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Health Care: How Far Can the Gandhian Way Lead Us?

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Introduction

Gandhi's interest in life was holistic. He believed in the existence of a soul that lived in a body. His ultimate aim in life was to achieve *Moksha*. The body was the medium through which he could attempt it. His quest for Truth was through his actions. He was a *Karmayogi*, to use the term from the Bhagavad Gita. A review of his life suggests that he remained bodily healthy due to his care and conscious practice. He lived for 78 years and 4 months. Recorded known episodes of his major ill health during his lifespan were few. In his *Autobiography*, he recorded details about his physical health. There is hardly any information about his being indisposed for a long duration until he was 45. Between 1914 when he suffered from Pleurisy in England on his way back from South Africa to India and his assassination on January 30, 1948, he was sick and not working for about six to seven months.ⁱ What kept him healthy? A study of his life and reference to first-hand details by those who lived around him indicate that he was a person of regular habit and that he was always experimenting with the food he consumed. He also took a keen interest in knowing how to live a healthy life by keeping his body fit. He practised Naturopathy on himself and others who submitted to his experiments. He read a few books on Naturopathy. When Gandhi was 74, he put together his ideas on health, but this booklet was published posthumously, in October 1948.ⁱⁱ It contained articles written between August and December 1942 when he was confined in the Aga Khan Palace, Poona (now Pune). It was originally written in Gujarati. Dr. Sushila Nayyar, who was in confinement with him, translated the articles into Hindustani and English under Gandhi's guidance. Gandhi went through the translations, vetted and approved them. The finalised version was published as *Key to Health*.

Gandhi's ideas on health and his healthcare practice and experiments have been scarcely studied. Even Gandhian scholars have not touched this aspect of his life much, let alone the medical community. Often he is dismissed as a quack (which he admitted he was!), or his experiments are dubbed as his fads. The Indian Council of Medical Research brought out a special issue of the *Indian Journal of Medical Research* in January 2019 on the occasion of Gandhi's Sesquicentennial (celebrating his 150th birth anniversary). Several medical professionals have contributed to the Journal issue. The range of topics covered includes Gandhi's medical record and legacy, his experiments with health, nature cures, food and nutrition, coping with diseases and the Gandhian way of life, his views on addiction, etc. Mark Lindley published his research on *Gandhi on Health* also in 2019.

Since the recognition of the looming environmental and ecological crisis, Gandhi's views on lifestyle and self-discipline have attracted researchers who link them with environmental and ecological issues and study his ideas from the perspective of sustainability. Yet, this subject is not dealt with in the scope of this paper.

This paper constitutes an inquiry into Gandhi's understanding of health, disease, prevention and cure and its relevance for present times. His ideas on health evolved with his engagement with health. He experimented on himself and also on others. In Section One of this paper Gandhiji's engagement with health throughout his life is discussed to show how his ideas on health evolved. Section two discusses the relevance of Gandhi's ideas on health and health-care in present times. This is attempted in the light of his criticism of modern medicine.

I

The Evolution of Gandhi's Ideas on Health

Even as a young child Mohandas was attracted to serve others and wanted to adhere to truth. In adolescence and youth, he wanted to become a medical doctor. Young Mohandas had wrestled for some time with the question of what it truly meant to be a healthy person. In his adolescence, he was impressed by his elder brother Karsandas' friend, Sheikh Mehatab, who was a meat eater, and was tall and well-built. This friend advised short and thin Mohan to eat meat for the laudable purpose of fighting the British! Secret plans were made and implemented to cook and eat meat. However, soon Mohan gave up the idea, as mentioned in his *Autobiography*, and that he abjured meat out of the purity of his desire not to lie to his parents. His idea of a healthy body also changed in England where he became an enthusiastic member of the Vegetarian Society. He hit upon Salt's book *Plea for Vegetarianism* in a vegetarian restaurant on London's Farringdon Street when he was in search of vegetarian food. He read it from cover to cover before his food arrived. Until then, young Mohan was a vegetarian because of the vow he had made to his mother, but in London, it became his choice. He also contributed to the Vegetarian Society Magazine *The Vegetarian*. Young Mohan was health conscious in England. In his early writings, titled 'Guide to London', he wrote:

I used to walk about 8 miles every day and in all, I had three walks daily, one in the evening at 5.30 p.m. for an hour and the other always for 30 or 45 minutes before going to bed. I never suffered from ill health except once when I suffered from bronchitis owing to overwork and neglect of exercise. I got rid of it without having to take any medicine. The good health I enjoyed is attributable only to a vegetarian diet and exercise in the open air. Even the coldest weather or the densest fog did not prevent me from having my usual walks. And under the advice of Dr. Allinson, the champion of open air, I used to keep my bedroom windows open about 4 inches in all weathers.ⁱⁱⁱ

His reading about vegetarianism had given him continued exposure to human biology and physiology. He read some books including that on chemistry.^{iv} He learned about the medical profession but avoided the field of dissection! While in South Africa he documented his experiment in a short piece entitled ‘Vital Food’ in 1893, describing the process and the results. It was published in the issue of *The Vegetarian*, dated 24 March 1894. He offered his services at a Mission Hospital headed by Dr. Booth. His health concern stood him in good stead in two other areas. Firstly, it helped him in bringing up his children.^v Gandhi read Dr. Tribhuvandas’s book *Maane Shikaman* – “Advice to Mother”. But at the birth of their last child, Gandhiji was severely tested when neither a doctor nor a midwife was available. Fortunately, his hospital training and his ‘careful study of the subject’ helped him in successfully assisting Kasturba’s delivery, single-handedly.

After his return to India in 1901, for a brief period, his second son Manilal became seriously ill the following year. The family was living in Bombay. Manilal had a severe attack of typhoid, combined with pneumonia and signs of delirium at night. The Parsi doctor had prescribed eggs and chicken, to save his life. Gandhiji went against the professional medical advice and tried Kuhne’s hydrotherapy, supplemented with his fasting therapy, by keeping the boy on orange juice and water for three days. However, the fever persisted relentlessly for several days. Finally, Gandhiji decided to give his son a damp sheet pack. After about half an hour the fever subsided and Manilal regained his health slowly.^{vi}

Subsequently, his faith in Naturopathy deepened. In South Africa, he suffered from frequent headaches and constipation. Since laxatives gave him only temporary relief, he turned to Naturopathy and regulated his diet. His association with the ‘No Breakfast Association’ in England had made him conscious about his food habits. Discontinuing breakfast cured his headaches. For constipation, he tried Kuhne’s hip baths with limited success. Soon, he came across Adolf Just’s *Return to Nature* which gave him ideas about earth treatment (known as *Mati Patti* in current Naturopathy parlance) and fruit diet.^{vii} The earth treatment was effective in curing his constipation. He considered it to be a radical cure.^{viii} He also tried the earth treatment for his third son’s fractured arm, on the sea voyage from India to South Africa.^{ix} Gandhi also applied the Sun Bath method to cure his wife Kasturba’s gynaecological bleeding problem. Acting against the doctor’s advice Gandhi got Kasturba discharged and treated her with a Sun Bath with utmost personal care.^x

Gandhiji had developed a clear focus on sanitation and hygiene. During the plague outbreak in India and other locations in South Africa in 1904, his public health concerns led him to organise communities. Without any fear, he set up a service centre to serve plague-affected people. Gandhiji’s support to Johannesburg Municipal authorities in handling the plague was exemplary. His insights and involvement in public health matters merit separate and thorough examination. It is also worth noting that the White population consistently blamed Indian migrants for their untidy, unsanitary, and unhygienic living conditions. Admittedly, there was a political undertone to these accusations, but that is a topic beyond the scope of our discussion here.^{xi}

His emphasis was on the well-being of both body and mind. For him, health stemmed primarily from food consumed for nourishment. Interestingly, his concept of health extended beyond the realm of medical science. More significantly, he viewed a healthy body as essential for preserving the divine element—God in the form of the soul—within. Maintaining physical health, in his view, was vital for keeping the soul pure, enabling the pursuit of union with God through purity and mastery over the senses.

Since Gandhi thought that it was important to share his ideas on health with people, therefore, in January 1913 he began to write a series of 34 articles in Gujarati, that were published in *Indian Opinion*. The series title was 'General Knowledge about Health.' He interpreted the word hygiene as steps taken to prevent diseases in the community and individuals. For Gujarati (also all Indian) readers, he translated hygiene *Arogya Samrakshan Shastra*^{xii} which literally means "the health preservation science". In it, he focused on one's attitude towards the health of body and mind and the control and regulation essential to maintaining a healthy body and mind. Gandhi addressed the issue of prevention and, in the process, discussed the healing effects that food, earth, water, fasting, etc. can have on correcting any disorder. He concluded that ignorance about the elementary health laws is often one of the root causes of disease. It is evident that Gandhiji dedicated much of his life to an in-depth study of health. He was more of a practitioner than merely an advisor. Mark Lindley even remarked that Gandhiji could be considered a lifelong practising doctor due to his commitment to health practices and their application in daily life!^{xiii}

As mentioned previously, Gandhi's last written ideas on health are contained in *Key to Health*, formulated in 1942, but not published until October 1948.^{xiv}

Gandhiji envisioned the human body as a microcosm of Nature, composed of the *Panchamahabhoota*—the five fundamental elements: Earth, Air, Water, Fire (or solar energy), and Ether (or Space). His belief in *Advaita* philosophy reinforced his view that the body, formed from these elements, is intrinsically one with the Universe, which is also composed of the same five elements. For Gandhiji, human existence extended beyond the physical body to include the soul. Thus, *Sthiti* (state of being) and *Gati* (direction) play pivotal roles in harmonizing the integration of the body and Nature, with their balance reflecting a healthy state. However, the mind, as another dynamic entity, often disrupts this equilibrium. Gandhiji begins his booklet *Key to Health* by defining the essence of health.

It is necessary to understand the meaning of the word health, before entering upon a description of the human body. 'In health' means body ease. He is a healthy man whose body is free from all diseases; he carries on his normal activities without fatigue. Such a man should be able with ease to walk ten to twelve miles a day and perform ordinary physical labour without getting tired. He can digest ordinary simple food. His mind and his senses are in a state of harmony and poise.^{xv}

Since air, water and food are necessary for the body to survive, he explains in detail how one should breathe, drink and eat. He then discusses how earth, water and food can be used and regulated to keep the body fit and free from disease. An important way of maintaining good health is the practice of *Brahmacharya* which means exercising control over all senses.

In brief, ensuring the health of an individual Gandhi signified more than treating diseases and providing cures for them.

In particular, Gandhi's idea of public health, which is supposed to help keep human beings safe from the onslaught of diseases, is largely derived from his understanding of public health as practised in England and among the White population of South Africa. Based on this understanding, he spoke and wrote about village and urban localities' sanitation and hygiene. This testimony has been compiled in *Village Swaraj*^{xvi} in two chapters 'Village Sanitation' and 'Village Health and Hygiene'. They contain detailed suggestions on how sanitation and hygiene should be maintained.

II

Relevance of the Gandhian Way to Health Care

Gandhi puts the health and well-being of humans on the agenda. His keen interest in keeping the body fit to function with ease led him to focus on holistic health, rather than looking for a cure when ill-health strikes the body. He had fads and fancies concerning food and lifestyle, but rejecting him on that count would be like ‘throwing the baby out with the bathwater’. We need to examine his criticism of modern medicine and his ideas on health to discover his intrinsic values and insights.

According to Gandhiji, modern medicine, scientific as it may have been, was the product of modernity in the West. Hence, it ended up supporting and promoting the civilisation that indulged in material opulence. Modern medicine manifested itself in the doctors and hospitals to cure diseases. Therefore, he critiqued the practitioner and the system in his treatise *Hind Swaraj*.

In Chapter XII he wrote:

I was at one time a great lover of the medical profession. I intended to become a doctor for the sake of the country. I no longer hold that opinion... Doctors have almost unhinged us. Sometimes I think that quacks are better than highly qualified doctors...the business of a doctor is to take care of the body, or, properly speaking, not even that. Their business is really to rid the body of diseases that may afflict it. How do these diseases arise? Surely by our negligence or indulgence. I overeat, I have indigestion, I go to a doctor, he gives me medicine, I am cured. I overeat again...The doctor intervened and helped me to indulge myself...A continuance of a course of medicine must, therefore, result in a loss of control over the mind. Hospitals are institutions for propagating sin. Men take less care of their bodies and immorality increases. European doctors are the worst of all. For the sake of mistaken care of the human body, they kill annually thousands of animals...It is worth considering why we take up the profession of medicine. It is certainly not taken for the purpose of serving humanity. We become doctors so that we obtain honours and riches...Doctors make a show of their knowledge and charge exorbitant fees. Their preparations, which are intrinsically worth a few pence, cost shillings. The populace, in its credulity and in the hope of riding itself of some disease, allows itself to be cheated. Are not quacks then, whom we know, better than the doctors who put on an air of humaneness?^{xvii}

Gandhiji’s critique and views on modern doctors, hospitals, and medicines may appear to reflect his ambivalence about the science of modern medicine. However, this is not the case. Gandhi recognised and appreciated the scientific attitude of modern medicine in the West, as testified to, for instance, on 13 February 1921, on the occasion of the inauguration of the Tibbia National Medical College founded by Hakim Ajmal Khan, when, in his speech, his position is clearly stated as follows:

I believe that a multiplicity of hospitals is no test of civilization. It is rather a symptom of decay...I hope therefore that this college will be concerned chiefly with the prevention of diseases rather than with their cure. The science of sanitation is infinitely more ennobling, though more difficult to execute, than the science of healing. I regard the present system as black magic because it tempts people to put an undue importance on the body and practically ignores the spirit within...Having said this much, I would like to pay my humble tribute to the spirit of research that fires the modern scientist. My quarrel is not against that spirit. My complaint is against the direction that the spirit has taken. It has chiefly concerned itself with the exploration of laws and methods conducing to the merely material advancement of its clientele. But I have nothing but praise for the zeal, industry and sacrifice that have animated the modern scientists in the pursuit after truth... Lastly I shall hope that this college will set its face absolutely against all quackery, Western or Eastern, refuse to recognize any but sterling worth and that it will inculcate among the students the belief that the profession of medicine is not intended for earning fat fees, but for alleviating pain and suffering.^{xviii}

In 1925, in his speech at the Ayurveda Pharmacy in Madras, he said that he trusted Nature: It was the sweetest, the quickest and the best restorer of health. The advertisements of medicines made him sick.^{xix} He was also critical of the practice of Ayurveda. He wrote to a prominent Vaidya (an Ayurvedic practitioner) that Ayurveda ignored the soul and focussed on bodily health. He wrote that Ayurveda physicians imputed to Ayurveda an omnipotence which it does not possess, and in so doing they had transformed it into a stagnant system instead of a gloriously progressive science.^{xx} In July 1930, in a letter to Mirabehn, Gandhiji stressed his appreciation of some aspects of modern medicine. He wrote that the West had always commanded his admiration for its surgical inventions and all-round progress in that direction.^{xxi}

Now, almost 100 years after Gandhi's above comments, health and the health care scenario in our country leaves much to be desired. The Indian health system is mainly based on modern medicine. Ayurveda, Homeopathy, Unani and other indigenous medical disciplines are in vogue, but their contribution to the total health care provision is tiny. Admittedly, the Indian medical system can boast about having one of the best disease cure systems exhibiting the most modern technological advancement in disease diagnosis and treatment. Yet, while science and technology in medical care has kept pace with global developments, however, unfortunately, the health care system is weak in terms of access and quality. But medical education scarcely discusses these issues. The government is struggling to deal with physicians trained in 'pathys', other than Allopathy, who are practising modern medicine. This discrepancy gives rise to malpractices which sometimes put the lives of the patients in jeopardy.

The healthcare services rendered through the government health system have not been effective. Although the first five decades in post-independent India saw a substantial expansion of health infrastructure, however, the quality of healthcare remained much to be desired. The 1991 economic reforms encouraged the private sector to take the lead in setting up a better functioning health infrastructure, medical education and medical services. Yet, malpractices by doctors and hospitals and their nexus with the pharmaceutical industry have made their services very expensive. Indeed, Gandhi's criticism of doctors and service providers becoming greedy often holds true. Medical education is now a commercial venture. Regulators often turn a blind eye to non-compliance and charge a price for doing so. Health insurance schemes are introduced in significant numbers by private agencies. Yet, the Government of India has introduced the *Ayushman Bharat* scheme guaranteeing Rs. five lakh (for medical treatment) to poor people and all citizens who are above 70. This offers some relief. However, on the whole, medical services have become very expensive and even the private sector does not guarantee quality service. Health care in the country is far from being healthy. Unfortunately, the Indian healthcare system fails to meet the global standards set by the WHO or similar health organisations.

The Gandhian way of health care offers a paradigm shift. While the prevalent paradigm of health care focuses on cures and relief from disease, with the system only responding when a person is ill, in fact, enjoying sound health should constitute our paradigm shift. The World Health Organisation (WHO) echoed Gandhi's ideas of health when, in 1948, it defined health as follows: *Health is a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity.*

Despite member countries' acceptance of the definition, nonetheless, efforts towards holistic health have been limited even at the global level. Gandhiji's focus is on the individual's

attitude and behaviour to be in 'health'. By making an individual responsible for his/her health and well-being, Gandhi's vision of self-rule or *Swaraj* is reflected in his paradigm of health. We can term it *Aarogya Swaraj* or Health Swaraj. The time is ripe to introduce this concept because today people are suffering ill 'health' due to their stressed lifestyle, deteriorating environment and highly expensive healthcare services. Society can strive towards and achieve *Aarogya Swaraj* for all, if individuals, society and government understand and perform their respective roles.

III

Aarogya Swaraj for the Individual and Society

Our general understanding of being healthy is that we are not sick. This understanding has to change. Every individual irrespective of his formal educational level should know what health is and how she/he is responsible for keeping it in order. It should also be understood that health implies the health of the body and the mind. In Gandhi's words, an individual should be equipped as follows:

To discover the relation between the body and the mind is an exacting task, but everyone should consider it essential to have some idea of the normal working of the human body. This knowledge should also form part of the education given to children. When one sits down to think about it, it is a matter of shame that, when my finger is cut, I should not know what to do about it, or, when pricked by a thorn, I should be unable to take it out or, upon being bitten by a snake, I cannot think of what to do at once without losing my nerve. To argue, using difficult words, that a layman cannot understand these matters is sheer conceit, or worse still, a "fraud to exploit mankind".^{xxii}

The words are somewhat strong, but the message is clear. In our present healthcare system, we are dependent to the extent of being in its vicious grip. Gandhi not only believed that every individual must be aware of the body and its functions, but was also a strong votary of administering treatment to oneself to the extent possible and should be trained for it. People's dependence on the system should be minimised. The more knowledgeable and trained an individual is the closer he/she is to *Aarogya Swaraj*.

To keep the body in good health, food and nutrition are important. People are said to be health conscious in present times. Health food and organic food are now in fashion. Of course, food and nutrition are commodities that are bought and 'good' food and nutrition are available at premium prices. Gandhiji may have been somewhat of a fetish in observing discipline concerning body care, but he made a relevant point about regulating one's food habits. If healthcare, according to him, means focusing on health rather than disease and cure, then, food and exercise become very important. Gandhiji talked about the individual's lifestyle. He advocated simple well-cooked food with vegetables and fruit. Controlling the palate is important. Doctors and nutritionists today advise what Gandhiji practised and recommended. Regular exercise in the form of physical labour is a necessary component in maintaining good bodily health. 'Workout' at the gym is the latest fashion for keeping fit. Doctors advise regular walking to prevent and control diabetes and high blood pressure. As we know, Gandhiji never missed his walks which he recommended to many.

Gandhiji's ideas about food for health become relevant for the role society is to play. Agriculture and food production in village societies need to be performed with the first objective of self-reliance. This cannot be recommended for cities because they have no land for agriculture. Yet the rural population living in villages should work for food self-

sufficiency at cluster level. The food should be grown as far as possible with farm yard and green manure, improved seeds and bio-pest control methods. This will produce healthy and nutritious food that will keep village population healthy. If possible, villages should grow surplus to supply to people living in towns and cities.

Air is vital for our survival. In *Key to Health*, Gandhiji recommends proper breathing to keep the body fit. He writes:

Many people do not know the art of breathing. This defect prevents an adequate purification of their blood. Some people breathe through the mouth instead of through the nose. This is a bad habit. Nature has so designed the nose that it acts as a sort of filter for the in-going air and also warms it... I do not wish to go into a discussion of the various *asanas* or postures. I do not mean to say that these are not important or useful. But I do wish to emphasize that a well-regulated life outweighs the advantages of studying and practising elaborate postures or exercises. Any comfortable posture that ensures breathing through the nose and free chest expansion is enough for our purpose.^{xxiii}

Yogasanas are in fashion today. But Gandhiji's recommendation is simple and possible for all. Yogic exercises and *pranayama* are time-tested systems that enable us to breathe well so that pure air can be inhaled in sufficient quantity and exhaled properly to get the impure air out. The body is said to have a great capacity to cope with threats from the external environment, but it has to be trained and maintained carefully. Modern medicine is slow to accept the necessity and importance of breathing and other yogic exercises for maintaining physical and mental health. Ironically, we are happily closing down our government and municipal primary schools, whereas so-called international standard school principals are taking pride in declaring that they have stopped all outdoor activities for children who can now remain safe within their air-conditioned classrooms!

Water is the next item with which Gandhiji dealt in great detail. This was accompanied by his concern for sanitation and hygiene. We, as a nation, have not been able to solve the problem of water and sanitation in most of our rural areas and in urban locations where the poor live. Schemes are designed, money is allocated and targets are achieved year in and year out, but water contamination and infections are all pervasive making children sick and even killing them. Interestingly, the areas of water and sanitation are not the responsibility of the Health Ministry. Moreover, communities at the village and neighbourhood level, as well, have no rights and no responsibilities in this regard. Yet, in Gandhiji's *Gram Swarajya* sanitation and hygiene is at the centre. The *Gram* is not restrictive. It applies to municipal areas of towns and cities too. Clean and potable drinking water supply should be assured, adequate and timely everywhere, in both rural and urban locations.

IV

Conclusion: Medicines and the Medical System

Gandhiji did not completely reject modern medicine and hospital infrastructure. Above all, Gandhiji believed in and practised Naturopathy. He was convinced that earth and water had medicinal qualities, and that therapies based on them cured many illnesses. He also did not reject herbal medicines. Ayurveda has a rich pharmacopoeia, and a scientific study of herbal medicines has in the recent past shown promising results. These treatments have been used for centuries, effectively showing their power to cure diseases. Establishing herbal gardens to cultivate herbs, and using the herbs grown in the wild, would increase the autonomy of village communities. Modern drugs need not be rejected outright, but if effective alternatives

are available at the local level, then society will be closer to *Aarogya Swarajya*. The *Gram Sabhas* should take initiatives to set up healthcare systems and services with local resources, combining them with modern medicine when necessary.

To reiterate, the key Gandhian approach to health care is that of being in a good state of health so that the body may be used for performing good deeds and being useful to others, rather than abusing and indulging it. The individual's responsibility is to train, maintain and regulate the body and its functions. When this happens, higher level medical systems are scarcely required to attend to the body and its ailments. At the societal level, prevention remains the cornerstone of health care, complemented by modern medical advancements that provide effective cures when the body succumbs to illness despite diligent care. The Gandhian Way to Health Care emphasizes a holistic approach, blending preventive measures, self-care, and compassion to foster wellness in individuals and communities.

Endnotes

ⁱ“Gandhi and Health @150”, a special volume of the *Indian Journal of Medical Research (IJMR)*, Volume 149, No. 1, p. 6.

ⁱⁱ He was 78 when he was assassinated on 30 January 1948.

ⁱⁱⁱ M.K. Gandhi “Guide to London”, *Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi [CWMG]*. Volume 1, p. 120. Also several editions are available published by Navajivan Publication House, Ahmedabad.

^{iv} Mark Lindley has a poor opinion on Gandhi's knowledge of chemistry. Lindley, *op. cit.*

^v Here it should be noted that Kasturba and Gandhiji had lost their first child in their early married life.

^{vi} Interested readers may read details in Gandhi's *Autobiography*, *op. cit.* pp 199-201.

^{vii} M.K. Gandhi. *Autobiography*, Chapter VIII, Part IV titled *A Warning*. CWMG, Volume 39.

^{viii} On another occasion Gandhiji overruled the instruction from the physician. On February 10, 1908, Gandhiji was attacked by Mir Alam and his associates while walking to the Registrar's office to provide his fingerprints, defying the collective decision of the community. He sustained severe facial injuries, and despite regular dressings by a physician, the healing process was slow. Gandhiji eventually applied an earth pad to his face, which yielded remarkable results.

^{ix} CWMG, Volume 39, pp. 245-46.

^x Gandhi has narrated the episode in his *Autobiography*, *op. cit.* Chapter “Kasturba's Courage”, pp. 257-260.

^{xi} Those interested in Gandhiji's understanding and intervention in public health and sanitation issues in South Africa may read the relevant chapter in Iyengar, Sudarshan, 2016. *In the Footsteps of Mahatma: Gandhi and Sanitation*. Publication Division, Government of India, New Delhi.

^{xii} CWMG, *op. cit.* Volume 1, p. 428.

^{xiii} Lindley, Mark, *op. cit.*

^{xiv} Several editions have been published since then, also accessible online in pdf form. For an authentic version, refer CWMG, Volume 77, pp. 1-48.

^{xv} *Ibid*, p 1.

^{xvi} M. K. Gandhi. *Village Swaraj*. Navajivan Publication House, Ahmedabad. Several editions are available.

^{xvii} M. K. Gandhi. *Hind Swaraj* in CWMG, Volume 10, pp. 35-36. Several editions have also been published by Navajivan Publication House, Ahmedabad.

^{xviii} CWMG, Volume 19, pp. 356-358.

^{xix} CWMG, Volume 26, p. 389.

^{xx} He wrote a lengthy letter to Kaviraj Gananath Sen titled “the Ayurvedic system”, CWMG, Volume 27, pp. 222-223.

^{xxi} CWMG, Volume 44, p.7.

^{xxii} CWMG, Volume 11, p. 429-30.

^{xxiii} Key to Health. CWMG, Volume 77, pp 3-4.

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