gandhi, 17 April, 1931; all in Correspondence File Number 18, Gandhi Papers, First and Second Instalments, NMML.

20. Arthur Sewell to Gandhi, 26 January 1931, Correspondence File No. 19, Gandhi Papers, First and Second Instalments, NMML.


22. Sailendra N. Ghose to Gandhi, 8 April 1931, in ibid.

23. John Haynes Holmes to Gandhi, 17 April 1931, in ibid.

24. John Haynes Holmes to Gandhi, 23 April 1931, in ibid

25. CWMG, XLVI, pp. 70-71.


29. GBI, pp. 22-23.


31. A four-page pamphlet issued by the Communist Party of India, Subject File 81, Gandhi Papers, First and Second Instalments, NMML.


33. TT, 25 March 1931.

34. TT, 26 March 1931.


36. See reports in TT, 27 March 1931.

37. See editorial in TT, 28 March 1931.
39. CWMG, XLV, p. 363.
42. Lord Willingdon to Florence Brooks, 29 April 1931, in Mss Eur F 237/3, APAC/BL.
43. Lord Willingdon to Florence Brooks, 21 June 1931, in Mss Eur F 237/3, APAC/BL.
44. See clippings and notes in LIP016/24, APAC/BL.
46. H.W. Emerson, Home Secretary, Government of India, to Malcolm Hailey, Governor of the United Provinces, 16 May 1931 (copy), in IOR, R/3/1/289, APAC/BL.
47. C.F. Andrews to Gandhi, 10 June 1931, in Correspondence File No. 19, Gandhi Papers, First and Second Instalments, NMML.
48. ‘I do not see how Mr. Gandhi can be in London without you,’ wrote the Punjab politician Fazl-i-Husain to Mrs Naidu. Letter dated 15 July 1931, in Waheed Ahmad, editor, Letters of Mian Fazl-i-Husain (Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan, 1976), p. 163. <gb>
49. ‘A Twentieth-Century Sati’, YI, 21 May 1931, CWMG, XLVI, pp. 73–75.
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.
53. CWMG, XLVII, pp. 146–47, 149–50, 177.
54. Lord Willingdon to Florence Brooks, 25 July 1931, in Mss Eur F 237/3, APAC/BL.
56. Gandhi to Amritlal Sheth, 29 July 1931, CWMG, XLVII, p. 235.
57. CWMG, XLVII, pp. 445–46, 281, 287.
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.’

59. ‘Dr. Ambedkar on Mr. Gandhi’s Folly’, ToI, 17 August 1931.


61. Mirza Ismail to Gandhi, 30 July 1931, Personal Correspondence Files, M.K. Gandhi Papers, NMML (emphasis in the original).

Chapter Nineteen: At Home in London

1. Letter dated 31 August 1931, Jawaharlal Nehru Papers, NMML.

2. British Consul General to Foreign Office, 12 September 1931, III L/P0/6/73, APAC/BL.

3. The Times, 12 September 1931. Gandhi’s arrival at Marseille is captured on film in [www.youtube.com/watch?v=Se0kpkJlhH8](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Se0kpkJlhH8). [an: A version of this video from British Pathé, the publisher is also available (without ads) at [https://youtube.com/watch?v=P6njRwz_dMw](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=P6njRwz_dMw)]


5. Walch and Hirachand to G.D. Birla, telegram dated 11 July 1931, Subject File 84, Gandhi Papers, First and Second Instalments, NMML.

6. See Muriel Lester to Gandhi, 13 March 1931, in Subject File 81, Gandhi Papers, First and Second Instalments, NMML.


9. CWMG, XLVIII, pp. 8-10.

10. Letter of 16 September 1931, Nehru Papers, NMML.

11. Reports in MG, 14 September 1931, and in the Observer, 13 September 1931.

12. Police note dated 18 September 1931, MEPO 38/156, NAUK.


14. Lord Willingdon to Gandhi, 4 September, 1931, SN 17642, SAAA.

15. CWMG, XLVIII, p. 12.


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>


28. Untitled memoir by R.O. Hicks, in Hicks Papers, Centre for South Asian Studies, Cambridge.


34. *CWMG*, XLVIII, p. 179.


38. Mahadev Desai to Jawaharlal Nehru, 25 September 1931, Nehru Papers, NMML.

39. Interview with the *Daily Herald*, *CWMG*, XLVIII, p. 207.


42. *MG*, 21 September 1931.


44. John Haynes Holmes, *’I Meet Gandhi’*, *Unity*, 23 November 1931.


47. Gandhi to Albert Einstein, 18 October 1931, *CWMG*, XLVIII, p. 183.

48. See *GBI*, pp. 42-44, 47-50.


52. Mahadev Desai to Hermann Kallenbach, 4 November 1931, Kallenbach Papers, NAI.


55. ‘Gandhi’, undated 10-page typescript in Box 2, Benthall Papers, Centre for South Asian Studies, Cambridge.


57. Jawaharlal Nehru to Gandhi, letters of 27 September and 4 October 1931, SNs 17863 and 17973, SAAA.


60. CWMG, XLVIII, pp. 356-68.
61. MG, 16 December 1931.
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.
64. See photograph in Subject File 81, Gandhi Papers, First and Second Instalments, NMML.
66. See Romain Rolland and Gandhi Correspondence, pp. 166-234.
68. Mahadev Desai to Dr Scarpa, 2 December 1931, copy in D.G. Tendulkar Papers, NMML.
69. Report by the Rome correspondent, MG, 18 December 1931.
70. 'Pope Refuses to Meet Gandhi in Scanty Garb’, Associated Press, 12 December 1931, in Subject File 312, Gandhi Papers, First and Second Instalments, NMML.
72. 'A Retrospect’ YI, 31 December 1931, CWMG, XLVIII, pp. 432-36.

Chapter Twenty: Arguments with Ambedkar

1. CWMG, XLVIII, p. 445.
3. Lord Irwin to Viscount Cecil of Chelwood, 1 October 1930, in Mss Eur C 152/19, APAC/BL.
4. CWMG, XLVIII, pp. 446-47.
5. CWMG, XLVIII, pp. 459, 500-02, 472-75, 469-72.
7. CWMG, XLVIII, pp. 490-92.
8. CWMG, XLVIII, pp. 2, 531-32.
11. New York Times, 7 April 1932, clipping in Subject File 312, Gandhi Papers, First and Second Instalments, NMML.
18. CWMG, XL, pp. 466-69.
19. Macdonald’s letter was reproduced in BC, 13 September 1932.
20. See BC, 6 September 1932.
22. Interview in BC, 17 September 1932.
23. Ambedkar’s statement was reproduced in full in BC, 19 September 1932.
25. Tol, 19 September 1932.
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.
37. Ibid., p. 65.
38. Ibid., p. 71.
41. Reports in BC, 26 September 1932.
45. *CWMG*, Ll, pp. 143-44.
47. B.R. Ambedkar to A.V. Thakkar, 14 November 1932 (copy), SN 18642, SAAA.
52. *CWMG*, LII, p. 211.
53. News reports in Subject File No. 23, C. Rajagopalachari Papers, Fourth Instalment, NMML.
54. Gandhi to M.A. Ananta Rau, 17 December, 1932; Gandhi to Mathurudas Trikumji, 23 December 1932; Gandhi to Jawaharlal Nehru, 31 December 1932, in *CWMG*, LIII, pp. 219, 269, 311-12.
55. *CWMG*, LII, pp. 435-36.

**Chapter Twenty-One: Shaming the Hindus**

1. Lord Willingdon to Florence Brooks, letters of 23 August and 12 September 1932, in Mss Eur F 237/4, APAC/BL (emphasis in the original).
3. Lord Willingdon to Florence Brooks, 10 October 1932, in ibid.
5. Lord Willingdon to Florence Brooks, 30 December 1932, in ibid.

11. C. Rajagopalachari to G.D. Birla, 10 January 1933, SN 20198, SAAA.


13. A.V. Thakkar to C. Rajagopalachari, 19 January 1933, SN 20057, SAAA.

14. 'An Open Letter on Temple Entry to the Viceroy & Governor-General of India and the Central Legislature of India, by His Holiness Jagadguru Shri Shankaracharya of Puri’, an eight-page letter published by the All India Varnashrama Swarajya Sangh, and printed at the Delhi Printing Works, n.d., c. June 1933, SN 21582, SAAA.


16. Chief Secretary, United Provinces, to Home Secretary, Government of India, 10 August 1934, in L/PJ/7/595, APAC/BL.


18. L.R. Pangarkar to Gandhi, 15 January 1933, SN 20047, SAAA.


20. Jawaharlal Nehru to Gandhi, 7 March 1933, SN 19008, SAAA.

21. Polak to Gandhi, 1 June 1933, SAAA.


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.


28. Devadas Gandhi to Padmaja Naidu, 8 May 1933, Padmaja Naidu Papers, NMML.

29. Lord Willingdon to Florence Brooks, 8 May 1933, in Mss Eur F 237/5, APAC/BL.
30. Devadas Gandhi to Padmaja Naidu, 8 May 1933, Padmaja Naidu Papers, NMML.
31. CWMG, LV, pp. 177-78, 444-45.
32. CWMG, LV, pp. 200-01.
33. Police report dated 17 June 1933, in F. 800 (40) (4) AA-II, Home (Special), MSA.
34. CWMG, LV, pp. 265-69, 276.
35. IAR, 1933, Volume II, p. 329.
36. Lord Willingdon to Florence Brooks, 1 August 1933, in Mss Eur F 237/5, APAC/BL.
39. CWMG, LV, pp. 353-54, 468-69, 393.
40. Lord Willingdon to Florence Brooks, 21 August 1933, in Mss Eur F 237/5, APAC/BL.
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.
51. Mira to Devadas Gandhi, 12 December 1933, Devadas Gandhi Papers, NMML.

52. See H, 5 January 1934.

53. CWMG, LVI, p. 345.

54. District Magistrate, Kistna, to Chief Secretary, Madras, 22 December 1933, in L/PJ/7/595, APAC/BL.

55. CWMG, LVI, pp. 460-61, 465, 470; CWMG, LVII, pp. 18-19.


57. Muriel Lester to Gandhi, c. April 1934, Personal Correspondence Files, M.K. Gandhi Papers, First and Second Instalments, NMML.


59. See CWMG, LVI, pp. 416-17; CWMG, LVII, pp. 35-36.

60. CWMG, LVII, pp. 45-47, 503-04.


62. See Gandhi to Rajendra Prasad, c. 28 January 1934, CWMG, LVII, p. 61.

63. Letter dated c. 31 January 1934, CWMG, LVII, p. 74.

64. Mahadevan, Mahatma Gandhi’s Warning and Flashes in Harijan Tour, pp. 135-40.

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.


70. CWMG, LVII, pp. 288-89, 358.

72. Chief Secretary, Assam, to Home Secretary, Delhi, letters of 21 April and 4 May 1934, in L/PJ/7/595, APAC/BL.


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’, *ToI*, 27 June 1934; 'Poona Bomb Outrage on Mahatma’, *BC*, 26 June 1934.

80. 'Congratulation’, *BC*, 26 June 1934.


83. See Chief Secretary, United Provinces, to Home Secretary, Gol, 10 August 1934, in L/PJ/7/595, APAC/BL.


Chapter Twenty-Two: A Second Sabbatical

1. This account is based on copies of the original correspondence in E.S. Reddy Papers, NMML.


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.


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.


19. Mira to Devadas Gandhi, 13 February 1935, Devadas Gandhi Papers, NMML.


22. Rajkumari Amrit Kaur to Gandhi, letters of 2 and 8 September 1935, Personal Correspondence Files, Gandhi Papers, NMML.


36. For more details, see Keith, *A Constitutional History of India*, Chapters IX and X.


38. Jawaharlal Nehru to Agatha Harrison, 25 September 1935 (copy), Personal Correspondence Files, Gandhi Papers, NMML.


45. As reported in *BC*, 4 May 1936.


49. *CWMG*, LXIII, pp. 5-6.


**Chapter Twenty-Three: From Rebels to Rulers**


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.


14. See Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar, Writings and Speeches, *Volume 1*, pp. 86-96.


17. Cf. reports in Pile No. 800 (40)(4) A-IV-B-II, Home (Special), MSA.


20. C.F. Andrews to Amrit Kaur, Wardha, 8 November 1936, copy in SAAA.


30. See *Bombay Sentinel*, 8 February 1937.

31. C. Rajagopalachari to Devadas Gandhi, 21 January 1937, Devadas Gandhi Papers, NMML.


Chapter Twenty-Four: The World Within, and Without


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.


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.


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.


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.


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.

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.


33. Gandhi to D.B. Kalelkar, 18 October 1938, CWMG, LXVIII, p. 22.


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.


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.


43. CWMG, LXVIII, pp. 189-90.

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.


47. The Buber-Magnes pamphlet was printed in Jerusalem in April 1939, and presumably posted immediately to Segaon. However, Gandhi was on the road all of April and May; he was back in Segaon between 8 and 20 June, and then out again till end-July.


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 fiancee 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


3. ‘“Kicks and Kisses”’, H, 4 February 1939, CWMG, LXVIII, pp. 354-56.

4. ‘The Incredible Mr. Gandhi’, Reader’s Digest, December 1938.

6. See ‘Kangress ke Kharabiyan 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.


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.


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.


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.


28. Report in the National Call, 17 April 1939, in IOR, L/P&S/13/1500, APAC/BL.


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>


Chapter Twenty-Six: One Nation, or Two?


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>


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.


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.

21. Zakir Husain to Gandhi, 22 November 1939; Gandhi to Zakir Husain, 26 November 1939 (not in CWMG), both in ibid.


24. Viceroy to Secretary of State for India (Marquess of Zetland), 21 December 1939, copy in Mss Eur F 138/22, APAC/BL.
25. See reports in TS, 23 December 1939.
26. Sastri to H.S.L. Polak, 13 March 1940., V.S. Srinivasa Sastri Papers, First and Second Instalments, NMML.
29. CWMG, LXXI, p. 133.
31. CWMG, LXXI, pp. 334, 346-47.
32. CWMG, LXXI, p. 337.
33. IAR, 1940, Volume I, pp. 228, 290-300.
37. IAR, 1940, Volume II, pp. 311-12.
38. Indeed, a year and a half later, Haq had broken with Jinnah and the Muslim League.
41. Note drafted by Penderel Moon, c. April 1940, in Mss Eur F 230/39, APAC/BL.
42. 'A Baffling Situation’, H, 6 April 1940, CWMG, LXXI, pp. 387-90.
44. CWMG, LXXII, pp. 394-409.
Chapter Twenty-Seven: Pilgrimages to Gandhi


2. Interview with a social worker of Cochin named Mrs C. Kuttan Nair in Delhi, *CWMG*, LX, pp. 67-69.

3. This account of the Gandhi-Sanger conversations is based on *CWMG*, LXII, pp. 156-60; M[ahadev] D[esai], ‘Mrs Sanger and Birth Control’, *H*, 25 January 1936; ‘Gandhi and Mrs Sanger Debate Birth Control’, *Asia*, November 1936.


5. Sanger to Gandhi, 20 October 1936, in the Margaret Sanger Papers, on microfilm, Doe Library, University of California, Berkeley.


7. ‘Gandhi and Mrs Sanger Debate Birth Control’, p. 701.


14. These paragraphs are based on a long interview I conducted with Herbert Fischer in Berlin in April 1995.


23. See *GBI*, pp. 396, 536, etc.

Chapter Twenty-Eight: Somewhere between Conflict and Cooperation


3. Srinivasa Sastri to Gandhi, 16 July 1940, V.S. Srinivasa Sastri Papers, First and Second Instalments, NMML.


7. See Subject Files 287 and 288, Gandhi Papers, First and Second Instalments, NMML.

8. These paragraphs are based on *CWMG*, LXXII, pp. 467, 254-56, 472-75, 370-71, 384.


12. Mahadev Desai to Devadas Gandhi, 6 November 1940, Subject File 289, Gandhi Papers, First and Second Instalments, NMML.

13. As quoted in File No. 6 of 1940-41, Political and Military, VAN.


15. See R/3/5/41, APAC/BL.

16. Deputy Commissioner, Wardha, to Commissioner, Nagpur, 26 December 1940; Deputy Commissioner, Nagpur, to Commissioner, Nagpur, 30 December 1940, both in File No. 18 of 1941, Political and Military, VAN.


18. Notes of talks with Mahadev Desai on 13 and 14 November 1940 made by Gilbert Laithwaite, Private Secretary to Viceroy, in L/PJ/7/4171, APAC/BL.
19. Mahadev Desai to Gilbert Laithwaite, letters of 3 and 10 December 1940, in L/PJ/7/4171, APAC/BL.
20. C.M. Trivedi, Secretary, Political and Military Department, Government of the Central Provinces and Berar, to E.S. Hyde, Deputy Commissioner, Mandla, 25 October 1940; Hyde to Trivedi, 4 November 1940, Box VIII, E.S. Hyde Papers, Centre for South Asian Studies, Cambridge.
22. See CWMG, LXXIII, pp. 95–96.
23. News clipping of Sikandar Hyat Khan’s speech, undated; Amrit Kaur to Sikandar Hyat Khan, undated; Sikandar Hyat to Amrit Kaur, 12 November 1940, all in Subject File No. 286, Gandhi Papers, First and Second Instalments, NMML; Gandhi to Khan, 17 November 1940 (not in CWMG), Subject File No. 286, Gandhi Papers, First and Second Instalments, NMML.
24. Sahibzada Abdul Wadud Sarhadi (President of Jamiat-ul-Ulma-e-Sarhad) to Gandhi, 6 December 1940; Gandhi to Sarhadi, 13 December 1940 (not in CWMG), both in Subject File No. 18, Gandhi Papers, First and Second Instalments, NMML.
26. Note by R. Tottenham, in the Home Department, 25 December 1940; Notes by Chief Press Adviser, 31 December 1940 and 16 January 1941, all in R/3/1/342, APAC/BL.
27. Note by G.J.B. Janvrin, Deputy Commissioner of Police, 1 February 1940, in R/3/2/21, APAC/BL.
28. CWMG, LXXIV, pp. 26–27.
29. CWMG, LXXIV, p. 404.
31. Jayaprakash Narayan to Gandhi, 22 June 1941, Personal Correspondence Files, Gandhi Papers, First and Second Instalments, NMML. Cf. also Ram Manohar Lohia, “‘Immediate Satyagraha’”, H, 1 June 1940.
32. Shwaib Qureshi to Gandhi, 15 July 1941 (emphasis in the original); Gandhi to Qureshi, 19 July 1941 (not in CWMG), Subject File No. 21, Gandhi Papers, First and Second Instalments, NMML.
33. CWMG, LXXIV, p. 218.
34. Gandhi to Agatha Harrison, 22 October 1941, CWMG, LXXVI, pp. 37–38.
Chapter Twenty-Nine: Towards ‘Quit India’

1. *CWMG, LXXV, p. 180.*
9. Jawaharlal Nehru to Jagannath, 6 March 1942 (copy); C. Rajagopalachari to Jagannath, 17 March 1942 (copy) in Subject File No. 293, Gandhi Papers, First and Second Instalments, NMML.
15. Cripps to Azad, 7 April 1942; Azad to Cripps, 10 April 1942, in Mss Eur F 138/30, APAC/BL.
17. As documented most recently in Raghavan, *India’s War.*
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.
23. C. Rajagopalachari to Gandhi, 6 June 1942, Subject File 349, Gandhi Papers, First and Second Instalments, NMML.


25. CWMG, LXXVI, pp. 105-06.


27. C. Rajagopalachari to Gandhi, 2 July 1942, Personal Correspondence Files, Gandhi Papers, First and Second Instalments, NMML.

28. CWMG, LXXVI, pp. 155, 159, 163.

29. As reported in Birla, In the Shadow of the Mahatma, pp. 255-56.


32. CWMG, LXXVI, pp. 236, 241.

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.

34. This section is based on 'Diary of Mr. L. Brander’s Indian Tour, May-August 1942’, in the Brander Papers, Centre for South Asian Studies, Cambridge. Cf. also John Evelyn Wrench, Immortal Years (1937-1944): A View from Five Continents (London: Hutchinson and Co., 1944), Part II, where the author, a long-time editor of the Spectator, narrates his conversations with Ambedkar, Jinnah, Savarkar, Gandhi and Nehru in 1942.


36. Gandhi to Franklin D. Roosevelt, 1 July 1942, CWMG, LXXVI, pp. 264-65. [an: Gandhi’s letter and Roosevelt’s reply, U.S. National Archives, Item 7065056.]

37. CWMG, LXXVI, pp. 451-53.

38. CWMG, LXXVI, pp. 298ff; also Subject File No. 295, Gandhi Papers, First and Second Instalments, NMML.

39. C. Rajagopalachari to Gandhi, 18 July 1942, in Subject File No. 72, Gandhi Papers, First and Second Instalments, NMML.
40. Umadevi (pseudonym) to Gandhi, 18 July 1942, Subject File No. 293, Gandhi Papers, First and Second Instalments, NMML.

41. ‘Proceedings of a meeting held in the Home Department on the 25th July, 1942, to discuss the mechanics of the proposed action against the Congress’, in IOR/R/3/1/293, APAC/BL.

42. Viceroy to the Secretary of State for India, 19 July 1942, in IOR, R/3/1/297, APAC/BL.


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.

46. Viceroy to the Secretary of State for India, 1 August 1942, in ibid.


49. As reported in BC, 1 August 1942.

50. As reported in BC, 23 July 1942.


52. ‘To American Friends’, H, 9 August 1942.

53. Extract of letter from Mahadev Desai to Amrit Kaur, 23 July 1942, in IOR/R/3/1/293, APAC/BL.

54. Amrit Kaur to Mahadev Desai, Simla, 31 July 1942, Subject File No. 299, Gandhi Papers, First and Second Instalments, NMML (emphases in the original).


56. Reports in BC, 28 and 30 July 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.
68. ‘Mahatmaji’s Arrest’, H, 16 August 1942.
69. Reports in BC, 10 August 1942; File No. 1110(3) of 1942, Home (Special), MSA.
70. CWMG, LXXVI, pp. 463–64.

Chapter Thirty: A Bereavement and a Fast
1. See File Nos 111085, 1110(85)-D, 1110(85)-F and 1110(85)-H of 1942–43, Home (Special), MSA.
2. These details on the Aga Khan Palace draw from the notes and letters in IOR/R/3/1/290, APAC/BL.
4. These paragraphs are based on remembrances by Sushila Nayar and Sarojini Naidu in H, issues of 17 February and 18 August 1946.
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.
9. CWMG, LXXXV, p. 151.
10. The untitled two-page reminiscence by Muriel Lester, c. 1942/43, Gandhi Papers, First and Second Instalments, NMML.
15. See IOR, R/3/2/33, APAC/BL.
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.
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.
25. Clipping from *Daily Herald* (London), 4 September 1942, copy in Mss Eur F 158/40, APAC/BL.

26. As reported in telegram dated 20 January 1943, from New Delhi to India Office, in ibid.

27. See *The Empire at Bay*, p. 832.


30. Polak to Joyce of the India Office, 6 July 1940; Joyce to Polak, 30 July 1940, copies in E.S. Reddy Papers, NMML.

31. This account is based on a printed transcript of the discussion, in Box 50, Sydney Hertzberg Papers, NYPL.

32. ‘The daily routine of Mr. Gandhi’, a note in IOR, R/3/1/313, APAC/BL.


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.


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.

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 Chaudhrani, described as ‘President, Women’s Hindu-Muslim Unity Committee’.


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.


54. Roosevelt to Gandhi, 1 August 1942, copy in IOR, R/3/1/326, APAC/BL. [an: Gandhi’s letter and Roosevelt’s reply, U.S. National Archives, Item 7065056.]


57. Letters dated 22 February and 3 March 1943, in ibid.

58. Diary entries for 7 and 10 April 1943, in Harvard, Mss Am 2232 (34), William Phillips Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University (emphasis in the original).


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.


9. As reported in Tol, 13 January 1940.

10. See R/3/2/21, APAC/BL.


15. Devadas Gandhi to C. Rajagopalachari, 6 December 1944, in IOR/R/3/1/313, APAC/BL.


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.


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.


31. Copies of these telegrams from Polak are in the so far unclassified E.5. Reddy Papers, NMML.


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.


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


2. Gandhi to C. Rajagopalachari, 26 May 1944, CWMG, LXXVII, p. 291.
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.
7. See *CWMG*, LXXVII, pp. 393–94.
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.
16. D, 10 September 1944.
18. *CWMG*, LXXVIII, pp. 401-03, 92-93.
21. BC, 14 September 1944.
23. ‘Pakistan’, an anonymous typescript deposited in Mss Eur C 313/18, APAC/BL, most likely written by a senior British civil servant.


27. Indian Express, 25 and 26 September 1944, clippings in File No. 3, C.B. Khairmonday Collection, University of Mumbai.


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.


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.


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.


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.
50. Ambalal Sarabhai to Gandhi, 16 April 1945, in Volume 49, Series 4, Gandhi Papers, Twelfth and Fourteenth Instalments, NMML.
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.
64. Wavell to King George VI, 19 July 1945, *ToP*, V., p. 1279.

**Chapter Thirty-Three: Prelude to Partition**

5. Excerpts from speech of 20 December 1931, in Subject File No. 23, C. Rajagopalachari Papers, Fourth Instalment, NMML.

6. C. Rajagopalachari, *Ambedkarism Refuted* (Bombay: Hind Kitabs, 1945), pp. 5-6, 13, 16-17, 23-27, 32-33, etc. <gb>


12. Casey to Gandhi, 10 December 1945, in Diaries of R.G. Casey, Accession Number 3284, on microfilm, NMML.


14. 'Extracts from the Governor of Bengal’s diary notes dated 22nd December 1945', in R/3/2/57, APAC/BL.


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.


18. Sastri to Desai, 7 July 1939, in V.S. Srinivasa Sastri Papers, Last Instalment, NMML.

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.


26. See, for more details, Kuwajima, Muslims, Nationalism and the Partition.


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.


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.


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.


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.


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.


**Chapter Thirty-Four: Marching for Peace**


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.


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.


16. The letters quoted in this section are all in Volume 88, Series 4, Gandhi Papers, Twelfth and Fourteenth 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.


22. Alexander to Gandhi, 19 October 1946, in ibid.

23. Reports in *Searchlight*, 3 and 5 November 1946.


26. ‘To Bihar’, *CWMG*, LXXXVI, pp. 81-82.


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.
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.
35. As reported in Searchlight, 24 November 1946.
37. CWMG, LXXXVI, pp. 144–45, 147, 149–52, 162, 182, 185, 195.
40. As reported in Searchlight, 12 December 1946.
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[station] I[nspector], Ramganj Police Station, 12 January 1947, copy in Volume 136, Series 4, Gandhi Papers, Twelfth and Fourteenth Instalments, NMML.


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


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.


9. Bose to Gandhi, 4 February 1947, Group 14, Nirmal Kumar Bose Papers, NAI.


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.
Chapter Thirty-Six: Independence and Division

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.

14. CWMG, LXXXVII, p. 551.


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, LXXXVIII, p. 514.

19. CWMG, LXXXVIII, pp. 6-7, 42.


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]


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.
Notes of Guha on Gandhi Annotated

29. CWMG, LXXXIX, pp. 7–8. [an: A number of notes have LXXXXIX 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.


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]


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.


40. Amrit Kaur to Gandhi, 17 April 1947, in Volume 146, Series 4, Gandhi Papers, Twelfth and Fourteenth Instalments, NMML.


42. This (handwritten) letter by Nehru is in the C. Rajagopalachari Papers, NMML.


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.

3. CWMG, LXXXIX, p. 83; Together They Fought, p. 513.

4. CWMG, LXXXIX, pp. 126-27, 130-34.

5. TS, 2 September 1947.


8. CWMG, LXXXIX, pp. 139-40, 149.


10. GBI, pp. 273-74, 328-29.


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.


17. R.P. Parasuram to N.K. Bose, 15 September 1947, Group 14, Nirmal Kumar Bose Papers, NAI.


19. TS, 10 September 1947.


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.


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.


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.


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).

38. CWMG, XC, pp. 191-94. [an: All India Radio broadcast of Post-Prayer Speech on 1947-12-07]


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]


46. 'Source Report', 24 October 1947, signed Bhagwan Das Jain, S[tation] I[nspector], in File 138, Delhi Police Records, Fifth Instalment, NMML.

47. Reports dated 10, 15 and 17 November, in ibid.


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.
Chapter Thirty-Eight: Martyrdom

1. CWMG, XC, pp. 438-40.
2. HT, 19 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.
11. Cordes to Gandhi, letters of 13 and 20 December 1947, in Volume 82, Series 5, Gandhi Papers, Twelfth and Fourteenth Instalments, NMML.
13. Polak to Gandhi, 23 January 1948, Volume 99, Series 5, Gandhi Papers, Twelfth and Fourteenth Instalments, NMML.
24. H.S.L. Polak to P. Kodanda Rao, 27 April 1934, Kodanda Rao Papers, NMML.
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.


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.


34. See copy of speech in MB 1/Q60, Mountbatten Papers, University of Southampton.


38. The tributes by Blum and Smuts were reprinted in *India News*, 5 February 1948.


45. R.P. Parasuram to N.K. Bose, 15 September 1947, Group 14, Nirmal Kumar Bose Papers, NAI.


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.


54. *PRMGMC*, Volume IV, pp. 89-123.


56. Diary entry of 31 January 1948, Box 60, Malcolm Darling Papers, CSAS, Cambridge.


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. *CWMG*, *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


3. Personal communication from Gopalkrishna Gandhi, who was told this story by Dr Nayar herself.


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.


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]


17. Ibid., p. 102.
18. Ibid., pp. 43, 64, 229.
30. Notes by S.A. Brelvi, 8 August 1932, SN 19603, SAAA.
32. See CWMG, XLIV, p. 71.
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, Kumarappan passed away in 1960, Rajaji in 1973, Kripalani in 1982 and Kamaladevi as late as 1988.


   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>


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>


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.


III. Annotator’s Afterword

Sri Ramachandra Guha, Historian
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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 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](https://gandhionline.org/).
• The [Public Library of India](https://pli.in/) 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 Berkleley 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 todays “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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