# THE COLLECTED WORKS OF MAHATMA GANDHI

## X

(1909-1911)

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VOLUME TEN

THE PUBLICATIONS DIVISION

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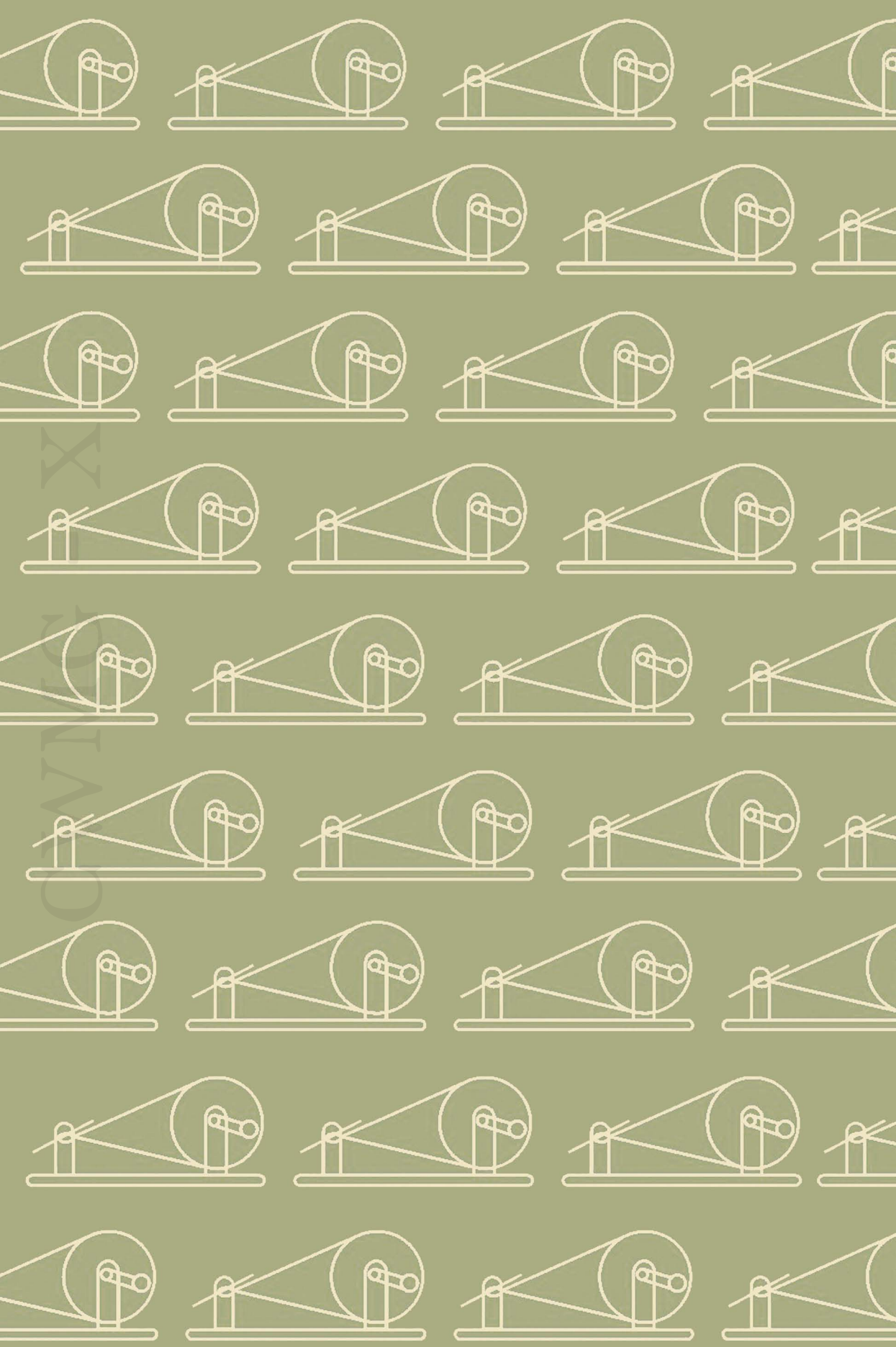

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( November 1909 - March 1911 )

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# INDIAN HOME RULE

BY

M. K. GANDHI

Being a Translation of "HIND SWARAJ" (Indian Home Rule), published in the Gujarati columns of INDIAN OPINION, 11th and 18th Dec., 1909

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THE PUBLICATIONS DIVISION
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## *PREFACE*

This volume covers the period from November 13, 1909 to the end of March 1911. It opens with Gandhiji's return voyage to South Africa, after four months of weary waiting in England, and ends with his patient efforts in Cape Town to negotiate with General Smuts and Members of Parliament a modification of the recently published Immigrants' Restriction Bill. The Gandhi-Smuts correspondence of March 1911 paved the way for the Provisional Settlement which followed in May.

The contents are as various as ever. The period covered in this volume marked a decisive stage in Gandhiji's inward development and the maturing of his thought, when he sought to give precise verbal expression as well as practical shape to the ideals which would satisfy his imperative ethical urges. The theoretical effort led to his writing, on board ship during the return journey from England, the little classic, *Hind Swaraj*, and the practical effort, to the experiments in disciplined community living on Tolstoy Farm from June 1910 onwards. Like Ruskin and Thoreau earlier, Tolstoy now exerted a powerful influence in confirming Gandhiji's views and ways and significantly enough this volume opens with *Preface to Tolstoy's "Letter to a Hindoo"*. The reasoned defence of *Hind Swaraj* in the letter to Wybergh (pp. 246-50) shows how Gandhiji had struck firm roots in the *vanaprastha* stage of life where, *kama* and *artha* left behind, one has no more dilemmas and one calmly pursues "the *dharma* orientated toward *moksha*". The letters to Maganlal combine the most trivial details of routine with discussion of ethical issues of the highest moment to the author, such as *brahmacharya* (p. 296), the dignity of manual labour (p. 308) and "the yearning of the soul to see the beloved in the form of God" (p. 311). On a different plane, but no less interesting, are the letters to Gokhale and Natesan. *Colour Prejudice* (pp. 284-5) and *Who is Uncivilized?* (pp. 294-5) are of a piece with *Hind Swaraj* in their condemnation of the uglier aspects of modern civilization. *Another Breach of Faith* (pp. 298-9), *Report of Protector of Indentured Labourers* (pp. 309-10), and *Narayansamy* (pp. 337-8), are, in the nature of political comments, at once a scathing criticism of the Government and a call to action by the people. Towards the end comes a rare piece, Report of Gandhi-Smuts Interview (pp. 494-6) written down by Gandhiji himself.

When Gandhiji landed in South Africa on November 30, 1909, the situation seemed dismal. There was, on the one hand, the inevitable relaxing among the rank and file after a sustained effort of several years

and, on the other, a Government only too ready to exploit this weakness. Smuts had said, while leaving England in August 1909, that "the majority of Transvaal Indians were sick to death of the agitation". And on his return to South Africa he took to increasing repression to bend the will of the satyagrahis who still stood firm. The sentences became harsher, life in prisons was made as uncomfortable as it could be, large numbers were deported to India in conditions of utmost rigour, and the war was extended to minors and women. Gandhiji met this repression with a confidence in soul-force more serene than ever. He knew it was a unique struggle he was leading, "one of the greatest of modern times". With this pride, however, in the heroic worth of his co-workers and the greatness of the movement, there went a profound personal humility. Writing to Maganlal Gandhi about the aptness of the name *Phœnix*, he said, "I wish that my name is forgotten and only my work endures. The work will endure only if the name is forgotten" (p. 69). Again, "It is out of our ignorance that we believe we get our bread because of our efforts" (p. 82). And so came, unsolicited, Tata's cheque for Rs. 25,000 on the day Gandhiji reached Cape Town.

Relying on soul-force in a political struggle meant, in practical terms, relying on public opinion. Gandhiji sedulously set himself to cultivate it, in England, among his own community and among the very whites of South Africa against whose prejudices he had pitted himself. Before leaving England, he had organized a signature campaign, volunteers, both Indian and British, going round from house to house to canvass support for the Indian cause. Back in South Africa, he wrote letters and gave interviews to the Press and spoke from every available platform. He strove to disarm opposition from the whites by removing their groundless fears and putting the Indian demands in the right perspective. Addressing Indians, he sought to keep up their will to resist: "If you have any trace of manliness in you, you will turn satyagrahis. . . . As General Smuts has declared, satyagraha is a kind of war. . . . How can we turn away from the example that has been set by Nagappen? Cherishing his memory, we must fight on till we win. . . . Nothing is ever achieved except through suffering" (pp. 102-3). But, while encouraging the Indians to fight for their self-respect, he also urged them to set their house in order, as in the *Indian Traders* (pp. 146-7), *Are Indians Liars?* (pp. 147-8), *As One Sows One Reaps* (pp. 228-9), *Hindus and Muslims* (p. 256) and *Calcutta Riot* (pp. 387-8).

And he did not weary of protesting. If the opponent was to be converted to reason, the wrong he had done should be brought home to him with no trace of ill-will or exaggeration. Whether it was ill-treatment of Indian passive resisters in gaol or discrimination against Indian teachers and pupils in Natal schools, or the disfranchisement of

Coloured people in the South Africa Union Act, Gandhiji kept on urging and inspiring the oppressed to fight fearlessly and untiringly until the injustice was undone and the wrong remedied. And he addressed himself not only to Indians but to all Asiatics (*Colour Prejudice*, pp. 284-5) and to the Coloured people as well (pp. 165, 167).

There seemed to be no immediate prospect of a successful close to the struggle. On June 1, 1910, the Union of South Africa was born, but Sorabji was arrested for his seventh term of imprisonment. Gandhiji described the day as a day of mourning for the Indian community and used the occasion to reiterate the Indian demand in *Letter to the Press* (p. 263). Soon after this, the Government took the unusual step of challenging the right of a minor, son of Chhotabhai, a merchant of long standing, to remain in the Union after attaining the age of 16. A long battle in the law courts ensued, with the Supreme Court ruling ultimately in favour of the minor. Towards the end of September 1910, there returned by s.s. *Sultan* along with Polak a number of South African Indians who had been deported to India. They were refused permission to land "first at Durban, then at Port Elizabeth, then at the Cape and again at Durban". The severity of life on the deck resulted in the death of Narayansamy, one of the deportees, and Gandhiji was provoked to charge the Government with "legalized murder".

The Union Parliament was to be inaugurated in November. Gandhiji outlined once again the conditions for closing the struggle (*Proposed New Immigration Bill*, pp. 344-5). The Government, however, had stiffened in its attitude and, as Gandhiji told a Chinese audience, "had carried the attack to the children and now even to the women" (p. 349). Mrs. Sodha, being left without means of support after the imprisonment of her husband, entered the Transvaal with the limited purpose of joining the satyagrahis' families on Tolstoy Farm. She was arrested at the border despite earnest assurances by Gandhiji and Cachalia, Chairman of British Indian Association, that there was no intention on her part to assert the right of entry or residence, that nothing but purely humanitarian considerations had prompted the decision to bring her into the Transvaal.

With the year 1911 came the turning of the tide. *Letter to L. W. Ritch* (p. 395) shows Gandhiji after a conversation with Smuts and hopeful of a compromise. Soon followed the glad news of the announcement by the Government of India, on January 3, of its decision to prohibit emigration of indentured Indians to Natal from July 1, 1911.

On February 25 was published the Immigrants' Restriction Bill by which General Smuts proposed to settle the Indian question once for all. Gandhiji's first reaction to the Bill was somewhat hopeful but, in view of previous experience of ambiguities in Smuts' dealings, expert

opinion was sought and this revealed flaws which rendered the Bill unacceptable as it stood. Asiatics entering the Union under the education test provided in the Bill were not specifically exempted from the operation of the Transvaal Asiatics Registration Act (Act 36 of 1908) and Chapter 33 of the Orange Free State Constitution. Their freedom of movement in the Union was restricted to that extent. And, in spite of the judgment in the Chhotabhai case, the Bill did not grant the minor children of registered Asiatics, if such children were outside the Transvaal at the time of the passing of the Bill, or the wives of lawful residents, the protection of the common law. Believing that these omissions were probably not intentional, Gandhiji entered into correspondence with Smuts to have them rectified, and towards the end of March went to Cape Town for personal negotiations. Despite General Smuts' declared willingness to conciliate the Indian community, the negotiations ran a zigzag course, hope giving way to fear of breakdown again and again. Gandhiji had quite a task in carrying with him even supporters like Doke and active workers like Ritch (*Letter to L. W. Ritch*, pp. 486-7), while fighting for every inch of the ground with Smuts. The report of his interview with Smuts on March 27, which he sent to Miss Schlesin for record but not for publication (pp. 494-6), is among the most interesting items in this volume. A breakdown was avoided. In a speech at Cape Town, Gandhiji declared: "We are nearing the end, and victory will undoubtedly be ours if we work on in the spirit of satyagraha" (p. 500). The final settlement, however, came only after another active campaign in the autumn of 1913, on a much larger scale than the campaigns of 1907 and 1908.

In the midst of unceasing public activity, Gandhiji continued to develop his inner resources which gave him strength to carry the immense burden he was continually taking upon himself, and yet to retain perfect serenity of mind. He wrote to Maganlal: "Please do not carry unnecessarily on your head the burden of emancipating India. Emancipate your own self. Even that burden is very great. Apply everything to yourself. Nobility of soul consists in realizing that you are yourself India. In your emancipation is the emancipation of India. All else is make-believe" (pp. 206-7). All Gandhiji's activities were inspired by this fundamental conviction that political freedom was but the expression of moral freedom, and that the latter had to be won through a struggle not against an external but an internal enemy. The conviction had been growing over the years, a suggestion from one source fusing with and fertilizing a suggestion from another source and the innate truthfulness and humility of his soul responding to ennobling influences from every direction. These accumulating intuitions crystallized into a precise formulation and issued as *Hind Swaraj*, which occupies in the Gandhi story much the same place as Chapter IV of *St. Matthew* or *St. Luke* in the New Testament.

While in England in the summer and autumn of 1909, he witnessed the helplessness, or unwillingness, of the Imperial Government to support him in a cause which, in his view, concerned as much the future of the Empire as the self-respect of Indians. He observed also the ardent patriotism of many Indian youths with whom he came into close contact and who were ready to use violence for the attainment of Indian independence. The activities of this group had attracted fierce public attention following the assassination of Curzon Wyllie on July 2, a few days before the arrival of the deputation led by Gandhiji. Gandhiji admired the courage of these patriots, but his whole being revolted against their methods. As leader of a movement which aimed at defending Indian self-respect and combating the arrogant assumptions of white superiority and modern civilization, he could not but take a public stand on the issues forced into the open by Dhingra's action. His stay in the wilderness of the West had left him famished. The enlightened Liberal government in London could provide no constitutional safeguards for the non-white population in South Africa, which was about to be welded into a single self-governing state. If satyagraha had, or seemed to have, failed to achieve the limited objectives of the Indian community in South Africa, what chance could peaceful methods have against the British in India? This was the question which *Hind Swaraj* had to answer. The Reader in this "Dialogue on the Sea", tempting Gandhiji to give up his inmost faith in the force of the soul, stood for the many young Indians whom he had met and talked to while in London. There was no rational answer to this question in the limited context of a purely political aim, that of driving out the British, but in the larger context of national regeneration through moral strength he had an answer which he elaborated in *Hind Swaraj*. On this answer he staked his standing as a leader and in defence of it he cited the Hindu scriptures, which not only hold that "liberation is the best thing attainable by mankind", but preach "incessantly liberation as an immediate aim" (pp. 247-8).

With a profound and farsighted concern for the moral content of a political system, he challenged his critics to apply their minds to the meaning of swaraj. Surely they did not want a mere change of rule? If the Indian masses were to have a life of dignity and moral worth, it was necessary that India be morally as well as politically free. What were the marks of moral slavery? Machinery and the rise of the professional classes, lawyers, doctors and administrators, who, knowingly or unknowingly, helped to maintain British rule in India, joined hands with the British in exploiting the masses and, in imitation of their masters, introduced ways of life which pampered the body and starved the soul. Moral freedom meant freedom for the people of India to fashion their economic, social and political institutions in accordance with

their own moral instincts and their own ancient traditions, to grow and develop and correct themselves with their own moral energy rather than accommodate themselves to borrowed ideals under the hypnotic spell of their excellence. And so, inevitably, *Hind Swaraj* grew to be an attack on the gradual modernization of India in the industrial and political fields. Gandhiji had seen Western civilization at close quarters and turned away his eyes in horror from the now universally admitted evils of a competitive, industrial, non-moral society. He thought there was time yet for India to save herself from this insidious poison. If she could, political independence would be hers for the asking.

The pamphlet invited, later, the charge of medievalism and was used by some to discredit Gandhiji's leadership in the eyes of the educated classes in India. But he remained unshaken in his conviction. Even while in South Africa, he preferred to order his own life, and that of the group of workers who followed his lead, along lines of natural simplicity which he held essential for personal and communal health and well-being. Compelled by the exigencies of the struggle, he had started Tolstoy Farm where he could support the families of satyagrahis at minimum cost, and he used the opportunity to experiment in new forms of community life based on co-operation, self-help, manual labour and increasing self-discipline in personal life, especially in regard to food and sex. Tolstoy Farm set the pattern of his life henceforth. It represented a truly creative phase in his ethical growth and he cherished its memory long afterwards.

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## *NOTE TO THE READER*

The petitions and representations to authorities, communications to the Press, and resolutions at meetings, which are included in this Volume, are attributed to Gandhiji on grounds similar to those explained in the Preface to Volume I. Special reasons for inclusion of particular items have been set out in footnotes. Gandhiji's unsigned writings in *Indian Opinion* have been identified on the strength of his general testimony in his autobiographical writings, the opinion of his associates, Chhaganlal Gandhi and H. S. L. Polak, and other available evidence.

In reproducing English material, every endeavour has been made to adhere strictly to the original. Obvious typographical errors have been corrected and words abbreviated in the text have generally been spelt out. Variant spellings of names have, however, been retained as in the original.

Matter in square brackets has been supplied by the Editors. Quoted passages, where these are in English, have been set up in small type and printed with an indent. Reports of speeches and Court proceedings in indirect speech and passages which are not by Gandhiji have been set up in small type.

While translating from the Gujarati, efforts have been made to achieve fidelity and also readability in English. While translating Gandhiji's Gujarati renderings, the English original, whenever available, has been consulted.

The date of an item has been indicated at the top right-hand corner; if the original is undated, the inferred date is printed within square brackets giving reasons where necessary. The date given at the end of an item alongside the source is that of publication.

In the source-line, the symbol S. N. stands for documents available in the Sabarmati Sangrahalaya, Ahmedabad; G. N. refers to those available in the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi and Sangrahalaya, New Delhi; C. W. denotes letters secured by the Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi.

References to Volume I of this series are to the August 1958 edition. References to *An Autobiography or The Story of My Experiments with Truth* and *Satyagraha in South Africa* cite only the Part and Chapter in view of the varying pagination in different editions.

The Appendices provide background material relevant to the text. A list of sources and a chronology for the period covered by the Volume are given at the end.

## *ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS*

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## 1. *PREFACE TO LEO TOLSTOY'S "LETTER TO A HINDOO"*[1]

S. S. *KILDONAN CASTLE,*
*November 18, 1909*

The letter[2] translated below calls for an explanation.

Count Tolstoy is a Russian nobleman. He has had his full share of life's pleasures, and was once a valiant soldier. He has no equal among European writers. After much experience and study, he has come to the conclusion that the political policies generally followed in the world are quite wrong. The chief reason for that, according to him, is that we are vengeful, a habit unworthy of us and contrary to the tenets of all religions. He believes that to return injury for injury does harm both to ourselves and our enemy. According to him, we should not retaliate against anyone who may injure us, but reward him with love instead. He is uncompromising in his loyalty to the principle of returning good for evil.

He does not mean by this that those who suffer must seek no redress. He believes rather that we invite suffering on ourselves through our own fault. An oppressor's efforts will be in vain if we refuse to submit to his tyranny. Generally, no one will kick me for the mere fun of it. There must be some deeper reason for his doing so. He will kick me to bend me to his will if I have been opposing him. If, in spite of the kicks, I refuse to carry out his orders, he will stop kicking me. It would make no difference to me whether he did so or not. What matters to me is the fact that his order is unjust. Slavery consists in submitting to an unjust order, not in suffering ourselves to be kicked. Real courage and humanity consist in not returning a kick for a kick. This is the core of Tolstoy's teaching.

The letter translated below was originally written in Russian. It was rendered into English by Tolstoy himself[3] and sent to the editor of *Free Hindustan*[4] in reply to a letter of his. This editor holds different views from Tolstoy's and hence he did not publish the letter. It reached my hands and a friend asked me whether or not it should be published. I liked the letter. What I saw was a copy of the original letter I sent it to Tolstoy and sought his permission to publish

[1] This is the Preface to the Gujarati translation of Tolstoy's letter dated December 14, 1908.

[2] Not reproduced here

[3] By one of Tolstoy's translators; *vide* the following item, p. 3.

[4] A journal published from Vancouver with Tarak Nath Das as Chief Editor. *Vide* Vol. IX, p. 445.

it, asking him at the same time whether the letter was in fact written by him.[1] His permission having been received,[2] both the English version of the letter and a Gujarati translation are being published in *Indian Opinion*[3].

To me Tolstoy's letter is of great value. Anyone who has enjoyed the experience of the Transvaal struggle will perceive its value readily enough. A handful of Indian satyagrahis have pitted love or soul-force against the might of the Transvaal Government's guns. That is the central principle of Tolstoy's teaching, of the teaching of all religions. *Khuda-Ishwar*[4] has endowed our soul with such strength that sheer brute force is of no avail against it. We have been employing that strength against the Transvaal Government not out of hatred or with a view to revenge, but merely in order to resist its unjust order.

But those who have not known what a happy experience satyagraha can be, who have been caught up in the toils of this huge sham of modern civilization, like moths flitting round a flame, will find no interest in Tolstoy's letter all at once. Such men should pause for a moment and reflect.

Tolstoy gives a simple answer to those Indians who appear impatient to drive the whites out of India. We are [according to him] our own slaves, not of the British. This should be engraved in our minds. The whites cannot remain if we do not want them. If the idea is to drive them out with firearms, let every Indian consider what precious little profit Europe has found in these.

Everyone would be happy to see India free. But there are as many views as men on how that can be brought about. Tolstoy points out a simple way to such men.

Tolstoy has addressed this letter to a Hindu and that is why it cites thoughts from Hindu scriptures. Such thoughts, however, are to be found in the scriptures of every religion. They are such as will be acceptable to all, Hindus, Muslims and Parsis. Religious practices and dogmas may differ, but the principles of ethics must be the same in all religions. I therefore advise all readers to think [only] of ethics.

No one should assume that I accept all the ideas of Tolstoy.[5] I look upon him as one of my teachers. But I certainly do not agree with all his ideas. The central principle of his teaching is entirely acceptable to me, and it is set out in the letter given below.

[1] *Vide* Vol. IX, pp. 445-6.
[2] *Vide* Vol. IX, p. 593.
[3] Of 25-12-1909, 1-1-1910 & 8-1-1910
[4] God
[5] Gandhiji did not agree with Tolstoy's ideas on reincarnation; *vide* Vol. IX, p. 446.

In this letter, he has not spared the superstitions of any religion. That is, however, no reason why any proud follower of Hinduism or of any other religion should oppose his teaching. It should suffice for us that he accepts the fundamental principles of every religion. When irreligion poses as religion, as it so often does, even true religion suffers. Tolstoy points this out repeatedly. We must pay the utmost attention to his thought whatever the religion we belong to.

In translating [the letter], I have endeavoured to use the simplest possible Gujarati. I have been mindful of the fact that readers of *Indian Opinion* prefer simple language. Moreover, I want Tolstoy's letter to be read by thousands of Gujarati Indians, and difficult language may prove tedious reading to such large numbers. Though all this has been kept in mind, slightly difficult words may have been occasionally used when simpler ones were not available, for which I apologize to the readers.

MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI

[From Gujarati]
*Indian Opinion*, 25-12-1909

## 2. *PREFACE TO LEO TOLSTOY'S "LETTER TO A HINDOO"*

S. S. *KILDONAN CASTLE*
*November 19, 1909*

The letter that is printed below[1] is a translation prepared by one of Tolstoy's translators of his letter written in Russian in reply to a letter from the Editor of the *Free Hindustan*. The letter, after having passed from hand to hand, at last came into my possession through a friend who asked me, as one much interested in Tolstoy's writings, whether I thought it to be worth publishing. I at once replied in the affirmative and told him I should translate it myself into Gujarati and induce others to translate and publish it into various Indian vernaculars.

The letter as received by me was a typewritten copy. It was, therefore, referred[2] to the author who confirmed it as his and kindly granted me permission to print it.[3]

To me, as a humble follower of that great teacher whom I have long looked upon as one of my guides, it is a matter of honour to be

[1] "Letter to a Hindoo", not reproduced here, published in *Indian Opinion*, 25-12-1909, 1-1-1910 & 8-1-1910
[2] *Vide* Vol. IX, pp. 445-6.
[3] *Vide* Vol. IX, p. 593.

connected with the publication of his letter, such, especially, as the one which is now being given to the world.

It is a mere statement of fact to say that every Indian, whether he own up to it or not, has national aspirations. But there are as many opinions as there are Indian nationalists, as to the exact meaning of that aspiration and more especially as to the methods to be used to attain the end.

One of the accepted and "time-honoured" methods to attain the end is that of violence. The assassination of Sir Curzon Wylie[1] was an illustration in its worst and [most] detestable form of that method. Tolstoy's life has been devoted to replacing the method of violence for removing tyranny or securing reform by the method of non-resistance to evil. He would meet hatred expressed in violence by love expressed in self-suffering. He admits of no exception to whittle down this great and divine law of Love. He applies it to all the problems that worry mankind.

When a man like Tolstoy, one of the clearest thinkers in the western world, one of the greatest writers, one who, as a soldier, has known what violence is and what it can do, condemns Japan for having blindly followed the law of modern science, falsely so-called, and fears for that country "the greatest calamities", it is for us to pause and consider whether, in our impatience of English rule, we do not want to replace one evil by another and a worse. India, which is the nursery of the great faiths of the world, will cease to be nationalist India, whatever else it[2] may become, when it goes through the process of civilisation in the shape of reproduction on that sacred soil of gun factories and hateful industrialism, which has reduced the people of Europe to a state of slavery and all but stifled among them the best instincts, which are the heritage of the human family.

If we do not want the English in India, we must pay the price. Tolstoy indicates it.

> Do not resist evil, but also yourselves participate not in evil, in the violent deeds of the administration of the law courts, the collection of taxes and, what is more important, of the soldiers, and no one in the world will enslave you,

passionately declares the sage of Yasnaya Polyana. Who can question the truth of what he says in the following:

> A commercial company enslaved a nation comprising 200 millions. Tell this to a man free from superstition and he will fail to grasp what these words mean. What

[1] Political Aide-de-Camp to the Secretary of State for India; was shot dead by a Punjabi student, Madan Lal Dhingra, on July 1, 1909 at a reception by the National Indian Association at the Imperial Institute in South Kensington, London; *vide* Vol. IX, p. 302.

[2] The original has "she".

does it mean that thirty thousand people, not athletes but rather weak and ill-looking, have enslaved 200 millions of vigorous, clever, strong, freedom-loving people? Do not the figures make it clear that not the English but the Indians have enslaved themselves?

One need not accept all[1] that Tolstoy says—some of his facts are not accurately stated—to realise the central truth of his indictment of the present system which is to understand and act upon the irresistible power of the soul over the body, of love, which is an attribute of the soul, over the brute or body force generated by the stirring up in us of evil passions.

There is no doubt that there is nothing new in what Tolstoy preaches. But his presentation of the old truth is refreshingly forceful. His logic is unassailable. And, above all, he endeavours to practise what he preaches. He preaches to convince. He is sincere and in earnest. He commands attention.

M. K. GANDHI

*Indian Opinion*, 25-12-1909

[1] *Vide* footnote 5, p. 2.

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## 3. "*HIND SWARAJ*"[1]

### PREFACE

I have written some[2] chapters on the subject of Indian Home Rule which I venture to place before the readers of *Indian Opinion*. I have written because I could not restrain myself. I have read much, I have pondered much, during the stay, for four months[3] in London, of the Transvaal Indian deputation.[4] I discussed things with as many of my countrymen as I could. I met, too, as many Englishmen as it was possible for me to meet. I consider it my duty now to place

[1] This was originally written in Gujarati during Gandhiji's return journey from England on the *Kildonan Castle* and published in *Indian Opinion*, the first twelve chapters on 11-12-1909 and the rest on 18-12-1909. Issued as a booklet in January 1910, it was proscribed in India by the Government of Bombay on March 24, 1910; *vide* "Our Publications", (p. 245). This hastened Gandhiji's decision to publish the English translation; *vide* "Preface to *Hind Swaraj*", (pp. 188-90). This was issued by the International Printing Press, Phœnix, with a foreword by Gandhiji dated March 20, 1910 and also the English translation of the Gujarati foreword dated November 22, 1909, reproduced here.

The text adopted here is that of the Revised New Edition published in 1939 by the Navajivan Press, Ahmedabad. Their first edition appeared in 1938 with a preface by Mahadev Desai, who also wrote (in the *Harijan*, 10-9-1938) an article on the Hind Swaraj Special Number of *The Aryan Path* (September 1938). This article of Desai's and a message from Gandhiji dated July 14, 1938 were included in the 1939 edition, the proofs of which had been, as Mahadev Desai states in his introductory lines dated December 11, 1938, "revised by numerous friends". Gandhiji discusses *Hind Swaraj* in the article "The Unbridgeable Gulf", *Harijan*, 14-10-1939.

Ganesh & Co., Madras, brought out the first Indian edition in 1919 with Gandhiji's foreword dated May 28, 1919. Their fourth edition came out in 1921 with Gandhiji's article "Hind Swaraj or Indian Home Rule" in *Young India*, 26-1-1921. Their sixth edition was issued in 1924. In the same year appeared an American edition by H. T. Mazumdar with the title *Sermon on the Sea*.

The second Gujarati edition was issued in May 1914, in South Africa, with a new Preface by Gandhiji, published in *Indian Opinion*, 29-4-1914. The Navajivan Press published in September 1923 a facsimile edition of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand.

Significant variations between the Revised New Edition of 1939 and the Gujarati original published in *Indian Opinion* in December 1909 are indicated in the footnotes.

[2] "Twenty", according to the original Preface in Gujarati

[3] July 10 to November 13

[4] The original has: "I have read much, I have pondered much. Also, during my four months' stay in London in connection with the work of the Transvaal Indian Deputation, I discussed. . . ."

before the readers of *Indian Opinion* the conclusions, which appear to me to be final. The Gujarati subscribers of *Indian Opinion* number about 800. I am aware that, for every subscriber, there are at least ten persons who read the paper with zest. Those who cannot read Gujarati have the paper read out to them. Such persons have often questioned me about the condition of India. Similar questions were addressed to me in London. I felt, therefore, that it might not be improper for me to ventilate publicly the views expressed by me in private.

These views are mine, and yet not mine. They are mine because I hope to act according to them. They are almost a part of my being. But, yet, they are not mine, because I lay no claim to originality. They have been formed after reading several books. That which I dimly felt received support from these books.[1]

The views I venture to place before the reader are, needless to say, held by many Indians not touched by what is known as civilization, but I ask the reader to believe me when I tell him that they are also held by thousands of Europeans. Those who wish to dive deep, and have time, may read certain books themselves. If time permits me, I hope to translate portions of such books for the benefit of the readers of *Indian Opinion.*

If the readers of *Indian Opinion* and others who may see the following chapters will pass their criticism on to me, I shall feel obliged to them.

The only motive is to serve my country, to find out the Truth, and to follow it. If, therefore, my views are proved to be wrong, I shall have no hesitation in rejecting them. If they are proved to be right, I would naturally wish, for the sake of the motherland, that others should adopt them.

To make it easy reading, the chapters are written in the form of a dialogue between the reader and the editor.

MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI

*KILDONAN CASTLE,*
22-11-1909

[From Gujarati]

[1] *Vide* "Some Authorities", Appendix I to *Hind Swaraj*, p. 65.

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## CHAPTER I: THE CONGRESS AND ITS OFFICIALS

READER: Just at present there is a Home Rule wave passing over India. All our countrymen appear to be pining for National Independence. A similar spirit pervades them even in South Africa. Indians seem to be eager to acquire rights. Will you explain your views in this matter?

EDITOR: You have put the question well, but the answer is not easy. One of the objects of a newspaper is to understand popular feeling and to give expression to it; another is to arouse among the people certain desirable sentiments; and the third is fearlessly to expose popular defects.[1] The exercise of all these three functions is involved in answering your question. To a certain extent the people's will has to be expressed; certain sentiments will need to be fostered, and defects will have to be brought to light.[2] But, as you have asked the question, it is my duty to answer it.

READER: Do you then consider that a desire for Home Rule has been created among us?

EDITOR: That desire gave rise to the National Congress.[3] The choice of the word "National" implies it.

READER: That, surely, is not the case. Young India seems to ignore the Congress. It is considered to be an instrument for perpetuating British Rule.

EDITOR: That opinion is not justified. Had not the Grand Old Man[4] of India prepared the soil, our young men could not have even spoken about Home Rule. How can we forget what Mr. Hume[5] has written, how he has lashed us into action, and with what effort he has awakened us, in order to achieve the objects of the Congress? Sir William Wedderburn[6] has given his body, mind and money to the same cause. His writings[7] are worthy of perusal to this day. Professor Gokhale[8], in order to prepare the nation, embraced poverty and gave

[1] The original adds: "whatever the difficulties in the way".

[2] The original has: "and the defects will have to be condemned".

[3] The original has: "That has been evident since the National Congress was established."

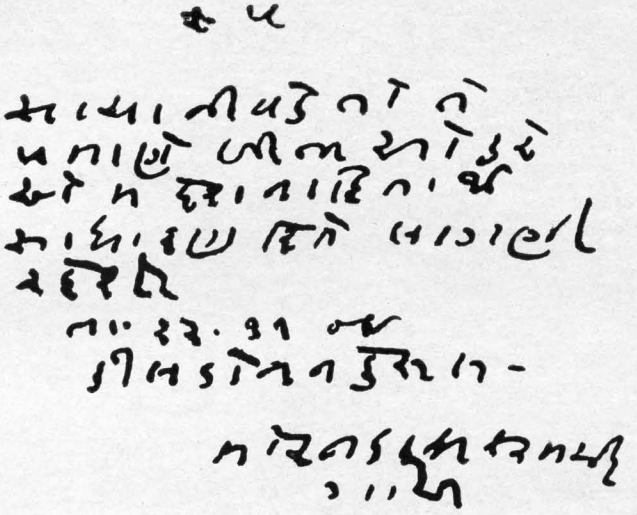
[4] Dadabhai Naoroji (1825-1917), *vide* Vol. II, p. 377; also *vide* "The Grand Old Man of India", p. 313.

[5] A. O. Hume, one of the founders of the Indian National Congress

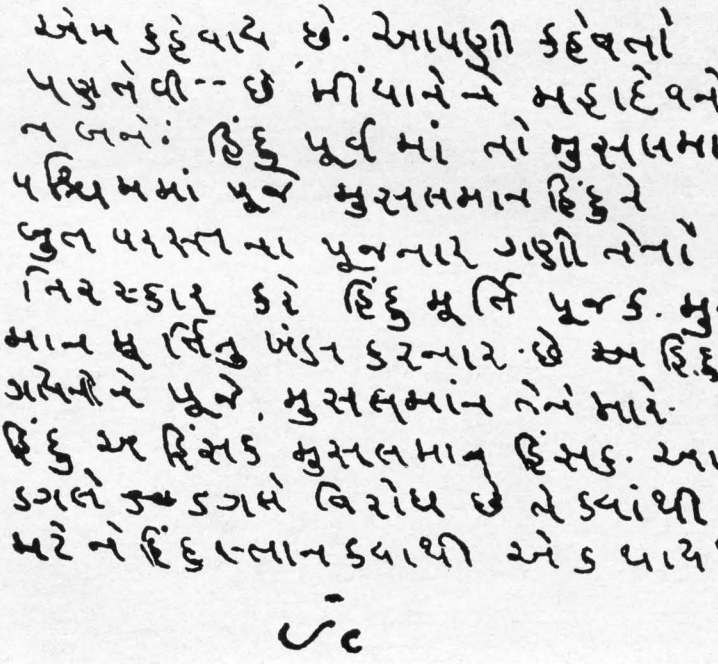
[6] President, Indian National Congress at Bombay (1889) and at Allahabad (1910); *vide* Vol. I, p. 386.

[7] The original adds: "on British rule".

[8] Distinguished Indian leader and statesman, educationist and reformer; *vide* Vol. II, p. 377-8.



FROM MS. OF PREFACE TO "HIND SWARAJ"



FROM CHAPTER NINE: WRITTEN WITH THE LEFT HAND

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FROM CHAPTER TEN

twenty years of his life. Even now, he is living in poverty. The late Justice Budruddin Tyebji[1] was also one of those who, through the Congress, sowed the seed of Home Rule. Similarly, in Bengal, Madras, the Punjab and other places, there have been lovers of India and members of the Congress, both Indian and English.

READER: Stay, stay; you are going too far, you are straying away from my question. I have asked you about Home- or Self-Rule; you are discussing foreign rule. I do not desire to hear English names, and you are giving me such names. In these circumstances, I do not think we can ever meet. I shall be pleased if you will confine yourself to Home Rule. All other talk[2] will not satisfy me.

EDITOR: You are impatient. I cannot afford to be likewise. If you will bear with me for a while, I think you will find that you will obtain what you want. Remember the old proverb that the tree does not grow in one day. The fact that you have checked me and that you do not want to hear about the well-wishers of India shows that, for you at any rate, Home Rule is yet far away. If we had many like you, we would never make any advance. This thought is worthy of your attention.

READER: It seems to me that you simply want to put me off by talking round and round. Those whom you consider to be well-wishers of India are not such in my estimation. Why, then, should I listen to your discourse on such people ?[3] What has he whom you consider to be the Father of the Nation done for it ? He says that the English Governors will do justice and that we should co-operate with them.

EDITOR: I must tell you, with all gentleness, that it must be a matter of shame for us that you should speak about that great man in terms of disrespect. Just look at his work. He has dedicated his life to the service of India. We have learned what we know from him. It was the respected Dadabhai who taught us that the English had sucked our life-blood. What does it matter that, today, his trust is still in the English nation? Is Dadabhai less to be honoured because, in the exuberance of youth, we are prepared to go a step further? Are we, on that account, wiser than he ? It is a mark of wisdom not to kick away the very step from which we have risen higher. The removal[4] of a step from a staircase brings down the whole of it. When, out of infancy, we grow into youth, we do not despise infancy, but, on the contrary, we recall with affection the days of our childhood. If, after many years of study,

[1] Judge of the Bombay High Court and President of the Indian National Congress at Madras (1887); *vide* Vol. IV, p. 442, footnote.

[2] The original has: "This fine talk about other things will not satisfy me." The first Indian edition had: "All other wise talk. . . "

[3] The original has: "Whose services, then, must I hear about? "

[4] The original has: "It must be remembered that the removal. . . ."

a teacher were to teach me something, and if I were to build a little more on the foundation laid by that teacher, I would not, on that account, be considered wiser than the teacher. He would always command my respect. Such is the case with the Grand Old Man of India. We must admit that he is the author of nationalism.[1]

READER: You have spoken well. I can now understand that we must look upon Mr. Dadabhai with respect. Without him and men like him, we should probably not have the spirit that fires us. How can the same be said of Professor Gokhale ? He has constituted himself a great friend of the English; he says that we have to learn a great deal from them, that we have to learn their political wisdom, before we can talk of Home Rule. I am tired of reading his speeches.

EDITOR: If you are tired, it only betrays your impatience. We believe that those, who are discontented with the slowness of their parents and are angry because the parents would not run with their children, are considered disrespectful to their parents. Professor Gokhale occupies the place of a parent. What does it matter if he cannot run with us? A nation that is desirous of securing Home Rule cannot afford to despise its ancestors. We shall become useless, if we lack respect for our elders. Only men with mature thoughts are capable of ruling themselves and not the hasty-tempered. Moreover, how many Indians were there like Professor Gokhale, when he gave himself to Indian education? I verily believe that whatever Professor Gokhale does, he does with pure motives and with a view to serving India. His devotion to the Motherland is so great that he would give his life for it, if necessary. Whatever he says is said not to flatter anyone but because he believes it to be true. We are bound, therefore, to entertain the highest regard for him.

READER: Are we, then, to follow him in every respect?

EDITOR : I never said any such thing. If we conscientiously differed from him, the learned Professor himself would advise us to follow the dictates of our conscience rather than him. Our chief purpose is not to decry his work, but to believe that he is infinitely greater than we are, and to feel assured that compared with his work for India, ours is infinitesimal. Several newspapers write disrespectfully of him. It is our duty to protest against such writings. We should consider men like Professor Gokhale to be the pillars of Home Rule. It is a bad habit to say that another man's thoughts are bad and ours only are good and that those holding different views from ours are the enemies of the country.

READER: I now begin to understand somewhat your meaning. I shall have to think the matter over. But what you say about Mr. Hume and Sir William Wedderburn is beyond my comprehension.

[1] The original has: "that he gave a lead to the Indian people".

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EDITOR: The same rule holds good for the English as for the Indians. I can never subscribe to the statement that all Englishmen are bad. Many Englishmen desire Home Rule for India. That the English people are somewhat more selfish than others is true, but that does not prove that every Englishman is bad. We who seek justice will have to do justice to others. Sir William does not wish ill to India—that should be enough for us. As we proceed, you will see that, if we act justly, India will be sooner free. You will see, too, that if we shun every Englishman as an enemy, Home Rule will be delayed. But if we are just to them, we shall receive their support in our progress towards the goal.

READER: All this seems to me at present to be simply nonsensical. English support and the obtaining of Home Rule are two contradictory things. How can the English people tolerate Home Rule for us? But I do not want you to decide this question for me just yet. To spend time over it is useless. When you have shown how we can have Home Rule, perhaps I shall understand your views. You have prejudiced me against you by discoursing on English help. I would, therefore, beseech you not to continue this subject.

EDITOR: I have no desire to do so. That you are prejudiced against me is not a matter for much anxiety. It is well that I should say unpleasant things at the commencement. It is my duty patiently to try to remove your prejudice.

READER: I like that last statement. It emboldens me to say what I like. One thing still puzzles me. I do not understand how the Congress laid the foundation of Home Rule.

EDITOR: Let us see. The Congress brought together Indians from different parts of India, and enthused us with the idea of nationality. The Government used to look upon it with disfavour. The Congress has always insisted that the Nation should control revenue and expenditure. It has always desired self-government after the Canadian model. Whether we can get it or not, whether we desire it or not, and whether there is not something more desirable, are different questions. All I have to show is that the Congress gave us a foretaste of Home Rule. To deprive it of the honour is not proper,[1] and for us to do so would not only be ungrateful, but retard the fulfilment of our object. To treat the Congress[2] as an institution inimical to our growth as a nation would disable us from using that body.

[1] The original has: "It would be improper for others to claim that honour. . . ."

[2] The original has: "To dissociate ourselves from the Congress and treat it. . . ."

## CHAPTER II: THE PARTITION OF BENGAL

READER: Considering the matter as you put it, it seems proper to say that the foundation of Home Rule was laid by the Congress. But you will admit that this cannot be considered a real awakening. When and how did the real awakening take place?

EDITOR: The seed is never seen. It works underneath the ground, is itself destroyed, and the tree which rises above the ground is alone seen. Such is the case with the Congress. Yet, what you call the real awakening took place after the Partition of Bengal. For this we have to be thankful to Lord Curzon[1]. At the time of the Partition,[2] the people of Bengal reasoned with Lord Curzon, but in the pride of power he disregarded all their prayers. He took it for granted that Indians could only prattle, that they could never take any effective steps. He used insulting language, and in the teeth of all opposition partitioned Bengal. That day may be considered to be the day of the partition of the British Empire. The shock the British power received through the Partition has never been equalled by any other act. This does not mean that the other injustices done to India are less glaring than that done by the Partition. The salt-tax is not a small injustice. We shall see many such things later on. But the people were ready to resist the Partition. At that time feeling ran high. Many leading Bengalis were ready to lose their all. They knew their power; hence the conflagration. It is now well-nigh unquenchable; it is not necessary to quench it either. The Partition will go, Bengal will be reunited, but the rift in the English barque will remain; it must daily widen. India awakened is not likely to fall asleep. The demand for the abrogation of the Partition is tantamount to a demand for Home Rule. Leaders in Bengal know this. British officials realize it. That is why the Partition still remains. As time passes, the Nation is being forged. Nations are not formed in a day; the formation requires years.

READER: What, in your opinion, are the results of the Partition?

EDITOR: Hitherto we have considered that for redress of grievances we must approach the throne, and if we get no redress we must sit still, except that we may still petition. After the Partition, people saw that petitions must be backed up by force, and that they must be capable of suffering. This new spirit must be considered to be the chief result of the Partition. That spirit was seen in the outspoken writings in the Press. That which the people said tremblingly and in secret began to

[1] Viceroy of India, 1899-1905; *vide* Vol. V, pp. 47-8.
[2] In 1905

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be said and to be written publicly. The Swadeshi movement was inaugurated. People, young and old, used to run away at the sight of an English face; it now no longer awes them. They do not fear even a row, or being imprisoned. Some of the best sons of India are at present in banishment.[1] This is something different from mere petitioning. Thus are the people moved. The spirit generated in Bengal has spread in the north to the Punjab, and in the south to Cape Comorin.

READER: Do you suggest any other striking result?

EDITOR: The Partition has not only made a rift in the English ship but has made it in ours also. Great events always produce great results. Our leaders are divided into two parties: the Moderates and the Extremists. These may be considered as the slow party and the impatient party. Some call the Moderates the timid party, and the Extremists the bold party. All interpret the two words according to their preconceptions. This much is certain—that there has arisen an enmity between the two. The one distrusts the other and imputes motives. At the time of the Surat Congress[2] there was almost a fight. I think that this division is not a good thing for the country, but I think also that such divisions will not last long. It all depends upon the leaders how long they will last.

## CHAPTER III: DISCONTENT AND UNREST

READER: Then you consider the Partition to be a cause of the awakening? Do you welcome the unrest which has resulted from it?

EDITOR: When a man rises from sleep, he twists his limbs and is restless. It takes some time before he is entirely awakened. Similarly, although the Partition has caused an awakening, the comatose condition has not yet disappeared. We are still twisting our limbs and are still restless, and just as the state between sleep and awakening must be considered to be necessary, so may the present unrest in India be considered a necessary and, therefore, a proper state. The knowledge that there is unrest will, it is highly probable, enable us to outgrow it. Rising from sleep, we do not continue in a comatose state, but according to our ability, sooner or later, we are completely restored to our senses. So shall we be free from the present unrest which no one likes.

READER: What is the other form of unrest?

EDITOR: Unrest is, in reality, discontent. The latter is only now described as unrest. During the Congress period, it was labelled discontent. Mr. Hume always said that the spread of discontent in India was necessary. This discontent is a very useful thing. As long as a man is

[1] Bal Gangadhar Tilak, the Father of Indian Unrest, was in Mandalay prison at this time.

[2] In 1907

contented with his present lot, so long is it difficult to persuade him to come out of it. Therefore it is that every reform must be preceded by discontent. We throw away things we have, only when we cease to like them. Such discontent has been produced among us after reading the great works of Indians and Englishmen. Discontent has led to unrest, and the latter has brought about many deaths,[1] many imprisonments, many banishments.[2] Such a state of things will still continue. It must be so. All these may be considered good signs but they may also lead to bad results.

## CHAPTER IV: WHAT IS SWARAJ?

READER: I have now learnt what the Congress has done to make India one nation, how the Partition has caused an awakening, and how discontent and unrest have spread through the land. I would now like to know your views on Swaraj. I fear that our interpretation is not the same as yours.

EDITOR: It is quite possible that we do not attach the same meaning to the term. You and I and all Indians are impatient to obtain Swaraj, but we are certainly not decided as to what it is. To drive the English out of India is a thought heard from many mouths, but it does not seem that many have properly considered why it should be so. I must ask you a question. Do you think that it is necessary to drive away the English, if we get all we want?

READER: I should ask of them only one thing, that is: "Please leave our country." If, after they have complied with this request, their withdrawal from India means[3] that they are still in India, I should have no objection. Then we would understand that, in their language, the word "gone" is equivalent to "remained".

[1] The original adds here: "many flights. . . ."

[2] Gandhiji must have had in mind the assassination of Englishmen and Indians by terrorists, who were sentenced to death or deportation or long terms of imprisonment. In 1908 Mrs. and Miss Kennedy were killed by Khudi Ram Bose, a youngster of 18, who had flung a bomb at Kingsford, the District Magistrate of Muzaffarpur in Bengal and missed him. Sub-Inspector Nandlal, who had arrested Khudi Ram Bose, was murdered, as also Narendra Gosain, approver in the Alipore Conspiracy Case, in which Aurobindo Ghosh, defended by C. R. Das, who had earlier defended B. C. Pal in sedition cases, was acquitted, in 1909, but many others were awarded heavy sentences including transportation for life. In 1909, Ganesh Savarkar was sentenced to transportation for life on a charge of writing inflammatory verses; and Ashutosh Biswas, Public Prosecutor, was shot dead, while leaving the court in Calcutta. On July 1, a few days before Gandhiji reached London, Madan Lal Dhingra had shot dead Sir Curzon Wyllie in London. Among the banishments were those in 1907 of Lala Lajpatrai and Ajit Singh of the Punjab and of B. G. Tilak who was in prison in Mandalay from 1908 to 1914.

[3] The original has: "is taken to mean, perversely enough."

EDITOR: Well then, let us suppose that the English have retired. What will you do then?

READER: That question cannot be answered at this stage. The state after withdrawal will depend largely upon the manner of it. If, as you assume, they retire, it seems to me we shall still keep their constitution and shall carry on the Government. If they simply retire for the asking, we should have an army, etc., ready at hand. We should, therefore, have no difficulty in carrying on the Government.

EDITOR: You may think so; I do not. But I will not discuss the matter just now. I have to answer your question, and that I can do well by asking you several questions. Why do you want to drive away the English ?

READER: Because India has become impoverished by their Government. They take away our money from year to year. The most important posts are reserved for themselves. We are kept in a state of slavery. They behave insolently towards us and disregard our feelings.

EDITOR: If they do not take our money away, become gentle, and give us responsible posts, would you still consider their presence to be harmful?

READER: That question is useless. It is similar to the question whether there is any harm in associating with a tiger if he changes his nature. Such a question is sheer waste of time. When a tiger changes his nature, Englishmen will change theirs. This is not possible, and to believe it to be possible is contrary to human experience.[1]

EDITOR: Supposing we get Self-Government similar to what the Canadians and the South Africans[2] have, will it be good enough?

READER: That question also is useless. We may get it when we have the same powers;[3] we shall then hoist our own flag. As is Japan, so must India be. We must own our navy, our army, and we must have our own splendour, and then will India's voice ring through the world.

EDITOR: You have drawn the picture well. In effect it means this: that we want English rule without the Englishman. You want the tiger's nature, but not the tiger; that is to say, you would make India English. And when it becomes English, it will be called not Hindustan but *Englistan*. This is not the Swaraj that I want.

READER: I have placed before you my idea of Swaraj as I think it should be. If the education we have received be of any use, if the works of Spencer, Mill and others be of any importance, and if the

[1] The original has: "and it is certainly absurd of a man to believe that the impossible will be possible."

[2] The original has: "Boers".

[3] The original has: "when we have firearms in the same way that they have".

English Parliament be the Mother of Parliaments, I certainly think that we should copy the English people, and this to such an extent that, just as they do not allow others to obtain a footing in their country, so we should not allow them or others to obtain it in ours. What they have done in their own country has not been done in any other country. It is, therefore, proper for us to import their institutions. But now I want to know your views.

EDITOR: There is need for patience. My views will develop of themselves in the course of this discourse. It is as difficult for me to understand the true nature of Swaraj as it seems to you to be easy. I shall therefore, for the time being, content myself with endeavouring to show that what you call Swaraj is not truly Swaraj.

## CHAPTER V: THE CONDITION OF ENGLAND

READER: Then from your statement I deduce that the Government of England is not desirable[1] and not worth copying by us.

EDITOR: Your deduction is justified. The condition of England at present is pitiable. I pray to God that India may never be in that plight. That which you consider to be the Mother of Parliaments is like a sterile woman and a prostitute. Both these are harsh terms, but exactly fit the case. That Parliament has not yet, of its own accord, done a single good thing. Hence I have compared it to a sterile woman. The natural condition of that Parliament is such that, without outside pressure, it can do nothing. It is like a prostitute because it is under the control of ministers who change from time to time. Today it is under Mr. Asquith[2], tomorrow it may be under Mr. Balfour[3].

READER: You have said this sarcastically. The term "sterile woman" is not applicable. The Parliament, being elected by the people, must work under public pressure. This is its quality.[4]

EDITOR: You are mistaken. Let us examine it a little more closely.[5] The best men are supposed to be elected by the people. The members serve without pay[6] and therefore, it must be assumed, only for the public weal. The electors are considered to be educated and therefore we should assume that they would not generally make mistakes in their

[1] The original has: ". . . the Government which England enjoys is not the right kind and . . . "

[2] Herbert Henry Asquith (1852-1928), Prime Minister of Great Britain, 1908-16

[3] Arthur James Balfour, Prime Minister of Great Britain, 1902-05. The original adds: "and the day after, it will be somebody else".

[4] The original has: "That is its very nature, what keeps it in check."

[5] The original has: "If Parliament were not like a sterile woman, this is what we might expect."

[6] Payment to members began in 1911.

choice. Such a Parliament should not need the spur of petitions or any other pressure. Its work should be so smooth that its effects would be more apparent day by day. But, as a matter of fact, it is generally acknowledged that the members are hypocritical and selfish. Each thinks of his own little interest. It is fear that is the guiding motive. What is done today may be undone tomorrow. *It is not possible to recall a single instance in which finality can be predicted for its work.* When the greatest questions are debated, its members have been seen to stretch themselves and to doze. Sometimes the members talk away until the listeners are disgusted. Carlyle has called it the "talking shop of the world". Members vote for their party without a thought. Their so-called discipline binds them to it. If any member, by way of exception, gives an independent vote, he is considered a renegade. If the money and the time wasted by Parliament were entrusted to a few good men, the English nation would be occupying today a much higher platform. Parliament is simply a costly toy of the nation. These views are by no means peculiar to me. Some great English thinkers have expressed them. One of the members of that Parliament recently said that a true Christian could not become a member of it. Another said that it was a baby. And if it has remained a baby after an existence of seven hundred years, when will it outgrow its babyhood ?

READER: You have set me thinking; you do not expect me to accept at once all you say. You give me entirely novel views. I shall have to digest them. Will you now explain the epithet "prostitute" ?

EDITOR: That you cannot accept my views at once is only right. If you will read the literature on this subject, you will have some idea of it.[1] Parliament is without a real master.[2] Under the Prime Minister,[3] its movement is not steady but it is buffeted about like a prostitute. The Prime Minister is more concerned about his power than about the welfare of Parliament. His energy is concentrated upon securing the success of his party. His care is not always that Parliament shall

[1] The original adds: "The description of Parliament as a prostitute is also justified." It is this sentence which probably Gandhiji had in mind when he said later in his preface, dated 28-5-1919, to *Hind Swaraj* published by Ganesh & Co.: "I have re-read this booklet more than once. The value at the present moment lies in reprinting it as it is. But if I had to revise it, there is only one word I would alter in accordance with a promise made to an English friend. She took exception to my use of the word 'prostitute' in speaking of the Parliament. Her fine taste recoiled from the indelicacy of the expression."

[2] The original adds: "It cannot be under one master all the time. But this is not all that I mean."

[3] The original has: "Even when a person becomes its master—say, the Prime Minister—it is not loyal to him all the time. Its ways are always the ways of a prostitute."

do right. Prime Ministers are known to have made Parliament do things merely for party advantage. All this is worth thinking over.

READER: Then you are really attacking the very men whom we have hitherto considered to be patriotic and honest?

EDITOR: Yes, that is true; I can have nothing against Prime Ministers, but what I have seen leads me to think that they cannot be considered really patriotic. If they are to be considered honest because they do not take what are generally known as bribes, let them be so considered, but they are open to subtler influences. In order to gain their ends, they certainly bribe people with honours. I do not hesitate to say that they have neither real honesty nor a living conscience.

READER: As you express these views about Parliament, I would like to hear you on the English people, so that I may have your view of their Government.

EDITOR: To the English voters their newspaper is their Bible. They take their cue from their newspapers which are often dishonest. The same fact is differently interpreted by different newspapers, according to the party in whose interests they are edited.[1] One newspaper would consider a great Englishman to be a paragon of honesty, another would consider him dishonest. What must be the condition of the people whose newspapers are of this type?

READER: You shall describe it.

EDITOR: These people change their views frequently. It is said that they change them every seven years. These views swing like the pendulum of a clock and are never steadfast. The people would follow a powerful orator or a man[2] who gives them parties, receptions, etc. As are the people, so is their Parliament. They have certainly one quality very strongly developed. They will never allow their country to be lost. If any person were to cast an evil eye on it, they would pluck out his eyes. But that does not mean that the nation possesses every other virtue or that it should be imitated. If India copies England, it is my firm conviction that she will be ruined.

READER: To what do you ascribe this state of England?

EDITOR: It is not due to any peculiar fault of the English people, but the condition is due to modern civilization. It is a civilization only in name. Under it the nations of Europe are becoming degraded and ruined day by day.

[1] The original has: "one party magnifying its importance and the other minimising it".

[2] The original has: "join the band-wagon of any powerful orator or man. . . ."

## CHAPTER VI: CIVILIZATION

READER: Now you will have to explain what you mean by civilization.[1]

EDITOR: It is not a question of what I mean. Several English writers refuse to call that civilization which passes under that name. Many books have been written upon that subject. Societies have been formed to cure the nation of the evils of civilization. A great English writer[2] has written a work called *Civilization: Its Cause and Cure*. Therein he has called it a disease.

READER: Why do we not know this generally?

EDITOR: The answer is very simple. We rarely find people arguing against themselves. Those who are intoxicated by modern civilization are not likely to write against it. Their care will be to find out facts and arguments in support of it, and this they do unconsciously, believing it to be true. A man, whilst he is dreaming, believes in his dream; he is undeceived only when he is awakened from his sleep. A man labouring under the bane of civilization is like a dreaming man. What we usually read are the works of defenders of modern civilization, which undoubtedly claims among its votaries very brilliant and even some very good men. Their writings hypnotize us. And so, one by one, we are drawn into the vortex.

READER: This seems to be very plausible. Now will you tell me something of what you have read and thought of this civilization?

EDITOR: Let us first consider what state of things is described by the word "civilization". Its true test lies in the fact that people living in it make bodily welfare the object of life. We will take some examples. The people of Europe today live in better-built houses than they did a hundred years ago. This is considered an emblem of civilization, and this is also a matter to promote bodily happiness.[3] Formerly, they wore skins, and used spears as their weapons. Now, they wear long trousers, and, for embellishing their bodies, they wear a variety of clothing, and, instead of spears, they carry with them revolvers containing five or more chambers.[4] If people of a certain country, who have hitherto not been in the habit of wearing much clothing, boots, etc., adopt European clothing, they are supposed to have become civilized out of savagery. Formerly, in Europe, people ploughed their lands mainly by manual labour. Now, one man can plough a vast tract by

[1] The original adds: "According to you, civilization is not civilization but the opposite of it."

[2] Edward Carpenter; *vide* Appendix I to *Hind Swaraj*, p. 65.

[3] The original has: " . . . an emblem of civilization. This is a matter which concerns physical comfort."

[4] The original adds: "; that is considered a sign of civilization".

means of steam engines and can thus amass great wealth. This is called a sign of civilization. Formerly, only a few men wrote valuable books.[1] Now, anybody writes and prints anything he likes and poisons people's minds.[2] Formerly, men travelled in waggons.[3] Now, they fly through the air[4] in trains at the rate of four hundred and more miles per day. This is considered the height of civilization. It has been stated that, as men progress, they shall be able to travel in airships and reach any part of the world in a few hours. Men will not need the use of their hands and feet. They will press a button, and they will have their clothing by their side. They will press another button, and they will have their newspaper. A third, and a motor-car will be in waiting for them. They will have a variety of delicately dished up food. Everything will be done by machinery. Formerly, when people wanted to fight with one another, they measured between them their bodily strength; now it is possible to take away thousands of lives by one man working behind a gun from a hill. This is civilization. Formerly, men worked in the open air only as much as they liked. Now thousands of workmen meet together and for the sake of maintenance work in factories or mines. Their condition is worse than that of beasts. They are obliged to work, at the risk of their lives, at most dangerous occupations, for the sake of millionaires. Formerly, men were made slaves under physical compulsion. Now they are enslaved by temptation of money and of the luxuries that money can buy. There are now diseases of which people never dreamt before, and an army of doctors is engaged in finding out their cures, and so hospitals have increased. This is a test of civilization. Formerly, special messengers were required and much expense was incurred in order to send letters; today, anyone can abuse his fellow by means of a letter for one penny. True, at the same cost, one can send one's thanks also. Formerly, people had two or three meals consisting of home-made bread and vegetables; now, they require something to eat every two hours so that they have hardly leisure for anything else. What more need I say? All this you can ascertain from several authoritative books. These are all true tests of civilization.[5] And if anyone speaks to the contrary, know that he is ignorant.[6] This civilization takes note neither of morality nor of religion. Its votaries calmly state that their business is not to teach religion. Some even consider it to be a superstitious growth. Others put on the cloak of religion, and prate about morality.

[1] The original has: "Only a few men wrote books, and they were esteemed very highly."

[2] The original adds: "; this is considered a sign of civilization".

[3] The original adds: "covering about 20 miles in a day".

[4] The words for "through the air" are not found in the Gujarati text.

[5] The original has: "All these are indeed taken to be signs of civilization."

[6] The original adds: "Civilization is what I have described it to be."

But, after twenty years' experience, I have come to the conclusion that immorality is often taught in the name of morality. Even a child can understand that in all I have described above there can be no inducement to morality. Civilization seeks to increase bodily comforts, and it fails miserably even in doing so.

This civilization is irreligion, and it has taken such a hold on the people in Europe that those who are in it appear to be half mad. They lack real physical strength or courage. They keep up their energy by intoxication. They can hardly be happy in solitude. Women, who should be the queens of households, wander in the streets or they slave away in factories. For the sake of a pittance, half a million[1] women in England alone are labouring under trying circumstances[2] in factories or similar institutions. This awful fact is one of the causes of the daily growing[3] suffragette movement.

This civilization is such that one has only to be patient and it will be self-destroyed. According to the teaching of Mahomed this would be considered a Satanic Civilization. Hinduism calls it the Black Age. I cannot give you an adequate conception of it.[4] It is eating into the vitals of the English nation.[5] It must be shunned.[6] Parliaments are really emblems of slavery. If you will sufficiently think over this, you will entertain the same opinion and cease to blame the English. They rather deserve our sympathy. They are a shrewd nation and I therefore believe that they will cast off the evil. They are enterprising and industrious, and their mode of thought is not inherently immoral. Neither are they bad at heart. I therefore respect them. Civilization is not an incurable disease,[7] but it should never be forgotten that the English people are at present afflicted by it.

## CHAPTER VII: WHY WAS INDIA LOST?

READER: You have said much about civilization—enough to make me ponder over it. I do not now know what I should adopt and what I should avoid from the nations of Europe, but one question comes to my lips immediately. If civilization is a disease[8] and if it has attack-

[1] The original has: "four million".

[2] The original has: ". . . are labouring like beasts of burden".

[3] The words for "awful" and "daily growing" are not found in the original.

[4] The original adds: "That is beyond my capacity."

[5] The original adds: "It is a deadly civilization, and is bound to perish."

[6] The original adds: "These are the reasons why the British Parliament and other parliaments as well are found to be ineffective."

[7] The original has: "It is not that they cannot be cured of this disease of civilization, . . ."

[8] The original has: "If civilization is not civilization but the opposite of it, if it is a disease. . . ."

ed England, why has she been able to take India, and why is she able to retain it?

EDITOR: Your question is not very difficult to answer, and we shall presently be able to examine the true nature of Swaraj; for I am aware that I have still to answer that question. I will, however, take up your previous question. The English have not taken India; we have given it to them. They are not in India because of their strength, but because we keep them. Let us now see whether these propositions can be sustained. They came to our country originally for purposes of trade. Recall the Company[1] Bahadur[2]. Who made it Bahadur? They had not the slightest intention at the time of establishing a kingdom. Who assisted the Company's officers? Who was tempted at the sight of their silver? Who bought their goods? History testifies that we did all this. In order to become rich all at once we welcomed the Company's officers with open arms. We assisted them. If I am in the habit of drinking *bhang* and a seller thereof sells it to me, am I to blame him or myself? By blaming the seller, shall I be able to avoid the habit? And, if a particular retailer is driven away, will not another take his place? A true servant of India will have to go to the root of the matter. If an excess of food has caused me indigestion, I shall certainly not avoid it by blaming water. He is a true physician who probes the cause of disease, and if you pose as a physician for the disease of India, you will have to find out its true cause.

READER: You are right. Now I think you will not have to argue much with me to drive your conclusions home. I am impatient to know your further views. We are now on a most interesting topic. I shall, therefore, endeavour to follow your thought, and stop you when I am in doubt.

EDITOR: I am afraid that,[3] in spite of your enthusiasm, as we proceed further, we shall have differences of opinion. Nevertheless, I shall argue only when you stop me. We have already seen that the English merchants were able to get a footing in India because we encouraged them. When our Princes fought among themselves, they sought the assistance of Company Bahadur. That corporation was versed alike in commerce and war. It was unhampered by questions of morality. Its object was to increase its commerce and to make money. It accepted our assistance, and increased the number of its warehouses. To protect the latter it employed an army which was utilized by us also. Is it not then useless to blame the English for what we did at that time? The Hindus and the Mahomedans were at daggers drawn. This, too, gave the Company its opportunity and thus we created the circumstances

[1] East India Company

[2] Literally, 'brave', here 'powerful', 'sovereign'

[3] In the original, the paragraph begins: "Very well. I am afraid. . . ."

that gave the Company its control over India. Hence it is truer to say that we gave India to the English than that India was lost.

READER: Will you now tell me how they are able to retain India?

EDITOR: The causes that gave them India enable them to retain it. Some Englishmen state that they took and they hold India by the sword. Both these statements are wrong. The sword is entirely useless for holding India. We alone keep them. Napoleon is said to have described the English as a nation of shop-keepers. It is a fitting description. They hold whatever dominions they have for the sake of their commerce. Their army and their navy are intended to protect it. When the Transvaal offered no such attractions, the late Mr. Gladstone[1] discovered that it was not right for the English to hold it. When it became a paying proposition, resistance led to war. Mr. Chamberlain[2] soon discovered that England enjoyed a suzerainty over the Transvaal. It is related that someone asked the late President Kruger[3] whether there was gold in the moon. He replied that it was highly unlikely because, if there were, the English would have annexed it. Many problems can be solved by remembering that money is their God. Then it follows that we keep the English in India for our base self-interest. We like their commerce; they please us by their subtle methods and get what they want from us. To blame them for this is to perpetuate their power. We further strengthen their hold by quarrelling amongst ourselves. If you accept the above statements, it is proved that the English entered India for the purposes of trade. They remain in it for the same purpose and we help them to do so. Their arms and ammunition are perfectly useless. In this connection I remind you that it is the British flag which is waving in Japan and not the Japanese. The English have a treaty with Japan for the sake of their commerce, and you will see that if they can manage it, their commerce will greatly expand in that country. They wish to convert the whole world into a vast market for their goods. That they cannot do so is true, but the blame will not be theirs. They will leave no stone unturned to reach the goal.[4]

## CHAPTER VIII: THE CONDITION OF INDIA

READER: I now understand why the English hold India. I should like to know your views about the condition of our country.

[1] William Ewart Gladstone (1809-98), Prime Minister of Great Britain, 1868-74, 1880-85, 1886, and 1892-94

[2] Joseph Chamberlain (1836-1914), Secretary of State for the Colonies, 1895

[3] Stephanus Johannes Paulus Kruger (1825-1904), Boer leader and State President of the South African Republic; *vide* Vol. III, p. 76.

[4] The original has: "They will not spare any effort."

EDITOR: It is a sad condition. In thinking of it my eyes water and my throat gets parched. I have grave doubts whether I shall be able sufficiently to explain what is in my heart. It is my deliberate opinion that India is being ground down, not under the English heel, but under that of modern civilization. It is groaning under the monster's terrible weight. There is yet time to escape it, but every day makes it more and more difficult. Religion is dear to me and my first complaint is that India is becoming irreligious. Here I am not thinking of the Hindu or the Mahomedan or the Zoroastrian religion but of that religion which underlies all religions. We are turning away from God.

READER: How so?

EDITOR: There is a charge laid against us that we are a lazy people and that Europeans are industrious and enterprising. We have accepted the charge and we therefore wish to change our condition. Hinduism, Islam, Zoroastrianism, Christianity and all other religions teach that we should remain passive about worldly pursuits and active about godly pursuits, that we should set a limit to our worldly ambition and that our religious ambition should be illimitable. Our activity should be directed into the latter channel.

READER: You seem to be encouraging religious charlatanism. Many a cheat has, by talking in a similar strain, led the people astray.[1]

EDITOR: You are bringing an unlawful charge against religion. Humbug there undoubtedly is about all religions. Where there is light, there is also shadow. I am prepared to maintain that humbugs in worldly matters are far worse than the humbugs in religion. The humbug of civilization that I am endeavouring to show to you is not to be found in religion.

READER: How can you say that? In the name of religion Hindus and Mahomedans fought against one another. For the same cause Christians fought Christians. Thousands of innocent men have been murdered, thousands have been burned and tortured in its name. Surely, this is much worse than any civilization.

EDITOR: I certainly submit that the above hardships are far more bearable than those of civilization. Everybody understands that the cruelties you have named are not part of religion although they have been practised in its name; therefore there is no aftermath to these cruelties.[2] They will always happen so long as there are to be found ignorant and credulous people.[3] But there is no end to the victims destroyed in the fire of civilization. Its deadly effect is that people come under its scorching flames believing it to be all good. They become utterly irreligious

[1] The original adds: "and still does so".
[2] The original has: "; therefore they cease when their perpetrators die".
[3] The original adds: "But their evil effects do not remain for ever."

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and, in reality, derive little advantage from the world.[1] Civilization is like a mouse gnawing while it is soothing us. When its full effect is realized, we shall see that religious superstition is harmless compared to that of modern civilization. I am not pleading for a continuance of religious superstitions. We shall certainly fight them tooth and nail, but we can never do so by disregarding religion. We can only do so by appreciating and conserving the latter.

READER: Then you will contend that the Pax Britannica is a useless encumbrance?

EDITOR: You may see peace if you like; I see none.

READER: You make light of the terror that the Thugs[2], the Pindaris[3] and the Bhils[4] were to the country.

EDITOR: If you give the matter some thought, you will see that the terror was by no means such a mighty thing. If it had been a very substantial thing, the other people would have died away before the English advent. Moreover, the present peace is only nominal, for by it we have become emasculated and cowardly. We are not to assume that the English have changed the nature of the Pindaris and the Bhils. It is, therefore, better to suffer the Pindari peril than that someone else should protect us from it and thus render us effeminate. I should prefer to be killed by the arrow of a Bhil than to seek unmanly protection. India without such protection was an India full of valour. Macaulay betrayed gross ignorance when he libelled Indians as being practically cowards. They never merited the charge. Cowards living in a country inhabited by hardy mountaineers and infested by wolves and tigers must surely find an early grave. Have you ever visited our fields? I assure you that our agriculturists sleep fearlessly on their farms even today; but the English and you and I would hesitate to sleep where they sleep. Strength[5] lies in absence of fear, not in the quantity of flesh and muscle we may have on our bodies. Moreover, I must remind you who desire Home Rule that, after all, the Bhils, the Pindaris,[6] and the Thugs are our own countrymen. To conquer[7] them is your and my work. So long as we fear our own brethren, we are unfit to reach the goal.

[1] The Gujarati saying used by Gandhiji means: "They neither follow the way of religion nor that of the world." The original also adds: "They forget the things that really matter."

[2] Predatory groups that used to loot, rob and kill people.

[3] Mounted marauders during the 17th and 18th centuries

[4] Tribe in Central India and Gujarat

[5] The original begins: "A little reflection will show that strength . . ."

[6] The original adds: "the Assamese". This was, however, deleted in all subsequent editions.

[7] The original has "To win them over".

## CHAPTER IX: THE CONDITION OF INDIA (CONTINUED): RAILWAYS

READER: You have deprived me of the consolation I used to have regarding peace in India.[1]

EDITOR: I have merely given you my opinion on the religious aspect, but when I give you my views as to the poverty of India, you will perhaps begin to dislike me because what you and I have hitherto considered beneficial for India no longer appears to me to be so.

READER: What may that be?

EDITOR: Railways, lawyers and doctors have impoverished the country so much so that, if we do not wake up in time, we shall be ruined.

READER: I do now, indeed, fear that we are not likely to agree at all. You are attacking the very institutions which we have hitherto considered to be good.

EDITOR: It is necessary to exercise patience. The true inwardness of the evils of civilization you will understand with difficulty. Doctors assure us that a consumptive clings to life even when he is about to die. Consumption does not produce apparent hurt—it even produces a seductive colour about a patient's face so as to induce the belief that all is well.[2] Civilization is such a disease and we have to be very wary.[3]

READER: Very well, then. I shall hear you on the railways.

EDITOR: It must be manifest to you that, but for the railways, the English could not have such a hold on India as they have. The railways, too, have spread the bubonic plague. Without them, the masses could not move from place to place. They are the carriers of plague germs. Formerly, we had natural segregation. Railways have also increased the frequency of famines because, owing to facility of means of locomotion, people sell out their grain and it is sent to the dearest markets. People become careless and so the pressure of famine increases. Railways accentuate the evil nature of man. Bad men fulfil their evil designs with greater rapidity. The holy places of India have become unholy. Formerly, people went to these places with very great difficulty. Generally, therefore, only the real devotees visited such places. Nowadays rogues visit them in order to practise their roguery.

READER: You have given a one-sided account. Good men can visit these places as well as bad men. Why do they not take the fullest advantage of the railways?

[1] The original has: "You have shattered my illusions about the value of peace in India." The original adds further: "You have left me with nothing that I can think of."

[2] The original has: " . . . about a patient's face so that he keeps on hoping that all will be well, till he succumbs in the end".

[3] The original has: "This is also true of civilization. It is a disease that cannot be detected. Be on your guard against it."

CWMG-X

EDITOR: Good travels at a snail's pace—it can, therefore, have little to do with the railways. Those who want to do good are not selfish, they are not in a hurry, they know that to impregnate people with good requires a long time. But evil has wings. To build a house takes time. Its destruction takes none. So the railways can become a distributing agency for the evil one only. It may be a debatable matter whether railways spread famines, but it is beyond dispute that they propagate evil.

READER: Be that as it may, all the disadvantages of railways are more than counterbalanced by the fact that it is due to them that we see in India the new spirit of nationalism.

EDITOR: I hold this to be a mistake. The English have taught us that we were not one nation before and that it will require centuries before we become one nation. This is without foundation. We were one nation before they came to India. One thought inspired us. Our mode of life was the same. It was because we were one nation that they were able to establish one kingdom. Subsequently they divided us.

READER: This requires an explanation.

EDITOR: [1] I do not wish to suggest that because we were one nation we had no differences, but it is submitted that our leading men travelled throughout India either on foot or in bullock-carts. They learned one another's languages and there was no aloofness between them. What do you think could have been the intention of those farseeing ancestors of ours who established Setubandha (Rameshwar) in the South, Jagannath in the East and Hardwar in the North as places of pilgrimage? You will admit they were no fools. They knew that worship of God could have been performed just as well at home. They taught us that those whose hearts were aglow with righteousness had the Ganges in their own homes. But they saw that India was one undivided land so made by nature. They, therefore, argued that it must be one nation. Arguing thus, they established holy places in various parts of India, and fired the people with an idea of nationality in a manner unknown in other parts of the world. And we Indians are one as no two Englishmen are. Only you and I and others who consider ourselves civilized and superior persons imagine that we are many nations. It was after the advent of railways that we began to believe in distinctions, and you are at liberty now to say that it is through the railways that we are beginning to abolish those distinctions. An opium-eater may argue the advantage of opium-eating from the fact that he began to understand the evil of the opium habit after having eaten it. I would ask you to consider well what I had said on the railways.[2]

[1] The original begins: "I do not say this without due reflection."

[2] The original adds: "Doubts will still occur to you, but you will be able to resolve them yourself."

READER: I will gladly do so, but one question occurs to me even now. You have described to me the India of the pre-Mahomedan period, but now we have Mahomedans, Parsis and Christians. How can they be one nation? Hindus and Mahomedans are old enemies.[1] Our very proverbs prove it.[2] Mahomedans turn to the West for worship, whilst Hindus turn to the East. The former look down on the Hindus as idolaters.[3] The Hindus worship the cow, the Mahomedans kill her. The Hindus believe in the doctrine of non-killing, the Mahomedans do not. We thus meet with differences at every step. How can India be one nation?[4]

## CHAPTER X: THE CONDITION OF INDIA (CONTINUED): THE HINDUS AND THE MAHOMEDANS

EDITOR: Your last question is a serious one and yet, on careful consideration, it will be found to be easy of solution. The question arises because of the presence of the railways, of the lawyers and of the doctors. We shall presently examine the last two. We have already considered the railways. I should, however, like to add that man is so made by nature as to require him[5] to restrict his movements as far as his hands and feet will take him. If we did not rush about from place to place by means of railways and such other maddening[6] conveniences, much of the confusion that arises would be obviated. Our difficulties are of our own creation. God set a limit to man's locomotive ambition in the construction of his body. Man immediately proceeded to discover means of overriding the limit. God gifted man with intellect that he might know his Maker. Man abused it so that he might forget his Maker. I am so constructed that I can only serve my immediate neighbours, but in my conceit I pretend to have discovered that I must with my body serve every individual in the Universe. In thus attempting the impossible, man comes in contact with different natures, different religions, and[7] is utterly confounded. According to this reasoning, it must be apparent to you that railways are a most dangerous institution. Owing to them, man has gone further away from his Maker.

READER: But I am impatient to hear your answer to my question. Has the introduction of Mahomedanism not unmade the nation?

[1] The original has: " . . . are believed to be inveterate enemies".
[2] The original adds: "A Mahomedan has no use for Mahadev."
[3] The original adds: "Hindus worship images; Mahomedans are iconoclasts."
[4] The original has: "How can these disappear and India be one nation?"
[5] The original has: ". . . by nature that he should restrict. . . ."
[6] The word for "maddening" is not found in the original.
[7] The original has: "and, being unable to carry the burden imposed by this, gives way to impatience".

EDITOR: India cannot cease to be one nation because people belonging to different religions live in it. The introduction of foreigners does not necessarily destroy the nation; they merge in it. A country is one nation only when such a condition obtains in it. That country must have a faculty for assimilation. India has ever been such a country. In reality, there are as many religions as there are individuals; but those who are conscious of the spirit of nationality do not interfere with one another's religion. If they do, they are not fit to be considered a nation. If the Hindus believe that India should be peopled only by Hindus, they are living in dreamland.[1] The Hindus, the Mahomedans, the Parsis and the Christians who have made India their country are fellow countrymen, and they will have to live in unity, if only for their own interest. In no part of the world are one nationality and one religion synonymous terms; nor has it ever been so in India.

READER: But what about the inborn enmity between Hindus and Mahomedans?

EDITOR: That phrase has been invented by our mutual enemy. When the Hindus and Mahomedans fought against one another, they certainly spoke in that strain. They have long since ceased to fight. How, then, can there be any inborn enmity? Pray remember this too, that we did not cease to fight only after British occupation. The Hindus flourished under Moslem sovereigns and Moslems under the Hindu. Each party recognized that mutual fighting was suicidal, and that neither party would abandon its religion by force of arms.[2] Both parties, therefore, decided to live in peace. With the English advent quarrels re-commenced.

The proverbs you have quoted were coined when both were fighting; to quote them now is obviously harmful. Should we not remember that many Hindus and Mahomedans own the same ancestors and the same blood runs through their veins?[3] Do people become enemies because they change their religion? Is the God of the Mahomedan different from the God of the Hindu? Religions are different roads converging to the same point. What does it matter that we take different roads so long as we reach the same goal? Wherein is the cause for quarrelling?

Moreover, there are deadly proverbs as between the followers of Shiva and those of Vishnu, yet nobody suggests that these two do not be-

[1] The original adds: "The Mahomedans also live in dreamland if they believe that there should be only Muslims in India."

[2] The original has: " . . . neither party could be made to abandon its religion or change its ways by force of arms."

[3] The original has: "What is stated above also applies to the saying, 'A Mahomedan has no use for Mahadev.' Some sayings live on and cause mischief. Misled by the sayings, we do not even remember that many Hindus and Muslims had the same ancestors and have the same blood."

long to the same nation. It is said that the Vedic religion is different from Jainism, but the followers of the respective faiths are not different nations. The fact is that we have become enslaved and, therefore, quarrel and like to have our quarrels decided by a third party. There are Hindu iconoclasts as there are Mahomedan. The more we advance in true knowledge, the better we shall understand that we need not be at war with those whose religion we may not follow.

READER: Now I would like to know your views about cow-protection.

EDITOR: I myself respect the cow, that is, I look upon her with affectionate reverence. The cow is the protector of India because, being an agricultural country, she is dependent on the cow. The cow is a most useful animal in hundreds of ways. Our Mahomedan brethren will admit this.

But, just as I respect the cow, so do I respect my fellow-men. A man is just as useful as a cow no matter whether he be a Mahomedan or a Hindu. Am I, then, to fight with or kill a Mahomedan in order to save a cow? In doing so, I would become an enemy of the Mahomedan as well as of the cow. Therefore, the only method I know of protecting the cow is that I should approach my Mahomedan brother and urge him for the sake of the country to join me in protecting her. If he would not listen to me I should let the cow go for the simple reason that the matter is beyond my ability. If I were overfull of pity for the cow, I should sacrifice my life to save her but not take my brother's. This, I hold, is the law of our religion.

When men become obstinate, it is a difficult thing. If I pull one way, my Moslem brother will pull another. If I put on superior airs, he will return the compliment. If I bow to him gently, he will do it much more so; and if he does not, I shall not be considered to have done wrong in having bowed. When the Hindus became insistent, the killing of cows increased. In my opinion, cow-protection societies may be considered cow-killing societies. It is a disgrace to us that we should need such societies. When we forgot how to protect cows, I suppose we needed such societies.

What am I to do when a blood-brother is on the point of killing a cow? Am I to kill him, or to fall down at his feet and implore him? If you admit that I should adopt the latter course, I must do the same to my Moslem brother.

Who protects the cow from destruction by Hindus when they cruelly ill-treat her? Whoever reasons with the Hindus when they mercilessly belabour the progeny of the cow with their sticks? But this has not prevented us from remaining one nation.

Lastly, if it be true that the Hindus believe in the doctrine of non-killing and the Mahomedans do not, what, pray, is the duty of the for-

mer? It is not written that a follower of the religion of Ahimsa (non-killing) may kill a fellow-man. For him the way is straight. In order to save one being, he may not kill another. He can only plead—therein lies his sole duty.

But does every Hindu believe in Ahimsa? Going to the root of the matter, not one man really practises such a religion because we do destroy life. We are said to follow that religion because we want to obtain freedom from liability to kill any kind of life. Generally speaking, we may observe that many Hindus partake of meat and are not, therefore, followers of Ahimsa.[1] It is, therefore, preposterous to suggest that the two cannot live together amicably because the Hindus believe in Ahimsa and the Mahomedans do not.

These thoughts are put into our minds by selfish and false religious teachers. The English put the finishing touch. They have a habit of writing history; they pretend to study the manners and customs of all peoples. God has given us a limited mental capacity, but they usurp the function of the Godhead and indulge in novel experiments. They write about their own researches in most laudatory terms and hypnotize us into believing them. We in our ignorance then fall at their feet.[2]

Those who do not wish to misunderstand things may read up the *Koran*, and they will find therein hundreds of passages acceptable to the Hindus; and the *Bhagavad-gita* contains passages to which not a Mahomedan can take exception. Am I to dislike a Mahomedan because there are passages in the *Koran* I do not understand or like? It takes two to make a quarrel. If I do not want to quarrel with a Mahomedan, the latter will be powerless to foist a quarrel on me; and, similarly, I should be powerless if a Mahomedan refuses his assistance to quarrel with me. An arm striking the air will become disjointed. If everyone will try to understand the core of his own religion and adhere to it, and will not allow false teachers to dictate to him, there will be no room left for quarrelling.

READER: But will the English ever allow the two bodies to join hands?

EDITOR: This question arises out of your timidity. It betrays our shallowness. If two brothers want to live in peace, is it possible for a third party to separate them? If they were to listen to evil counsels we would consider them to be foolish. Similarly, we Hindus and Mahomedans would have to blame our folly rather than the English, if we allowed them to put us asunder. A clay pot would break through impact, if not with one stone, then with another. The way to save the pot is not to

[1] The original adds: "I have nothing to say if anyone is bent upon stretching the meanings of words so as to prove his point."

[2] The original has: "We in our simplicity believe all that they say."

keep it away from the danger point but to bake it so that no stone would break it. We have then to make our hearts of perfectly baked clay. Then we shall be steeled against all danger.[1] This can be easily done by the Hindus.[2] They are superior in numbers; they pretend that they are more educated; they are, therefore, better able to shield themselves from attack on their amicable relations with the Mahomedans.[3]

There is mutual distrust between the two communities. The Mahomedans, therefore, ask for certain concessions from Lord Morley. Why should the Hindus oppose this? If the Hindus desisted, the English would notice it, the Mahomedans would gradually begin to trust the Hindus, and brotherliness would be the outcome. We should be ashamed to take our quarrels to the English. Everyone can find out for himself that the Hindus can lose nothing by desisting. That man who has inspired confidence in another has never lost anything in this world.

I do not suggest that the Hindus and the Mahomedans will never fight. Two brothers living together often do so. We shall sometimes have our heads broken. Such a thing ought not to be necessary, but all men are not equitable[4]. When people are in a rage, they do many foolish things. These we have to put up with. But when we do quarrel, we certainly do not want to engage counsel and resort to English or any law-courts. Two men fight; both have their heads broken, or one only. How shall a third party distribute justice amongst them? Those who fight may expect to be injured.[5]

## CHAPTER XI: THE CONDITION OF INDIA (CONTINUED): LAWYERS

READER: You tell me that when two men quarrel they should not go to a law-court. This is astonishing.

EDITOR: Whether you call it astonishing or not, it is the truth. And your question introduces us to the lawyers and the doctors. My firm[6] opinion is that the lawyers have enslaved India, have accentuated Hindu-Mahomedan dissensions and have confirmed English authority.

READER: It is easy enough to bring these charges, but it will be difficult for you to prove them. But for the lawyers, who would have shown us the road to independence? Who would have protected the

[1] The original has: "Should even one side be sound of heart, the third party will not succeed in its designs."

[2] The original has: "The Hindus can easily afford to be so."

[3] The original has: "; it should therefore be possible for them to have a heart of well-baked clay".

[4] The original has: "equally sensible".

[5] The original adds: "When human bodies clash against one another, some marks are bound to be left on them. Where is the question of awarding justice in this matter?"

[6] The word for "firm" is not found in the original.

poor? Who would have secured justice? For instance, the late Manomohan Ghose[1] defended many a poor man free of charge. The Congress, which you have praised so much, is dependent for its existence and activity upon the work of the lawyers. To denounce such an estimable[2] class of men is to spell injustice,[3] and you are abusing the liberty of the Press by decrying lawyers.

EDITOR: At one time I used to think exactly like you. I have no desire to convince you that they have never done a single good thing. I honour Mr. Ghose's memory. It is quite true that he helped the poor. That the Congress owes the lawyers something is believable. Lawyers are also men, and there is something good in every man. Whenever instances of lawyers having done good can be brought forward, it will be found that the good is due to them as men rather than as lawyers. All I am concerned with is to show you that the profession teaches immorality; it is exposed to temptation from which few are saved.

The Hindus and the Mahomedans have quarrelled. An ordinary man will ask them to forget all about it; he will tell them that both must be more or less at fault, and will advise them no longer to quarrel. But they go to lawyers. The latter's duty is to side with their clients and to find out ways and arguments in favour of the clients, to which they (the clients) are often strangers. If they do not do so, they will be considered to have degraded their profession. The lawyers, therefore, will, as a rule, advance quarrels instead of repressing them.[4] Moreover, men take up that profession, not in order to help others out of their miseries, but to enrich themselves. It is one of the avenues of becoming wealthy and their interest exists in multiplying disputes. It is within my knowledge that they are glad when men have disputes. Petty pleaders actually manufacture them. Their touts, like so many leeches, suck the blood of the poor people.[5] Lawyers are men who have little to do. Lazy people, in order to indulge in luxuries, take up such professions. This is a true statement. Any other argument is a mere pretension. It is the lawyers who have discovered that theirs is an honourable profession. They frame laws as they frame their own praises. They decide what fees they will charge and they put on so much side that poor people almost consider them to be heaven-born.

[1] (1844-96), lawyer and Congressman; first Indian barrister; founder and editor of *Indian Mirror*

[2] The word for "estimable" is not found in the original.

[3] The original has: "is to treat justice as injustice".

[4] The original has: "As a rule, therefore, the lawyer will be for taking further action in the dispute."

[5] The original adds: "It is a profession which cannot but result in encouragement of quarrels."

Why do they want more fees than common labourers? Why are their requirements greater? In what way are they more profitable to the country than the labourers? Are those who do good entitled to greater payment? And, if they have done anything for the country for the sake of money, how shall it be counted as good?[1]

Those who know anything of the Hindu-Mahomedan quarrels know that they have been often due to the intervention of lawyers. Some families have been ruined through them; they have made brothers enemies. Principalities, having come under the lawyers' power, have become loaded with debt. Many have been robbed of their all.[2] Such instances can be multiplied.

But the greatest injury they have done to the country is that they have tightened the English grip. Do you think that it would be possible for the English to carry on their Government without law courts? It is wrong to consider that courts are established for the benefit of the people. Those who want to perpetuate their power do so through the courts. If people were to settle their own quarrels, a third party would not be able to exercise any authority over them. Truly, men were less unmanly when they settled their disputes either by fighting or by asking their relatives to decide for them. They became more unmanly and cowardly when they resorted to the courts of law. It was certainly a sign of savagery when they settled their disputes by fighting. Is it any the less so, if I ask a third party to decide between you and me? Surely, the decision of a third party is not always right. The parties alone know who is right. We, in our simplicity and ignorance, imagine that a stranger, by taking our money, gives us justice.

The chief thing, however, to be remembered is that without lawyers courts could not have been established or conducted and without the latter the English could not rule. Supposing that there were only English judges, English pleaders and English police, they could only rule over the English. The English could not do without Indian judges and Indian pleaders. How the pleaders were made in the first instance and how they were favoured[3] you should understand well. Then you will have the same abhorrence for the profession that I have.[4] If pleaders were to abandon their profession, and consider it just as degrading as prostitution, English rule would break up in a day. They have been instrumental in having the charge laid against us that we love quarrels and

[1] The original adds: "What I have pointed out is the inherent tendency of the profession itself. That was, however, by the way."

[2] The original has: "Many a landowner with hereditary title in State lands has found himself robbed of his all through lawyers' machinations."

[3] The original has: "and how they struggled for favours. . ."

[4] The original adds: "Among the chief features of British rule which account for its success are the courts, and these depend upon lawyers."

courts as fish love water. What I have said with reference to the pleaders necessarily applies to the judges; they are first cousins; and the one gives strength to the other.

## CHAPTER XII: THE CONDITION OF INDIA (CONTINUED): DOCTORS

READER: I now understand the lawyers; the good they may have done is accidental. I feel that profession is certainly hateful. You, however, drag in the doctors also, how is that?

EDITOR: The views I submit to you are those I have adopted. They are not original. Western writers have used stronger terms regarding both lawyers and doctors. One writer has likened the whole modern system to the Upas tree. Its branches are represented by parasitical professions, including those of law and medicine, and over the trunk has been raised the axe of true religion. Immorality is the root of the tree. So you will see that the views do not come right out of my mind but represent the combined experiences of many. I was at one time a great lover of the medical profession. It was my intention to become a doctor for the sake of the country. I no longer hold that opinion. I now understand why the medicine men (the *vaids*) among us have not occupied a very honourable status.

The English have certainly effectively used the medical profession for holding us. English physicians are known to have used their profession with several Asiatic potentates for political gain.[1]

Doctors have almost unhinged us. Sometimes I think that quacks are better than highly qualified doctors. Let us consider: 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, I take his pills again. Had I not taken the pills in the first instance, I would have suffered the punishment deserved by me and I would not have overeaten again. The doctor intervened and helped me to indulge myself. My body thereby certainly felt more at ease; but my mind became weakened. A continuance of a course of medicine must, therefore, result in loss of control over the mind.

I have indulged in vice, I contract a disease, a doctor cures me, the odds are that I shall repeat the vice. Had the doctor not intervened, nature would have done its work, and I would have acquired mastery over myself, would have been freed from vice and would have become happy.

[1] Instead of the last sentence, the original has: "The pretensions of physicians also know no bounds. It was a British physician who played upon the credulity of the Moghul Emperor. He was successful in treating an illness in the Emperor's family and was in consequence rewarded. It was again a physician who ingratiated himself with the Ameer."

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 a mistaken care of the human body, they kill annually thousands of animals. They practise vivisection. No religion sanctions this. All say that it is not necessary to take so many lives for the sake of our bodies.

These doctors violate our religious instinct. Most of their medical preparations contain either animal fat or spirituous liquors; both of these are tabooed by Hindus and Mahomedans. We may pretend to be civilized, call religious prohibitions a superstition and want only to indulge in what we like. The fact remains that the doctors induce us to indulge, and the result is that we have become deprived of self-control and have become effeminate. In these circumstances, we are unfit to serve the country. To study European medicine is to deepen our slavery.

It is worth considering why we take up the profession of medicine. It is certainly not taken up for the purpose of serving humanity. We become doctors so that we may obtain honours and riches. I have endeavoured to show that there is no real service of humanity in the profession, and that it is injurious to mankind. 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 ridding 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?

## CHAPTER XIII: WHAT IS TRUE CIVILIZATION?

READER: You have denounced railways, lawyers and doctors. I can see that you will discard all machinery. What, then, is civilization?

EDITOR: The answer to that question is not difficult. I believe that the civilization India has evolved is not to be beaten in the world. Nothing can equal the seeds sown by our ancestors. Rome went, Greece shared the same fate; the might of the Pharaohs was broken; Japan has become westernized; of China nothing can be said; but India is still, somehow or other, sound at the foundation. The people of Europe learn their lessons from the writings of the men of Greece or Rome, which exist no longer in their former glory. In trying to learn from them, the Europeans imagine that they will avoid the mistakes of Greece and Rome. Such is their pitiable condition. In the midst of all this India remains immovable and that is her glory. It is a charge against India that her people are so uncivilized, ignorant and stolid, that it is not possible to induce them to adopt any changes. It is a charge really against our merit. What we have tested and found true on the anvil of experience, we dare not change. Many thrust their advice

upon India, and she remains steady. This is her beauty: it is the sheet-anchor of our hope.

Civilization is that mode of conduct which points out to man the path of duty. Performance of duty and observance of morality are convertible terms. To observe morality is to attain mastery over our mind and our passions. So doing, we know ourselves. The Gujarati equivalent for civilization means "good conduct".[1]

If this definition be correct, then India, as so many writers[2] have shown,[3] has nothing to learn from anybody else, and this is as it should be. We notice that the mind is a restless bird; the more it gets the more it wants, and still remains unsatisfied. The more we indulge our passions, the more unbridled they become. Our ancestors, therefore, set a limit to our indulgences. They saw that happiness was largely a mental condition. A man is not necessarily happy because he is rich, or unhappy because he is poor. The rich are often seen to be unhappy, the poor to be happy. Millions will always remain poor. Observing all this, our ancestors dissuaded us from luxuries and pleasures. We have managed with the same kind of plough as existed thousands of years ago. We have retained the same kind of cottages that we had in former times and our indigenous education remains the same as before. We have had no system of life-corroding competition. Each followed his own occupation or trade and charged a regulation wage. It was not that we did not know how to invent machinery, but our forefathers knew that, if we set our hearts after such things, we would become slaves and lose our moral fibre. They, therefore, after due deliberation decided that we should only do what we could with our hands and feet. They saw that our real happiness and health consisted in a proper use of our hands and feet. They further reasoned that large cities were a snare and a useless encumbrance and that people would not be happy in them, that there would be gangs of thieves and robbers, prostitution and vice flourishing in them and that poor men would be robbed by rich men. They were, therefore, satisfied with small villages. They saw that kings and their swords were inferior to the sword of ethics, and they, therefore, held the sovereigns of the earth to be inferior to the Rishis and the Fakirs[4]. A nation with a constitution like this is fitter to teach others than to learn from others. This nation had courts, lawyers and doctors, but they were all within bounds. Everybody knew that

[1] Literally, "This is the meaning of *su*, that is, good, *dharo* [way of life]." The original adds: "The opposite is *Kudharo* [bad way of life]."

[2] The original has "British writers".

[3] *Vide* "Testimonies by Eminent Men", Appendix II to *Hind Swaraj*, pp. 65-8.

[4] Sages and ascetics

these professions were not particularly superior; moreover, these vakils[1] and *vaids*[1] did not rob people; they were considered people's dependants, not their masters. Justice was tolerably fair. The ordinary rule was to avoid courts. There were no touts to lure people into them. This evil, too, was noticeable only in and around capitals. The common people lived independently and followed their agricultural occupation. They enjoyed true Home Rule.

And where this cursed modern civilization has not reached, India remains as it was before. The inhabitants of that part of India will very properly laugh at your new-fangled notions. The English do not rule over them, nor will you ever rule over them. Those in whose name we speak we do not know, nor do they know us. I would certainly advise you and those like you who love the motherland to go into the interior that has yet been not polluted by the railways and to live there for six months; you might then be patriotic and speak of Home Rule.

Now you see what I consider to be real civilization. Those who want to change conditions such as I have described are enemies of the country and are sinners.

READER: It would be all right if India were exactly as you have described it, but it is also India where there are hundreds of child widows, where two-year-old babies are married, where twelve-year-old girls are mothers and housewives, where women practise polyandry, where the practice of Niyoga[2] obtains, where, in the name of religion, girls dedicate themselves to prostitution, and in the name of religion sheep[3] and goats are killed. Do you consider these also symbols of the civilization that you have described?

EDITOR: You make a mistake. The defects that you have shown are defects. Nobody mistakes them for ancient civilization. They remain in spite of it. Attempts have always been made and will be made to remove them. We may utilize the new spirit that is born in us for purging ourselves of these evils. But what I have described to you as emblems of modern civilization are accepted as such by its votaries. The Indian civilization, as described by me, has been so described by its votaries. In no part of the world, and under no civilization, have all men attained perfection. The tendency of the Indian civilization is to elevate the moral being, that of the Western civilization is to propagate immorality. The latter is godless, the former is based on a belief in God. So understanding and so believing, it behoves every lover of India to cling to the old Indian civilization even as a child clings to the mother's breast.

[1] Lawyers and doctors

[2] Insemination by a person other than one's husband

[3] The original has: "he-buffaloes".

## CHAPTER XIV: HOW CAN INDIA BECOME FREE?

READER: I appreciate your views about civilization. I will have to think over them. I cannot take them in all at once. What, then, holding the views you do, would you suggest for freeing India?

EDITOR: I do not expect my views to be accepted all of a sudden. My duty is to place them before readers like yourself. Time can be trusted to do the rest.[1] We have already examined the conditions for freeing India, but we have done so indirectly; we will now do so directly. It is a world-known maxim that the removal of the cause of a disease results in the removal of the disease itself. Similarly if the cause of India's slavery be removed, India can become free.

READER: If Indian civilization is, as you say, the best of all, how do you account for India's slavery?

EDITOR: This civilization is unquestionably the best, but it is to be observed that all civilizations have been on their trial. That civilization which is permanent outlives it. Because the sons of India were found wanting, its civilization has been placed in jeopardy. But its strength is to be seen in its ability to survive the shock. Moreover, the whole of India is not touched. Those alone who have been affected by Western civilization have become enslaved. We measure the universe by our own miserable foot-rule. When we are slaves, we think that the whole universe is enslaved. Because we are in an abject condition, we think that the whole of India is in that condition. As a matter of fact, it is not so, yet it is as well to impute our slavery to the whole of India. But if we bear in mind the above fact, we can see that if we become free, India is free. And in this thought you have a definition of Swaraj. It is Swaraj when we learn to rule ourselves. It is, therefore, in the palm of our hands. Do not consider this Swaraj to be like a dream. There is no idea of sitting still. The Swaraj that I wish to picture is such that, after we have once realized it, we shall endeavour to the end of our life-time to persuade others to do likewise. But such Swaraj has to be experienced, by each one for himself. One drowning man will never save another. Slaves ourselves, it would be a mere pretension to think of freeing others. Now you will have seen that it is not necessary for us to have as our goal the expulsion of the English. If the English become Indianized, we can accommodate them. If they wish to remain in India along with their civilization, there is no room for them. It lies with us to bring about such a state of things.

READER: It is impossible that Englishmen should ever become Indianized.

[1] The original has: "Time will show whether they find them acceptable or not."

EDITOR: To say that is equivalent to saying that the English have no humanity in them. And it is really beside the point whether they become so or not. If we keep our own house in order, only those who are fit to live in it will remain. Others will leave of their own accord. Such things occur within the experience of all of us.

READER: But it has not occurred in history.

EDITOR: To believe that what has not occurred in history will not occur at all is to argue disbelief in the dignity of man. At any rate, it behoves us to try what appeals to our reason. All countries are not similarly conditioned. The condition of India is unique. Its strength is immeasurable. We need not, therefore, refer to the history of other countries. I have drawn attention to the fact that, when other civilizations have succumbed, the Indian has survived many a shock.

READER: I cannot follow this. There seems little doubt that we shall have to expel the English by force of arms. So long as they are in the country we cannot rest. One of our poets says that slaves cannot even dream of happiness. We are day by day becoming weakened owing to the presence of the English. Our greatness is gone; our people look like terrified men. The English are in the country like a blight which we must remove by every means.

EDITOR: In your excitement, you have forgotten all we have been considering. We brought the English, and we keep them. Why do you forget that our adoption of their civilization makes their presence in India at all possible? Your hatred against them ought to be transferred to their civilization. But let us assume that we have to drive away the English by fighting, how is that to be done?

READER: In the same way as Italy did it. What was possible for Mazzini[1] and Garibaldi[2] is possible for us. You cannot deny that they were very great men.

## CHAPTER XV: ITALY AND INDIA

EDITOR: It is well that you have instanced Italy. Mazzini was a great and good man; Garibaldi was a great warrior. Both are adorable; from their lives we can learn much. But the condition of Italy was different from that of India. In the first instance, the difference between Mazzini and Garibaldi is worth noting. Mazzini's ambition was not and has not yet been realized regarding Italy. Mazzini has shown in his writings on the duty of man that every man must learn how to rule himself. This has not happened in Italy. Garibaldi did not hold this view of Mazzini's. Garibaldi gave and every Italian took arms. Italy and

[1] Giuseppe Mazzini (1805-72); *vide* Vol. V, pp. 27-8.

[2] Giuseppe Garibaldi (1807-82), Italian soldier and patriot, one of the leaders in the struggle for unification of Italy; *vide* Vol. V, p. 28.

Austria had the same civilization; they were cousins in this respect. It was a matter of tit for tat. Garibaldi simply wanted Italy to be free from the Austrian yoke. The machinations of Minister Cavour[1] disgrace that portion of the history of Italy. And what has been the result? If you believe that because Italians rule Italy the Italian nation is happy, you are groping in darkness. Mazzini has shown conclusively that Italy did not become free. Victor Emmanuel [II] gave one meaning to the expression; Mazzini gave another. According to Emmanuel, Cavour and even Garibaldi, Italy meant the King of Italy and his henchmen. According to Mazzini, it meant the whole of the Italian people, that is, its agriculturists. Emmanuel was only its servant. The Italy of Mazzini still remains in a state of slavery. At the time of the so-called national war, it was a game of chess between two rival kings with the people of Italy as pawns. The working classes in that land are still unhappy. They, therefore, indulge in assassination, rise in revolt, and rebellion on their part is always expected. What substantial gain did Italy obtain after the withdrawal of the Austrian troops? The gain was only nominal. The reforms for the sake of which the war was supposed to have been undertaken have not yet been granted. The condition of the people in general still remains the same. I am sure you do not wish to reproduce such a condition in India. I believe that you want the millions of India to be happy, not that you want the reins of government in your hands. If that be so, we have to consider only one thing: how can the millions obtain self-rule ? You will admit that people under several Indian princes are being ground down. The latter mercilessly crush them. Their tyranny is greater than that of the English, and if you want such tyranny in India, then we shall never agree. My patriotism does not teach me that I am to allow people to be crushed under the heel of Indian princes if only the English retire. If I have the power, I should resist the tyranny of Indian princes just as much as that of the English. By patriotism I mean the welfare of the whole people, and if I could secure it at the hands of the English, I should bow down my head to them. If any Englishman dedicated his life to securing the freedom of India, resisting tyranny and serving the land, I should welcome that Englishman as an Indian.

Again, India can fight like Italy only when she has arms. You have not considered this problem at all. The English are splendidly armed; that does not frighten me, but it is clear that, to pit ourselves against them in arms, thousands of Indians must be armed. If such a thing be possible, how many years will it take ? Moreover, to arm India

[1] Count Camillo Benso Cavour (1810-61), distinguished Italian statesman, who, as Premier to Victor Emmanuel, King of Sardinia (proclaimed King of Italy in 1861), did much for the unification of Italy which was achieved in 1870

on a large scale is to Europeanize it. Then her condition will be just as pitiable as that of Europe. This means, in short, that India must accept European civilization, and if that is what we want, the best thing is that we have among us those who are so well trained in that civilization. We will then fight for a few rights, will get what we can and so pass our days. But the fact is that the Indian nation will not adopt arms, and it is well that it does not.

READER: You are over-stating the facts. All need not be armed. At first, we shall assassinate a few Englishmen and strike terror; then, a few men who will have been armed will fight openly. We may have to lose a quarter[1] of a million men, more or less, but we shall regain our land. We shall undertake guerilla warfare, and defeat the English.

EDITOR: That is to say, you want to make the holy land of India unholy. Do you not tremble to think of freeing India by assassination? What we need to do is to sacrifice ourselves. It is a cowardly thought, that of killing others. Whom do you suppose to free by assassination? The millions of India do not desire it. Those who are intoxicated by the wretched modern civilization think these things. Those who will rise to power by murder will certainly not make the nation happy. Those who believe that India has gained by Dhingra's act[2] and other similar acts[3] in India make a serious mistake. Dhingra was a patriot, but his love was blind. He gave his body in a wrong way; its ultimate result can only be mischievous.

READER: But you will admit that the English have been frightened by these murders, and that Lord Morley's[4] reforms are due to fear.

EDITOR: The English are both a timid and a brave nation. England is, I believe, easily influenced by the use of gunpowder. It is possible that Lord Morley has granted the reforms through fear, but what is granted under fear can be retained only so long as the fear lasts.

## CHAPTER XVI: BRUTE FORCE

READER: This is a new doctrine, that what is gained through fear is retained only while the fear lasts. Surely, what is given will not be withdrawn?

EDITOR: Not so. The Proclamation of 1857[5] was given at the end of a revolt, and for the purpose of preserving peace. When peace was secured and people became simple-minded, its full effect was toned down.

[1] The original has: "2,000,000 or 2,500,000 men".

[2] *Vide* footnote 1, p. 4.

[3] *Vide* footnote 2, p. 14.

[4] Morley was Secretary of State for India. The Morley-Minto Reforms came into force on November 15, 1909.

[5] Queen Victoria's Proclamation of 1858

If I cease stealing for fear of punishment, I would recommence the operation as soon as the fear is withdrawn from me. This is almost a universal experience. We have assumed that we can get men to do things by force and, therefore, we use force.

READER: Will you not admit that you are arguing against yourself? You know that what the English obtained in their own country they obtained by using brute force. I know you have argued that what they have obtained is useless, but that does not affect my argument. They wanted useless things and they got them. My point is that their desire was fulfilled. What does it matter what means they adopted? Why should we not obtain our goal, which is good, by any means whatsoever, even by using violence? Shall I think of the means when I have to deal with a thief in the house? My duty is to drive him out anyhow. You seem to admit that we have received nothing, and that we shall receive nothing, by petitioning. Why, then, may we not do so by using brute force? And, to retain what we may receive, we shall keep up the fear by using the same force to the extent that it may be necessary. You will not find fault with a continuance of force to prevent a child from thrusting its foot into fire? Somehow or other we have to gain our end.

EDITOR: Your reasoning is plausible. It has deluded many. I have used similar arguments before now. But I think I know better now, and I shall endeavour to undeceive you. Let us first take the argument that we are justified in gaining our end by using brute force because the English gained theirs by using similar means. It is perfectly true that they used brute force and that it is possible for us to do likewise, but by using similar means we can get only the same thing that they got. You will admit that we do not want that. Your belief that there is no connection between the means and the end is a great mistake. Through that mistake even men who have been considered religious have committed grievous crimes. Your reasoning is the same as saying that we can get a rose through planting a noxious weed. If I want to cross the ocean, I can do so only by means of a vessel; if I were to use a cart for that purpose, both the cart and I would soon find the bottom. "As is the God, so is the votary", is a maxim worth considering. Its meaning has been distorted and men have gone astray. The means may be likened to a seed, the end to a tree; and there is just the same inviolable connection between the means and the end as there is between the seed and the tree. I am not likely to obtain the result flowing from the worship of God by laying myself prostrate before Satan. If, therefore, anyone were to say: "I want to worship God; it does not matter that I do so by means of Satan," it would be set down as ignorant folly. We reap exactly as we sow. The English in 1833 obtained greater voting power by violence. Did they by using brute force better appreciate their duty? They wanted the right of voting, which they obtained by using physical force.

But real rights are a result of performance of duty; these rights they have not obtained. We, therefore, have before us in England the force[1] of everybody wanting and insisting on his rights, nobody thinking of his duty. And, where everybody wants rights, who shall give them to whom? I do not wish to imply that they do no duties. They don't perform the duties corresponding to those rights; and as they do not perform that particular duty, namely, acquire fitness, their rights have proved a burden to them. In other words, what they have obtained is an exact result of the means they adopted. They used the means corresponding to the end. If I want to deprive you of your watch, I shall certainly have to fight for it; if I want to buy your watch, I shall have to pay you for it; and if I want a gift I shall have to plead for it; and, according to the means I employ, the watch is stolen property, my own property, or a donation. Thus we see three different results from three different means. Will you still say that means do not matter?

Now we shall take the example given by you of the thief to be driven out. I do not agree with you that the thief may be driven out by any means. If it is my father who has come to steal I shall use one kind of means. If it is an acquaintance I shall use another; and in the case of a perfect stranger I shall use a third. If it is a white man, you will perhaps say you will use means different from those you will adopt with an Indian thief. If it is a weakling, the means will be different from those to be adopted for dealing with an equal in physical strength; and if the thief is armed from top to toe, I shall simply remain quiet. Thus we have a variety of means between the father and the armed man. Again, I fancy that I should pretend to be sleeping whether the thief was my father or that strong armed man. The reason for this is that my father would also be armed and I should succumb to the strength possessed by either and allow my things to be stolen. The strength of my father would make me weep with pity; the strength of the armed man would rouse in me anger and we should become enemies. Such is the curious situation. From these examples we may not be able to agree as to the means to be adopted in each case. I myself seem clearly to see what should be done in all these cases, but the remedy may frighten you. I therefore hesitate to place it before you. For the time being I will leave you to guess it, and if you cannot, it is clear you will have to adopt different means in each case. You will also have seen that any means will not avail to drive away the thief. You will have to adopt means to fit each case. Hence it follows that your duty is *not* to drive away the thief by any means you like.

[1] Probably a misprint for "farce". The original has: "The result has been that everyone is found to be running after rights, giving no thought to duties."

Let us proceed a little further. That well-armed man has stolen your property; you have harboured the thought of his act; you are filled with anger; you argue that you want to punish that rogue, not for your own sake, but for the good of your neighbours; you have collected a number of armed men, you want to take his house by assault; he is duly informed of it, he runs away; he too is incensed. He collects his brother-robbers, and sends you a defiant message that he will commit robbery in broad daylight. You are strong, you do not fear him, you are prepared to receive him. Meanwhile, the robber pesters your neighbours. They complain before you. You reply that you are doing all for their sake, you do not mind that your own goods have been stolen. Your neighbours reply that the robber never pestered them before, and that he commenced his depredations only after you declared hostilities against him. You are between Scylla and Charybdis. You are full of pity for the poor men. What they say is true. What are you to do? You will be disgraced if you now leave the robber alone. You, therefore, tell the poor men: "Never mind. Come, my wealth is yours, I will give you arms, I will teach you how to use them; you should belabour the rogue; don't you leave him alone." And so the battle grows; the robbers increase in numbers; your neighbours have deliberately put themselves to inconvenience. Thus the result of wanting to take revenge upon the robber is that you have disturbed your own peace; you are in perpetual fear of being robbed and assaulted; your courage has given place to cowardice. If you will patiently examine the argument, you will see that I have not overdrawn the picture. This is one of the means. Now let us examine the other. You set this armed robber down as an ignorant brother; you intend to reason with him at a suitable opportunity: you argue that he is, after all, a fellow man; you do not know what prompted him to steal. You, therefore, decide that, when you can, you will destroy the man's motive for stealing. Whilst you are thus reasoning with yourself, the man comes again to steal. Instead of being angry with him, you take pity on him. You think that this stealing habit must be a disease with him. Henceforth, you, therefore, keep your doors and windows open, you change your sleeping-place, and you keep your things in a manner most accessible to him. The robber comes again and is confused as all this is new to him; nevertheless, he takes away your things. But his mind is agitated. He inquires about you in the village, he comes to learn about your broad and loving heart, he repents, he begs your pardon, returns you your things, and leaves off the stealing habit. He becomes your servant, and you find for him honourable employment. This is the second method. Thus, you see, different means have brought about totally different results. I do not wish to deduce from this that robbers will act in the above manner or that all will have the same pity and love like you, but I only wish to show that fair means alone can produce fair re-

sults, and that, at least in the majority of cases, if not indeed in all, the force of love and pity is infinitely greater than the force of arms. There is harm in the exercise of brute force, never in that of pity.

Now we will take the question of petitioning. It is a fact beyond dispute that a petition, without the backing of force, is useless. However, the late Justice Ranade[1] used to say that petitions served a useful purpose because they were a means of educating people. They give the latter an idea of their condition and warn the rulers. From this point of view, they are not altogether useless. A petition of an equal is a sign of courtesy; a petition from a slave is a symbol of his slavery. A petition backed by force is a petition from an equal and, when he transmits his demand in the form of a petition, it testifies to his nobility. Two kinds of force can back petitions. "We shall hurt you if you do not give this," is one kind of force; it is the force of arms, whose evil results we have already examined. The second kind of force can thus be stated: "If you do not concede our demand, we shall be no longer your petitioners. You can govern us only so long as we remain the governed; we shall no longer have any dealings with you." The force implied in this may be described as love-force, soul-force, or, more popularly but less accurately, passive resistance.[2] This force is indestructible. He who uses it perfectly understands his position. We have an ancient proverb which literally means: "One negative cures thirty-six diseases." The force of arms is powerless when matched against the force of love or the soul.

Now we shall take your last illustration, that of the child thrusting its foot into fire. It will not avail you. What do you really do to the child? Supposing that it can exert so much physical force that it renders you powerless and rushes into fire, then you cannot prevent it. There are only two remedies open to you—either you must kill it in order to prevent it from perishing in the flames, or you must give your own life because you do not wish to see it perish before your very eyes. You will not kill it. If your heart is not quite full of pity, it is possible that you will not surrender yourself by preceding the child and going into the fire yourself. You, therefore, helplessly allow it to go into the flames. Thus, at any rate, you are not using physical force. I hope you will not consider that it is still physical force, though of a low order, when you would forcibly prevent the child from rushing towards the fire if you could. That force is of a different order and we have to understand what it is.

[1] Mahadev Govind Ranade (1842-1901), distinguished Indian judge, social reformer, author and one of the founders of the Indian National Congress; *vide* Vol. II, p. 379.

[2] Instead of "more popularly but less accurately, passive resistance", the original has the one word "satyagraha".

Remember that, in thus preventing the child, you are minding entirely its own interest, you are exercising authority for its sole benefit. Your example does not apply to the English. In using brute force against the English you consult entirely your own, that is the national, interest. There is no question here either of pity or of love. If you say that the actions of the English, being evil, represent fire, and that they proceed to their actions through ignorance, and that therefore they occupy the position of a child and that you want to protect such a child, then you will have to overtake every evil action of that kind by whomsoever committed and, as in the case of the evil child, you will have to sacrifice yourself. If you are capable of such immeasurable pity, I wish you well in its exercise.[1]

## CHAPTER XVII: PASSIVE RESISTANCE[2]

READER: Is there any historical evidence as to the success of what you have called soul-force or truth-force? No instance seems to have happened of any nation having risen through soul-force. I still think that the evil-doers will not cease doing evil without physical punishment.

EDITOR: The poet Tulsidas has said: "Of religion, pity, or love, is the root, as egotism of the body. Therefore, we should not abandon pity so long as we are alive." This appears to me to be a scientific truth. I believe in it as much as I believe in two and two being four. The force of love is the same as the force of the soul or truth. We have evidence of its working at every step. The universe would disappear without the existence of that force. But you ask for historical evidence. It is, therefore, necessary to know what history means. The Gujarati equivalent means: "It so happened."[3] If that is the meaning of history, it is possible to give copious evidence. But, if it means the doings of kings and emperors, there can be no evidence of soul-force or passive resistance in such history. You cannot expect silver ore in a tin mine. History, as we know it, is a record of the wars of the world, and so there is a proverb among Englishmen that a nation which has no history, that is, no wars, is a happy nation. How kings played, how they became enemies of one another, how they murdered one another, is found accurately recorded in history, and if this were all that had happened in the world, it would have been ended long ago. If the story of the universe had commenced with wars, not a man would have been found alive today. Those people who have been warred against have disappeared as, for instance, the natives of Australia of whom hardly a man was left alive by the intruders. Mark, please, that these natives did not use soul-force in

[1] The original adds: "The thing is simply impossible."
[2] The original has: "Satyagraha—Soul-force".
[3] Literally, "*Itihas* [history] means, 'it so happened'."

self-defence, and it does not require much foresight to know that the Australians will share the same fate as their victims. "Those that take the sword shall perish by the sword." With us the proverb is that professional swimmers will find a watery grave.

The fact that there are so many men still alive in the world shows that it is based not on the force of arms but on the force of truth or love. Therefore, the greatest and most unimpeachable evidence of the success of this force is to be found in the fact that, in spite of the wars of the world, it still lives on.

Thousands, indeed tens of thousands, depend for their existence on a very active working of this force. Little quarrels of millions of families in their daily lives disappear before the exercise of this force. Hundreds of nations live in peace. History does not and cannot take note of this fact. History is really a record of every interruption of the even working of the force of love or of the soul. Two brothers quarrel; one of them repents and re-awakens the love that was lying dormant in him;[1] the two again begin to live in peace; nobody takes note of this. But if the two brothers, through the intervention of solicitors or some other reason take up arms or go to law—which is another form of the exhibition of brute force,—their doings would be immediately noticed in the Press, they would be the talk of their neighbours and would probably go down to history. And what is true of families and communities is true of nations. There is no reason to believe that there is one law for families and another for nations. History, then, is a record of an interruption of the course of nature. Soul-force, being natural, is not noted in history.

READER: According to what you say, it is plain that instances of this kind of passive resistance are not to be found in history. It is necessary to understand this passive resistance more fully. It will be better, therefore, if you enlarge upon it.

EDITOR: Passive resistance is a method of securing rights by personal suffering; it is the reverse of resistance by arms.[2] When I refuse to do a thing that is repugnant to my conscience, I use soul-force. For instance, the Government of the day has passed a law which is applicable to me. I do not like it. If by using violence I force the Government to repeal the law, I am employing what may be termed body-force. If I do not obey the law and accept the penalty for its breach, I use soul-force. It involves sacrifice of self.

Everybody admits that sacrifice of self is infinitely superior to sacrifice of others. Moreover, if this kind of force is used in a cause that is

[1] The original has: "; one of them practises satyagraha against the other".

[2] The original has: "Satyagraha is referred to in English as passive resistance. The term denotes the method of . . . ."

unjust, only the person using it suffers. He does not make others suffer for his mistakes. Men have before now done many things which were subsequently found to have been wrong. No man can claim that he is absolutely in the right or that a particular thing is wrong because he thinks so, but it is wrong for him so long as that is his deliberate judgment. It is therefore meet that he should not do that which he knows to be wrong, and suffer the consequence whatever it may be. This is the key to the use of soul-force.

READER: You would then disregard laws—this is rank disloyalty. We have always been considered a law-abiding nation. You seem to be going even beyond the extremists. They say that we must obey the laws that have been passed, but that if the laws be bad, we must drive out the law-givers even by force.

EDITOR: Whether I go beyond them or whether I do not is a matter of no consequence to either of us. We simply want to find out what is right and to act accordingly. The real meaning of the statement that we are a law-abiding nation is that we are passive resisters. When we do not like certain laws, we do not break the heads of law-givers but we suffer and do not submit to the laws. That we should obey laws whether good or bad is a new-fangled notion. There was no such thing in former days. The people disregarded those laws they did not like and suffered the penalties for their breach. It is contrary to our manhood if we obey laws repugnant to our conscience. Such teaching is opposed to religion and means slavery. If the Government were to ask us to go about without any clothing,[1] should we do so? If I were a passive resister, I would say to them that I would have nothing to do with their law.[2] But we have so forgotten ourselves and become so compliant that we do not mind any degrading law.[3]

A man who has realized his manhood, who fears only God, will fear no one else. Man-made laws are not necessarily binding on him. Even the Government does not expect any such thing from us. They do not say: "You must do such and such a thing," but they say: "If you do not do it, we will punish you." We are sunk so low that we fancy that it is our duty and our religion to do what the law lays down. If man will only realize that it is unmanly to obey laws that are unjust, no man's tyranny will enslave him. This is the key to self-rule or home rule.

It is a superstition and ungodly thing to believe that an act of a majority binds a minority. Many examples can be given in which acts of

[1] The original has: "to strip ourselves naked and dance. . . ."

[2] The original has: ". . . that I would do nothing of the kind, that I had no use for their law".

[3] Literally, "But we lack the spirit of satyagraha to such an extent that, when ordered by the Government, we do more degrading things than dance naked before it."

majorities will be found to have been wrong and those of minorities to have been right. All reforms owe their origin to the initiation of minorities in opposition to majorities. If among a band of robbers a knowledge of robbing is obligatory, is a pious man to accept the obligation? So long as the superstition that men should obey unjust laws exists, so long will their slavery exist. And a passive resister alone can remove such a superstition.

To use brute-force, to use gunpowder, is contrary to passive resistance, for it means that we want our opponent to do by force that which we desire but he does not. And if such a use of force is justifiable, surely he is entitled to do likewise by us. And so we should never come to an agreement. We may simply fancy, like the blind horse[1] moving in a circle round a mill, that we are making progress. Those who believe that they are not bound to obey laws which are repugnant to their conscience have only the remedy of passive resistance open to them. Any other must lead to disaster.

READER: From what you say I deduce that passive resistance is a splendid weapon of the weak, but that when they are strong they may take up arms.

EDITOR: This is gross ignorance. Passive resistance, that is, soul-force, is matchless. It is superior to the force of arms. How, then, can it be considered only a weapon of the weak? Physical-force men are strangers to the courage that is requisite in a passive resister. Do you believe that a coward can ever disobey a law that he dislikes? Extremists are considered to be advocates of brute force. Why do they, then, talk about obeying laws? I do not blame them. They can say nothing else. When they succeed in driving out the English and they themselves become governors, they will want you and me to obey their laws. And that is a fitting thing for their constitution. But a passive resister will say he will not obey a law that is against his conscience, even though he may be blown to pieces at the mouth of a cannon.

What do you think? Wherein is courage required—in blowing others to pieces from behind a cannon, or with a smiling face to approach a cannon and be blown to pieces? Who is the true warrior—he who keeps death always as a bosom-friend, or he who controls the death of others? Believe me that a man devoid of courage and manhood can never be a passive resister.

This, however, I will admit: that even a man weak in body is capable of offering this resistance. One man can offer it just as well as millions. Both men and women can indulge in it.[2] It does not require the training of an army; it needs no jiu-jitsu. Control over the mind

[1] The original has: "bullock".

[2] The original has: "A woman can offer it as well as a man."

is alone necessary, and when that is attained, man is free like the king of the forest and his very glance withers the enemy.

Passive resistance is an all-sided sword, it can be used anyhow; it blesses him who uses it and him against whom it is used. Without drawing a drop of blood it produces far-reaching results. It never rusts and cannot be stolen. Competition between passive resisters does not exhaust. The sword of passive resistance does not require a scabbard. It is strange indeed that you should consider such a weapon to be a weapon merely of the weak.

READER: You have said that passive resistance is a speciality of India. Have cannons never been used in India?

EDITOR: Evidently, in your opinion, India means its few princes. To me it means its teeming millions on whom depends the existence of its princes and our own.

Kings will always use their kingly weapons. To use force is bred in them. They want to command, but those who have to obey commands do not want guns: and these are in a majority throughout the world. They have to learn either body-force or soul-force. Where they learn the former, both the rulers and the ruled become like so many madmen; but where they learn soul-force, the commands of the rulers do not go beyond the point of their swords, for true men disregard unjust commands. Peasants have never been subdued by the sword, and never will be. They do not know the use of the sword, and they are not frightened by the use of it by others. That nation is great which rests its head upon death as its pillow. Those who defy death are free from all fear.[1] For those who are labouring under the delusive charms of brute-force, this picture is not overdrawn. The fact is that, in India, the nation at large has generally used passive resistance in all departments of life. We cease to co-operate with our rulers when they displease us. This is passive resistance.

I remember an instance when, in a small principality, the villagers were offended by some command issued by the prince. The former immediately began vacating the village. The prince became nervous, apologized to his subjects and withdrew his command. Many such instances can be found in India. Real Home Rule is possible only where passive resistance is the guiding force of the people. Any other rule is foreign rule.

READER: Then you will say that it is not at all necessary for us to train the body?

EDITOR: I will certainly not say any such thing. It is difficult to become a passive resister unless the body is trained. As a rule, the mind, residing in a body that has become weakened by pampering, is also

[1] The original adds: "True, I am exaggerating somewhat."

weak, and where there is no strength of mind there can be no strength of soul. We shall have to improve our physique by getting rid of infant marriages and luxurious living. If I were to ask a man with a shattered body to face a cannon's mouth, I should make a laughing-stock of myself.

READER: From what you say, then, it would appear that it is not a small thing to become a passive resister, and, if that is so, I should like you to explain how a man may become one.

EDITOR: To become a passive resister is easy enough but it is also equally difficult. I have known a lad of fourteen years become a passive resister; I have known also sick people do likewise; and I have also known physically strong and otherwise happy people unable to take up passive resistance. After a great deal of experience it seems to me that those who want to become passive resisters for the service of the country have to observe perfect chastity, adopt poverty, follow truth, and cultivate fearlessness.

Chastity is one of the greatest disciplines without which the mind cannot attain requisite firmness. A man who is unchaste loses stamina, becomes emasculated and cowardly. He whose mind is given over to animal passions is not capable of any great effort. This can be proved by innumerable instances. What, then, is a married person to do is the question that arises naturally; and yet it need not. When a husband and wife gratify the passions, it is no less an animal indulgence on that account. Such an indulgence, except for perpetuating the race, is strictly prohibited. But a passive resister has to avoid even that very limited indulgence because he can have no desire for progeny. A married man, therefore, can observe perfect chastity. This subject is not capable of being treated at greater length. Several questions arise: How is one to carry one's wife with one, what are her rights, and other similar questions. Yet those who wish to take part in a great work are bound to solve these puzzles.

Just as there is necessity for chastity, so is there for poverty. Pecuniary ambition and passive resistance cannot well go together. Those who have money are not expected to throw it away, but they *are* expected to be indifferent about it. They must be prepared to lose every penny rather than give up passive resistance.

Passive resistance has been described in the course of our discussion as truth-force. Truth, therefore, has necessarily to be followed and that at any cost.[1] In this connection, academic questions such as whether

[1] Instead of these two sentences, the original has: "How can anyone command the power of truth unless he dedicates himself to truth? Truth, therefore, is absolutely necessary. It cannot be abandoned, whatever the cost. Truth has nothing to hide. There is no question, therefore, of a satyagrahi maintaining a secret army."

a man may not lie in order to save a life, etc., arise, but these questions occur only to those who wish to justify lying. Those who want to follow truth every time are not placed in such a quandary; and if they are, they are still saved from a false position.

Passive resistance cannot proceed a step without fearlessness. Those alone can follow the path of passive resistance who are free from fear, whether as to their possessions, false honour, their relatives, the government, bodily injuries or death.

These observances are not to be abandoned in the belief that they are difficult. Nature has implanted in the human breast ability to cope with any difficulty or suffering that may come to man unprovoked. These qualities are worth having, even for those who do not wish to serve the country. Let there be no mistake, as those who want to train themselves in the use of arms are also obliged to have these qualities more or less. Everybody does not become a warrior for the wish. A would-be warrior will have to observe chastity and to be satisfied with poverty as his lot. A warrior without fearlessness cannot be conceived of. It may be thought that he would not need to be exactly truthful, but that quality follows real fearlessness. When a man abandons truth, he does so owing to fear in some shape or form. The above four attributes, then, need not frighten anyone. It may be as well here to note that a physical-force man has to have many other useless qualities which a passive resister never needs. And you will find that whatever extra effort a swordsman needs is due to lack of fearlessness. If he is an embodiment of the latter, the sword will drop from his hand that very moment. He does not need its support. One who is free from hatred requires no sword. A man with a stick suddenly came face to face with a lion and instinctively raised his weapon in self-defence. The man saw that he had only prated about fearlessness when there was none in him. That moment he dropped the stick and found himself free from all fear.

## CHAPTER XVIII: EDUCATION

READER: In the whole of our discussion, you have not demonstrated the necessity for education; we always complain of its absence among us. We notice a movement for compulsory education in our country. The Maharaja Gaekwar has introduced it in his territories. Every eye is directed towards them. We bless the Maharaja for it. Is all this effort then of no use?

EDITOR: If we consider our civilization to be the highest, I have regretfully to say that much of the effort you have described is of no use. The motive of the Maharaja and other great leaders who have been working in this direction is perfectly pure. They, therefore, undoubtedly deserve great praise. But we cannot conceal from ourselves the result that is likely to flow from their effort.

What is the meaning of education? It simply means a knowledge of letters. It is merely an instrument, and an instrument may be well used or abused. The same instrument that may be used to cure a patient may be used to take his life, and so may a knowledge of letters. We daily observe that many men abuse it and very few make good use of it; and if this is a correct statement, we have proved that more harm has been done by it than good.

The ordinary meaning of education is a knowledge of letters. To teach boys reading, writing and arithmetic is called primary education. A peasant earns his bread honestly. He has ordinary knowledge of the world. He knows fairly well how he should behave towards his parents, his wife, his children and his fellow-villagers. He understands and observes the rules of morality. But he cannot write his own name. What do you propose to do by giving him a knowledge of letters? Will you add an inch to his happiness? Do you wish to make him discontented with his cottage or his lot? And even if you want to do that, he will not need such an education. Carried away by the flood of western thought we came to the conclusion, without weighing pros and cons, that we should give this kind of education to the people.

Now let us take higher education. I have learned Geography, Astronomy, Algebra, Geometry, etc.[1] What of that? In what way have I benefited myself or those around me? Why have I learned these things? Professor Huxley has thus defined education:

> That man I think has had a liberal education who has been so trained in youth that his body is the ready servant of his will and does with ease and pleasure all the work that as a mechanism it is capable of; whose intellect is a clear, cold, logic[al] engine with all its parts of equal strength and in smooth working order . . .[2] whose mind is stored with a knowledge of the fundamental truths of nature . . . whose passions are trained to come to heel by a vigorous will, the servant of a tender conscience . . . who has learnt to hate all vileness and to respect others as himself. Such a one and no other, I conceive, has had a liberal education, for he is in harmony with nature. He will make the best of her and she of him.

If this is true education, I must emphatically say that the sciences I have enumerated above I have never been able to use for controlling my senses. Therefore, whether you take elementary education or higher education, it is not required for the main thing. It does not make men of us. It does not enable us to do our duty.

READER: If that is so, I shall have to ask you another question. What enables you to tell all these things to me? If you had not received

[1] The original adds: "and dabbled in Geology".

[2] The words for "with all . . . order" are not found in the original.

higher education, how would you have been able to explain to me the things that you have?

EDITOR: You have spoken well.[1] But my answer is simple: I do not for one moment believe that my life would have been wasted, had I not received higher or lower education. Nor do I consider that I necessarily serve because I speak. But I do desire to serve and in endeavouring to fulfil that desire, I make use of the education I have received. And, if I am making good use of it, even then it is not for the millions, but I can use it only for such as you, and this supports my contention. Both you and I have come under the bane of what is mainly false education. I claim to have become free from its ill effect, and I am trying to give you the benefit of my experience and in doing so, I am demonstrating the rottenness of this education.

Moreover,[2] I have not run down a knowledge of letters in all circumstances. All I have now shown is that we must not make of it a fetish. It is not our *Kamadhuk*[3]. In its place it can be of use and it has its place when we have brought our senses under subjection and put our ethics on a firm foundation. And then, if we feel inclined to receive that education, we may make good use of it. As an ornament it is likely to sit well on us. It now follows that it is not necessary to make this education compulsory. Our ancient school system is enough. Character-building has the first place in it and that is primary education. A building erected on that foundation will last.

READER: Do I then understand that you do not consider English education necessary for obtaining Home Rule?

EDITOR: My answer is yes and no. To give millions a knowledge of English is to enslave them. The foundation that Macaulay laid of education has enslaved us. I do not suggest that he had any such intention, but that has been the result. Is it not a sad commentary that we should have to speak of Home Rule in a foreign tongue?

And it is worthy of note that the systems which the Europeans have discarded are the systems in vogue among us. Their learned men continually make changes. We ignorantly adhere to their cast-off systems. They are trying each division to improve its own status. Wales is a small portion of England.[4] Great efforts are being made to revive a knowledge of Welsh among Welshmen. The English Chancellor, Mr. Lloyd George, is taking a leading part in the movement to make Welsh children speak Welsh. And what is our condition? We write to each other in faulty English, and from this even our M. A's. are not free; our best thoughts are expressed in English; the proceedings of our Congress are

[1] Literally, "This is a brave attack indeed."
[2] The original adds: "Your attack is ill-conceived, for".
[3] Mythical cow, yielding whatever is wished for
[4] The original adds: "Its language is no language at all".

conducted in English; our best newspapers are printed in English. If this state of things continues for a long time, posterity will—it is my firm opinion—condemn and curse us.

It is worth noting that, by receiving English education, we have enslaved the nation. Hypocrisy, tyranny, etc., have increased; English-knowing Indians have not hesitated to cheat and strike terror into the people. Now, if we are doing anything for the people at all, we are paying only a portion of the debt due to them.

Is it not a painful thing that, if I want to go to a court of justice, I must employ the English language as a medium, that when I become a barrister, I may not speak my mother-tongue and that someone else should have to translate to me from my own language? Is not this absolutely absurd? Is it not a sign of slavery? Am I to blame the English for it or myself? It is we, the English-knowing Indians, that have enslaved India. The curse of the nation will rest not upon the English but upon us.

I have told you that my answer to your last question is both yes and no. I have explained to you why it is yes. I shall now explain why it is no.

We are so much beset by the disease of civilization, that we cannot altogether do without English education. Those who have already received it may make good use of it wherever necessary. In our dealings with the English people, in our dealings with our own people, when we can only correspond with them through that language, and for the purpose of knowing how disgusted they (the English) have themselves become with their civilization, we may use or learn English, as the case may be. Those who have studied English will have to teach morality to their progeny through their mother-tongue and to teach them another Indian language; but when they have grown up, they may learn English, the ultimate aim being that we should not need it. The object of making money thereby should be eschewed. Even in learning English to such a limited extent we shall have to consider what we should learn through it and what we should not. It will be necessary to know what sciences we should learn. A little thought should show you that immediately we cease to care for English degrees, the rulers will prick up their ears.

READER: Then what education shall we give?

EDITOR: This has been somewhat considered above, but we will consider it a little more. I think that we have to improve all our languages. What subjects we should learn through them need not be elaborated here. Those English books which are valuable, we should translate into the various Indian languages. We should abandon the pretension of learning many sciences. Religious, that is ethical, education will occupy the first place. Every cultured Indian will know in addition

to his own provincial language, if a Hindu, Sanskrit; if a Mahomedan, Arabic; if a Parsee, Persian; and all, Hindi. Some Hindus should know Arabic and Persian; some Mahomedans and Parsees, Sanskrit. Several Northerners and Westerners should learn Tamil. A universal language for India should be Hindi, with the option of writing it in Persian or Nagari characters. In order that the Hindus and the Mahomedans may have closer relations, it is necessary to know both the characters. And, if we can do this, we can drive the English language out of the field in a short time. All this is necessary for us, slaves. Through our slavery the nation has been enslaved, and it will be free with our freedom.

READER: The question of religious education is very difficult.

EDITOR: Yet we cannot do without it. India will never be godless. Rank atheism cannot flourish in this land. The task is indeed difficult. My head begins to turn as I think of religious education. Our religious teachers are hypocritical and selfish; they will have to be approached. The Mullas[1], the Dasturs[2] and the Brahmins hold the key in their hands, but if they will not have the good sense, the energy that we have derived from English education will have to be devoted to religious education. This is not very difficult. Only the fringe of the ocean has been polluted and it is those who are within the fringe who alone need cleansing. We who come under this category can even cleanse ourselves because my remarks do not apply to the millions. In order to restore India to its pristine condition, we have to return to it. In our own civilization there will naturally be progress, retrogression, reforms, and reactions; but one effort is required, and that is to drive out Western civilization. All else will follow.

## CHAPTER XIX: MACHINERY

READER: When you speak of driving out Western civilization, I suppose you will also say that we want no machinery.

EDITOR: By raising this question, you have opened the wound I have received.[3] When I read Mr. Dutt's *Economic History of India*, I wept; and as I think of it again my heart sickens. It is machinery that has impoverished India. It is difficult to measure the harm that Manchester has done to us. It is due to Manchester that Indian handicraft has all but disappeared.

But I make a mistake. How can Manchester be blamed? We wore Manchester cloth and this is why Manchester wove it. I was delighted when I read about the bravery of Bengal.[4] There were no cloth-mills

[1] Muslim divines
[2] Parsee priests
[3] The original has: "You have re-opened my wound."
[4] The reference, obviously, is to the Swadeshi Movement.

in that Presidency. They were, therefore, able to restore the original hand-weaving occupation. It is true Bengal encourages the mill-industry of Bombay. If Bengal had proclaimed a boycott of *all* machine-made goods, it would have been much better.

Machinery has begun to desolate Europe. Ruination is now knocking at the English[1] gates. Machinery is the chief symbol of modern civilization; it represents a great sin.[2]

The workers in the mills of Bombay have become slaves. The condition of the women working in the mills is shocking. When there were no mills, these women were not starving. If the machinery craze grows in our country, it will become an unhappy land. It may be considered a heresy, but I am bound to say that it were better for us to send money to Manchester and to use flimsy Manchester cloth than to multiply mills in India. By using Manchester cloth we only waste our money; but by reproducing Manchester in India, we shall keep our money at the price of our blood, because our very moral being will be sapped, and I call in support of my statement the very mill-hands as witnesses. And those who have amassed wealth out of factories are not likely to be better than other rich men. It would be folly to assume that an Indian Rockefeller would be better than the American Rockefeller. Impoverished India can become free, but it will be hard for any India made rich through immorality to regain its freedom. I fear we shall have to admit that moneyed men support British rule; their interest is bound up with its stability. Money renders a man helpless. The other thing which is equally harmful is sexual vice. Both are poison. A snake-bite is a lesser poison than these two, because the former merely destroys the body but the latter destroy body, mind and soul. We need not, therefore, be pleased with the prospect of the growth of the mill-industry.

READER: Are the mills, then, to be closed down?

EDITOR: That is difficult. It is no easy task to do away with a thing that is established. We, therefore, say that the non-beginning of a thing is supreme wisdom. We cannot condemn millowners; we can but pity them. It would be too much to expect them to give up their mills, but we may implore them not to increase them. If they would be good they would gradually contract their business. They can establish in thousands of households the ancient and sacred handlooms and they can buy out the cloth that may be thus woven. Whether the millowners do this or not, people can cease to use machine-made goods.

READER: You have so far spoken about machine-made cloth, but there are innumerable machine-made things. We have either to import them or to introduce machinery into our country.

[1] The original has "Indian".

[2] The original has: "I am convinced that it . . ."

EDITOR: Indeed, our gods even are made in Germany. What need, then, to speak of matches, pins and glassware? My answer can be only one. What did India do before these articles were introduced? Precisely the same should be done today. As long as we cannot make pins without machinery, so long will we do without them. The tinsel splendour of glassware we will have nothing to do with, and we will make wicks, as of old, with home-grown cotton and use hand-made earthen saucers for lamps. So doing, we shall save our eyes and money and support Swadeshi and so shall we attain Home Rule.

It is not to be conceived that all men will do all these things at one time or that some men will give up all machine-made things at once. But, if the thought is sound, we shall always find out what we can give up and gradually cease to use it. What a few may do, others will copy; and the movement will grow like the cocoanut of the mathematical problem. What the leaders do, the populace will gladly do in turn. The matter is neither complicated nor difficult. You and I need not wait until we can carry others with us. Those will be the losers who will not do it, and those who will not do it, although they appreciate the truth, will deserve to be called cowards[1].

READER: What, then, of the tram-cars and electricity?

EDITOR: This question is now too late. It signifies nothing. If we are to do without the railways we shall have to do without the tram-cars. Machinery is like a snake-hole which may contain from one to a hundred snakes. Where there is machinery there are large cities; and where there are large cities, there are tram-cars and railways; and there only does one see electric light. English villages do not boast of any of these things. Honest physicians will tell you that where means of artificial locomotion have increased, the health of the people has suffered. I remember that when in a European town there was a scarcity of money, the receipts of the tramway company, of the lawyers and of the doctors went down and people were less unhealthy. I cannot recall a single good point in connection with machinery. Books can be written to demonstrate its evils.

READER: Is it a good point or a bad one that all you are saying will be printed through machinery?

EDITOR: This is one of those instances which demonstrate that sometimes poison is used to kill poison. This, then, will not be a good point regarding machinery. As it expires, the machinery, as it were, says to us: "Beware and avoid me. You will derive no benefits from me and the benefit that may accrue from printing will avail only those who are infected with the machinery-craze."

[1] Literally, "hypocrites"

Do not, therefore, forget the main thing. It is necessary to realize that machinery is bad. We shall then be able gradually to do away with it. Nature has not provided any way whereby we may reach a desired goal all of a sudden. If, instead of welcoming machinery as a boon, we should look upon it as an evil, it would ultimately go.

## CHAPTER XX: CONCLUSION

READER: From your views I gather that you would form a third party. You are neither an extremist nor a moderate.

EDITOR: That is a mistake. I do not think of a third party at all. We do not all think alike. We cannot say that all the moderates hold identical views. And how can those who want only to serve have a party? I would serve both the moderates and the extremists. Where I differ from them, I would respectfully place my position before them and continue my service.

READER: What, then, would you say to both the parties?

EDITOR: I would say to the extremists: "I know that you want Home Rule for India; it is not to be had for your asking. Everyone will have to take it for himself. What others get for me is not Home Rule but foreign rule; therefore, it would not be proper for you to say that you have obtained Home Rule if you have merely expelled the English. I have already described the true nature of Home Rule. This you would never obtain by force of arms. Brute force is not natural to Indian soil. You will have, therefore, to rely wholly on soul-force. You must not consider that violence is necessary at any stage for reaching our goal."

I would say to the moderates: "Mere petitioning is derogatory; we thereby confess inferiority. To say that British rule is indispensable is almost a denial of the Godhead. We cannot say that anybody or anything is indispensable except God. Moreover, commonsense should tell us that to state that, for the time being, the presence of the English in India is a necessity, is to make them conceited.

"If the English vacated India, bag and baggage, it must not be supposed that she would be widowed. It is possible that those who are forced to observe peace under their pressure would fight after their withdrawal. There can be no advantage in suppressing an eruption; it must have its vent. If, therefore, before we can remain at peace, we must fight amongst ourselves, it is better that we do so. There is no occasion for a third party to protect the weak. It is this so-called protection which has unnerved us. Such protection can only make the weak weaker. Unless we realize this, we cannot have Home Rule. I would paraphrase the thought of an English divine and say that anarchy under Home Rule were better than orderly foreign rule. Only, the meaning

that the learned divine attached to Home Rule is different from Indian Home Rule according to my conception. We have to learn, and to teach others, that we do not want the tyranny of either English rule or Indian rule."

If this idea were carried out, both the extremists and the moderates could[1] join hands. There is no occasion to fear or distrust one another.

READER: What, then, would you say to the English?

EDITOR: To them I would respectfully say: "I admit you are my rulers. It is not necessary to debate the question whether you hold India by the sword or by my consent. I have no objection to your remaining in my country, but although you are the rulers, you will have to remain as servants of the people. It is not we who have to do as you wish, but it is you who have to do as we wish. You may keep the riches that you have drained away from this land, but you may not drain riches henceforth. Your function will be, if you so wish, to police India; you must abandon the idea of deriving any commercial benefit from us. We hold the civilization that you support to be the reverse of civilization. We consider our civilization to be far superior to yours. If you realize this truth, it will be to your advantage and, if you do not, according to your own proverb, you should only live in our country in the same manner as we do.[2] You must not do anything that is contrary to our religions. It is your duty as rulers that for the sake of the Hindus you should eschew beef, and for the sake of Mahomedans you should avoid bacon and ham. We have hitherto said nothing because we have been cowed down, but you need not consider that you have not hurt our feelings by your conduct. We are not expressing our sentiments either through base selfishness or fear, but because it is our duty now to speak out boldly. We consider your schools and law courts to be useless. We want our own ancient schools and courts to be restored. The common language of India is not English but Hindi. You should, therefore, learn it. We can hold communication with you only in our national language.

"We cannot tolerate the idea of your spending money on railways and the military. We see no occasion for either. You may fear Russia; we do not. When she comes we shall look after her. If you are with us, we may then receive her jointly. We do not need any European cloth. We shall manage with articles produced and manufactured at home. You may not keep one eye on Manchester and the other on India. We can work together only if our interests are identical.

"This has not been said to you in arrogance. You have great military resources. Your naval power is matchless. If we wanted to

[1] The original has: "will join hands, they can, they must".

[2] A reference to: "When in Rome, do as the Romans do."

fight with you on your own ground, we should be unable to do so, but if the above submissions be not acceptable to you, we cease to play the part of the ruled. You may, if you like, cut us to pieces. You may shatter us at the cannon's mouth. If you act contrary to our will, we shall not help you; and without our help, we know that you cannot move one step forward.

"It is likely that you will laugh at all this in the intoxication of your power. We may not be able to disillusion you at once; but if there be any manliness in us, you will see shortly that your intoxication is suicidal and that your laugh at our expense is an aberration of intellect. We believe that at heart you belong to a religious nation. We are living in a land which is the source of religions. How we came together need not be considered, but we can make mutual good use of our relations.

"You, English, who have come to India are not good specimens of the English nation, nor can we, almost half-Anglicized Indians, be considered good specimens of the real Indian nation. If the English nation were to know all you have done, it would oppose many of your actions. The mass of the Indians have had few dealings with you. If you will abandon your so-called civilization and search into your own scriptures, you will find that our demands are just. Only on condition of our demands being fully satisfied may you remain in India; and if you remain under those conditions, we shall learn several things from you and you will learn many from us. So doing we shall benefit each other and the world. But that will happen only when the root of our relationship is sunk in a religious soil."

READER: What will you say to the nation?

EDITOR: Who is the nation?

READER: For our purposes it is the nation that you and I have been thinking of, that is, those of us who are affected by European civilization, and who are eager to have Home Rule.

EDITOR: To these I would say: "It is only those Indians who are imbued with real love who will be able to speak to the English in the above strain without being frightened, and only those can be said to be so imbued who conscientiously believe that Indian civilization is the best and that the European is a nine days' wonder. Such ephemeral civilizations have often come and gone and will continue to do so. Those only can be considered to be so imbued who, having experienced the force of the soul within themselves, will not cower before brute-force, and will not, on any account, desire to use brute-force. Those only can be considered to have been so imbued who are intensely dissatisfied with the present pitiable condition, having already drunk the cup of poison.

"If there be only one such Indian, he will speak as above to the English and the English will have to listen to him.

"These are not demands, but they show our mental state. We shall get nothing by asking; we shall have to take what we want, and we need the requisite strength for the effort and that strength will be available to him only who will act thus:

1. He will only on rare occasions make use of the English language.

2. If a lawyer, he will give up his profession, and take up a hand-loom.

3. If a lawyer, he will devote his knowledge to enlightening both his people and the English.

4. If a lawyer, he will not meddle with the quarrels between parties but will give up the courts, and from his experience induce the people to do likewise.

5. If a lawyer, he will refuse to be a judge, as he will give up his profession.

6. If a doctor, he will give up medicine, and understand that rather than mending bodies, he should mend souls.

7. If a doctor, he will understand that no matter to what religion he belongs, it is better that bodies remain diseased rather than that they are cured through the instrumentality of the diabolical vivisection that is practised in European schools of medicine.

8. Although a doctor, he will take up a hand-loom, and if any patients come to him, will tell them the cause of their diseases, and will advise them to remove the cause rather than pamper them by giving useless drugs; he will understand that if by not taking drugs, perchance the patient dies, the world will not come to grief and that he will have been really merciful to him.

9. Although a wealthy man, yet regardless of his wealth, he will speak out his mind and fear no one.

10. If a wealthy man, he will devote his money to establishing hand-looms, and encourage others to use hand-made goods by wearing them himself.

11. Like every other Indian, he will know that this is a time for repentance, expiation and mourning.

12. Like every other Indian, he will know that to blame the English is useless, that they came because of us, and remain also for the same reason, and that they will either go or change their nature only when we reform ourselves.

13. Like others, he will understand that at a time of mourning, there can be no indulgence, and that, whilst we are in a fallen state, to be in gaol or in banishment is much the best.

14. Like others, he will know that it is superstition to imagine it necessary that we should guard against being imprisoned in order that we may deal with the people.

15. Like others, he will know that action is much better than speech; that it is our duty to say exactly what we think and face the consequences and that it will be only then that we shall be able to impress anybody with our speech.

16. Like others, he will understand that we shall become free only through suffering.

17. Like others, he will understand that deportation for life to the Andamans is not enough expiation for the sin of encouraging European civilization.

18. Like others, he will know that no nation has risen without suffering; that, even in physical warfare, the true test is suffering and not the killing of others, much more so in the warfare of passive resistance.

19. Like others, he will know that it is an idle excuse to say that we shall do a thing when the others also do it; that we should do what we know to be right, and that others will do it when they see the way; that when I fancy a particular delicacy, I do not wait till others taste it; that to make a national effort and to suffer are in the nature of delicacies; and that to suffer under pressure is no suffering."

READER: This is a large order. When will all carry it out?

EDITOR: You make a mistake. You and I have nothing to do with the others. Let each do his duty.[1] If I do my duty, that is, serve myself, I shall be able to serve others.[2] Before I leave you, I will take the liberty of repeating:

1. Real home-rule is self-rule or self-control.

2. The way to it is passive resistance: that is soul-force or love-force.

3. In order to exert this force, Swadeshi in every sense is necessary.

4. What we want to do should be done, not because we object to the English or because we want to retaliate but because it is our duty to do so. Thus, supposing that the English remove the salt-tax, restore our money, give the highest posts to Indians, withdraw the English troops, we shall certainly not use their machine-made goods, nor use the English language, nor many of their industries. It is worth noting that these things are, in their nature, harmful; hence we do not want them. I bear no enmity towards the English but I do towards their civilization.

In my opinion, we have used the term "Swaraj" without understanding its real significance. I have endeavoured to explain it as I understand it, and my conscience testifies that my life henceforth is dedicated to its attainment.

[1] The original has: "'You mind your own business and leave me to mine' is taken to be an expression of a selfish attitude, but in fact it tends to public good."

[2] The original adds: "I shall have done enough for success in the given task if I do my duty well."

# APPENDICES

## Some Authorities and Testimonies by Eminent Men

### I. Some Authorities

The following books are recommended for perusal to follow up the study of the foregoing:

*The Kingdom of God Is within You* (Tolstoy)
*What Is Art?* (Tolstoy)
*The Slavery of Our Times* (Tolstoy)
*The First Step* (Tolstoy)
*How Shall We Escape?* (Tolstoy)
*Letter to a Hindoo* (Tolstoy)
*The White Slaves of England* (Sherard)
*Civilization, Its Cause and Cure* (Carpenter)
*The Fallacy of Speed* (Taylor)
*A New Crusade* (Blount)
*On the Duty of Civil Disobedience* (Thoreau)
*Life without Principle* (Thoreau)
*Unto This Last* (Ruskin)
*A Joy for Ever* (Ruskin)
*Duties of Man* (Mazzini)
*Defence and Death of Socrates* (from Plato)
*Paradoxes of Civilization* (Max Nordau)
*Poverty and Un-British Rule in India* (Naoroji)
*Economic History of India* (Dutt)
*Village Communities* (Maine)

### II. Testimonies by Eminent Men

The following extracts from Mr. Alfred Webb's valuable collection show that the ancient Indian civilization has little to learn from the modern:

J. SEYMOUR KEAY, M. P.
Banker in India and India Agent
(Writing in 1883)

It cannot be too well understood that our position in India has never been in any degree that of civilians bringing civilization to savage races. When we landed in India we found there a hoary civilization, which, during the progress of thousands of years, had fitted into the character and adjusted itself to the wants of highly intellectual races. The civilization was not perfunctory, but universal and all-pervading—furnishing



CWMG - X

the country not only with political systems, but with social and domestic institutions of the most ramified description. The beneficent nature of these institutions as a whole may be judged from their effects on the character of the Hindu race. Perhaps there are no other people in the world who show so much in their character the advantageous effects of their own civilization. They are shrewd in business, acute in reasoning, thrifty, religious, sober, charitable, obedient to parents, reverential to old age, amiable, law-abiding, compassionate towards the helpless and patient under suffering.

### VICTOR COUSIN (1792-1867)

FOUNDER OF SYSTEMATIC ECLECTICISM IN PHILOSOPHY

On the other hand when we read with attention the poetical and philosophical movements of the East, above all, those of India, which are beginning to spread in Europe, we discover there so many truths, and truths, so profound, and which make such a contrast with the meanness of the results at which the European genius has sometimes stopped, that we are constrained to bend the knee before that of the East, and do see in this cradle of the human race the native land of the highest philosophy.

### FRIEDRICH MAX MULLER[1]

If I were to ask myself from what literature we here in Europe, we who have been nurtured almost exclusively on the thoughts of Greeks and Romans, and of one Semitic race, the Jewish, may draw that corrective which is most wanted in order to make our inner life more perfect, more comprehensive, more universal, in fact more truly human, a life, not for this life only, but a transfigured and eternal life—again I should point to India.

### FREDERICK VON SCHLEGEL

It cannot be denied that the early Indians possessed a knowledge of the true God; all their writings are replete with sentiments and expressions, noble, clear, and severely grand, as deeply conceived and reverently expressed as in any human language in which men have spoken of their God. . . . Among nations possessing indigenous philosophy and metaphysics together with an innate relish for these pursuits, such as at present characterizes Germany, and, in olden times was the proud distinction of Greece, Hindustan holds the first rank in point of time.

[1] The original edition printed by the International Printing Press in 1910 had after Max Müller's testimony the following:

Michael G. Mulhall, F. R. S. S.

STATISTICS

PRISON POPULATION PER 100,000 OF INHABITANTS

| | |
|---|---|
| Several European States .. .. | 100 to 230 |
| England and Wales .. .. | 90 |
| India .. .. .. | 38 |

*Dictionary of Statistics*, M. G. Mulhall, F. R. S. S., Routledge & Sons, 1899.

ABBE J. A. DUBOIS

MISSIONARY IN MYSORE

Extracts from a letter dated December 15, 1820, Seringapatam:
December, 1820, Seringapatam:

The authority of married women within their houses is chiefly exerted in preserving good order and peace among the persons who compose their families; and a great many among them discharge this important duty with a prudence and a discretion which have scarcely a parallel in Europe. I have known families composed of between thirty and forty persons, or more, consisting of grown-up sons and daughters, all married and all having children, living together under the superintendence of an old matron—their mother or mother-in-law. The latter, by good management, and by accommodating herself to the temper of the daughters-in-law, by using, according to circumstances, firmness or forbearance, succeeded in preserving peace and harmony during many years amongst so many females, who had all jarring tempers. I ask you whether it would be possible to attain the same end, in the same circumstances, in our countries, where it is scarcely possible to make two women living under the same roof to agree together.

In fact, there is perhaps no kind of honest employment in a civilized country in which the Hindu females have not a due share. Besides the management of the household, and the care of the family which (as already noticed) is under their control, the wives and daughters of husbandmen attend and assist their husbands and fathers in the labours of agriculture. Those of tradesmen assist theirs in carrying on their trade. Merchants are attended and assisted by theirs in their shops. Many females are shopkeepers on their own account; and *without a knowledge of the alphabet* or of the decimal scale, they keep by other means their accounts in excellent order, and are considered as still shrewder than the males themselves in their commercial dealings.

J. YOUNG

SECRETARY, SAVON MECHANICS INSTITUTES WITHIN RECENT YEARS

Those races (the Indian viewed from a moral aspect) are perhaps the most remarkable people in the world. They breathe in an atmosphere of moral purity, which cannot but excite admiration, and this is especially the case with the poorer classes, who, notwithstanding the privations of their humble lot, appear to be happy and contented. True children of nature, they live on from day to day, taking no thought for the morrow and thankful for the simple fare which Providence has provided for them. It is curious to witness the spectacle of coolies of both sexes returning home at nightfall after a hard day's work often lasting from sunrise to sunset. In spite of fatigue from the effects of the unremitting toil, they are, for the most part, gay and animated, conversing cheerfully together and occasionally breaking into snatches of light-hearted song. Yet what awaits them on their return to the hovels which they call home? A dish of rice for food, and the floor for a bed. Domestic felicity appears to be the rule among the Natives, and this is the more strange when the customs of marriage are taken into

account, parents arranging all such matters. Many Indian households afford examples of the married state in its highest degree of perfection. This may be due to the teachings of the Shastras, and to the strict injunctions which they inculcate with regard to marital obligation; but it is no exaggeration to say that husbands are generally devotedly attached to their wives, and in many instances the latter have the most exalted conception of their duties towards their husbands.

### COLONEL THOMAS MUNRO

#### Thirty-two Years' Service in India

If a good system of agriculture, unrivalled manufacturing skill, a capacity to produce whatever can contribute to convenience or luxury; schools established in every village for teaching reading, writing and arithmetic; the general practice of hospitality and charity among each other; and, above all, a treatment of the female sex, full of confidence, respect and delicacy, are among the signs which denote a civilized people, then the Hindus are not inferior to the nations of Europe; and if civilization is to become an article of trade between the two countries, I am convinced that this country [England] will gain by the import cargo.

### Sir William Wedderburn, Bart.

The Indian village has thus for centuries remained a bulwark against political disorder, and the home of the simple domestic and social virtues. No wonder, therefore, that philosophers and historians have always dwelt lovingly on this ancient institution which is the natural social unit and the best type of rural life: self-contained, industrious, peace-loving, conservative in the best sense of the word. . . . I think you will agree with me that there is much that is both picturesque and attractive in this glimpse of social and domestic life in an Indian village. It is a harmless and happy form of human existence. Moreover, it is not without good practical outcome.

## 4. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

UNION CASTLE LINE,
R. M. S. *KILDONAN CASTLE*,
*November 24, 1909*

CHI. MAGANLAL[1],

I do not know when we shall meet next. Hence I reply all letters right here. There is no end to the work I have put in on the steamer this time.[2] You will see this from my letters to Mr. West and others and other writings. I have many things to say but that must wait till we meet. Just now, I shall write only what is necessary.

I was glad to read about Chi. Santok's[3] condition.

It seems quite appropriate that the name of Phœnix should be that and nothing else. I wish that my name is forgotten, and only my work endures. The work will endure only if the name is forgotten. It is not worth bothering about giving names, etc., at present. What is the good of a name when we are just making experiments? And even when a name is given, we shall have to find a common word over which the question of Hindu or Mussalman will not arise. The word *math* or *ashram* has a particularly Hindu connotation and therefore may not be used. "Phœnix" is a very good word which has come to us without any effort on our part. Being an English word, it serves to pay homage to the land in which we live. Moreover, it is neutral. Its significance, as the legend goes, is that the bird phœnix comes back to life again and again from its own ashes, i.e., it never dies. The name Phœnix, for the present, serves the purpose quite well, for we believe that the aims of Phœnix will not vanish even when we are turned to dust. We shall see what we can do later on. At present our whole structure and behaviour[4] are those of the bird phœnix.

Please see my letter[5] to Mr. Thakkar[6].

*Blessings from*
MOHANDAS

From the facsimile of the original Gujarati in Gandhiji's hand in *Jivan-nu Parodh* by Prabhudas Gandhi

[1] Son of Khushalchand Gandhi, Gandhiji's cousin, and in charge of the Gujarati section of *Indian Opinion* during Chhaganlal's absence

[2] Gandhiji wrote the whole of *Hind Swaraj*, translated into Gujarati Tolstoy's *Letter to a Hindoo*, wrote the English and Gujarati prefaces to the latter, and also wrote several letters.

[3] Wife of Maganlal Gandhi

[4] The original has "વાટ અને ઘાટ...", i.e., path and form, a common Gujarati phrase.

[5] This is not available.

[6] Harilal Thakkar, a worker in the printing press at Phœnix

## 5. LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI

UNION CASTLE LINE,
R. M. S. *KILDONAN CASTLE*,
*November 24, 1909*

CHI. MANILAL[1],

It is 9.30 p.m. now. It is five days' voyage hence to Cape Town. As I am tired of writing with the right hand, I write this to you with the left. As I may have to go to gaol straight on landing, I write now.

I take it that you at any rate will rejoice at my going to gaol, for you have understanding. The secret of the struggle lies in going to gaol cheerfully, and being happy while there.

It was good you asked the question about Phœnix. First of all, we shall have to consider how we can realize the self and how serve our country. After we do this, we can explain what Phœnix is. For realizing the self, the first essential thing is to cultivate a strong moral sense. Morality means the acquisition of virtues such as fearlessness, truth, *brahmacharya* [celibacy] and so on. Service is automatically rendered to the country in this process of cultivating morality. Phœnix is of great help in this process. I believe that it is very difficult to preserve morality in cities where people live in congestion and there are many temptations. That is why the wise have recommended solitary places like Phœnix. Experience is the real school. The experience you have had in Phœnix you could not have got elsewhere. Thoughts about realizing the self, again, could only occur to you there. The very fact that you have asked me such a profound question when you are a mere child shows your merit. The credit of your having been able to nurse Mr. West[2] and others also goes to Phœnix. As most of the people in Phœnix are just beginners, you may find faults all round you. They may be there. Phœnix is not perfect but we wish it to become so.

The Phœnix School has nothing to do with what I have said above. The school is a means to achieve our end. If it breaks down, we shall know that we are not yet fit for that kind of work. I understand your eagerness to study. My advice to you is to have patience. Concerning you, I have been thinking in various ways. I shall explain this to you when we meet. Meanwhile have faith in Bapu. Ask me if there is anything you have not understood.

[1] Gandhiji's second son

[2] Manager, International Printing Press, Phœnix; during his illness, Manilal attended on him; *vide* Vol. IX, p. 475.

It is all right that Mr. West has given you a pocket book. You have not served him for the sake of a gift. He has not given you the book as a reward but as a memento.

I am anxious about Deva[1]. Please look after him.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From the original Gujarati in Gandhiji's hand: C. W. 92
Courtesy: Sushilabehn Gandhi

## 6. *LAST NOTE ON DEPUTATION*[2]

### I[3]

*KILDONAN CASTLE,*
*November 25, 1909*

This is my last note on the Deputation. I should like to request every Indian to go through it carefully. It is my hope that when this note is published in *Indian Opinion*, we, both the brothers[4], will have been lodged in gaol or will soon be.

#### POLAK'S WORK

It appears that the more General Smuts sets himself against us, the greater the support we get from India. But four months is too short a period in which to rouse a people. Even four years will not be enough. What then is the secret of the success of Mr. Polak's mission?[5] The Transvaal satyagrahis, of course. Mr. Polak's effort has been welcomed on all sides, not because he is Mr. Polak, but because he is our spokesman telling the story of our grievances, because it is for India that we have been suffering and because India has come to realize the justice of our cause.

#### PROTEST IN ENGLAND

What about England ? I cannot explain how deep a root the movement initiated in England is likely to strike. After the Deputation of 1906, the [South Africa British Indian] Committee was formed. We have often spoken of the invaluable work done by the Committee. Lord

[1] Devdas, Gandhiji's youngest son

[2] For earlier Notes on Deputation, *vide* Vol. IX.

[3] This instalment was published in Gujarati in *Indian Opinion*, 18-12-1909.

[4] Gandhiji and Hajee Habib. When the deputation was on its way to England, fellow-passengers on the ship got the impression, from the friendly relations between the two, that they were brothers. *Vide* Vol. IX, p. 277.

[5] In India, where H. S. L. Polak had gone on a deputation to explain the case of British Indians in S. Africa

Ampthill[1] and Sir Muncherji[2] are unremitting in their efforts, in the faith that we shall hold out till the end. But the movement[3] that has now started is far more important than the work of the Committee. Its object is to take our cause right to the individual Englishman and see that every Indian in England becomes fully acquainted [with the situation]. We are not making this effort because we depend on the support of the British people. Every human being can help our cause. The object of our effort is to give world-wide publicity to the justice of our cause and the injustice of the Transvaal [Government]'s stand. We bring the matter to the notice of the British people because of the connection that exists between them and us. On being acquainted with the facts, they tell us that what we have been doing is right. They send money in aid of our cause. This conveys the suggestion of our being their equals. They do not write to us with an air of condescension, but as our brothers and sisters. This is a new idea. They do their duty [by us]. Let us assume that about a hundred thousand signatures and as many pence will be collected. The significance of this cannot be easily grasped by everyone. A hundred thousand pence will make £416. That is not a small amount. But it is not the amount that matters. The collection of 100,000 signatures is no child's play. About 40 Indians and Englishmen have volunteered to go round for the purpose. It will require a great effort on the part of all these persons to collect such a large number of signatures. Besides, it is not a small thing that 100,000 persons encourage us to go ahead with our fight. Why should these men work? Only because we make sacrifices. Does anyone believe that we could get a single person to work so much for us merely by babbling something about wanting rights for ourselves?

Having carried on the fight so far, what will the Transvaal Indians do now? If they want to uphold the honour of the people of India, they will meet death rather than give up the fight. They will not keep looking at one another, but go on with the fight. Everyone will want to be a Nagappen[4]. They will not be unnerved, but happy rather that the struggle is lengthening out, for, as days pass, people realize that we are not just being theatrical, and they also grow better acquainted with the nature of our struggle. That is the miracle that suffering works. As, one after another, the brave Moor soldiers threw themselves on the French guns and fell dead,[5] the French gunmen at

[1] Chairman of the Committee; former Governor of Madras; *vide* Vol. VII, p. 29.

[2] Bhownaggree (1851-1933), Indian barrister settled in England, Member of Parliament; *vide* Vol. II, p. 376 and Vol. V, p. 2.

[3] *Vide* Vol. IX, p. 511.

[4] A satyagrahi, who died a martyr; *vide* Vol. IX, p. 299.

[5] *Vide* Vol. VII, p. 203.

last refused to fire on them and embraced the survivors. So great is the respect that courage inspires. The Moors could make the impression that they did because they were reckless of their lives. Had they known how to fire a gun, they could not have succeeded so well. But they knew how to die. Through their deeds they told the gunmen: "We are not frightened by your guns. Our country and our religion are dearer to us than our lives. Therefore, keep your guns to yourselves. You cannot bend us. You may seize our lands, if you can, after our death. Do not think, you can take them while we live." These Moors have not in fact died, but live on. For generations their people will recall the story of their courage and the whole world, too, will cite their example. The same is true of the Transvaal Indians. Let them all speak out with one voice that they are prepared to lay down their lives to fulfil their pledge; and then be as good as their word.

During [these] four months, many Indians held out courageously and have acquitted themselves well. But there were also many who betrayed weakness. We are paying the price of that weakness. The struggle is getting prolonged. What does it matter, though: the more it is protracted, the more severely are the soldiers tested. We cannot expect everyone to display the same courage. Were it to be otherwise, there would be no need for a fight. All the same, the following things need to be done.

(1) Everyone who possibly can should keep up courage and fight till death.

(2) Those who cannot should cheer the others who continue fighting rather than attempt to dispirit them, or hold their tongue and not come in the way of anyone attempting to do something good.

(3) Those who cannot take part [in the struggle] as in (1) above should help with money. This is how all wars are fought. Everyone does not march to the front. The others [who remain behind] cheer those on the front, nurse them [when wounded] and help with their money.

(4) Everyone must bring home to General Smuts the determination of the Indian community not to rest till it had won its demands.

These are the duties of the Transvaal Indians. Indians all over South Africa [however] must know that it is because of the struggle that they have been spared. It is this fight which safeguards their interests. If it has become difficult to pass laws [against them] elsewhere, that is because the Transvaal has been fighting.

Indians must bear in mind that they will call down disgrace on the community if they do not act as suggested above. Even a child can see that we must win the fight. They offer to repeal the Act and to per-

mit entry of six Indians, but refuse equal rights of entry [with the whites] under the law. The explanation for this hurdle has also been provided by General Smuts: it is that there are only a few Indians who carry on the fight. The rest have grown sick of it. If this is true, it is obvious that we shall get nothing.

## Expenditure on Deputation

The expenditure on the Deputation has amounted to about £500. Of this, £210 represents the fare for the journey both ways, which leaves £290 as the figure of expenses in England. The printing bill has not yet been paid. Two thousand copies of our statement[1] were printed. The paper for these remains to be paid for and there is still some unavoidable expenditure to be incurred. The accounts for these items will be given later. An abstract of the expenditure mentioned above will also be published in *Indian Opinion*.[2] In view of the work [of collecting signatures, etc.] that we have undertaken as stated above, a typist under Mr. Ritch[3] will have to be maintained for the present. Miss Maud Polak[4] has undertaken the work. She gave notice resigning her permanent job when we were about to leave. The balance of the amount received last in connection with this [signature campaign] has been deposited in the bank.

## Our Demand

The demand we have made through Lord Ampthill is this: the law must provide for equal rights of entry to all. We are also agreeable to the Governor being empowered under the law to regulate the number of immigrants belonging to any community. But the law must be the same for all.

## General Smuts' Offer

General Smuts has shown himself prepared to give permits of permanent residence to Indians, and also to repeal the obnoxious Act[5]. But he is not prepared to grant equal rights under the immigration law. There must be [he says] a separate law making special provision for the Asiatics. Lord Crewe[6] has stated emphatically that General Smuts is not prepared to concede equal rights even in theory.

[1] Of 16-7-1909; *vide* Vol. IX, pp. 288-301.

[2] This was done in the issue of 25-12-1909; *vide* Appendix I.

[3] Louis Walter Ritch, an articled clerk under Gandhiji and later Secretary, South Africa British Indian Committee, London; *vide* Vol. IV, p. 370.

[4] Sister of H. S. L. Polak

[5] The Transvaal Asiatic Registration Act 2 of 1907

[6] Secretary of State for the Colonies

CWMG-X

It all boils down to this: he is prepared to give us the very thing [we want], but only as a gift rather than as a right. He insists that in the law itself there must be a distinction between the whites and the Coloured people. We argue that we have not been fighting for numbers, but for equal rights [even if only in theory].

## II[1]

### Fund in England

Contributions have been received to-date as follows, two items mentioned earlier[2] being repeated:

| | [£ s. d.] |
|---|---|
| Dr. Mehta | 10. 0.0 |
| Servant of India (per month) | 3. 0.0 |
| Mr. Gokulbhai Dalal | 0. 10.0 |
| Mr. J. M. Parikh | 1. 1.0 |
| Mr. H. Bose | 0. 2.0 |
| Miss Winterbottom | 10. 0.0 |
| Mr. Duleepsingh[3] | 5. 0.0 |
| Mrs. Dubey | 1. 0.0 |
| Dr. Miss Joshi | 3. 0.0 |
| | 33. 13.0 |

This is just a beginning; no one has yet gone round for collections.

### Meeting in Cambridge

Mr. Hajee Habib, Mr. Ismail Ise, Mr. Azam and I visited Cambridge in response to an invitation. We met students from the Aligarh College as also from the Punjab, Bengal and Gujarat. Mr. Khan came along with us from London. We met about 70 students. Mr. Hajee Habib and I addressed the meeting[4], which appeared to be considerably roused by our speeches. The students have agreed to help in raising contributions and collecting signatures. We also met Prof. Tejasingh[5] there.

The Polak family, Miss Smith, Sir Muncherji, Mr. Dubey, Mr. Parikh, Mr. Munsif, Mr. Bose and some other Indians and Eng-

[1] This appeared as the second instalment in *Indian Opinion*, 25-12-1909.
[2] From Dalal and Dr. Miss Joshi; *vide* Vol. IX, p. 525.
[3] Prince Duleep Singh
[4] Of the Indian Majlis held on 7-11-1909; *vide* Vol. IX, p. 513.
[5] A Cambridge graduate, Professor of English at Khalsa College in the Punjab and leading member of the Sikh community in Canada, who organized the Guru Nanak Mining, Developing and Trust Company there to help settle the Sikhs

lishmen were present at the station to see us off. Thus, on all sides, sympathy has been evoked for us. It is for us to keep it alive. Likewise, it also depends on us whether the fight will be over early or whether it will go on for a long time.

## At Meyer's Party

Mr. Meyer[1] arranged a party on the 12th in the Westminster Palace Hotel to enable [friends] to meet us both and hear what we had to say. Letters were received from Lord Ampthill, Lord Curzon, Lord Roberts[2] and other gentlemen expressing their inability to attend. Sir Charles Bruce[3] wrote as follows:

> Although the cause they represent is passing through a dark hour, I am not discouraged. In the history of the human race, it has been darkest before the dawn. . . . Never did the cause of the Negro seem more hopeless than during the years that preceded the abolition of slavery. . . . The Saviour of the world deemed Himself lost in the moment that brought our redemption. And so I join you in spirit in wishing Godspeed to Messrs Gandhi and Hajee Habib.[4]

Sir William Markby[5] wrote:

> . . . I hear that they have not obtained the small measure of justice which they came to this country to ask. No one disputes the reasonableness of their claim. It is for political reasons only that the Government refuses to interfere. It is not pleasant to see again and again the British Government showing its inability to enforce the just claims of its subjects.

The function was attended, among others, by Princess Sophia Duleepsingh, Sir Raymond West[6], Mr. Ameer Ali[7], Sir Frederick Lely, Dr. Rutherford, Sir Muncherji Bhownaggree, Major Syed Hussain Bilgrami, Miss Winterbottom[8], Mr. and Mrs. Dube, the Hon'ble Mr. Daaji Abaji Khare, Mrs. Khare, Mr. Motilal Nehru, Mr. and Mrs. Marnham, Mr. and Mrs. Ratcliffe, Mr. Ritch and Mr. Ismail Ise.

Speaking after tea, Mr. Meyer said[9] that, when Mr. Gandhi told him what had happened, he felt that arrangements should be made for

[1] Rev. F. B. Meyer, member, S. A. B. I. Committee; *vide* Vol. IX, p. 524.
[2] Commander-in-Chief in South Africa, 1899-1900 and 1901-04; *vide* Vol. VII, p. 4.
[3] Governor of Mauritius (1897-1904)
[4] From the English text of the letter published in *Indian Opinion*, 11-12-1909
[5] (1829-1914), Judge, Calcutta High Court, 1866-78; *vide* Vol. VI, p. 190.
[6] (1832-1912), Jurist, Vice-Chancellor of Bombay University; *vide* Vol. VI, p. 222.
[7] Member, Privy Council; *vide* "Honour for Justice Ameer Ali", p. 106.
[8] Secretary of the Union of Ethical Societies; *vide* Vol. VI, p. 157.
[9] The translation has been collated with the English report in *Indian Opinion*, 11-12-1909.

a few gentlemen to meet Mr. Hajee Habib and Mr. Gandhi and hence he had called this meeting. He had met Mr. Gandhi in South Africa and had come to know of his self-sacrifice. They had, he said, the reputation of being men who loved fair play and could not therefore allow their friends to depart without showing them their goodwill. He thought their presence there did not endorse in every particular all Mr. Gandhi's words and acts or suggest that he had made no mistakes. Human beings would not be human beings if they did not make mistakes. But, on the whole, their presence at that meeting was their endorsement of the Indian struggle. The question touched not only the Transvaal or India, but the British Empire as a whole. Mr. Gandhi had informed them, he said, that there was an offer from General Smuts to repeal the Act of 1907, but it was subject to a condition which was unacceptable. Mr. Gandhi did not resist legislation in general, but only legislation which cast a slur upon Indians.

Mr. Gandhi said:[1]

I am thankful to Mr. Meyer for having called this meeting and I welcome the opportunity given to my colleague and me. We do not expect this gathering to endorse every step that we have taken. We only want you to declare that our demand is a reasonable one and request your support for it. The issue on which we have been fighting concerns not only the Transvaal but the whole of the British Empire. The offer which the Transvaal Government has made is not acceptable because it does not meet our object. There are in South Africa nearly 150,000 Indians. The immigration of Indians commenced with the system of indentured labour in Natal. This was followed by the advent of free Indians who, being traders, excited the jealousy of white traders; hence the present Indian problem in South Africa. The position we occupy in that country is a very difficult and a very delicate one. In Natal, at the Cape, in the Orange Free State and in the Transvaal, there exists legislation which hurts our feelings. In the Transvaal the position is particularly difficult. Before the war, we could not hold landed property, had no voting rights, might not walk on the foot-paths nor ride on tram-cars. All these laws are still in force. Up to the year 1906, however, we put up with these restrictions. We memorialized the Government. My friend, Mr. Hajee Habib, used to approach the British Agent for relief. He sometimes obtained a measure of redress. We did not, however, go beyond taking these steps. But the law which was passed in 1906 fell in a different category. It was conceived in an atmosphere of criminality. It was degrading to the people who were

[1] The translation has been collated with the fuller English report of the speech in *Indian Opinion*, 11-12-1909; *vide* Vol. IX, pp. 539-43.

settled there. They also intended to pass another law to put a barrier upon Indian immigration. Never before had such laws been passed in a British Colony. They were an attack on us as a community. We felt therefore that petitions would not be enough. We held a meeting in a theatre, at which Mr. Hajee Habib administered an oath to everyone not to submit to any such law if it came to be passed but suffer the penalties for breaking it.[1] We had no personal interest to serve by this. So long as it was a matter of our own interests, we had kept patient. But when we saw that it constituted an attack on us as a community, that the very foundations of the British Empire were endangered, we resolved to keep quiet no longer. We had two alternatives before us. One was to meet violence with violence. We rejected that alternative. The other was to refuse submission to this legislation. We adopted this course. We acted as Daniel had done when he refused to obey the laws of men which he did not approve of.[2] The Imperial Government, too, were a party to this crime. They knew that this legislation would hurt our susceptibilities. They might have withheld their consent to the Transvaal measure, but they did not. What is the meaning of the British Constitution ? It is supposed to confer equal rights on all subjects. I could consent to remain a subject of an Empire with such a constitution. But I have found from experience that we cannot have equal rights even in theory. I am obliged to say that I cannot consent to remain a subject in such an Empire. It does not matter to what extent I am allowed to participate in it; if, however, I am to be treated as a mere slave and not as a partner, that is a position I cannot accept. This legislation cuts at the root of the British Empire and resisting it we have been rendering a service not only to India but to the whole Empire. We have been offering passive resistance against the Imperial Government as well, and I hope that this meeting will tell us that we are right in doing so. We cannot do less and deserve to be partners in the Empire, and unless there is partnership, there cannot be Empire. That is why I have said that this struggle is one of the greatest of modern times. We are fighting with no selfish motive, and the weapon we employ is self-sacrifice. What we ask is equality in the eyes of law, which General Smuts refuses to grant. As an illustration, let us suppose a master telling his slave: "You may sit at the table with me, but on this condition, that this bond of slavery will always exist between us." Will the slave acquiesce in such an arrangement, if he wants to be free? What he must do is to tear off the bond of slavery. That is our position. We want to tear off the bond of slavery.

[1] *Vide* Vol. V, pp. 419-23 and 441-2.
[2] *Vide Old Testament, Daniel,* Ch. VI.

We now appeal to you for your support. As passive resisters, we use no force. Nor do we ask anyone to use it. But we want you to know what our struggle means. If it appeals to you, you can extend encouragement to us. You can show the Imperial Government that you will be no party to its crime.

He was followed by Sir Raymond West and Sir Frederick Lely. Major Syed Hussain also made a spirited speech and said that the whole of India, Hindus, Muslims and Parsis, were at the back of the [Transvaal] campaign. The following resolution[1] was then passed unanimously:

That this meeting desires to express its earnest sympathy with the Transvaal British Indians in their peaceful and selfless struggle for civic rights and to offer its warmest encouragement to them in this struggle.

This is an illustration of the agitation that is being carried on in England. Mr. Ritch will go round from place to place. He had already received invitations to speak at Oxford and elsewhere which he had accepted. On November 9, he spoke at Miss Smith's.[2] There one person offered to collect 500 signatures.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 18-12-1909 and 25-12-1909

## 7. *LETTER TO A. H. WEST*

UNION CASTLE LINE,
R. M. S. *KILDONAN CASTLE*,
*November 26, 1909*

MY DEAR WEST,

This is an official letter. I knew nothing about the financial difficulty with the exception of a letter Mr. Cordes[3] sent me as from Mr. Kallenbach[4]. As my movements will be uncertain, I have written to Mr. Kallenbach. I am sorry for the position. I made all the arrangements I was capable of making. My instructions about printing several things are to be read together with this except the order from Dr. Mehta[5].

[1] The English text is found in *Indian Opinion*, 11-12-1909.

[2] A contributor to the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, Calcutta and the *Punjabee*, Lahore

[3] A German theosophist, in charge of the Phœnix School; came to India and joined Gandhiji at Sevagram; died there in 1960

[4] A German architect, devoted friend and co-worker of Gandhiji placed his farm at the disposal of the satyagrahis. *Vide* "Letter to H. Kallenbach", p. 262.

[5] Dr. Pranjivan Mehta, M.D., Bar-at-Law, and jeweller; his association with Gandhiji began right from the time he received Gandhiji on his arrival in England for the first time as a student. He rendered financial help to Gandhiji in his activities from the days of the Phœnix Settlement till his death in 1933.

Miss Smith has of her own accord advised me that henceforth she does not want to charge for her monthly letter but that she would continue to send her contributions all the same. I have told her what she may write upon. I suggest your writing to her a letter of thanks.

You may make any other changes you may consider necessary in order to put the financial position on a satisfactory footing. I would plead, however, for Kababhai[1]. I suggest that he be not touched. As to the closing of the Durban Office, the matter requires very careful thinking. But if you think that it had better be closed, by all means do so. You may cut about the exchange and complimentary list as you may think fit and may reduce the size of the English columns. I suggest that all this should be done in consultation with Mr. Kallenbach. I am likely to meet him before I am gaoled. In that case, I shall discuss things fully with him.

With reference to Chhaganlal, Dr. Mehta offered to send one of my boys. I then suggested that he should not restrict me. He was prepared to send another also of my selection. I was disinclined to accept the double offer. So I asked him to let me send Chhaganlal or Maganlal to London in lieu of my boys. It was not a scholarship for competition. I felt that I could decide as to who should go to London in place of my boys but that I should ask for your permission to free the one I may select. I have not been able to discuss the reasons for coming to the decision I have. That, of course, I would as soon as we meet. They are too elaborate for me to reduce to writing and that now when I have not a minute to spare.

The scholarship for the school still stands. Several have been offered from India also. But I have not seen my way to accept them whilst we are in a state of uncertainty. Nor have the scholarships been rejected. The Indian scholarships have been offered through Mr. Polak. I asked him to invite these scholarships when I discussed the matter with Dr. Mehta.

I look to you all to see that Manilal is not disturbed. As a father, I have felt [it] to be in his interest that he should not yet go to England. Further progress depends entirely on what Chhaganlal can do. I suppose everybody realizes that the conditions of these donations are stiff. Acceptance of poverty and continuance of Phœnix work, no matter where, are indispensable.

Mr. Cordes asked me a question as to what should be done for payment of schemers[2] who may be laid up with sickness for a long time.

[1] A compositor in the press

[2] Founder-members of the scheme of the Phœnix Settlement; *vide* "Letter to A. H. West", pp. 106-8.

My answer is that we are a family and that we are bound to support them and even find what medical help as poor people we are capable of finding. I am quite willing that my guarantee should stand for such cases. I would add that the same condition should apply within reasonable limits to the non-schemers. It is in such matters that in my opinion we best realize our ideals. We are trying to live a life of perpetual self-sacrifice and find joy in it. But the latter suggestion is for you to accept or reject, as you may think best.

*Yours sincerely,*
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 4412
Courtesy: A. H. West

## *8. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI*

UNION CASTLE LINE,
*November 27, 1909*

CHI. MAGANLAL,

I thought of communicating to you the ideas that arose in my mind after reading Mr. McIntyre's[1] letter about our financial position and after writing a letter to Mr. West.[2] Please share this letter with Parshotamdas[3].

Phœnix will be put to test now. Probably we may not get money from Johannesburg. Our pledge is that we shall bring out at least a one-page issue of *Indian Opinion* and distribute it among the people as long as there is even one person in Phœnix. Do not allow any intrigues to flourish there. You must put up with anything that the others might say. If the Durban office is closed down, let it be. Always bear in mind that the main point should be stuck to. In order to give one's life for it, one has to give up the rest. The main point is to bring out the paper at any cost and not to leave Phœnix. If this one point is kept, the other things may go. We do not want to make a fetish of the journal and worship it. But we do want to keep our pledge. Our victory does not lie in issuing the paper, it lies in the pledge. There is nothing in getting the Transvaal Act repealed but there is everything in keeping the pledge. Our soul is moulded by our pledge and that is

[1] A Scottish theosophist, who joined Gandhiji as an articled clerk and later became a co-worker

[2] *Vide* "Letter to A. H. West", pp. 79-81.

[3] Parshottamdas Desai, who was in charge of the Phœnix School; *vide* "Letter to A. H. West", p. 107.

and should be the significance of keeping our pledge as well as of carrying on our other activities. You might suggest that the office may continue even if Mr. West has to go to Durban. Or let Manilal go [to Durban]. I would confide to you two only that I intend to sacrifice Manilal in the struggle if he is willing and if Ba[1] agrees. That will calm his restless mind. In fact, he wanted it himself. But if this does not materialize, it is just as well that he goes to Durban, and you remain in Phœnix. This should be done only if it is necessary. Make up your mind not to be upset if money does not come from Johannesburg. You may tell them that in that case you will provide the necessary funds by earning the money in some other way. You may also declare that you will continue to live and die in Phœnix even when no one else remains there. The others will catch your spirit, provided it is born of your steadfast mind and not of arrogance. The spirit has to be genuine, not merely expressed in strong words. Be quite sure that its echo will definitely be heard. Let the other necessary changes also be made. If any changes that you consider needless are made, let them also be made. There should not be any insistence in matters of pecuniary profit and loss. It is out of our ignorance that we believe we get our bread because of our efforts. It is best if one realizes that He who has given us teeth will also give us food for chewing.

From the facsimile of the original Gujarati in Gandhiji's hand in *Jivan-nu Parodh* by Prabhudas Gandhi

## 9. *LETTER TO RAMDAS GANDHI*

UNION CASTLE LINE,
R. M. S. *KILDONAN CASTLE*,
*Wednesday* [*November 27, 1909*]

CHI. RAMDAS[2],

I write this letter to you as I do not know when we shall meet. Do not be angry with me if I have not brought anything for you. There was nothing I liked. What could I do if nothing European appealed to me? I like everything Indian. The people of Europe are good, but their way of life is not good. I shall explain [this] to you in detail when we meet.

Do not be upset if I go to gaol; rather you should rejoice. I should be where Harilal[3] is. I must live there even for the sake of the struggle.

[1] Kasturba Gandhi, wife of Gandhiji and mother of Manilal
[2] Third son of Gandhiji
[3] Gandhiji's eldest son

Be cheerful. I want to see you stout and strong.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From the original Gujarati in Gandhiji's hand: C. W. 93
Courtesy: Sushilabehn Gandhi

## *10. CABLE TO G. K. GOKHALE*[1]

[*November 30, 1909*]

PRAY THANK MR. TATA[2] FOR MUNIFICENT TIMELY HELP. DISTRESS GREAT. PRISONERS' LOT HARD. RELIGIOUS SCRUPLES DISREGARDED. RATIONS SHORT. PRISONERS CARRY SLOP-PAILS; FOR REFUSING, PUT ON SPARE DIET. SOLITARY CONFINEMENT. PROMINENT MOSLEMS, HINDUS, PARSIS IN JAIL.

GANDHI

*Gujarati*, 19-12-1909

## *11. MESSAGE FROM DELEGATES AT CAPE TOWN*[3]

[*November 30, 1909*]

We request the favour of your columns to inform our countrymen of the Transvaal that the net result of the Deputation shows that the struggle is a national one. The issue is clearly defined: it is a fight for legal equality regarding immigrants. We hope passive resisters will remain firm and that our countrymen throughout South Africa will support us.

We have received a cablegram from the Hon. Prof. Gokhale informing us that Mr. Ratanji Jamshedji Tata of Bombay has given Rs. 25,000 in aid of the Transvaal struggle. This munificent aid shows that the Motherland is fully alive. It requires[4] for passive resisters to show they are prepared to die for a cause that is righteous, godly and national.

*Indian Opinion*, 4-12-1909

[1] This, the Bombay weekly *Gujarati* reported, was sent by Gandhiji to G. K. Gokhale, whose cable announcing the donation was received by Gandhiji on his arrival on November 30 at Cape Town; *vide* "Letter to G. K. Gokhale", p. 96.

[2] Ratanji Jamshedji Tata (1871-1918), leading Indian industrialist and philanthropist; started the Tata Iron and Steel Works in 1912; knighted in 1916.

[3] *Indian Opinion* published this telegram as from Messrs Gandhiji and Hajee Habib, who had arrived at Cape Town on Tuesday.

[4] A slip for "remains"?

## 12. *INTERVIEW TO "CAPE ARGUS"*[1]

[CAPE TOWN,
*November 30, 1909*]

Dr. Abdurahman[2], this morning, introduced Mr. Gandhi and [Mr.] Habib, who left South Africa in June last as a deputation to England on behalf of the Indian Passive Resisters. They arrived this morning, and continue their journey to-day to the Transvaal, if they are not stopped at Vereeniging.

Mr. Gandhi . . . has a youthful appearance; but he is over 40 years of age, and has a son who has four times been in prison as a Passive Resister. Mr. Gandhi himself has been in prison for the same reason. . . .

[GANDHIJI:] Passive resistance has gone on for three years, and now the issue is the clearest possible between the Transvaal Government and the British Indians. We have been fighting throughout this time for legal or theoretical equality with reference to the future emigration from India. We entirely recognise the Transvaal standpoint that there should be a very rigid test of all emigrants from India, but we have always held that the manner of bringing about this position should be not offensive to the whole of India, as now, and should not be a departure from such legislation in other colonies. The Transvaal legislation is the first of its kind.

Indians are excluded from the Transvaal as Indians—that is, on the ground of race or colour, whereas in other colonies, even in Australia, exclusion is brought about by severe education tests. This test is made severe, or it is relaxed, in accordance with the instructions issued by the administrator in charge of the Immigration Department.

Against this, we have nothing to say, but I feel that equality in theory should be preserved intact, otherwise the terms 'British Constitution' and 'British subject' become perfectly meaningless.

I have yet been able to find no one who has studied the question, who has anything to say against this attitude taken up by us. The question to be considered is the retention on the Statute-book, deliberately, of this unreasonable inequality. I say nothing with reference to the internal legislation in the Transvaal, bad as it is, but talk of the fundamental point I have drawn attention to. I could point out, too, that the struggle has been entirely idealised, in that those engaged in it have no personal interest to serve, merely fighting for a principle. The

[1] This was reproduced in *Indian Opinion*, 11-12-1909.

[2] President of the African Political Organisation and member of the Cape Town Municipality

method adopted also is idealised, as we seek to bring about relief through personal suffering by disregard of the law, which we hold to be against our conscience and our self-respect.

We suffer, that is the penalty; hence over 2,500 Indians have suffered imprisonment in the Transvaal, some of them even four times. Among this number are merchants, hawkers and servants, men representative of all the different religions, and today we have received a cablegram from Professor Gokhale, who is a member of the Viceregal Council, Calcutta, stating that one of the millionaires of India, Mr. R. J. Tata, has given 25,000 rupees (£1,630) to the funds of the passive resisters. Hitherto we have not appealed for funds outside of South Africa, but since the prolongation of the struggle has reduced so many Indian families to poverty, we find it necessary to accept assistance from outside South Africa. In England many Englishmen and Indians volunteered to collect subscriptions and to sign a letter[1] addressed to the passive resisters, encouraging them to continue the fight.[2]

We went to England in no spirit of defiance, but in order to take advantage of the presence there of so many Colonial statesmen. I feel certain that when the people in South Africa realise the ideal nature of the struggle, though their own ideal is not to encourage the wholesale importation of Indians from India, they will be unwilling to inflict the serious suffering that has been going on. I think that the South African statesmen should welcome the method adopted by us to gain relief, because we do not inflict suffering on others. Although [the result of] our visit to England was negligible, yet I feel satisfied that the English people now realise the exact nature of this struggle and are persuaded that we are moved by a sense of duty.[3]

As regards the effect in India, meetings have been held throughout the chief towns of India, in which all the different classes combined in support of the passive resisters, and I notice that one[4] of the retiring Indian members of Lord Morley's Council has stated that no question has so agitated India as this concerning the Transvaal treatment of the Indians.[5]

Question: Will the education test be accepted?

[GANDHIJI:] Yes, the Emigration Officer would have a discretionary power as to the test to be applied, and it would be open to him to make a severe test as regards Indians, and so reject those who were not able to meet it. This is done in Australia and other colonies. I see

[1] *Vide* Vol. IX, pp. 519-20.
[2] This paragraph was not reproduced in *Indian Opinion*.
[3] This sentence was not reproduced in *Indian Opinion*.
[4] Syed Hussain Bilgrami
[5] This paragraph was not reproduced in *Indian Opinion*.

no difficulty about it. There is a fear that the education test would keep the agitation alive, but I hold this to be groundless.

Mr. Gandhi, in conclusion, expressed his belief that General Smuts would give a fair hearing to their case.

*Cape Argus*, 30-11-1909

## *13. LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI*

JOHANNESBURG,
*Kartak Vadi 5 [Samvat] 1966,*
*[December 2, 1909]*

CHI. MANILAL,

So long as you are firm in morals and discharge your duties, I for one shall have no worry at all about your studies. If the injunctions and observances prescribed by the Shastras are practised, it will be enough for my purpose. I shall be helpful to you if you want to make further progress in your academic studies, either as a hobby or to be better equipped [for work]. I will not find fault with you even if you do not do it. However, if you decide upon a particular course of action, try to stick to it. Let me know what things you are doing now in the press; also when you get up in the morning, what work you do in the field, etc.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From *Mahatma Gandhiji-na Patro* (in Gujarati) edited by Dahyabhai Patel, published by Sevak Karyalaya, Ahmedabad

## *14. INTERVIEW TO REUTER*

[JOHANNESBURG,
*December 2, 1909*]

Messrs Gandhi and Hajee Habib[1] arrived at Park Station this evening. Long before the arrival of the train, hundreds of Indians and Chinese [had] assembled. When the train steamed in, quite 2,000 Indians and Chinese, and several Europeans, were present. The crowd was of the orderliest. There was a tremendous ovation, and flowers were showered upon Mr. Gandhi.

Mr. Gandhi returned thanks to the Transvaal Government for their courtesy in allowing them uninterfered re-entry. He said he hoped that the Transvaal [Government] would soon see their way to remedying the legislation. He considered the

[1] They comprised the Deputation to England which had just returned.

Transvaal's action was injuring, not the Indians, but the stability of the Empire. The people of England and India were waking up to the fact that the struggle was just. They were realising the detrimental nature of the Transvaal's action. The people of India were particularly alive to the necessity of carrying on the struggle, as evidenced by the handsome donation by Mr. Tata[1] during the past few days. He was pleased to know that they had a great number of European sympathisers. The English people now realised the justness of the struggle. He felt very fit, and so did all his supporters. Many men among their ranks were ready to die for the cause.

Mr. Gandhi was then escorted to Vrededorp, where the Asiatics were holding a meeting. Prior to leaving, he was garlanded.

*Indian Opinion*, 4-12-1909

## *15. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI*

*Thursday night* [On or after *December 2, 1909*][2]

CHI. MAGANLAL,

Your letter to hand. I quite realise that things there are in a mess. You can certainly tell me the reasons for it as you see them. I shall consider them. I am sure you will not write with any ill will towards anybody.

I have not yet received a letter from the Bank. You may go and remind them. I again forgot to do this. The whole day passes in a ceaseless round of duties and I find no time to do it.

It is the duty of those who have devoted themselves to Phœnix to improve the life there and do their best to develop *Indian Opinion*; for through *Indian Opinion* we have been imparting education and doing public good. We need not be disheartened if some of us in Phœnix do not put in their best, waste our resources or are quarrelsome. He who knows better should put in double the effort to make good the deficiency. The study of the *Gita* [. . .] the effect of the sound of its words [. . .] in some incomprehensible way.

From a photostat of the original Gujarati in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 6081

[1] *Vide* "Interview to *Cape Argus*", p. 85.

[2] This letter, of which only the first two pages are available, is placed after Gandhiji's return from England. The reference to the Bank in the second paragraph suggests that the addressee had taken charge of bank matters which were attended to heretofore by Chhaganlal Gandhi, who was at this time in India *en route* to England.

## 16. *REPLY TO "THE STAR"*[1]

[JOHANNESBURG,]
*December 3, 1909*

SIR,

I must again, with your kind permission, worry you and your readers with the struggle in which my countrymen have now been engaged for the last three years.

I must confess that, even in London, I could see no sign of the majority of my compatriots here having been tired of the struggle, as you are. They have certainly felt the strain. Some have undoubtedly succumbed, and, before we are through, more may succumb; but the demonstration at the station last evening[2] could not have failed to show even a superficial observer that practically the whole of the Indian community is at the back of it, and that those who have, through weakness or through other causes, accepted the law no less keenly resent it than active passive resisters.

I am, however, more anxious to engage the attention of your readers on the merits than on the question of the strength or weakness of passive resistance. In spite of your quotation from *Macbeth*,[3] I venture to repeat what I have said—that the theory of equality may be restored in our legislation as to immigration, which may be deliberately departed from in administration, and yet I would deny the charge of having "paltered with" anybody "in a double sense". It will not do to dismiss a great principle of the British Constitution by loosely using the words "administrative chicanery", "dishonesty", etc. In theory, the Indian Civil Service is open to all British subjects; in practice, it is open to the people of India in a most restricted sense. This departure from theory is unfortunate, but it is neither dishonest nor fraudulent, because the thing is done openly, and, rightly or wrongly, as an administrative necessity. Australia, Natal, and many other Colonies have legislation such as British Indians have submitted to the Transvaal Government for acceptance; and it is not possible to charge all these Colonies with questionable practices because they use their education test

[1] *The Star*'s leading article, "Mr. Gandhi's Return" dated 2-12-1909, was reproduced in part in *Indian Opinion*, 11-12-1909, along with this reply.

[2] At the Park Station, *vide* "Interview to Reuter", pp. 86-7.

[3] "Be these juggling fiends no more believed
That palter with us in a double sense;
That keep the word of promise to our ear
And break it to our hope."

very effectively to keep out British Indians. Their legislation contains no national insult, and who can deny that it is a great thing to keep the Statute Books of the Colony free from the taint of prejudice? If administration is differential, it will simply be a concession to prejudice, as also the well-defined policy of the white inhabitants of South Africa. But, in the latest amendment submitted through Lord Ampthill, there is even no room left for the charge of dishonesty. The law will clearly state that the Governor-in-Council will have the power to limit the number of immigrants belonging to any class or race, in spite of their having passed the education test.

I do believe that, if the people in South Africa, and particularly in the Transvaal, really understood the question, they would ask our Government to grant the concession my countrymen have been fighting for.

Meanwhile, the Government are making the lot of passive resisters well-nigh intolerable. One of the greatest Indians in South Africa is, in spite of his weak constitution, being deprived at Diepkloof of the special food which was issued to him by the Medical Officer at Volksrust and at Houtpoort. He has been compelled to uncover his head, although he has a religious objection to doing so, an objection that was respected during his three incarcerations. He was not only hand-cuffed but chained on his arrival from Johannesburg; but, if I know Mr. Rustomjee well, I know that nothing in the world will daunt his brave spirit. Another Indian[1], an ex-sergeant, has been called upon to empty slop-pails.[2] He has scruples. Such scruples have been hitherto, within my own knowledge, very largely respected. Now he has been, for his disobedience so called, put on spare diet and confined in a solitary cell.[3] It is well for the Colony to know what is being done in its name.

In conclusion, I would like to express the appreciation of my colleague, Mr. Hajee Habib, and myself of the Government's courtesy in allowing us to cross the border unchallenged.

*I am, etc.*,
M. K. GANDHI

*The Star*, 4-12-1909

[1] U. M. Shelat; *vide* Vol. V, p. 368.
[2] *Vide* "Speech at Johannesburg Mass Meeting", p. 91.
[3] *Vide* "Mr. Shelat's Discharge", pp. 109-10.

## 17. SPEECH AT TAMIL LADIES' MEETING[1]

[JOHANNESBURG,
*December 3, 1909*]

Mr. Gandhi said that the community was grateful to Mrs. Vogl and Miss Schlesin for their noble work among the Indian women of the Transvaal. The speaker understood that the ladies present were all passive resisters and had sent their husbands or brothers or sons to gaol in connection with the national struggle that was going on. They had acted very bravely and their work had attracted attention in the Motherland. The speaker then explained the result of the mission in England and hoped that, no matter what the difficulties were, his hearers would continue their work and not be frightened by obstacles or owing to the struggle being prolonged.

*Indian Opinion*, 11-12-1909

## 18. SPEECH AT JOHANNESBURG MASS MEETING[2]

[*December 5, 1909*]

Mr. Gandhi said that it gave Mr. Hajee Habib and himself the greatest satisfaction to see his countrymen in such large numbers face to face again. Their presence and their welcome at Park Station gave the lie direct to the charge that interest in the struggle had waned. The speaker offered thanks to the Transvaal Government for their having allowed Mr. Hajee Habib and himself to cross the border unchallenged. It showed that the struggle could be carried on with dignity and without unnecessary bitterness, and yet the proceedings of the past five months showed that there was a great deal of bitterness as also irritation. He recalled the death of the gallant young Nagappan, who gave his life for the struggle. A thousand Major

[1] Mrs. Vogl presided at the meeting, which was held at 175, Market Street, Johannesburg. The work among "Indian ladies" had been inaugurated by Mrs. Polak, and was continued by Mrs. Vogl and Miss Schlesin; women's meetings were held regularly. At the conclusion of Gandhiji's speech, the ladies assured him that they would not flinch from their duty in the struggle.

[2] The meeting, attended by more than 1,500 Indians including representatives from Boksburg, Germiston, Krugersdorp, Heidelberg and other Rand towns and a number of Chinese friends as also Messrs Vogl and Kallenbach, was held at 4 p.m. on the grounds of the Hamidia Mosque, Johannesburg, to welcome the Delegates on their return from England. Telegrams were received from several of the country districts. A. M. Cachalia, Chairman of the British Indian Association, presided and observed: "The sending of the Delegations to England and India has resulted in giving our struggle world-wide status."

A report also appeared in *Rand Daily Mail*, 6-12-1909.

Dixons[1] could not remove the impression from his mind that he had died a martyr's death. The great philanthropist Mr. Rustomjee was in gaol, and he was shattered in health. The illustrious Imam Abdul Kadir Bawazeer was also suffering imprisonment, and so were the stout-hearted Mr. Sorabji and other brave Indians. Mr. Shelat was suffering solitary imprisonment and was put upon spare diet, because he refused to carry slop-pails. These things could not but cause great bitterness and irritation. It had been said that the community had weakened. It was perfectly true that some had fallen. It was not their fault. It was not in human nature to expect capacity for prolonged suffering on the part of many.

The state in which they were living was described by General Smuts as that of war; and, in every war, the honours of battle were reserved for the few, and every community was represented, after all, by the fewest possible. In the gaol at Diepkloof, every action of the community was represented by its best men. There was, therefore, every reason for hope, and the speaker hoped that Indians would follow the worthy example of their leaders. As a matter of fact, the deputations to England and to India were against the real spirit of passive resistance, which relied entirely upon self-suffering, but there was weakness, too. It, therefore, became necessary to supplement the effort by sending deputations. They had returned from England without any final result, and yet they had not returned disappointed. The authorities now knew the exact nature of the struggle. There was no one in England who had anything to say against it. Lord Ampthill had supported them with his whole heart. Everyone knew that they were fighting for legal and theoretical equality as to immigration. It was recognised that the struggle was not on behalf of a handful of Indian residents in the Transvaal. It was on behalf of the whole of India, indeed, on behalf of the whole Empire. Its honour was entrusted to them, and it would be well for the Colonists to understand the seriousness of the struggle. They could not question the demand of the Indian community for a restoration of that equality it had enjoyed before the War and up to 1906, when the Colonial policy of restricting immigration from India was accepted and carried out. It was the duty of Indians to resent a national wrong. When they were told that they could not enter the country because they were Indians, the implied insult became intolerable. It was a life-and-death struggle. His (the speaker's) life and he believed that of many of his countrymen was dedicated to fighting against the policy underlying the legislation they were protesting against. The formation of a band of volunteers for doing house to house work, for collecting subscriptions,[2] and for reaching the heart of democracy in the United Kingdom was a very important result of their mission. The movement might be far-reaching in its effects. Many earnest English men and women and Indians had joined it. The magnificent efforts that were being made by the self-sacrificing Mr. Polak had borne ample fruit. It had resulted in the magnificent donation of Mr. Ratanji Jamshedji

[1] Major F. J. Dixon, Assistant Resident Magistrate, Pretoria, was appointed Commissioner to hold an enquiry into the allegations made in connection with the death of Nagappen on July 6. *Vide* Vol. IX, pp. 299, 361 & 484.

[2] *Vide* Vol. IX, p. 511.

Tata. A struggle such as this might well be prolonged. Prolongation meant greater discipline, if it also meant greater hardship, but the goal to be achieved was worth all the sacrifice, and the speaker hoped that Asiatics would continue the struggle to the end.

He appealed to the Transvaal Government, as also the Colonists, to consider the issue. The Colonists should, in his opinion, exercise their imagination and their Imperial instinct, and concede the demands of the Asiatic communities. He hoped that they did not wish to tell the millions of India that they were to be considered as inferior beings, no matter what their status might be. The doctrine of inequality as regards immigration was laid down for the first time in the colony of the Transvaal. It was not yet too late to retrace the step. If the desired alteration in the legislation was made, it would be a simple graceful act of justice. But he feared that if the Transvaal proceeded in its present policy, it would shake the very foundations of the Empire.

In dwelling upon the European support received in the Transvaal, Mr. Gandhi paid a tribute to the work done by the Committee led by Mr. Hosken[1]. Those who were members of the Committee cherished the Colonial ideal just as much as anybody else, but they did not find it incompatible with that ideal to espouse the Indian cause. He confessed that passive resistance would have been practically impossible without the encouragement, support, and sympathy that were received from the European friends and workers.[2]

*Indian Opinion*, 11-12-1909

## *19. SPEECH AT JOHANNESBURG MASS MEETING*[3]

[*December 5, 1909*]

This meeting has disproved the allegation that the Indian community was weakening. It must be admitted, however, that the spirit today is not what it was in the beginning. Some Indians have indeed fallen off, but that is no reason for us to be discouraged. In every struggle, the same thing happens. Only a few continue to fight to the bitter end. A community which has in it heroes like Mr. Bawazeer, Mr. Rustomjee, Mr. Naidoo[4] and Mr. Sorabji cannot surely be said to have accepted defeat. A community which can boast of such members is bound to win. But, while recognizing our strength, we must not fail to notice our weakness. Even a child can see that there would have been a settlement by now if those who gave in had not done so.

[1] A pro-Indian leader of the Progressive Party in the Transvaal; *vide* Vols. VIII & IX.

[2] *Vide* "Resolutions at Johannesburg Mass Meeting", pp. 94-5.

[3] This is a report from the Gujarati columns, of the same speech as the preceding item.

[4] Thambi Naidoo, *vide* "Letter to G. K. Gokhale", p. 97.

General Smuts deserves thanks for having allowed us to come in. This is an instance of the spirit of dignity that informs this struggle. But there is also increased bitterness. How can it be otherwise when they compel prisoners to carry slop-pails[1] and harass them unnecessarily? How can we forget that Nagappen gave his life for the cause? If the Indian community remembers all this, it will never give up the fight. Whatever may happen, I and many other Indians have dedicated our lives to the cause for which we have been fighting. If every Indian had been a satyagrahi, there would have been no need to take a deputation to England. The strength of the satyagrahi lies entirely in self-suffering. Since, however, all of us were not satyagrahis, a deputation was sent. It has returned unsuccessful, but not dispirited. Lord Crewe has now realized that our struggle is a pure one, that it is not dictated by self-interest and that all our methods have been above reproach. Likewise, Lord Ampthill and other British leaders too understand all these things. We did not come across a single Englishman or Indian who said that our fight was not justified. This is no mean achievement. We can go ahead now.

For a time, it also appeared likely that there would be a settlement. [General Smuts] offered to repeal the Act and to make provision for the issue of certificates of permanent residence to educated Indians, at discretion. We could not accept this. It is not a favour that we want, but [recognition of] a right. If we have an inferior status under the law, it makes no difference to us that we may be allowed to come in. The offer was an appeal to our self-interest. It was not free from the insult implied in the denial of the right of entry to us on the ground that we are Indians. So long as this stigma is not removed, our pledge will remain unfulfilled. Therefore, we have no option but to carry on this fight for the sake of our people and our religion. We demand that the law must grant equal rights of entry to Europeans and Indians. It can empower the Governor to frame regulations to provide that, even from among those who had passed the test, only a fixed number from each community would be allowed to enter. This would ensure legal equality and uphold our honour. But we failed to get this, I believe, because of our weakness here. It should also be remembered by every Indian that more than this we shall never get. It would be a great victory for us even to get this much. And get it we shall.

Everyone knows the fruit of Mr. Polak's fine efforts in India. They have resulted in Mr. Tata's donation of Rs. 25,000. In England, English ladies and gentlemen as also Indians have enlisted themselves as volunteers and go round from house to house.

Thus our struggle has gained world-wide publicity. We have stepped into the limelight. It would be a great shame to give up the fight now. People have come to feel confident that the Transvaal Indians will never betray weakness of purpose. To turn away from the task now will bring disgrace to the Indian community.

It must also be realized that the status of Indians in South Africa depends to a large extent on this struggle. It is because of the struggle that new laws have not been passed, the Licenses Act in Natal has been amended and legislation in Rhodesia

[1] This is a reference to Shelat; *vide* the preceding item.

was disallowed. If we continue, it will be difficult to make laws against us when the Union Parliament comes into being. This is as much as to say that our interests also are involved.

That the struggle is drawing out is to our advantage, rather than otherwise. India is being awakened thereby, we are being educated and are learning to do public work. It is, therefore, my earnest request to the community that those who are strong must remain strong, that those who have fallen must openly admit their weakness and help the struggle by giving money and in other ways. This is but a duty that every Indian owes to himself. The Imam Saheb[1], Mr. Rustomjee and others are in gaol for our sake. It will indeed be shameful for us to leave them in gaol, confessing ourselves [too] weak [to follow them], or to refuse other help that may be needed.

[From Gujarati]
*Indian Opinion*, 11-12-1909

## *20. RESOLUTIONS AT JOHANNESBURG MASS MEETING*[2]

*December 5, 1909*

1. This meeting of British Indians hereby welcomes Messrs Hajee Habib and Gandhi, and, after having heard their statements, endorses their action, and congratulates them upon having carried out their mission with courage, patience and moderation.

2. This meeting of British Indians hereby respectfully tenders its thanks to Lord Ampthill and his fellow-members of the South Africa British Indian Committee for having guided the delegates and given them the benefit of their mature experience.

3. This meeting of British Indians declares its intention to carry on the struggle by means of self-suffering in the shape of imprisonment and otherwise until the legal and theoretical equality as to immigration of British Indians of culture with the other immigrants is restored.

4. This meeting of British Indians of the Transvaal appeals to the Government and the European Colonists to consider the bearings of the struggle on the Empire as a whole, and in view of the fact that under the British Indian demand the Colonial ideal of rigorously controlling immigration from India is preserved intact, to see that the terrible sufferings of the community are ended by justice being done.

5. This meeting of British Indians of the Transvaal appeals to the Imperial and the Indian Governments to use their friendly efforts

[1] Imam Abdul Kadir Bawazeer; *vide* the preceding item.

[2] Gandhiji was present at the meeting and spoke there; *vide* the preceding item. These resolutions were presumably drafted by him.

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for securing a settlement of the long-standing grievance of the community, regard being especially had to the fact that the grievance is national and a further prolongation of it is calculated to injure the prestige of the British Empire.

6. This meeting of British Indians of the Transvaal places on record its thanks to Ratan Jamshedji Tata, Esq., for his munificent and timely donation of Rs. 25,000 in aid of the struggle.

7. This meeting of British Indians of the Transvaal authorises the Chairman to forward the resolutions to the proper quarters.

*Indian Opinion*, 11-12-1909

## *21. LETTER TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO TRANSVAAL GOVERNOR*[1]

JOHANNESBURG,
*December 6, 1909*

THE PRIVATE SECRETARY TO
HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR OF THE TRANSVAAL
JOHANNESBURG

SIR,

I have the honour to enclose herewith Resolutions that were carried unanimously at a Mass Meeting of British Indians, held yesterday and attended by nearly fifteen hundred men representing all sections of the community. I am desired by the meeting[2] to request His Excellency to forward these Resolutions to the Right Hon'ble the Secretary of State for the Colonies and to the Right Hon'ble the Secretary of State for India.

*I have, etc.*,
(Signed) A. M. CACHALIA,[3]
CHAIRMAN,
BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION

[Enclosure[4]]

From a photostat of the typewritten copy in the Colonial Office Records : C.O. 291/139

[1] Presumably drafted by Gandhiji
[2] *Vide* Resolution No. 7 (preceding item), which was not enclosed.
[3] He also presided over the Mass Meeting.
[4] The first six resolutions of the preceding item

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## 22. *LETTER TO G. K. GOKHALE*

JOHANNESBURG,
*December 6, 1909*

DEAR PROFESSOR GOKHALE,

As soon as we arrived at Cape Town, your cablegram announcing the magnificent donation from Mr. Tata was received, and now I have your inquiry from Poona as to our requirements. I have just cabled as follows:

> PRESENT REQUIREMENT THOUSAND POUNDS. EXPECT IMPRISONMENT BEFORE END MONTH. MUCH MORE REQUIRED LATER.

What I observe is that the expenses are necessarily great, and our resources in South Africa are exhausted. There are enough Indians in the Transvaal alone who could still carry on the struggle, if they would, without outside help, but they are not now inclined to help. They think that they have given enough. These are the weaker members of the community. The strongest have ruined themselves pecuniarily, and they simply go to gaol as often as the Government arrest them. Their families have also to be supported. When this struggle commenced, I bore the whole of the expenses of the office, as also the rent of offices, which were really for my practice, but, for the last two years, I have done very little legal work. I have also found the expenses for running *Indian Opinion*, which is by no means yet self-supporting. These are the current expenses:

| | |
|---|---|
| Office here | £50 |
| Office London | £40 |
| *Indian Opinion* | £50 |
| Distressed families | £25 |

These I apprehend will be the minimum monthly expenses. Almost all connected with *Indian Opinion* are working practically under a vow of poverty, including the Europeans, but, as the paying subscribers are very few, it is necessary to give help. I feel that, if contributions do arrive from India, we should continue the above expenses. If they do not, it is my intention to cut down much of the expense of *Indian Opinion*, thus depriving the struggle of one of its greatest supports, and to close down the London office. The active passive resisters who are likely to remain staunch to the last we count as one hundred. These will force themselves on the attention of the authorities. The bulk of the community will help by attending meetings, making protests, and

also by contributing something. This would enable the passive resisters to support their dependents. To reduce the struggle to this extent means an indefinite prolongation, but, as it has been undertaken very largely as a matter of discipline, those of us who understand it would not at all be disappointed, and are prepared for life-long suffering.

I cannot blame our countrymen in the Transvaal or in South Africa for not paying as liberally as they have hitherto. The struggle has cost already, I think, no less than £10,000. In this I include the expenses of all sub-committees, which are not found in the advertised accounts of the Central Association, but I exclude the enormous losses that individuals have suffered. It is no wonder then if many now lose heart and decline to give even pecuniary help.

As, however, the national importance of the struggle is now being recognised in India, I feel that we might receive pecuniary support, and that openly. I am anxious to make as much of it as possible. I have now placed practically the whole of the situation before you. Some of the bravest Indians representing all races are at present in Diepkloof Gaol. The foremost among them I count Mr. Rustomjee, who has now finished over nine months of continuous imprisonment. He is very much shattered in health. I paid him a visit yesterday; he is resolved upon dying in gaol if need be. Another is a cultured Mahomedan priest, Imam Abdul Kadir Bawazeer. The third is a Mahomedan merchant of standing, Mr. Ebrahim Aswat from the Surat District. The fourth is an undergraduate and Jain, Mr. Nanalal Shah. The fifth is a Brahmin from Ahmedabad, Mr. Umiashanker Shelat. He has refused to carry slop-pails, and is now confined in a solitary cell. But perhaps the bravest and the staunchest of all is the indomitable Thambi Naidoo. I do not know any Indian who knows the spirit of the struggle so well as he does. He was born in Mauritius, but is more Indian than most of us. He has sacrificed himself entirely, and has sent me a defiant message, saying that, even though I may yield and accept anything less than Lord Ampthill's amendment, he alone will offer resistance and die in the Transvaal gaols. I may perhaps add to this list another young man, Mr. Sorabji. He left a lucrative post in order to lay the foundation of the second stage of the struggle and claim entry as an educated Indian. He came light-heartedly not knowing what was in store for him, but for the last eighteen months he has been practically in gaol. I could continue to multiply the names. In all, there are about thirty Indian passive resisters in the gaols at present; many more would certainly claim the honours if the Government would give them. The possibilities of a struggle such as this it is very difficult to measure. I hope that the Motherland will come to the rescue, and assist us as far as possible. The moral effect of continued pecuniary assistance from

India will also be very great. I hope that my letter[1] from London has duly reached you, and that it has received your consideration.

*I remain,*
*Yours sincerely,*
M. K. GANDHI

[PS.]
I propose to utilise the funds just received £1673 from you towards liquidating debts already incurred mostly for *Indian Opinion.* You shall have full account of disbursements.

M. K. G.

From the typewritten original signed by Gandhiji with the postscript in his hand : G. N. 4111

## 23. EXTRACT FROM LETTER[2]

[JOHANNESBURG,
*December 6, 1909*]

I paid a visit to Mr. Rustomjee yesterday. He is very much broken down; he does not receive the medical food that was prescribed for him at Volksrust. The Parsees—I mean the orthodox Parsees—never take off their caps, but Mr. Rustomjee has now been compelled to remove his cap, although he was allowed to keep it on at Volksrust and Houtpoort. He is put on stone-breaking. . . . Mr. Rustomjee is also suffering from a constitutional disease; his eye-sight is affected; he was a most pitiable and piteous sight. I am applying for permission for a doctor to see him.

Colonial Office Records : C.O. 291/141

## 24. TATA'S GIFT

That India has been roused is evident from the generous gift of Mr. Ratanji Jamshedji Tata. By his big donation of Rs. 25,000 he has given a powerful impetus to our movement. He will probably be followed by other Indians.

Parsis are known the world over for their generous gifts. Mr. Tata has been true to that spirit of generosity. In South Africa hardly any Indian can equal Mr. Rustomjee's performance. We have had many

[1] Dated 11-11-1909, inviting Gokhale to the Transvaal; *vide* Vol. IX, pp. 531-2.
[2] Quoted in a letter dated December 31, 1909 from Sir Mancherji Bhownaggree to the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies; the full text is not available.

generous donations from him. For us, therefore, Mr. Tata's gift is no matter for surprise.

Mr. Tata has laid the entire community under obligation. What is the way to repay it? Our courage must increase tenfold after what has happened. The money has been given in the faith that we shall carry on the struggle to the bitter end. It is up to us to prove that we are worthy of such confidence.

It would be some satisfaction if the fight were continued for the sake at any rate of Mr. Tata's gift, not so much because of the amount itself as for the implication which the donation carries, and the impression that it will make on the world.

If Mr. Tata's gift is a matter for satisfaction, it also calls for a warning. In this world a gift can rarely be turned to good account. Only a few know how to put to good use money got as a gift. Such money makes people weak-willed and selfish. Our fight is based on self-help and is intended to bring about our own regeneration. Therefore, should Mr. Tata's gift lead people to relax their efforts, it may do more harm than good. We would urge the Indian community not to slacken in its duty in South Africa, regardless of this gift.

[From Gujarati]
*Indian Opinion*, 11-12-1909

## 25. *NATAL LICENSING ACT*

The Natal Parliament has amended the Dealers' Licenses Act. The Indian community was keen on provision for appeal, and its desire has been partly satisfied. If an officer refuses to renew an existing licence, an appeal will now be allowed to the Supreme Court. This is a matter for some satisfaction. There used to be rank injustice sometimes, which will now cease. The amendment does not apply to new licences, but we do not think this is much of a difficulty. With some effort we may possibly secure that too.

Every Indian must note how the change came about. There are two main reasons. One, to arrest the agitation for ending the system of indenture. Two, fear of satyagraha in Natal. Thirdly, there is also reason to believe that the change came about a little earlier than it might otherwise have done because of the Natal Deputation. But we especially draw the attention of the Indian community to the first reason. The amendment is a kind of a sop. The Government will now expect the business community to abandon its agitation for stopping the import of indentured labour. We hope the community will do nothing of the kind. If it does, it will have proved remiss in its duty.

According to us, indenture is an evil thing [in itself]. But there is also the £3 poll-tax on the indentured labourers. There must be an agitation for its removal. The Natal Government wants that the terms of indenture should expire in India. *The* [*Natal*] *Mercury* has pointed out clearly that had it not been for the difficulty of licences the Imperial Government would certainly have agreed to the change regarding the expiry of the term of indenture in India. It is our earnest request that the Indian community should not neglect its duty in this matter.

It will be evident to every Indian that this gain is the result of satyagraha. Those who see this will realize that satyagraha can meet every situation.

The problem of Indian education is also a very serious one. It demands the utmost attention from the community.

We therefore hope that the community will not sink into lethargy in the belief that nothing further now remains to be done.

[From Gujarati]
*Indian Opinion*, 11-12-1909

## 26. *LETTER TO "RAND DAILY MAIL"*[1]

JOHANNESBURG,
*December 11, 1909*

SIR,

Every person who has the interests of the Colony, as also the Empire, at heart, must feel thankful to you for your leading article[2] on the Transvaal Indian situation.

May I, on behalf of those whom I claim to represent, state that, so far as our assistance is required with reference to those who are resident in the Colony, and who should be identified, it will be given at all times, and whole-heartedly. I need not recall the history of 1908, which is still fresh in the memory of the colonists, and which proves that we are not an unreasonable community, and that we are just as willing to suffer in order to aid the Government as we are today suffering in order to save our national honour.

*I am, etc.*,
M. K. GANDHI

*Rand Daily Mail*, 13-12-1909

[1] A summary of this letter appeared in the Gujarati columns of *Indian Opinion*, 18-12-1909.

[2] Dated 10-12-1909, reproduced in part in *Indian Opinion*, 18-12-1909; advised acceptance of the Transvaal Indian demand

## 27. JOSEPH ROYEPPEN

We congratulate Mr. Joseph Royeppen, who has recently returned after being called to the Bar, on his decision to join the Transvaal campaign. The decision must be esteemed a sign of true education. Undoubtedly, Mr. Joseph Royeppen's entry into the Transvaal will be a great encouragement to the community. His example should be followed by others.

[From Gujarati]
*Indian Opinion*, 18-12-1909

## 28. LETTER TO "INDIAN OPINION"

*December 20, 1909*

TO
THE EDITOR
*INDIAN OPINION*

SIR,

I hope that I shall find myself lodged in gaol before this letter appears in print.[1]

My second son (Manilal) lives with me. For some time past I had been thinking of asking him to join the struggle. He was insistent. It appeared to me, on deep reflection, that it would be right to bring him in. I believe that to go to gaol or suffer similar hardships with a pure motive for the sake of the motherland is the truest kind of education. Since I look upon gaol as a kind of palace, how can I deny the privilege of being there to those whom I hold dear? My son has attained the age (17)[2] when he can think for himself.[3] For my part, I should like to tell all Indian parents and all Indian youths that success will attend those who have joined the struggle. It is they that do the fighting, who profit most from it.

To those who are in gaol now I make this request, that they should make up their minds to return to gaol the moment they are released, without so much as pausing for breath. An exception may be made only

[1] Gandhiji expected he would be arrested on 22nd December while entering the Transvaal from Natal with six British Indians including Manilal. *Vide* "Cable to H. S. L. Polak", pp. 103-4.

[2] 18 years, *vide* "Cable to H. S. L. Polak", p. 103.

[3] *Vide* the concluding lines of the following item.

CWMG : X

in the case of Mr. Rustomjee. If he is not arrested [on his release], he would do well to go to Durban for a month. But as soon as a month is over, it will be his duty, so at least it appears to me, to return [to the Transvaal], whatever the state of his health.

Those who are outside should think of possible ways of getting into gaol. Failing everything else, it will be easy enough for them to fill the gaols in January or February.

Whether or not others fill them, it is obviously the duty of those who would do so for the sake of India not to pause even a moment for breath.

*Yours,*
MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI

[From Gujarati]
*Indian Opinion*, 25-12-1909

## *29. SPEECH AT DURBAN MEETING*[1]

[*December 20, 1909*]

The resolutions[2] proposed at this meeting are a proof of your enthusiasm and your spirit. You have identified yourself with the struggle, and that is as it ought to be, for this struggle is the support on which rest the rights of all. If we lose it, we shall be uprooted from this land or, in any case, be reduced to slavery. Even as it is, the slavery is there, as can be seen from the subjects of your resolutions. If you have any trace of manliness in you, you will turn satyagrahis. For instance, all the teachers can resign[3], and all parents can withdraw their children from schools. Parents who believe that their children receive any education in Government schools are only deluding themselves. There is, again, the question of indentured labourers. You should never forget that the provision for appeal[4] in regard to trading licences is only a bait. It has been offered in order to induce us to give up our opposition to the repatriation of indentured labourers on the expiry of their terms of contract. Is there any Indian who will agree to this? You must oppose such repatriation. The petitions you make will avail you nothing by

[1] Organised by the Natal Indian Patriotic Union on 20-12-1909

[2] Reproduced in *Indian Opinion*, 25-12-1909

[3] As a protest against the Bills which, while providing for pensions for teachers in aided and Government schools in Natal, excluded Indian teachers from the pension scheme (Resolution No. 5)

[4] To the Supreme Court, as conceded by the amendments made in the Wholesale and Retail Dealers' Act (Resolution No. 7)

themselves. They must be backed by some force, by the force of satyagraha (passive resistance). As General Smuts has declared, satyagraha is a kind of war. The Natal Indians can hope for no improvement in their lot unless they resort to satyagraha. Today England is on our side. India has been stirred by Mr. Polak. I have had news today from Johannesburg of a telegraphic offer of £400 from the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale, following on Mr. Tata's gift. Mr. Joseph Royeppen has returned with degrees from England, and will now accompany me to gaol to receive the latest degree. Another person to come forward is Mr. V. Lawrence. He has a wife and children, whom he will be leaving behind. He will also give up his job in order to join the struggle. I am proud of him. How can we ever turn away from the example that has been set by Nagappen? Cherishing his memory, we must fight on till we win. Victory will not further anyone's personal interest, but it will uphold India's honour. If these friends or any other Indians are coming along in the hope that thereby they will secure for themselves domiciliary rights in the Transvaal, I would ask them not to do so. Among those who are accompanying us, there is another Colonial-born Indian, Mr. Samuel Joseph. Likewise, Mr. Ramalal Singh has crossed over from Germiston, and he too will enter [the Transvaal] with us and go to gaol. Having thus carried on the fight for three years, it will be disgraceful of us to give it up now. Nothing is ever achieved except through suffering. A mother suffers when her child is born. In the same way, India has to go through suffering at present. Gaol-life is a kind of education and strengthens the will-power. This, I believe, is a great benefit, and hence I have decided to take along with me my second son Manilal. He has himself elected to come. In gaol, we are to work as missionaries of satyagraha, i.e., good life.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 25-12-1909

## *30. CABLE TO H. S. L. POLAK*[1]

[JOHANNESBURG,
*December 22, 1909*]

JOSEPH ROYEPPEN, BARRISTER, CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY GRADUATE; SAMUEL JOSEPH, HEADMASTER, INDIAN SCHOOL; DAVID ANDREW, CLERK, AN INTERPRETER (ALL BORN IN SOUTH AFRICA): MANILAL, MR. GANDHI'S SECOND SON, A BOY OF 18 YEARS, WITH RAMALAL-

[1] Polak read this out at the Lahore session of the Indian National Congress while seconding the resolution moved by Gokhale on the treatment of Indians in the Transvaal.

SINGH AND FAZANDAR, THE ACTING CHAIRMAN OF THE BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION, AND MYSELF HAVE CROSSED THE BORDER[1] UNCHALLENGED, BUT WE EXPECT TO BE ARRESTED AT ANY TIME. I THINK THAT THE ARREST IS SUSPENDED TO AVOID CAUSING A SENSATION AT THE TIME OF THE CONGRESS. MR. FAZANDAR, ALTHOUGH VOLUNTARILY REGISTERED, WAS DEPORTED LAST WEEK. HE RE-ENTERED. THE POLICY OF THE TRANSVAAL AUTHORITIES APPEARS TO BE TO DEPORT TO INDIA EVEN THOSE VOLUNTARILY REGISTERED, THAT IS TO SAY, THOSE WHO ARE ADMITTED BY THE GOVERNMENT TO BE LAWFULLY RESIDENT IN THE TRANSVAAL. HAZURA SINGH LAL AND BAHADUR SINGH VAJA AND SIX OTHERS HAVE BEEN ARRESTED WITH A VIEW TO DEPORTATION. THEIR CASES HAVE BEEN ADJOURNED. THE "RAND DAILY MAIL" AND "THE TRANSVAAL LEADER" RECOMMEND THE ACCEPTANCE OF OUR DEMANDS.

*India*, 28-1-1910

## *31. SUBSTANCE OF LETTER TO COLONIAL SECRETARY*[2]

[JOHANNESBURG,
*December 23,1909*]

Mr. A. M. Cachalia, Chairman of the British Indian Association, has written a letter to the Colonial Secretary in which he says the regulations[3] are uncalled for, irritating and degrading. The regulations, in the humble opinion of his Committee, are contrary to the declarations so often made by the Government that there is no intention to wound the feelings or to interfere with the movements of domiciled British Indians.

*Indian Opinion*, 1-1-1910

[1] On December 22, 1909
[2] The text of this letter, presumably drafted by Gandhiji, is not available.
[3] The Railway Regulations gazetted on 17-12-1909

CWMG - X

## 32. LETTER TO A. H. WEST

*Friday Night* [*December 24, 1909*]

MY DEAR WEST,

Both your letter and Joseph's[1] to the *Mercury* are very good. I should like to keep them for Natesan[2] if I may.

If there is not sufficient to pay wages, I, being the manager of the Trust[3], must make provision. In any case, the whole estate is liable for wages. Such is the legal position. The moral position is this : We do not make two ends meet; I fail to find money; we close down the Press, try other means; if we do not succeed and if we do not want to die on the land in the attempt to make it pay, we disperse or those who are dissatisfied will disperse. What do owners do, when they find their enterprise not paying? Settlers are virtually owners. Yes, it is possible for the majority to sell the land. I think we ought to leave the door open.

You will remember I once remarked that *Indian Opinion* only may be taken over by the settlers, or some of them. Hence the clause[4]. Throughout I have presumed that the majority of us at least may be expected to carry out the ideals. The settlers will be those who will sign the list of settlers to be appended to the Trust. The wives and children are not 'Settlers' in the sense of the Trust. Polak and Harilal who have joined the scheme are. Miss Schlesin can be one. Mr. Doke and Miss Smith are not.

The earnings will pay for all they can. For the present we only contemplate a deficit. The scope has been changed in that the settlers are paid according to needs and not according to income or ability.

I shall still await your concrete suggestions for amendment or alteration or addition.[5]

*Yours sincerely*,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: C. W. 4411

[1] Joseph Royeppen's letter was published in *The Natal Mercury*, 22-12-1909, and reproduced in *Indian Opinion*, 1-1-1910.

[2] G. A. Natesan, Editor, *Indian Review*, Madras

[3], [4] and [5] The draft of the Trust deed is not available; for Trust deed *vide* Vol. XI; some particulars in regard to the Phœnix Scheme are given in "Letter to A. H. West", pp. 106-8.

## 33. HONOUR FOR JUSTICE AMEER ALI

Last week we gave the news about Justice Ameer Ali having been honoured by the Emperor. He has been appointed a Privy Councillor. That is, he has received the right of sitting in the Emperor's Council. No Indian has received such an honour before now and Justice Ameer Ali is the first recipient. We congratulate him. Our readers probably know that for many years he has been living in England. He is President of the All-India Muslim League in England. He is also a member of the South Africa British Indian Committee, which is all the more reason why we should rejoice [at his appointment]. Also, his being honoured will encourage us to still greater effort.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 25-12-1909

## 34. LETTER TO A. H. WEST

*Wednesday* [On or before *December 29, 1909*][1]

DEAR MR. WEST,

Without going into the argument, the following is my opinion.

Health — As to sanitation, I will say nothing. I have already given my opinion as to medical expenses.[2] Reasonable medical expenses of all should come out of the business. What is reasonable should be decided in each case separately in consultation with the patient. The scheme is based on mutual trust and we must expect everyone not to wilfully fall ill or to wilfully ask us to incur expenses. If I do not want a doctor, I cannot impose the idea on others. In coming to this conclusion, I fancy that the ordinary law of human life is health and not sickness. If Dr. Nanji[3] will not come to Phœnix, another doctor may be consulted.

The School — The school should vegetate and as to the material, Mr. Gora[4] may be asked as to what he proposes to do with it. I suggest

[1] The letter seems to have been written after Gandhiji's return from England and before the size of *Indian Opinion* was changed, which was done on January 1, 1910.

[2] *Vide* "Letter to A. H. West", pp. 80-1.

[3] An Indian physician of Durban, who often treated those at Phœnix including Mrs. Gandhi

[4] Ismail Gora, Acting President, Anjuman Islam Society, Durban

your personally seeing him. For the present, Purshotamdas alone may do what he can for the school.

*Indian Opinion* — The size should be changed as suggested. No apology need be offered in the paper for it. The English columns should be reduced. No leading matter of opinion [be] given for the present except explanatory notes. All matter should be severely condensed. Energy should be devoted to the art of condensing. It may be divided into Passive Resistance, Natal notes, Cape notes, etc. Reports of Bombay and other meetings may be considerably shortened. Original papers from which condensation is made should, if possible, be kept pasted in book form. The English columns then should simply give news on the disabilities throughout South Africa and about matters we are interested in. When Mr. Polak returns, he may enlarge the scope and size if funds then permit. Mr. Kallenbach should be advised as to how much will be required monthly under this heading, the ideal being not to ask for any support at all. The Gujarati columns ought not to be reduced, but if the Gujarati subscribers fall off, even that may be reduced almost to any extent, you there, in Mr. Polak's and my absence, being the sole judge.

You may put a limit to the credit for subscribers. Mr. Dawd Mahomed[1] and such others foreign or local may be placed on the complimentary or separate list, so that we know that we have to collect from them. You may cut about the complimentary list as you think fit.

As to libels, you need not fear or bother. All facts, you cannot vouch for, should be signed by those who give them—no law need be read on it just now. If I find a simple book, I shall send it. No legal adviser is necessary. But in emergency, Mr. Khan[2] will advise.

Scheme — All except Kababhai and Mrs. West should be invited to join the scheme or leave. I am so firmly of this opinion that I would do away with the Kaffir labour. We would simply do what we can with the schemers and no more. All should be voters. They should appoint a sub[com]mittee or managers—the final veto being retained to me. Personally I feel inclined to treat Mrs. West and Kababhai too as schemers with full rights except as to the drawings. All decisions to be by votes of majority, pure and simple. You may frame rules for guiding deliberations and defining the duties of the sub-committee and managers.

A wife working in the Press does not forfeit the privileges of a schemer's wife.

[1] A leader of the Natal Indian community; one-time President, Natal Indian Congress; a passive resister

[2] An Indian barrister of Durban, *vide* Vol. III, p. 262.

I send herewith draft for £75 which please place to my credit.

Mr. Kallenbach has seen this letter.

Mr. Sam's papers will be returned to him with the cession of the bond cancelled.

*Yours sincerely,*
M. K. GANDHI

[P.S.]

There is no one now in Johannesburg who can go out collecting. I suggest Mr. Cordes coming out for collections. Periodical visits should be paid. No reliance should be placed on the Johannesburg office as to collections. I shall endeavour to bring up the deficit in the capital a/c as quickly as possible.

M. K. G.

[PP.S.]

I have endorsed the draft.[1]

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand : C.W. 4410
Courtesy : A. H. West

## *35. JOHANNESBURG*[2]

[*Wednesday, December 29, 1909*]

### KRUGERSDORP SATYAGRAHA

The case of Mr. Amad Vaja, Mr. Moosa Vaja and Suleman Hossen[3] came up for hearing on Tuesday last. There was a move to have them all deported under the Immigration law. Mr. Gandhi, appearing for the defence, argued that:

> The Immigration law had no application [in the present case], since all of them had taken out voluntary registration certificates. True, they had refused to produce their certificates, that being the place of the campaign. There is no provision in law for deporting those who refuse to show their certificates, but such persons can be sentenced to imprisonment.

[1] These words have been written by Gandhiji in the margin at the top left corner of the letter.

[2] This is an extract from the weekly dispatch "Johannesburg", which appeared almost regularly in *Indian Opinion* from 3-3-1906 onwards. (*Vide* Vol. V, pp. 195 & 206). The dispatch was originally named "Johannesburg Letter", but the word "Letter" was dropped from 16-10-1909 onwards. After his return from England in December 1909, Gandhiji, on the evidence available, seems to have contributed only occasional paragraphs to the dispatch.

[3] Indian merchants

The Public Prosecutor read out the instructions which he had received from Pretoria. The case has been adjourned to Wednesday[1] for judgment.[2]

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 1-1-1910

## *36. MR. SHELAT'S DISCHARGE*

After having served six months' imprisonment, Mr. Shelat was discharged from Diepkloof Gaol on the 24th December, reduced in weight from 139 pounds to 110, looking weak and emaciated. The readers of this journal will remember that Mr. Shelat was confined to a solitary cell and placed on reduced diet for having refused to carry slop-pails.[3] We consider that passive resisters should not hesitate to do the meanest work in the Transvaal prisons. But Mr. Shelat—a Brahmin—made the matter a point of conscience. We can but treat his objection, therefore, with respect. He was first punished with twenty-four hours' solitary confinement with spare diet for disobeying the order. Mr. Shelat was immovable. The next punishment was for forty-eight hours, still with spare diet, but without effect. The third sentence was increased to six days with spare diet. Mr. Shelat was adamant. Spare diet meant rice water twice per day. This told on him, but Mr. Shelat was determined to die for his conscience. He was further sentenced to 14 days' solitary confinement and with reduced diet. Reduced diet meant half the ordinary scale. But even the long spell in a semi-dark cell could not bend this passive resister's spirit. The last sentence was, therefore, twenty-eight days. This meant prolonging his six months' sentence by nine days. The authorities, however, discharged him without exacting the extra nine days. This is a feat that will always remain in the annals of Passive Resistance as one of the most brilliant. We congratulate Mr. Shelat on his pluck. He has shown the Transvaal Government that there are some Indians who, when it is a matter of conscience with them, do not fear consequences. Such punishment as was awarded to Mr. Shelat is reserved for criminals of a hardened type. To have inflicted it on Mr. Shelat and half starved him was wanton cruelty. But we boldly say to those who know what the struggle means

[1] The case came up on Thursday, December 30; *vide* "Transvaal Notes", *Indian Opinion*, 1-1-1910.

[2] The court ordered, after hearing McIntyre's arguments, this time, that the defendants be deported, the deportation to take effect after the decision in the appeal to the Supreme Court.

[3] *Vide* "Speech at Johannesburg Mass Meeting", p. 91.

—"Never mind what suffering you have to undergo. The more you suffer, the better it is for you and the community."

*Indian Opinion*, 1-1-1910

## *37. OURSELVES*

With the present issue, this journal appears under a somewhat changed dress. The size, too, has been reduced. The Transvaal struggle has put a very severe strain on our resources. It has now become too great for us to continue the old form and size. It is within the knowledge of most of our readers that our publication is not a commercial concern, but our capacity for the service of the community to whose interests *Indian Opinion* is devoted is limited, and our limitation has necessitated the change the readers will notice in its appearance. We part very reluctantly by way of retrenchment with the cover whose colour was very specially selected. Though the size has been reduced, we hope that we shall be able by means of condensation to give the same amount of information. Our readers who are interested in the ideals we endeavour to promote can render useful service by finding subscribers for the journal which they may call their own. It is our desire to give more varied matter as our resources increase. It is, then, for the readers to say when they shall have a better service of news.

*Indian Opinion*, 1-1-1910

## *38. BALANCE-SHEET*

Years follow one another. At the end of each, we take stock of the community's position. The Transvaal satyagraha has thrown everything else into the shade. The course of the struggle has been marked by a number of notable events. A deputation also went to England. Numerous have been the benefits of the struggle. We can make the claim that the campaign has saved us from much disabling legislation in South Africa. Several instances of this will easily occur to the reader. The educative value of the discipline of satyagraha can never be overestimated. Everyone can see now that carrying on this fight is in itself a kind of achievement. The Transvaal campaign is still going on. Quite a few Indians have weakened. Had it not been for this fact, the struggle would have ended by now. But the community has lost nothing by the fact that the struggle has been prolonged. Of soul-force, it may be said, the more it is employed the greater is the benefit. Like learning, it grows through use. The campaign has now assumed an excellent form. In

England, the volunteers have been doing very good work under the guidance of Mr. Ritch. If the present tempo of the work is maintained for a year, consider what it will mean. Assuming an average of £4 a week, the collection will total £208. If the signatures average 50 [a week], there will be 2,600 in all. In fact, much more than this is likely to be achieved. If, however, even 2,600 come to be properly informed about our struggle, it will be no small achievement. The wider the publicity a satyagraha campaign receives the greater the admiration it wins, making its opponents feel rather crest-fallen. Mr. Polak has roused India. As days pass, her pressure grows more vigorous. All this shows that we stand to lose nothing because the struggle is long drawn out. A campaign in which the combatants have no interests of their own to serve profits them all the more by being prolonged, for they fight for the good of others, and there can be no limit to doing good to others. From this point of view, we should not feel concerned even about those who have been suffering in gaol. They are tested through suffering and their worth shines all the brighter.

Turning to Natal, [we find that] the condition there is pitiable. The Natal Government has passed some laws which the community ought to oppose. We attach little value to the minor change that has been made in the Dealers' Act.[1] In the matter of education, the Government has been very high-handed. Sooner or later, the Natal Indians will have no option but to take up satyagraha.

We find that the Cape Indians have been slumbering. There has not been any new legislation to speak of in the Cape, but the community is growing weaker day by day. Trade is no longer in Indian hands. The community has failed to profit by the favourable conditions there; otherwise, the Cape Indians are in a position to do fine work not only in the Cape but in the whole of South Africa.

In Delagoa Bay, Indians have been gradually losing their rights. The Portuguese authorities have been tightening the screw on them at the instance of the British. We put it to the community that they will lose nothing by resisting the tyranny of the Government. They must do so for the good name of the community. Their duty, too, requires the same thing.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 1-1-1910

[1] *Vide* "Natal Licensing Act", pp. 99-100.

## 39. *COLLECTOR'S ASSASSINATION*

There was a cable-report in last week's papers about a Collector named Jackson[1] having been assassinated near Nasik. There are some Indians who hope to terrorize the British by such acts. What they are doing is a grave matter. The assassin is quite convinced in his mind that he is acting in the interest of the country, but it is difficult to see what good assassination can do. Wherever assassinations have taken place, they have done more harm than good. President Mackinley[2] of America was assassinated by someone who imagined that that was the way to eradicate corruption from America. No such result followed. Similarly, President Carnot[3] of France was killed a few years ago. That certainly did not lead to any reforms in France. What followed both in America and France was increased repression by, and expenditure on, the police.

Unless a particular form of tyranny is directly attacked, it can never be got rid of. If at any time it does seem to have been eradicated, other undesirable consequences will follow. If B, being oppressed by A, does not himself offer resistance but gets relief through C, that will not end his subjection. He will have C, instead of A, on top of him. If C is a good man, he may put B in shackles of gold instead of iron, but the shackles—the slavery—will remain. What is necessary is to open B's eyes to his state of slavery and teach him to be free. It is not by murdering others that he can be taught this.

It is our particular request to readers of this journal that they give the utmost thought to this matter. We know it is becoming fashionable among the Indian people to admire assassinations. The fashion, we suppose, will not last long. Let every reader of *Indian Opinion* work to bring it to an early end.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 1-1-1910

[1] A. M. T. Jackson, I.C.S., District Magistrate of Nasik, was shot dead on 21-12-1909 by a young man from Aurangabad.

[2] William Mackinley (1843-1901), twenty-fifth President of the United States in 1896, re-elected in 1900, was shot on 6-9-1901 by a Pole, Leon Czolgosz, and died on 14-9-1901.

[3] Marie Francois Sadi Carnot, (1837-1894); in 1887 became the fourth President of the Third Republic of France. His presidency was marked by the Boulangist agitation (1889) and the Panama Scandals (1892). On 24-6-1894, he was stabbed by an Italian anarchist named Caserio at Lyons, and expired almost immediately.

## 40. TERRIBLE STEP

The Pretoria Town Council is dead set against the Coloured people. Every year, students are seated in the Town Hall during their examination. This time a Kaffir sat with the whites in the same hall. The Council was angered by this and served notice on the examiners that, since they had seated a Kaffir with the whites in the same hall, it would not be available to them henceforth. The examiners thereupon asked for a separate room for the Kaffir. This, too, was refused by the Council and a resolution was passed that no Kaffir or any other Coloured person should ever be allowed to use the Town Hall or any of its rooms. The whites who passed this resolution are counted very respectable and well-educated men. In a country like this, the Coloured people are placed in an extremely difficult position. We think there is no way out of this except satyagraha. Such instances of injustice are a natural consequence of the whites' refusal to treat the Coloured people as their equals. It is in order to put an end to this state of affairs that we have been fighting in the Transvaal, and it is not surprising that the fight against a people with such deep prejudice should take a long time [to bear fruit].

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 1-1-1910

## 41. POLAK'S BOOK

To his other successful efforts in India, Mr. Polak has added one more by writing a book[1] on South Africa. Its expenses, moreover, will not be borne by us, since Mr. Natesan has published it at his own cost.

The book gives an account of conditions in the whole of South Africa. It has four sections. The first section gives detailed information about almost all the laws in South Africa, beginning with Natal. The section occupies 90 pages, 69 being taken up by Natal. The part [dealing with Natal] contains full information about the Dealers' Act, the Immigration law and the law relating to indentured labour. In giving the account of the Dealers' Act he has cited the cases of Mr. Hoondamal[2], Mr. Dada Osman[3], Mr. Cassim Mahomed, Mr. Wahed, Mr. Goga, Mr. Chetty, Mr. Amad Bemat and others.

He has also cited many cases of hardships suffered by indentured labourers.

[1] *The Indians of South Africa*, published in Madras
[2] *Vide* Vol. IV, pp. 357-9.
[3] *Vide* Vol. III, pp. 17-21.

The Transvaal campaign takes up 45 pages.

In addition, statements made by a number of public men have also been included.

Under the heading "Immigration Scandal in Natal", Mr. Polak has quoted the strong letter which Mr. Anglia addressed to Lord Crewe. Information about education in Natal has also been included.

There is also information about laws in the Cape, Rhodesia and Delagoa Bay. This is a very valuable book which should be in the hands of every Indian. It is priced Re. 1.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 1-1-1910

## 42. *LETTER TO GENERAL MANAGER, C. S. A. R.*[1]

[JOHANNESBURG,
*January 4, 1910*]

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter[2] of the 30th ultimo, in reply to my letter addressed to the Honourable the Colonial Secretary and dated the 23rd ultimo,[3] with respect to the Regulations affecting Natives and Asiatics. Whilst my Association is grateful to you for your exhaustive, courteous and conciliatory reply, I venture to point out that the spirit of my communication has been missed. My Association is aware of the existence of departmental regulations or instructions prior to the publication thereof in the *Gazette*[4]. If I may venture to say so, the instructions were a result of co-operation on the part of the community represented by my Association, and undoubtedly a proof of the amicable relationship that has hitherto existed between the Railway Administration and British Indians; but the legalising of these instructions gives the impression that the Administration is not satisfied with the spirit of forbearance and co-operation shown by them. My Association has never resented the separate accommodation provided in the respective classes and the affixing of the "reserved" labels. My Association has, however, never assented to the position that the Indian community should be deprived of facilities for travelling by express trains.

As you are aware, the present bitter and exhausting Asiatic struggle going on in the Colony is due to legal inequality and differentiation,

[1] This letter, presumably drafted by Gandhiji, was sent over the signature of the Chairman, British Indian Association.

[2] Reproduced in *Indian Opinion*, 8-1-1910; *vide* "The Transvaal Railway Regulations", pp. 122-3 & 125-6.

[3] *Vide* "Substance of Letter to Colonial Secretary", p. 104.

[4] Of 17-12-1909

and not to departmental differentiation, which Asiatics have held to be justifiable, owing to the existence of colour prejudice in the Colony. The Railway Board, in legalising the Regulations, have ignored the struggle, and accentuated a situation against which my Association has been fighting.

It is difficult for my Association to give an opinion as to whether legal power is required by the Administration in order to deal with the Natives, but, so far as British Indians are concerned, perhaps it will be admitted that such power is not necessary. My Association, therefore, ventures to trust that the Regulations will be withdrawn in so far as they affect British Indians.

*Indian Opinion*, 8-1-1910

## *43. JOHANNESBURG*

[*Wednesday, January 5, 1910*]

### Of Interest to Traders

I give below the substance of a notice published in the newspapers.

Licences of all kinds must be taken out before the end of this month. Before a licence can be had, every business must have been duly registered as required by law. Those who fail to get their businesses registered will be prosecuted and those found without licences will be required to take them out after paying a 10 per cent fine. The following are the rates of licences:

| | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Agent of a foreign company | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| Broker | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| General dealer | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Pedlar | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Hawker (with a horse-drawn carriage) | 2 | 0 | 0 |

A hawker who does not already hold a licence will not get a [new] licence straight away. Anyone who wants a new one will have to produce a certificate from a J. P.

Trading licences should be taken out between the 12th and the 15th, if the applicant's surname begins with any of the letters A, B, C, and D; between the 17th and the 20th, if the surname begins with any letter from E to L; between the 21st and the 25th, if from M to R; and between the 26th and the 30th, if from S to Z. Licences will be issued to Indians between 2 and 3.30 p.m. except on Saturdays.

All this applies to those who have to take out licences from the Revenue Office.

There are separate rates for those who hawk within municipal limits; they have to take out licences in Johannesburg on or before January 15.

## What Now?

This means that Indians who are not full-fledged satyagrahis, or any other Indians for that matter, ought not to step into the Licence Office up to January 15. Those who own stores should not take out licences before January 30.

Though many Indians have fallen, some of them can rise again. It will be but proper for storekeepers not to take out licences for the present but to do so only at the end. Moreover, it is necessary for every storekeeper to send out at least one person from his store for hawking. Any such person who goes out hawking must do so properly. Every hawker should prepare to get arrested from the 16th onwards; for once they must fill the gaols to crowding. They will not have done anything extraordinary, if they do. If it is certain that everyone will not go to gaol, a few at least from every group or from among the members of an eating-house should do so. No one should be guided by what others do. Everyone must do what he can. If, after returning from gaol, a hawker feels inclined to take out a licence, he may, but it will be better if he does not. If the people do at least this, they will have served the community and received some training themselves.

Mr. Gardi, Mr. Moosa Miya and Mr. Ahmed Miya have undertaken to explain matters to the hawkers; they will, moreover, send out one person each from their shops. Mr. Hajee Habib will court imprisonment by working as picket or in some other manner and will also send out one person from his shop. I hope other Indians will follow this example.

I think Mr. Joseph Royeppen, Mr. Samuel Joseph and Mr. David Andrew will also go out hawking if they are not arrested. Indians from mofussil areas can do excellent work in this field.

I am writing this letter on Wednesday. Today Mr. Joseph Royeppen, his companions, Mr. Cachalia and Mr. Gandhi are to go to Boksburg in response to an invitation from there. If people regain their spirit, an early solution is quite likely. Whether or not it is so, people must do their duty.

## More Money

Mr. Gandhi has received today by telegram a further[1] sum of £200 from Mr. Petit.

[1] "Transvaal Notes", *Indian Opinion*, 1-1-1910, had indicated : "Mr. Jahangir Petit has cabled Mr. Gandhi £400 from Bombay."

### ARREST

News has just been received that Mr. Ibrahim Hoosen, a satyagrahi, who had started a hair-cutting saloon, was arrested today.

### HELP FROM MOZAMBIQUE

Mr. Damodar Anandji's cheque for £50 in aid of the satyagraha campaign has been received. Indian friends at Mozambique rendered excellent help to Mr. Isaac.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 8-1-1910

## *44. LETTER TO J. C. GIBSON*[1]

JOHANNESBURG,
*January 6, 1910*

DEAR MR. GIBSON,

I enclose herewith a memorandum, showing what would finally close the bitter and exhausting Asiatic struggle that is now going on in the Colony.

It has been brought to my notice that the Indian community is being charged with two things: firstly, that British Indians have continually shifted their ground as to their demands; secondly, that the movement here is entirely engineered and controlled from India.

As to the first, here are a few facts. About the month of September, 1907, that is to say, before imprisonments had commenced and the compromise was effected, a public document[2] was addressed to the Colonial Secretary, signed by several thousand Indians, in which occurs the following sentence: "We respectfully submit that nothing short of total repeal of the Act can meet the difficult situation that has arisen." So that repeal of the Act was the goal always aimed at. Total repeal at the time or at any time before the passing of the second Registration Act would have restored legal equality under the Immigration Act.

When the compromise was effected[3], I contend that repeal against voluntary registration was definitely promised. This promise was alluded to by General Smuts in his Richmond speech[4] two days after

[1] This letter and the statement were the outcome of the interview which the Rev. Charles Phillips and J. C. Gibson had with Gandhiji on 6th January 1910, following their conversation with Lord Selborne, High Commissioner of the Transvaal. *Vide* their letter dated 7-1-1910 to Lord Selborne, reproduced in *Indian Opinion*, 10-12-1910.

[2] *Vide* "Monster Petition", Vol. VII, pp. 234-6.

[3] On 30-1-1908; *vide* Vol. VIII, pp. 40-2 & 44.

[4] *Vide* Vol. VIII, Appendix VIII.

the compromise. He stated that the Asiatics had asked for repeal, and that he had told the leaders that, until every Asiatic was registered, he would not repeal the Act.

When I was assaulted, a document[1] for publication was drawn as between Mr. Chamney and myself, to the effect that the Act would be repealed if voluntary registration was completed to the satisfaction of the authorities. At the meeting of the Executive Council, after the burning of the certificates, a compromise became impossible because the essential point of repeal, namely, legal equality as to immigration, was not granted; and a final settlement was not arrived at in London only because of this point remaining undecided. The following is Mr. Duncan's[2] testimony—and Mr. Duncan ought to know what he is speaking about—to the effect that we have never shifted the ground. Writing in the month of February last in the *State*[3], Mr. Duncan said:

> The position of the Indian leaders is that they will tolerate no law which does not put them on an equality with Europeans in regard to restriction on immigration. They are willing to see the number of Asiatics limited by administrative action. They insist on equality in the terms of the law itself.

In this article, Mr. Duncan has examined the charge of shifting, and has come to the conclusion that there has been none.

As to the charge of the movement being engineered and controlled from India, I can only state that it is absolutely devoid of foundation. Indeed, it is common knowledge among those who have at all understood the agitation here that the complaint was that India was not sufficiently awakened to the national importance of the struggle going on here. Hence it was that Mr. Polak was sent. Before the deputation went to England,[4] there never was any pecuniary assistance either received or required from India. Today it is a world-wide fact that the struggle is not only affecting Indian politics, but is being financially supported from there. Every penny received is being publicly advertised. We are receiving similar support now from England also.

In conclusion, I would state that, if my letter or the statement hereto attached are not considered explicit, I shall be prepared to send any other document, so long as it carries out the intention of the statement, which is to secure repeal of the Act and legal equality as to immigration. It has become necessary to mention one point as if there were two points, because of the second Registration Act being in the way, but the point is really only one.

*Yours truly,*
M. K. GANDHI

[1] Not published and not available; *vide* Vol. VIII, p. 334.
[2] Patrick Duncan, Colonial Secretary of the Transvaal before Smuts
[3] Monthly organ of the Closer Union Societies
[4] It left South Africa on June 23 and reached England on July 10, 1909.

[Enclosure]

STATEMENT

British Indians will be satisfied if Act 2 of 1907 is repealed, and the Immigration Act is so amended as to enable any Asiatic immigrants of culture to enter the Colony on precisely the same terms as Europeans, and without the necessity for complying with any Registration Act. This Amendment will allow the Immigration Officer the fullest discretion as to the mode of setting the education test, and will give the power to the Governor-in-Council to frame regulations limiting the number of immigrants belonging to different classes or races, even though they may have passed the education test. So far as Asiatics are concerned, no amendment of the Immigration Act would be necessary, were it not for the presence of the second Asiatic Act passed in 1908. The amendment giving the Governor-in-Council the power to make the regulations in the manner above referred to meets the objection that the administration of the law would be so different from its wording. So long as a limited number of (say, up to six) British Indians of culture are admitted into the Colony per year under the education test, British Indians will be satisfied. The granting of these two concessions *will finally close the struggle, and remove the question from the arena of Indian politics.* The educated Indians who have entered the Transvaal will then retire, and claim to enter, if at all, under the general test.

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of Cd. 5363; also
*Indian Opinion*, 10-12-1910

## 45. *SPEECH AT DINNER TO JOSEPH ROYEPPEN AND OTHERS*[1]

[JOHANNESBURG,
*January 7, 1910*]

Mr. Gandhi, in proposing the toast of "The Guests", explained their motive in coming to the Colony—one, simply, of vindicating their national honour. They were here to hearten their own people by going themselves through the mill of suffering. Many of them there knew what the ordeal was, and it had, of course, yet to be seen how far the new recruits could bear it. He would acknowledge that they could no longer boast that they numbered hundreds upon hundreds who were prepared to

[1] At a private dinner at the Masonic Hall, Johannesburg, in honour of Messrs Joseph Royeppen, David Andrew, Samuel Joseph and Manilal Gandhi. William Hosken presided and proposed the toast of "The King". Several prominent Indians and Europeans were present. The report of Gandhiji's speech was reproduced in *Indian Opinion* as from *The Transvaal Leader*.

suffer. Some 2,500 had gone through gaol, and many of these felt unable to return. He did not blame those who broke down—such persons were to be found in every struggle. This, however, he could say that the best of his people had simply been steeled by their suffering, and that whether the struggle lasted for months or years, it could continue until either they died or it succeeded. Personally, he had no doubt about the result. Whether the ordeal was longer or shorter was, in his view, comparatively unimportant. The thing to be thankful for was that it was proved they had in their midst a considerable residue of men showing unbreakable spirit in defence of a moral principle. Mr. Gandhi proceeded to instance the Mohammedan priest[1], "a man softly nurtured", who was now serving at Diepkloof his third term; and another British Indian—a leading Parsee[2]. The latter, he stated, had sacrificed a prosperous business, and would on the 11th of next month have served a continuous term of 12 months. He had been imprisoned originally for 6 months, but on liberation had immediately re-crossed the border and thus courted further imprisonment. Mr. Gandhi explained (being requested by the Chairman) his reason for allowing his own son[3] of 17 to enter the Colony with the prospect of arrest. The lad had repeatedly expressed his wish to share the honourable sufferings of his people, and Mr. Gandhi had at length consented, feeling that he would go into the prison not to acquire the vices of such a place, not in any sense as a criminal—(applause)—but as a missionary among his co-sufferers of his own race and among the Native convicts with whom he would be classed. (Loud applause.) He (Mr. Gandhi) felt that the stand the passive resisters were making for righteousness' sake had taken away from the gaol all criminal savour—so far as they were concerned —and he believed that in God's providence right would yet be done them and their cause would triumph. (Loud applause.)[4]

*Indian Opinion*, 15-1-1910

[1] Imam Abdul Kadir Bawazeer

[2] Parsee Rustomjee

[3] Manilal Gandhi

[4] Royeppen then replied to the toast, after which Cachalia detailed his gaol experiences and D. W. Drew spoke. He said: Men who stood for great moral and spiritual principles were invincible.

CWMG-X

## 46. LIBERTY

> Liberty consists in being able to obey our own will and conscience rather than the will and conscience of others.—Lord Hugh Cecil at the Edinburgh University Associated Societies.

It has often been said that the struggle at present going on in the Transvaal is a fight for liberty. Judging it according to the definition quoted above, our countrymen in the Transvaal are truly fighting for liberty and that should, therefore, command universal sympathy. Lord Hugh Cecil, in elaborating the definition he gave, said:

> The true ground for maintaining liberty is that, without it, there cannot be in any true sense virtue or righteousness. Virtue does not consist in doing right, but in choosing to do right. This is the great distinction between the animal and man.

The Transvaal Indians are exercising the power to obey their will and conscience rather than the will of the State which is in conflict with theirs. Any man who subordinates his will to that of the State surrenders his liberty and thus becomes a slave. The Asiatic Act imposes slavery on Indians in that it deprives them of liberty, i.e., the ability[1] to obey their conscience.

From His Lordship's remarks, it further follows that men cannot be made virtuous by Acts of Parliament. If they are compelled to do an act which is considered good, they are no more to be credited with virtue than a donkey who is compelled to carry a load.

Passive resisters in the Transvaal are, then, fighting for the liberty of the whole of South Africa in offering battle to the most powerful South African State. A handful though they are, they have a great and clear mission before them. And they have every reason to be proud of their record.

Lord Hugh Cecil, while giving us a scientific definition of liberty, does not tell us how we are to achieve it. If liberty be ability to act according to the dictates of our conscience, we certainly cannot achieve it by force of arms, i.e., by physical violence. It is attainable only by suffering in our own persons until our opponents see the error of their ways and cease to harass us by trying to impose their will on us. Such a method of fighting, and no other, is the natural corollary of the definition. Any other method of gaining liberty is a usurpation.

*Indian Opinion*, 8-1-1910

[1] The original has "activity".

## 47. *NATAL LICENCES REGULATIONS*

We give in another column an abstract[1] of the regulations published under the Dealers' Licences Act. There is nothing new or striking in them, save that the fee of £12·10·0 to be deposited by appellants is still retained. We have already expressed the opinion that this fee is an illegal charge, and that the appellants are not bound to deposit the amount. The regulations show clearly that the intention is to make it more and more difficult for Indian traders to get new licences. That even a hawker, if he wants a new licence, should have to go through the farce of advertising in the papers and go through an intricate ceremony before he can labour away in order to earn an honest livelihood is, to say the least, a cruel procedure, and tantamount to putting a premium on dishonesty and laziness.

*Indian Opinion*, 8-1-1910

## 48. *THE TRANSVAAL RAILWAY REGULATIONS*

We publish an abstract[2] of further correspondence between the General Manager of the C. S. A. R.[3] and the Chairman of the British Indian Association, Johannesburg. We trust that the conciliatory tone of the letter will not deceive the Indians in the Transvaal into inaction. We welcome, therefore, Mr. Cachalia's reply[4] to the General Manager, that the fact that the same facilities for travelling will still be afforded to the Indian public means nothing so far as the Association is concerned, because its duty is rather to have the principles recognised and established than details in administration examined or challenged, important as the matter may be. The main and only point at issue is that, whereas the regulations, before they were gazetted, were simply in the nature of departmental instructions and had not the force of law, they are today part of the laws of the Colony, and, as they lay down the principle of legal inequality, it is the duty of the Indian community of the Transvaal to combat the evil with all its might. Separate accommodation on the Railways and kindred matters cannot be a subject of legislation, but can only be regulated by the good sense of the communities concerned and by voluntary co-operation. Immediately

[1] Not reproduced here
[2] Not reproduced here
[3] Central South African Railways
[4] *Vide* "Letter to General Manager, C.S.A.R.", pp. 114-5.

that state of things is changed, it becomes a usurpation of authority, which should be resisted by all lawful means. We use the term "lawful" in the sense well known to the readers of this journal, passive resistance, in our opinion, being a strictly lawful method of seeking redress.

*Indian Opinion*, 8-1-1910

## *49. DUTY OF HAWKERS*

We address this specially to the hawkers of the Transvaal. Because of their courage, the campaign has created so fine an impression. It is because hundreds of them went to gaol that it has come to be recognized as a great movement. Questions of self-respect or honour, it was thought so far, could have little meaning for hawkers. Now, everyone admits that hawkers do care for self-respect, and they have risen in the esteem of others. Their presence at meetings does them credit. Having done so much, it will be unworthy of them to give in now.

The Transvaal campaign is such that everyone must rely on his own strength. We cannot depend on others to win it for us. In this struggle, we must learn to solve our own problems. If, therefore, the hawkers show themselves defeated this time, it will be impossible for them to obtain redress of any grievances in future.

It is for the hawkers to ensure an early conclusion to this struggle, and they can do so at no great cost to themselves. They should, for the present, avoid taking out hawking licences, and get themselves arrested by trading without them. This they can do quite easily. If the Government has discovered that the hawkers' resistance has collapsed, the hawkers on their part can show to the Government that, though fallen, they can rise again. In this matter, one must not depend on what others do, but each one can put in an effort on his own.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 8-1-1910

## 50. *INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS AND MUSLIMS*

We gave last week translations of Reuter's cables[1] about the Indian [National] Congress. The discussion at the Congress on Lord Morley's Act has made us sorry. The Congress has expressed the view that the special rights which Lord Morley has granted to the Muslims have displeased the Hindus and widened the rift between the Hindus and the Muslims. It is rather risky to comment on the basis of cable-reports. It would not be surprising if those who wish to divide the two communities send one-sided reports; all the same, it will not be wrong if we proceed to discuss the matter on the assumption that the Reuter reports are correct.

The first error that we notice is the assumption that Lord Morley's legislation can embitter the relations between the two communities. There is no reason why their relations should be embittered because of any laws that Lord Morley may choose to pass.

Let us suppose, however, that the Muslims have received more rights than what were due to them. What does it matter, even if it is so? There is no need to protest to Lord Morley on this account. Even if the Muslims get more than their share, it is to members of our family that we are losing. The Hindus have no reason to get into a panic at this. So long as we believe that a third party can arbitrate between these two great communities, we shall always remain in subjection. The appointment of more Muslims or more Hindus on the Council is no cause for lamentation. We think, there is only one way of removing mutual suspicions, and that is for the Hindus to give in since they are numerically in a majority and educationally more advanced. If they do, it is obvious enough that there will be no cause at any time for a quarrel.

Finally, by such a discussion the Congress has given more importance than necessary to Lord Morley's Council. There is no justification for doing so. The Council is not going to work a miracle for Indians. We shall profit by this Council or any other Councils only when we cultivate mutual trust and solve our problems ourselves instead of complaining to a third party.

Having said this, we should also like to tell our Muslim brethren that they need not be angry with the Congress. It belongs to the Mus-

[1] According to the cable-report reproduced in *Indian Opinion*, 1-1-1910, the President, in the course of his address, said that the grant of excessive representation to the Mahomedans on the new Provincial Councils had caused, as it was intended to cause, an estrangement between the Hindus and the Mahomedans which could not be healed for years to come.

lims as well as the Hindus. It belongs to every Indian. If the Hindus take up an unreasonable stand at its sessions, the Muslims can criticize them, and *vice versa*. No one can say that the Congress is the exclusive organisation of a particular community.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 8-1-1910

## 51. *APPOINTMENT OF INDIAN ON EAST AFRICA COUNCIL*

We reported last week the honour conferred on Mr. A. M. Jivanji[1]. He has been appointed a member of the Legislative Council of East Africa. We are glad to see that our East African brethren's right in this regard has been recognized. Indians are partners in the British Empire; this fact is being recognized in East Africa and elsewhere. Only the whites of South Africa do not admit it. The appointment of an Indian in a part of Africa itself should serve as an example to them. It should also make the Indians of South Africa and the Transvaal more acutely conscious of their own position. Our countrymen in East Africa have excellent means of safeguarding their rights and increasing their prosperity and they are sure to take advantage of these means. We congratulate Mr. Jivanji, the Bohra community to which he belongs, and the Indians of East Africa on having received this valuable privilege.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 8-1-1910

## 52. *THE TRANSVAAL RAILWAY REGULATIONS*

The community should not be misled by the [General] Manager's reply[2] to Mr. Cachalia on this subject. That the Regulations will not be enforced for the present is no consolation to us. What interest can a Government have in regulations which it does not intend to enforce? Mr. Cachalia has sent a reply[3]; we have to await the

[1] A well-known merchant of Karachi and Bombay

[2] The Regulations, the reply dated 30-12-1909 reproduced in *Indian Opinion*, 8-1-1910, stated, "are in no sense new nor are they different in any way to those which have been in force since 1905", and they had to be promulgated 'in order to comply with Section 4 of the Railways Regulation Act of 1908". An assurance was given at the same time that "the spirit of the Regulations will be observed in future as in the past".

[3] *Vide* "Letter to General Manager, C.S.A.R.", pp. 114-5.

result. This is a matter which we certainly cannot afford to drop. We must put up a fight wherever new discriminatory measures are taken against Indians.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 8-1-1910

## *53. DELAGOA BAY INDIANS*

The Delagoa Bay journal, *Guardian*, reports a move to introduce immigration legislation there similar to that in Natal. If Delagoa Bay copies Natal, we can be sure that the copy will be worse than the original. In other words, the law that will be passed there will prove much worse than the Natal law. We hope the Delagoa Bay Indians will start taking steps this very day. If they mean business, they can do very effective work, for if, on the one hand, conditions there are somewhat chaotic, on the other, it is also easy to win over the Government. It bears no particular ill-will towards Indians.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 8-1-1910

## *54. NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS*

The Natal Government has recently passed a University Act. One of its sections[1] empowers the College authorities to refuse admission at discretion. This will bear hard on Indians and therefore the Natal Indian Congress has addressed a petition to Lord Crewe, Secretary of State for the Colonies.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 8-1-1910

[1] Section 20, which laid down that "the Council shall have the right to refuse admittance to any applicant, should they consider it to be in the interest of the University".

## 55. LETTER TO A. H. WEST

*January 12, 1910*

MY DEAR WEST,

I have often wished to write a personal letter but I have not been able to.

How are you feeling now in body, mind and soul? Are you more at ease than before? How is the home atmosphere? Does the new arrangement satisfy Mrs. West? Is Devi[1] now at peace? How are the other people in the settlement?

For me, I am going through many a battle. Circumstances surrounding me just now are not at all congenial. But I think that my mind is at peace. My mind as you know is extremely active—never at rest. I am now trying bold experiments. Ethics of hawking[2] only foreshadows what is coming in my life. The more I observe, the greater is the dissatisfaction with the modern life. I see nothing good in it. Men are good. But they are poor victims making themselves miserable under the false belief that they are doing good. I am aware that there is a fallacy underneath this. I who claim to examine what is around me may be a deluded fool. This risk all of us have to take. The fact is that we are all bound to do what we feel is right. And with me I feel that the modern life is *not* right. The greater the conviction, the bolder my experiments.

*Yours sincerely,*
M. K. GANDHI

[PS.]

I am disturbed whilst I am writing this. The above however is enough for the time being.

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 4413
Courtesy: A. W. West

[1] West's sister, who had adopted this Indian name

[2] The reference is to the article with this heading; *vide* pp. 128-30.

## 56. THE ROYEPPEN BANQUET

The banquet given[1] to Messrs Royeppen and his companions was more than of passing importance. That nearly forty responsible European men and women were present at the banquet to welcome the passive resisters is in itself an event of great significance. The speeches of Mr. Hosken and the Hon. Mr. Drew[2] were eloquent and sincere. Both were hopeful of a settlement in the near future. Nearly one hundred Indians sat at the festive table and these represented every class and section. All this shows that passive resisters are not dead but that they are very much "alive". Mr. Cachalia, whose speech is fully reported in our Gujarati columns, reminded Generals Botha and Smuts that if the passive resisters do not now number as many as before, it was the same thing with the Boers during the late War and that peace came when the Boer ranks were thinned to a dangerous point. The whole of Mr. Cachalia's speech was characteristic of the man. It breathed hope, strength and invincible determination to see the fight through.

Mr. Joseph Royeppen's speech was brief and to the point. He was in the Transvaal to do his duty and he hoped to be able to do it.

The function was a notable success and we congratulate the organisers on their work.

*Indian Opinion*, 15-1-1910

## 57. ETHICS OF HAWKING

Messrs Samuel Joseph, David Andrew and Manilal Gandhi, the new recruits who have gone to the Transvaal to join the struggle, have now for some time been going about as fruit or vegetable hawkers. We understand that Mr. Royeppen will presently follow his companions. This hawking is by no means fancy hawking. It has been undertaken in right earnest and in the spirit of *bona fide* hawkers. These young men go from house to house and try to sell their fruit or vegetables, as the case may be, at a small profit which goes to swell the passive resistance funds.

It is necessary to examine the reasons which have induced them to take up hawking. When Mr. Essop Mia and Imam Abdul Kadir

[1] On January 7, 1910

[2] Editor of *The Friend* of Bloemfontein and M. P. in Orange River Colony; *vide* "Hosken's Meeting", pp. 130-1.

Bawazeer took to it eighteen months ago, they did so purely to court imprisonment and set an example to the other hawkers. This motive must always be with passive resisters in the Transvaal. But it is not all in the present case. The majority of free Indians throughout South Africa are either hawkers or petty traders. Now, passive resistance is not a weapon merely to defend others but it is a weapon to use for self-defence also. It is a weapon that can be used independently of anybody else and by one individual as effectively as by many. This power flows from the very nature of passive resistance. The force wielded by the soul within is the mightiest among the mighty forces of nature. Physical force is wrongly considered to be used to protect the weak. As a matter of fact, it still further weakens the weak; it makes them dependent upon their so-called defenders or protectors. Soul-force strengthens those on whose behalf it is exerted as well as those who exert it. The Transvaal struggle is intended to teach the majority of Indians the use of this magnificent force so as to make them truly independent men. If passive resistance had been initiated by the hawkers instead of the merchants, the former would today occupy a unique position. As it is, many of them, being cowed down, are no longer in the struggle. This deplorable result is due to a want of real leaders among the hawkers themselves. They would far sooner listen to and understand one from among themselves than one who may be considered above them. In order to rectify this defect in the wonderful campaign that is now going on in the Transvaal, schoolmasters and clerks are turning their attention to hawking. Moreover, the Government probably intend to starve the new recruits out of the Transvaal. They reply by hawking in order to earn their livelihood in that Colony.

Nor is this all. It is at least debatable whether the profession of a clerk or book-keeper is better or more respectable than that of a hawker. A hawker is an independent man. He has opportunity of studying human nature which a clerk slaving away for a few pounds per month can never have. A hawker is master of his own time. A clerk has practically no time he can call his own. A hawker, if he chooses, has opportunity for expansion of his intellect which a clerk cannot dream of. And what applies to the clerk applies more or less even to schoolmasters who teach for a living and not for the sake of it; and it applies certainly to the legal profession which is beset with temptations which an ordinary man would do well to avoid. These young men, then, can do a great deal to purge the profession of hawking of its grossness and raise it to a higher level. The hawkers are only waiting for one to rise among themselves who would lead the way to a better and purer life. And just as they set a noble example to the professional hawkers, so they do to the clerks and schoolmasters, and, shall we say, lawyers and doctors who are weary of their vocations and who, if they could only see the

way, would leave the drudgery of the desks that grinds them body and soul.

Last but not least, it seems to us that, after all, nature has intended man to earn his bread by manual labour—"by the sweat of his brow" —and intended him to dedicate his intellect not towards multiplying his material wants and surrounding himself with enervating and soul-destroying luxuries, but towards uplifting his moral being—towards knowing the will of the Creator—towards serving humanity and thus truly serving himself. If so, the profession of hawking, or, better still, simple agriculture or such other calling, must be the highest method of earning one's livelihood. And do not the millions do so? No doubt many follow nature unconsciously. It remains for those who are endowed with more than the ordinary measure of intellect to copy the millions consciously and use their intellect for uplifting their fellow-labourers. No longer will it then be possible for the intellectuals in their conceit to look down upon the "hewers of wood and drawers of water". For, of such is the world made.

We, therefore, congratulate our young friends on their laudable work and hope that even after the struggle is over, they will continue to labour with their hands and feet, so far as their maintenance is concerned, and devote their talent to the service of their country both of birth and origin.

*Indian Opinion*, 15-1-1910

## *58. HOSKEN'S MEETING*

We publish elsewhere a report of the dinner-party[1] in honour of Mr. Joseph Royeppen and others. It would have been impossible to arrange such a function if they had thought of it three years ago. About 40 Europeans were present, most of them prominent figures. The speeches of Mr. Hosken and Mr. Drew, Editor of *The Transvaal Leader* and member of the Orange Free State Council, were noteworthy. The party was attended by prominent clergymen. Everyone's sympathy was for satyagraha. It is a matter of great satisfaction that so many whites showed the courage to sit for dinner at the same table with Indians. We do not want to suggest that something can be done only if whites mix with us, but the fact that so many whites joined the party when a campaign is on against the Transvaal Government should certainly give us some satisfaction. This is a happy augury. We can realize from it that the struggle is about to come to an early end. But even if that does not appear likely, it is beyond question that the whites' sympathy for us is

[1] *Vide* "Speech at Dinner to Joseph Royeppen and Others", pp. 119-20.

on the increase. All that now remains for the Indian community to do is to wake up again and for the hawkers to do their duty.

[From Gujarati]
*Indian Opinion*, 15-1-1910

## *59. NATAL'S IMMIGRATION LAW*

Lawlessness prevails in the enforcement of this law. Mr. Smith's[1] ways are autocratic. Of course, his autocracy needs to be fought; but we must also examine the lawlessness that prevails among us. What tyranny do we not inflict on ourselves ? Mr. Smith says[2] that boys come in dressed as women, others' sons take shelter under borrowed parents and women under borrowed husbands. We are of the view that the immigration tyranny can be fought in two ways. While the Government's autocratic methods must be opposed on every occasion, Indians trying to bring in persons surreptitiously must also be opposed likewise. We should admit that we ourselves are evidently the cause of so many of the laws passed against us. They should not be attributed solely to colour prejudice. So long as we do not realize our own fault, we shall not find the right remedy.

It is, moreover, our advice that it is better to adopt the satyagraha way of fighting than fight in courts with lawyers' help. The immigration law, too, can be fought that way.

[From Gujarati]
*Indian Opinion*, 15-1-1910

## *60. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI*

*Thursday, January 20, 1910*

CHI. MAGANLAL,

Received both your letters. I am not likely to go there for the present. Manilal has been arrested[3]; he will be released on Friday. Let us see what happens after that. I think it is better for me not to go there so long as arrests continue here.

It will be all right if, as you suggest, you arrange for physical exercise, etc., for Rama[4]. I did not rebuke you in connection with Mr. Cordes;

[1] Harry Smith, Principal Immigration Restriction Officer

[2] In reply to a statement of the Indians' grievances which *The Natal Mercury* had forwarded to Smith for his observations. The statement and the reply appeared together in the same issue.

[3] On 14-1-1910

[4] Ramdas, third son of Gandhiji

it seems there was some misunderstanding on your part. And my impression remains the same despite your letter. I had never thought of Rama staying either with him or with Willie[1] for the whole day. During the day when he is not busy, let him go wherever he pleases. I wish he dines and sleeps with Mr. Cordes. I cannot think that Mr. Cordes has no love for Ramdas. I know Mr. Cordes' drawbacks; none of us are without any.

If you do not know the verse ख्यातः शक्रो भगांगो[2], I shall send it to you. The sun has spots. Take it that his heart is not wicked. The rest will follow automatically.

There is still a lot of old history concerning our family. Parmanandbhai[3] alone knows it in detail.

It is worthwhile to spare time, if possible, from the press work for the children to take exercise.

It is desirable not to give more than a month's credit for *Indian Opinion*. You should only take a limited risk. Let the amount be debited to your account. It will not be deducted from your current allowance. You should never take liability for more than ten subscribers. Even that is perhaps too much. However, whatever liability you have taken upon yourself in the Cape Colony is binding on all, as you did not know the new rule. The new rule is, I believe, very good—at least for the present.

We will have to carry many [fresh] burdens; it is, therefore, better to cut down these. This [not allowing too much credit] seems to be the prevalent practice of newspapers. As people gradually get used to it, they will follow it of their own accord. We pay the licence fee in advance because of compulsion, i.e., physical force. That we shall take the subscriptions in advance will be on the strength of soul-force. That soul-force consists in making *Indian Opinion* interesting and for that the only course open to us is to put in maximum effort. The subscriptions will then come in automatically. I have no time now to dilate upon this.

There is a letter from Veerji in which he says that he intends to open an office in Durban and work there. It will be good to entrust work to him. I am writing a letter[4] to Mr. West. Did you read my last letter to him?[5]

Please consider fully before you take the new vow of *brahmacharya*. It will be better to get Santok's consent. Kavi[6] has mentioned in his

[1] Cordes's son
[2] भगांको; *vide* footnote 2 to "Letter to Maganlal Gandhi", p. 137.
[3] Parmananddas Ratanji Gandhi, Gandhiji's cousin
[4] Not available
[5] The reference is perhaps to "Letter to A. H. West", p. 127.
[6] Shrimad Rajchandra; *vide* Vol. I, p. 90.

writings a number of conditions for the observance of *brahmacharya* which are worth considering. This is one of the most difficult vows. Even Lord Shiva strayed from the path; so we can succeed only if we are unremittingly mindful of it. But when I think of a married man practising abstinence in regard to his wife, when I think of my own case in particular, I am bewildered. In this connection, my fate has been [singularly favourable][1]. I was saved because I had to endure compulsory separation from Ba. Had we lived together all along since 1900, I can hardly say I would have been saved. I wish you to get all the benefit of my experience.

As I won't be going down there for the present, you may ask me whatever questions you want to.

*Blessings from*
MOHANDAS

[PS.]

Jayashankar Vyas's wife has passed away. All of you may please write a letter of condolence to him. I had Chi. Chhaganlal's letter to Mr. Polak in which he has raised the question of household expenditure. Let me know your requirements after the change we have made. What amount will you two brothers get out of the profit this time? According to Chi. Chhaganlal, your requirement will be Rs. 30 a month and Dr. Mehta has already agreed to pay that amount. But we want to take as little as possible from him. Please think this over and let me know. As I am not going there just now, I am dealing with this matter in a letter.

MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 5182

## *61. RECENT DISCHARGES*

The release of about twelve passive resisters in the Transvaal and reported in our columns this week has excited little interest either among the Europeans or the Indians. Two years ago, such an event would have given rise to a demonstration among the Asiatics and created some interest among the Europeans. Imprisonments for conscience' sake and discharges have become common occurrences among the Asiatics. This is a very great gain. We want virtue and courage to be such common things among our countrymen as to occasion no surprise when they are practised. Among the discharged Indians is Mr. Aswat, sometime acting Chairman of the British Indian Association. Mr. Aswat, it will be remembered, was prepared to sacrifice all his goods rather than sur-

[1] The photostat is not quite clear here.

render his self-respect. Most of the resisters are well-tried fighters and have been imprisoned more than once. We congratulate them all on their bravery, and we note with satisfaction that they are ready to go to gaol again as soon as the Government will send them.

*Indian Opinion*, 22-1-1910

## 62. *SHORTCOMINGS OF WESTERN CIVILIZATION*

We saw in *Hind Swaraj*[1] that it is not so much from British rule that we have to save ourselves as from Western civilization. Clearly, if Englishmen settle down in India as Indians, they will cease to be foreigners. If they cannot bring themselves to do so, it will be our duty to create conditions in which it will be impossible for them to stay on.

The writings of Englishmen themselves often tell us how wicked Western civilization is. There was a storm of protest in England against the alleged high-handedness of the Spanish authorities when Ferrer[2] was put to death. The letter in the *Daily News* of October 22 which the famous author, Mr. G. K. Chesterton, wrote, pointing out that this was sheer hypocrisy on their part, will bear summarizing even today. Mr. Chesterton says:[3]

> We have been hysterically protesting against what Spain has done, but that is so much hypocrisy and nothing else. It is out of our pride that we take up such an attitude. In fact, we are just as bad as Spain, in certain respects much worse. We have no political executions in England because we have no political rebellions in our country and not because we are a religious people. Wherever we do have rebellions, there we do have executions, much more mean, reckless and savage than the execution of Ferrer. The hanging of the Fenians at Manchester has been admitted by all lawyers to have been in contempt of logic and law. The killing of Scheepers in South Africa is a thing of which even the Imperialists are now ashamed. A few harmless peasants at Denshawai[4] objected to the looting of their property; they were tortured and hanged. When our rulers react with such brutality and baseness to small and ineffectual local risings, how would they behave if confronted with a rising in London itself similar to the one in Spain?

[1] *Vide* "*Hind Swaraj*", pp. 6-68.

[2] *Vide* Vol. IX, p. 497; he worked to spread education among the people of Spain.

[3] The translation given here has been collated with the original.

[4] In Egypt, where four Egyptian peasants were executed for the murder of a British officer

We are at peace, not because we do not exploit religion but because we have sunk silently under the domination of our rulers.[1] If we have no rebellions, we are guilty of crimes worse than the death of Ferrer.[2] A private soldier the other day committed[3] suicide in order to avoid a flogging. This suicide is more hideous than the execution of Ferrer under the pressure of strong emotions in a time of excitement. Yet the incident attracted no attention in England, because we are the one people in Europe who are successfully oppressed.

In view of such shortcomings in the civilization of this people which dazzles us so much, we had better consider whether we should tolerate it in India or banish it while we have still time to do so. It is a civilization which grinds down the masses and in which a few men capture power in the name of the people and abuse it. The people are deceived because it is under cover of their name that these men act.

[From Gujarati]
*Indian Opinion*, 22-1-1910

## *63. LETTER TO GENERAL MANAGER, C. S. A. R.*[4]

[JOHANNESBURG,]
*January 25, 1910*

SIR,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 21st instant, and you have given me the privilege again of being able to tender my thanks for the courteous tone of your letter and your full reply. This fact embarrasses me in having to express dissatisfaction with the result of our correspondence[5].

The Committee of my Association accept the situation that the Administration has been compelled to make regulations with respect to practically the whole of the conditions hitherto printed in the Joint Tariff Book. My Committee thankfully accept your assurance that there is no desire on the part of the Railway Board to embitter the feeling

[1] The original has: "not because we have thrown off the domination of the priesthood", and "because we have sunk . . . under the domination of the plutocracy".

[2] The original has: "Things far more fundamentally horrible than the death of Ferrer go on quite quietly all the time, because we have forgotten the trick of mutiny."

[3] The original has: "tried to commit suicide".

[4] Presumably drafted by Gandhiji

[5] *Vide* "Substance of Letter to Colonial Secretary", p. 104 and "Letter to General Manager, C.S.A.R.", pp. 114-5; *Indian Opinion*, 8-1-1910 and 29-1-1910, for letters from the General Manager, C.S.A.R., to the British Indian Association; also "The Transvaal Railway Regulations", pp. 122-3 & 125-6.

in regard to the Asiatic struggle, and that the facilities that have hitherto been afforded to the community represented by my Association for travelling by the fast trains will be retained.

Your sympathetic attitude emboldens me to suggest that the Resolutions may be revised by the Board, and that they may be so framed as to remove the stigma that they undoubtedly put upon the Asiatic communities. My Association will be prepared to co-operate with the Board in the framing of regulations acceptable to the Asiatic sentiment, and with the Administration in their proper carrying out. In my humble opinion, the difficulty will be met, if the Administration receives power to separate classes or races and to reserve compartments for them for reasons that to the Administration may seem sufficient. It will be admitted that a regulation of such a general nature will arm the Administration with sufficient powers to deal with any case, without giving the Asiatic and other Coloured communities to understand that the Railway Regulations are based on the theory that Coloured passengers are not entitled to travel first or second class, and that such travelling on their part is allowed only by way of sufferance. I am sure that that is not the intention of the Railway Board, and that the intention is merely to meet the unfortunate prejudice that exists in the Colony and, therefore, to provide separate accommodation. This intention is entirely carried out by the suggestion I have ventured to make.

*I have, etc.*,
A. M. KACHALIA[1]
CHAIRMAN,
BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION

*Indian Opinion*, 29-1-1910

## 64. *EXTRACT FROM LETTER TO GENERAL MANAGER, C.S.A.R.*[2]

[After *January 25, 1910*]

Mr. Osman Latief of Potchefstroom was travelling from that Station, together with five other British Indians, four of whom were bound for Delagoa Bay. They were given the ordinary half second class compartment on the train, which hardly accommodates four passengers. The Delagoa passengers had their luggage also with them. Mr. Osman Latief asked the guard or the conductor No. 11 for further

[1] Same as "Cachalia"

[2] This extract from the letter, presumably drafted by Gandhiji and sent over the signature of A. M. Cachalia, was quoted in "Transvaal Notes" in *Indian Opinion*, 29-1-1910.

accommodation, but the guard or the conductor failed to find any. Mr. Latief pointed out that there were several compartments, in which room could be found for them, but the conductor gave no heed and Mr. Latief had to stand. At Krugersdorp, however, the conductor pointed out another compartment. Mr. Latief declined to avail himself of it, telling him that he would bring the matter to your notice.

*Indian Opinion*, 29-1-1910

## *65. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI*

*Thursday* [*January 27, 1910*][1]

CHI. MAGANLAL,

Received your letter. I understand what you say about Mr. Cordes. I also admit that you can see his drawbacks better. But what I want to say is that he is a good man despite those drawbacks. You should think of his merits only. More of this when we meet.

ख्यातः शक्रो भगाङ्को विदुरपि मलिनो माधवो गोपजातो।
वेश्यापुत्रो वसीष्ठो सरूजमदमयः सर्वभक्ष्यो हुताशनः।।
व्यासो मत्स्योदरीयः सलवण उदधी पाण्डवा जारजाताः।[2]

I had written to you about this verse. I do not remember the fourth line. There are likely to be some spelling mistakes. I have no time to recollect it. Indra is marked with holes all over his body;[3] Vidura is impure; Madhava[4] is a cowherd; Vasishtha is the son of a

[1] From the contents, this appears to have been written on the Thursday following the "Letter to Maganlal Gandhi", pp. 131-3.

[2] The correct and full text of the verse according to the *Subhashitaratnabhandagaram* is as follows:

ख्यातः शक्रो भगाङ्को विधुरपि मलिनो माधवो गोपजातः
वेश्यापुत्रो वसिष्ठो रतिपतिरतनुः सर्वभक्षी हुताशः।
व्यासो मत्स्योदरीयः सलवण उदधिः पाण्डवा जारजाताः
रुद्रः प्रेतास्थिधारी त्रिभुवनविषये कस्य दोषो न चास्ति ॥

Indra is known to be covered with holes all over the body; even the moon has spots; Madhava was born of a cowherd; Vasishtha was the son of a prostitute; the god of love is bodiless; fire is omnivorous; Vyasa was the son of a fisher-girl; the ocean is full of salt; the Pandavas were born of illegitimate unions; Rudra wears the bones of dead bodies—is there anyone in the three worlds who is without blemish?

[3] Shakra, i.e., Indra, King of the gods, enamoured of Ahalya, wife of the seer Gautama, approached her one day in the guise of Gautama when the latter was away. Ahalya yielded. On finding this out, Gautama cursed Indra, "There shall be a thousand holes on your body."

[4] Lord Krishna

prostitute;[1] the bee lives in the mud;[2] fire is omnivorous; the ocean is salty; the Pandavas[3] belong to the caste of bastards.[4] Thus, no one is without blemish. You have done well in letting me know your views.

Please be careful in giving instructions about allowing credit for *Indian Opinion*. We can find some remedy for the difficulties you mention. The best course I can see for the present is that when some subscriber has to be discontinued in view of [our new] rule, it should be done in consultation with Purshottamdas, Thaker and you. A subscriber may be placed on the 'suspense list' if he is found to be worth continuing after a month. You may open a separate account for the suspense list. Please place this suggestion before Mr. Cordes. It is better to put all the names sent by Chi. Chhaganlal on this list.

The introduction of the rule of allowing one month's credit could be physical force (selfishness) as well as soul-force (altruism). To which of the two categories it belongs depends on the motive behind making the rule.

Your idea of not taking anything from charity is very good. In fact, it is not charity. It would, however, be proper for us to regard it as such. But we had better not raise the question under the present circumstances. Do see that the amount you have indicated gets credited.

It is good for you, for the present, to draw £4 [a month]. I had thought of it when I took the decision. I had also taken into consideration Chi. Chhaganlal's prospective visit to England. I had thought about Rajkot, too.

I rejoice to read about your *brahmacharya* vow. Your vow for one year is also good and you have all my blessings for it. You will experience a different strength when you have passed through it.

It is better for Santok not to think of going to India now. I have already communicated to you my views about it.

I felt sad when I read Chi. Chhaganlal's description of the Servants of India Society[5]. It is a matter for regret that a great man like Prof. Gokhale is engrossed in it. I believe he will come out of it, for he is

[1] Vasishtha was born to Urvashi, one of the celestial nymphs who were free to accept love from whomsoever they chose.

[2] The correct reading is रतिपतिरतनुः i.e., the God of love is bodiless. He was burnt to ashes by Lord Shiva with the fire emitted from his third eye when the former tried to distract him from his penance. Gandhiji mentions *bhamro* (bee) instead of *kamal* (lotus).

[3] The five sons of Pandu and heroes of the Mahabharata

[4] King Pandu, unable to beget progeny himself because of the curse of a Rishi, asked his wives Kunti and Madri to have progeny by invoking the gods. Thereupon, Kunti had Yudhishthira through Yama, Bhima through Vayu and Arjuna through Indra, while Madri had Nakula and Sahadeva by the grace of the Ashvini Kumaras.

[5] Founded in Poona by G. K. Gokhale in 1905

honest. It is simply an indifferent imitation of the West. Is it proper for the servants to have servants? And who are the servants? Why was it necessary to engage them? Why do they have others to cook for them? What do these 'servants' think of religion? Why should there be large buildings in India? Why should not huts be enough? It is like digging up a mountain to kill a mouse. When will the mission undertaken by Prof. Gokhale end? How much money will it cost? What a superstition that only an M.A. or B.A. could become a 'servant'! It is like the castor-oil plant passing for a mighty tree in a barren land. I do feel that the aims of Phœnix as well as the way of life there surpass those of the Society. There are quarrels amongst us but these are found everywhere. When we begin to make syrup out of sugar, a lot of dirt is seen in it, but we do not regard dirt as syrup. We are preparing here a kind of syrup, and dirt is bound to be seen till the syrup is ready. What we are doing here is the real thing; what goes on in Poona is, leaving aside the motive, unreal. The motive is good, but what is being done is bad. I have written this letter in the midst of great pressure of work. The condition of my mind at present is that of 'नेति नेति'[1]. Even Phœnix is 'नेति'. Yet, comparatively, it is better than the pomp and show of Poona. Doctor Mehta has been able to grasp this inner significance. Please do not take this to mean that either Prof. Gokhale or his associates are not worthy of our deep respect. But ours is no blind reverence. According to the standard indicated by me in *Swaraj*[2], the work of Mr. Gokhale's 'servants' cannot be regarded as proper. It is likely to add to our slavery. If I tried to turn East into West, I also would sigh like Gokhale and lose heart. My present state of mind is such that even if the whole world were against what I have written, I would not be depressed. This I say not out of pride; it is the statement of a fact. We do not aspire to improve India; we want to improve ourselves. That alone can be our aspiration, the rest is all false. He who has not realized his self has not known anything. The servants' knowledge of English has become a camouflage for them. That Chhaganlal could not answer their question about Phœnix only shows his timidity. That was but natural. With a little thought, he could have seen that the position taken by the 'servants' was materialistic and not spiritual. We have to rid ourselves of the fetish of literacy and mundane knowledge.

Despite these views of mine, there is nothing wrong in publishing in *Indian Opinion* some portion of the description given by Chhaganlal.[3]

[1] "Not this, not this". According to *Vedanta*, *Brahman*, the Absolute, is beyond all concepts and forms.

[2] *Vide* "*Hind Swaraj*", pp. 6-68.

[3] This was published in the Gujarati section of *Indian Opinion*, 5-2-1910 and 12-2-1910, under the heading, "Servants of India Society—Examples of Self-sacrifice".

We shall learn from it. Let us emulate Ravana's energy[1] and turn towards the inner spirit.

You may share this letter with whomsoever you choose in Phœnix; then send it to Chi. Chhaganlal, as I shall have no time to write to him. I wanted to leave on this Saturday but now I see that it is not possible. I do not think I shall be able to leave before the 15th of February.

*Blessings from*
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C. W. 4926
Courtesy: Radhabehn Chowdhri

## 66. *EXTRACT FROM LETTER*[2]

[*January 28, 1910*][3]

Mr. Rustomjee still remains without the food that was medically prescribed for him at Volksrust, and continues to send messages that his complaints on the subject of his health do not receive attention. Mr. Gopal Naidoo, who was discharged today, tells us that he made a long complaint to the medical officer yesterday, whereupon he was transferred to Johannesburg. I shall be inquiring on Monday where he is being kept. Messrs Thambi Naidoo, Aswat and others, some of them heroes in the struggle, are now discharged. I have had a long interview[4] with the editor of *The Star*; he was entirely sympathetic, and told me that everybody in Johannesburg was heartily sick of the struggle, and was anxious to see it closed. Manilal Gandhi was discharged today, after doing ten days' hard labour. The discharged prisoners continued to complain about the absence of ghee and the insufficiency of rations, in spite of the fact that the Government have added 2 ozs. of beans. All the prisoners have lost in weight. Messrs V. S. Pillay, S. N. Naidoo and Shah[5] were discharged today. Mr. Shah, however, was detained for deportation. I was at the gaol, but was not allowed to see him, nor was he allowed to receive any food. The gaol experience has

[1] The demon-king who kidnapped Sita and carried her away to his kingdom in Lanka (Ceylon). He was killed by Rama. Ravana was well-versed in Vedic lore and had performed great penance to propitiate Shiva.

[2] This was reproduced in *India* under the caption, "Quotations from the Latest Letter Received in London from Mr. Gandhi".

[3] Gopal Naidoo and Manilal Gandhi were discharged from the gaol on January 28, 1910.

[4] Report not available

[5] Nanalal V. Shah, *vide* the following item.

pulled him down considerably. He was supposed to walk from Diepkloof to Johannesburg, a distance of seven miles, with his bundle. Fortunately, the detective allowed Mr. Shah to use a conveyance which I offered, but, had he been obliged to walk, he would have fainted on the road. His deportation, I feel sure, is totally illegal, he having been voluntarily registered. The Registrar's office has all the identification particulars, and the Registrar could certainly have assured himself whether Mr. Shah was registered or not. This is an illustration of how officials can either place difficulties in the way of the public or remove them. Mr. Joseph Royeppen, B.A., LL.B. (Cantab.), a barrister-at-law of Lincoln's Inn, and a native of South Africa, who returned a few months ago, has just been arrested for not having registered and has been ordered for deportation.

*India*, 18-2-1910

## *67. MR. NANALAL SHAH'S SERVICES*

Though passive resistance is now confined to a few Asiatics only, the dogged tenacity that the few, whether Chinese or Indians, are showing is most admirable. The struggle is producing true men. We single out Mr. Nanalal Shah from among the resisters who have been recently discharged. Only Messrs Rustomjee and Shah have been privileged to serve nearly a year each without a break. This imprisonment is not a simple matter. They are partially starved. Almost all have lost weight and become much reduced. The food given at the gaol undermines the prisoners' constitutions, especially when they have to go through the course, like Mr. Shah, for a prolonged period.

Mr. Shah, it will be remembered, is an undergraduate of the Bombay University. He is middle-aged and completely gray-headed, having become prematurely old, owing to life's disappointments. It was when the Chairman of the Association was twitting educated Indians about their apathy that Mr. Shah borrowed enough money for his train-fare to Natal and quietly stole away from the Transvaal, only to re-cross and be re-arrested immediately. Since then Mr. Shah has known no rest. And now he bids fair to be imprisoned again for another term of six months. Mr. Shah's body may be broken, but his spirit never will. His service consists in having dedicated such a spirit to the struggle.

*Indian Opinion*, 29-1-1910

CWMG-X

## 68. TO PASSIVE RESISTERS

It has been suggested that a full list of active passive resisters should be published for the sake of the Indian public, for the sake of the English friends, and for the sake of the Government. As the list cannot be a very long one, it is felt that the resisters should know one another and, as occasion arises, court arrest. They cannot remain out of gaol with any profit to themselves, to the cause or to the country of their adoption. The struggle chiefly means the raising of men who will brave any danger for the sake of principle. We shall, therefore, be pleased to receive and publish the names of those who are prepared to fight unto death.

*Indian Opinion*, 29-1-1910

## 69. EDUCATED INDIANS

Mr. Royeppen went round hawking. He is a barrister. If a few days ago anyone had mentioned the possibility of a barrister going round hawking, he would have been laughed at. But satyagraha has made this possible. Mr. Royeppen's act is not only of benefit to himself but it is also a blessing to his family. Had he started practice, he would have earned something from the Indians. It is doubtful, though, whether he could have done it by honest means. It is not likely that he could have earned enough for a man of his professional status. In consequence, Mr. Royeppen would have sunk in debt, his relatives would have been sorely disappointed and in the end everyone would have suffered. Now, Mr. Royeppen will remain poor. If his family members follow his example, they will be able to maintain themselves and live happily through manual labour.

Will any Indian follow Mr. Royeppen's example? It is difficult to say. Anyone who does so will also be happy. Educated Indians look upon illiterate Indians as so much prey for themselves and we find the latter helpless in this land. Wanting to save themselves from crafty, overbearing and wicked petty officers, they get into the clutches of educated Indians. The uneducated escape from the officers by paying them whatever they demand. If this is a correct picture, what is the duty of educated Indians? Our view of the matter is that they should maintain themselves by taking to the professions of the uneducated. They will, by so doing, be of real help to them.[1] Then alone will they get a vivid idea of their sufferings and be able to maintain true honesty.

[1] *Vide* "Ethics of Hawking", pp. 128-30.

Let us turn to the educated Indians in the Transvaal. If they had joined the struggle in the right spirit, there would have been a different story to tell. The fight would have been over by now. But instead of doing that, they have gone in for luxuries, money and dissipation. As a result, the uneducated hawkers are beginning to give in and the fight is being prolonged. That the fight is drawing out is not in itself a matter for anxiety, but our hope that the end of the struggle will find the hawkers possessed of a new strength may be belied. If so, their plight will remain as abject as ever. That will deprive the struggle of its real interest.

There is time still. The educated can take to hawking in the manner of Mr. Royeppen. If they do so, they will have no difficulty in getting arrested, since people are now being arrested for hawking. Only, they must show courage. Will they?

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 29-1-1910

## *70. JOHANNESBURG*

### White Trader's Meanness

A white businessman's firm had stopped dealing with Indians when the satyagraha campaign started. Indian traders resolved thereupon that no one should have business transactions with him till such time as he apologized and paid a fine. It was also stated in the document relating to this resolution that, if any of the Indians who were signatories to the resolution traded with the white before the others did, he would have to pay a heavy fine. The white gentleman is now feeling the pinch. The thought of trade with Indians again tempted him. So he sent a message offering a private apology and a contribution to the funds for the struggle. While the businessmen were about to decide that a private apology should not be accepted, the white went back partly on his offer and sent word that he would only give £ 10 in cash on condition that his name was not disclosed. The Indian businessmen have declined the offer, showing little interest in trade with him. I hope our businessmen will not budge from the stand they have taken.

### Parsee Rustomjee

Mr. Rustomjee having complained against the negligence of the gaol physician and protested to the Governor that he had been having pain in the side, he has been brought over to the Johannesburg Gaol and will be examined by another physician there. He has sent a message that he certainly intends to remain in the fight till the bitter end, whatever the state of his health. I want another fresh Indian, or one who

might have beaten a retreat once, to imitate Mr. Rustomjee's spirit. Mr. Rustomjee will complete six months on February 10. He has conveyed his desire not to have too many people at the gaol-gate; he does not want any public reception. He wants to enter the town without any fuss.

### Royeppen's Decision

Before he was deported, Mr. Royeppen told me that he had decided to live always in poverty and maintain himself by physical labour. Excellent results are likely to follow from this decision if he remains firm in it.

Mr. Royeppen, Mr. David Andrew and Mr. Samuel Joseph were taken to Pretoria by the 12 o'clock train starting from Jeppe station. From there, they will very likely be sent over to Natal.

### Thambi Naidoo

Mr. N. S. Padiachy, Mr. N. Gopal and Mr. N. S. Pillay were released on Saturday. An Indian of the worth of Mr. Naidoo was released but there was no letter or telegram of congratulations to him. No notice was taken of the release of an Indian of the status of Mr. Aswat. I regard this both as a good and a bad sign. I think we have grown used to the presence of such brave men. Courage and suffering in the service of the motherland no longer occasion surprise. It is a bad sign [however] because the community has failed in its duty of courtesy and does not even show sufficient interest in the satyagraha campaign.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 29-1-1910

## *71. JOHANNESBURG*

[Before *Wednesday, February 2, 1910*]

### Attack on Indian Traders

*The Sunday Times*[1] has made a vigorous attack on Indian traders. The occasion was provided by news-reports of a movement against the Cape Indians. The article says that the Transvaal agitation is petering out, that the Indians have lost heart and that there is need for stricter legislation against them in the Union Parliament. The writer wants every Indian to be hounded out of South Africa. This move should serve as a serious warning to Indian traders. Most of them, and the hawkers after them, have capitulated and thereby brought down the axe on their own feet. They have lost interest in the struggle. The Government will

[1] Of Johannesburg; *vide* "Indian Traders", pp. 146-7.

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conclude that they do not count and so pass whatever laws it wants to. Once again, I warn the traders and the hawkers. If they want to pursue their vocations in peace, they must put forth all their strength. It will be more than enough if each of them goes to gaol even once.

We have no honesty left among us and so we want to gain our ends in dishonest ways. But it is quite obvious that such gains are in fact losses. However, the habit dies hard. It will be good if they learn something from this great fight that is being carried on here.

[From Gujarati]
*Indian Opinion*, 5-2-1910

## *72. EXTRACT FROM LETTER TO GENERAL MANAGER, C. S. A. R.*[1]

[JOHANNESBURG,]
*February 2, 1910*

He[2] was travelling from Vereeniging on Monday by the 5.30 a.m. train, which passes through Germiston. He was accompanied by Mr. M. Vaid, who is Manager at Messrs Suliman Ismail Mia & Co., of Avenue Road, Fordsburg. When they boarded the train, they noticed that two compartments were only partially occupied, but the guard would not let them take their seats in either of these, and they had to stand. There appeared to be no compartments labelled "reserved". They pleaded more than once with the guard, but he took no notice. It was after the train had left Germiston that the guard told them that they might occupy one of the compartments which had become entirely empty, so that it was only after the train had passed Germiston that they were able to get any seating accommodation.

*Indian Opinion*, 12-2-1910

## *73. THE AGA KHAN AND PASSIVE RESISTANCE*

His Highness the Aga Khan, who presided at the annual session of the All-India Moslem League held at Delhi, has been speaking in strong terms of the treatment of the Indians in South Africa. His Highness has truly described the state as the Indian martyrdom in South Africa.[3] He has declared that, if all other remedies fail, the

[1] Presumably drafted by Gandhiji and signed by A. M. Cachalia
[2] Ismail A. Mulla of Johannesburg, on whose report the letter is based
[3] Reuter's report of his speech was reproduced in *Indian Opinion*, 5-2-1910.

Imperial Government should be asked to stop indentured emigration from India to Natal. We are inclined to go further than His Highness and to say that it is the duty of the Imperial and the Indian Governments to stop such emigration in any case. Indeed, it is the duty of the Natal Government and, failing that, of the people of South Africa to wash their hands clean of this slavery-tainted labour. The importation is being kept up not for the people of Natal in general, but for the sake of a few monied men. If this polluted stream were stopped, we doubt not that the Indian question would largely solve itself. Meanwhile, we welcome the strong expression of opinion and sympathy from the All-India Moslem League, whose importance not even General Smuts can safely ignore.

*Indian Opinion*, 5-2-1910

## *74. INDIAN TRADERS*

There is among us a story about a lazy man. Once the house in which he lived caught fire. They tried hard to induce the indolent fellow to do something to put out the fire or flee from the house. He paid no heed and so was burnt to death.

That is the state [of mind] of the Indian trader; in fact, of every Indian in South Africa, but especially of the trader. The Cape newspapers are presently carrying on a campaign against the Indian traders. There is a clamour for measures against them through the Union Parliament which would finish them. The demand is supported by the *Advertiser* in Natal and the *Sunday Times* of Johannesburg. One of the newspapers[1] has published a remarkable contribution. We give [elsewhere] a literal translation of it. It is a malicious piece of writing. Comparing the Indian trader to the plague, a correspondent of the journal says that they should be rid of him as they would of the latter. According to its editor, this language is quite justified.

If the Indian traders, like the lazy man in the story, continue in their lethargy in spite of such attacks, they will be burnt to death by the flames of the whites' envy. The white traders will not rest. Indians who are already in possession of their licences should not remain under a false sense of security. Merely sending rejoinders to newspapers will serve little purpose, if not followed up by some action.

First, we must reform ourselves in regard to all those matters on which the report we have translated is right. We must stop bringing in men surreptitiously. Stores must be maintained clean. No one should sleep in rooms where goods are stored.

[1] *South African News*, 19-1-1910

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Even after these reforms are carried out, the whites' prejudice will remain. There is no way other than that of satyagraha to fight it. For satyagraha what is necessary at present is giving support to the Transvaal. The report which we have translated refers to the Cape Indians, but it applies to all. The Transvaal traders, therefore, most of whom have left off [satyagraha], ought to take a warning from this. If, out of selfishness and intoxication of wealth, they sacrifice the interests of the community, they will feel sorry for themselves later. Putting up with small losses now will save them from big losses in future. It will be better of one's own accord to sacrifice a little at present by joining satyagraha than to have to lose everything afterwards. Traders elsewhere may offer moral support and encouragement to those in the Transvaal. The whole of South Africa may help the Transvaal struggle. If they fail in this, they will have cause for regret later. So long as there is a single Indian left to continue the fight, victory is certain. But the traders will derive no benefit therefrom, as it will be taken for granted that they are weak. The rulers of South Africa will fear the traders only when they are convinced of the latter's strength.

We invite every Indian trader to take careful note of these observations.

[From Gujarati]
*Indian Opinion*, 5-2-1910

## *75. ARE INDIANS LIARS?*

Our friend *The* [*Natal*] *Advertiser* will not give up its sting. While giving judgment in an Indian case, Magistrate Beans accused Indians of telling lies, and the *Advertiser* has commented[1] on this in a lengthy article. It is a contemptuous attack on Indians. We give a summary of this article elsewhere.[2] Mr. Beans has condemned us in his judgment and eulogized Mr. Smith. That is, of course, the way of the officers. They cannot but sing each other's praises. They do not care if the subjects are ruined in the process. They are only concerned with their pockets.

All the same, we must learn our duty even from those who bear us ill-will. Mr. Beans's charge that we tell lies is not to be dismissed out of hand. We should pay heed to it, ignoring the element of exaggeration in it. We must admit that, when we go to courts of law, some of us are only concerned how to win the case at any cost, and not how truth may prevail. In any case it never does, so we think, in courts of

[1] In its issue dated 24-1-1910
[2] *Vide* "Asiatic Question in Natal", *Indian Opinion*, 5-2-1910.

law. But there are some in the Indian community who just do a little play-acting and make the courts swallow any story that they choose. There is no doubt that this happens. It would be a great boon to the community if this habit disappeared. Before it can disappear from the community as a whole, the leaders must make a beginning. All the efforts of the community depend [for their successful outcome] on uprightness. We, therefore, urge our readers to ponder deeply over the *Advertiser*'s article. All of us say that God will protect those who follow truth.

[From Gujarati]
*Indian Opinion*, 5-2-1910

## 76. *PARIS HAVOC*

Nature works unceasingly according to her laws, but man violates them constantly. In different ways and at different times, Nature tells man that there is nothing in the world which is not subject to change. It is hardly necessary to give illustrations. As Mr. Malabari[1] says in a poem of his: "They come but to leave." We sing in a *gazal*[2]: "How many fairy-like creatures there have been, graced with youth, how great the men who left." And yet every extraordinary occurrence startles us and sets us thinking. There has been one such in Paris. The river at Paris rose in such a heavy flood that huge buildings were washed off. A picture-gallery[3] was in imminent danger. Strongly-built roads, on which millions of pounds had been spent, sagged at places. Men were drowned. Some who escaped drowning were buried alive. Rats, deprived of their food, attacked children. How did this happen? The people of Paris had built the city to last for ever. Nature has given a warning that even the whole of Paris may be destroyed. It certainly would have been, had the floods subsided a day later.

Of course, the people of Paris will not realize the futility of rebuilding the palatial structures. It will never occur to them that even these new buildings of theirs will come down again. Engineers, in their conceit, will have more grandiose plans now and pour out money like water, forgetting and making others forget the deluge; such is the obsession of present-day civilization.

Are we to behave in the same way? Shall we copy such wild, thoughtless people? Only those who forget God will engage in such

[1] Behramji Malabari (1863-1912), a Parsi journalist, poet and social reformer of Bombay
[2] A poetic composition of Persian origin
[3] The Louvre

ostentation. The question then arises why we should fight against the Transvaal legislation, why we do not advise everyone to take up the rosary. To anyone who may ask this question, we shall reply that that is the very advice we have given, and give again. What we do not advise is the mere ostentatious bead-telling in the manner of that pious fraud, the crane [in the fable][1]. We realize the meaning of the drama that Nature is enacting, and that is why we appeal to the Transvaal Indians and the Indians of South Africa, with all the strength at our command: "Understand Nature's purposes and ponder over them; all your ostentatious ways will lead you nowhere. Telling beads on the rosary will be no answer to the Government's attack on your manliness and its attempt to enslave you. The servant of God will never consent to be the slave of any man. Do not be afraid of the despotic laws of the Government. You will have no reason for fear if you are not unduly attached to your wealth. If you cling to truth, it will always be with you, it will never forsake you; it cannot be submerged in floods. We advise you not to trust anything that the floods may wash away. We invite you to be firm in truth, which is the sole support for one to cling to. You may enjoy whatever you can, consistently with your loyalty to truth. You will then have no cause for regret. You will not then pursue enjoyments at any cost, for you will know that enjoyments are momentary but that truth is eternal and will abide with you for ever. To live thus is to follow the path of religion. Because the Government in its despotism opposes such an attempt, we call it irreligious. This is the essence of all religions and without it no religion will be true to itself."

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 5-2-1910

## *77. ROYEPPEN SENTENCED*

Mr. Joseph Royeppen, Mr. David Andrew and Mr. Samuel Joseph have been sentenced to three months' imprisonment each. We congratulate them. Mr. Royeppen's imprisonment, we believe, will provoke protests throughout India. His is no ordinary case. There is no doubt that Mr. Royeppen's entry into the struggle has given it a powerful impetus. Every white has been set thinking why Royeppen should have been sent to gaol.

The Tamil community has surpassed all expectations. It is the only one whose members we still find going to gaol. Most members of the

[1] The crane kept standing on one foot on the bank of a river, hoping to convince the fish that he had taken to a life of devotion and austerities, and that they could safely approach him.

other communities have capitulated. Are there any who will follow the example set by Mr. Royeppen and his fellow-satyagrahis?

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 5-2-1910

## *78. EXTRACT FROM LETTER*[1]

[*February 5, 1910*][2]

He is a splendid boy, and has certainly realised my expectations. He became a passive resister in the gaol. Together with other Indians, he shared the same cell with Chinese prisoners, some of whom are the worst criminals to be found in the Transvaal. There was only one bucket of water between all these prisoners, and these Chinese drank from the buckets as dogs from pools. Naturally, Manilal did not like the idea of drinking like the Chinese or even with a cup from water so polluted. So he complained to the Deputy-Governor, who thought that Manilal was cantankerous, and immediately gave him solitary confinement. Manilal took it quite cheerfully, and said to himself that it would give him quiet time for thinking. The next day, however, he wanted to make his position good, and say, too, that he complained not only for himself but for all the Indians. So he insisted on seeing the Governor, who was much more reasonable, stopped solitary confinement, and ordered that a separate bucket of water should be reserved for Indian prisoners. Manilal tells me, too, that he was of very great assistance to Parsee Rustomjee, who has been removed to the Fort. He used to shampoo him every evening. Mr. Rustomjee is no better treated at the Fort. Medical relief has been refused. Manilal recommenced his honourable calling (hawking) today, and challenged arrest. He approached the same constable who arrested him the first time, who, after laughing remonstrance, acceded to his request and arrested him again. When, however, he was brought to the Charge Office, Vernon[3] ordered his discharge. He will, as before, go out hawking every day. I am hoping that this time he is arrested he will be deported like his companions, and be fixed up for six months.

*India*, 25-2-1910

[1] Presumably addressed to L. W. Ritch, London

[2] Manilal Gandhi's arrest mentioned in the letter took place on 5-2-1910.

[3] Superintendent of Police, Johannesburg

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## 79. EXTRACT FROM LETTER[1]

[About *February 5, 1910*]

There is no other remedy for calamity except courage. As to the means, there is no doubt in my mind that they are the same both in the Transvaal and in India. But [Chhaganlal]'s letter[2] shows that we shall be able to prepare ourselves only in a place like Phœnix. It is our duty to remain undaunted even while sleeping in a cremation ground; it is, however, likely that a person would die of fear when he tries to sleep there. Thus, India is, for the present, like a cremation ground for us. We ought to—we have to—prepare ourselves here, so that we spread our bed there and sing Mirabai's[3] *bhajan*[4], "Bola ma, Bola ma"[5] and the like. . . I always feel that I shall be strong enough to welcome death in any form and at any time. I wish all may get this strength.

From the Gujarati in *Gandhiji-na Patro* edited by Dahyabhai Patel; also quoted in *Gandhiji-ni Sadhna* by Raojibhai Patel

## 80. JOHANNESBURG

*Wednesday* [*February 9, 1910*]

### Suggestion to Satyagrahis

Most of those still left among the ranks of satyagrahis are Tamil friends. There is little chance of these words of mine reaching them. However, some of them follow Gujarati by having [the articles] read out to them; to these, and to the Indians from Bombay Presidency and elsewhere, I should say that what remains of the battle is both difficult and easy, because only a few soldiers remain. Those who now come forward for imprisonment should not agree to be released on bail; even when they are under-trial prisoners, they should not ask for food to be brought to them from outside; and they must be ready for imprisonment the moment they are served with a warrant. Those whom

[1] Probably addressed to Maganlal Gandhi

[2] Presumably refers to Chhaganlal Gandhi's letter describing the Servants of India Society. Some portions from the letter were published in *Indian Opinion*, 5-2-1910 and 12-2-1910. *Vide* "Letter to Maganlal Gandhi", pp. 138-9.

[3] Queen of Mewar in Rajasthan and a great poet and devotee of Lord Krishna

[4] Devotional song

[5] First words of the song, "Do not utter anything except [the name of] Radhakrishna"

the Government finds or believes to be weak will be harassed all the more; the cases against them will be adjourned again and again. Those who wish to give the best service and suffer to the utmost should bear this in mind and show their spirit in every way.

### Visit to Prisoners

I wanted to visit some of the satyagrahis last Sunday. On inquiry, it was found that those who themselves had been imprisoned once could not visit prisoners. It was, therefore, a problem who should go. In the end, Mr. Harilal Gandhi was visited by Mr. Kallenbach, Mr. Sorabji by Mr. Isaac, Mr. Rustomjee by Miss Schlesin and Mr. Medh by Mr. Cole. The prisoners sent a message that they were all in high spirits.

The rule referred to above is a new way of harassing us. It was not being enforced so far. The Government's object is, of course, to stop all communications among satyagrahis. In that, however, it cannot succeed. Its designs are sure to be frustrated if, in reply to its growing harshness, we show ourselves all the more determined in spirit. What difference does it make to a prisoner whether or not he is visited by others? If our strength must be tested, the severer the test, the more should we welcome it.

### Aid from Rangoon

A cheque for £250 has been received from Rangoon and according to Dr. Mehta, Secretary of the Transvaal Satyagraha Fund Committee there, there is a possibility of our receiving something more. Going through the particulars of contributions, I find that several Chinese traders have also subscribed. According to a resolution of the Rangoon Committee, this money should be spent only towards the relief of poor satyagrahis or those in distress.

Including this sum, a total amount of £3923-3-4 has been received so far. If this sum of £250 is deducted from this total, the rest represents the amount remitted by Mr. Jehangir B. Petit on behalf of Prof. Gokhale. We have not received detailed information about how this was collected; we are yet to know in what manner, apart from the sum of Rs. 25,000 donated by Mr. Ratan Tata, the remaining amount was raised.

### Krugersdorp Location

The whites have been giving strange evidence before the Commission that is going into this subject. They say that the presence of Indians in the Location is a source of annoyance to them, that Indians are immoral, that they harass girls, making unseemly gestures at them, and that they corrupt the morals of the Kaffirs. Many such offensive things were said in the course of the evidence. It is imperative for the

Indian settlers to offer evidence to counter this. The Krugersdorp Indians must get ready to meet the situation. If, moreover, there is substance in any of these charges, such habits must be corrected. Some Indians do have contacts with Kaffir women. I think such contacts are fraught with grave danger. Indians would do well to avoid them altogether.

### Heart-rending Scene

[In an incident which occurred] in Mr. Gandhi's office, Mrs. Amacanoo and Mrs. Packirsamy removed all the ornaments from their persons and vowed not to wear them again till the fight was over. They took off everything, their ear-rings, nose-rings, necklaces, bangles and rings. They took off even their wedding necklaces. This was no ordinary thing to have done. Mrs. Packirsamy removed her ornaments, saying that it was impossible for her to wear them when Packirsamy's eldest son was about to go to gaol and Mr. Packirsamy himself was likely to be arrested soon.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 12-2-1910

## *81. MUSLIM LEAGUE MEETING*

We have commented[1] on His Highness the Aga Khan's speech at the meeting of the All-India Muslim League. The resolutions passed by the League also call for some comment. In our view, the League's resolutions are very strong and should prove encouraging to us.[2] It appears from these resolutions that Mr. Polak has stirred up storms of protest all over India. The Viceroy and Lord Morley cannot but take notice of these resolutions.

But do we? The League has described the Transvaal Indians as martyrs.[3] How many such martyrs are there? Those among Hindus and Muslims who care for India must give serious thought to this. If they put in their best effort, not only will the fight end soon but India's self-respect will also be saved and her honour upheld. It is no light responsibility that the Transvaal Indians bear.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 12-2-1910

[1] and [3] *Vide* "Aga Khan and Passive Resistance", pp. 145-6.

[2] The League had passed a resolution "expressing admiration at the heroic and patriotic struggle carried on by the Indians in South Africa, and also urging the Indian Government to prohibit the exportation of indentured labourers, and appealing to the Imperial Government to intervene". *Vide* Reuter's telegram reproduced in *Indian Opinion*, 5-2-1910.

## 82. SPEECH AT CHINESE RECEPTION TO REV. J. J. DOKE[1]

[JOHANNESBURG,
*February 14, 1910*]

Mr. Gandhi spoke, saying that Mr. Doke's interest in the Asiatics was as old as his stay in South Africa. Both the communities had to deserve the support that was given by the European Committee.

*Indian Opinion*, 19-2-1910

## 83. DOKE HONOURED

[Before *February 18, 1910*]

Everyone will admit that Mr. Doke has done much for the Indians and the Chinese. Both the communities have expressed their appreciation of his services, and thereby maintained their own good name. The Chinese have presented an address.[2] The Indians are giving a dinner.[3] Mr. Doke has made a thorough study of the satyagraha campaign. He will spend some time in England. While there, he will meet Lord Crewe and others. They cannot but attach weight to his words. Mr. Doke wields no small measure of influence in Johannesburg.

Many Indians have experienced Mr. Doke's goodness and simplicity. We can never give him too much praise for his work. During the Deputation's absence in England, he worked very hard.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 19-2-1910

[1] At the Cantonese Club with Quinn presiding; 150 Chinese passive resisters and several prominent Europeans and Indians were present. After Quinn had delivered a speech eulogising Doke's work and the address to him had been read out, Gandhiji addressed the gathering.

[2] *Vide* the preceding item.

[3] *Vide* "Speech at Banquet to Rev. J. J. Doke", p. 156.

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## *84. LETTER TO GENERAL MANAGER, C. S. A. R.*[1]

[JOHANNESBURG,]
*February 18, 1910*

SIR,

In accordance with the promise made by Mr. Gandhi and myself at the interview[2] between us on Saturday last, I beg to enclose herewith draft railway regulations. You will notice that the draft keeps the practice hitherto observed as to the travelling of Asiatics, without making any racial distinctions and thereby offering insult. In my humble opinion, this draft can entirely replace the regulations which have been the subject-matter of this correspondence; but, if it is considered by the Railway Board that these regulations are necessary so far as the Natives are concerned, I venture to suggest that they may be repealed so far as they are applicable to Asiatics.

If the draft herewith submitted is not considered suitable, I shall be glad to receive your objections, and will endeavour to meet any such by framing another draft. In the opinion of my Committee, the matter is rather urgent, and it is felt that the regulations should be amended without waiting for the establishment of the Union Government.

My Committee gratefully appreciates the conciliatory manner in which you have been good enough to carry on this correspondence, and for the assurance given by you that no insult is intended by the publication of the regulations. My Committee hopes that your assurances and the good spirit will be carried out in practice by making the necessary amendment in the regulations.

### DRAFT REGULATIONS

1. It shall be lawful for the General Manager to set apart different compartments on trains for different races or classes, and the class or race for which the compartments are so reserved shall be able to travel only in such compartments and no other, and any person travelling in a compartment other than the one reserved for his class shall be deemed to have committed a breach of these regulations.

2. The pointing out by a guard or any other railway official to a passenger of a reserved compartment shall be considered sufficient reservation under the foregoing regulations.

[1] This letter, presumably drafted by Gandhiji, was signed by A. M. Cachalia.
[2] Report not available

3. It shall be competent for the guard or the conductor or any other railway official to remove passengers from one compartment to another without giving any reason therefor.

4. It shall be competent for the station-master to refuse a first- or second-class ticket to any passenger who may be, in his opinion, not dressed in a decent or cleanly condition.

*Indian Opinion*, 26-2-1910

## *85. SPEECH AT BANQUET TO REV. J. J. DOKE*

*February 18, 1910*

The Masonic Hall, Jeppe Street, Johannesburg, was the scene of a brilliant mixed gathering of Europeans, Chinese and Indians on the night of the 18th instant in honour of Rev. J. J. Doke. A vegetarian banquet was given to the reverend gentleman by the British Indian community. Mr. Hosken was in the chair. Mr. Doke was on his right and Mrs. Doke on his left. Mr. Cachalia occupied a seat to the right of Mr. Doke. Mr. Quinn and his Chinese friends were also present. . . .[1]

Mr. Gandhi, in the course of his remarks, said that he could not speak of the guest of the evening without the feelings of deepest gratitude; nor could he avoid the personal element. When Mr. Doke and he were comparative strangers, he (the speaker) was picked up by Mr. Doke as he was lying in a precarious condition in an office in Von Brandis Street. When Mr. Doke asked him whether he would go to his house, he did not take many seconds before he replied in the affirmative.[2] In his house, he was treated with every kindness and consideration. Mr. Gandhi's mother was dead, his widowed sister was 4,000 miles away, his wife 400 miles away. But Mrs. Doke was both mother and sister to him. How could he forget the figure (Mr. Doke) stealing into his room at midnight to see whether his patient was awake or asleep? Speaking of Mr. Doke's Asiatic work, it was not possible to refrain from speaking in praise of the work of the European Committee of which the Chairman (Mr. Hosken) was the President. Mr. Gandhi frankly confessed that passive resistance might have broken down without the magnificent support rendered by the European Committee. Mr. Hosken never stinted himself in rendering assistance wherever and whenever he could. He was ever-obliging. Mr. Doke had made a thorough study of the question. His home was ever open to distressed Asiatics. The speaker hoped that Mr. Doke would find the opportunity of seeing Lord Crewe and Lord Morley and give them the benefit of his own experience. He joined in the prayer for every success to Mr. Doke and his family.[3]

*Indian Opinion*, 26-2-1910 and 5-3-1910

[1] This paragraph is from the report in *Indian Opinion*, 26-2-1910. What follows is from its issue dated 5-3-1910.

[2] *Vide* Vol. VIII, p. 95.

[3] Gandhiji was followed by Hosken and Doke.

## 86. MR. DOKE

It is well that both the Indian[1] and the Chinese[2] communities have honoured Mr. Doke on his impending departure for America. Mr. Doke has rendered very great and fearless service to the cause of passive resistance. The world will perhaps never know what Mr. Doke and those Europeans who, like him, have espoused the unpopular Asiatic cause have suffered for it.

But, if we may do so, without disparagement of the other members of the European Committee, we should like to say that Mr. Doke has made an accurate study of the whole question. He has read up all the literature there is on the subject. During the absence of the deputation in England, Mr. Doke constantly conferred with leaders and encouraged them, giving them the benefit of his mature experience. Indeed, Mr. Doke had treated the work as part of his mission as a minister of Jesus and has held that he served his own congregation in serving the Asiatic cause. To him it is not a merely political battle, but it is a religious battle—a battle of and for humanity. If there were more like Mr. Doke in our midst, we would probably have no unnatural inequalities between man and man.

Mr. Doke will pass a short time in London. He holds full credentials from the two Asiatic communities. He has been urged to see the Imperial authorities and submit the case to them as it appears to him from his personal experience. If Mr. Doke gets the opportunity of seeing them, we doubt not that he will command a respectful hearing. We congratulate both the communities upon having such an able champion of the cause.

Our good wishes accompany Mr. Doke on his mission in America.

*Indian Opinion*, 19-2-1910

## 87. MR. RUSTOMJEE

Mr. Rustomjee's services during the unique campaign that is going on in the Transvaal are beyond praise. Only two passive resisters have had the privilege of serving imprisonment for an unbroken period of almost a year. Mr. Rustomjee finished exactly one year. The sufferings he had described in his letter[3], published elsewhere in this issue, throw a

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.
[2] *Vide* "Speech at Chinese Reception to Rev. J.J. Doke", p. 154.
[3] *Vide* Appendix II.

painful light on the policy of the Transvaal Government. But Mr. Rustomjee assures the Government that the unnecessary hardship inflicted on him cannot break his spirit.

Mr. Rustomjee, with the concurrence and on the advice of his fellow passive resisters, is having well deserved rest and putting his business, which has naturally suffered greatly during his absence, in order. We hope that Mr. Rustomjee will soon be restored to health and once more grace the Transvaal gaols with his presence unless the struggle ends in the mean time.

*Indian Opinion*, 19-2-1910

## *88. IMAM SAHEB*

Imam Saheb Abdul Kadir Bawazeer and Mr. Kunke[1] have been the latest discharges from the Diepkloof gaol. Both are stalwarts in the cause and both have gone to gaol more than once.

Imam Saheb has returned almost a physical wreck, though a tower of strength to the cause. He is the respected Chairman of the Hamidia Islamic Society and a priest. The Mahomedan community in particular, the whole Indian community in general, suffers in Mr. Bawazeer's sufferings. We congratulate Mr. Bawazeer on his brilliant services and pray for strength to him and his fellow passive resisters.

*Indian Opinion*, 19-2-1910

## *89. PARSEE RUSTOMJEE*

Mr. Rustomjee, the Imam Saheb [Abdul Kadir] Bawazeer and Mr. Mahomed Ebrahim Kunke have been released.

Earlier, we compared Mr. Shah's services to those of Mr. Rustomjee.[2] Both these satyagrahis remained in gaol for a continuous period of one year. Mr. Rustomjee suffered imprisonment for a total period of 14 months and 19 days, of which one full year was spent in gaol at a stretch. We draw attention to his letter[3] describing what he suffered during this period. We congratulate Mr. Rustomjee and the community on the courage he displayed in the face of all those hardships.

As Mr. Rustomjee was not deported again but was set free in Johannesburg itself, he got an opportunity of going to Durban; this he has made use of on the advice and with the consent of the satyagrahis. The step taken is unexceptionable. We hope that Mr. Rustomjee will

[1] Mahomed Ebrahim Kunke; *vide* the following item.
[2] *Vide* "Mr. Nanalal Shah's Services", p. 141.
[3] *Vide* Appendix II.

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put his affairs in order and recoup his health. We want to see both these things done and Mr. Rustomjee lodged in gaol again.

If Mr. Rustomjee spent one full year in gaol, that was because he got an opportunity to do so. The Imam Saheb and Mr. Kunke, too, have utilized fully, and also given to the community the benefit of, the opportunities they got. The Imam Saheb's is a record of which the Hamidia Society and the entire Indian community can well be proud. He is reduced in health and has been suffering from some ailment; ignoring all this, he has courted repeated terms of imprisonment. So long as the community has such brave men, who can say that we shall be defeated?

We congratulate the three satyagrahis and pray to God to preserve them always in the path of virtue.

[From Gujarati]
*Indian Opinion*, 19-2-1910

## *90. SPEECH AT DURBAN MEETING*[1]

*February 20, 1910*

A letter was received from Mr. Rustomjee while this meeting was in progress, from which it appears that he has deliberately absented himself. Of course, there is no need to read out the letter itself to the meeting; he only wants to know from those who are assembled here, where that fine spirit has evaporated which prevailed at the meetings in which he and other friends were asked to go to the Transvaal. He also wants to know where those men are who were to accompany him. He says, further, that going through these motions of honouring him is like playing a joke on him and that he is not eager for such honour. He would feel truly honoured [he says] if people went to gaol as he had done. What we are witnessing today on the stage is the action in front of the curtain, but it is the action behind it that will determine whether or not we win. If the gentlemen[2] who made speeches today urging support for the Transvaal and paying compliments to the satyagrahis were sincere in what they said, the end of the struggle should be at hand. It is a very simple thing to win, if only our leaders cease their play-acting. It depends on us whether our campaign ends in four days or four years. If it is drawing out, the

[1] A meeting of the Natal Indian Congress was held on February 20, 1910 to honour Gandhiji and Rustomjee and to pass resolutions of protest against the £3 tax, the system of indenture and the Immigration Law Amendment Bill.

[2] Among these was Dawad Mahomed, who, as Chairman of the meeting, had spoken before Gandhiji.

fault lies with us. Every time I went wrong in my conclusion as to the end of the struggle, I found [subsequently] that the error was in my estimate of the community's strength. When I was leaving for this place, Mr. Aswat, Mr. Cachalia and Mr. Bhayat urged me hard to take Dawad Sheth back with me. Everyone is inquiring what he will do now. I have come to take along with me Dawad Sheth, Mr. Shapurji Randeria and anyone else who may come forward. Our own men have been telling the Government that seasoned fighters are falling off and that those who have gone to Natal are not likely to return. If so, the fight will receive a severe set-back. I hope, therefore, that the gentlemen will come forward [again] this time.

Moreover, much has been said here about unity in the community. I wish to point out in this connection that, if there is disunity among us, the fault lies entirely with the leaders of the two communities. If they follow up their speeches about unity with determined action, it can be achieved quite easily. It is an error to suppose that a third party can bring them together. Maintaining unity is the responsibility of those who are directly affected by it.

[From Gujarati]
*Indian Opinion*, 26-2-1910

## *91. LETTER TO COLONIAL SECRETARY*[1]

[JOHANNESBURG,]
*February 23, 1910*

SIR,

I have the honour to enclose herewith a copy of a letter[2] addressed by Mr. Parsee Rustomjee to the Press about the treatment he was subjected to at the Diepkloof Gaol. I beg to append copy of medical certificate issued by his family physician as to the state of his health upon discharge from prison:

FIRST AVENUE,
DURBAN,
*February 16, 1910*

This is to certify that I have examined Mr. Parsee Rustomjee, and, knowing him of old, I now find him very much reduced in weight and size, and that his health has greatly suffered from his late imprisonment, and that it will be some months before he will regain his former self. I find that his heart is affected,

[1] At Pretoria; presumably drafted by Gandhiji
[2] *Vide* Appendix II.

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but whether it is an organic disease or not, it is difficult to say at once on the first examination. His eyes have also suffered from constant exposure to the sun, and are now in a state of congestion. There is distension of the flanks of the abdominal wall, which appears to me to be due to the distension of the large bowel, and which is also responsible for the constipation he suffers from. He is also subject to delayed and difficult micturition.

(Sgd.) R. M. NANJI, M. R. C. S., etc.

Both the certificate and the letter speak for themselves. My Committee therefore content themselves with drawing the attention of the Government to the facts narrated by Mr. Rustomjee, who is one of the most respected members of the Indian community in South Africa, and a vice-president of the Natal Indian Congress, and venture to trust that the civilized Government of the Transvaal will not permit a repetition of sufferings such as have been undergone by Mr. Rustomjee.

Mr. Imam Abdul Kadir Bawazeer, who has been just discharged from the Diepkloof Prison, has himself suffered very severely. He states that once, when he was extremely feverish and when he was obliged to report himself sick, the medical officer suggested, without even examining him, that he was shirking work; but when Mr. Bawazeer indignantly repudiated the suggestion, his temperature was taken by the officer, and it was found to be 104 degrees. This alarmed the officer and Mr. Bawazeer was placed in the prison hospital. Mr. Bawazeer has lost 22 lbs. in weight, and is so weak that he can walk about only with difficulty.

Mr. Bawazeer reports that most of the passive resisters have lost weight owing to insufficiency of food, and specially owing to want of ghee, and this notwithstanding the allowance of two ounces of haricot beans. It is respectfully submitted that the persistent refusal to restore the use of a fat equivalent in the shape of ghee is interpreted by my community to mean that the Government intend to starve into submission the conscientious objectors to the anti-Asiatic legislation of the Colony. I beg once more to draw attention to the fact that the Native prisoners' dietary allows one ounce of fat per day.

Mr. Bawazeer further reports to the Association that Mr. Joseph Royeppen, a barrister and a Cambridge graduate, was, when he was transferred to the Diepkloof Prison, taken, together with three other Indian prisoners, in a manure cart, and was compelled to walk barefoot and bareheaded for nearly two miles, and that he and his fellow-prisoners were given no breakfast on the day they were transferred. Mr. Royeppen reported the matter to the Governor, who enquired into it and, Mr. Bawazeer thinks, also gave the assurance that the mistakes above referred to would not be repeated. My Committee, however, cannot help remarking that a system under which such grave mistakes are possible must be badly in need of revision.

My Committee hope that the various matters hereby brought to the notice of the Government will meet with the consideration that they deserve.

*I have, etc.,*
A. M. CACHALIA
CHAIRMAN, BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION

*Indian Opinion*, 5-3-1910

## 92. SPEECH AT KATHIAWAD ARYA MANDAL

[DURBAN,
*February 23, 1910*]

A meeting of this society was held on the 23rd instant in Beatrice Street, Durban, in order to meet Messrs Parsee Rustomjee, Shah and Shelat. . . .

Mr. Gandhi, who was present, addressed the meeting. Mr. Gandhi explained the struggle and said that he had arrived in Natal to invite those who would to join the struggle. . . .

*Indian Opinion*, 26-2-1910

## 93. CABLE TO S.A.B.I. COMMITTEE[1]

[JOHANNESBURG,]
*February 25, 1910*

IMAM BAWAZEER, PRIEST, CHAIRMAN HAMIDIA SOCIETY, DISCHARGED, MUCH REDUCED, WEAK. STATES ROYEPPEN MADE WALK BAREFOOT, BAREHEADED, ON TRANSFER DIEPKLOOF.[2] RUSTOMJI DISCHARGED, LOOKING REDUCED; HAS WRITTEN PRESS[3] MAKING GRAVE CHARGES; EXAMINED ON DISCHARGE, CERTIFICATE STATES HEART, EYE AFFECTED.[4] OVER THIRTY CHINESE, NEARLY FORTY INDIANS GAOL. MANILAL DEPORTED, RE-CROSSING, SENT TO PRISON[5] FOR THREE MONTHS WITH HARD LABOUR. ABSENCE GHEE DIET SCALE CONTINUES CAUSE IRRITATION. P. K. NAIDOO RELEASED WEDNESDAY, RE-ARRESTED IMMEDIATELY, SENT TO PRISON FOR THREE MONTHS WITH HARD LABOUR.

*India*, 4-3-1910; also the South African Blue-book, No. 5.119

[1] Sent to the South Africa British Indian Committee, London, by the Secretary, Transvaal British Indian Association

[2], [3] and [4] *Vide* "Letter to Colonial Secretary", pp. 160-2.

[5] On 21-2-1910

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## 94. *STARVATION OF PASSIVE RESISTERS*

We print elsewhere[1] Mr. Smuts' minute on the complaint of the British Indian Association of the Transvaal on the insufficiency of the revised diet scale for Indian prisoners. The minute is remarkable for the facts it omits and those it almost mis-states. It is an instance of special pleading which seeks to justify the existing unjustifiable scale of rations.

The third paragraph states that the revision was designed to approximate the Indian scale to "Indian free diets by the introduction of ghee and curry powder". There is a suggestion here that no ghee was supplied before revision. But the fact is that at Johannesburg, the Volksrust and several other gaols one ounce of ghee per day was allowed to Indian prisoners besides beans three times a week and meat once a week, and that at the other gaols one ounce of animal fat per day was allowed. In answer chiefly to the complaint that vegetarian passive resisters could not take animal fat and that, therefore, ghee should be substituted, the Government deprived the Indian prisoners throughout the Colony of fat or ghee! In the revised scale, there is no approach to "Indian free diets" because the latter consist of a liberal supply of bread, ghee, dholl, and tea. No Indian eats mealie meal by choice and yet it still remains largely the food of Indian prisoners. We are not aware of any "unbiased Indian adherents" having admitted that the revised scale is an advance on the previously obtaining scale. Indeed, they have all said that no Indian scale could be complete without ghee. From time immemorial, ghee has been considered to be the complement of rice. Its other name literally translated means the complement of rice (*anna poorna*), as rice is notoriously known to be deficient in fat-forming substance. How can deprivation of a material part of the diet be considered by any person to be an advance? Curry powder is purely and simply a spice and in no sense a food as ghee is. The minute makes much of twenty-five medical officers having been consulted as to the revised scale. But it makes no mention of the fact that for the past nine months, Indian prisoners have been chiefly concentrated at Diepkloof and, that, therefore, the other medical officers had not sufficient data for observation. The acting Medical Officer of Health may have failed to find justification for the allegation as to the marked "emaciation and inanition" of passive resisters. But Messrs Rustomjee, Bawazeer, Aswat and Shah testify differently in their own persons. Mr. Rustomjee is undergoing special medical treatment, Mr. Bawazeer can scarcely walk, Mr. Aswat is a cripple and Mr. Shah spits blood. They all bring the news that the

[1] *Vide* "Passive Resistance Prisoners", *Indian Opinion*, 26-2-1910.

absence of ghee is the greatest cause of complaint. What weight can be attached even to a whole army of medical men testifying otherwise when the victims themselves give one an ocular demonstration of the fact of insufficiency of the scale? It is undoubtedly a matter for thankfulness that beans are added to the scale when Indians do not take meat. But the minute takes no note of the fact that, whilst beans are an admirable substitute for meat, they are no substitute for ghee. We cannot, therefore, help saying that the civilized Government of the Transvaal must labour under the charge of wanton cruelty to the passive resisters so long as they callously continue to partially starve them.

*Indian Opinion*, 26-2-1910

## *95. THE NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS*

The Natal Indian Congress has, at a public meeting called for the purpose, passed a series of resolutions[1] which are important and far-reaching in their results. The most notable resolutions, to our mind, were those relating to the stoppage of indenture altogether and the carrying on of the Transvaal struggle. Both these resolutions affirm great principles without in any way involving the self-interest of the movers and seconders of the resolutions. They, therefore, impart to the proceedings a high tone. The resolutions may not produce any great and tangible result in the near future, but they are bound to affect the course of events both in the Transvaal and outside it. It will certainly be admitted that both resolutions are of the highest Imperial importance.

*Indian Opinion*, 26-2-1910

## *96. INDIAN EDUCATION*

It is reported that the age-limit for admission to the Higher-Grade Indian School has been removed. But we understand that the removal of the restriction is not to be gazetted though the restriction was. The reason for this curious phenomenon is obvious. The Government, in order to catch votes, publicly paraded the news. In order not to offend, they now want to suppress the fact of removal of restriction.

Indian parents should, however, not rest content with the proposed change. They should establish their own schools where proper education could be provided.

*Indian Opinion*, 26-2-1910

[1] *Vide* footnote 1, p. 159.

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## 97. *THE CAPE COLOURED PEOPLE*

Dr. Abdurahman, from his seat in the Municipal Council of Capetown,[1] has given vent to bitter feelings on the vote for an expense of £1,500 at the time of the arrival of the Prince of Wales. The worthy Doctor will be in mourning on the day of the Prince's arrival. He will not sing "God Save the King". And he advises every Coloured man to refrain likewise. The reason for this outburst of anger is natural and justifiable. The partial disfranchisement of the Coloured people in the South Africa Act has gone deep down into the hearts of thousands of Coloured people. For them to take part in the approaching rejoicings would undoubtedly be a mockery and a sham. It would be hypocrisy, pure and simple.

It may be questioned whether the sentiments expressed by Dr. Abdurahman are consistent with loyalty. The word "loyalty" is a much-abused term. It would certainly be inconsistent with the loyalty of a coward or a slave. But we hold that a free man—an enlightened and independent man—which we think Dr. Abdurahman is, can consistently with his loyalty to the Crown, which is an ideal, refuse to associate himself with rejoicings which involve the degradation of a whole people who have deserved by common consent a better treatment. In courageously expressing his sentiments, we think that Dr. Abdurahman has cleared the atmosphere of cant and humbug and has served Truth, the Crown, his people and himself at the same time. Dr. Abdurahman's declaration almost coincides in point of time with the emphatic statement of the Coloured people's meeting at Johannesburg[2] where several speakers said, that, if the authorities became unreasonable, they would take up passive resistance. We congratulate Dr. Abdurahman on his performance and hope that he will have courage to follow out his programme when the time comes.

*Indian Opinion*, 26-2-1910

[1] At its meeting on 21-2-1910; *vide* "Abdurahman's Indignation", p. 167.

[2] On 16-2-1910; *vide* "The Struggle of the Coloured Races", *Indian Opinion*, 26-2-1910.

## 98. DOKE HONOURED

We congratulate the Transvaal Indians on the function they organized in honour of Mr. Doke. Rarely does one come across men of Doke's sincerity and influence and readiness to help. He has served the community well indeed. He is prepared to go to gaol if by doing so he can secure our freedom.

The Indians who were present at the function must have seen that such a gathering would have been impossible three years ago. Whites who would formerly have been ashamed to sit with us now come together to honour us and dine with us. We do not want to say that this is something extraordinary; we only want to draw attention to our previous degradation. It is the power of satyagraha which has changed all this. If people exert still greater strength, we can rise much higher. We wish the Indian community takes from this gathering the lesson that there is no help like self-help. We shall grow strong in proportion to the suffering we go through.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 26-2-1910

## 99. FUNCTIONS IN DURBAN

Functions are being held in Durban following the arrival of Mr. Parsee Rustomjee, Mr. Shah and Mr. Shelat.[1] In those arranged by the Congress[2] and the Kathiawad Arya Mandal[3], flattering compliments were paid to the prisoners. They said [in reply] that they wanted no praise. Speeches and functions are all right as far as they go; but there is no relish in them now. Action alone matters. If the various bodies of Indians were to take a vow of silence and discharge their duties, they would soon achieve their aims. They have only one duty in connection with the fight, namely, to enlist recruits and send them to the front. To achieve this, we should say, those who seek to persuade others must themselves come forward. If the office-bearers of the bodies show themselves sincere, they will be able to persuade others. This is a time to put aside all make-believe and plunge into battle.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 26-2-1910

[1] Gandhiji was in Durban about this time.

[2] *Vide* "Speech at Durban Meeting", pp. 159-60.

[3] *Vide* "Speech at Kathiawad Arya Mandal", p. 162.

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## *100. ABDURAHMAN'S INDIGNATION*

A proposal was made in the Cape Town Council on Monday to sanction an expenditure of £1,500 for decorations, etc., on the occasion of the Prince of Wales' visit. Dr. Abdurahman opposed it. He said :

> No Coloured man can feel happy, no Coloured man, I hope, will sing "God Save the King" on that day. I know I won't. No Coloured man will see the Prince of Wales coming through the streets on that day and feel happy; for he will know it is the consummation of the robbing him of something he has had for 50 years.
>
> Proceeding, he said that out of 35,000 of the ratepayers—half of whom were Coloured people—they were going to take something to have a day of jubilation and luncheons so that they might be happy.
>
> I, as a Coloured man, cannot associate myself with it, and I, as a Coloured man, will look upon it as a day of mourning. No Englishman or Irishman would have stood up here to-day and said it in the temperate way I have, had they been robbed—disgracefully robbed—of something they would have shed their blood for.[1]

These words of Dr. Abdurahman, though bitter, are justified. The proposal was of course passed, but his words will be remembered for ever. If the other Coloured people were to follow in his footsteps, they would win redress of their grievances soon enough. We see no disloyalty in the Doctor's remarks. True loyalty may be bitter sometimes. It is not loyalty to say "yes" to everything. True loyalty consists in expressing only what is in one's mind and acting accordingly.

We hope that Dr. Abdurahman will be true to his word and will not take part in the celebrations during the visit of the Prince of Wales.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 26-2-1910

## *101. EDUCATION IN NATAL*

The age-limit for [admission to] the Higher-Grade [Indian] School has been abolished. This is a matter for some satisfaction. But there is no reason to believe that there has been any very great victory. The only victory is that the Natal Government has eaten its own words. But we need not for that reason believe that our boys will now grow to be learned men. The duty of Indian parents is rather to start their own

[1] From a report of the speech in *Indian Opinion*, 26-2-1910

schools[1] as soon as possible. The education imparted in the Higher-Grade [Schools] is not of a kind to inspire any confidence. It is mere parrot-learning, and of patriotism it teaches nothing whatever.

[From Gujarati]
*Indian Opinion*, 26-2-1910

## *102. SPEECH AT DURBAN INDIAN SOCIETY*[2]

*February 26, 1910*

An unusually interesting and representative gathering of Indians was held, under the aegis of the Durban Indians' Society, at their hall, 104, Queen Street, Durban, on Saturday, the 26th ultimo. The hall was packed to its utmost capacity, and the meeting was of a very orderly nature. Deshabandhu Dawad Mahomed was voted to the chair, and amongst those present were Deshabhaktar M. K. Gandhi, Deshabandhus U. M. Shelat and Nanalal Shah, of passive resistance fame. . . . The Secretary, Desh. A. D. Pillay, welcomed the veteran passive resisters. . . .

Desh. T. A. Soobramania Achary, who has decided to join the Transvaal Indian struggle, then addressed the gathering in Tamil. . . .

Deshabhaktar M. K. Gandhi and other passive resisters were then garlanded. . . .

Deshabhaktar M. K. Gandhi rose to reply amidst loud cheers.

He said that all the speeches had greatly impressed him. He suggested that Mr. Naicker should join the passive resistance struggle. He proceeded to say that the struggle was being carried on as strongly as ever, and feelings of determination were still being manifested. Passive resistance was bound to win, for it was for a noble and righteous cause, and the Indians had resolved to endure it to a finish, though they might be tormented and tortured. The Transvaal Government had resorted to a treacherous measure of attaching buildings, goods, bedsteads, and crockery to recover the fines, but that could not divert the Indians from their line of action, and the resolution of the Boksburg Indians, who preferred to lose all their property, and choose the gaol, was sufficient proof of their earnestness. He read certain letters which he had received from Desh. P. K. Naidoo, which were of public interest; and he referred to the brave stand made by him, although he was repeatedly lodged in gaol. His action, he said, was worth emulating. He further added that the struggle was not confined to the sterner sex alone, but the feebler sex also evinced a great deal of interest. Their action in allowing their husbands to participate in the national struggle, which was also a struggle for equity and justice, bore evidence of the women's valour. These women had also endured untold privations. He then read a telegram[3] received from India with reference to the stoppage of the Indian indentures to Natal, in which it was stated that if the Transvaal and the Natal Governments refrained from ill-treating the Indians,

[1] *Vide* "Indian Education", p. 164.
[2] A brief report was published in *Indian Opinion*, 5-3-1910.
[3] Cable from G. K. Gokhale; *vide* the following item.

and the indentured Indians themselves received better treatment, then indenture might be resumed. Desh. M. K. Gandhi did not approve of the conditional suspension of the indenture, but he said that complete abolition of indenture to these Colonies was necessary.

Desh. U. M. Shelat then addressed the assembly. Desh. Nanalal Shah followed, and gave a vivid description of the harsh treatment which he received during his gaol experience.

*The Natal Mercury*, 3-3-1910

## *103. SPEECH AT DURBAN INDIAN SOCIETY*[1]

[*February 26, 1910*]

Among others, we heard two excellent speeches today, Mr. Naicker's being the best of all. It would bring much credit to the Durban Indian Society if members with a spirit such as his were to go to gaol in the Transvaal. Mr. Naicker laid stress on education. I think true education consists in the cultivation of mental and physical faculties. The effort will profit the individual himself and, in the measure that it does so, it will profit the country as a whole. Unfailing devotion to one's duty is the only true education.

Citing the example of Mr. Naidoo in this connection, he [Gandhiji] said:

Everyone will admit that he, more than others, has received true education. He has spared himself no sacrifice. He has acted like Socrates who cheerfully swallowed a draught of poison.

Reading out letters addressed to Mr. Royeppen's old mother and to himself by P. K. Naidoo when going to gaol, he said:

The Colonials especially must emulate Mr. Naidoo's example. Imprisonment in connection with satyagraha makes a man pure, truthful and brave.[2]

Reading out the cable from Prof. Gokhale, he said:

This cable has been published in the newspapers here and commented upon. This shows that the issue is coming to the fore everywhere. We must now strengthen the hands of Mr. Gokhale and His Highness the Aga Khan by telling them that we have filled the gaols in the Transvaal.[2]

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 5-3-1910

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

[2] Supplied from the report of the speech in *Indian Opinion*

## *104. THE INDIAN COUNCIL AND INDENTURED LABOUR*

The Hon'ble Professor Gokhale and his colleagues have rendered a service to us and to India generally (as also, we are inclined to think, the Colony) by their having moved the resolution to stop indentured emigration from India to Natal. The resolution seeks to stop indenture by way of penalty for non-redress of the grievances of the free Indian population of South Africa. We wish that Professor Gokhale had or could have taken up the highest standpoint and moved for the stoppage of indenture altogether as being inherently bad and of no real benefit to the indentured men themselves. There is a weakness in the resolution which it would be useless not to acknowledge. If indenturing be good for the indentured men themselves, those who wish to indenture should not be prevented from taking advantage of the system for the sake of benefiting the free Indian population of Natal or the sister-colonies. If, on the other hand, it is bad, no redress that may be granted to that population can be allowed to continue a state of things that is immoral or otherwise hurtful.

But we have to be thankful for small mercies in these days of compromise and expediency. Professor Gokhale has taken the lesser step because he knows that he may not carry the Government with him in his condemnation of the system of indenture as such. It is for us here to see to it that we accept no immoral bargains. Whilst we would and should agitate for removal of general grievances and point out that Natal cannot receive the benefit (questionable though it is) of indentured labour from India, we must make it clear that we ask for the stoppage of indentured labour for its own sake and because we consider that it is detrimental to the moral well-being of those who indenture.

Sir James Liege Hulett has been telling a reporter that in his opinion the movement in India is due to the agitation on behalf of the Indian traders. This is perfectly true. But the inference that it will die out because of the so-called relief having been granted during the last session of the local Parliament is quite baseless. We would appeal to Sir J. L. Hulett and his co-planters that they should look at the question from a truly South African standpoint. Is it impossible for them to realise that their interests are not necessarily the Colony's and that the latter demand complete and immediate stoppage of indentured labour? We are not sure that the Colony will be ruined if the tea and sugar industries were to disappear. Indians have benefited the Colony through their cultivation of garden produce. This will be continued by the free Indian population. But the sooner the indentured labour

supply is stopped, the better. We would much rather that the Colony stopped this supply of its own motion than that it was done by the Government of India. At the same time, it is necessary that no effort should be spared in India to bring about the much-desired result, whether by way of penalty or otherwise. Entire suspension of artificial emigration from India to Natal will go a long way towards solving many of the difficulties in South Africa.

*Indian Opinion*, 5-3-1910

## *105. THE JOHANNESBURG MUNICIPALITY AND COLOURED PEOPLE*

The Johannesburg Municipality wishes to have anti-colour or anti-Asiatic legislation passed in a surreptitious manner. An offensive notice appears in an obscure corner of a local newspaper, notifying the intention of the Municipality to promote a private Bill in the forthcoming session of the local Parliament. The Bill, among other things, is intended to take over the Town Regulations that were passed by the late Republican Government just before the declaration of war. These Regulations make it illegal for Coloured persons to walk on foot-paths or live in towns. It is these Regulations in accordance with which the Pretoria Municipality has served notices to quit on all Coloured residents, save Asiatics, in that town and against which the Coloured people recently made such a powerful protest. It will be remembered, too, that the Pretoria Municipality entered into a long tussle with the Government for the purpose of having these Regulations retained for its use. Now the Johannesburg Municipality wishes to copy the Pretoria sister. Mr. Cachalia has, therefore, addressed the following to the Government and lodged a formal protest with the Town Clerk:

> My Association has seen the notice in the papers of a private Bill to be submitted to the forthcoming session of Parliament by the Municipal Council of Johannesburg which, among other things, contemplates the application of the Town Regulations Article No. 1256, dated the 18th September, 1899. In the humble opinion of my Association, the object of applying these Regulations to the Municipality seems to be to use the clauses of the Regulations which are restrictive of the liberty of Coloured people. If so, this is an attempt to pass, in an indirect manner, class legislation of a very objectionable type. My Association, therefore, respectfully trust that the Government will oppose the passage of this Bill so far as the application of the aforementioned Town Regulations is concerned.

The clause relating to residents reads as follows:

> Coloured persons may not reside in any place abutting on the public street in any town or village but every householder or owner of an erf may keep in his backyard whatever servants he requires for domestic service.

*Indian Opinion*, 5-3-1910

## *106. THE INDIAN COUNCIL AND INDENTURED LABOUR*

Every Indian should realize the importance of the resolution regarding the stoppage of the immigration of indentured labour, passed by the [Indian Legislative] Council at Calcutta at the instance of the Hon'ble Prof. Gokhale and other Indian members. It is likely to have far-reaching effects, how far-reaching will depend on our work here.

The resolution is to the effect that the emigration of indentured Indians [to Natal] should be stopped [even] if justice was not done to free Indians in the Transvaal or Natal. Sir James Hulett said that we had already been granted relief; an amendment was passed during the last session of Parliament and therefore nothing further was required by way of relief. Being of that opinion he said that the Government of India would take no further action. The Veda Dharma Sabha thanks the Government for what it has done, but we should like to make it plain to all Indians that non-indentured Indians cannot be considered to have been granted any relief till the following matters are satisfactorily settled:

(1) The £3 tax to be abolished in respect of both men and women;
(2) Right of appeal to the Supreme Court to be granted in respect of every kind of licence;
(3) The poll tax of £1 to be abolished;
(4) Adequate educational facilities to be provided;
(5) Harassment [of Indians] in administering the Immigration law to stop;
(6) Harassment through the permit laws to disappear.

This is the least that needs to be done in Natal. Now that there is a Union, an inquiry should be held covering the whole of South Africa. It follows from this that the hardships experienced in the Transvaal should also disappear—not only those connected with the agitation, but also those resulting from the withholding of other rights—and that hardships concerning licences and immigration in the Cape should be removed. If it comes to bargaining, all these issues can, and ought to, be raised. It is, therefore, the duty of the Indian community to tell the Government in plain terms that the amendments carried out during

the last session serve no useful purpose. They have been of no benefit whatever to the Indian community.

The community has also another important duty. Do we really want to enter into a bargain? Prof. Gokhale was right in raising the issue in the manner he did. Had it been done in any other way, there would have been no effect on the Government of India. But we are in an altogether different position. We cannot purchase our rights at the cost of the indentured labourers. We, on our part, should make it plain that the Government must stop the emigration of indentured labourers forthwith, and that, out of consideration for the interests of the labourers themselves, because the system of indenture is fundamentally an evil thing. Since indenture is of no benefit to the labourers themselves, their emigration brings little profit to India. All this deserves careful consideration.

It should be observed that the Indians' interests will be best served by doing this[1]. So long as the immigration of indentured labourers into Natal continues, the free Indians will never be left in peace. It should also be remembered that the Union Government is not likely to permit the [continued] import of indentured labour. Mr. Merriman[2] is quite opposed to it. From every point of view, therefore, it is best that the immigration of indentured Indians should stop.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 5-3-1910

## *107. OUR OPPORTUNITY*

From the Calcutta proceedings and the questions put in the British Parliament, every Indian will be able to judge what the Transvaal struggle has achieved. It is striking its roots deeper every day. They will go so deep that no one will be able to pull them out. That a struggle like this should be prolonged is no reason for anyone to get panicky. Satyagrahis should welcome it. When the devout Sudhanva was asked to throw himself into a pan of boiling oil to prove his loyalty to truth, he did so with a smile. That must be the attitude of every satyagrahi. Mr. P. K. Naidoo has provided us a striking example of it.

Our struggle is producing a profound effect on the Coloured people. Dr. Abdurahman has commented on it in his journal at great length and has held up the example of the Indian community to every Coloured person. Some of them have also passed a resolution in Johannesburg to defy the laws of the Government and take to satyagraha.

[1] That is, prohibiting the emigration of indentured labourers forthwith

[2] John Xavier Merriman, (1841-1926), Prime Minister of the Cape

In the British Parliament, it was stated, in reply to a question, that the Government were in correspondence with the Transvaal Government.

At such a juncture, the Indian community must do a bit of hard thinking and summon up its strength. While the Chinese are again roused, Indians seem to have sunk into lethargy. The Tamil Indians are an exception. We entreat and urge the Gujarati Hindus and Muslims to consider the great significance of the struggle and throw themselves into it whole-heartedly. It is chiefly the leaders who should take up this task. If they show themselves strong, probably everything will be all right. If the community appears to be weak, it is because the leaders are so. If, in spite of the [hopeful] signs referred to above the leaders do not bestir themselves, whom should we blame?

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 5-3-1910

## *108. DISGRACEFUL*

We gather from *The* [*Natal*] *Mercury* that about a hundred Indians have arrived in Durban by the *Kanzler*. All of them want to go to the Transvaal. In accordance with an [official] arrangement, the [Immigration?] Department here issues passes for the Transvaal and thus Indians reach the Transvaal.

Let alone people going to gaol, they have grown so impatient to be in the Transvaal and pursue their selfish ends there that they rush thither like moths rushing into a flame.

Looking at the other side, we find some Indians and Chinese going to gaol in the Transvaal. In Natal, [too,] the Indians have come forward to join the struggle.

In these circumstances, it is quite easy for the Indians to see why the struggle is lengthening out. A satyagrahi is bound to have patience. No matter if a few Indians, lost to all sense of shame, go to the Transvaal and accept slavery, the satyagrahi will fight for their freedom. He will also thereby open their eyes.

Durban Indians can do much in this matter. They can use persuasion and stop the Indians who are impatient to go to the Transvaal. It will be a matter of rejoicing if even one Indian is saved in this way. Those who are unable to court imprisonment can attend to this task. The Congress, the Arya Mandal and other associations can do much in this matter. Will they?

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 5-3-1910

## *109. JOHANNESBURG*

### Satyagraha Fund

Questions are being asked regarding the control of large sums of money received as aid from India. It is the right of every Indian to ask for and obtain an explanation. The money is Mr. Gandhi's charge and is intended to be used only for purposes connected with the satyagraha campaign. A separate account called the Passive Resistance Fund Account has been opened and is being operated by Mr. Gandhi. Part of the amount, to wit, the entire sum received from Rangoon and a portion of that received from Bombay, has been donated for the maintenance of indigent satyagrahis and their families. The rest is being used for financing the satyagraha campaign, that is, to meet the expenditure of the British Indian Association office here and in England and the expenditure incurred in India and also to pay off the debts incurred for the satyagraha campaign. Mr. Cachalia and other satyagrahis are being consulted about all this expenditure and accounts of the same are forwarded to Prof. Gokhale and to the Secretary of the Fund, Mr. Petit. Mr. Gandhi has received letters from Prof. Gokhale and Mr. Petit which leave the disbursement of the Fund to his discretion. The letters are reproduced in the English section in full.[1] If it is desired to use the Fund for any other purposes, permission of the donors will be necessary.

### Boksburg Story

The Government has got the Boksburg Indians into its clutches. I wish they remain strong and get out of them. They are being misled by some foolish persons. I should advise such persons to keep their mouths shut. If they can do no good, they should certainly not make matters worse. The former were called back by the Magistrate after they had been taken to prison, and he ordered confiscation of their property in default of payment of fine. As a result, Mr. Moses' house valued at £300 and Moonasamy's valued at £250 were confiscated in lieu of a fine of £2 [each]. I hope that, in spite of this, the Boksburg Indians will refuse to pay the fines and allow their property to be confiscated. No Indian should come forward to bid for miscellaneous articles of property, but someone should bid for the house and secure it. It has been suggested that the losses to be incurred in this process should be made good by the Committee. The suggestion, it

[1] Only relevant portions of the letters by Gokhale dated 13-1-1910 and by Petit dated 5-1-1910 were reproduced in *Indian Opinion*, 5-3-1910.

would appear, proceeds from some misunderstanding. All satyagrahis have to bear [their own] losses. If the Committee were to pay the fine for anyone who is not awarded imprisonment in lieu of fine, the person concerned could not be considered to have offered satyagraha. If, on a person being fined, his property is confiscated and he is reduced to poverty, the Committee can provide for his maintenance. More than this, the Committee can never do. Several Indians have been reduced to poverty in the course and in consequence of the struggle. What help did they receive? Help is out of the question. Those who have been fined should be proud that, being reduced to poverty, they will now be able to fight with all their strength. There is no question here, be it noted, of putting up with the loss of a house.

Moreover, some persons suggest that the Court's order being unreasonable, an appeal should be preferred. The days for such appeals are over. No one will now be able to hold his own by filing appeals. If, however, the individual concerned is a man of courage, he will not develop cold feet at the prospect of the auctioning of his goods or any other similar measure. This is the last occasion. Only the most courageous should come forward now. This is no time when the others, half-hearted satyagrahis, can hope to hold out. Only a strong man can bear blows from every side. Mr. Rustomjee and Mr. Cachalia have lost their all. Who will come to their aid?

I believe the Indians [concerned] have preferred an appeal in this matter only with a view to gaining time. The *Gazette* carries a notice regarding the auction of the property the very next Saturday, but in view of the notice of appeal, the auctioning will not be proceeded with. It is my hope, however, that in the end the Indian friends will allow their property to be auctioned.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 5-3-1910

## *110. LETTER TO MOULVI AHMED MUKHTIAR*

DURBAN,
*Friday, March 11, 1910*

MOULVI SAHEB AHMED MUKHTIAR,

Received your letter. The Phoenix debt was incurred by me mostly during the struggle. This debt can be paid up from the Satyagraha Fund, for *Indian Opinion* is conducted solely for the service of the community and for carrying on the struggle. The workers working there live in poverty for the sake of the community and Phœnix itself was bought for the community. Whatever activity is carried on there is done

for its sake. I therefore regard Phœnix as a public institution. Moreover, the community had actually started a special fund in the Transvaal to pay up the debt that has been or is being paid from the Satyagraha Fund; but it did not succeed. Whatever expenditure has been or is being incurred is accounted for to Professor Gokhale in India.

Perhaps you do not know that all my earnings have been spent on Phœnix.

I am sorry to find that the report of your interview with me as published by you[1] gives for the most part a distorted version of what I had said.[2]

You are at liberty to publish this letter.

*Salaams from*

MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 19-3-1910

## *111. MR. TATHAM ON INDENTURED INDIANS*

There seems to be a remarkable unanimity in Natal, save for the interested planters, that the importation of indentured labour should cease. We reproduce this week extracts from Mr. Tatham's speech[3] on the question. We are not concerned with Mr. Tatham's premises, some of which are faulty. We do not share the view that competitive industrialism promotes the greatness of a nation, and that "the civilising influence" of the white man "adds to the sum of human happiness". His strictures on the spread of Mahomedanism betray gross ignorance. With these views, however, as we have said, we are not concerned. But we heartily agree with him that "it would be better that these industries (the sugar and tea) did not exist at all than that they should be supported by a form of labour that was going to bring ruin to the country". We also go further with Mr. Tatham and say, with him, that "these industries will not suffer for want of Asiatic labour". It was to be wished that Mr. Tatham had taken up the higher ground and condemned the system of indenture on merits and because of its inherent evil. Be that, however, as it may, there can be no doubt that the importation of this servile labour into South Africa is doomed. And with it must disappear the eternal Asiatic question.

[1] Not available

[2] *Vide* "Letter to M. P. Fancy", pp. 182-4.

[3] At a meeting of the Maritzburg Parliamentary Debating Society on 3-3-1910



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There seems to be a fear lurking in the minds of some Indians that abolition of the indenture system may worsen the position of the resident Indian population. We would venture to point out to such of our readers as entertain the fear, that they will not better the position of their countrymen by supporting a system they do not like. We desire to live here not on sufferance but as a matter of right and duty.

We must not mistake the references by some of the planter-members of the Natal Legislature to the £3 tax as being unjust so far as the women are concerned for their desire to revolutionise their treatment of the Indian question as a whole. They have repeatedly declared that they want our labour but not our competition in trade or other branches of industry. They do not want to give civil or political equality. As we have often said, civil or political equality is not a matter of gift. We have to create a situation whereunder we can take it. And it must be clear to any commonsense man that such a state of things is impossible so long as servile labour pours into the Colony from India.

*Indian Opinion*, 12-3-1910

## *112. INDENTURED INDIANS*

The agitation in India for prohibiting the emigration of indentured Indians has occasioned much discussion here too in the newspapers. Mr. Tatham, a Maritzburg lawyer, stated in a speech the other day that under the Union the import of Indian labour must stop. He holds that the civilization of the West is superior to ours, and that it would not be quite right that the two should mingle with each other. He asserts that we are not good enough to be allowed to associate with them. He ends up with a few unworthy remarks about the Muslim faith, declaring that it would be best if there were no Indians in South Africa.

We need not pay any attention to this argument; it is [of course] necessary to know what it is. However, we must accept the suggestion for stopping the import of indentured labour. Every Indian should understand that the immigration of indentured Indians is neither in the interests of free Indians nor the labourers themselves. It is short-sighted to attach importance to the trade with indentured labourers and the moderate profits some of us make out of the import of foodgrains for them. We do not—we cannot—have much trade with them. We shall not be allowed to import goods for them and, even if all this were possible, the resulting gain should not tempt us. Certainly, no Indian can claim that the indentured labourer is happy. No free Indian will be ready to put himself in his position. The severity with which they

are treated, even prisoners never experience. The amount of work they are required to do, prisoners are never made to do. When, at the end of their days of slavery, they are set free, the taint of slavery remains with them for many years. It is certainly not desirable that a single Indian should have to live in this condition.

If the immigration of indentured Indians stops, there will be an immediate improvement in the condition of the Indians now settled in South Africa. Our present plight is entirely due to [the whites'] fear of indentured Indians. Following the arrival of Chinese indentured labourers in the Transvaal, the Cape Chinese found themselves in trouble and a harsh law was passed. The whites labour under the apprehension that a population of indentured Indians in South Africa will lead to a swelling in the numbers of the community. There is only one way to remove this fear. From every point of view, therefore, the immigration of indentured Indians must stop.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 12-3-1910

## *113. INDIAN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE*

This body has recently ventured on a very commendable undertaking. The suppliers of Nestle's milk, Needle-point cigarettes and Lion matches refuse to trade with Indians, with the result that Indian traders have to depend on the whites for these items and pay fancy prices.

It is obvious that if we had any spirit in us, these three firms could not afford to slight Indians. Even in trade one must maintain one's prestige and dignity. We often neglect to do this, disregarding self-respect where we expect some profit. The Durban Indian Chamber of Commerce wants now to change all this. It has decided to save itself both from the insults of the Nestle's milk-suppliers and the financial loss. This is how it will be done: All the milk needed by Indians will be bought from another firm and a limited liability company will be formed to obtain the necessary supplies; the company will then supply the retail traders. All the retailers will bind themselves not to buy Nestle's milk but to get their supplies only from this company.

Enthusiasm runs so high at the moment that shares to the value of about £1,500 have already been subscribed and the retailers have agreed not to buy Nestle's milk.

This is a most significant step. If it succeeds, the Nestle's people will realize that they cannot afford to insult Indians and the latter will discover that they can stand their ground by relying on their own strength.

Success will depend on the fulfilment of the following conditions:

(1) Indians must have the necessary enthusiasm and ability for such undertakings.
(2) The leaders must be honest at least in this field of business. It will not do for any of them to appropriate the profits themselves to the exclusion of others, or for the company to expect big returns [on the capital].
(3) There must be unity among Indian traders.
(4) The small trader will have to be large-hearted.
(5) And all Indians must have a keen sense of self-respect.

If this one venture succeeds, it will pave the way for many others. We congratulate the Indian Chamber of Commerce and its office-bearers on taking this step, and wish them success in their venture. Success, though, will depend on the work of the office-bearers.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 12-3-1910

## *114. JOSEPH ROYEPPEN AS HAWKER*

We once published a photograph of Mr. Joseph Royeppen the barrister. This time we publish a photograph of Mr. Joseph Royeppen the hawker. In view of the services which he has been rendering, we are sure that all readers will be pleased with the present photograph. India's uplift will be brought about by those who suffer and take to manual labour; lawyers and barristers will only put her into fetters.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 12-3-1910

## *115. JOHANNESBURG*

*Sunday* [*March 13, 1910*]

### NATAL FIGHTERS

The Natal recruits, not having been arrested [at the border], have again entered the Transvaal. At Volksrust, they were met by an officer who told them that he had no orders to arrest them. This was a disappointment to them. They were obliged to buy tickets for Johannesburg, and thus they went ahead.

Mr. Cachalia, Mr. Waja, Mr. David Ernest and Mr. David Marie had gone to Charlestown to join the recruits and get arrested. Mr. Saleh Ibrahim also joined them there. Local Indians had turned up at the Charlestown, Volksrust and Standerton stations.

On their arrival at Johannesburg, they were received by the Imam Saheb, Mr. Abdool Kadir Bawazeer, early in the morning though it was. He invited them all to lunch. They were then taken to stay with members of their respective communities. An effort is being made to lodge all the satyagrahis in one place.

So far, what has happened is that a large amount has been spent on railway fares. Let us see what comes next. It is expected that all of them will start their hawking rounds from Monday; they will earn their own expenses that way and also get arrested.

## "Hind Swaraj" Proscribed

There has been a cable report from India that Mr. Gandhi's book, *Hind Swaraj*, has been proscribed there. This was not altogether unexpected. Some of the arguments in the book tend against British rule. It seems the Government was afraid that they might give encouragement to the extremists and promote terrorism. Mr. Gandhi intends to publish an English translation[1] of the book and wishes that it should be read by a large number of whites. Money will be needed for the purpose. The book will be offered at cost price. Those who wish to buy a copy should write to Mr. Gandhi or to the Manager, Phœnix. It may take some time to bring out the translation as an independent publication, since it cannot be published in *Indian Opinion*, but it is not likely to cost more than six pence a copy. Every well-wisher of India should help in this venture.

One should consider whether this step of the Government will have any repercussions on the Transvaal agitation. It is bound to have some effect one way or another. The Transvaal struggle betokens an awakening among the Indians. The spirit that Indians have come to develop in the Transvaal and in South Africa is not one which it will be possible to put out. The Government, in its ignorance, cannot help resorting to repression. Mr. Gandhi's part in the agitation and his authorship of the book on *swaraj* cannot remain unconnected. Moreover, the man who is a satyagrahi in the Transvaal agitation will be one in other situations as well. In this way, the book on *swaraj* may either strengthen or weaken [the Transvaal agitation]. Those who are timid will take fright and protest that they have nothing to do with *swaraj*, that they do not want to invite ruin on themselves. Those who are bold, who are satyagrahis through and through, will fight with redoubled strength and determination, knowing that the Transvaal campaign holds the key to *swaraj* in India. This will be a test for Mr. Gandhi as also for other Indians.

Generally speaking, those who have been fighting in the Transvaal have no cause to fear anything. The utmost that can happen is

[1] *Vide* "Preface to *Indian Home Rule*", pp. 188-90.

that the fate of the book on *swaraj* may have the effect of prolonging the Transvaal campaign. Every Indian can see that there can be no other result. There may be other consequences to Mr. Gandhi personally. He cannot choose but suffer them. One cannot serve one's motherland in any other way or on any other terms.

[From Gujarati]
*Indian Opinion*, 19-3-1910

## *116. LETTER TO M. P. FANCY*

*Tuesday, March 16, 1910*

SHETH SHRI M. P. FANCY,

You have raised a question in connection with the interview which Moulvi Saheb Ahmed Mukhtiar had with me and which he has published.[1] You tell me that it has been a matter of controversy among some Indians and you therefore feel that I should make a statement whether the 'interview' has been correctly reported or not.

I had not the least intention to do this. The community knows me; and if it does not yet do so, it is not possible for me to introduce myself to it now. An Indian can immediately know the truth of statements attributed to me, whether they were made by me or not. However, in response to your request I make the following reply:

I am sorry to find that, in the 'interview' as published by the Moulvi Saheb, the statements made by me have been twisted. At the end of our meeting he expressed his satisfaction and told me that he had received full explanation and would render every assistance to the struggle. Yet the twist he has given to the interview is likely to harm the struggle.

I explained to him the origin of the Satyagraha Fund. I told him about the letter[2] I had written from England to Prof. Gokhale and the one[3] to Mr. Polak. I informed the Moulvi Saheb that in these letters I had written about the debt I had incurred in connection with *Indian Opinion* on account of the struggle. I explained to him how the funds came in response to those letters. I further told him that in my letter[4] to Prof. Gokhale I had intimated to him that the funds would be spent to clear off the debt incurred on account of *Indian Opinion*, to meet the expenditure on the office of the Association as well as the office in England and to maintain the families of poor satyagrahis. I

[1] Not available
[2] *Vide* Vol. IX, pp. 308-9.
[3] Not available
[4] *Vide* "Letter to G. K. Gokhale", pp. 96-8.

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also informed him of Prof. Gokhale's letter approving the expenditure and told him that, though Prof. Gokhale as well as Mr. Petit had left it to me to decide how the funds were disposed of, I had no intention of spending the money solely according to my discretion. I informed him that I consulted Mr. Cachalia and other satyagrahis in the management of the funds, that a separate account had been opened for the fund and that a statement of all the disbursements would be published at the end of the struggle; and that even now Prof. Gokhale was kept posted about how the money was spent.[1] And the Moulvi Saheb expressed complete satisfaction.

About travelling third class, I told the Moulvi Saheb that I did not for the present advise other Indians to travel third, but so far as I myself was concerned I had decided to travel third for the following reasons :

(1) The Transvaal Railway Regulations had come into force.
(2) Money was being spent from the Satyagraha Fund.
(3) I had become poor and so had other satyagrahis.
(4) My present state of mind favoured such travelling.
(5) I shuddered to read the account of the hardships that the Kaffirs had to suffer in the third-class carriages in the Cape and I wanted to experience the same hardships myself.
(6) When I was arrested in Natal in connection with the Poll Tax, I thought I could serve [the community] better if I lived like a poor Indian.

In spite of this explanation of mine, the Moulvi Saheb thought that it was a mistake on my part, similar to the one I had committed in giving finger-prints, to have begun to travel third. Upon this, I told him that I did not believe that I had committed a mistake in giving finger-prints and that I had taken the right step in travelling third. I, moreover, made it clear to him that I was not always going to travel third. I also argued that it would be very expensive if the large number of Indians who came forward to be arrested travelled first or second.

As regards Swami Shri Shankeranand's[2] views, I told him that I approved of what the Swami said at the Kathiawad Arya Mandal, viz., that those who wanted to stay together as equals should be equally strong. I also liked Swamiji's statement that if, of a group of four comrades, three were armed, the fourth also must arm himself. But while saying this I told him that to me 'arms' meant satyagraha. I said to him that I considered the sword powerless before a satyagrahi. I also said that I was opposed to any person who tried to set one community against another. The Moulvi Saheb expressed his satisfaction at these views also and we parted.

[1] *Vide* "Letter to G. K. Gokhale", pp. 229-33.
[2] *Vide* "Swamiji's Speech in the *Mercury*", p. 284.

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When, therefore, I saw the 'interview' published by him, I felt sorry for the community. What I have given above is a bare summary of the 'interview'. I have given a reply[1] to the Moulvi Saheb's questions particularly in connection with the money spent on *Indian Opinion*, a copy of which is enclosed herewith.

*I am,*
*a servant of India,*
MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI

[From Gujarati]
*Indian Opinion*, 19-3-1910

## *117. INTERVIEW TO "THE STAR"*[2]

JOHANNESBURG,
*March 17, 1910*

The Government have taken steps to arrest the Indians who came into the Transvaal with Mr. Gandhi on Sunday morning. Two were arrested on Monday, six on Tuesday, and two yesterday, and all are under order of deportation and are being taken to Pretoria to-day, from where they will be deported to Natal. All these men are either educated Indians or pre-war residents, and in spite of their right of domicile or of entry by reason of education, they will, if necessary, we understand, return to Natal when the struggle ends.

Mr. Gandhi told our representative this morning that the Indians had come to Johannesburg not to assert their personal rights, but to take part in the struggle. They will return and be re-arrested at Volksrust and imprisoned. The balance will be arrested in a few days. Mr. Gandhi said:

"I do not know why the Government do not arrest me. I freely admit that I am instrumental in bringing these men and introducing them into the Colony, and it has really been suggested that in bringing them into the Colony I am supposed to commit a breach of the Immigration Law in that I aid and abet prohibited immigrants to enter the Colony. Personally I do not consider these Indians to be prohibited immigrants at all. Our struggle principally consists in suffering, and by suffering bringing the desired relief. In Diepkloof prison there are 100 passive resisters, including Chinese, and about 36 are now awaiting deportation."

*The Star*, 17-3-1910

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Moulvi Ahmed Mukhtiar", pp. 176-7.

[2] A report of this appeared also in *The Natal Mercury*, 18-3-1910, and it was reproduced in *Indian Opinion*, 19-3-1910.

CWMG-X

## *118. LETTER TO COLONIAL SECRETARY*[1]

[JOHANNESBURG,
Before *March 19, 1910*]

My Association is informed that four Indians who were last week taken from Pretoria to Lourenco Marques prior to deportation to India were detained at the Lourenco Marques Prison; that each of the men had to pay 5/- to the Prison Authorities; and that the Authorities provided no food whatsoever, nor could the men obtain food if they offered to pay for it My Association respectfully requests that you will kindly make immediate inquiry into the matter.

*Indian Opinion*, 19-3-1910

## *119. LETTER TO POLICE COMMISSIONER*[2]

[JOHANNESBURG,
Before *March 19, 1910*]

My Association is informed that, when Indian prisoners who are awaiting trial at the Fort are brought down to the Court for the hearing of their cases, no provision is made by the Government for their midday meal while there, and the men have thus to remain without food until 6 p.m. on these days, unless friends supply it from outside. My Association is further informed that the same thing has occurred in regard to men who have been taken to Pretoria prior to deportation, no lunch being provided on the journey.

My Association requests that you will kindly inquire into the matter and have the grievance remedied.

*Indian Opinion*, 19-3-1910

[1] This letter, presumably drafted by Gandhiji, was sent over the signature of the Acting Chairman, British Indian Association.

[2] This letter, presumably drafted by Gandhiji, was sent to the Commissioner of Police, Pretoria, over the signature of A. M. Cachalia, Chairman, British Indian Association.

CWMG - X

## 120. MORE CRUSADERS

Mr. Gandhi took with him to the Transvaal last week[1] quite a respectable number of crusaders. The list we publish in our columns is thoroughly cosmopolitan and representative of most of the important provinces of India. That many colonial-born Indians are coming forward to join the struggle is a healthy sign. Apart from the strength that these recruits give to the struggle, there is no doubt that they themselves benefit very greatly in that they receive true education in the school of suffering. The experience that the young Indians who have proceeded to the Transvaal are now gaining will stand them in good stead in after life. We congratulate the brave men who have deliberately gone to the Transvaal to court trouble. It was a fitting thing that a large and representative gathering of Indians saw them off at the Station[2].

The Transvaal Government again disappointed the passive resisters. The Immigration Officer would not arrest them at the border. We take it as a splendid certificate of honesty for passive resisters. These men entered that Colony without giving names or signatures or finger-impressions. Their identification, therefore, consisted in their own good faith. The Government know that these resisters have no desire to serve their own ends and remain in the Colony but that they are quite ready to quit the Colony the moment the Indian demands are granted.

Yet this non-arrest at the border means a great deal of waste of money and energy to the Indian community. This is inevitable. The Transvaal Government intend to exhaust our resources. And we must be prepared to meet them. This can be done simply by going forward undaunted without caring for consequences. A passive resister must be satisfied with the right deed.

*Indian Opinion*, 19-3-1910

## 121. INDIAN VOTERS AT THE CAPE

A correspondent has asked us how the Indian voters should vote at the Union Parliament elections. It is not an easy matter to lay down any rule. But it is safe to say that the Indian question will not be made a party question even if the elections take place on party lines and there is no coalition Government. There will be men belonging to both the parties who would generally sympathise with us. We would,

[1] On 11-3-1910

[2] The Durban Station

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therefore, suggest that the candidates may be asked set questions, and those who answer them favourably may receive the Indian vote, irrespective of party. The Indian voters should also realise that abstention should be practised without fail if no candidate be found in any constituency who would favour the Indian cause. The questions to be asked may be on the working of the Cape Immigration Law, the required amendment of the Dealers' [Licenses] Act, the Transvaal struggle, and the stoppage of indentured labour in Natal. The last two are now properly South African questions and should engage the attention of all the public men of South Africa.

Finally, we would suggest to the Indian voters at the Cape that they should have their own organisation which ought to be able to control the whole of the Indian vote and which should define its policy for the guidance of its members. The candidates will not listen to individual voters, but a body with the whole Indian vote behind it cannot but command attention.

*Indian Opinion*, 19-3-1910

## *122. LETTER TO BRITISH CONSUL*[1]

[JOHANNESBURG,]
*March 19, 1910*

SIR,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 61/10/M of the 15th instant. My letter[2] was based on the information contained in a Tamil letter received by a member of the Association here from one of the parties. My Association is very careful as to acceptance of statements made by complainants.

Whilst thanking you for the suggestion that future allegations should be received with the utmost caution, I venture to state that the reply made to you by the Administrator of the Municipality of Lourenco Marques can by no means be accepted as conclusive. Did the Administrator himself see the prisoners? Did anyone from the Consulate see them? Unless these obvious precautions were taken, it can hardly be said that the statements passed to my Association are "wholly inaccurate and devoid of all foundation". If the inquiry was confined by the Administrator only to the officials in charge of complain-

[1] This letter, presumably drafted by Gandhiji, was addressed to the British Consul, Lourenco Marques, by A. M. Cachalia, Chairman, British Indian Association, in reply to the former's denial of the Lourenco Marques incident; *vide* "Letter to Colonial Secretary", p. 185.

[2] *Vide* "Letter to Colonial Secretary", p. 185.

ants, it is clear that they would be interested in denying the statements, which might incriminate them or at least make them liable to remonstrance from their superiors.

*Indian Opinion*, 26-3-1910

## *123. PREFACE TO "INDIAN HOME RULE"*[1]

JOHANNESBURG,
*March 20, 1910*

It is not without hesitation that the translation of *Hind Swaraj* is submitted to the public. A European friend[2], with whom I discussed the contents, wanted to see a translation of it and, during our spare moments, I hurriedly dictated and he took it down. It is not a literal translation but it is a faithful rendering of the original. Several English friends have read it, and whilst opinions were being invited as to the advisability of publishing the work, news was received that the original was seized in India.[3] This information hastened the decision to publish the translation without a moment's delay. My fellow-workers at the International Printing Press shared my view and, by working overtime—a labour of love,—they have enabled me to place the translation before the public in an unexpectedly short time. The work is being given to the public at what is practically cost price. But, without the financial assistance of the many Indians who promised to buy copies for themselves and for distribution, it might never have seen the light of day.

I am quite aware of the many imperfections in the original. The English rendering, besides sharing these, must naturally exaggerate them, owing to my inability to convey the exact meaning of the original. Some of the friends who have read the translation have objected that the subject-matter has been dealt with in the form of a dialogue. I have no answer to offer to this objection except that the Gujarati language readily lends itself to such treatment and that it is considered the best method of treating difficult subjects. Had I written for English readers in the first instance, the subject would have been handled in a different manner. Moreover, the dialogue, as it has been given, actually took place between several friends, mostly readers of *Indian Opinion*, and myself.

[1] This appeared in *Indian Opinion* under the captions: The Publication of "Indian Home Rule": English Translation of the Gujarati Work: Hind Swaraj: Proscribed by the Indian Government.

[2] Kallenbach, *vide* Mahadev Desai's Preface to *Hind Swaraj*, 1938.

[3] *Vide* "Our Publications", p. 245.

Whilst the views expressed in *Hind Swaraj* are held by me, I have but endeavoured humbly to follow Tolstoy, Ruskin, Thoreau, Emerson and other writers, besides the masters of Indian philosophy. Tolstoy has been one of my teachers for a number of years. Those who want to see a corroboration of the views submitted in the following chapters will find it in the words of the above-named masters. For ready reference, some of the books are mentioned in the Appendices.[1]

I do not know why *Hind Swaraj* has been seized in India. To me, the seizure constitutes further condemnation of the civilization represented by the British Government. There is in the book not a trace of approval of violence in any shape or form. The methods of the British Government are, undoubtedly, severely condemned. To do otherwise would be for me to be a traitor to Truth, to India, and to the Empire to which I own allegiance. My notion of loyalty does not involve acceptance of current rule or government, irrespective of its righteousness or otherwise. Such notion is based upon the belief—not in its present justice or morality but—in a future acceptance by Government of that standard of morality in practice which it at present vaguely and hypocritically believes in, in theory. But I must frankly confess that I am not so much concerned about the stability of the Empire as I am about that of the ancient civilization of India which, in my opinion, represents the best that the world has ever seen. The British Government in India constitutes a struggle between the Modern Civilisation, which is the Kingdom of Satan, and the Ancient Civilisation, which is the Kingdom of God. The one is the God of War, the other is the God of Love. My countrymen impute the evils of modern civilisation to the English people and, therefore, believe that the English people are bad, and not the civilisation they represent. My countrymen, therefore, believe that they should adopt modern civilisation and modern methods of violence to drive out the English. *Hind Swaraj* has been written in order to show that they are following a suicidal policy, and that, if they would but revert to their own glorious civilisation, either the English would adopt the latter and become Indianised or find their occupation in India gone.

It was at first intended to publish the translation as a part of *Indian Opinion*, but the seizure of the original rendered such a course inadvisable. *Indian Opinion* represents the Transvaal Passive Resistance struggle and ventilates the grievances of British Indians in South Africa generally. It was, therefore, thought desirable not to publish through a representative organ views which are held by me personally and which may even be considered dangerous or disloyal. I am naturally anxious not to compromise a great struggle by any action of

[1] *Vide* Appendix I to *Hind Swaraj*, p. 65.

mine which has no connection with it. Had I not known that there was a danger of methods of violence becoming popular, even in South Africa, had I not been called upon by hundreds of my countrymen, and not a few English friends, to express my opinion on the Nationalist movement in India, I would even have refrained, for the sake of the struggle, from reducing my views to writing. But, occupying the position I do, it would have been cowardice on my part to postpone publication under the circumstances just referred to.

M. K. GANDHI

*Indian Opinion*, 2-4-1910

## *124. LETTER TO DIRECTOR OF PRISONS*[1]

[JOHANNESBURG,]
*March 22, 1910*

SIR,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter[2] of the 19th instant in reply to my letter[3] of the 23rd ultimo addressed to the Colonial Secretary, on the subject of the treatment of Mr. Parsee Rustomjee and other matters. I beg to thank you for the exhaustive information given to my Association.

As to Mr. Rustomjee's letter[4] to the Press, he was seen leg-ironed by many Indians, and the matter was reported to my Association on the very day that he was seen in that condition.

As to the Medical Officer's opinion, I venture to draw attention to the fact that the Medical Officer at Volksrust did prescribe a special diet for Mr. Rustomjee. That the language ascribed to the Medical Officer at Diepkloof by Mr. Rustomjee was used by him is beyond question, if a host of passive resisters discharged from Diepkloof are to be believed. Indeed, most of them have complained of unbecoming language used by that Officer.

It was only at a later period that special instructions were issued that Mr. Rustomjee might be allowed to take exercise. A certificate from the family physician of Mr. Rustomjee has been produced because it became necessary to challenge the opinion of the Prison Medical Officer; and I may state that Mr. Rustomjee is still far from well, and is undergoing treatment.

[1] This letter, presumably drafted by Gandhiji, was signed by A. M. Cachalia, Chairman, British Indian Association.

[2] Reproduced in *Indian Opinion*, 26-3-1910

[3] *Vide* "Letter to Colonial Secretary", pp. 160-2.

[4] *Vide* Appendix II.

In my humble opinion, the question of the religious necessity of wearing a cap is one which Mr. Rustomjee is best able to decide. The gravamen of the complaint is, however, not that Mr. Rustomjee's special cap was taken away, but that he was compelled to take it off whenever the Governor and other officers appeared, instead of being allowed to retain the cap, as was done in Volksrust and Houtpoort, where a salaam was accepted as an equivalent.

The loss of weight complained of by Mr. Rustomjee is not during the period of incarceration at Diepkloof alone, but includes the Volksrust gaol also. Mr. Rustomjee was undoubtedly grateful that his obesity was reduced, but reduction took place at very great risk to his general health.

My Association is deeply grateful for the fact that passive resisters are translated to Diepkloof in order that they may be left entirely together. But, if that be so, may I ask that the special provision as to the prisoners at Diepkloof receiving a visitor and being allowed to correspond only after three months may be withdrawn, and that they may be, as in other gaols which are not penal settlements, permitted to correspond every month, and to receive visitors also likewise?

As to the sanitary services of the prison, regard being had to the special prejudices of British Indians in this matter, before passive resistance commenced, Indian prisoners were exempted from sanitary service. It was only after their removal to Diepkloof that this hardship was imposed upon them, and, if it is not the intention of the Government to subject passive resisters to special harassment, the Committee of my Association would once more venture to ask that this requirement may be waived.

In his statement to the Governor of the Gaol at Johannesburg, Mr. Rustomjee undoubtedly expressed his thanks for the better treatment that was accorded to him at the Fort and the consideration that was invariably shown to him by the Governor himself.

Regarding Mr. Bawazeer, I notice that his complaint is practically admitted by the Government. In his case, the seriousness of the complaint lies in the fact that his disease was ignored and his complaint was pooh-poohed until after the discovery that he had a high temperature.

My Association has once more to report that the passive resisters at Diepkloof continue to send messages through discharged prisoners that they are insufficiently fed, and that the want of ghee is felt as an additional punishment.

My Association is glad that your Department recognise the mistake made about Mr. Joseph Royeppen and his fellow-prisoners having been made to walk bareheaded and barefooted and sent without any breakfast.

In conclusion, I venture to trust that the outstanding points regarding the supply of ghee, the sanitary service and correspondence by and visitors to passive resisters will receive the attention they deserve.

*Indian Opinion*, 26-3-1910

## *125. JOHANNESBURG*

*Wednesday* [*March 23, 1910*]

### WRANGLE OVER KRUGERSDORP LOCATION

The Committee on this Location has had its last meeting. Mr. Burger, former [Mining] Commissioner, gave evidence before it. Speaking with contempt and arrogance, he deposed that removal of Indians had already been decided upon before the War, and would have been carried out had the War not broken out in the meantime. Referring to Indians, he always used the word "coolie" in a most offensive manner. The gentleman stated that the Location for Indians was placed where it was because of intervention by the British Government. The Government then could not have done otherwise in view of the London Convention. If it had, the British Resident would have protested. Mr. Burger pointed out that, since these two difficulties no longer existed, the "coolies" must be removed immediately. He could not understand why for removing them an inquiry such as the present one was being held.

About the mosque, too, he was offensive and said that he did not remember what promise he had made when granting the site for it. He would, of course, not care to remember anything relating to "coolies". He said further, replying to Mr. Seehoff, that if he had made any promise about not shifting the Location, it would have been in writing. The whole of this evidence is worth reading. Its gist is what I have given above. The Location is in immediate danger. Indians must have courage if they want to save it. If they refuse to move, they cannot easily be made to. The Location will be saved if there is unity among the Indians there; otherwise it is as good as lost.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 26-3-1910

## *126. LETTER TO T. STREENIVAS*

JOHANNESBURG,
*March 24, 1910*

DEAR SIR,

You will pardon my not having written to you earlier in reply to your letter of the 20th January. The fact is that I have not been in Johannesburg. The Tamil Indians here are largely Pillays, Moodleys, Naidoos, Chettys and Padiachys. There are very few Tamil Brahmins. Some of them are Christians having been converted in South Africa, or are sons of Christian parents. These latter are largely sons of indentured Indians. The Christians are a small community, but from a material standpoint somewhat progressive. They have almost entirely adopted Western habits and customs. This, however, does not appear to have affected their love for the Motherland. I do not know whether the information I have given you is what you wanted. If you will kindly write to me further, I shall be pleased to reply to your communications. When the battle is won, as it is bound to be, I have no doubt that its end will have been hastened by the unexampled bravery and self-sacrifice shown by the Tamil portion of the community. When I first landed in South Africa, there was something in them which drew me to them, but I never dreamed that they were capable of the grand pluck and capacity for suffering for the national cause that they have shown.

*I am,*
*Yours truly,*
M. K. GANDHI

T. STREENIVAS, ESQ.
BARRISTER-AT-LAW
*CRITIC* OFFICE
KOMALESWARANPET
MOUNT ROAD, MADRAS

From a photostat of the typewritten original signed by Gandhiji: G.N. 3779

## *127. DEPORTATIONS*

The deportations of Transvaal Indians that are going on must furnish painful reading to any lover of justice. These deportations, when they are to Natal, are not of any very great consequence, except for their future legal effect, which we do not propose to consider at present. But when passive resisters are deported to India, the deportations become a very serious matter. They are of men who have in several cases been voluntarily registered, whose credentials are well known to the Asiatic Department, and who have even served imprisonment already as passive resisters. They savour very much of the process of "hunting out every Asiatic". Our Johannesburg correspondent has often drawn attention to the fact that some of the persons deported are born in South Africa and some of them leave their families behind them. Thanks to the magnificent response from the Motherland, these families are being supported out of the passive resistance fund. Had the timely help not arrived, what would have been the consequence? Starvation would certainly have stared them in the face.

At the risk of repeating what has been often stated in these columns, we may remind our readers that these far-reaching orders take place without any judicial trial. The cases are administratively tried under semi-secrecy. Against these administrative acts, there is no appeal to the Supreme Court. Thus, under a totally un-British procedure, the liberty of a subject is taken away with a stroke of the pen. What is lacking in the law has been supplied by the astute subtlety of an unscrupulous Department. Legally, these deportations can take place only as far as the Transvaal boundary. The Transvaal Government have, therefore, entered into an understanding with the Portuguese authorities (the neighbouring British Colonies would not or could not enter into such a nefarious contract), whereby passive resisters deported to the boundary of the Portuguese territories are taken up by the Portuguese Government and, without any trial, put on board a steamer going to India.

The question naturally arises: Assuming that the Imperial Government cannot interfere with the course of the law of a self-governing Colony that has received His Majesty's sanction, why do the Imperial Government look with criminal indifference upon the smuggling away of British Indians domiciled in the Transvaal to India through Delagoa Bay? There is no legal justification for it. If, instead of a British Colony, it was a foreign state that had entered into such a compact with the Portuguese Government, it would be a breach of treaty and might even justify a declaration of war. Without the concurrence, then, of

the Imperial Government, the Transvaal Government could not have carried out these Indian deportations. The Imperial Government are, therefore, party to the desolation of many an Indian home. The conclusion is irresistible that the Central Government has abdicated its primary function of protecting British subjects against British subjects. It is paralysed before the might of the Transvaal Government. It is unable to shield the weak from oppression by the strong. It exists to strengthen the tyranny of tyrants. This is a tragical conclusion; but it is inevitable.

Let the Imperialists of South Africa ponder well over the facts we have given above, and ask themselves whether the conclusion we have drawn is not warranted by them.

*Indian Opinion*, 26-3-1910

## *128. KRUGERSDORP LOCATION COMMITTEE*

The evidence of Mr. Burger given before the Location Committee is remarkable for its frankness, callousness and impertinence. We are unable to endorse the congratulations offered by the Committee to Mr. Burger for his so-called valuable evidence. Mr. Burger has forfeited all right to be treated as an unbiased witness owing to the statement made by him that he did not attach sufficient importance to "the coolies", as he contemptuously termed the respectable Indian merchants who saw him before the war in his official capacity, to remember all that passed between him and them. Mr. Burger was, however, ingenuous enough to tell the Committee that the Republican Government could do nothing, as their action was hampered by the London Convention and the British Agent. But now, adds Mr. Burger, that the Government have a free hand, they should drive away "the coolies" without any fuss. The very Government that protected the Indians during the Republican regime and that insisted on Indian Bazaars abutting public roads, is now to be utilised to drive them to an inaccessible place where they cannot do any business at all.

One thing is clear from Mr. Burger's evidence. A site for the mosque was granted by the Government with due deliberation. Mr. Burger is unable to swear that he did not promise the Indian deputation that waited on him that the Location might be treated as permanent.

*Indian Opinion*, 26-3-1910

## *129. DEPORTATION—ITS MEANING*

A large number of Indians in South Africa are developing a spirit of patriotism. If they can render some service to the Motherland without any effort, they certainly want to do so; but they find themselves helpless before the claims of self-interest. There are very few Indians who pay sufficient attention to the manner in which the Transvaal campaign is proceeding at the moment. Being engrossed in their own affairs, they are ignorant of what atrocities are committed on their own brethren, and why. There are also some who think that, since most of those who go in for self-sacrifice are Tamils, no notice need be taken of them.

We draw the attention of such Indians to the following considerations. Those who find themselves in agreement with them are requested to bring them to the notice of other Indians.

For some time past, Indian satyagrahis are being deported to India. Several brave Tamils have been so deported. Some of them were born in South Africa. The families of some are left in the Transvaal without any means of support. It is impossible to say what would have happened to them, had no aid been received from India.

The Indians who are deported are not tried in a court of law, but only in private. There is no provision for appeal to the Supreme Court against an order so made. However, there is no great difficulty so long as men are deported only to Natal, for the Indians concerned can immediately return from Natal and go to gaol.

It is the practice of deporting to India that calls for urgent attention. The Transvaal Government has legal authority only to put a person across its own border. How, then, can it carry anyone to India? Not being in a position to achieve its mean object through a British colony, the Transvaal Government has entered into an arrangement with the Portuguese Government and executes its barbarous plan with its help. It is clear, however, that the Transvaal Government is not competent to enter into such an agreement. No such step can be taken without the consent of the Imperial Government. If any other State had entered into an agreement of this kind with the Portuguese authorities, that might have led to war. This means that the Imperial Government is unable to prevent its own subjects from oppressing their fellow-subjects, that it is afraid of the Transvaal. This also implies that the authority of the Imperial Government is used to perpetuate the tyranny of the tyrant, is used to help the tyrant.

What should we do in such a situation? If Indians have any spirit in them, those who have capitulated out of timidity should rouse

themselves again. We shall obtain no justice by going to courts of law. We must fight on, relying on our own strength. As the Transvaal Government's repression grows, we must display correspondingly greater strength, endurance and firmness. We desire that a large number of Indians should join the struggle.

[From Gujarati]
*Indian Opinion*, 26-3-1910

## *130. PARSEE RUSTOMJEE*

The Transvaal Government has sent a long reply[1] regarding Mr. Rustomjee; Mr. Cachalia has written[2] again. The matter has [also] been raised in the House of Commons. All this is to the good. The officials stopped at nothing in their effort to break Mr. Rustomjee's spirit. They are suffering the consequence now. However brave a face they may put on it in public, they appear to have received quite a severe reprimand over this affair.

In the same letter, the Government has referred to the complaint in regard to the Imam Saheb. It had to admit the justice of the complaint. The sufferings of these two will help the prisoners who follow. Such is the mysterious law of God. We must learn to submit to that law. Any man who puts himself to suffering will diminish the value of that suffering if he himself enjoys its fruits. For his self-sacrifice to be perfect, he must go on suffering as long as his breath holds out and he must leave the fruits of his suffering to be enjoyed by those who come after. We wish such goodness and such strength to Mr. Rustomjee and the Imam Saheb.

[From Gujarati]
*Indian Opinion*, 26-3-1910

[1] *Vide* Letter from the Director of Prisons to the Chairman, British Indian Association, 19-3-1910, reproduced in *Indian Opinion*, 26-3-1910.
[2] *Vide* "Letter to Director of Prisons", pp. 190-2.

## 131. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

JOHANNESBURG,
*Phagan Vadi 4, Samvat 1966*
[*March 29, 1910*]

CHI. NARANDAS,

I have received your letter.

I can appreciate your inability to come here without respected Khushalbhai's[1] permission. It is your duty to act according to his wishes.

You can assist the objectives of our struggle here even if you remain there. Now that [*Hind*] *Swaraj* has been proscribed, I see that a strenuous fight will have to be put up there too. To do that you must build your character. Do you know the fundamental principles of our religion? You will, perhaps, say that you are able to recite the whole of the *Gita* and also know its meaning and wonder why I am asking you about fundamental principles. Knowing the fundamentals, as I interpret it, means putting them into practice. The first attribute of the divine heritage is 'fearlessness'. I hope you remember that verse[2]. Have you attained to the state of 'fearlessness' to any extent? Will you do what is right fearlessly, even at the cost of your life? Practise fearlessness and try to attain that state till you succeed. You will be able to do a lot if you achieve that. In this context you should remember the lives of Prahlad[3], Sudhanva[4], and others. Please do not think that all these are legends. There have been many Indians in the past who have done such deeds and that is why we memorize the stories of their lives. We should not think that Prahlad and Sudhanva, Harishchandra[5] and Shravana[6] do not exist in India even today. We shall meet them when we deserve. They are not to be found in the chawls

[1] Gandhiji's cousin, addressee's father; Gandhiji had asked the addressee to go to South Africa; *vide* "Letter to Narandas Gandhi", Vol. IX, p. 454.

[2] *The Bhagavat Gita*, XVI, 1-3

[3] Son of demon-King Hiranyakashipu, he was a great devotee of Vishnu and came out unscathed from many ordeals.

[4] *Vide* Vol. IX, pp. 199 & 236.

[5] King of Ayodhya who suffered great hardships and, while in the service of a *chandala* (out-caste), he was even ready to kill his wife Taramati for the sake of truth.

[6] A devoted son, who carried his blind parents to various places of pilgrimage in baskets put in slings attached to the two ends of a pole. While fetching water from a river, he was killed by King Dasharatha, who mistook the sound of the water filling the pitcher for an elephant drinking.

of Bombay. You cannot expect a wheat crop from rocky soil. I shall not write more. Do ponder over the attributes of the divine heritage again. Read this letter bearing in mind those attributes and then try to act accordingly. Do read afresh the chapters on Satyagraha in [*Hind*] *Swaraj* and ponder over them. Do ask me any questions when you feel like doing so. You may live in Bombay but be quite sure that Bombay is a veritable hell, absolutely useless.

*Blessings from*
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 4925
Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

## *132. LETTER TO GENERAL MANAGER, C. S. A. R.*[1]

[JOHANNESBURG,]
*March 31, 1910*

SIR,

The following incident has been reported to my Association by Mr. Ismail Adam of Pretoria, Merchant. He holds a first-class return-ticket from Park to Pretoria, which is numbered 9271. He was travelling last evening by the 8.10 p.m. train to Pretoria. He boarded the train, his ticket was clipped, and, as there was no room in the reserved compartment, he entered the next compartment, which was occupied by four Europeans, who did not object to Mr. Ismail Adam's presence in the compartment. The conductor, however, seeing him in that compartment, asked him why he was there, to which Mr. Ismail Adam replied that he would gladly go to any other compartment if he could find a seat. The conductor then said that he would have to change. Mr. Ismail Adam, thinking that this meant change to another train, asked why. The conductor thereupon seems to have become angry, and told him that he would have to get down at Doornfontein, and there, whilst the train was in motion but had slowed down, he pulled Mr. Ismail Adam out of the train on to the platform.

In the opinion of my Association, this seems to be one of the worst cases that have been brought to its notice. My Association will be glad to be assured that you will be pleased to take prompt action in the matter. Mr. Ismail Adam's address in Pretoria is 63 Queen Street.

Whilst my Association draws attention to this incident as a matter of public duty and in the interests of the community represented by

[1] This letter, presumably drafted by Gandhiji, was sent over the signature of the Chairman, British Indian Association.

it, there is no knowing whether Mr. Ismail Adam will not take independent steps. That the conductor should not mind even risking the lives of passengers in taking them down from a train in motion seems to show an extraordinary state of affairs.

*Indian Opinion*, 9-4-1910

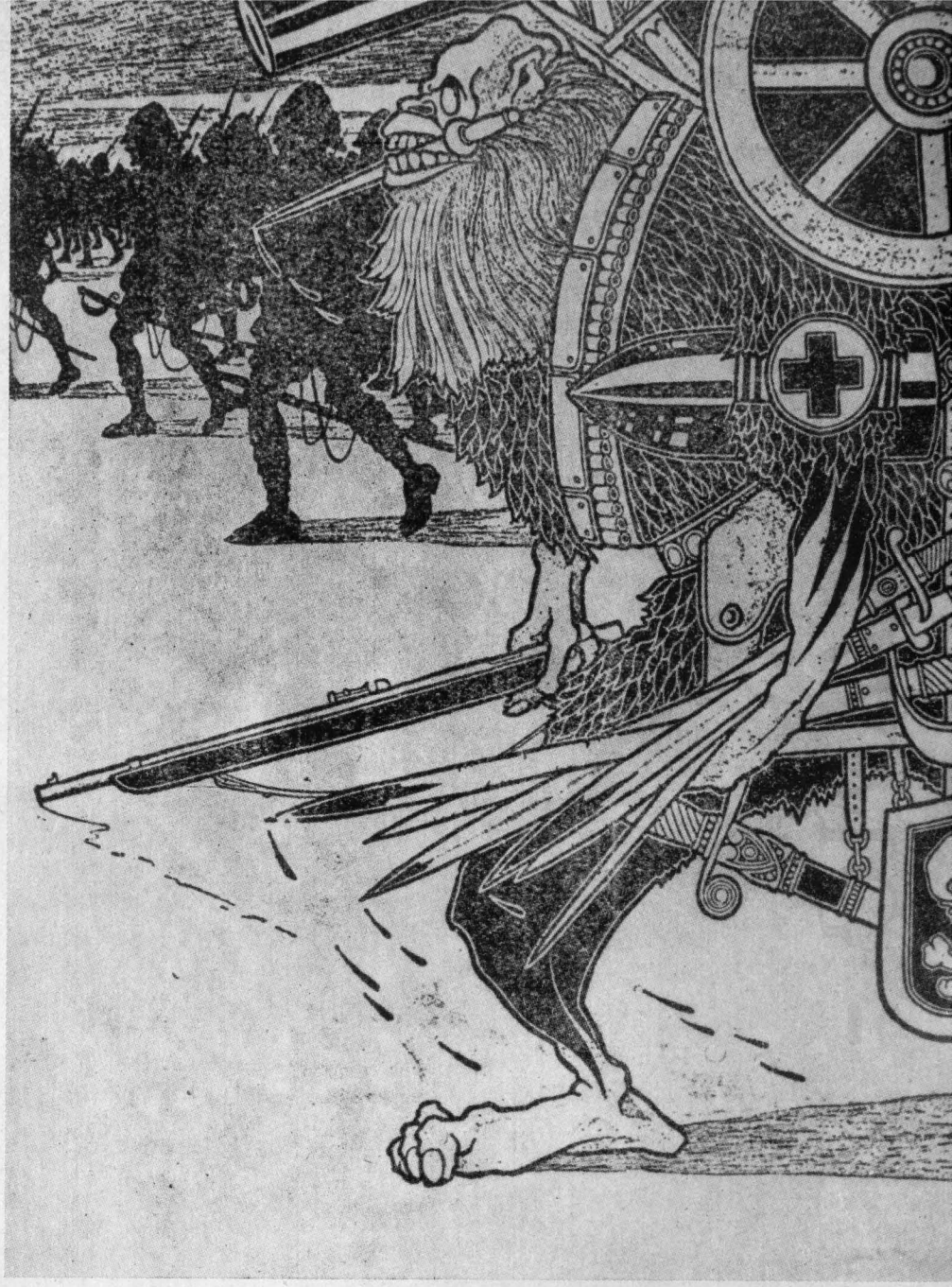
## *133. WAR AGAINST COLOUR*

The Johannesburg Municipality is being goaded into removing every Indian and Native employee, no matter how faithful his services may be and no matter what their length. That the Municipality or any other Department may not take a fresh supply of Coloured or Asiatic servants is a position against which not much can be said, but a summary dismissal of those who are already in its employ can do credit neither to the Municipality nor to those who force its hands. As the *South African News* very properly puts it:

> Replace the black man at the bottom by the white, take away as suggested the farms farmed by Natives and give them to white occupiers. Do this and what is to happen to the replaced Natives? That will be a harder problem to settle than that of the poor whites, but so long as the Natives' opportunities are not taken away from them, there need be no problem to solve. Segregate, repress or turn the Native into permanent unemployed and the madness known as sitting on the safety-valve will have begun.

There can be no doubt that a ruthless removal of Asiatic and more especially Native servants will only end in disaster, but it behoves British Indians and other Asiatics, as also the Natives, to learn the needful lesson from the present activity against Asiatic and Coloured races. The latter must not rely upon the white Colonists finding work for them or giving it to them. They will have to find independent means of earning a livelihood, and once a few leaders set themselves towards solving the problem, it will be found exceedingly easy.

*Indian Opinion*, 2-4-1910



"THE MARCH OF CIVILIZATION": A CARTOON FROM "THE NEW AGE", LONDON

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Telegrams "GANDHI." A.B.C. Code 5th Edition Used.

Johannesburg, 4th April, 1910.
Transvaal
S. Africa

Count Leo Tolstoy,
Yasnya Polyana,
Russia.

Dear Sir,

You will recollect my having carried on correspondence with you whilst I was temporarily in London. As a humble follower of yours, I send you herewith a booklet which I have written. It is my own translation of a Gujarati writing. Curiously enough the original writing has been confiscated by the Government of India. I, therefore, hastened the above publication of the translation. I am most anxious not to worry you, but, if your health permits it and if you can find the time to go through the booklet, needless to say I shall value very highly your criticism of the writing. I am sending also a few copies of your letter to a Hindoo, which you authorised me to publish. It has been translated in one of the Indian languages also.

I am,
Your obedient servant,

M.K. Gandhi

TRANSVAAL
JOHANNESBURG APR 4 4 15-M 1910 TRANSVAAL

Count Leo Tolstoy,
Yasnya Polyana,
Russia.

Ясная-Поляна
Графу Л. Толстому

## *134. DUTY OF NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS*

From cable-reports from India, we learn that a Bill for prohibiting indentured labour has been passed in the Viceroy's Legislative Council. The Viceroy has said that the law will be brought into effect only after full negotiations with the Government of Natal. This suggests that the Viceroy, left to himself, will not stop indentured labour if Indians remain inactive. If they do their duty, the system is bound to end; but we observe that some Indians think that the prohibition of indenture will be a disadvantage. Disadvantage to whom? If one thinks it is a disadvantage to those who offer themselves for indenture that they should be saved from slavery, there is no more to be said. Who else will stand to lose? As for free Indians, we think the immigration of indentured labourers is a great disadvantage to them. Those free Indians who live by their labour do not get employment, or, if they do, it is on a very low wage. Both the indentured labourers and other Indians are humiliated because the continued immigration of the former leads to increased resentment against us.

If indenture is prohibited, Indians can hope for an immediate improvement in their status. Once slavery has disappeared, it will be possible to get the laws about passes, etc., repealed, and there will be fewer attacks on traders. No doubt, even afterwards the struggle will have to be continued, but it can be continued with greater determination and better hope [of success]. When only free Indians are left in South Africa, the community will be in a position to do a great many things. Thus, from every point of view, the interests of Indians will be best served by the stopping of indenture.

It must be borne in mind that even if Indians were to give up the agitation for the prohibition of indentured labour, the Union Parliament will certainly prohibit it on its own. Indians would then look small and would lose the credit which they have a chance of earning today.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 2-4-1910

## *135. TERRIBLE CIVILIZATION OF THE WEST*

An English journal called *The New Age* has published a cartoon on this subject, which we reproduce[1] in this issue. It shows an army on the march. Behind, there is a grotesque figure, that of a general. On the body of this terrible form are hanging a gun emitting smoke in every direction and swords dripping with blood, and on its head a cannon. There is the drawing of a skull on a badge hanging on one side. On the arm, moreover, there is a cross. (This cross is the emblem of a batch which looks after the wounded.) In the mouth, held in the teeth, there is a dagger dripping with blood. On the shoulder is seen a belt studded with live cartridges. The drawing is entitled "March of Civilization". No one who reads this description of the cartoon can help becoming grave. On reflection, we cannot help feeling that Western civilization is as cruel as, perhaps more cruel than, the terrible expression on the face of the man in the cartoon. The sight which fills one with the utmost indignation is that of the cross in the midst of weapons dripping with blood. Here the hypocrisy of the new civilization reaches its climax. In former times, too, there used to be bloody wars, but they were free from the hypocrisy of modern civilization. While drawing our readers' attention to this cartoon, we want to give them at the same time a glimpse of the divine light of satyagraha. On one side, look at the picture of civilization drawn above, a civilization grown as terrible as a wolf through its hunger for wealth and its greedy pursuit of worldly pleasures. On the other, look at the figure of a satyagrahi who, out of his loyalty to truth, to his nature as a spiritual being and out of a desire to obey God's command, submits to the suffering inflicted by wicked men, with fortitude in his breast, with a smile on his face and without a single tear in his eyes. Of the two pictures, towards which will the reader feel attracted ? We are sure it is the vision of the satyagrahi which will touch the heart of mankind, and that the effect will grow deeper as his sufferings increase. Is there anyone who, looking at this cartoon alone, does not feel in his heart that satyagraha is the only way in which mankind can attain freedom and strength? We admit, of course, that to be shot dead or hanged when trying to shoot another does test one's fortitude; but dying in the attempt to kill another does not require even a hundredth part of the fortitude and courage implicit in the suffering that a satyagrahi goes through, in the slow, prolonged torture that he calmly endures in facing a bullet without firing one in return. No one wields a sword strong enough to bear

[1] *Vide* illustration facing p. 200.

down the force of satyagraha; on the contrary, a man brandishing a sword of steel has to give ground when confronted by a sword sharper than his. That is the reason why the story of a satyagrahi is read with a feeling of reverence. One who is not strong enough to practise satyagraha is naturally tempted to resort to brute force, which is, in comparison, quite easy to employ. There are some desperate Indians who, in their mad obsession with *swaraj* for India, seem to imagine that satyagraha is bound to be followed by resort to brute force—that is, that satyagraha is but one step in the effort to key oneself up to the fanaticism of violence. It would not be wrong to compare persons holding such views to the frog in the well who sought to conceive the ocean [as a big, big well]. The truth of the matter is that the man who cannot cultivate to its utmost limit the capacity for endurance required in satyagraha turns in his impatience to brute force and, growing desperate, takes a blind leap in an effort to end his suffering quickly. Such a man has never been a satyagrahi. He does not want to understand what satyagraha means.

[From Gujarati]
*Indian Opinion*, 2-4-1910

## *136. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI*

*Phagan Vadi 7* [*Samvat 1966*]
[*April 2, 1910*]

CHI. MAGANLAL,

Your letter to hand. I return it to you so that you can understand my reply to it.

I shall try to answer the questions you have raised. But even then you may not understand thoroughly. You will perhaps find the explanations you have sought from [*Hind*] *Swaraj* itself if you read it afresh once or twice.

There is no doubt that we shall have to go back to the extent to which we have imbibed [modern] civilization. This part of the task is the most difficult one, but it will have to be done. When we take a wrong path there is no alternative but to go back. We have got to free ourselves from attachment to the things we are enjoying. For this it is necessary that we begin to feel disgust for them. Whatever means and instruments appear to us to be beneficial are not going to be given up. Only he who realizes that there is more harm than the apparent benefit from a particular thing will give it up. I personally feel that no benefit has been derived from our being able to send letters quickly. When we give up railways and such other means we shall not bother

ourselves about writing letters. A thing which is really free from fault may be used to a certain extent. We who are engulfed in this civilization may avail ourselves of postal and other facilities as long as we are so engulfed. If we make use of these things with knowledge and understanding we shall not go crazy over them, and instead of increasing our preoccupations we shall gradually reduce them. He who will understand this will not be tempted to take the post or the railway to the villages which do not have these. You and I should not remain passive and increase the use of steamers and other evil means for fear that these things cannot be abolished forthwith and that all the people will not give them up. Even if one man reduces or stops their use, others will learn to do so. He who believes that it is good to do so will go on doing so irrespective of others. This is the only way of spreading the truth; there is no other in the world.

It is very difficult to get rid of our fondness for Parliament. It was no doubt barbarous when people tore off the skin, burned persons alive and cut off their ears or nose; but the tyranny of Parliament is much greater than that of Chengiz Khan, Tamerlane and others. Hence it is that we are caught in its meshes. Modern tyranny is a trap of temptation and therefore does greater mischief. One can withstand the atrocities committed by one individual as such; but it is difficult to cope with the tyranny perpetrated upon a people in the name of the people. It seems to have happened in the past that some rulers were like King Foolishman while others turned out to be wise. Had Edward alone been our ruler it would not have been so objectionable; but every Englishman is ruling over you and me. Please ponder over the meaning of this statement. I do not refer here to people's fondness for this world. The common man in India at least believes that the Parliament is a hoax. Even an extraordinarily intelligent man, caught in the meshes of this civilization, loses his sanity in Parliament.

By saying that mercy cannot have any effect on the Pindaris you have denied the very existence of the soul or its [essential] attribute. Lord Patanjali[1] has emphasized the greatness of mercy, etc., in such a way that we feel delighted even while thinking of those virtues. The real fact is that fear has taken deep root in us and consequently truth, mercy and such other virtues do not develop. And then we think that mercy has no effect on cruel people. If we show mercy to the person who shows mercy to us it is no mercy; it is only the return for mercy.

We should be considered weak if someone protects us free of charge or even if we pay him for doing so. If we have to seek outside help to be free from the menace of the Pindaris, etc., we are unfit for *swaraj*. If we would subdue them with physical force, we shall have to develop

[1] The sage who systematized the Yoga darshana (philosophy)

that force in ourselves. We shall not then have to pay blackmail or tribute. A woman seeks her husband's protection as a matter of right; but she is considered an *abala* (weak) after all.

*Swaraj* is for those who understand it. You and I can enjoy it even today. All the others will have to learn to do likewise. What is secured for us by others is not *swaraj* but *pararaj*, i.e., foreign rule, whether they be Indians or Englishmen.

In calling the cow-protection societies cow-killing societies, I have but stated the truth; for their object is to rescue the cow or protect her by bringing pressure on Mussalmans.

To rescue the cow by paying money is no protection of the cow; it is a way to teach the butcher to be deceitful. If we try to coerce the Mussalmans they will slaughter more cows. But if we persuade them or offer satyagraha against them they will protect her. No cow-protection society is necessary for doing this. That body should be for teaching Hinduism to the Hindus. It is better to kill an ox by a single blow of the sword than to kill it by starving it, by pricking it, by over-working it and thus torturing it.

It would be very confusing to take the examples of Shri Ramachandra and others literally. I have never imagined the possibility of a Ravana in the physical form of a man with ten heads and twenty arms. But to imagine that he was a huge passionate senseless animal and that he was killed by Shri Ramachandra representing the divine essence may appeal to the intellect. Tulsidasji[1] has described Ramachandraji as the forces of the Sun who is the destroyer of pride, infatuation, and the darkness of the night of excessive attachment. Do you think we shall have the least desire left in us to destroy anybody when we are rid of all pride, infatuation and attachment? If you say 'no', how could Ramachandraji who was free from pride, infatuation and attachment and who was an ocean of mercy destroy Ravana? However, let us first attain his stage, like Lakshmana[2] give up sleep and observe *brahmacharya* for fourteen years and then see where physical force could be used.

I want to say that everything is achieved by humility[3]. The example you gave of the Transvaal is quite appropriate. It is not enough merely to profess orally to have the above sentiment; it should stand the test when the occasion comes. Think of the numberless adversities Harishchandra had to face before his [devotion to] truth was proved. Think of the suffering Sudhanva had to undergo before his *bhakti* (devotion) was proved to be genuine. We may not consider these as mere legends.

[1] The great Hindi poet-saint, author of *Ramacharitamanasa*, a Hindi version of the *Ramayana*

[2] Brother of Shri Ramachandra; he accompanied him to the forest.

[3] Literally, bowing at the feet

It may be that the names and forms were different; but they who have composed these stories have given their own experiences through them. Even in the Transvaal the babblings of persons like me are being put to the test. Also bear in mind that many who were regarded as satyagrahis have proved to be insincere demagogues. Who, then, should be regarded as true satyagrahis? Of course, they who possess virtues like compassion, etc. Nowhere has it been said that suffering may not have to be undergone. And what does suffering after all mean? It is the mind, says the *Gita*, which is the cause of our bondage as well as of our freedom.[1] Sudhanva was thrown into boiling oil. The person who got him thrown into it thought that he was inflicting suffering on Sudhanva; but for the latter it was a grand opportunity to show the intensity of his devotion.

It will never happen that all are equally rich or equally poor at the same time. But if we consider the good and evil aspects [of the various professions] it seems that the world is sustained by farmers. Farmers are of course poor. If a lawyer would boast of his altruism or spirituality, let him earn his livelihood through physical labour and carry on his legal practice without charging anything for it. You will not easily realize that the lawyer is lazy. Just as a sensuous man, even when exhausted by indulging in passions, remains engrossed in sensual pleasures, so a lawyer, even when he is exhausted, goes on straining his nerves to the breaking point in his practice in the hope of getting wealth and attaining to greatness and later on passing a life of luxury and comfort. This is his objective. I am conscious that there is a little exaggeration in this; but, what I have said above is true for the most part.

What service will an army of doctors render to the country? What great things are they going to achieve by dissecting dead bodies, by killing animals, and by cramming worthless dicta for five or seven years? What will the country gain by the ability to cure physical diseases? That will simply increase our attachment to the body. We can formulate a plan for preventing the growth of disease even without the knowledge of medical science. This does not mean that there should be no doctors or physicians at all. They will always be with us. The point is that many a young man who gives an undue importance to this profession and wastes hundreds of rupees and several years qualifying for it, ought not to do so. We must know that we are not, nor are we going to be, benefited in the least by allopathic doctors.

I hope I have replied to all your questions. Please do not carry unnecessarily on your head the burden of emancipating India. Emancipate your own self. Even that burden is very great. Apply everything

[1] मन एव मनुष्याणां कारणं बन्धमोक्षयो: This sentence, though generally attributed to the *Gita*, is from the *Brahmabindu Upanishad.*

to yourself. Nobility of soul consists in realizing that you are yourself India. In your emancipation is the emancipation of India. All else is make-believe. If you feel interested, do persevere. You and I need not worry about others. If we bother about others, we shall forget our own task and lose everything. Please ponder over this from the point of view of altruism, not of selfishness. If you want to ask anything more, please do.

*Blessings from*
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati *Gandhiji-ni Sadhana* by Raojibhai Patel, and *Mahatma Gandhiji-na Patro*, edited by Dahyabhai Patel

## *137. FROM "TRANSVAAL NOTES"*[1]

*Monday* [*April 4, 1910*]

Messrs David Solomon, Moonsamy Chellan, Moonsamy Paul, John Edward, Dhobi Samy and Chillia have now been deported. On the 2nd instant were arrested Messrs Govindsamy N. Pillay, Kanabathe N. Pillay, Ellary Moonsamy, Madaray Muthoo, John Lazarus, Moonsamy, Chinasamy and Govindsamy. Of these, two are youngsters, and they were all engaged at a European cigar factory. These are very typical cases. Mr. David Solomon and his three companions were serving as waiters at the Trocadero. So that, literally, bread had been taken out of their mouths. Most of these men are voluntarily registered, but the fact is that the Government intend to crush the Tamil community, and so they are hunting them out from every nook and corner, and these men, instead of being immediately sentenced, are driven from pillar to post, undergo all kinds of administrative inquiry, and then, if the Government can possibly arrange it, they are deported to India.

Whilst on this question of deportation, I have just heard that steamer after steamer refuses to take these deportees. I trust that the information is true. The remedy certainly lies with the shippers in India. If they would make it known to the different steamship companies that, if they become party to the nefarious design of the Transvaal Government, they will not receive Indian patronage, they will certainly decline to take these unlawfully deported Indians.

*Indian Opinion*, 9-4-1910

[1] *Vide* "Johannesburg", p. 213.

## *138. JOHANNESBURG*

*Monday* [*April 4, 1910*]

### Other Arrests

Dhobi Samy and Mr. Chillia were arrested along with Mr. David Solomon, Mr. Moonsamy Chellan, Mr. Moonsamy Paul and Mr. John Edward. All of them have been ordered to be deported.

Besides these, on Saturday, April 2, were arrested Messrs Govindsamy Naran Pillay, Kanabathe Naran Pillay, Ellary Moonsamy, Madaray Muthoo, Moonsamy, K. Chinasamy and Govindsamy. Two of them are just youngsters. They were all employed in a cigar factory owned by a white.

From what I have heard, it appears that all these persons were arrested at the instance of an Indian. They were, of course, ready for arrest. But it is surprising how any Indian could have the courage to contrive their arrest. It would have been a different matter if, with their knowledge and consent, the arrests had been contrived in order to put life into the movement. As it is, their arrests were the result of a personal grudge. Of course, the movement has stood to gain by the action of those Indians.

These are very remarkable cases. Most of them had taken out voluntary registers, which they subsequently burned. Four of them were serving as waiters at the Trocadero. They have let go their jobs. The last seven had been long employed in a cigar factory. They, too, let go their jobs. Some of them used to earn as much as eight to ten pounds a month. Such self-sacrifice is rare to come across. It should be noted that all of them are Tamils, and that they show no sign of nervousness when they are taken away. Some of them have mothers, and some, children. With such brave Indians among us, the fight can have only one issue. This sacrifice of the Tamil community will surely find a place in history the world over.

I very much wish that other Indian communities make at least a fraction of such sacrifice.

### Harassment on Railways

Mr. Ismail Adam is a Pretoria merchant. He was travelling in a first-class compartment from Park to Pretoria. He was made to get down while the train was in motion. Mr. Cachalia has addressed a letter to the Manager in connection with this incident. Below is a translation:[1]

[1] *Vide* "Letter to General Manager, C.S.A.R.", pp. 199-200.

The General Manager has stated in reply that an immediate inquiry will be held. Railway officials have already called on Mr. Ismail Adam. I gather that the latter intends taking steps on his own also.

### FAKIRA AND DHARMOO NAICKER

They were discharged on Friday[1]. Mr. Fakira is one of the few Gujaratis who have remained staunch satyagrahis. He has served six or seven terms of imprisonment, taking no thought of himself. Mr. Cachalia went [to the prison] to receive him and Mr. Naicker. Mr. Fakira reports that all satyagrahis are cheerful.

### PRISONERS VISITED

On Sunday, Mr. Kallenbach went to Diepkloof to visit [the prisoners]. He saw Mr. Sorabji, whom he found in good health. Mr. Sorabji has sent the message that the satyagrahis are maintaining an unflinching spirit. Mr. Kallenbach spent nearly an hour with him.

### SATYAGRAHIS IN DELAGOA BAY

There was a letter from Mr. Chokalingam Pillay from Delagoa Bay, saying that eighteen Indians had not been put on ship till the moment of writing. He adds that there has been a change for the better in their diet, thanks to his agitation.

### WHITE SATYAGRAHIS

The practice of satyagraha by the Indian community has made it quite fashionable. A stringent law has been passed in the Orange River Colony, compelling British children to learn Dutch. The Director of Education there has resigned in protest against the law. The British have taken the thing very much to heart. A member of the Colony's Parliament advises the British not to submit to that law or recognize it in any manner whatsoever. A controversy is going on over the issue, which is being fanned by the newspapers here.

[From Gujarati]
*Indian Opinion*, 9-4-1910

[1] In fact, on the 2nd which was a Saturday; *vide* "Transvaal Notes", *Indian Opinion*, 9-4-1910.

## 139. LETTER TO LEO TOLSTOY[1]

JOHANNESBURG,
TRANSVAAL,
SOUTH AFRICA,
*April 4, 1910*

DEAR SIR,

You will recollect my having carried on correspondence with you whilst I was temporarily in London.[2] As a humble follower of yours, I send you herewith a booklet[3] which I have written. It is my own translation of a Gujarati writing. Curiously enough, the original writing has been confiscated by the Government of India. I, therefore, hastened the above publication of the translation. I am most anxious not to worry you, but, if your health permits it and if you can find the time to go through the booklet, needless to say I shall value very highly your criticism of the writing. I am sending also a few copies of your *Letter to a Hindoo*[4], which you authorised me to publish. It has been translated in one of the Indian languages also.

*I am,*
*Your obedient servant,*
M. K. GANDHI

COUNT LEO TOLSTOY
YASNAYA POLYANA
RUSSIA

From a block of the typewritten original signed by Gandhiji published in *Mahatma*, Vol. I, by D. G. Tendulkar

[1] For Tolstoy's reply, *vide* Appendix III.
[2] *Vide* Vol. IX, pp. 444-6 & 528-9.
[3] *Hind Swaraj* or *Indian Home Rule*, *vide* pp. 6-68.
[4] Gandhiji's Gujarati rendering of the letter appeared in *Indian Opinion*, 25-12-1909 and 1-1-1910. It was also issued as a booklet.

CWMG - X

## 140. LETTER TO DIRECTOR OF PRISONS[1]

[JOHANNESBURG,]
*April 4, 1910*

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter[2] No. 1459/10 of the 1st instant regarding the treatment of passive resistance prisoners. My Association has no desire to ask for passive resisters any other treatment than that to which their classification entitles them; but the complaint of my Association is that, if the Government do not wish to impose additional hardships on these prisoners, they may not be sent to a penal settlement, where, my Association imagines, hardened criminals are sent, and where they are deprived of facilities allowed in all other prisons.

With reference to the restoration of ghee to the diet-scale, my Association does not ask for it in connection with passive resistance prisoners only, but regarding all Indian prisoners, because the deprivation places them in a position more unfortunate than that of the Natives, who are allowed one ounce of fat per day.

*Indian Opinion*, 9-4-1910

## 141. LETTER TO THE PRESS[3]

*April 8, 1910*

SIR,

I have read the report of the unfortunate Indian disturbance that took place yesterday.[4] It is entirely an error to suppose that it has anything to do with the passive resistance struggle that is going on. The fight took place among the members of a particular clan which is known for its martial spirit. The members had mutual quarrels among themselves, into which I need not go, and they thought that they would settle their differences by duelling. It is remarkable that, although the

[1] This letter, presumably drafted by Gandhiji, was signed by A. M. Cachalia, Chairman, British Indian Association.

[2] This was in reply to "Letter to Director of Prisons", pp. 190-2, and was reproduced in *Indian Opinion*, 9-4-1910.

[3] This letter, presumably drafted by Gandhiji, was sent over the signature of A. M. Cachalia, Chairman, British Indian Association.

[4] This refers to a row between two hostile camps of the Kanamias; *vide* "Johannesburg", pp. 215-6.

police, according to the reports, knew that the fight was about to take place, they were unable to take sufficient precautions to prevent it.

*Indian Opinion*, 16-4-1910

## *142. NEVER MIND*

The letter[1] from the great Tolstoy which was published in this journal was reproduced in *Gujarat* of Nadiad[2]. A notice under the new Press law has been served on the journal, that it is to be prosecuted for this. Our readers probably remember the letter from Tolstoy. To all who have not read it, our advice is that they read it immediately. It is not a little surprising that, though it does not contain a single sentence which can promote violence, the person who reproduced it is being prosecuted. This betrays sheer madness on the part of the officers. They are in a panic and in that state of mind they are not able to judge what is permissible and what is not. Our only regret is that, though ours is the primary responsibility for publishing this letter, nothing is done to us and it is the editor of *Gujarat* who is in danger. We hope that the editor and the manager of *Gujarat* will do their duty fearlessly and not retrace a single step.

India is being severely tested now. For the repressive laws that have been passed and the suppression of writings, the primary responsibility lies with the terrorists but the matter does not rest there. Indiscriminate suppression of newspapers by the Government will not ensure peace. We think this kind of suppression will not lead to peace but will on the contrary increase the unrest. Those who have no bitterness in their minds will also be embittered now.

In fact, Tolstoy's letter was intended to calm the people's minds, to make them see their own faults instead of others'. True, the letter gave a vivid account of the harm done by British rule. That thought cannot be erased by suppressing writings. The people's eyes have opened and will not close again.

In this connection, we want to address a few words to our readers. We think they ought not to remain quiet. We certainly will not. It is not possible for us to look on helplessly when someone has come into trouble for reproducing what was published by us. But a newspaper does not mean only its editor and management; the vast majority of those connected with it are its readers. Will our readers be intimidated by these developments or will they do their duty? That is what remains to be seen. Everyone who reads an issue should try to get someone else

[1] *Letter to a Hindoo*; *vide* footnote 1, p. 3.
[2] A town in Gujarat

to read it. The chief object of a newspaper is to ensure the propagation of the views expressed and to see that they are acted upon. This cannot be done without the co-operation of its readers.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 9-4-1910

## *143. JOHANNESBURG*

*Monday* [*April 11, 1910*]

### Sent to Delagoa Bay

Mr. Achary and 37 other satyagrahis were sent from Pretoria to Delagoa Bay on Saturday. Six of them were certainly not satyagrahis. I cannot say whether they have become so by now. All of them who bear Tamil names are satyagrahis. Thus, the Tamils have been keeping the flag of satyagraha flying. I have given the Tamil names in the English section[1] and therefore do not give them here.

### Ships Refuse

I reported in the English section[2] last week that some ships had refused to carry those persons who have been deported. I cannot say how far the report is true. But it appears that they have failed to get a ship so far. If India exerts sufficient pressure, no ship will dare carry the deportees. There is strong reason to believe that those who have been deported this time will rouse the whole of India to protest.

### Chettiar[3]

[He] was today ordered to be deported and was taken to gaol. Mr. Chettiar is about 55 years of age. He suffers from a chronic ailment, and yet he is facing deportation with the utmost courage. He is to be deported to Natal, from where he will return immediately.

### Other Arrests

Mr. Chinan Diala[4] and Selmar Pillay were arrested and they, too, have been ordered to be deported.

[1] *Vide* "From 'Transvaal Notes' ", pp. 216-7.

[2] *Vide* "From 'Transvaal Notes' ", p. 207.

[3] V. A. Chettiar, respected old Chairman of the Tamil Benefit Society, who had been arrested on April 5. *Vide* "Transvaal Notes", *Indian Opinion*, 9-4-1910.

[4] *Vide*, however, "Transvaal Notes", *Indian Opinion*, 16-4-1910, where the name given is Anandi Alvar.

## KARODIA

The case against the two Karodias[1] has been withdrawn. One of them was charged with using a false permit and the other with making a false affidavit.

The police had spared no pains in preparing for this case. They had called the Immigration Officer at Durban, Mr. Moosa Hajee Adam and others as witnesses; however, the case was withdrawn at the last moment.

The fact is that some Indians, out of spite, had made an affidavit and also induced someone else to make another against the two brothers. Later they felt sorry for what they had done. They found it very difficult to prove their statements, for there was ample evidence to show that Mr. Karodia had lived in Johannesburg before the War. I think the Government withdrew the cases in order to protect the persons who had given the affidavits.

Mr. Karodia does not intend to leave the matter here, but will approach the Attorney General for relief in order to make an example of the men concerned and prevent similar things from happening to other prominent persons.

## WHETHER COLOURED PERSONS CAN STAY

In Johannesburg, many title-deeds contain a provision to the effect that the landowners cannot permit Asiatics or Coloured persons other than servants to stay on their lands. This is so in Norwood [also]. A certain white bought a stand there. Later, he discovered that at several places there were Coloured persons staying. He filed a suit against the company to have his title-deed nullified on this ground. The magistrate decided against the company. The case was taken higher up. The Supreme Court has now ruled that, notwithstanding the provision in the title-deeds, the company cannot be held responsible. The owner of a stand can, if he chooses, file a suit against any person who permits Coloured persons to stay [on the stand]. Accordingly, the Coloureds will stay where they are, for the present at least. We must now wait till there is another suit; its outcome is anybody's guess. The saying, "having survived a moment of danger, we may live to be a hundred years", might come true in this case.

## LORD SELBORNE

The miners gave a dinner to Lord Selborne. Speaking on the occasion, he gave a warning to the whites that, if they were not careful and persisted in their unjust treatment of the Cape Coloureds, the consequences would be unhappy. Men would arise from among them who

[1] Messrs Karodia Brothers, well-known Indian merchants of Johannesburg; *vide* "Letter to Attorney General", p. 219.

would become leaders of the Kaffirs. Lord Selborne thought that this was the biggest problem facing South Africa.

These views call for some comment. It does not appear that in saying this Lord Selborne was actuated by concern for the welfare of the Coloured people; he said it only because he feared the emergence of a leader from among them. Their sincere well-wishers, however, should welcome the rise of such leaders—the more the better—and encourage them.

### Railway Regulations

The General Manager, the Assistant Manager, Mr. Bell, Mr. Cachalia and Mr. Gandhi met today. After a discussion lasting nearly an hour and a half, the draft which the Association had forwarded was accepted with some modifications.[1] The General Manager stated that he would recommend to the Railway Board the withdrawal of the Regulations which had been promulgated and that [new] regulations would be framed in terms of the draft as approved by him. According to the draft-agreement, there will be no discrimination in law on the ground of colour. The existing provision that Indians can travel only in the third class will be deleted and the former position will be restored.

### Caution to Indians

This will be a welcome change, no doubt. That it has come about shows that the Indian community is not to be trifled with. But the Indian community's responsibility will also increase. There will, of course, be no difficulty if we bear ourselves with dignity; should we, however, forget ourselves, difficulties will certainly arise and discriminatory regulations will be introduced.

### Shop Hours Regulations

These Regulations are again to be modified. The most important change will be that European hotels will be allowed to remain open up to 12 midnight, whereas Asiatic hotels will have to close at 6 p.m. I do not see that we can do much to protest against this discrimination; all the same, the Association has written[2] to the Colonial Secretary about it.

### Row among Kanamias

Kanamia[3] friends had their fill of fighting. They went at one another on a public road, a large number of whites watching the scene. Three of them sustained serious injuries. The brawlers got a bad name, and the Indian community as well, to some extent. Fighting has brought

[1] *Vide* Appendix IV.
[2] *Vide* "Letter to Colonial Secretary", pp. 218-9.
[3] Muslims from Kanam, in Central Gujarat

no benefit to either party. Benefit there will be only for the Government and lawyers. Both the sides have engaged lawyers and it seems, from the way they talk, that money will be spent like water.

The story that has been circulated by newspapers is that this was a dispute between satyagrahis and their opponents. Mr. Cachalia has therefore addressed a letter[1] to newspapers, pointing out that the quarrel had nothing to do whatever with satyagraha.

I wish to say a few words to the Kanamias. I know, and everyone knows, that they are strong of arms; they are making a big mistake, however, if they imagine that such brawls add to their reputation. The reason for the quarrel is of no account. I am not interested in finding out who is to blame. I only know that the fighting has helped neither side. However, those who are in love with physical strength and want occasions for its use would do well to employ it, not for purposes of revenge but in defence of others.

Moreover, those who would fight, must fight it out to the last, be the end death or victory. To start a fight and then go to a court of law is cowardice twice over. To use violence against anyone is cowardly enough, but going to a court is much worse. If a man, after having fought, goes to a court, he will prove himself fit for nothing.

Duelling survives to this day in all parts of Europe, except England. The idea behind it is that two persons actually fight with each other in order to prove himself in the right and the one who is defeated is considered to have lost his point. It is not open to these persons to go to a court of law [subsequently]. I must admit that, from the point of view of those who approve of violence, this is an excellent practice.

But those who know that it is better to die than to kill, they know best; they have conquered all. This is the Indian way.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 16-4-1910

## *144. FROM "TRANSVAAL NOTES"*

*Tuesday* [*April 12,1910*]

The following were transferred to Delagoa Bay on Saturday, the 9th instant :[2] Messrs Veera Pillay, S. Manikam, N. G. Pillay, N. K. Pillay, Govinda Chetty, Joe Chinanan, Mootu Moonian, David Solomon, Moonosamy Paul, Moonosamy Chellen, Nurisumu Appen, Tommy Govindasamy, Letckey, Abhie Naidoo, John Edward, T. A. S. Achary, C. Narainsamy, R. C. Peter, L. Morgan, Chella Pather,

[1] *Vide* "Letter to the Press", pp. 211-2.

[2] *Vide* the preceding item.

R. Moonosamy, John Lazarus, David Marrian, Francis Baker, Albert Baker, K. Chinasamy Pillay, H. V. Jackson, M. Jimmey, E. M. David, L. Govindasamy, D. Arumugam, Willie Lazarus, S. Moonosamy, Veerasamy Naidoo, Goolam Mahomed, Jiram Vallab, Noor Ali, and Rathanjee Ranchhod. Of these I am not sure that the last four are passive resisters, but they may have become such after coming into contact with the fine body of men in the Pretoria Police Barracks.

*Indian Opinion*, 16-4-1910

## *145. LETTER TO DIRECTOR OF PRISONS*[1]

[JOHANNESBURG,]
*April 12, 1910*

SIR,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 1459/10/247 of the 9th instant regarding the general treatment of Indian passive resisters in prison.

The submission of my Association is that the selection of Diepkloof Prison where alone the limitation of three months as regards visitors and letters prevails is deemed by the Asiatic communities to show an intention to impose hardships additional to those warranted by the punishment awarded by the Magistrates to passive resisters.

With reference to the omission of ghee from the Indian dietary, my Association is aware that the Prison Governors have chosen the present scale. The fact, however, stands that the revision of the scale has resulted in the deprivation of an article of diet which was given to Indian prisoners in most of the prisons of the Transvaal, and which is an article especially needed by British Indians. In the humble opinion of my Association, the Prison Governors have taken no note of idiosyncrasies in deciding upon the revised scale.

*Indian Opinion*, 16-4-1910

[1] This letter, presumably drafted by Gandhiji, was signed by E. I. Aswat, Acting Chairman, British Indian Association.

## *146. LETTER TO GENERAL MANAGER, C.S.A.R.*

JOHANNESBURG,
*April 12, 1910*

SIR,

On behalf of Mr. Cachalia and myself, I beg to thank you for your letter[1] of the 11th instant, containing a summary of [the] understanding arrived at yesterday between your Department and Mr. Cachalia and myself representing the British Indian Association. The summary given by you correctly sets forth the position; and, on behalf of my colleague and myself, I beg to tender our thanks to you for the conciliatory manner in which you have met the representations of my Association in the matter of the gazetted regulations which have formed the subject matter of the correspondence between your Department and my Association.

Whilst I acknowledge that the smooth working of the arrangement will depend upon the self-restraint that may be exercised by the British Indians, it is no less dependent upon the tact and the goodwill of the officials in charge of the regulation of passenger traffic. In conclusion, I trust that the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony Governments and the Railway Board will accept your recommendation, and that the regulations complained of will be repealed and replaced by those set forth in your letter under reply.

*I have, etc.,*
M. K. GANDHI
HON. SECRETARY,
BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION

From a photostat of the original: Cd 5363; also
*Indian Opinion*, 16-4-1910

## *147. LETTER TO COLONIAL SECRETARY*[2]

[JOHANNESBURG,]
*April 12, 1910*

SIR,

With reference to the Shop Hours Bill published in the Government *Gazette*, my Association respectfully protests against the distinction drawn between the closing hours of European restaurants and those of Asiatic

[1] *Vide* Appendix IV.

[2] This letter, presumably drafted by Gandhiji, was signed by E. I. Aswat, Acting Chairman, British Indian Association.

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eating-houses;[1] and, as it cannot be of serious importance to the Government if the same privileges are allowed to the keepers of Asiatic eating-houses, my Association trusts that the differentiation will be removed.

*Indian Opinion*, 16-4-1910

## *148. LETTER TO ATTORNEY GENERAL*

[JOHANNESBURG,]
*April 14, 1910*

SIR,

Messrs M. A. Karodia and A. A. Karodia were some time ago arrested, the one on a charge of having obtained a registration certificate under false pretences, and the other on a charge of having made a false affidavit. After two remands, both cases were withdrawn, without any evidence having been given on behalf of the Crown. Messrs Karodia Brothers are well-known British Indian merchants in Johannesburg. To this day, they do not know upon what evidence the charge was brought against them. Their arrest caused no little surprise amongst the Indian community, and no little pain to themselves. They were fully prepared, as they are now, to meet the charges brought against them. That they are merchants of standing is a fact well known to the Asiatic Department. They feel, that, if they allow the proceedings against them to end, after the withdrawal of the charges, neither they nor their fellow-merchants could consider themselves safe from similar arrest. In the circumstances, they request that the names of the deponents on whose evidence the warrant was granted and their affidavits should be handed to them. And they respectfully desire also that the Government will be pleased in future to use judicious discretion in obtaining warrants of arrest against Indians of standing.

*Indian Opinion*, 23-4-1910

## *149. SUBSTANCE OF LETTER TO L. W. RITCH*

[After *April 14, 1910*][2]

In connection with this matter, Mr. Ritch writes to inform us that he has received a letter from Mr. Gandhi, stating that the excuse for sending these men to India is that they refused to give finger-prints to identify themselves with their certificates, which documents were already filed with the Registrar. He explains that the

[1] *Vide* "Johannesburg", p. 215.

[2] The reference is to the fifty-nine Indians deported on 14-4-1910; *vide* "Johannesburg", p. 223.

excuse is invalid, because most of these men have already been to gaol as passive resisters, and are consequently known to the authorities. He adds that deportation for refusal to give finger-prints is illegal, the punishment provided for the offence being imprisonment and not deportation, and confirms the report that many of the deportees were domiciled in South Africa.

*India*, 13-5-1910

## *150. TAMIL SACRIFICE*[1]

The arrest of Mr. Chettiar, the fifty-five-year-old Chairman of the Tamil Society, puts the finishing touch to the glorious work that is being done by the Tamil community in the Transvaal on behalf not of themselves but of the whole Indian population throughout South Africa. Nearly one hundred Tamils are now under custody, either undergoing imprisonment at Diepkloof or awaiting deportation, which, for many reasons, is much worse than imprisonment. There is hardly a Tamil left in the Transvaal who has not suffered imprisonment in the course of the passive resistance struggle. Mr. Chettiar himself has been now arrested for the third time, his son, as we have already remarked, for the seventh time. These brave men have reduced themselves to poverty and have sacrificed literally their all for the sake of the national honour and their sacred oath. It has become such a common occurrence for Tamils to be arrested that it excites no curiosity and attention. Mr. Chettiar, who was at one time in flourishing circumstances, has now become a pauper. We have seen some of the receipts for the jewellery which has been sold in order to provide for the household. In view of sacrifices such as these, he must be a godless person who would for one moment doubt that a community that can boast such heroes can ever fail to attain its goal.

*Indian Opinion*, 16-4-1910

## *151. THE LATE MR. WOODHEAD*

In the death of Mr. Woodhead, the Indian community of Natal has, along with the European, sustained a severe loss. The late gentleman, who met with such an untimely end the other day,[2] had held a responsible position on the editorial staff of *The Natal Mercury* for a period of 28 years. During the time that he was Managing Editor, the *Mercury* has in all matters relating to the Coloured communities of the

[1] *Vide* also "Well Done, Chettiar!", p. 222 and "Letter to Director of Prisons", p. 224.

[2] He was run over by a motor car on April 11, 1910.

Colony, maintained a high standard and has on many occasions struck the note of warning against race hatred and colour prejudice. It is fitting that the various Indian associations[1] of Durban have expressed their sense of sorrow and loss, and we join with them in offering our deepest sympathy with the widow and children of the departed journalist.

*Indian Opinion*, 16-4-1910

## *152. G. K. GOKHALE'S SERVICES*

The Hon'ble Professor Gokhale has rendered an invaluable service. He has always helped us, but his work in the Legislative Council is a very precious achievement. The resolution that he moved[2] for the prohibition of indentured labour and the speech he made[3] on the occasion are worth reading. The latter gives a vivid account of the condition of Indians in all parts of South Africa. The speech has evoked appreciative comments even from English newspapers. We see that he advocated the prohibition of indenture on the ground that it was [in its very nature] an evil thing. That is as it should have been.

Prof. Gokhale was followed by other Indian members. We propose to give translations[4] of all the speeches in the issues that will follow. They will show to all readers how profound has been the effect of the Transvaal campaign.

Prof. Gokhale certainly deserves thanks for what he has done. We hope public bodies in all the Colonies will shower resolutions of thanks on him.

We gather from the newspapers that the whole of India gives credit for this achievement to Mr. Polak. At the conclusion of the meeting, congratulations were offered to him.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 16-4-1910

## *153. TRANSVAAL PARLIAMENT*

Indians had hoped that the Transvaal Parliament would do something; that was our hope, too. However, it is now clear that it will do nothing to make a settlement possible. How can we expect a settlement? The weakening of the Indian community has raised further hopes in

[1] The Natal Indian Congress, the Durban Indian Society, etc. *Vide* "Death of Mr. Woodhead", *Indian Opinion*, 16-4-1910.

[2] and [3] On 25-2-1910, *vide* "Debate in the Viceroy's Council", *Indian Opinion*, 9-4-1910.

[4] Not reproduced here. For speeches by others including Dadabhai Naoroji and M. A. Jinnah, *vide* "Debate in the Viceroy's Council", *Indian Opinion*, 16-4-1910.

the Transvaal Government. It thought that if it waited longer, all the Indians would quietly surrender. We are sure that it is because of this calculation that nothing is being brought forward in Parliament. This does not dishearten us. We do not want to obtain anything by misrepresenting facts. We rely on our own strength. There are some strong men who in any case will fight till death, so that the ultimate victory of Indians is not in doubt. When we shall celebrate that victory depends upon how many of us put forth our strength.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 16-4-1910

## *154. WELL DONE, CHETTIAR!*

Even the Indians who have given in will have their hair standing on end if they read Mr. Chettiar's case. He is an elderly man and the leader of the Tamil community. He has served two terms of imprisonment. His son has been to gaol a number of times; now he has been ordered to be deported to India. Mr. Chettiar has worked hard from outside without fear of being arrested. He has been arrested now. He has paid no attention to his ailment. He has lost all his wealth. Every hair on his body thrills with the determination to die for the sake of honour, for the sake of the motherland and the pledge, rather than surrender. He is installed in Marshal Square, a smile on his face. We hope every Indian, old or young, big or small, will be infected by Mr. Chettiar's spirit and be proud of his name.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 16-4-1910

## *155. SHOULD LORD GLADSTONE BE HONOURED?*

Lord Gladstone will shortly arrive here as Governor-General of South Africa. Indians in all the Colonies must be wanting to know whether or not we should honour him.

Considering our situation from every point of view, we think it will not be proper for us to honour Lord Gladstone. Whom can we honour in a land in which we ourselves are despised? What honour can we give to the representative of a Government which refuses justice to us? This is one line of thinking.

On the other hand, there is the argument that if we are not afraid of demanding our rights, it is because the British flag flies over this land. We want to live in amity with the people of this country. We

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want to protect our honour. He who insists on being respected himself will always respect others. He who values self-respect will never be rude to others. In honouring the representative of the Emperor, we shall only be honouring ourselves. This is another line of thinking. According to this, we see nothing wrong in presenting an address to Lord Gladstone as a matter of courtesy. Giving an address, not by way of flattery but by way of courtesy, can be justified. Whether or not an address is justified will depend upon the attitude behind it.

[From Gujarati]
*Indian Opinion*, 16-4-1910

## *156. JOHANNESBURG*

*Monday* [*April 18, 1910*]

### Released

Perumal and Mr. Govindsamy were discharged last week after six weeks of imprisonment.

### Fakira and Others

The brave Mr. Fakira was arrested again last Saturday. He was tried today and ordered to be deported to India. He is determined to return from India immediately.

Mr. Naransamy and Mr. Kistapa were arrested today. Besides these, Messrs Dayal Ramji, Cassim Ibrahim, Vally Adam, Isa Adam and Odhav Bhikha have been ordered to be deported. These five are not satyagrahis but they could not prevent their arrest and deportation.

### Chettiar

Messrs Chettiar, Morgan and Francis were sentenced to three months on the 15th.

### Shelat Returns

Mr. Shelat is already in the Transvaal. He has been arrested, and his case will come up on Tuesday.

### 59 Deported

How sad it is that Indians, sent to India, have to be treated as having been deported. However, we cannot help so describing the 59 Indians who were sent to India by the *Umhloti* on the 14th instant. No ship has so far agreed to carry these brave men to India. Some of the young Indians who have been sent away were born in this country, some have lived here from their childhood and some have left their families here. Some, moreover, are residents of Natal or, being educated, are

entitled to go over there. It is the extreme limit of tyranny that all these men have been sent away to India. Many of these Indians had taken out voluntary registers. I am sure that all of them will return in a very short time.

Some of these men fell ill in Delagoa Bay. Mr. Samy Krister had to be removed to hospital. It is our good fortune that, despite this, not a single Indian is dispirited.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 23-4-1910

## *157. LETTER TO DIRECTOR OF PRISONS*[1]

[JOHANNESBURG,]
*April 19, 1910*

SIR,

Mr. V. A. Chettiar, who is an elderly member of the Indian community and is Chairman of the Tamil Benefit Society, has been for the third time sentenced to be imprisoned as a passive resister. This time he has been sentenced at Volksrust, my Association believes, with hard labour. I venture to draw your attention to the fact that Mr. Chettiar has a constitutional disease, and that at Johannesburg the Magistrate imposed only light labour. My Association is not aware what is being done with Mr. Chettiar at Volksrust, but, as he is hardly able to walk the distance that he will probably have to cover between Johannesburg and Diepkloof on his removal ultimately to Diepkloof, I beg to draw attention to the information I have given above, and to hope that suitable precautions will be taken, so that Mr. Chettiar's health may not suffer. According to the information received by my Association, Mr. Chettiar is still at Volksrust Gaol.

*Indian Opinion*, 23-4-1910

## *158. THOSE DEPORTATIONS*

Never has a steamer leaving the South African shore for the Indian carried a more precious human cargo than that carried by the *Umhloti* last week. That ship has sailed with some sixty passive resisters unlawfully deported to India from the Transvaal under an administrative order based on the flimsiest evidence and from which there is no appeal to the usual courts of that Colony. Who are these passive resisters?

[1] This letter, presumably drafted by Gandhiji, was signed by A. M. Cachalia, Chairman, British Indian Association.

They are most of them men who have been voluntarily registered, and are all domiciled in the Transvaal. Most of them have served their imprisonment as passive resisters. Some of them are lads born in South Africa. Some are domiciled also in Natal, and some have a right to enter Natal or the Cape on the ground of possessing educational qualifications. And many have left families behind them. These families, but for the timely assistance from India, would be starving.

And why have these men been deported? We were told at one time that those who were voluntarily registered would not be deported. But now the Asiatic officials have discovered that they can get rid of voluntarily registered passive resisters also. These men are called upon to produce their certificates. They say they have burnt the documents. Then they are asked to give their signatures and finger prints. These the passive resisters naturally decline to give. Now both these omissions—the omission to produce the certificates and the one to give signatures, etc.—are crimes carrying a high penalty. But the zealous officials do not wish to adopt the regular course of prosecuting the men. They assume that the men have no certificates at all and, therefore, insist on their deportation under an administrative inquiry. They contend that if they do not follow this course, any Asiatic may pretend that he has been voluntarily registered and thus "merely go to gaol". There is a double fallacy in this argument. For the man who so pretends, still goes to gaol, and having gone to gaol, he has to give finger impressions which ensure detection of any such pretension. And if an examination of finger impressions should betray the man, he would be liable to be committed for perjury in addition to an order for deportation. Moreover, the above argument cannot hold water, seeing that such well-known stalwarts like Messrs Chettiar and Quinn[1] have also been deported. The policy clearly is to subject passive resisters to a treatment such that they cannot bear it. We shall see what success attends the efforts of the Asiatic Department.

*Indian Opinion*, 23-4-1910

[1] Chairman of the Transvaal Chinese Association; *vide* "The Supreme Court Case", p. 243.

## 159. JOURNALISTS' DUTY

We find the following report in a newspaper received from India.

> The manager and the editor of the *Gujarat Patra*, published from Nadiad, had been served with a notice by Mr. Chakravarti, the District Magistrate of Kaira, under section 124 of the Indian Penal Code, to show cause why they should not be prosecuted. When the case came up for hearing at Anand before the District Magistrate, it was stated by the defendants' advocate, Mr. Maganbhai Chaturbhai Patel, B.A., LL.B., that the matter in respect of which the notice had been issued was a translation of an English letter and that the respondents had no unlawful intention in publishing it. At the same time, he expressed regret for [the publication of] the matter whereupon the notice which had been issued was withdrawn.

We are sorry for the manager and the editor. What happened to them may now happen to any other newspaper. A time may come when here, too, the same condition will prevail. However, we see that just now it is not so, with the result that the full force of what we say cannot be appreciated. It may appear somewhat presumptuous for a man who is not himself caught in a fire to write anything about those who are. However, some general comments will not be considered out of place on this occasion.

We think the editors of all such newspapers, which do not run with a commercial motive but only with a view to public service, must be prepared to face extinction at any moment. It is obvious that all newspapers do not come within the scope of this rule, but only those which aim at public service by advocating reforms in the Government or among the people or in both.

What should an editor do when something he has published displeases the Government or is held to violate some law, but is none the less true? Should he apologize? We would say, certainly not. True, he is not bound to publish such matter, but once it has been published, the editor ought to accept responsibility for it.

This raises a very important issue. If the principle we have laid down is correct, it follows that, if any provocative writing has been published unintentionally and no apology is offered for the same, the newspaper will in consequence be prevented from rendering other services as well and the community will go without that benefit. We would not, therefore, apply this principle to matter published unintentionally, but it should apply to what is published after full deliberation.

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If a newspaper runs into difficulties for publishing any such matter, we think the closing down of the newspaper will be a better service to the public. The argument that in that case one may have to face the confiscation of all one's property and be reduced to poverty has no force. Such a contingency may certainly arise, and it was precisely for this reason that we said that the editor of a journal devoted to public service must be ever ready for death.

Let us take one or two obvious illustrations. Suppose that in a certain region there obtains the cruel practice of *kanya-vikraya*[1]. A reformer starts a newspaper there and writes strongly against this practice. Those who follow the practice are angry with him and decide to outcaste him if he does not apologize. We are sure the reformer ought to go on writing against offering girls in marriage for a price, even if he has to face total ruin or be outcast for that, and, when he is left without a single pie, he should close down the newspaper; he must not apologize, whatever happens. It is only by such conduct that he can prepare the ground for rooting out the practice.

Let us take another illustration. Suppose that the Government has committed a gross injustice and robbed the poor. A progressive newspaper is being published in such a place. It writes against the oppressive measure and advises the people to disregard the unjust law of the Government. The Government takes offence and threatens confiscation of property if no apology is forthcoming. Should the reformer apologize? We think the reply is again the same, that he should stand the confiscation of his property and close down the newspaper but certainly not offer an apology. The people would then see that, if the reformer could lose his all for their sake, they should also in their own interest oppose the law. If the reformer should apologize, the effect on the people would exactly be the reverse of this. They would know that the man would not be concerned overmuch even if their houses were on fire, that, from a safe distance, he would only indulge in meaningless declamations. When he himself ran into trouble [they would say], he meekly retired. And so they will think of doing likewise and resign themselves to the inevitable. They will thus argue themselves into greater weakness. It is, therefore, clear in this instance that the best service that the reformer can render will be to stop the newspaper.

[From Gujarati]
*Indian Opinion*, 23-4-1910

[1] Demanding a price for a girl (offered in marriage)

## *160. "AS ONE SOWS ONE REAPS"*

We all know this saying, but most of us go the opposite way and desire the reverse of what we do. Stay-at-homes, we want to be wealthy. Though we eat too much, we will have no indigestion. We would not work, but hope to have all our desires fulfilled. We deserve hell for our deeds, but wish to go to heaven. In newspapers from India, we come across accounts of the miserable condition of the *bhangis*[1] and other castes. These castes are despised by some so-called civilized Indians. The Maharaja of Baroda has passed an order for the admission of members of these castes to public schools. Some Indians, claiming to belong to higher castes, have protested against this and are putting difficulties in the way of the Maharaja. This is how we behave as a nation, and yet we do not want to pay the price for this and would not submit to the treatment meted out to us in South Africa. How can we escape [retribution] ? Recently, an Indian judge[2] in Madras made some severe remarks [on our behaviour]. He does not mind, he says, our kicking up a row about South Africa, but complains that we look down upon our own people, think ourselves defiled by their touch, keep them at a distance from us and grind them under our heels; he wants to know why we do not seek to remedy this state of affairs. "Why do we not, instead of lashing out at the whites, rain lashes on our own backs?" he asks.

We have no answer to this charge. True, we can say something for ourselves. But we do not think it necessary to say it here.

To be sure, Indians in South Africa must take a lesson from their present condition. They must realize that it would not do for them, on returning to India, to treat the *bhangis* with contempt. If those who have been putting difficulties in the way[3] of the Maharaja Gaekwar are representative specimens of high-caste Hindus, a time will come when birth in a *bhangi* family will confer great honour. The contemptuous attitude of the [caste] Hindu towards the *bhangis* and others is a striking illustration of the length to which man is carried by pride and selfishness. We should like every wise and decent Hindu to pray, "O God!

[1] Scavengers

[2] K. Srinivas Rao, Sub-judge, presiding at a meeting at Tuticorin; *vide* "The Beam in India's Eye", *Indian Opinion*, 23-4-1910.

[3] In the matter of his admitting children of the *bhangis* to public schools; *vide* "Retribution", *Indian Opinion*, 23-4-1910.

Save me from this pride and this selfishness", and to be granted the strength to fight this tyranny.

[From Gujarati]
*Indian Opinion*, 23-4-1910

## *161. PETITION TO TRANSVAAL LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY*[1]

*April 25, 1910*

1. Your Petitioner has read a private Bill to amend certain laws relating to the Municipality of Pretoria, and to confer further powers upon the Council thereof.

2. Your Petitioner, on behalf of the Association, respectfully protests against Section 5 of the Bill, in so far as it relates to the application of certain Regulations of Towns, dated the 25th day of October, 1899, to the Pretoria Municipality, inasmuch as these Regulations constitute an attack on the rights of British Indians, among others, in respect of the use of side-walks.

3. Your Petitioner therefore prays that this Honourable House will be pleased to remove from Section 5 the portion hereinbefore referred to, or grant such other relief as to it may seem meet. And for this act of justice and mercy, your Petitioner will, as in duty bound, for ever pray.

*Indian Opinion*, 30-4-1910

## *162. LETTER TO G. K. GOKHALE*[2]

JOHANNESBURG,
*April 25, 1910*

DEAR PROFESSOR GOKHALE,

In answer to my cable[3] of the 6th December last, you cabled inquiring what funds were required, and in my replying cable I stated as follows:

> Present requirements thousand pounds. Expect imprisonment before end month. Much more required later.

On the same day, I wrote to you[4] how the funds are being dealt

[1] This petition, presumably drafted by Gandhiji, was sent over the signature of E. I. Aswat, Acting Chairman, British Indian Association.

[2] A Gujarati translation appeared in *Indian Opinion*, 7-5-1910.

[3] Not available

[4] *Vide* "Letter to G. K. Gokhale", pp. 96-8.

with. In that letter, I told you that the debt incurred in conducting Phœnix by me personally was paid out of the amount received from you. This covers over £ 1,200. I gave you also the following approximate summary of monthly expenses:

| | |
|---|---|
| Office here | £50 |
| Office London | £40 |
| *Indian Opinion* | £50 |
| Distressed families | £25 |

In your letter replying to mine, you were good enough to inform me that the expenses were in order.

In view of the certainty of prolongation of the struggle yet for some considerable time, it is necessary for me to give you a resume of receipts and expenditure, and of the events to date. The monies obtained to date since December last are as follows:

| | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| From Bombay | 4,253 | 3 | 4 |
| From Rangoon | 750 | 0 | 0 |
| From London | 135 | 8 | 2 |
| From Mozambique | 50 | 0 | 0 |
| From Zanzibar | 59 | 3 | 6 |
| From Lourenco Marques | 11 | 12 | 0 |
| From Natal | 8 | 16 | 0 |
| Local | 1 | 7 | 7 |
| | 5,269 | 10 | 7 |

The Bombay fund is divided into two parts—£3,914-10-0 has been sent to be used for carrying on the struggle generally, and £338-13-4 has been earmarked for relief of distress among the passive resisters or their dependants. These instructions have been closely followed. The remittances from Rangoon as also from London have, like the earmarked fund from Bombay, been devoted to the relief of distress only.

Your letter, as also Mr. Petit's, has left the expenditure to my discretion, and I have considered it best to avail myself of that latitude. The funds are banked to a separate account, called the Passive Resistance Fund Account, in the Natal Bank, Johannesburg. So far as the Bank is concerned, I alone operate upon them. No special and formal committee has been organized, nor are the funds treated as part of the British Indian Association Account. The British Indian Association covers a wider range than that of passive resistance. Disbursements are made in consultation with or subject to the approval of Mr. Cachalia, who is the President of the British Indian Association, and other passive resisters.

CWMG - X

The Phœnix debt represented a personal debt incurred by me from European friends and clients by reason of the necessity of having to continue *Indian Opinion* under somewhat adverse circumstances and at a loss in the interests of the struggle. I have devoted to the continuance of *Indian Opinion* and the establishment of Phœnix all my earnings during my last stay in South Africa, that is, nearly £5,000. I derive no pecuniary benefit from Phœnix, the support of my family and myself being found by a European friend[1]. Those Europeans and Indians who are my co-workers at Phœnix receive as a rule only what they need, and are practically under a vow of poverty. Certain alterations have been made in the management of Phœnix, which I am glad to be able to say have so far enabled the continuance of the paper without the monthly assistance referred to in my letter. The Committee in London is being financed on a most economic basis. I have to make the same remark in connection with the offices here. The expenditure [up] to the 20th instant is as follows:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Local Expenses | 374 | 11 | 8 |
| London Office | 175 | 15 | 0 |
| Relief of Distress | 449 | 11 | 11 |
| Relief apart from Distress Fund | 50 | 0 | 0 |
| *Indian Opinion* Debt | 1,200 | 0 | 0 |
| Total | £2,249 | 18 | 7 |

This leaves a balance of £3,019/12/-. The monthly expenses for relieving distress have, however, as you see, gone forward, and, whereas, in the month of December only £25 was paid, on the present basis it comes to nearly £160 per month, over fifty families receiving support. Local expenses, besides the carrying on of the office here, include travelling expenses of passive resisters from Durban, etc., as also cables and such other disbursements. The above expenditure covers a period of four months and a half. Excluding relief expenditure and the item for the *Indian Opinion* debt, the average monthly expense is nearly £133. The expenses for supporting distressed families are bound to increase as time passes. I, therefore, put them down at £200 per month. The average monthly expense then may be put down at £333. The balance of £3,019/12/- may thus be exhausted about the month of January next.

Nearly £50 is being paid towards rent due by the families in distress. We have, therefore, been considering the advisability of removing them to a farm, where women as well as men could do something to earn a living, and where we should probably be able to save half of

[1] Hermann Kallenbach

what is now being paid for relief. There was the difficulty about a capital outlay on a farm. Mr. Cachalia, others who were out of gaol and I were even prepared to risk that outlay in the hope of being able to sell the farm, if necessary, at the close of the struggle, but a large outlay will probably not be required, as a European friend has offered to buy a farm and place it at the disposal of the passive resisters during the continuance of the struggle, free of charge.[1] This very generous offer has been almost accepted and by the time this letter is in your hands, he may have secured a suitable farm, in which [case] all the distressed families and I should be living together on the farm.

The expenses detailed above take no note of relief that is being granted privately by individuals.

The estimate I gave you of active passive resisters I now see was an under-estimate, and many whom I did not consider would come forward are now either serving imprisonment or have been deported. The Authorities have been of late very active in effecting arrests, particularly of the brave Tamils, than whom no [other] Indians have done better in connection with the struggle. These brave men have time after time courted imprisonment. There are over thirty at present at the Diepkloof Gaol, which is a penal settlement, in which the regulations are more severe than in the other prisons of the Transvaal. Nearly sixty have been deported by the *Umhloti* and over thirty may be deported any day, orders for deportation having been already made. I cannot write about these deportations with sufficient restraint. All these men are domiciled in the Transvaal; some of them are domiciled also in Natal; some, again, have a right to enter Natal, being able to pass the education test imposed under the immigration law of that Colony. Some are mere lads born in the Transvaal or other parts of South Africa, and many have left behind them families that have been reared in this country. I come into constant touch with the brave wives, sisters or mothers of the deported men. I once asked them whether they would like to go with the deported to India, and they indignantly remarked: "How can we? We were brought to this country as children, and we do not know anybody in India. We would rather perish here than go to India, which is a foreign land to us." However regrettable this attitude of mind may be from a national standpoint, the fact remains that these men and women are rooted to the South African soil. Many of these men before the struggle commenced earned a decent living. Some of them had stores, some were trolley-contractors, and others were hawkers, cigar-makers, waiters, etc., the employees earning a minimum wage of £6 and a maximum of £15, whereas the trolley-contractors and others who followed an independent calling earned as much as

[1] *Vide* "Letter to H. Kallenbach", p. 262.

from £20 to £30 per month. All these are now reduced to poverty, and their families receive from the Passive Resistance Fund the barest sustenance money.

I may mention for your information that it was stated at one time by the Government that those who were voluntarily registered in the Transvaal, as many of these deported men are, were not deported at all, and that those who were domiciled in parts of South Africa other than the Transvaal were deported to such parts and not to India. Both these declarations have been falsified, the excuse given being that these men refuse to supply identification particulars and to prove domicile. The first excuse is invalid, because the refusal to supply identification particulars is itself a criminal offence, and these men, seeing that they were voluntarily registered, could have been proceeded against under the special section that deals with refusal to supply identification particulars. There was no occasion to treat them as unregistered Indians and thus deport them. The second excuse is equally invalid, in that those who were entitled to enter Natal stated that they were domiciled there and those who had a knowledge of a European language did not need to bring forward any proof. In my opinion, the fact is that, having failed to break the proud spirit of the brave Tamils, the Asiatic Department has now embarked upon a plan of extermination, and of taxing our pecuniary resources to the uttermost. Be that as it may, I think that I am quite correct in assuring you and, through you, the public in India, that neither these men, nor their wives, mothers nor sisters, as the case may be, are likely to succumb in any appreciable measure.

I hope that the Motherland will not rest so long as the insult offered to her in the Transvaal legislation that we are fighting has not been removed, and that we shall continue to receive the support that has been hitherto extended to us.

*I remain,*
*Yours truly,*
M. K. GANDHI

From the typewritten original signed by Gandhiji: G. N. 3799; also *Indian Opinion*, 7-5-1910

## 163. LETTER TO DIRECTOR OF PRISONS[1]

[JOHANNESBURG,]
*April 26, 1910*

SIR,

Some of the passive resisters recently discharged from Diepkloof have brought to the notice of my Association complaints and information which, in the interests of humanity, my Association feels bound to place before you.

Mr. Sorabji, who has suffered imprisonment again and again, was on the 26th October last, together with Mr. Medh[2], sentenced to a further term at Volksrust. Mr. Sorabji states that during this last imprisonment at Volksrust, he was roughly treated by a warder named Nell. The previous time that he had gone to prison, he was, under medical orders, specially put on light labour, and he was called upon to carry no heavy weight. But, on the occasion in question, on the day of sentence, before medical examination had taken place, Warder Nell ordered Mr. Sorabji to water plants, in the doing of which he was called upon to fill full with water two five-gallon buckets and to carry them to some distance, a task which the Native prisoner with whom he and the other Indians were made to work could do only with some difficulty. Warder Nell knew Mr. Sorabji during his previous term of imprisonment, and knew also that, under special medical instructions, he was put upon very light labour, and his task chiefly consisted in store-work, keeping an account of clothing and distributing it. Mr. Sorabji was working under another warder named Oberholster, who did not mind Mr. Sorabji taking his own time and only half-filling the buckets. At 2 o'clock that day, Warder Nell came and insisted upon Mr. Sorabji filling the two buckets full. The latter protested and said that the warder knew him and knew also that the Medical Officer had last time put him upon light labour only. He also drew the warder's attention to the fact that he was suffering from rupture and dislocation of one of his arms and from acceleration of the heart. The warder took no heed, and still insisted upon Mr. Sorabji carrying the buckets and watering the plants. This he was obliged to do up to the time he was able to see the Medical Officer, that is, for two days. Upon his bringing the matter to the notice of the Medical Officer, instructions

[1] This letter, presumably drafted by Gandhiji, was signed by E. I. Aswat, Acting Chairman of the British Indian Association.

[2] Leading Natal Indian satyagrahi, *vide* "Notable Discharges", p. 237.

were at once given to the effect that he was not to be put upon any heavy work and that he was not to be made to carry any weight. Warder Nell, evidently wishing to be spiteful, brought a charge of breach of discipline against Mr. Sorabji, and the latter was tried before the Magistrate. The breach of discipline consisted in Mr. Sorabji's having drawn attention to his condition, and his having, as was alleged by the warder and denied by Mr. Sorabji, said to the former "Leave me alone. You are causing trouble for nothing." Mr. Sorabji cross-examined the warder, and related the whole of the incident to the Magistrate, who, however, said that he was not trying the question of the work that was entrusted to Mr. Sorabji, but that he was simply trying the question of breach of discipline; and punished him with spare diet. It is worthy perhaps of remark that, as the Medical Officer had ordered only light labour for Mr. Sorabji, the latter was given by the same warder the dirtiest work to do, namely, the cleaning of the water-closet. Mr. Sorabji desires me to state that he had no objection, as a passive resister, to doing the work, but my Association considers it to be its duty to bring the matter to your notice.

On removal from Volksrust, Mr. Sorabji was accompanied by Messrs Medh and Harilal Gandhi. The three were handcuffed together, and marched from the gaol to the station, a distance of over a mile. They were, in spite of the handcuffs, made to carry their own bundles, which were fairly heavy, as they contained, in addition to their personal clothing, books also, and they had to carry things belonging to the warder in charge and one blanket each. They were marched from Park Station to the Fort in the same manner.

With reference to the condition at Diepkloof, Messrs Sorabji and Medh, who have been just discharged, confirm the statements made by other discharged men as follows: The Medical Officer continues to be entirely callous to the avoidable sufferings of the prisoners. Once, Mr. Thambi Naidoo, who is still at Diepkloof, and who, my Association considers, is one the bravest of men and certainly incapable of lying, complained to the Medical Officer that the prisoners were suffering from partial starvation; whereupon, he called Mr. Naidoo a liar. Mr. Medh often complained that he was losing weight, and that he should have the quantity of the food increased and the quality improved, but the Medical Officer laughed at his complaint and turned a deaf ear. When Mr. Medh had lost over twenty-five pounds, he complained to the Deputy-Governor, and it was only on the 1st April, that is, during the last three weeks of his imprisonment, that the quantity was increased. Most of the prisoners complain that they lose in weight, but the change in diet is not ordered until the Medical Officer considers that they have lost more weight than they need have. The usual remark made by him is that no harm is done to the prisoners if

they lose somewhat in weight and throw off what he calls superfluous fat. The Medical Officer used often to remark to the prisoners that they were getting fat on the Government rations. In the humble opinion of my Association, under treatment such as this, the lot of Indian passive resisters at Diepkloof is being made unnecessarily hard. The fact that out of 72 Asiatic prisoners, 18 had to receive an increase in diet shows that the present scale is perilously low both in quantity and quality. The approach of the cold weather makes my Association nervous as to the health of these prisoners, who, deprived of the ordinary fat in their diet to which they are accustomed, will suffer very seriously.

The discharged men also complain that, whereas, last winter, the articles of clothing included a stout shirt, this time it has not yet been allowed, and the prisoners have already begun to suffer from the absence of this article of clothing. My Association is not aware whether this change has been made throughout, but, even if it has on grounds of economy or otherwise, my Association hopes that Indian prisoners, who belong to a much warmer country, will not be deprived of the long-sleeved shirts to which they have always been used. My Association understands that this complaint has been brought to the notice of the Governor, as also of the Medical Officer, but they informed the prisoners that the change was made by the Government. The prisoners complain also of the fewness of the blankets. Diepkloof Prison, which is built with corrugated iron only and which is without any ceiling-board, being on high ground, is very cold, and three blankets, which may be sufficient in the stone-built prison at Volksrust, are undoubtedly not enough cover for the British Indian prisoners at Diepkloof. My Association ventures to draw your attention to the fact that, at Volksrust, all the Indian prisoners were allowed, even during warm weather, besides three blankets and matting, a bed-board and a pillow. The two latter articles are not given to the prisoners at Diepkloof. Messrs Sorabji and Medh, who have had experience at Houtpoort and Volksrust, mention that at both these places during winter time four blankets were supplied to British Indian prisoners; and they add that, at Houtpoort, four blankets were ordered by yourself, when you visited the gaol there and the passive resisters complained.

One very painful incident, too, is reported by Messrs Sorabji and Medh. There is an Indian prisoner at Diepkloof, who is over 60 years old. He pleaded before the Medical Officer for a shirt and an extra blanket, but that officer point-blank declined to grant relief.

My Association ventures to trust that the matters herein set forth will receive your urgent and careful attention.

*Indian Opinion*, 30-4-1910

## *164. NOTABLE DISCHARGES*

Messrs Sorabji and Medh, who are among the stalwarts of passive resistance, were discharged on Saturday last. Both have served more than twelve months' imprisonment. Both are educated and both have sacrificed their all for the honour of India. Mr. Sorabji laid the foundation of the second stage of the struggle and Mr. Medh was among the first batch of Natal Indians who entered the Transvaal in order to test their rights as British subjects. Both have suffered much during their incarceration. Mr. Medh has lost heavily in flesh. But both have gained in moral strength, in soul-power. Their material loss is the community's gain. We congratulate these servants of India and wish them enough strength to go through what more may be in store for them.

*Indian Opinion*, 30-4-1910

## *165. THE PRETORIA MUNICIPALITY*[1]

This notorious municipality keeps up its reputation for waging war against Colour. A private Bill introduced during the last session of the Transvaal Parliament seeks to perpetuate the Town Regulations of the Boer regime which prevent the use of footpaths by Natives, Coloured people and Asiatics. The British Indian Association of the Transvaal has done well in formally protesting against the Bill.[2] It contains, as it ought to, a clause to the effect that it will not come into force unless and until His Majesty has expressed his pleasure not to disallow it. Lord Crewe has now an opportunity of showing that he is ready to protect the unrepresented classes in South Africa from insult and molestation. But the ultimate court of appeal is and must be the people themselves who are affected by hostile legislation.

*Indian Opinion*, 30-4-1910

[1] *Vide* also "Pretoria Municipality", pp. 238-9.
[2] *Vide* "Petition to Transvaal Legislative Assembly", p. 229.

## 166. THE £3 TAX AGAIN

The Government have notified Indians who are liable to pay the annual poll-tax of £3 that by re-indenturing they may avoid payment of the tax, and they have notified the women who are so liable that they could avoid the tax by showing the Magistrate of their district sufficient cause for avoidance. On the face of it, the notice seems to be in the interests of the men and women concerned. But in reality, it is nothing of the kind. The notice as to the men is totally for the benefit of the employers of Indian labour. It was for them that the change in the law was made. For, the employers had to pay higher wages in order to enable the Indians who were liable to the tax to discharge it. A complacent Government have, therefore, met the employers by exempting from payment Indians who may be employed by them. So that the notice is in effect a warning to the unfortunate Indians to re-indenture or to pay the tax.

As for the women, the less said about the disgraceful affair the better. After the humiliating surrender to the clamorous party in the Assembly, we could expect nothing better from the Government than the insulting notice to the women. Their womanhood should either prove sufficient cause for non-payment or none other could. If their sex do not protect them, they must re-indenture in the same way as men. We hope, however, that not a single Indian woman would do anything of the kind.

*Indian Opinion*, 30-4-1910

## 167. PRETORIA MUNICIPALITY

The Pretoria Municipality has never been known to behave better than like the garbage-removing body that it is. It has earned a name for its hostility to the Coloured people. It would seem to have come into existence just to make things go hard with them. In the last session of the Transvaal Parliament, too, this Municipality dealt a blow to the Coloureds. A private Bill sponsored by it seeks to provide that Coloured persons should not use footpaths. "Coloured" will include Cape Boys and Asiatics. The British Indian Association has done well to send a petition[1] against this. It will also be necessary to send a petition to Lord Crewe. Let us see what he and Lord Morley say [in reply]. But

[1] *Vide* "Petition to Transvaal Legislative Assembly", p. 229.

it must always be borne in mind that our ultimate appeal lies only to ourselves. Is it possible that the Pretoria Indians will agree to avoid footpaths and walk on the roads?

[From Gujarati]
*Indian Opinion*, 30-4-1910

## *168. LETTER TO G. K. GOKHALE*

JOHANNESBURG,
*May 2, 1910*

DEAR PROFESSOR GOKHALE,

I am sending you a public letter[1] addressed to you. After due deliberation, I thought that it was the best thing for me to do. The letter has been handed to the Press here,[2] and I take it that you will publish it on your side also. The letter, too, enables me to inform all the contributors. I have now heard from Mr. Petit that Mr. Tata approves of the expenses incurred by me in connection with *Indian Opinion*. Your letter, to which I have alluded in the accompanying, had already relieved me of anxiety on this score, but it is as well that I have received specific approval from Mr. Tata also.

I do hope that my action in publishing *Hind Swaraj* in Gujarati and now the translation in English does not in any way affect the struggle that is going on in the Transvaal. The opinions expressed by me in the booklet are personal to me. Though they have been matured in the course of the struggle, they have nothing to do with it at all, and I trust that you will be able, should any prejudice arise against myself personally or the pamphlet, to keep the merits of the struggle entirely separate from me. The views expressed by me in *Hind Swaraj* have not been formed without much thought and consideration. Mr. Polak has passed on the typed copy to you. I am not sending you the printed copy because, as the Gujarati is confiscated, I suppose the same thing applies to the translation.

If you have had the time to go through the typed copy, I shall esteem your opinion. The booklet has been widely circulated here. Much criticism has been received. There appears today in *The Transvaal Leader* a signed criticism, which I am asking Mr. Polak to forward to you.

I am not answering the personal part of your letter of December. I simply felt that it was my duty to lay my views before you, which I

[1] *Vide* "Letter to G. K. Gokhale", pp. 229-33.
[2] It was reproduced in *Indian Opinion*, 7-5-1910.

have done. It is not for me now to argue. Should I ever have the privilege of meeting you personally, I shall certainly again press upon your attention some of the views I hold so strongly, and which it appears to me are perfectly sound. Meanwhile, with the hope that you have entirely recovered from your malady, and that you will be long spared for the service of the Motherland, I can only remain,

*Yours sincerely,*
M. K. GANDHI

THE HONOURABLE PROFESSOR GOKHALE
BOMBAY

From a photostat of the typewritten original signed by Gandhiji: G. N. 3800

## *169. LETTER TO GENERAL MANAGER, C. S. A. R.*[1]

[JOHANNESBURG,]
*May 2, 1910*

SIR,

Messrs F. A. Moolla and Suliman Kako, of 9 Jubilee Street, Johannesburg, were travelling on the 25th ultimo from Trichardts to Ermelo. On boarding the train, they could not secure seats. They held second-class tickets. They mentioned the matter to the conductor, who said that he would find them seats. Station after station passed by, and they met the conductor, but no seats were provided until the train reached Breyten. At Breyten, Mr. Moolla told the conductor that he would be reported, and the latter said that, in that event, Mr. Moolla would not be allowed to take a seat at all, and went away. Mr. Moolla and his companion, however, took their seats in the compartment that had been pointed out to them. My Association trusts that you will be good enough to inquire into this matter.

*Indian Opinion*, 14-5-1910

[1] This letter, presumably drafted by Gandhiji, was sent over the signature of A. M. Cachalia, Chairman, British Indian Association.

CWMG-X

## *170. JOHANNESBURG*

*Monday* [*May 2, 1910*]

### Joseph Royeppen

Messrs Joseph Royeppen, David Andrew, Samuel Joseph and Dhobi Nayana were to be released on Saturday, but, even on the previous day, they were brought to the gaol here and, instead of being released, were handed over to the police for being deported. They were immediately bailed out for two days. Though this was their first experience of gaol, Mr. Royeppen and his companions spent their time very cheerfully. They are, moreover, in excellent health. All of them want to re-enter immediately.

*Tuesday* [*May 3, 1910*]

### Quinn's Petition

Mr. Quinn, who has been ordered to be deported and has been kept in custody in Pretoria, challenged in the Supreme Court the Government's right to hold him in detention pending his deportation and prayed to the Court to order his release. The petition was heard and the Chief Justice ruled that the period of detention could not be considered unreasonable.[1] The Court held that since it could not pronounce judgment on the order of deportation, the only question for decision concerned the period [of detention]. The judgment is of little consequence. We are where we were. A satyagrahi should not go in for all this bother of moving the Supreme Court, but men differ in their views and inclinations and that is the reason why Mr. Quinn was obliged to make this petition. The Chinese have not been in the least disheartened by this judgment.

### Chinese Meeting

The Chinese held a meeting on Sunday. It was attended, among others, by Mr. Royeppen and his companions, the Imam Saheb, and Messrs Coovadia, Bhikhaji, Sorabji, Medh, Gandhi and others. Mr. Quinn explained the state of the struggle in all its aspects. At the end of the meeting, tea and fruits were served in honour of Mr. Royeppen. While in gaol, Mr. Royeppen was a complete vegetarian. He says he felt no need of meat. Mr. Royeppen and the others were taken to Pretoria this morning.

[1] *Vide* also "The Supreme Court Case", p. 243.

### SHELAT

Indian prisoners at Diepkloof have sent a message to say that the Government should be requested not to ask Mr. Shelat to carry slop-pails and that they are ready to do the work on his behalf. The message does them credit. Mr. Cachalia has accordingly addressed a letter[1] to the Government, so that, if it feels like it, it may spare Mr. Shelat.

### VISIT TO SODHA

Miss Schlesin left for Diepkloof on Sunday last in order to visit Mr. Sodha. He is to be discharged next Saturday. He has maintained good health in gaol.

[From Gujarati]
*Indian Opinion*, 7-5-1910

## *171. LETTER TO DIRECTOR OF PRISONS*[2]

[JOHANNESBURG,]
*May 3, 1910*

SIR,

Mr. Shelat was some time ago serving imprisonment as a passive resister at Diepkloof, and underwent prolonged solitary confinement for refusing to carry slop-pails. The discharged passive resisters have brought the message to my Association that the remaining British Indian prisoners at Diepkloof are quite agreeable that Mr. Shelat, who is a Brahmin and has very great conscientious scruples about removing slop-pails, should be excused from having to perform that work; and that the other British Indian prisoners will be prepared to replace him whenever his turn comes to remove the pails.[3] My Association does not know whether Mr. Shelat has yet been ordered to do this work, but I consider it my duty to bring the above matter to your notice, so that such instructions as you may consider fit may be issued to the officials at Diepkloof.

*Indian Opinion*, 7-5-1910

[1] *Vide* the following item.

[2] This letter, presumably drafted by Gandhiji, was signed by A. M. Cachalia, Chairman, British Indian Association.

[3] *Vide* "Letter to the Transvaal Administrator", p. 268.

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## 172. CABLE TO ROYAL FAMILY[1]

[JOHANNESBURG,
After *May 6, 1910*]

BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION TENDERS HUMBLE CONDOLENCES ROYAL FAMILY.

*Indian Opinion*, 14-5-1910

## 173. THE SUPREME COURT CASE

The judgment[2] given by the Supreme Court on the application of Mr. Quinn, the Chairman of the Transvaal Chinese Association, does not take us any further. The deportations still remain illegal. The Court was not called upon to decide upon the legality or otherwise of the warrant itself. The Court had no jurisdiction in the matter, the order being purely administrative. The question, therefore, of deporting Asiatics who are lawfully registered residents of the Transvaal remains where it was. The only question that the Court had to decide was whether the detention in Pretoria pending deportation was reasonable or not. The Court had no difficulty, in view of circumstances, to come to the conclusion that detention was not unreasonable.

The proceedings, however, throw a curious light on the situation. The authorities are unable to carry out their illegal policy through a British port. The deportees, if they were to pass through British territories, would have a legal remedy. They are, therefore, smuggled through a foreign port. As passive resisters, however, theirs is not to complain. Their duty is simply to go where they are forced to and at the earliest possible moment to retrace their steps as soon as they become free agents, and once more challenge the might of the Transvaal Government.

*Indian Opinion*, 7-5-1910

[1] This cablegram, presumably drafted by Gandhiji, was sent through the Deputy Governor of the Transvaal on behalf of the British Indian Association by its Chairman, A. M. Cachalia, on the death of King Edward VII, who had passed away on 6-5-1910.

[2] *Vide* also "Johannesburg", p. 241.

## 174. MR. ROYEPPEN AND HIS FRIENDS

Mr. Joseph Royeppen and his companions are making history. Every passive resister who has come out of Diepkloof has spoken of Mr. Royeppen and his companions, Messrs Andrew and Joseph, in most flattering terms. They have taken their imprisonment extremely well. According to their wont, the Government, evidently to test their strength, have re-arrested them[1] and have deported them. As Mr. Royeppen states in his letter to the Press,[2] he and his friends have accepted the Government's challenge. We congratulate him and his friends on the brave stand they are making.

But Mr. Royeppen's letter reveals a most painful state of things in the gaols of the Transvaal. Much of what Mr. Royeppen has stated in his letter is generally known. But the details now given by him as to how they were kept standing barefoot on a cold stone floor, how they were kept undressed in a draughty passage, how they were handcuffed and how brutally certain warders dealt with them, revive the memories of a shocking and disgraceful incident. Such treatment, instead of unnerving them, has, we are glad to notice, strengthened them in their resolve to vindicate the national honour.

Mr. Royeppen and his companions have set to the young Indians in South Africa a brilliant and a noble example worthy to be followed. They have shown that true happiness lies not in gaining riches but in moulding character. We trust that the lead given by Mr. Royeppen will infuse a new spirit into the colonial-born and other Indians who have their work cut out before them if they wish to take part in the making of the future South African nation.

*Indian Opinion*, 7-5-1910

[1] *Vide* "Johannesburg", p. 241.

[2] *Vide* "Indian Barrister's Gaol Experiences", *Indian Opinion*, 7-5-1910.

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## 175. OUR PUBLICATIONS

The Bombay *Government Gazette* of the 24th March last notifies that *Hind Swarajya*, *Universal Dawn*[1], *Mustafa Kamel Pasha's Speech*, and *Defence of Socrates or The Story of a True Warrior*[2]—all publications of the International Printing Press—have been forfeited to His Majesty for the reason that they "contain matter declared to be seditious".

*Hind Swarajya*, in the shape of *Indian Home Rule*, is before our readers. *Universal Dawn* is a Gujarati rendering of Ruskin's *Unto This Last*. *Mustafa Kamel Pasha's Speech* is a Gujarati translation of the Egyptian patriot's speech delivered just before his death before a vast audience at Cairo. *Defence of Socrates or The Story of a True Warrior* is a Gujarati rendering of Plato's immortal work printed in order to illustrate the virtue and the true nature of passive resistance. All these publications, except *Hind Swarajya*, have been before the public for a considerable time. They are intended to impart a lofty, moral tone to the reader and are, in our opinion, works capable of being put into children's hands without any danger whatsoever.

But we have no right to complain. We consider this activity on the part of the Government of India a passing phase. They are in a state of panic and, wishing to do something, they intend to stop the circulation of literature that shows the slightest independence of spirit. This overzeal is bound to kill itself. The really dangerous publications will seek all kinds of dubious and devious methods of circulation, and we fear that they will, on that account, be read by the very class whom the Government intend that they do not reach.

In these circumstances, we, who are uncompromising advocates of passive resistance, have only one course left open to us. The repression cannot affect us. Our views can only remain the same, and they must find expression on every due occasion, regardless of personal consequences.

We sympathize with the Government of India in their desire to stop the spread of methods of violence. We would do and give much to stop it. But the only way we know to eradicate the disease is to popularize passive resistance of the right stamp. Any other way, especially repression, must inevitably fail in the long run.

*Indian Opinion*, 7-5-1910

[1] *Vide* Vol. VIII, pp. 239-42, 256-8, 269-71, 281-3, 289-90, 303-5, 324-6, 337-9 & 371-5.

[2] ibid., pp. 172-4, 185-7, 196-9, 212-4, 217-21 & 227-9.

## *176. ROYEPPEN*

Everyone will admit that Mr. Royeppen and his companions have rendered excellent service to the community. Mr. Joseph Royeppen has put his education to the right use. His manner of living in gaol was also quite worthy of a satyagrahi. His simplicity was nothing if not admirable. His fellow-prisoners, Mr. David Andrew and Mr. Samuel Joseph, also spent their time cheerfully.

These three heroes among Indians will be soon back in gaol.[1] The Government has moved quickly to deport them once again, counting on the fact that they are yet fresh [satyagrahis]. Its hope is that they will lose courage and return [to Natal]. It makes one happy to know that this hope will not be fulfilled.

We give elsewhere a translation of Mr. Royeppen's letter[2] to the Press; it is worth reading.

[From Gujarati]
*Indian Opinion*, 7-5-1910

## *177. LETTER TO W. J. WYBERGH*

*May 10, 1910*

DEAR MR. WYBERGH[3],

I am exceedingly obliged to you for your very full and valuable criticism of the little pamphlet on Indian Home Rule. I shall with very great pleasure send your letter[4] to *Indian Opinion* for publication, and shall treat this reply likewise.

I entirely reciprocate the sentiments you express in the last paragraph of your letter. I am quite aware that my views will lead to many differences of opinion between my staunchest friends and those whom I have come to regard with respect and myself, but these differences, so far as I am concerned, can neither diminish respect nor affect friendly relations.

I am painfully conscious of the imperfections and defects you point out in your letter, and I know how unworthy I am to handle the very

[1] *Vide* also "Mr. Royeppen", p. 259 and "Joseph Royeppen", p. 261.
[2] Not reproduced here
[3] Member, Legislative Assembly, Transvaal
[4] *Vide* Appendix V.

important problems dealt with in the booklet. But, having had the position of a publicist practically forced upon me by circumstances, I felt bound to write for those for whom *Indian Opinion* caters. The choice lay between allowing the readers of *Indian Opinion*, anxious though they were for guidance, to drift away in the matter of the insane violence that is now going on in India, or[1] giving them, no matter how humble, a lead that they were asking for. The only way I saw of mitigating violence was the one sketched in the pamphlet.

I share your views that a superficial reader will consider the pamphlet to be a disloyal production, and I admit, too, that those who will not distinguish between men and measures, between modern civilisation and its exponents, will come to that conclusion. And I accept your proposition that I discourage violence only because I think it to be both wrong and ineffective, and not because the object sought to be attained is wrong, that is to say, if it were ever possible, which I hold it is not, to detach the object from the means adopted to attain it. I hold that Home Rule obtained by violence would be totally different in kind from that obtained by the means suggested by me.

I have ventured utterly to condemn modern civilisation because I hold that the spirit of it is evil. It is possible to show that some of its incidents are good, but I have examined its tendency in the scale of ethics. I distinguish between the ideals of individuals who have risen superior to their environment, as also between Christianity and modern civilisation. Its activity is by no means confined to Europe. Its blasting influence is now being exhibited in full force in Japan. And it now threatens to overwhelm India. History teaches us that men who are in the whirlpool, except in the cases of individuals, will have to work out their destiny in it; but I do submit that those who are still outside its influence, and those who have a well-tried civilisation to guide them, should be helped to remain where they are, if only as a measure of prudence. I claim to have tested the life which modern civilisation has to give, as also that of the ancient civilisation, and I cannot help most strongly contesting the idea that the Indian population requires to be roused by "the lash of competition and the other material and sensuous, as well as intellectual, stimuli"; I cannot admit that these will add a single inch to its moral stature. Liberation in the sense in which I have used the term is undoubtedly the immediate aim of all humanity. It does not, therefore, follow that the whole of it can reach it in the same time. But if that liberation is the best thing attainable by mankind, then, I submit, it is wrong to lower the ideal for anyone. All the Indian Scriptures have certainly preached incessantly liberation as an immediate

[1] A slip for 'and'

aim, but we know that this preaching has not resulted in "activity in the lower worlds" being abandoned.

I admit that the term "passive resistance" is a misnomer. I have used it because, generally speaking, we know what it means. Being a popular term, it easily appeals to the popular imagination. The underlying principle is totally opposed to that of violence. It cannot, therefore, be that "the battle is transferred from the physical to the mental plane". The function of violence is to obtain reform by external means; the function of passive resistance, that is, soul-force, is to obtain it by growth from within; which, in its turn, is obtained by self-suffering, self-purification. Violence ever fails; passive resistance is ever successful. The fight of a passive resister is none the less spiritual because he fights to win. Indeed, he is obliged to fight to win, that is, to obtain the mastery of self. Passive resistance is always moral, never cruel; and any activity, mental or otherwise, which fails in this test is undoubtedly not passive resistance.

Your argument tends to show that there must be complete divorce between politics and religion or spirituality. That is what we see in everyday life under modern conditions. Passive resistance seeks to rejoin politics and religion and to test every one of our actions in the light of ethical principles. That Jesus refused to use soul-force to turn stones into bread only supports my argument. Modern civilisation is at present engaged in attempting that impossible feat. The use of soul-force for turning stones into bread would have been considered, as it is still considered, as black magic. Nor can I hold with you that motives alone can always decide the question of a particular act being right or wrong. An ignorant mother may, from the purest motives, administer a dose of opium to her child. Her motives will not cure her of her ignorance, nor, in the moral world purge her of the offence of killing her child. A passive resister, recognising this principle and knowing that, in spite of the purity of his motives, his action may be utterly wrong, leaves judgment to the Supreme Being, and, in attempting to resist what he holds to be wrong, suffers only in his own person.

Throughout the *Bhagavad Gita*, I can see no warrant for holding that a man who can only control "the organs of action" but cannot help "dwelling in his mind on the objects of the senses" had better use the organs of action until the mind, too, is under control. In ordinary practices, we call such use an indulgence, and we know, too, that, if we can control the flesh even while the spirit is weak, always wishing that the spirit were equally strong, we will certainly arrive at a right correspondence. I think the text you have quoted refers to a man who, for making a show, appears to be controlling the organs of action, whilst deliberately in his mind dwelling on the objects of the senses.

I agree with you entirely that a pure passive resister cannot allow himself to be regarded as a martyr nor can he complain of the hardships of prison or any other hardships, nor may he make political capital out of what may appear to be injustice or ill-treatment, much less may he allow any matter of passive resistance to be advertised. But all action unfortunately is mixed. Purest passive resistance can exist only in theory. The anomalies you point out only emphasize the fact that the Indian passive resisters of the Transvaal are, after all, very fallible human beings and yet very weak, but I can assure you that their object is to make their practice correspond with pure passive resistance as nearly as possible, and, as the struggle progresses, pure spirits are certainly rising in our midst.

I am free to admit also that all passive resisters are not fired with the spirit of love or of truth. Some of us are undoubtedly not free from vindictiveness and the spirit of hatred; but the desire in us all is to cure ourselves of hatred and enmity. I have noticed, too, that those who simply became passive resisters under the glamour of the newness of the movement or for selfish reasons have fallen away. Pretended self-suffering cannot last long. Such men never were passive resisters. It is necessary to discuss the subject of passive resistance somewhat impersonally. If you say that physical sufferings of soldiers have vastly exceeded those of the Transvaal passive resisters, I agree with you entirely; but the sufferings of world-known passive resisters who deliberately walked into funeral pyres or into boiling cauldrons were incomparably greater than those of any soldier it is possible to name.

I cannot pretend to speak for Tolstoy, but my reading of his works has never led me to consider that, in spite of his merciless analysis of institutions organised and based upon force, that is governments, he in any way anticipates or contemplates that the whole world will be able to live in a state of philosophical anarchy. What he has preached, as, in my opinion, have all world-teachers, is that every man has to obey the voice of his own conscience, and be his own master, and seek the Kingdom of God from within. For him there is no government that can control him without his sanction. Such a man is superior to all government. And can it be ever dangerous for a lion to tell a number of other lions who in their ignorance consider themselves to be merely lambs that they, too, are not lambs but lions? Some very ignorant lions will no doubt contest the knowing lion's proposition. There will, no doubt, on that account be confusion also, but, no matter how gross the ignorance may be, it will not be suggested that the lion who knows should sit still and not ask his fellow-lions to share his majesty and freedom.

It has indeed occurred to me that an anti-Asiatic league which from pure though entirely misguided motives wishes to deport Asia-

tics from the Transvaal, because it may consider them to be an evil, would be certainly justified, from its own view-point, in violently attaining its object. It is not open to passive resisters, if they are not weak, to complain of such, in their opinion, high-handed action, but for them deportation and worse must be a welcome relief from having to submit to a course of action which is repugnant to their conscience. I hope you will not fail to see the beauty of passive resistance in your own illustration. Supposing that these deportees were capable of offering physical violence against forcible deportation, and yet from pure choice elected to be deported rather than resist deportation, will it not show superior courage and superior moral fibre in them?

*Yours sincerely,*
M. K. GANDHI

*Indian Opinion*, 21-5-1910

## *178. JOHANNESBURG*

*Monday* [*May 9, 1910*]

### IN GAOL

Mr. Samuel Joseph, Mr. Andrew and Mr. Dhobi Nayana, who were only recently released and deported, re-entered and went back to gaol on Friday last. They have been awarded only six weeks. This is rather surprising. To start with, it was six months, then it became three months and now it is a month and a half. I do not understand the reason for this. We need not say that the Government has grown panicky, for all its actions are dictated by panic. Maybe the Government wants to empty Diepkloof before the Union comes into being on June 1. But this is mere guess-work. "Why should it empty the gaol in this manner?" one cannot help asking. Let us wait and see. The procession is bound to reach the place of reception, drum and all.[1] To a satyagrahi, it should be the same, six months or six weeks.

### SODHA

[He] was discharged on Saturday. He appeared all right. There was no sign this time of his having suffered in health as there was last time. Since he has not been [re-]arrested, he is leaving for Natal to meet his children and expects to return shortly and join his fellow-satyagrahis in gaol.[2] Mr. Harilal Gandhi, too, left for Phœnix last Friday for the same purpose.

[1] A Gujarati saying, meaning, "The truth of the matter is bound to be known sooner or later"

[2] *Vide* also "Mr. Sodha's Discharge", pp. 252-3.

### KING EDWARD

On account of his death, everything is closed in the town today and black flags were unfurled over offices.

*Tuesday* [*May 10, 1910*]

### PETER MOONLIGHT

Mr. Peter Moonlight, who was at one time Chairman of the Tamils [the Tamil Association], is now under police custody and will be deported.

### TO ROYAL FAMILY

The British Indian Association has sent, through the Deputy Governor, a telegraphic message[1] of condolence to the Royal Family.

Yesterday, all shops were closed. Newspapers have published long accounts of the career of the late King.

### CASE AGAINST CHINESE

The Chinese are preparing to take an appeal to the Privy Council in the case which they lost in the Supreme Court.[2] This is a complicated matter and therefore no definite decision has been taken yet.

*Wednesday* [*May 11, 1910*]

### DEPORTED

Chinasamy Paul, a boy of 16 years, and Peter Moonlight have been deported.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 14-5-1910

## *179. THE LATE KING*[3]

King Edward is dead and has left an Empire in mourning. The British Constitution keeps the King outside of politics. It is, therefore, his personal qualities that alone count in measuring the loss. But these guide only those whose lives are affected by them. Indians will best remember His late Majesty as a Sovereign who followed in the footsteps of his mother of revered memory. Like her, the late King had shown a warm corner in his bosom for the people of India. And that will always be a title to our affection for his memory.

*Indian Opinion*, 14-5-1910

[1] *Vide* "Cable to Royal Family", p. 243.
[2] *Vide* "The Supreme Court Case", p. 243.
[3] This appeared as a boxed item within thick black lines.

## *180. LONG LIVE THE KING!*

H.R.H. Prince George of Wales is now King George the Fifth of England and Emperor of India. The King is dead: Long live the King! are expressions that have to be uttered in the same breath. Individual Kings and Emperors come and go but Kingship is eternal. The attributes of that office few Sovereigns are able fully to live up to. King Edward, in the words of his son, now King George V, wished that, "so long as he drew breath, he would strive to promote the best interests of the people". "That promise", adds His Majesty, "was carried out to the best of his father's ability and it would be his earnest endeavour, under God, to follow his father's example in that respect." His Majesty asks the prayer of his subjects "that God may grant him strength and guidance". That prayer will go up to heaven from many countries and in many languages. We humbly join in that prayer.

*Indian Opinion*, 14-5-1910

## *181. MR. V. A. CHETTIAR*

Our readers will be glad to possess a portrait of Mr. V. A. Chettiar, the Chairman of the Tamil Benefit Society. We are issuing Mr. Chettiar's portrait with this issue not only because Mr. Chettiar, old as he is, has gone to gaol for the third time and that his son is now on the waters, but also by way of compliment to the whole Tamil community that has worked wonders during the struggle.

*Indian Opinion*, 14-5-1910

## *182. MR. SODHA'S DISCHARGE*

Mr. R. M. Sodha, who was discharged last Saturday, is one of the stalwarts whom we mentioned the other day.[1] He has served imprisonment almost continuously for a year. Mr. Sodha, again, being an orthodox Hindu, has been obliged to suffer doubly as, during certain months of the year, he restricts himself to only one meal per day. Outside the gaol, his one meal will naturally make up more or less for the absence of the other two. But, in the prison, he had simply to be satisfied with his portion for the particular meal he chose to take. But Mr. Sodha went

[1] *Vide* "Johannesburg", p. 250.

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through it all most cheerfully. Mr. Sodha, having been discharged in the Transvaal and not being deported, has returned to Natal to see his wife and family, and proposes to return at an early date to rejoin his fellow-prisoners at Diepkloof. The calmness with which well-tried passive resisters like Mr. Sodha face imprisonment again and again does great credit to themselves and the community to which they belong.

*Indian Opinion*, 14-5-1910

## *183. LATE EMPEROR EDWARD*[1]

The whole of the British Empire mourns the death of King Edward. What is the position of the Indian people ? Should the fact of their being at present unhappy under British rule prevent them from joining in the mourning? Those who refrain must be ignorant of the British Constitution, under which the King takes no active part in the administration. He cannot change the policy of his Government. Hence, in judging him, we can only take into account his personal qualities. Even these have hardly had any impact on the Indian people. Those alone will feel their effects who acquaint themselves with his life and reflect over his conduct.

It is enough for us that King Edward followed the example of his mother, Queen Victoria, and showed love for the Indian people. He seems to have cherished kindly feelings for them in his heart. Therefore, the Indian people, whatever their views on British policies, will always bear the purest affection for the King.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 14-5-1910

## *184. LONG LIVE THE KING!*

"The King is dead. Long live the King." These two sentences are uttered in the same breath at the time of a king's death. Kings come and go. Many have died, and many will die in future. Dara, Alexander and others left empty-handed. There is no knowing, thus, when this body will perish. But kingship lives on. It may be despotic or benevolent. But British monarchy is neither the one nor the other. King Edward did all that he could. It was his greatness that he never thought of interfering in the conduct of the government. He saw that not to do so was the best way of serving the people. The Prince of Wales now becomes King George V, the new monarch. It is his inten-

[1] This appeared between two thick black lines.

tion to follow in the footsteps of his father, and he prays to God for strength[1] and guidance and wants his subjects too to pray likewise. Millions will join in this prayer and we also pray to God to give him wisdom and strength.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 14-5-1910

## *185. JOHANNESBURG*

*Monday* [*May 16, 1910*]

### Cables from Polak

Three cables have been received from Mr. Polak, in which he reports that a big meeting was held in Madras when the satyagrahis reached Bombay. From among them, 26 have already started on the return voyage. Those who were deported also included some non-satyagrahis. Mr. Polak also reports the death of one of them. The authorities have been taken aback by Mr. Polak's brisk work. I hope Indians in Durban will welcome and look after those who disembark there. The Durban Indians can do this at least, ought to do it, namely, arrange for their lodging, honour them [in public] and send them back to the Transvaal.

### Fine in Delagoa Bay

A correspondent informs me that passengers bound for the Transvaal have to face much harassment in Delagoa Bay. The physician demands eight shillings. Afterwards, if the passenger holds a Transvaal pass, they collect £8 from him and then allow him to disembark. He is charged a further fee of one and a half pounds. He is made to hand over his pass, and gets a ticket after the pass has been inspected. He has then to inform the police about his departure. A person accompanies him as far as the border and there returns £7 to him after deducting £1. Thus, the Indian remains a prisoner till he reaches the Transvaal and pays a fine of as much as £3. Not only do the incoming Indians submit to all this quietly, but the Delagoa Bay Indians, who are in a position to have matters set right, are too selfish to move in the matter.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 21-5-1910

[1] Literally, power

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## *186. THE RETURNED DEPORTEES*

Mr. Polak and the 26 returning deportees deserve the thanks of the Indian community in South Africa, Mr. Polak for the promptness with which he has sent these men, and the deportees for the bravery and self-sacrifice they have shown in undertaking the return voyage within four days of their arrival in Bombay. It must have been to the latter a great wrench. They went to the mother-country, some of them perfect strangers to it. They could have seen something of it, had they stayed, and no one could have taken exception if they had followed that course, but they chose to put duty before everything else, and, after a trying voyage as deck-passengers, they have undertaken an almost equally trying voyage not to find or seek rest after it, but to brave imprisonment or whatever may be in store for them. Speculation is rife as to whether these men will be able to land at any of the South African ports. If they have been domiciled either at the Cape or in Natal, they should certainly find no difficulty in that. By the time they arrive, probably the Union Government will be in full working order. It will be interesting to note how they are dealt with by that Government. All speculation with reference to their arrival in the Transvaal is needless, because, whether they are tried as prohibited immigrants or otherwise, they have but to seek imprisonment, unless the Government, after having brought them into the Colony, take them again to Delagoa Bay and deport them to India. Whatever happens, as passive resisters they have only one course left open, and that is to abide by their obligation not to submit to the Law until the grievance for which they have been suffering has been redressed, irrespective of the results that may follow such a course. The Indians of Durban, too, have a duty to perform. It will be expected of them that they receive these passive resisters and make them as comfortable as possible, and give them such an ovation as would enable them to know that their self-sacrificing work is being appreciated by their countrymen throughout South Africa, and to enable the South African Government to understand that the whole of the Indian community in South Africa is at the back of the movement.

*Indian Opinion*, 21-5-1910

## *187. HINDUS AND MUSLIMS*

### Colonial-born Indians and Others

We feel ashamed to write under this heading but, ashamed or not, our duty is to speak the truth.

In Maritzburg, some Hindus and Colonial-born Indians had applied for trading licences, and also succeeded in obtaining them. We are prepared, if they so desire, to congratulate them on that. But the means which they adopted to secure the licences will prove the truth of the saying: "The heart must pay for what the hand has done."[1] In support of their applications, they submitted a statement from certain whites saying that Hindus and Muslims were not united and that [therefore] Hindus and Colonial-born Indians must not be obliged to buy from Muslim shops. And so the whites, in their wisdom, suggested that the licences should be granted.

So far as we can see, such steps can only lead to unhappy results. Till now it was only the whites who used to oppose our applications. Now we see even Indians opposing one another. This augurs ill [for the community]. We see that Indians are being tempted, with the support of whites, to profit at one another's expense. The wise among the Indians should realize at once that this will bring ruin to both the communities. A move of this kind betokens complete lack of vision. We, therefore, entreat Indian leaders to think twice before they engage in such activities. We look upon everyone, no matter whether an Indian or not, who creates differences between Hindus and Muslims or between Colonial-born Indians and other Indians, as an enemy of the community; such a person will certainly deserve to be called so. We are emphatic in our view that, if among ourselves one community gets something more than the other, the latter should acquiesce in that rather than allow anything to fall into the hands of the third party.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 21-5-1910

[1] A Gujarati saying

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## *188. JOHANNESBURG*

*Monday* [*May 23, 1910*]

### Deportees

Mr. Achary, one of the deportees, in a letter from Zanzibar dated April 23, writes to say that the deportees were happy on board the ship. They had some difficulties with the Captain about their food, but, on the British Consul's advice, these were satisfactorily settled in Beira.

### Other Deportees

Mr. David Ernest and 23 other Indians who were deported by the *Umfuli* on the 18th instant were accompanied by Mr. Quinn and 25 other Chinese. The ship is bound for Colombo. There is no definite information what will happen to the passengers thereafter. There is a report that the Chinese may be taken to China. Mr. Quinn reports that the Chinese Consul had made good arrangements for their food and accommodation. There is also a move by the Chinese to get the Chinese Minister in Lisbon, the capital of Portugal, to write to the authorities there.

[From Gujarati]
*Indian Opinion*, 28-5-1910

## *189. TELEGRAM TO SECRETARY TO VISCOUNT GLADSTONE*[1]

Johannesburg,
*May 26, 1910*

BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION TENDERS RESPECTFUL WELCOME TO HIS EXCELLENCY AND LADY GLADSTONE. ASSOCIATION WILL APPRECIATE APPOINTMENT FOR RECEIVING SMALL DEPUTATION REGARDING PAINFUL ASIATIC STRUGGLE GOING ON IN COLONY.

A. M. Cachalia
President

Colonial Office Records: Cd. 5363

[1] This telegram was presumably drafted by Gandhiji. On June 23, the Secretary replied that Viscount Gladstone could not receive the deputation. *Vide* "Johannesburg", p. 280.

## *190. CRIMINAL NEGLECT*

Both the Hon. Mr. R. Jameson[1] and Mr. W. C. Daugherty[2] deserve the thanks not only of the Indian community but also of those who have the fair name of Durban at heart, for the outspoken manner in which they have exposed the criminal neglect of the Durban Corporation in not having attended to the sanitation of a plague-spot known as the Eastern Vlei Indian Location, containing a population of nearly 800 Indians whom Mr. Jameson describes as "these long-suffering, patient and helpless people". Since 1901, the Indian tenants have paid the Corporation in rents and rates the sum of £8,508 and have received in return "nothing but a swamp, a water-pipe, and sanitary services". "Had they been Europeans", adds Mr. Jameson, "this would perforce long since have been righted." Mr. Daugherty, who gives details, says that "they suffer in health and comfort and material prosperity through being overlooked or forgotten in the improvements which have in every other part of the Borough been progressing and this notwithstanding that their particular part called for amelioration more urgently than any other locality. There is not even a paraffin lamp in the road." Now this is a terrible indictment. The first thought on reading it is naturally to swear at the Corporation. That it has neglected the Eastern Vlei Indians in a most shocking manner is all too true. But maturer consideration must lead to some heart-searchings among ourselves. We are not inclined to absolve even the Eastern Vlei Indians entirely from blame. It was, as it is even now, open to them to decline to live in that swamp. But the chief blame must rest upon the shoulders of the leaders of the community. It betrays a want of real communal life. It is possible to understand the helplessness of the location inmates. But it is impossible to understand or excuse the apathy of the leaders who should have led and compelled the Corporation to do its obvious duty. Why would the place have received prompt attention, had it been inhabited by Europeans? Surely not because they were Europeans but because their leaders, if not they themselves, would have moved heaven and earth to right such a terrible wrong. Europeans would have understood communal duty, whereas we have not. If, then, the neglect of the Corporation is criminal, that of our leaders is doubly so. The Corporation may shelve Mr. Jameson's letter[3] and Mr. Daugherty's report[4].

[1] Chairman of the Sanitary Committee

[2] Inspector of Nuisances

[3] Memorandum to the Durban Town Council reproduced in *Indian Opinion*, 21-5-1910

[4] Reproduced in *Indian Opinion*, 21-5-1910

Will our leaders allow it to do so? Here there is simple work for the various Indian societies. It is work that can bear fruit without much trouble. They may appoint visiting members to the location, obtain accurate information, bring the inmates themselves to a sense of their duty, tell them what they can do themselves, and, last but not least, they may and should ceaselessly worry the Corporation until it has done its duty.

*Indian Opinion*, 28-5-1910

## *191. GERMAN EAST AFRICA LINE'S STEAMERS*

We draw the attention of the Agents of the German East Africa Line to the allegations[1] we print in another column made by the passengers per s. s. *Kanzler* during her voyage from Bombay which commenced on the 31st March last. If the allegations are true, they cast a serious reflection on the officers of the s. s. *Kanzler*. We hope that the Company's Agents will fully investigate the charges made. We would, at the same time, warn them that, if they remain satisfied with categorical denials from the officers concerned, it would hardly carry conviction. Most of the passengers who have given their names are perhaps available, and it is the duty of the Company's Agents, if only for their own interest, to carry on a thorough investigation. We cannot believe that they would countenance ill-treatment of their passengers, whether they are Indians or Europeans.

*Indian Opinion*, 28-5-1910

## *192. MR. ROYEPPEN*

Mr. Joseph Royeppen, after having performed the pilgrimage to his aged mother and met his relatives whom he had left after only a short stay with them upon his return from London, has rejoined his companions and has been imprisoned with hard labour for the second time for the offence of entering a British Colony. His academic attainments are no protection to him. His Indian parentage nullifies the effect of his educational qualifications. Had he been a European, his accomplishments would have secured for him a warm welcome. The moral of the tragedy, as Mr. Polak would call this event, is obvious. For an Indian, the term "British subject" has no meaning in the Transvaal.

*Indian Opinion*, 28-5-1910

[1] Not reproduced here; the complaints were in respect of sleeping accommodation, water supply, medical facilities and rough treatment of the Indian passengers.

## *193. MORE DISCHARGES*

Notable passive resisters continue to be discharged from the Diepkloof prison. That staunch passive resister, Mr. P. K. Naidoo, and the quiet volunteer, Mr. Raju Naidoo, together with young Manilal Gandhi finished their terms of imprisonment on Monday last. Mr. P. K. Naidoo has served for the fourth time during the campaign of passive resistance. In order to break his spirit the authorities re-arrested Mr. Naidoo immediately on his previous discharge. But Mr. Naidoo was adamant. The gaol had lost all its terror for him. Without, therefore, asking for a remand in order to enable him to pay a hurried visit to his family, he accepted the summons to duty. Mr. Naidoo, it may be recalled, was a member of the volunteer Indian Ambulance Corps during the Boer War and holds the war medal. But neither scholastic training nor military service counts for an Indian in the Transvaal.

*Indian Opinion*, 28-5-1910

## *194. FOR COLONIAL-BORN INDIANS*

We hope that every Colonial-born Indian will read the annual report of the Inspector of Education in Basutoland for the year ended June last. The Inspector, in dealing with the comparative value of English and that of the Sesuto language for the Basutos, says:

> ...if education is to have any real value for the Basutos, it must be based upon sound teaching in their own language. Anything which encourages the teachers to hurry over this stage in order that their pupils may be considered as belonging to the standards is fatal to education in the true sense of the word. . . . Among the Natives in Basutoland, the speaking of English is an exotic. It is an accomplishment and one which, imperfectly acquired, gains for the exponent little credit with European listeners. . . . Opinion in Basutoland is practically unanimous that this elementary education should be given in Sesuto. . . . I would deprecate, therefore, any attempt to measure the value of a school by the number of pupils who are reading English in advanced reading-books, or to belittle the worth of a school because the only thing known by the majority of the pupils is Sesuto. A pupil who knows Sesuto thoroughly can read the Bible and the *Pilgrim's Progress*. He can follow the news of the day in Sesuto newspapers and, in his lighter moments, can even read Sesuto novels. Many Europeans have gone far with little more book-knowledge of their own language than this.

We hope that every Indian will carefully consider these remarks of the Inspector of Education in Basutoland. If what the Inspector says be

true of the Basutos, how much more must it be so of Indian youths who receive, in the ordinary schools of the Colony, no instruction at all in their mother-tongue. Moreover, fine as the Sesuto language is, we venture to think that it cannot boast the literary merit of the great Indian languages spoken in the Colony. It must be a matter of deep shame to any Indian youth to know that he cannot speak and read his own mother-tongue like an ordinary cultured Indian. The criminal neglect that is going on among Indian parents and their children as to the learning by the latter of Indian languages is calculated almost to denationalize them. Indeed, it is the duty of the Government, as of the missionaries who are in charge of Indian schools, to take to heart the very valuable suggestion made by the Inspector in Basutoland. But, whether they perform their duty or not, it is evidently the sacred obligation of Indian parents to repair the mischief while there is yet time. The majority of the Indian children taught in the ordinary schools of the Colony study neither English nor their own mother-tongue. The result is that they become useless as Indians, as citizens of the Colony and are hardly useful as decent wage-earners.

*Indian Opinion*, 28-5-1910

## *195. JOSEPH ROYEPPEN*

Mr. Joseph Royeppen is once again in gaol. He has been sentenced to six weeks' imprisonment and gone back to do hard labour for the sake of the motherland. This is fine courage indeed on Mr. Royeppen's part. His going to gaol has been, and will be, a great gain to himself and to the community.

It is no trivial matter that an educated man like Mr. Royeppen should have to suffer imprisonment the moment he enters the Transvaal. This incident proves that we are not British subjects, but slaves.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 28-5-1910

CWMG-X

## 196. LETTER TO H. KALLENBACH

*May 30, 1910*

DEAR MR. KALLENBACH,

I have shown your kind letter[1] to Mr. Cachalia and other fellow passive resisters, and I have to thank you for your generous offer on their and my own behalf. I accept your offer, and I need hardly say to what extent your offer will relieve the financial pressure.

As to the improvements and additions referred to in paragraphs 2 and 3 of your letter, I shall keep an accurate account which shall be open to your inspection, and I shall not undertake improvements or additions without your approval.

*I am,*
*Yours sincerely,*
M. K. GANDHI

*Indian Opinion*, 11-6-1910

[1] Which read as follows:

*May 30, 1910*

DEAR MR. GANDHI,

In accordance with our conversation, I offer to you the use of my farm near Lawley for passive resisters and their indigent families; the families and passive resisters to live on the farm free of any rent or charge, as long as the struggle with the Transvaal Government lasts. They may also use, free of charge, all the buildings not at present used by me.

Any structural alterations, additions or improvements made by you may be removed at your pleasure on the termination of occupation, or they will be paid for by me at a valuation in the usual manner, the terms of payment to be mutually agreed upon by us.

I propose to pay, at a valuation in the usual manner, [for] all the agricultural improvements that may have been made by the settlers.

The settlers to withdraw from the farm on the termination of the struggle.

*Yours sincerely,*
H. KALLENBACH

CWMG - X

## *197. LETTER TO THE PRESS*

JOHANNESBURG,
*June 2, 1910*

SIR,

The Union has been ushered in among very general rejoicing among the European races of South Africa. Asiatics have been also expected to share in these rejoicings. If they have not been able to respond to these expectations, the cause, so far at least as the Transvaal is concerned, is not far to seek. On the day of the advent of Union,[1] nearly sixty families were deprived of their supporters, and were being maintained out of public funds. On the first working day of the Union, a cultured Indian and representative Parsee, Mr. Sorabji, who has already suffered six terms of imprisonment, was re-arrested, after having been left free for over a month after his last discharge from Diepkloof; and he is now under order of deportation. Other passive resisters, too, continue to be arrested. Mr. Joseph Royeppen, the Barrister and Cambridge Graduate, and his companions are again in prison. And all this suffering is being imposed because an Act that is supposed to have become a dead letter has not been repealed, and the theoretical legal position of British Indians of high attainments to enter the Transvaal on the same terms as Europeans, British or otherwise, is not recognised.

What can a Union under which the above state of things is continued mean to Asiatics, except that it is a combination of hostile forces arrayed against them? The Empire is supposed to have become stronger for the Union. Is it to crush by its weight and importance Asiatic subjects of the Crown? It was no doubt right and proper that the birth of Union should have been signalised for the Natives of South Africa by the clemency of the Crown towards Dinizulu[2]. Dinizulu's discharge will naturally fire the imagination of the South African Natives. Will it not be equally proper to enable the Asiatics in South Africa to feel that there is a new and benignant spirit abroad in South Africa by conceding their demands, which are held, I make bold to say, to be intrinsically just by nine out of every ten intelligent Europeans in this Continent?

*Indian Opinion*, 11-6-1910

[1] Wednesday, June 1, 1910

[2] Zulu chief; *vide* Vol. VII, p. 426. After release, he was settled on a farm in the Transvaal, where he died in October 1913.

## *198. BIRTHDAY MESSAGE TO HIS MAJESTY*[1]

[*June 3, 1910*]

TRANSVAAL BRITISH INDIANS LOYALLY CONGRATULATE KING-EMPEROR OCCASION BIRTHDAY ANNIVERSARY.

*Indian Opinion*, 11-6-1910

## *199. MR. BHAYAT*[2]

Mr. A. M. Bhayat's discharge deserves special mention in that he not only suffered much in health but he is probably the only representative of the Kholwad section who has braved every danger and kept up its reputation by going to jail again and again. In obedience to communal duty, Mr. Bhayat remains undaunted. We hope that the other merchants will follow Mr. Bhayat's example.

*Indian Opinion*, 4-6-1910

## *200. MR. SORABJI'S RE-ARREST*

Mr. Sorabji Shapurji Adajania has been re-arrested. Mr. Sorabji's arrest recalls painful memories. He is a devoted son of India. He is a brilliant representative of a brilliant race—the Parsee. He belongs to a well-known family in Bombay and he it was who laid the foundation of the second stage of the struggle. Mr. Sorabji has already suffered imprisonment six times. He will now be imprisoned for the seventh time. He has served in the aggregate the longest term—over sixteen months. The advent of the Union of South Africa is marked for Indians by the re-arrest of Mr. Sorabji.[3] That the first working day of the Union should be turned for the Indians in the Transvaal, if not in South Africa, into a day of mourning and a reminder that the Union to them is meaningless is a sad commentary on a great epoch in the evolution of the British Empire. Natal is within the Union. Mr. Sorabji has domicile rights in Natal. He will be deported to the territories of a

[1] Presumably drafted by Gandhiji and sent by the British Indian Association. The date is mentioned in the acknowledgement dated July 1, 1910, reproduced in *Indian Opinion*, 16-7-1910.

[2] *Vide* also "Bhayat", p. 265.

[3] *Vide* "Letter to the Press", p. 263.

member of the Union. What is this Union? Whom does it unite? What does it unite? Or is it a Union against the Indian and other Coloured races inhabiting South Africa? If the Union of South Africa promotes the might of the Empire, are we or are we not to rejoice over the fact as being members of that Empire? How will the event strike the new Emperor of India? What responsibility attaches to the Governor-General of South Africa in this matter? These are questions which may or may not be rightly answered. Meanwhile, the brave Mr. Sorabji does his duty and, if Indians in South Africa mourn over the further sufferings of a brother, they may rejoice, too, that of Mr. Sorabji the whole of India is proud and that India's salvation depends not on external aid but on internal growth such as is shown by Mr. Sorabji.

*Indian Opinion*, 4-6-1910

## *201. BHAYAT*[1]

We congratulate Mr. A. M. Bhayat on his splendid courage. He has kept up the honour of the Kholvad community and brought credit to Heidelberg. He has sanctified gaol. If there had been many Indians to follow Mr. Bhayat, or if they come forward now, they would have served or they will serve, both themselves and the community in the long run. To start with, of course, they may have to suffer, as Mr. Bhayat has done, and even put up with pecuniary loss. But ultimately there will be nothing but gain. Mr. Bhayat has even sacrificed his health for the sake of the community. He has lost weight, but shows no concern on that account. We must win, no doubt. The credit for the victory will go to satyagrahis like Mr. Bhayat who have been repeatedly courting imprisonment.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 4-6-1910

[1] *Vide* also "Mr. Bhayat", p. 264.

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## 202. EXTRACT FROM LETTER TO P. J. MEHTA[1]

[TOLSTOY FARM,
After *June 4, 1910*][2]

. . . I prepare the bread that is required on the farm. The general opinion about it is that it is well made. Manilal and a few others have learnt how to prepare it. We put in no yeast and no baking powder. We grind our own wheat. We have just prepared some marmalade from the oranges grown on the farm. I have also learnt how to prepare caramel coffee. It can be given as a beverage even to babies. The passive resisters on the farm have given up the use of tea and coffee, and taken to caramel coffee prepared on the farm. It is made from wheat which is first baked in a certain way and then ground. We intend to sell our surplus production of the above articles to the public later on. Just at present, we are working as labourers on the construction work that is going on, on the farm, and have not time to produce more of the articles above mentioned than we need for ourselves.

From *M. K. Gandhi and the South African Indian Problem* by Dr. P. J. Mehta

## 203. CABLE TO S. A. B. I. COMMITTEE

JOHANNESBURG,
*June 6, 1910*

ROYEPPEN SENTENCED SIX WEEKS. SORABJEE ARRESTED FOR SEVENTH TIME FIRST OF JUNE, ORDERED TO BE DEPORTED. BHAYAT DISCHARGED EMACIATED CONDITION AND SUFFERING FROM INFLUENZA. SHELAT SENTENCED SPARE DIET FOR REFUSING TO CARRY SANITARY PAILS. THREATENED LASHES.[3]

GANDHI

Colonial Office Records: Cd. 5363; also
*India*, 10-6-1910

[1] Gandhiji used to write to Dr. Mehta in Gujarati. The above extract quoted by Dr. Mehta in his book must be a translation of the original Gujarati, which is not available.

[2] This letter appears to have been written soon after June 4, when Gandhiji went to stay on Tolstoy Farm, especially from the reference to construction work on the farm. *Vide* "Johannesburg", p. 272.

[3] While publishing the cable, *India*, 10-6-1910, wrote: "Mr. Gandhi adds that the struggle, nevertheless, will go on until justice has been done."

## 204. JOHANNESBURG

*Monday* [*June 6, 1910*]

### Discharged

Major Thomas, Mr. Kuppusamy Naidoo, Mr. T. Narainsami Pillay and Mr. Papiya Moonsamy were discharged today.

### Cruelty to Shelat

These prisoners who have been released have brought the news that the authorities have been trying to compel Shelat to carry [slop-] pails. Last week he was sentenced to 24 hours' solitary confinement and was put on spare diet. The Governor has now threatened him with lashes if he persists in his refusal. Mr. Shelat said that he would submit to that too rather than carry the pails. He will again be tried today in the gaol. We are not likely to know for some time what happens. A letter[1] has been addressed to the Government about him.

### Sorabji

Mr. Sorabji has been taken to Pretoria. He writes from there to say that he is happier in the Charge Office at Pretoria than he was at Johannesburg.

### Thambi Naidoo

[He] has been re-arrested. The officials cannot afford to let him remain free even for a minute. He has an incomparable spirit. What need is there to write in praise of him? This struggle has produced few satyagrahis who can be his equals. This is the eighth time that he has been arrested.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 11-6-1910

[1] *Vide* the following item.

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## 205. LETTER TO THE TRANSVAAL ADMINISTRATOR[1]

[JOHANNESBURG,]
*June 7, 1910*

SIR,

Indian passive resisters discharged yesterday have brought the information that Mr. Shelat, a Brahmin passive resister, who is serving imprisonment at Diepkloof, has been once sentenced to solitary confinement and spare diet for refusing to carry slop-pails on the ground that such work is contrary to his conscience and religion. The discharged passive resisters state that Mr. Shelat has been threatened with the punishment of lashes, if he persists in his disobedience. My Association is inclined to the belief that the threat, if it has been at all used,[2] is not seriously meant. In any event, my Association respectfully trusts that the Government will be pleased to spare the Indian community the shock that is bound to be caused by the carrying out of the threat.

My Association ventures to draw your attention to the fact that, during his previous incarceration for conscience' sake, Mr. Shelat underwent solitary confinement for over a month for the same cause, and that the other passive resisters at Diepkloof have stated that they have no objection to Mr. Shelat's being excused from the duty of carrying slop-pails.[3]

My Association trusts that you will be pleased to give the matter the attention it deserves.

*Indian Opinion*, 11-6-1910

[1] This letter, presumably drafted by Gandhiji and marked "urgent", was sent by E. S. Coovadia, Acting Chairman, British Indian Association, to the Administrator, Pretoria.

[2] The Director of Prisons in his reply of 21st June reproduced in *Indian Opinion*, 25-6-1910, said: "No threat of lashes has been made, nor would such a punishment ever be inflicted for an offence of this nature."

[3] *Vide* "Letter to Director of Prisons", p. 242.

## 206. MR. KALLENBACH'S OFFER

We do not know whom to congratulate most—Mr. Kallenbach for his highmindedness or the community for having received from Mr. Kallenbach an offer[1] which may enable passive resisters to go through the struggle without undue pecuniary strain. The best thanks that can be rendered to Mr. Kallenbach would undoubtedly be for the passive resistance families to make use of the offer and to show to South Africa at large, by exemplary behaviour on the farm, how worthy they were of such handsome treatment.

The terms of Mr. Kallenbach's letter[2] are one-sided. He has given all he legitimately could and has expected no return. He does not want to develop his estate through the labour of those passive resisters who could put in their labour without paying them for it. Acts such as Mr. Kallenbach's are calculated to bring East and West nearer in real fellowship than any amount of rhetorical writing or speaking. We shall watch this experiment with very great interest.

*Indian Opinion*, 11-6-1910

## 207. LASHES!

Our Transvaal correspondent reports news this week of the gravest character. Mr. Shelat has made it a matter of conscience not to carry slop-pails. During his last incarceration, he was under solitary confinement for over a month, during which time he had for the most part only spare diet. We had hoped that this time, with the past experience to fall back upon, the authorities would let the matter rest and not force the issue by requiring Mr. Shelat to do that particular work. On messages received from the prisoners at Diepkloof, it was represented to the Director of Prisons not to insist on Mr. Shelat doing the work,[3] as the other passive resisters were quite agreeable to the indulgence being granted him. The Director, however, wrote to Mr. Cachalia saying that no such relief could be granted. And now we see the result. For the sake of the people of the Transvaal, we hope that the authorities will not take the threatened step. To order lashes in order to compel a man to do anything against his conscience would be the height of barbarity. As a passive resister, Mr. Shelat will, no doubt, suffer cheer-

[1] *Vide* "Letter to H. Kallenbach", p. 262.
[2] Dated 30-5-1910; *vide* footnote on p. 262.
[3] *Vide* "Letter to Director of Prisons", p. 242.

fully even the penalty of lashes. But for the authorities to persist in their brutal course can only add to the tension that already exists among Indians.

*Indian Opinion*, 11-6-1910

## *208. MR. THAMBI NAIDOO'S RE-ARREST*

The re-arrest of Mr. Thambi Naidoo has followed close upon that of Mr. Sorabji. It is evident that General Smuts, now that he is confirmed in his control over Asiatics, wishes to show his firmness by taking up the bravest passive resisters. We wish him joy of his task. We hope that we are not doing the great General an injustice in making him responsible for this sudden activity. To passive resisters, a lodgment in the gaols of the Transvaal must be a welcome relief so long as their goal remains unreached.

The re-arrest of Mr. Thambi Naidoo is not without a dramatic touch. On Monday morning, he met his son who had just been discharged after three months' service at Diepkloof. In the afternoon of the same day he was re-arrested. Thus the father has not been allowed to remain with the son even for a few days. This, no doubt, is merely a coincidence. But it shows vividly what the struggle means to many Indians in the Transvaal.

Mr. Naidoo is one of the most determined and persevering of passive resisters. Whether in or out of the gaol, he gives himself no rest. His one aim is to live so as to deserve the high title of passive resister as the term is understood among the strugglers in the Transvaal. Mr. Naidoo, like Mr. Sorabji, is among the brightest stars of the Indian community in South Africa.

*Indian Opinion*, 11-6-1910

## *209. LASHES!*

Mr. Shelat may even be flogged for refusing to carry slop-pails. Should this really happen, will the Indians of South Africa merely look on? If Mr. Shelat is flogged, for whom will it be? And who are those who will flog him? Our hair stands on end as we contemplate this. If Mr. Shelat refuses to carry pails, what is that to us?—someone may ask. Such an attitude will betray sheer want of sense. Today it is Mr. Shelat, tomorrow it may be the turn of another Indian. What matters is that Mr. Shelat has made the question of carrying pails a religious issue. On an issue like that, no one will be justified in inflicting

cruelty on another. On the contrary, when a person shows himself prepared to suffer on such an issue, every sincere man of religion owes it as a duty to defend him even if he happens to have adopted a mistaken attitude. Otherwise, man will not be able to defend his freedom, and where there is no freedom of thought and action, there can be no religion. In the absence of religion, a people cannot but perish. We, therefore, hope that, if Mr. Shelat is subjected to such cruelty, Indians everywhere in South Africa will raise a strong protest and make their views known to the Government.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 11-6-1910

## *210. NAIDOO*

Mr. Thambi Naidoo and Mr. Sorabji—these two satyagrahis make a remarkable pair. The moment Mr. Sorabji was arrested, they pounced upon Mr. Thambi Naidoo. He was arrested on the very day on which his son was released. This is no ordinary matter.

Now that General Smuts is confirmed in his office, he is striking with greater force. Satyagrahis are not likely to be intimidated by this. It is their business to suffer and therefore they have come to feel at home in gaol like fish in water. As long as there are such staunch Indians, the ultimate victory for the community will never be in doubt. All the same, other Indians, too, must do their duty to the best of their ability. There are many ways of doing this, which we have mentioned from time to time. We hope the community will derive inspiration from the example of Mr. Thambi Naidoo and other satyagrahis.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 11-6-1910

## *211. KALLENBACH'S GIFT*

We place a very high value on Mr. Kallenbach's offer of his farm for the benefit of satyagrahis. If the families of the latter use it well, we shall have no occasion for anxiety, however long the struggle lasts. There will be much saving in expenditure, and those who settle on the farm will learn to be happy. They will have, on the farm, a noble life in place of the unclean and monotonous ways of town-life. Moreover, what they will learn on the farm will prove useful for a life-time. Indeed, we have said in the past that the Indian community

would be well rewarded if it were to take to agriculture and would be saved the anxieties incidental to business. We have to pay a heavy price for not recognizing the value of this best of occupations.

We hope the leaders [of the community] will address letters of thanks to Mr. Kallenbach. His gift will be appreciated at its proper worth only when Indians settle there in large numbers.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 11-6-1910

## *212. JOHANNESBURG*

*Monday* [*June 13, 1910*]

### Tolstoy Farm

Mr. Kallenbach has given the name "Tolstoy Farm" to the farm which he has offered for [the use of] the satyagrahi families. He has great faith in Count Tolstoy's teaching and tries to live up to it. He himself wants to live on the farm and follow a simple mode of life. It appears Mr. Kallenbach will gradually give up his work as architect and live in complete poverty.

Mr. Kallenbach has rendered a valuable service by offering the use of his farm, but more so by deciding to live among our people. He has also agreed to look after the womenfolk in the absence of Mr. Gandhi. That any white should be moved by such a spirit must be attributed to the power of satyagraha.

The farm measures about 1100 acres, being two miles in length and three quarters of a mile in breadth. It is situated near Lawley Station, 22 miles from Johannesburg. It takes twenty minutes to walk down from the station to the farm. By rail, it generally takes about one and a half hours to reach it from here.

The soil appears to be fertile. The farm has about a thousand fruit-bearing trees growing on it. There are peaches, apricots, figs, almonds, walnuts, etc. In addition, there are eucalyptus and wattle trees.

The farm has two wells and a small spring. The landscape is beautiful. At the head there is a hill, with some more or less level land at the foot.

Mr. Kallenbach, Mr. Gandhi and his two sons have already settled on the farm since June 4. They are busy making arrangements for satyagrahis to go over there. Mr. Kallenbach and Mr. Gandhi come to the town every Monday and Thursday and spend the other days on the farm.

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Last Sunday, some leading Tamil ladies, accompanied by Mr. Thambi Naidoo and Mr. Gopal Naidoo, went over there to have a look round. They spent the whole day on the farm. Mr. Kallenbach, Mr. Gandhi and his son cooked a meal for them. Mr. Kallenbach showed them round the farm and they all appeared satisfied. Mr. Gopal Naidoo, who had already made up his mind to live there, has stayed on. Mr. Moosa Nathi, too, who runs a shop nearby, came the same day and promised every possible help. Construction work has started now and some buildings are expected to be ready by the end of this month.

This is a very important venture. Its roots go deep; it is up to the satyagrahis who settle there to make it bear sweet fruit by the way they live.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 18-6-1910

## *213. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI*

[About *June 15, 1910*][1]

CHI. MAGANLAL,

I have not forgotten about the letter regarding the steamer. I shall send you the statement when I find time.

There was a letter from Chhaganlal written before his departure. I am not worried about him now. I hope he will fully recover his health in England.

I have decided to send Chanchal[2] to India. Please find out some company for her and send her immediately. I am not likely to go there. Harilal wants a second-class ticket to be bought for her and we shall do so. I hear that Motilal's[3] wife is going. Chanchal may go even in the company of some good man. If she has the courage, she need not wait for me.

For sending the sandals, there is no need to search for a person coming here. The pair I am using is almost worn out. You may send Manilal's pair too if it is there. Manilal says that his silk suit is lying there. Please send that too along with the sandals. Perhaps all this can

[1] Chhaganlal Gandhi, Gandhiji's nephew, whose letter is referred to in the second paragraph, left India for England on June 1, 1910. It took about 17 days for the post to reach South Africa from India.

[2] Wife of Harilal, Gandhiji's eldest son

[3] Motilal M. Dewan, a leading Indian of Natal



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be sent by a goods train. Please send these things by the cheapest means. It will be as well if you send them directly to the Farm.

*Blessings from*
MOHANDAS

[PS.]
More on the reverse side.[1]

From a handwritten copy of the Gujarati original: C.W. 4930
Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri

## *214. PASSIVE RESISTERS*

Of the twenty-six passive resisters who were deported and who had immediately returned from Bombay[2] and who arrived at Durban on Sunday last, only thirteen have been allowed to land, the claims of the other nine who stated that they were domiciled in the Colony having for the time being been rejected. Efforts were made to induce the Principal Immigration Officer to allow the others to land, subject to security being given for their return should they fail to establish their claim. But the officer was adamant and refused to grant this reasonable facility. These men, therefore, have been obliged to undertake almost without a break a trying voyage for the third time. Though British subjects, they have been rejected first by one British Colony and then by another. And so misery is added to misery and discontent to discontent. But the men who have been forced to go back have that stuff in them of which heroes are made. They have gone not dispirited but invigorated by their trials, and the determination with which they have borne themselves hitherto will carry them to their goal.

The community is proud of them and so should the Empire in whose name they have been so shabbily treated by Natal. They have set a noble example in deeds worthy of imitation by Indians throughout South Africa.

The task before those who have been landed is simple. They have to challenge the Transvaal Government, now part of the Union Government, to re-arrest and re-imprison or re-deport them. A true passive resister, Wordsworth's Warrior, has only one goal before him and that is to do his duty, cost what it may.

*Indian Opinion*, 18-6-1910

[1] Not available
[2] *Vide* "The Returned Deportees", p. 255.

## *215. SATYAGRAHIS*

The 26 satyagrahis who came back from India arrived [in Durban] but all of them did not disembark. This is partly our fault. How is it that nine of them could not disembark, though they had a right to be in Natal ? But this is not a time to look for faults. We want the community to realize that satyagrahis are its true servants and precious jewels, and so to look after them and encourage them. For satyagrahis, public honour and parties should have little attraction. Their duty is merely to do and to suffer. It is the duty of the community, however, to look after them. They are our army, our "Tommies". We have learnt from experience that all satyagrahis are not full of *satya* [truth]. But we need not concern ourselves with this. We must, for the time being, accept as such anyone who claims to be a satyagrahi. In fact, of course, no one can be accepted as a true satyagrahi till he has met death, being faithful to his pledge right up to the end.

As for some of them having had to return, let us not mind it. They are being hardened. This will be their third voyage at a running. It is up to the community to bring them back. Their own duty is to have patience. Moreover, we are justified in saying that we should not mind their having had to return because the incident exposes the despotic attitude of the Union Government. Why were these men not given full opportunity to establish their right? Why were they not allowed to stay in Durban ? The more we suffer, the stronger becomes our case. The more the people suffer, the greater will be our rise and the sooner will our freedom come. Therefore, though it is a discredit to us that the Indians had to return, the incident may yet do us good.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 18-6-1910

## *216. JOHANNESBURG*

*Monday* [*June 20, 1910*]

### Satyagrahi Farm

There has been feverish activity on the farm to complete the arrangement for women. Mr. Kallenbach is busy with building operations. The foundation has been laid for a chawl fifty feet long. It is a stone foundation, and Mr. Chinan, Mr. Kuppusamy Naidoo, Mr. Manilal Gandhi and Mr. Gandhi have been working at stone-rolling side by side with the Kaffirs. Stones are available on the farm itself, but they

have to be carried from the hill to the building-site. Mr. Gopal Naidoo attends to cooking. In all, there are six Indians and Mr. Kallenbach living together, with a common mess. All the dishes are prepared in Indian style. In the morning, those who want a breakfast have bread and also coffee made from roasted wheat. The bread is made at home, without the use of yeast. It is prepared from boer meal and whole meal. At lunch, they have rice and curry, and bread with home-made jam prepared from oranges growing on the farm. For dinner, there is porridge, and bread and jam. Butter is not used, the ghee employed in cooking being considered sufficient. In the afternoon and at night, they have dry fruit and groundnut, if either is at hand. Modifications, if necessary, will be made in this diet after the women join. I am both surprised and glad that Mr. Kallenbach lives amidst this group like a member of the family.

### David Andrew

Mr. David Andrew, Mr. Samuel Joseph and Mr. Dhobi Nayana will be free for eight days. They will be deported next Friday.

Mr. David Andrew and Mr. Samuel Joseph are staying with the Chairman of the Chinese Association at his invitation. They have been put up in the Chinese Club. It is a very well-run club. One really feels the absence of such a building for Indians.

### Thambi Naidoo

It is not yet known where he is to be taken. There are four other satyagrahis with him.

### New Parties

So far, there were the Het Volk, the Union and the Bond parties in the Transvaal, the Orange Colony and the Cape Colony, respectively. Efforts are now being made by Mr. Botha and his friends to amalgamate the three under the name of the South Africa Party. The Progressive Party has been renamed the Unionist Party.

### Hosken

He has been trying to enter the new Parliament. There is some ground to hope that he will succeed.

### Madressa Pupils

These pupils were examined by Imam Saheb Bawazeer and the Moulvi Saheb here. The successful ones among them were awarded prizes.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 25-6-1910

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## 217. *INDIANS UNDER THE UNION*

> The placing of the Native question above party politics, and the fair and sympathetic treatment of the Coloured races in a broad and liberal spirit; the encouragement of European and the prevention of Asiatic immigration into South Africa.
>
> —General Botha's Manifesto.
>
> To improve the social conditions of the people by opposing the introduction of Asiatics into South Africa, while securing fair treatment for those now lawfully settled in the country; a Commission to be appointed as soon as possible to investigate and report upon the special labour conditions prevailing in Natal, in order to bring them into harmony at the earliest possible date with this principle without detriment to established industries.
>
> —Unionist Party's Programme.

We have placed in juxtaposition extracts from General Botha's manifesto and the programme of Dr. Jameson's new party. The reader will see that there is not much to choose between the two, that the statements are as vague as they possibly can be, and that the authors of the two documents consider that Asiatic immigration is inimical to improvement in the social status of Europeans residing in South Africa. Both documents desire the prevention of such immigration. The Unionist programme qualifies the desire by adding that fair treatment for those now lawfully settled in the country should be secured. That programme contemplates also an investigation into the labour conditions of Natal. British Indians throughout South Africa, then, must be prepared during the coming months for anti-Asiatic activity on a much larger scale than hitherto. The prospect, however, is by no means black or hopeless, if the different sections of the community scattered throughout South Africa will realise the significance of the statements we have above quoted and do the needful in order to combat the reactionary policy foreshadowed by them. In doing so, however, they will have to recognise well-defined limitations. Control of Asiatic immigration we are bound to put up with and recognise, but total exclusion amounting to a national insult must be considered by every Indian worth his salt to be an impossibility. It appears to us that no sacrifice that may be made by the resident community in South Africa will be too great in order to avert such a calamity. We hold that this sort of equality is the corner-stone of the Imperial edifice, and that Indians who suffer in their attempt to make good the position will have deserved well not only of India but of the whole Empire. The two manifestos demonstrate the greatness of the struggle that is now going on in the Transvaal. We hope that our countrymen in this continent will carefully study the

programme of the two parties, and do their duty at what is a critical juncture in the history of British Indians in South Africa.

*Indian Opinion*, 25-6-1910

## *218. GENERAL BOTHA'S VIEWS*

The manifesto of his party, which General Botha has issued, sets out his views about us. These are worth studying. He wants European immigration into South Africa to be encouraged and Asiatic immigration to be stopped.

Dr. Jameson's party also sets out identical views. Its manifesto states, however, that Asiatics who are already settled in South Africa should be treated well, that the question of allowing indentured labour into Natal should be carefully examined and that it should even be stopped altogether if the existing interests of the industry did not suffer thereby.

Thus, the leaders of both the parties want to stop Asiatic immigration. Their manifestos, however, are couched in such terms that they will bear any interpretation that one may choose to put upon them. For us, of course, they have only one meaning, namely, that there is imminent danger to us. We may understand the view that too many Indians should not be allowed into South Africa. That is a hardship we cannot escape. When, however, we are told that we cannot enter just because we are Asiatics, it is the whole of India that is being insulted. We believe no Indian will put up with such an insult. Whatever the consequences of our refusal, we must bear them. For that, as we should like to show to every Indian, we must start preparing ourselves right now. Otherwise, steps will be taken under the Union to uproot Indians from South Africa altogether.

We take this opportunity to remind Indians that the Transvaal campaign is a powerful source of strength [to them]. It is in their interest to see that the campaign is kept up.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 25-6-1910

## 219. SPEECH AT SOCIALIST HALL[1]

[JOHANNESBURG,
*June 26, 1910*]

Mr. M. K. Gandhi delivered an interesting and well thought-out address last night at the Socialist Hall, Market Street, under the auspices of the Socialist Committee, entitled "Modern as Compared with Ancient Civilisation". The hall was crowded.

Mr. Gandhi prefaced his remarks with an apology to those who might differ from his views, and excused himself on the ground that he was an ardent searcher after truth. Modern civilisation, he said, could be summed up by two expressions. One was that it represented ceaseless activity, and the second was that it aimed at the annihilation of space and time. Everybody nowadays appeared to be preoccupied, and to him that appeared a dangerous symptom. They were all so intent upon earning bread and butter that they had no time for anything else.

Modern civilisation made them materialistic, made them concentrate their thoughts upon their bodies and upon the means of multiplying bodily comforts. Herbert Spencer had summed up the modern man by saying that the civilized man led a complex life as opposed to the entirely simple life of the savage. The source from which the Asiatic trouble arose in the Transvaal was that the Asiatic's wants were very simple, whereas those of the European were complex and therefore expensive. The tendency of modern methods went to make the Native's life more complex. While the wants of the raw Native were easily satisfied, the more enlightened of them required many more embellishments. Thus, they required more money, and when they found they could not get it honestly, they resorted to dishonesty.

After 18 years of study devoted to the consideration of the question, he had come to the conclusion that instead of there being a change for the better, there had been a change for the worse. (Applause.) He found that the simple life was better than the complex, in that they found time to devote attention to higher pursuits. In ancient civilisation, there had been no rush whatsoever. They nowadays looked downwards to the earth; in those days they looked upwards to Heaven. They did not concentrate upon the body but upon the soul, which they kept quite distinct from the soul [*sic*].

The flesh was not the be-all and the end-all of life. Now was the service of Mammon; then was the service of God. If he did not think that the soul existed and

[1] *Indian Opinion*, 2-7-1910, published a brief summary in the following words: The speaker said that modern civilization was expressed in an attempt to annihilate time and space and in excessive care for the body. The rush of modern life left little time for higher thoughts. It looked downward to the earth, whereas ancient civilization looked upward to Heaven. It kept the body subservient to the soul. It was based on the force of love. It avoided the hateful spirit of competition. It was best expressed in village life as against modern town life.

if he did not recognise that in all of them there were identical souls, then he for one would not like to live upon this earth. He would like to die. The body was the vehicle subservient to the soul. The body was simply earth, dross and objectionable.

Ancient civilisation made them look to the higher pursuits of life, the love of God, the respect of a neighbour and the consciousness of the existence of the soul. The sooner they returned to the life, the better.

*Rand Daily Mail*, 27-6-1910

## *220. JOHANNESBURG*

*Monday* [*June 27, 1910*]

### Members of Natal Batch

Messrs Ram Bihari, Rajkumar, Burjorsingh, Kajee Dadamia, Essop Kolia, P. K. Desai, Kara Nanji and Tulsi Jutha, members of the Natal batch who were sentenced to three months' imprisonment on March 24, have been released. All of them are in good cheer.

### Deputation to Lord Gladstone

Mr. Cachalia had written to Lord Gladstone,[1] soon after the latter's arrival, that a deputation would wait on him. A reply[2] has now been received that he could not receive the deputation, for, as the Ministers point out, he has already had a number of discussions with the Association about the agitation. This means that satyagrahis have only their own strength to rely on.

### Thambi Naidoo

[He] is still lodged in Pretoria. It has not been decided where he is to be sent.

### David Andrew

[Mr. David Andrew,] Mr. Samuel Joseph and Mr. Nayana have been removed to Pretoria for being deported again.

### Tolstoy Farm

A school has now been opened on this Farm. Mr. Gandhi teaches every day between two and five, except on Mondays and Thursdays. The [only] pupils at present are Mr. Gopal, Mr. Chinan, Mr. Kuppusami and his two sons.

Construction work is in progress. Seven Indian carpenters have gone there to work gratis. They were got together by Mr. Cachalia,

[1] *Vide* "Telegram to Secretary to Viscount Gladstone", p. 257.
[2] Dated 23-6-1910

Mr. Aswat, Mr. Fancy and others. About sixty carpenters assembled on Sunday. It was resolved then that those carpenters who could not go to work on the Farm should pay 12 s each. Many of them paid this amount and seven went to the Farm. For some time, they will offer their services free. They deserve congratulations on their spirit of community service.

Messrs Bihari, Rajkumar, Pragji Desai, Burjorsingh and Coomarsami Padiachy went to the Farm on Monday to settle there. They will remain there till they are arrested.

The Farm is in need of a number of things. The requirements will increase when children arrive. Those who do not take active part in the struggle by going to gaol can help in other ways. The object of settling on the Farm is to save expenses; also, those who go there will undergo some training. Much saving may result if everyone of those who do not go to gaol offers a little help. Tradesmen can supply things free or at reduced prices. Fruit- and vegetable-dealers can send these things from time to time. To send small quantities will be no burden to them, and the movement will get some help. Some fruit-dealers have expressed their readiness to help in this way. The following are the chief needs of the Farm at present:

Blankets or cotton mattresses
Wooden planks
Empty kerosene tins
Clean gunny bags or gunny-bag cloth or hessian
Any implements, such as hoes and spades, needles, sewing thread, etc.
Coarse cloth of any kind
Books for use in school
Fruits and vegetables
Cooking utensils
Foodgrains of any kind.

This is a hastily drawn-up list. There are many useful things of a similar nature which most Indians can send with a little effort. All that is needed is interest and sympathy. Things sent to the Farm should be addressed as follows:

Mr. Gandhi, Tolstoy Farm, Lawley, Transvaal.

Mr. Maimee and Mr. B. P. Ebrahim went to see the Farm on Sunday.

### Mr. Gandhi's Speech at Socialist Society

At the invitation of the Society, Mr. Gandhi delivered a speech in the Society's hall on Sunday last. The move was initiated by Mr. Crawford, a Town Councillor. The speech was a comparison of ancient and modern civilizations. The hall was packed with whites.

Some Indians, too, were present. A summary of the speech[1] has appeared in the *Daily Mail*. Its main theme was that ancient civilization was better than modern. The latter is selfish, godless and hypocritical. In this civilization, the chief object of man's endeavour is physical happiness. In the days of ancient civilization, men were kind, God-fearing and simple and looked upon the body as a means of spiritual uplift. It is necessary to revert to the ancient way of life and for that purpose to adopt simplicity and village life. The speech was followed by numerous questions and answers and a lengthy discussion. The audience appeared to have been well impressed.

[From Gujarati]
*Indian Opinion*, 2-7-1910

## *221. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI*

*Jeth Vadi 2* [*Samvat 1966*]
[*June 29, 1910*]

CHI. MAGANLAL,

I write nothing more about Thaker, as I have sent you his long letter.

I think I do have with me the dates of the Boer War in newspaper cuttings or somewhere else. I have no time to find them out just now. This also I write from the Farm. I shall arrange to get them for you if you particularly want them. I only remember that this Corps was formed in the November of 1899.

*Blessings from*
MOHANDAS

From the original Gujarati in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 4924
Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri

[1] *Vide* "Speech at Socialist Hall", pp. 279-80.

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## 222. CABLE TO S.A.B.I. COMMITTEE

JOHANNESBURG,
*July 1, 1910*

DEPORTEES REJECTED BY NATAL.[1] RETURNED TO ZANZIBAR; PREVENTED LANDING THERE. THAMBI NAIDOO AND OTHERS DEPORTED; RETURNED, SENTENCED. ROYEPPEN DISCHARGED, BEING DEPORTED.

M. K. GANDHI

Cd. 5363

## 223. SATYAGRAHI FARM

We draw the attention of readers to the accounts of Satyagrahi Farm which have been published. Everyone can see that valuable work is being done on the Farm. The number of settlers is increasing. It should be noted, moreover, that support to the Farm will ensure an early end to the struggle. Even if this is prolonged, it will be seen that arrangements have been made on the Farm which will enable people to continue the fight without anxiety.

At a time such as this, what is the duty of those who do not take active part in the movement by going to gaol? Every Indian can help reduce to the minimum the cost of maintaining the satyagrahis on the Farm and make things easier for them. Much saving can be effected if everyone follows the carpenters' example.[2] Every drop, as they say, helps to fill the lake: if, likewise, Indians in large numbers help a little apiece, none of them will feel the pinch. Every Indian should ponder over this matter.

[From Gujarati]
*Indian Opinion*, 2-7-1910

[1] In April, 60 satyagrahis were deported to India. On reaching Bombay, 26 sailed back to court re-arrest. On arrival at Durban, 9 were refused permission to land and sent back. *En route*, they attempted landing at Zanzibar. *Vide* also "Passive Resisters", p. 274, "Satyagrahis", p. 275 and "Johannesburg", p. 290.

[2] *Vide* "Johannesburg", pp. 280-1.

## 224. SWAMIJI'S SPEECH IN THE "MERCURY"

The K. A. Mandal[1] gave a party which was a credit to the community. A summary of Swamiji's[2] speech on the occasion was sent by someone to *The* [*Natal*] *Mercury*. The latter printed it under the caption, "Wise Speech". Judging, however, from the *Mercury* report, the speech is certainly not satisfactory from the standpoint of Indians. Whoever sent the report to the *Mercury* has done no service to the community or to Swamiji. The secretaries of the K. A. Mandal have issued a mild contradiction. They have sent the statement to us for publication; however, as we have not printed the *Mercury* report, there is no need to publish the letter from the Mandal. But we ought to state that, since the Mandal has contradicted a specific portion of the report, it has admitted the correctness of the rest. If this assumption is right, the portion that is detrimental to the community stands confirmed. Those who heard the speech say that Swamiji did criticize satyagraha, as stated in the part of the report which the K. A. Mandal has not contradicted. One can understand, therefore, that the secretaries of the Mandal cannot go beyond what they have said. We are sorry that Swamiji made such comments and offered advice to the people concerning the laws. But we do not think it likely that a satyagrahi will abandon what he considers to be truth or give up his pledge because of such criticism.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 2-7-1910

## 225. COLOUR PREJUDICE

America is regarded as a free country. It is claimed that everyone enjoys the fullest freedom there. A great many people, we find, are inclined to imitate America. Men are dazzled by her industry. But, on deeper reflection, we shall see that there is not much in America worthy of imitation. The people there are given over to the worship of self and of mammon. For money they will do the meanest things. Only a short while ago, we saw this exemplified in Dr. Cook's case.

There are reports now [which suggest] that even the freedom which the Americans boast of is vanishing. Colour prejudice is on the increase. Indians have enjoyed voting rights till this day. An official

[1] Kathiawad Arya Mandal, a Durban association of Arya Samajist Hindus from Saurashtra

[2] Shankeranand, a Hindu missionary who was in South Africa from 1908 to 1910

has now discovered that the framers of the Constitution could never have intended the granting of the franchise to Asiatics. He believes that not only Indians but even Turks should be denied the right to vote. Though the vast majority of the Turkish people are white-skinned, the official has pointed out that they are, after all, Asiatics.

The agitation against Asiatics going on in the West is likely to have grave consequences. We are not thinking just now of what China and Turkey will do. It is the duty of every Indian to think of what India should do. Japan has shown one way, that of proving one's strength and defending one's land with [the power of] arms. Following that way, Japan has become like America and the imitation will soon be perfect, if it is not already so. To us it appears that, if we wish to avoid being found in America's predicament, we had better refrain from training in the use of arms. Behind the venturesome spirit of America is her armed strength.

All that India has to do to hold her own is to preserve her ancient civilization, eliminating only its defects. The kind of racial discrimination which America practises, we have practised against our own people in India. Once there were many reformers in the West who had hoped and desired that the people there would shun such discrimination, but that is no more so. They have now begun to say that there must be no mixing with the Coloured races, that the Asiatics must be kept down. We think this movement will grow stronger rather than otherwise—it cannot but do so. Where people are concerned only with self-interest, it is not possible that they will allow others a foothold. Since their selfishness is mounting, their hostility to us will also grow. Self-interest will make them fight among themselves, too—even today they are fighting. That is a characteristic aspect of Western civilization. If we imitate the Western people, we may succeed for a time in mixing with them but subsequently we would also be blinded by selfishness and fight with them and fight among ourselves, too.

Someone may argue that even today we are fighting among ourselves. True, but our fighting is of a different kind. We must of course put an end to this. But we should be careful to see that in our attempt to mend matters we do not cause greater harm instead.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 2-7-1910

## 226. SPEECH AT TOLSTOY FARM[1]

*Sunday, July 3, 1910*

. . . Mr. Gandhi invited all to promote the success of the scheme by sending whatever they could for the use of the settlers who were all poor. They would thereby, the speaker said, materially assist the struggle.

*Indian Opinion*, 9-7-1910

## 227. LETTER TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO GOVERNOR-GENERAL[2]

[JOHANNESBURG,]
*July 4, 1910*

SIR,

The Committee of my Association has decided to approach His Excellency[3] with a view to the presentation of a humble and loyal address[4] of welcome, on His Excellency's approaching visit to Johannesburg; but my Committee has hesitated by reason of a hitch that occurred at the time of the presentation of an address to Lord Selborne[5]. My Committee was then at first advised that the Association's address would be received at the same time and place as the other addresses from public bodies, but, at the eleventh hour, a message was sent to the offices of the Association to the effect that the address would be received privately by His Lordship, and it was ultimately so received. My Association then understood that the decision to receive the address at the same time as the others was altered because of the prevailing prejudice against Asiatic and coloured communities in this country. My Association is most anxious to avoid a repetition of such an awkward and humiliating position, and, therefore, trusts that, if its humble address may not be received in common with the other addresses next Friday, His Excellency will be graciously pleased to accept this letter as testifying its respect for His Excellency as His Majesty's representative. If the

[1] At the meeting which passed a resolution thanking Kallenbach; *vide* "Johannesburg", p. 289.

[2] This letter, presumably drafted by Gandhiji, was signed by A. M. Cachalia, Chairman, British Indian Association.

[3] Herbert John Gladstone (1854-1930); was the first Governor-General and High Commissioner for South Africa, 1910-4

[4] *Vide* the following item.

[5] High Commissioner and Governor of the Transvaal, 1905-10

address of my Association cannot be received publicly, my Association can quite understand and appreciate the delicacy of the situation. But, should His Excellency consider that the humble address of my Association may be received publicly in common with the others next Friday, I am desired to state that my Association would like to make a formal presentation. May I request the favour of a telegraphic reply?[1]

*Indian Opinion*, 9-7-1910

## *228. ADDRESS TO LORD GLADSTONE*[2]

*Friday* [*July 8, 1910*][3]

TO

HIS EXCELLENCY THE RIGHT HONOURABLE VISCOUNT GLADSTONE
GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA
JOHANNESBURG

We the undersigned, representing the British Indian Association of the Transvaal, respectfully welcome Your Excellency and Lady Gladstone to Johannesburg.

We trust that the Union of South Africa will, under Your Excellency's *regime*, prove beneficial to all classes and communities residing in South Africa.

May we ask you to convey to Their Most Gracious Majesties the King-Emperor and the Queen-Empress an expression of the loyalty of the community represented by this Association?

*Indian Opinion*, 16-7-1910

## *229. ROYEPPEN*

Mr. Joseph Royeppen has been released, and yet not released. He was released, but is to be deported again on the 14th. We can judge from his case where the struggle stands. The last time he was released, he was required to offer a security of £50 in order to be free for a few days and see people. This time he has been released on his personal recognizance. He did not even have to sign any document. This is a measure of the enhanced reputation which Indians enjoy. A satyagrahi's word, thus, is trusted.

[1] A reply was received communicating Lord Gladstone's consent to receive the address along with other public addresses.

[2] This address, presumably drafted by Gandhiji, was presented by Cachalia.

[3] *Vide* the preceding item.

Even in gaol, they have changed their ways. Warders are afraid to hold out threats to satyagrahis. The latter do not put up with any injustice.

The reply elicited by Mr. O'Grady's question[1] in the House of Commons is also noteworthy. The Imperial Government has said that the matter is under correspondence. Who will say, after this, that the struggle is alive no more? Not only is it alive, it has a radiant sparkle, so long as there are men with the spirit of Mr. Royeppen, and its effects are spreading wider.

Every Indian youth should take a lesson from Mr. Royeppen's example. Though a barrister and a man of learning, he holds no manual work to be beneath him. He moves through crowded markets, carrying bundles on his head. He hews wood, washes clothes and works at [railway] stations like a common labourer. He proves in this way that he has received real education.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 9-7-1910

## *230. JOHANNESBURG*

### Satyagrahi Farm

For the present at least I must say that the Farm is making progress every day. The number of settlers has increased considerably and the place has taken on the appearance of a new township. There are four tents in addition to the building which I mentioned earlier for the satyagrahis and their families. One of the tents is occupied by Mr. Kallenbach and the satyagrahis, and the building has been handed over to the ladies.

The labour for putting up the building is contributed by the satyagrahis and Mr. Kallenbach. They do every kind of work such as loading and unloading, fetching water, chopping wood, transporting goods from the station, etc. Even conducting the school is at present a strenuous task and everyone is tired out by the evening.

Mr. Gopal Naidoo, who looks after the cooking, is giving an excellent account of himself. He is busy at it from a quarter past six in the morning to nine in the evening. He practises the strictest economy in the use of food-stuffs, just as if they were his own.

### Visit by Other Ladies

Other ladies came on a visit of inspection to the Farm on Sunday. They were Mrs. Sebastian, Mrs. Francis, Mrs. Chellan Nagappen,

[1] On June 29, J. O'Grady, a Labour member, raised the issue of Transvaal Indians and suggested a Gandhi-Smuts meeting to effect a compromise.

Mrs. Marimuthu Padiachy, Mrs. Ellery Moonsamy and Mrs. Kathu Pillay. They went away satisfied with the arrangements on the Farm, and so it looks as though they will decide to settle there.

### Visit by Businessmen

There was also a visit from Mr. Cachalia, Imam Saheb Abdool Kadir Bawazeer, Moulvi Saheb Mukhtiar, and Messrs Aswat, Fancy, Hajee Habib, Nagadi, Ebrahim Coovadia, Amod Mia, Suleman Mia, Moosa Esaakji, Goolam Munshi, Ahmed Waja, Moosa Bhikhaji, Ahmed Karodia, Moosa Ebrahim Patel, Ahmed Mamdoo, Mirza, Ebrahim Hajari, Parbhoo, Gosai and Anthony. They spent the whole day here and shared a meal with the satyagrahis before leaving. The gentlemen also joined in the work.

### Kallenbach Honoured

Then, as many of them wanted to offer thanks to Mr. Kallenbach, a meeting was held after dinner was over. The Moulvi Saheb, on a motion by Mr. Hajee Habib seconded by the Imam Saheb, was elected to the chair. He said that the meeting was held to offer thanks to Mr. Kallenbach for what he had done. He certainly deserved their thanks. Messrs Polak and Kallenbach [he said] had rendered yeoman service, though they were foreigners.

Mr. Ebrahim Coovadia then proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. Kallenbach for his generous gift and the interest he had shown in the cause.

The Imam Saheb seconded the motion. Mr. Hajee Habib supported it.

Then there followed speeches by Mr. Cachalia and Mr. Royeppen, after which the motion was unanimously carried.

Mr. Kallenbach in his reply said that he had gained by the active interest he had taken in the campaign and that this was true of other whites, too. The Indians who had joined the struggle [he added] derived still greater benefit, so remarkable was this fight.

### Joseph Royeppen

[He] was released on Friday. He was to be deported immediately after. He was therefore released from Johannesburg Gaol and asked to appear at 3 o'clock. On presenting himself at three, he was ordered to appear on the 14th for deportation. Immediately, therefore, he went to live on the Farm and plunged into work the very first day. He was joined by Mr. Solomon Ernest. The Farm, thus, has had plenty of recruits; all those who arrive join in the work. By Sunday, Mr. Royeppen had had a turn at chopping and sawing wood, loading carriages with goods from the station godown, fetching water and doing laundry work. Full of good humour, he infects others with his genial spirits.

### Prisoners' Diet

Many changes have been introduced in the regulation diet for prisoners. The quota of rice has been increased by two ounces. In the evening, they get bread, mealie pap and one ounce of ghee. Nothing remains, therefore, to complain of regarding diet.

### Not Disembarked at Zanzibar

A telegram has been received from Mr. Cowasji Dinsha to say that P. K. Naidoo and his companions have not been disembarked at Zanzibar, as was intended. The authorities, it seems, raised some legal difficulties. Hence all those satyagrahis have proceeded to India. We have no reliable information regarding how this new law that Indians cannot land at Zanzibar came to be passed, but, from the point of view of Indians, this is a startling development. It shows what British freedom means.

### Gifts

Three blankets and one dozen towels have been received from Mr. Hajee Habib, a dozen blankets, somewhat damaged, and 9 rolling-boards and pins from Mr. Karodia, a case of bananas, *nachis* and pineapples from Mr. Desai of Germiston and two large wooden cases from Mr. B. P. Ebrahim. It will be a very good thing if others, too, help the Farm in some such way. It is not only residents of the Transvaal or Johannesburg who can send help to the Farm. Indians from all over South Africa can send clothing, furniture and provisions. Fruiterers and vegetable dealers in Durban can send these articles and cloth merchants can send cloth. Since there are no customs duties now, the railway freight itself does not amount to much. Second-hand coats, trousers and similar articles can also be turned to use. I hope, every Indian will read this paragraph and offer all possible help. Anyone who does so will have, to that extent, participated in the campaign.

### Other Gifts

Mr. C. P. Lucheram has sent a gift of 31 articles such as shirts, handkerchiefs, pillow-covers, etc. Some of them are quality goods, which satyagrahis must not use. It is intended to sell them off [and use the proceeds].

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 9-7-1910

## 231. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

[TOLSTOY FARM,]
*Ashadh Sud 7* [*July 13, 1910*][1]

CHI. MAGANLAL,

I have gone through your letter, your note and Thaker's remarks. Thaker's criticism is free from any ill-will and is better than yours. Your interpretation of the last sentence is wrong. By saying that Hey's taunt[2] puts the Indian community to shame, the editor only tries to alert the community. I admit that the sentence in question could have been written in simpler language; but I believe most of the readers can understand it even as it is. The editor is included in the Indian community. The sentence means that what brings shame to the Indian community brings it to us too. I do not agree with your interpretation that it comes in the way of satyagraha. I return your note to you so that you may re-read it.

The parcel has arrived here. Why didn't you send it by goods train ?

The appeal to the Modh[3] leaders has been forwarded by Chhaganlal. I send it for perusal by you and Purshottamdas.

If Dhanji[4] is leaving immediately I would certainly prefer his company for Chanchal. He will take good care of her. She herself desires to have the company of a woman.

*Blessings from*
MOHANDAS

From the original Gujarati in Gandhiji's hand: C. W. 4931
Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri

[1] A summary of Hey's article mentioned in para 1 was published in the Gujarati section of *Indian Opinion*, 9-7-1910.

[2] G. A. Hey, a member of the former Transvaal Parliament, visited India and wrote an article criticizing the slovenly habits of the Indians on board the steamer, and taunting them for asking the Transvaal Government to improve the prisons.

[3] A Bania sub-caste to which Gandhiji belonged

[4] Dhanji Ranji, an Indian merchant of Verulam

## 232. *TRANSVAAL DEPORTEES*

Mr. G. A. Natesan of Madras deserves the warmest thanks of the Indians of South Africa for the very valuable assistance he has rendered to the homeless Transvaal deportees. We have received several letters showing very great appreciation of Mr. Natesan's services. He made their lot much easier to bear. The Madras papers, too, are full of praise for him. We congratulate Mr. Natesan on his great public spirit.

*Indian Opinion*, 16-7-1910

## 233. *LICENSING LAW*

The Supreme Court Judgment in the matter of Mahomed Goolam and the Maritzburg Corporation (published in our last issue) is worthy of perusal.[1] It shows what Indians have to labour under in the Colony. The Licensing Officer holds their fortune in the palm of his hand. The Supreme Court does not always get the opportunity of exposing his arbitrary decisions. Every aggrieved Indian trader cannot afford to take his case to the Supreme Court. One can, therefore, only guess what hardships Indian traders have to undergo and what must necessarily remain unnoticed by the public. We drew attention only the other day to an Estcourt case which has not yet reached the Supreme Court. The only thing Indian merchants can do is to ceaselessly agitate till their trading rights are placed on a firm footing.

*Indian Opinion*, 16-7-1910

[1] Mahomed Goolam, a Maritzburg retailer, applied in April 1909 for renewal of his licence. The licence fee was accepted but no decision given. He continued trading till December when the City Licensing Officer rejected the application. The Town Council upheld his decision. Goolam then appealed to the Supreme Court, which allowed the appeal with costs.

## 234. LICENCES IN NATAL

The appeal[1] to the Supreme Court in the Maritzburg licence case suggests that the [Dealers'] Licensing Act continues to be a source of hardship. Indian traders cannot afford to be complacent about it. The Act will cease to be a problem only if they pester the Government again and again and take effective measures.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 16-7-1910

## 235. DEPUTATION TO ADMINISTRATOR

We can take two different attitudes to the deputation[2] that was led to the Administrator. One is that it was not proper to have led an independent deputation without the consent of the Congress. In a way, this is right. But we cannot now take our stand merely on this point. The community has grown wings. Indians think for themselves. Of course, they do make mistakes sometimes. They want to act on their own. We cannot repress this spirit of enthusiasm, but can direct it along the right channel. This would require patience on the part of the leaders. If they encourage young Indians, this spirit can do nothing but good. If they remain indifferent and young people take to wrong methods it is obvious that harm will follow.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 16-7-1910

## 236. LETTER TO G. A. NATESAN

JOHANNESBURG,
*July 21, 1910*

DEAR MR. NATESAN,

I am exceedingly obliged to you for your letter of the 2nd ultimo. and the sentiments expressed by you. You call the brave passive resisters who have been deported there your Tamil countrymen, but I claim them to be my countrymen, just as much as they are yours. We

[1] *Vide* footnote to preceding item.

[2] Early in July, the Indian societies of Maritzburg and Durban sent a deputation to the Provincial Administrator seeking redress of grievances regarding the poll-tax, educational facilities, trading licences, etc.

have derived inspiration for all the work that we have endeavoured to do here from the great leaders in India. I do not think, therefore, that there is any occasion to exaggerate the merits of the passive resisters in South Africa. The handsome donation sent by you was most welcome. I shall await particulars as promised by you. Your praise of Mr. Polak is undoubtedly well-deserved. He is a most wonderful man. His devotion to the cause is simply admirable. May I state that almost every letter that I receive from him speaks in the warmest terms about your work there.

*I am,*
*Yours truly,*
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the typewritten original signed by Gandhiji: G.N. 2222

## *237. WHO IS UNCIVILIZED?*

We published the report of a boxing match[1] in America between a negro and a white. Millions had assembled to enjoy the spectacle. Among them were both old and young, men and women, rich and poor, government officials and common citizens. Many of them had travelled all the way from Europe. What did they see? Two men were hitting each other and displaying their brute strength. The people of America went mad over this show, and America is reckoned a very civilized country! What did the spectators gain from this show? We can offer no satisfactory answer to this question. There are some who hold that the body is strengthened through demonstrations of this kind and people learn how to defend themselves. A little reflection will show that this is altogether a mistaken notion. It is, of course, good to harden the body, but that cannot be done through boxing matches in public. There are many other means, and natural ones, of strengthening the body. This is no more than a pretext. The truth of the matter is that people enjoy seeing a fight and give their adoration to physical strength only. They think nothing else can match it. In thinking thus, they deny the soul and therefore deny God. The only epithet that can be applied to such a people is "barbarous". There is very little to learn from them. We certainly do not wish to say that there were no such shows in ancient times. But everyone knew and admitted them to be barbarous. No wise men went to them. They were attended only by boys and woolly-headed young men. On the other hand, the show in America was attended by grown-up people. Lengthy telegrams were dispatched to newspapers at a huge cost. The reports were followed

[1] Between Jefferies and Johnson at Reno on July 4, 1910

with interest by millions. Thus, the show was not looked upon as something uncivilized; on the contrary, it was regarded as a mark of civilization. This, in our view, is the extreme limit of barbarism. However strong the bodies of Jefferies and Johnson, they may be reduced to wrecks in an instant. They will then be of little use. It is doubtful if the millions who had assembled at the show ever thought of this even in their dreams.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 23-7-1910

## *238. JOHANNESBURG*

*Monday* [*July 25, 1910*]

### New Game of Asiatic Office

It has been the practice so far to register Indian children on their attaining majority. Now, however, they refuse such registration, if the applicants have entered after the coming into force of the Act of 1908. The effect of this will be that hundreds of Indian children will not be allowed to register and so will have to return to India. It may not be proper for satyagrahis to take the matter to a court of law. But this being a serious issue, some Indians are determined to test their rights in court. The result is bound to be favourable.

### Gifts

Mr. Adam Ali of Roodepoort has sent a rug and Mr. Desai of Germiston a case of fruit. I should like to bring it to the notice of vegetable dealers that if they send Indian vegetables like beans, brinjals, etc., there will be some saving in expenditure from the funds donated. The demand from the ladies is for such vegetables. Print and flannel, if sent by merchants, will be useful to children. The need for these is being felt now.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 30-7-1910

## 239. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

*Ashadh Vadi 3* [*July 25, 1910*][1]

CHI. MAGANLAL,

The letters you address direct to the Farm reach me sooner.

There can be no comparison between the sufferings in a gaol and those on the steamer. But Hey makes such a comparison[2] and it is shameful on our part that we give some cause for his doing so. This, as I understand it, is what Thaker means to say and his criticism appeals to me as quite fair. Please think over it again.

I send herewith Chhaganlal's letter. You need not return it to me as I have already made use of it. It would be nice if Chanchi[3] could be sent along with Dhanji. I do not think I shall be able to go there at that time.

Since Santok has given birth to a daughter, there is no worry on her account now. *Karka kasadara karpavai.*[4] Please ponder over this sentence printed at the top of Pope's [Tamil] grammar. There could hardly be a task more difficult than to conquer one's passion in regard to one's own wife. You will certainly succeed as your mind is inclined that way. Do persevere in your efforts and try to create a favourable atmosphere so that you will easily succeed. Even after I had made up my mind and was persevering in that effort, Ramdas and Devdas were born. You have to take courage from my initial failures. Poets have compared man to a lion. All of us have the inborn capacity to become kings of the forest of the senses; we can get that strength by giving continuous thought to it.

If there is a surplus stock of vegetables with anyone there, you may please send it here by "to pay" parcel. Pumpkins, chillies, etc., will all be of use here. Induce the vegetable dealers of Durban and Verulam, if you can [to help us]. If they send parcels of vegetables occasionally, that much money will be saved here. Some of the experiences gained here are worth telling you about, but I have no time to write.

*Blessings from*
MOHANDAS

[1] *Vide* footnote 1 to "Letter to Maganlal Gandhi", p. 291.

[2] *Vide* footnote 2 to "Letter to Maganlal Gandhi", p. 291.

[3] Chanchalbehn Gandhi

[4] The original has this in Tamil script. It means "What you learn, learn faultlessly. [Having learned it, live up to it.]"

[PS.]

Mr. Kallenbach says that it would not now matter if the plants are sent in gunny bags instead of in tins. If they are to be had at all, they should reach here right now. It wouldn't matter if they didn't come, but we should know the position.

I have sent Dr. Mehta a detailed report on the construction of septic tanks. It would be better, I think, to accept what West and Cordes say in the matter. Moreover, we shall make the necessary changes if I am there at the time of construction.

Please remember that a third-class ticket to Lawley has to be purchased for Ba when she comes here. The railway fare for Park station is the same as for Lawley.

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 4932
Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri

## *240. CABLE TO S.A.B.I. COMMITTEE*[1]

JOHANNESBURG,
*July 28, 1910*

ROYEPPEN AND OTHERS DEPORTED NATAL. RE-CROSSED. SENTENCED THREE MONTHS' HARD LABOUR. GOVERNMENT NOW TRYING TO MAKE MINORS PROHIBITED IMMIGRANTS BY REFUSING REGISTRATION ON MAJORITY. CAUSED SENSATION.

TRANSVAAL BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION

From a typewritten copy in the Colonial Office Records: C. O. 551/7

## *241. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI*

*Ashadh Vadi 6* [*July 28, 1910*][2]

CHI. MAGANLAL,

Received your letter. I can imagine Chi. Chhaganlal's condition. I am in no mood to write much; otherwise I wanted to write at length on the boxing match between Jefferies and Johnson. Only a little of it has appeared in Gujarati.[3]

Mr. Kallenbach says that the order for the Verulam plants may be cancelled if these cannot reach here within a week. It would not

[1] This was forwarded by Ritch to the Colonial Office on August 4, 1910.

[2] The boxing match mentioned in the letter took place at Reno in the U.S.A. on July 4, 1910, in which year *Ashadh Vadi* 6 corresponded to July 28.

[3] *Vide* "Who Is Uncivilized?", pp. 294-5.

matter if it is cancelled; you should therefore not bother about it. Even if the plants are dispatched within a week, says Mr. Kallenbach, the payment should be made only after they reach here.

Hope Santok and her daughter are quite well.

*Blessings from*
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 4933
Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri

## *242. ANOTHER BREACH OF FAITH!*

The news that our Transvaal correspondent gives regarding the latest move of the Transvaal Government is indeed astounding. It will be remembered that one of the sorest points in the Asiatic Act of 1907 was that it required direct registration of minors under sixteen years. This grievance was removed by the Act of 1908 by transferring registration of such children to their parents' certificates. And had everything else gone well, nothing more would have been heard of registration of minor children in the Transvaal. Until recently it appears that minor children of non-resisters were, on attainment of majority, registered whether such children entered before or after the commencement of the Act of 1908. But it seems that the business of the Asiatic Department is simply to find out how to circumvent the Indian community and how to harass it into leaving that Colony. Some law officer has therefore discovered that there is a flaw in the Act of 1908 which was drawn up in a day and that that flaw enables the Government to treat minors who entered the Colony lawfully after the commencement of the Act as prohibited immigrants on their attaining majority. That the legislature never contemplated any such result is obvious. Indian parents could never consent to an arrangement whereby their children should be sent out of the Transvaal on their arriving at the age of sixteen years. The Act of 1908 was largely a matter of compromise. The history of the negotiations that led up to the passing of the Act shows clearly that the Government and the Asiatics clearly understood that minor children of registered Asiatics were to enjoy the same rights as themselves. We do not know what the exact meaning of the Act may be and we care less. But this we do know, that, whatever may be the legal effect of the Act, this latest move on the part of the Transvaal Government shows a flagrant breach of faith. It emphasizes the charge of bad faith brought by the community against that Government. It strengthens and justifies passive resisters in their resolve to continue the fight. Non-resisters will test the point in the law courts. They may be worsted in the struggle. So much the worse for the Government. If

there is a flaw in the Act, it is for them to rectify the error, not to take a mean advantage of it.

But this move of the Transvaal Government has, for those who will understand it, a deeper meaning. It shows that the sheet-anchor of our hope lies not in the uncertainty of law suits but in the certainty of passive resistance. We therefore trust that Indian parents who have abandoned the fight in despair and from weakness will gird up their loins and once more throw in their lot with those who are continuing passive resistance.

We shall watch with some curiosity how the Imperial Government will view this latest phase of the question.

*Indian Opinion*, 30-7-1910

## *243. PRISON TREATMENT*

Mr. Churchill has announced[1] that passive resisters and Suffragettes shall not henceforth be treated as common felons and that they are not to have degrading associations. This is a reform in the right direction. It is worthy of note that Mr. Churchill has drawn a distinction between passive resisters and Suffragettes. That is to say, even when the latter may not be classed as passive resisters, as for instance, when they assault the Prime Minister and break windows, etc., to draw attention to their cause, they are not to be treated as common criminals. This is a great victory for Mrs. Pankhurst and her followers. It is a tardy recognition of a principle to which Mr. Robertson and other well-known publicists drew the attention of the British public about a year ago.

But what about the Transvaal passive resisters ? Are they less worthy of similar treatment? Must they who never use violence, who are perhaps the truest passive resisters, be classed as ordinary convicts undeserving of any consideration whatsoever? May not the Imperial Government persuade the new Union Government to copy Mr. Churchill's reform? Or must Mr. Joseph Royeppen, a barrister, who seeks imprisonment for conscience' sake, be placed on the same footing as a homicide or a burglar?

*Indian Opinion*, 30-7-1910

[1] In the House of Commons

## 244. JOHANNESBURG

*Monday* [*August 1, 1910*]

### SATYAGRAHI BURJORSINGH

Mr. Burjorsingh, one of the batch of satyagrahis from Durban, who was recently in gaol for three months, has had to leave the Satyagrahi Farm[1] on account of his father's illness. Mr. Ratipalsingh and other members of the Corporation gave him a dinner and spoke in praise of him. Mr. Burjorsingh will shortly return to the Transvaal and get arrested.

[From Gujarati]
*Indian Opinion*, 6-8-1910

## 245. REPLY TO "RAND DAILY MAIL"[2]

[JOHANNESBURG,]
*August 3, 1910*

SIR,

Will you permit me to correct some statements made in your leading article[3] on Lord Ampthill's action in the House of Lords[4] on the passive resistance struggle?

You say that passive resistance commenced after the Government had offered to grant permits for priests, lawyers, doctors, etc., but when[5] they refused to grant anything further. May I remind you that passive resistance commenced in 1907 when the question of priests, doctors and lawyers had not come up for public discussion, and when it did arise, it simply arose in order to forcibly illustrate the injustice that had been done by the Government in not conceding the demands of the community, which, as Mr. Patrick Duncan has pointed out, have never varied? British Indians have always asked for equality in the eye of the law as to immigration but never for unrestricted immigration of Asiatics.[6] I emphatically deny that British Indians who have been deported have in any large numbers declined to give information

[1] Tolstoy Farm

[2] This was published in *Rand Daily Mail* under the title, "Indian Passive Resisters".

[3] Of 29th July; *Vide Indian Opinion*, 6-8-1910.

[4] and [6] *Vide* the following item.

[5] *Indian Opinion* here has "but they".

as to their domicile. As a matter of fact, the domicile of most of them was within the knowledge of the Asiatic department and no proof of domicile was necessary in connection with those who had educational attainments, as many had. You state, again, that in no instances have cases of harsh treatment in the gaols of the Transvaal been proved by the passive resisters. May I inform you and the public that the question of diet, which was a very serious one, was very prominently brought before the Government and the public, and that it is only now that the grievance, I am thankful to say, has been partially remedied. That passive resisters who are not criminals in the ordinary sense of the term have been sent to a penal settlement, like Diepkloof, where the ordinary privileges of prisoners are withheld in my opinion is undoubtedly a glaring instance of harsh treatment. You further state that British Indians are keeping up passive resistance for other than the purpose of having their legitimate demands granted. In reply, I can only say that the world has not many men who would suffer, without reasonable cause, privation, starvation, separation from those who may be near and dear to them, etc., besides the loss of their worldly possessions. I quite agree with you that, if the demands of the community are granted, they should be granted not in response to passive resistance, but because they are intrinsically just; but I hope you will agree that passive resistance ought not to stand in the way of a strong government doing justice. You seem to think that passive resistance means coercion. In my humble opinion, the self-suffering which the community has undergone, and which has been expressed by the term "passive resistance", has been undertaken after the methods of petitioning, etc., had been exhausted, and in order to draw public attention to a grievance that was keenly felt and resented by the community.

*I am, etc.*,
M. K. GANDHI

*Rand Daily Mail*, 6-8-1910
*Indian Opinion*, 6-8-1910

## *246. TRANSVAAL INDIANS IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS*

Lord Ampthill, who has rendered signal services to the cause of the British Indians in South Africa and, thereby, we venture to think, to the Empire, has again raised the question in the House of Lords.[1] Reuter's cable[2] gives only a summary of Earl Beauchamp's reply to Lord Ampthill's query. And, if the summary gives a correct version, it shows

[1] On July 26, 1910
[2] Dated July 27, from London, reproduced in *Indian Opinion*, 30-7-1910.

that the policy of the Transvaal Government of misleading the Imperial Government continues unabated. In reply to Lord Ampthill's protest against the deportations to India, Earl Beauchamp is reported to have said that "Every opportunity would be afforded British Indians to prove domicile in South Africa, but that many absolutely refused to give information." The fact is that, in most cases, the authorities themselves knew the domicile of the parties concerned, and that, save in one or two cases, they all emphatically declared their domicile. It was not possible for them to do more. The authorities, however, *insisted* on production of domicile certificates which many did not possess. It is a well-known fact that possession of such a certificate is not a legal necessity. Some Indians take them out as a measure of protection. The authorities knew the case of young Manikum Pillay. He was a student in Natal; he could enter the Colony by reason of his education; his father is well known to the Asiatic Department; yet the young man was sent away to India. Young Pillay, we understand, gave all the information but it was of no avail. The fact that young Pillay and other Indians were deported and, on their return from India, could enter Natal; and the further fact that they are now serving imprisonment at Diepkloof, eloquently demonstrates, as no argument by us could, that the Imperial Government has been hoodwinked by the Transvaal Government.

Then, again, Earl Beauchamp is reported to have said that the Union Government could not agree to "unrestricted immigration". Indians in the Transvaal have repeatedly declared that they do not want unrestricted immigration. Passive Resistance has not been undertaken to bring about any such result. Indeed, they know that, if they fought for unrestricted immigration, they would forfeit the generous support given to them by Lord Ampthill and other distinguished statesmen. They have received universal sympathy and support outside South Africa only because they have shown that their demands are reasonable, moderate and such that they cannot but be satisfied in the end. So far as immigration is concerned, all that they ask for is that there shall not be in law any distinction based on race or colour; that there shall not be an insult offered to Indians as a race, as the present legislation does.

*Indian Opinion*, 6-8-1910

## 247. AN INTERESTING GROUP

Our Supplement this week is an interesting photograph[1] of Pioneer Settlers at Tolstoy Farm—the Passive Resistance settlement at Lawley in the Transvaal. Our readers will specially value the photograph as it includes that of Mr. Kallenbach, whose generosity in placing the Farm at the disposal of the passive resisters' families, together with his whole-hearted sympathy with the movement, is so well known and appreciated. What will perhaps appeal most of all to the Indian community is the way in which Mr. Kallenbach, literally as well as figuratively, "takes off his coat" to the work of helping the cause he has made his own.

*Indian Opinion*, 6-8-1910

## 248. LORD AMPTHILL'S HELP

Lord Ampthill continues to help the Indians. We have already published the cabled report[2] of the proceedings in the House of Lords arising from a question asked by him.

The report shows that the Transvaal Government persists in misleading the Imperial Government. The allegation that the deportees did not furnish complete information is baseless, as also the statement that we are demanding unrestricted admission of Indians. However, the discussion in the House of Lords shows that the Imperial Government persists in its efforts. It is only a question of time. Whether or not there will be a victory depends on the satyagrahis.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 6-8-1910

[1] *Vide* Illustration : Pioneer Settlers of Tolstoy Farm (Supplement to *Indian Opinion*, 6-8-1910).

[2] In *Indian Opinion*, 30-7-1910. *Vide* also. "Transvaal Indians in the House of Lords", pp. 301-2.

CWMG - X

## 249. *REPLY TO "RAND DAILY MAIL"*[1]

JOHANNESBURG,
*August 9, 1910*

SIR,

Under the heading "Asiatic Exaggeration", you revert to the question of the ill-treatment of passive resisters as well within this Province as on board a particular steamer that carried over sixty passive resisters a few months ago. Passive resisters have kept absolutely clear at least of two things—exaggeration and violence in any shape or form —both things being considered totally foreign to the spirit of the struggle. Allegations of the ill-treatment of prisoners will continue to be made in spite of every contradiction, so long as passive resisters[2] are treated with exceptional severity by being classed not only with criminals, but being sent to a penal settlement which is intended for hardened criminals. You seem to imagine that passive resisters have repeatedly complained about physical violence having been used against them. As a matter of fact, except in isolated cases, they have stated that there has not been physical violence used against prisoners. As to Lord Morley's repudiation of ill-treatment on board, one is tempted to ask, in spite of the very high source from which the contradiction comes, whether His Lordship had ever ordered examination of the passengers themselves. I gather that no such course was adopted. In the circumstances, the Indian community will continue to believe the statement made by the passengers. But here again it seems to be imagined that, when an Indian complains of ill-treatment, it must imply physical violence,[3] or it is not ill-treatment at all. That the deportees were sent as deck-passengers, and that they had to starve by way of protest for a day before they received decent food on board, are matters which call for no comment in your estimation, and yet they are matters which vitally affect the parties concerned. The only way to stop the dissemination of reports in India of the ill-treatment of passive resisters is, firstly, to accept the deportees' standards of what is good treatment, and, secondly, to close

[1] This was published in *Rand Daily Mail* under the caption "The Passive Resisters".

[2] *Indian Opinion* here has "passive resistance prisoners".

[3] *Indian Opinion* has "it must simply be physical violence".

the painful struggle by granting the just demands of the Indian community.

*I am, etc.*,
M. K. GANDHI

*Rand Daily Mail*, 9-8-1910
*Indian Opinion*, 13-8-1910

## *250. MR. RITCH'S DEPARTURE POSTPONED*

The newspapers announced that Mr. Ritch was coming to South Africa very soon with a message of sympathy and encouragement for passive resisters. Preparations were on foot to give Mr. Ritch a welcome to which his whole-hearted, effective and able work in England entitles him. But, as our Transvaal correspondent points out, Mr. Ritch's departure has been suddenly postponed owing to Mrs. Ritch having to undergo an operation. It will be remembered that Mrs. Ritch had only just recovered from a very dangerous illness, during which she underwent a series of operations. The sympathy of the Indian community throughout South Africa goes out to Mr. and Mrs. Ritch in their trouble, and we hope that Mrs. Ritch will recover from her most recent illness. The friends of the family who know Mrs. Ritch's pluck and marvellous recuperative powers have little doubt that she will survive the operation and remain, for many a long year to come, the guardian angel of her children who adore her and whom she adores and for whom she lives.

*Indian Opinion*, 13-8-1910

## *251. INDIANS UNDER THE UNION*

Those who thought that the Indian community in South Africa would fare better under the Union are being rapidly disillusioned. The Transvaal continues its persecution of passive resisters. The Orange Free State keeps her gates closed against them. Silently but surely an agitation against Indians is being fostered at the Cape and the Natal licensing laws, in spite of the recently made amendment,[1] still remain a standing menace to Indian merchants and traders. The Estcourt case,[2] to which we drew attention some time ago, now enters upon a

[1] *Vide* "Natal Licensing Act", pp. 99-100.

[2] One Suleman, who was refused transfer of a licence by the Licensing Officer, Estcourt, appealed to the Estcourt Licensing Board, where his counsel, objecting to the constitution of the Board, refused to proceed. The Licensing Board, however, gave a decision. The review against this decision was dismissed by the Supreme Court (Natal Division) on August 2.

further stage. The Provincial Court has decided that the appointment by the Government of certain members of the Board was valid. We presume, therefore, that the injured party will once more approach the Appellate Board. By the time this sickening procedure is finished, it would have cost Mr. Suleman, the party concerned, a fortune. How many Indian traders are there in the Colony who can afford the necessary expenses of such a prolonged fight?

Then, again, take Mr. Goga's case.[1] Here is a man of twenty years' standing, having a large and respectable European custom, who is openly backed by Europeans of standing in Ladysmith. He cannot get a licence in respect of his own premises. It is nothing to the Licensing Officer that Mr. Goga cannot let his shop to any Europeans and cannot sell it. Because he is an Indian, he must be content to suffer loss.

The question arises: How does the Union help Indians even in such glaring cases of injustice? The answer is that the position of Indians under the Union will in no way be made easier, and it is highly probable that it will be made much worse. All the reactionary forces will be combined against them. Let the community beware. The only effective way to fight such a mighty combination is for it first to combine and secondly to become self-reliant.

*Indian Opinion*, 13-8-1910

## *252. LETTER TO LEO TOLSTOY*[2]

JOHANNESBURG,
*August 15, 1910*

DEAR SIR,

I am much obliged to you for your encouraging and cordial letter[3] of the 8th May last. I very much value your general approval of my booklet, *Indian Home Rule*. And, if you have the time, I shall look forward to your detailed criticism of the work which you have been so good as to promise in your letter.

Mr. Kallenbach has written to you about Tolstoy Farm. Mr. Kallenbach and I have been friends for many years. I may state that he has gone through most of the experiences that you have so graphically described in your work, *My Confessions*. No writings have so deeply touched Mr. Kallenbach as yours; and, as a spur to further

[1] In Ladysmith, Goga, an Indian retailer, was refused a licence to trade in premises owned by him, although 37 Europeans presented a petition supporting him to the Licensing Officer.

[2] For replies by V. Chertkov and Tolstoy, *vide* Appendix VI.

[3] *Vide* Appendix III.

effort in living up to the ideals held before the world by you, he has taken the liberty, after consultation with me, of naming his farm after you.

Of his generous action in giving the use of the farm for passive resisters, the number of *Indian Opinion*[1] I am sending herewith will give you full information.

I should not have burdened you with these details but for the fact of your taking a personal interest in the passive resistance struggle that is going on in the Transvaal.

*I remain,*
*Your faithful servant,*
M. K. GANDHI

COUNT LEO TOLSTOY
YASNAYA POLYANA

From a block of the typewritten original signed by Gandhiji published in *Mahatma*, Vol. I, by D. G. Tendulkar

## *253. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI*

[TOLSTOY FARM,]
*Shravana Vadi 1* [*August 21, 1910*][2]

CHI. MAGANLAL,

Please write to me, if possible, at least once a week.

I have already sent you Anandlal's[3] letter.

For the vegetables you sent we shall arrange to pay out of the [Satyagraha] Fund here. We would have to spend the same amount if we brought here the quantity of vegetables you sent. You should be able to know a cheaper method of sending the vegetables if you went through the tariff book. It is, however, impossible to measure the value of the sentiment behind your sending the vegetables. What is important is the fact that people provide satyagrahis with whatever they need. If people send these things jointly the railway fare would not be much. Please explain to them that it would be shameful for those who make big profits to be scared by the paltry cost of freight.

I have not seen anything sent by Babu Talewant Singh. We have received groundnut and vegetables from Dhanji and blankets and flannels from Raghavji. If any of these things are from Babu Talewant Singh please make the necessary correction. I had a letter from Babuji himself saying that the articles were from the persons mentioned above.

[1] Of 11-6-1910

[2] The gifts mentioned in paragraph 4 were acknowledged in *Indian Opinion*, 27-8-1910; in 1910, *Shravana Vadi* 1 corresponded to August 21.

[3] Son of Amritlal Tulsidas Gandhi, Gandhiji's cousin

CWMG-X

Harilal cannot go to India to escort Chanchi. We are poor and cannot spend money like that. Moreover, a man who has joined the struggle cannot thus go away for three months. There would be nothing wrong if Chanchi goes to India in some good company. Many poor women do so. We do not want our womenfolk to remain delicate. I for one am a farmer and I wish you all to become farmers, or to continue as such if you have already become farmers. My way of life has completely changed here. The whole day is spent in digging the land and other manual labour instead of in writing and explaining things to people. I prefer this work and consider this alone to be my duty. Ramdas dug a pit, 3 feet broad and 3 feet deep, and half of another, working till one o'clock today. If he continues to work like this he will be a very good boy. Now I do not see him engrossed in thought as he used to be in Phœnix. This is the result of manual labour. In pampering this corpulent body that has been given to us and pretending that we earn [our living] by our intellect, we become sinners and are tempted to fall into a thousand and one evil ways. I regard the Kaffirs, with whom I constantly work these days, as superior to us. What they do in their ignorance we have to do knowingly. In outward appearance we should look just like the Kaffirs. From this you may deduce other reasons also for Harilal not going to India to escort Chanchi.

For your short temper too I think this is the cure. The body is like an ox or donkey and should therefore be made to carry a load. Then the short temper, etc., will be cured. I am constantly trying to keep away the shortcomings of Phœnix from this Farm. That is why a different standard of living has been laid down. If instead of each cultivating his own plot separately all cultivate the entire land together, we can produce a larger crop more quickly. I do not think this is possible there for the present. But I did make the suggestion that it would be good if those who could co-operate cultivated their plots together. That suggestion was made with [special] reference to Purshottamdas and you. It has many other implications. However, I have written this to let you know the current trend of my mind.

The proceeds from the sale of stock in the Press cannot by any means be considered as profit. They can be credited to the capital account and nowhere else. We need not consider whether we have gained or lost by giving up the job work; we are rid of a headache thereby.[1]

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 4934
Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri

[1] The letter is incomplete.

## 254. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

*Shravan Vad 3* [*August 23, 1910*][1]

CHI. NARANDAS,

I had kept your letter for replying.

If you spend your spare time in understanding and explaining to others the significance of the struggle here, I shall take it that you have done well. We need not doubt the law that we achieve the thing to which we completely devote ourselves. The satyagraha struggle deserves such devotion. Hence this advice to you.

*Blessings from*
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5635
Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

## 255. REPORT OF PROTECTOR OF INDENTURED LABOURERS

The so-called "Protector" of indentured labourers has published his annual report. We note its main points elsewhere. The report is a matter of disgrace for every thinking Indian. How many Indians arrived, how many of them died, what were the causes of death —all this is worth knowing and will be found in the abstract of the report.

The reply by the "Protector" to Mr. Polak's vivid account of the sufferings of indentured labourers makes interesting reading. It is in fact no reply. The "Protector" seems to have assumed the role of "Exploiter". When we thus find that the sea has caught fire, where shall we get the water to quench it?

What we are seriously exercised over at the moment is this. Last year, 2,487 indentured labourers arrived from Madras, including 176 boys and 195 girls of all ages. Further, it is stated in the same report that more than 27,000 Indians have been born in Natal. What has been the fate of all these boys and girls? The Government has shown no interest in this matter. The Protector has not a single word to say about them. The employers of indentured labourers do nothing for them. The boys, too, are treated as indentured labourers. This is the way cattle are dealt with. Do we really treat [even] our cattle in this fashion? What this reveals is a state of slavery. The boys and girls who arrived last year are ruined both materially and morally.

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Narandas Gandhi", pp. 198-9.

Any ruffian may cast his evil eye on them. From early morning when the parents go to toil like beasts, these delicate children are left to themselves and those of them who are strong enough for a little work are employed on payment of a paltry 5 s. Thus, it is sugar made with the blood of indentured labourers that we use for gratifying our palate. In spite of this, some of us think that the indentured labourers gain by coming here, that they escape starvation [in India] and find happiness in Natal. We would not think of applying this argument to ourselves. We would rather prefer to starve than accept the slavery of indenture. We would not like to bring up our children in such slavery. These boys and girls are left entirely to the mercy of God. Any Indian who has faith in religion will see that we join in exploiting this slavery and as a punishment for that sin we, who claim to be free Indians, also become the victims of oppression. If only we had a pen and an intellect powerful enough, we would awaken the Indians from their deep slumber and rouse the community to take effective measures to put an immediate stop to the system of indenture. This is the right time for it. A letter signed by the leaders demanding an immediate end to the system of indenture should be sent to all those who wish to enter the Union Parliament. We have no doubt that once indenture is stopped, the hardships of Indians will not take long to disappear.

[From Gujarati]
*Indian Opinion*, 27-8-1910

## *256. CABLE TO S. A. B. I. COMMITTEE*[1]

JOHANNESBURG,
*August 29, 1910*

MAGISTRATE DECIDED ASIATIC ACT GIVES NO PROTECTION TO MINORS NOT BORN TRANSVAAL AND NOT RESIDENT AT COMMENCEMENT OF ACT 1908.[2] MATTER GOING BEFORE SUPREME COURT, BUT AS IT AFFECTS MANY INDIAN CHILDREN AND IS SO IMPORTANT, HOPE IMPERIAL INTERVENTION WILL COMMENCE NOW.

M. K. GANDHI

From a typewritten copy in the Colonial Office Records: C.O. 551/7

[1] This was forwarded by Ritch to the Colonial Office on August 30, 1910.

[2] In the case of Mahomed, son of Chhotabhai, Magistrate Jordan ruled that the inclusion of the son's name in the father's registration certificate gave him no right to apply for registration and that the father's Peace Preservation Permit did not cover the son; hence he dismissed the appeal and ordered deportation.

## 257. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

[JOHANNESBURG,]
*Wednesday* [*August 31, 1910*][1]

CHI. MAGANLAL,

I have your letter. I have one from Chhaganlal too.

It was good that you observed the *Janmashtami* fast. I had thought of doing so, but gave up the idea. I decided it was enough for the present if I could keep the *Ekadashi*[2] fast alone. There is only one simple way of winning divine grace—that of practising truth and other virtues, gradually and deliberately, and of concentrating on one attachment or devotion [to the Supreme] to the exclusion of all others.

> Eat the whole body, O crow!
> Peck away at my flesh;[3]
> But pray consume not the two eyes,
> I still hope to see my beloved.

This is said of a lover and his beloved; but in truth it shows the yearning of the soul to see the beloved in the form of God. He does not care if the body is lost. If the crow of passion does not eat away the eye of knowledge, he is bound to meet the beloved.

Chhaganlal's letters are still suggestive of his timidity. What he writes about Gokaldas makes it appear as though you and all of us are neglecting our elders. If Gokaldas does not go to India, it only betrays his ignorance. He has no duty to perform here. He has not even obtained specific permission from Parmanandbhai to come over here. Moreover, Parmanandbhai wants only to see him. Gokaldas, however, does not understand [this] and therefore does not go. All of you have to serve your parents and you do it even while staying here. That can be your sole object in earning money. Of course, they might feel happy if you were with them. But they hardly need you apart from that. I hold that children who are indifferent to their parents can hardly accomplish anything in the world. I am quite free from worry

[1] This letter appears to have been written during Chhaganlal Gandhi's absence from South Africa in 1910. "Janmashtami", Lord Krishna's birthday (according to the Indian calendar the 8th day of the dark half of *Shravana*), mentioned in the second paragraph, fell on Sunday, August 28, 1910.

[2] The eleventh day of each dark and bright fortnight

[3] The letter has और जलायो मांस (and the burnt flesh too), but it should be read चुन चुन खाइयो मांस (peck away at my flesh).

as I do not see in your and Chhaganlal's behaviour anything that conflicts with filial duty.

What Chhaganlal writes about the exhibition has been the general impression. It is a great illusion[1]. What are we before it, when a person like Sitaji fell a prey to the temptation? This glamorous show is the product of Western civilization. We can deem ourselves successful if we are not led away by it. I do not mean to say that Chhaganlal has succumbed to the temptation. He is, however, greatly affected by it—and anyone would be so affected at first sight.

I agree with Chhaganlal about not sending Santok. I think she will not be happy in India. Such is our plight. She will not be able to live there with that spiritual and physical freedom which she enjoys here. When, thanks to her stay in Phœnix, she becomes firm in her convictions and courageous enough to adhere even in India to her ideas and way of life which she considers right, she will be happy there. Her stay will be beneficial to India and she will render true service to the country as well as to herself. I, however, feel that she may be allowed to go if she is pressed to go as was Chanchi. Veni[2] writes in every letter that in India she feels as if she were in prison. This is not true of women alone.

Please do not let Chhaganlal know of any portion of this letter even indirectly. For that might prove harmful. I am constantly pondering over his letters. I shall write to him myself when I find it necessary. My criticism too might be due to a misunderstanding. Even so, there is no need at present to disturb the tenor of his thought. For I have enough faith in him to believe that whatever he does he will come round of his own accord.

I have written to you in detail so that you may not be upset or distressed in any way.

The messenger did not inform me that the watch came from Tipnis. I have not mentioned his name [in "Johannesburg"] as he told me that it was sent by you. I shall make the necessary correction next week if you have not done so already. We have not received the things sent by Talewant Singh. I shall make enquiries. I fear some demurrage will have to be paid. He has not even told me what the things sent were.

*Blessings from*
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 4935
Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri

[1] Literally, a golden deer. In the *Ramayana*, Ravana's maternal uncle, Maricha, took the form of a golden deer to tempt Sita and entice Rama away so that Ravana could kidnap her.

[2] Wife of Gaurishanker Vyas, a leading Indian of Pretoria and a satyagrahi

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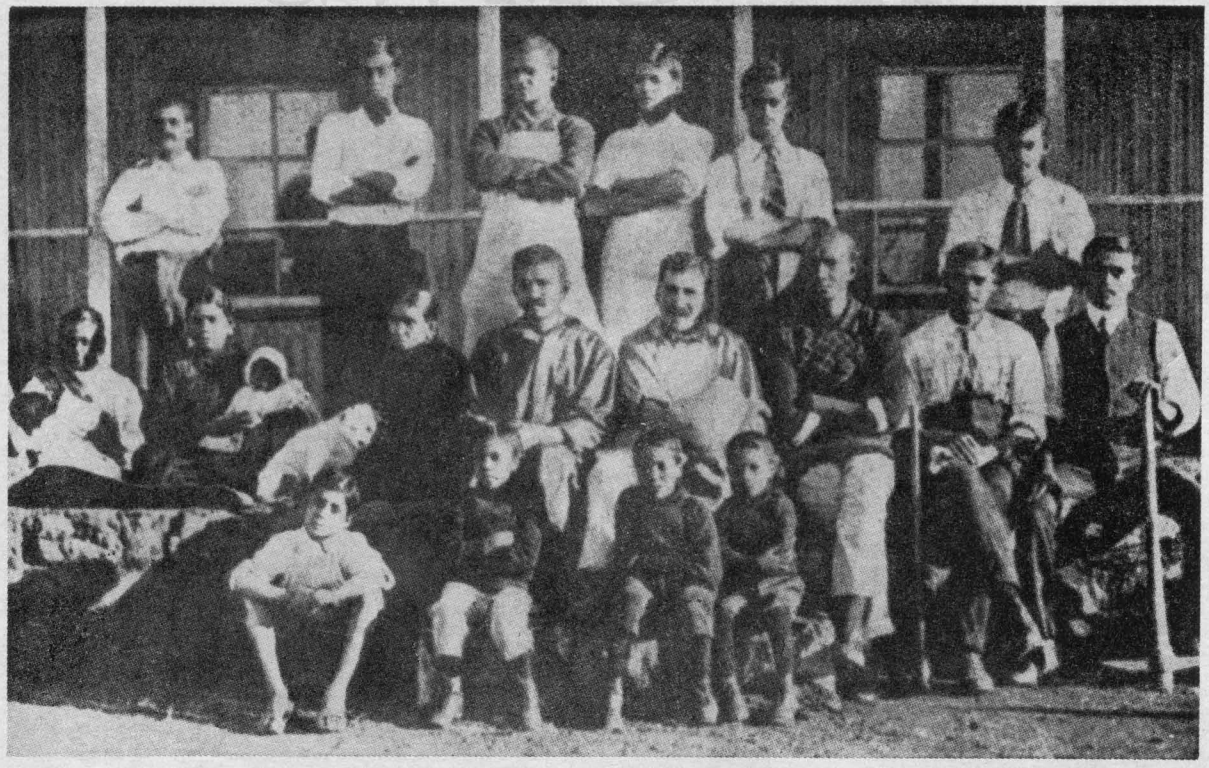

A GROUP AT TOLSTOY FARM (1910) WITH GANDHIJI AND KALLENBACH

INDIAN OPINION

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# THE GRAND OLD MAN OF INDIA

## A BRIEF BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF THE HON. DADABHAI NAOROJI

THE first Indian to become a member of the British Parliament was Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji. Born on September 4th, 1825, in the city of Bombay, he was educated at the Elphinstone School and College, and was, at the age of 29, made Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy — being the first Indian to receive that honour. In 1855 Mr. Naoroji visited England as partner in the first Indian business to be established in that country. The University College, London, did him the honour of appointing him Professor of Gujarati; and one of the benefits gained for India by Mr. Naoroji was the admission of Indians to the Civil Service in 1870. He was made Prime Minister of Baroda in 1874, and a year later was elected a member of the Corporation and Municipal Council of Bombay, to which body he gave five years' valuable service. Mr. Naoroji was a member of the Bombay Legislative Council from 1885 to 1887. The Indian National Congress honoured him by electing him President in 1886, 1893, and again in 1906. Mr. Naoroji sat in the House of Commons from 1893 to 1895 as Liberal member for Central Finsbury, London, and he did good work for his country as member of the Royal Commission on Indian Expenditure, etc., and, in 1897, gave evidence before the Welby Commission. From the very commencement of the British Committee of the Indian National Congress, he was a diligent member and hard worker. Among the publications from the pen of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji are: "England's Duty to India" "Admission of Educated Natives into the Indian Civil Service," "Financial Administration of India," and what is, perhaps, the best known of his many writings, "Poverty and Un-British Rule in India." In 1906, the venerable Dadabhai journeyed to the Motherland to preside over the Indian National Congress, a task which was a tremendous strain upon even his iron constitution and indomitable spirit. Since the Calcutta Congress of 1906 Mr. Dadabhai has practically retired from public life, and in 1907 he went to reside at Varsova, a small fishing village in the Bombay Presidency where he still watches with a keen interest the progress of events in India which go to make or mar its future. Truly has he earned for himself the honoured title of

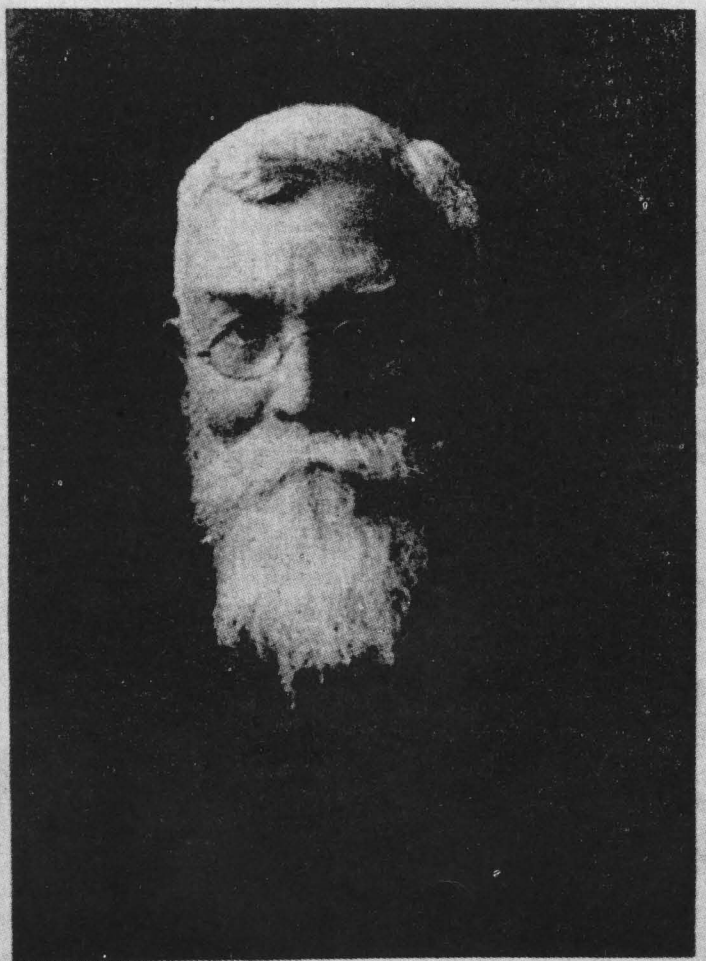

Photo by ELLIOT & FRY.

Dadabhai Naoroji

THE GRAND OLD MAN OF INDIA.

## 258. THE GRAND OLD MAN OF INDIA

The first Indian to become a member of the British Parliament was Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji. Born on September 4th, 1825, in the city of Bombay, he was educated at the Elphinstone School and College, and was, at the age of 29, made Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy—being the first Indian to receive that honour. In 1855, Mr. Naoroji visited England as partner in the first Indian business to be established in that country. The University College, London, did him the honour of appointing him Professor of Gujarati; and one of the benefits gained for India by Mr. Naoroji was the admission of Indians to the Civil Service in 1870. He was made Prime Minister of Baroda in 1874, and a year later was elected a member of the Corporation and Municipal Council of Bombay, to which body he gave five years' valuable service. Mr. Naoroji was a member of the Bombay Legislative Council from 1885 to 1887. The Indian National Congress honoured him by electing him President in 1886, 1893, and again in 1906. Mr. Naoroji sat in the House of Commons from 1893 to 1895 as Liberal member for Central Finsbury, London, and he did good work for his country as member of the Royal Commission on Indian Expenditure, etc., and, in 1897, gave evidence before the Welby Commission. From the very commencement of the British Committee of the Indian National Congress, he was a diligent member and hard worker. Among the publications from the pen of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji are: *England's Duty to India*, *Admission of Educated Natives into the Indian Civil Service*, *Financial Administration of India*, and what is, perhaps, the best known of his many writings, *Poverty and Un-British Rule in India*. In 1906, the venerable Dadabhai journeyed to the Motherland to preside over the Indian National Congress, a task which was a tremendous strain upon even his iron constitution and indomitable spirit. Since the Calcutta Congress of 1906, Mr. Dadabhai has practically retired from public life, and in 1907 he went to reside at Varsova, a small fishing village in the Bombay Presidency where he still watches with a keen interest the progress of events in India which go to make or mar its future. Truly has he earned for himself the honoured title of THE GRAND OLD MAN OF INDIA.

*Indian Opinion*, 3-9-1910

## 259. LONG LIVE THE GRAND OLD MAN

Tomorrow is the 86th birthday of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, the Grand Old Man of India and the Father of Indian Nationalism. Every year brings us nearer the day when we must part with him in the flesh. The best honour that we can render him is to imitate him in his noble career and dedicate our all to the service of the Motherland. On the first page we give a brief biographical sketch with portrait of the aged patriot.

*Indian Opinion*, 3-9-1910

## 260. GREAT LONDON MEETING

The report[1] of the great meeting held in London on the 3rd of August last has now arrived. It was fitting that Sir Mancherji Bhownaggree, who has taken such a prominent part in the struggle since its commencement, should have presided. The success of the whole gathering was due to the untiring efforts of Mr. Ritch and his helpers. A glance at the names of the speakers[2] shows what a representative gathering it was. Sir Mancherji has forwarded the resolutions[3] to Lords Crewe and Morley. Reuter has informed us that the Imperial Government is still in correspondence with the Union Government. Mr. Ritch has appealed to General Botha to close the struggle before the Union Parliament meets. It now remains to be seen what the next month has in store for passive resisters. We confess that before the elections are over, General Botha, whose own fate and that of his fellow ministers hangs in the balance, could take no definite action. Meanwhile, passive resisters may take additional courage from the fact that their cause is being

[1] The report of this meeting held at the Westminster Palace Hotel, to protest against the treatment of British Indians in the Transvaal, was published in *Indian Opinion*, 3-9-1910.

[2] Among the speakers were Major Sayed Hoosen Belgrami, W. P. Byles, M. P., Sir R. K. Wilson, Bipin Chandra Pal and Lala Lajpat Rai.

[3] The first resolution detailing disabilities of the Transvaal British Indians emphatically protested against the deportations to India through Mozambique; the second appealed to Lord Crewe for protection; the third to Lord Morley to prevent further emigration to South Africa until redress of grievances; the fourth conveyed a message of "admiration and encouragement . . . to brave brothers and sisters in the Transvaal . . . in the selfless struggle"; and the fifth directed forwarding of the resolutions to Colonial and India Offices and to the Transvaal British Indian Association.

very vigilantly watched by Lord Ampthill and his Committee[1] and that the opinion of the Metropolis of the Empire is behind them.

*Indian Opinion*, 3-9-1910

## 261. INDENTURED LABOUR

The *Rand Daily Mail* has made a most excellent suggestion to the effect that the voters should ask every candidate to pledge himself to the immediate stoppage of indentured labour from India. So long as that blot remains, it is very much like straining at a gnat and swallowing a camel to persecute a few Indians out of the Transvaal Province. Whatever may be the motives of the *Rand Daily Mail* in urging total prohibition of indentured labour, no Indian can have any difficulty in agreeing with its conclusions.

*Indian Opinion*, 3-9-1910

## 262. A REPROACH

Mr. Haggar, who found himself appointed a member of the Commission that recently sat to examine the question of indentured labour, thus writes in the course of a letter to the *Rand Daily Mail*, in reply to that paper's leading article urging entire prohibition of indentured labour:

> One fact was forced upon the attention of the Commission, namely, the Natal-born Indian is useless as a worker; he will play football, sell newspapers or do low-class office work but he will not undertake anything of the nature of labour. It was admitted by educated Indians that primary education made the Natal-born Indian useless in the labour market. Agriculture had nothing to hope from him.

Indians know Mr. Haggar too well to take him seriously. His unproved charges against the community have not yet been forgotten. But sometimes we do learn a great deal even from our avowed opponents. The statement that we have quoted above is not without a modicum of truth in it. Curiously enough, we have just received from a correspondent a letter inviting us to open our columns regularly for Indian sporting news. We have nothing against sport as such. And, if our columns were not almost solely devoted to the cause of the Indian struggle in South Africa, and if we had enough support from the sporting Indians, we would not be unprepared to set apart a portion for regular sporting news. But we ask our young friends whether sport should occupy so much of their time and attention as it does now. Indeed, those Indians who know

[1] The S.A.B.I. Committee

what is going on around them, cannot afford to be in a sporting mood. Our forefathers did wonderfully well without the fashionable sport of today. Sport indulged in for the sake of developing the body is of some use. But we venture to suggest that agriculture, the inherited occupation of Indians—indeed of the human race—is better sport than football, cricket and all other games put together. And it is useful, dignified and remunerative. Football and cricket may be well for those who have the drudgery of the desk work to go through from day to day. But no Indian need undertake that task. We therefore advise our young sporting friends to take Mr. Haggar's remarks in good part and leave the contemptible work of clerks, newspaper sellers, etc., for the independent and manly field-work. They have before them the brilliant example of Mr. Joseph Royeppen who, though a barrister, took up hawking and latterly did manual work on the Passive Resistance Farm[1].

*Indian Opinion*, 3-9-1910

## *263. MEETING IN ENGLAND*

We have now received a report of the meeting held in England concerning the Transvaal struggle, as also of the discussion raised by Lord Ampthill in the House of Lords. Both these developments should prove very encouraging to us. The meeting was presided over by Sir Mancherji Bhownaggree. He has been helping us right from the beginning. It was therefore but fitting that he should be in the chair. The messages which the meeting received from Justice Ameer Ali and Sir Charles Bruce were noteworthy. The meeting was attended by leaders of all parties and communities. Their speeches, too, were powerfully stirring. We can gather from all this that the movement is receiving good support in England. But that support is of far less consequence than our own strength. And if we have no strength in ourselves, the support [we have been receiving] in England will only argue our weakness. If Lord Ampthill has been fighting [for us], if Sir Mancherji has been striving hard and Mr. Ritch has been working indefatigably, that is due, in fact, to their belief that we submit ourselves to suffering, that we have embraced poverty in the cause of the motherland, that we have staked our all for our honour. For the success of this meeting, it is to Mr. Ritch and his army of volunteers that congratulations are due.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 3-9-1910

[1] Tolstoy Farm

## 264. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL GANDHI

TOLSTOY FARM,
*Bhadarva Shud 1* [*September 4, 1910*][1]

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I write this with a heavy heart. I constantly think your going to India has been a mistake.

I was deeply pained to read your letter to Doctor [Mehta]. How can I bear your contracting tuberculosis? I write this under the impression that you are still there [in England]. Maud[2] will redirect this to you if you have left for India.

Please do as you think fit. Treat the following simply as a piece of advice from me. I wish to see your health improved.

Considering only your health, I feel that the best thing for you would be to go to Phœnix. You will get fresh air there. You will also be able to work on the farm, which is good for a tuberculosis patient. Moreover, I hope to be able to assist and nurse you. This will be possible only if you are at Phœnix. And, God willing, you can stay on this Farm too. The climate here is even better than that of Phœnix. *Brahmacharya*, which is necessary for a patient like you, can easily be observed here. I therefore think it will be better if you come over here. You can go back to India if your health does not improve here. Should you be keen on going to India, I have written to Doctor [Mehta] to send you Rs. . . .[3] every month. Even otherwise, you may stay in Bombay and do some public work there under my guidance. Your main work will relate to the struggle here. By doing this you will be free from worry about your livelihood and you can easily pass your life in public service. Whether you are ill or well, I wish your life is spent in the service of the country.

Many things come to mind about which I should write, but I do not feel like doing so. My suggestion about your coming over here stands even if you have already reached India. In case you do not feel inclined to come here, my suggestion regarding Doctor [Mehta] is there for you to consider.

However, even if neither of these alternatives is acceptable to you and you want to live independently on your own earnings, be sure that

[1] This letter was written during the addressee's absence from South Africa in 1910.

[2] Maud Polak, sister of H. S. L. Polak, worked as Secretary to the South Africa British Indian Committee, London, during L. W. Ritch's absence.

[3] The figure is missing.

I would not come in your way. My only desire is that you should take the course that will give you most satisfaction.

I shall be waiting for your letter during the next week like a *chataka*[1] longing for the rains.

*Blessings from*
MOHANDAS

From a handwritten copy of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 4936
Courtesy: Chhaganlal Gandhi

## *265. JOHANNESBURG*

*Monday* [*September 5, 1910*]

### MINORS

A case, that of Tayob Hajee Khan Mahomed's son, very similar to that of Mr. Chhotabhai's son, has come up in Pretoria. In this case, too, the magistrate decided against the boy. In all probability, both these cases will go to the Supreme Court.

### STATEMENTS OF GENERAL BOTHA AND OTHERS

I have sent for the English section the statements[2] of General Smuts, General Botha and de Villiers bearing on this question. All three have referred to the position of minors in their speeches or written about it, but none of them has stated any where that a child, on attaining majority, can be expelled. General Botha, in his written statement, has mentioned that the Government had accepted the Asiatics' demand in regard to minors. General Smuts has said the same thing in his speech. The Asiatics never, even in their dreams, thought of agreeing to the expulsion of minors, and none of the three persons mentioned above has claimed that they have so agreed. It is only now that the Transvaal Government has begun to put an arbitrary construction on the law.[3]

[From Gujarati]
*Indian Opinion*, 10-9-1910

[1] A bird which is supposed to drink only the water that falls from the sky
[2] *Vide* Appendix VII.
[3] *Vide* "Another Breach of Faith!", pp. 298-9.

## 266. MR. CHHOTABHAI'S CASE

The case of Mr. Chhotabhai's son, already reported in these columns,[1] is a most important one. It affects the well-being of the whole Indian community in the Transvaal. Analogous to it is also the case of the son of Mr. Tayob Hajee Khan Mahomed. If their sons, who entered the Transvaal as minors, cannot remain in that Province, hundreds of Indian parents may be obliged to leave the Transvaal. For we cannot imagine these Indian parents in the Transvaal would be inhuman enough to remain in that country if their sons, artificially declared to be majors at the age of 16, are to be deported to India without their natural protectors. Parents have taken their babies to the Transvaal but, after the passing of the Act of 1908, assuming that these babies are never sent to India until after they have reached the age of 16, and that both the parents are in the Transvaal, where is the lad now 16 years to be deported to? Assuming, further, that a child is born to Transvaal Indian parents on the high seas, where is this child, if male, to be deported after he reaches the Transvaal age of majority? One would have thought that the Transvaal Government would have stood appalled by the highly probable consequences of their interpretation of the Act.

But, apart from the purely humanitarian standpoint suggested above, we quote elsewhere General Smuts' speech[2] on the introduction of the then Asiatic Bill, General Botha's minute[3] on the Asiatic Conference and Mr. de Villiers' (the then Attorney-General's) report[4] on the Asiatic Act. All these documents show that there was then not a word said about the exclusion of minor Asiatics not born in the Transvaal entering after the commencement of the Act. Indeed, they all say that the Asiatic demand in this respect has been completely met. The Asiatics never suspected that their minor children might be treated as prohibited immigrants on reaching the age of majority. Whatever may be the interpretation of the Act, there is the pledged word of three Ministers at stake.

The question is too important to be left where the Supreme Court may leave it, assuming that its decision is adverse. We have no desire to anticipate its judgment, but this we cannot help saying, that it is a matter of life and death for the Indians in the Transvaal. We wish we could say that it would be a matter of honour with the people of the Transvaal, indeed of the whole of South Africa. Will the humanity of the South Africans tolerate what is a war against infants?

*Indian Opinion*, 10-9-1910

[1] *Vide* "Transvaal Notes", *Indian Opinion*, 27-8-1910.
[2], [3] and [4] *Vide* Appendix VII.

## 267. MESSRS RITCH AND POLAK

According to the cables published in the Press, Messrs Ritch and Polak will soon be among us. These two friends of the community in South Africa have worked, laboured and slaved for us as few of our own countrymen have. They have identified themselves entirely with our cause. They have indeed been friends in need. It is difficult, if at all possible, to compare the work of the two. Each has done his best in his own special department. Mr. Ritch is the soul of Lord Ampthill's Committee. Mr. Polak's magnificent work received a public recognition at Bombay when Professor Gokhale presented him with a silver tea-set.[1] It was no exaggeration when the honourable gentleman attributed to Mr. Polak the memorable collection of over £6,000 for assisting passive resisters. We trust that both Messrs Ritch and Polak will receive from the community such receptions as no other men have received at our hands. They deserve it.

*Indian Opinion*, 10-9-1910

## 268. SUGGESTION TO INDIANS

We shall know on September 15 who is to rule in South Africa in the immediate future. Will it be General Botha or Mr. Merriman or Dr. Jameson? In all probability, it will be General Botha. Every Indian must have realized by now that General Botha is not likely to be won over by flattery.

A fire is raging all round the Indians. In some parts of America, a forest catches fire and that fire cannot be put out. Troops go out to quench it, but even they find it a most difficult task. Hundreds of men are burnt to death. Neighbouring villages are razed to the ground. A similar fire is raging round the Indians in South Africa. But we have not yet taken the warning. This shows our apathy and our selfishness.

In Cape Town, thanks to the efforts of Dr. Abdurahman and his friends, Indian trading licences were not touched so far. But that has now changed. The Town Council has refused to grant any licences in certain areas. Mr. Alexander was the only one to oppose this. Mr. Liebermann, who was once on our side, said that his eyes had opened after the report of the Chamber of Commerce. Others, too, spoke to the same effect, with the result that no licences were granted.

[1] *Vide* "Farewell Dinner in Bombay", *Indian Opinion*, 3-9-1910.

Though the Natal Act has been amended, a man like Mr. Goga did not get a licence [for trading] on his own premises in Ladysmith.[1] We find the same kind of high-handed treatment in Estcourt, too.[2]

About the Transvaal, the less said the better. There, those who have submitted to the law continue to get licences, but this will not last long. In what is described as the gold area, no licences are issued. Elsewhere, too, if they can, on some other ground, refuse a licence, they certainly do so. Indian businessmen should note that after the Union Parliament is formed, trading licences will come under heavy fire.

What are we doing, meanwhile? First, we must say with regret, we waste our time in idleness or pleasure-seeking. Secondly, once our own end is served, we show little concern for others. Thirdly, we are vindictive and fight among ourselves. Fourthly, sometimes there are quarrels between Hindus and Muslims on issues both small and big; and when they are not fighting with each other, they as well as the Muslims are busy quarrelling among themselves. Thus, everyone goes his own way, unmindful of the others.

If there were no fire raging round us, perhaps we would not have much to say against these selfish and otherwise unseemly ways—no one, in any case, would listen to what we might say. A little reflection will show to Indians that, if every person looked to his own immediate interest, all of them would be in trouble before long. We should not have to point out that the interests of the community comprehend those of every individual Indian.

We believe they will lay hands first on the traders. Some Indians may imagine that traders can escape harassment if they keep aloof from other Indians. That this is mere short-sightedness is plain enough. Right from the time that the movement against the Indians started, the whites have had their eyes on their trade. It is the traders alone whom they harass. True, some selfish whites, wishing us to chop off our feet, do advise the traders that they will be saved if they dissociate themselves from the others. Some say, again, that they will have no difficulty to face, if they do not get involved in the affairs of others. Everyone is told the same thing. Should we conclude from this that there would be difficulties for no one? The truth of the matter is that, if they can ruin us by soft words or baits, they would prefer to do it that way. Failing that, they will adopt other means.

There is only one simple way in the face of this snare, and that is to be alert and shake off our apathy, to get rid of our selfishness and our internal quarrels, and to adopt all necessary measures.

As for the steps to be taken, making petitions, going to court, if we have the money for that, fighting out in England, to the best of our

[1] and [2] *Vide* "Indians under the Union", pp. 305-6.

ability—all this may be good enough, but effective remedy there is only one. Without satyagraha, everything will be unavailing. Satyagraha means our own strength. In the absence of such strength of our own, no strength of any other kind will enable us to hold our ground for long.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 10-9-1910

## *269. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL GANDHI*

TOLSTOY FARM,
*Bhadarva Shud 7* [*September 11, 1910*][1]

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

It is now five days since a cable[2] was sent concerning you, but there has been no reply so far. I infer from this that you are still there[3] and have not made up your mind yet. The reasons you put forward for not coming here are all feeble and only indicate that your mind has weakened. Your body had grown weak even in India. There won't be any difficulty about your treatment and nursing in Phœnix. Perhaps I may have to stay there, or you too may have to come here. Moreover, your health has not deteriorated so much that someone has always to be by your side and look after you. Even if it deteriorates to that extent, the facilities that are available in Phœnix are, I think, not to be found in India, at any rate just now. You might, I am afraid, cause pain to Khushalbhai by going to India. If you propose to go to the countryside in India, why, that life is already available in Phœnix. And if, after all, you feel restless in Phœnix or if it does not suit your health, you can very easily go to India. Even from the financial standpoint, it would be more proper for you to stay at Phœnix. If you do so, we won't have to bother Doctor [Mehta] and you won't have to go searching for a job in India.

*Blessings from*
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 4937
Courtesy: Chhaganlal Gandhi

[1] This letter was written during the addressee's absence from South Africa in 1910.

[2] Not available

[3] In England

## 270. A PRAYER TO THE KING-EMPEROR

The Indian South African League has taken a bold step in sending a cable[1] to the King-Emperor praying for His Majesty's gracious intervention on behalf of the passive resisters in the Transvaal. The cabler gram as also Mr. Natesan's spirited letter to the *Madras Mail*, extracts from which we reproduce elsewhere, shows that the feeling on the question runs high in that Presidency. Indeed, Mr. Bennett, the proprietor of *The Times of India*, said that no question stirred the people of India so much as the question of the sufferings of the Indians in South Africa. Now *The Times* writer confirms the statement.[2] It is on rare occasions that personal appeals are made to the sovereign. We shall not have to wait long before we learn what answer has been returned to the prayer of the League. Whatever the answer, it is most satisfactory to learn that the passive resisters have the full and active sympathy of those for whose honour they are fighting.

*Indian Opinion*, 17-9-1910

## 271. EFFECTIVENESS OF THE STRUGGLE

We hear it being said by many that the Transvaal agitation has no force left. We have repeated, time and again, that so long as at least one person remains to continue satyagraha, we may rest confident that victory will be ours. That is the only test of satyagraha.

During this week two telegrams have been received which lend support to our view. In one of them, we note that the League[3] in Madras, which has been helping us, has addressed a cable[4] to the King-Emperor about the deportees arriving there and prayed for his intervention. In England, *The Times* has been publishing a series of articles on the current unrest in India, in which it is pointed out that the sufferings of India are a disgrace to British rule. We can see from these two developments that the Transvaal struggle remains as effective as ever. Efforts continue to be made on our behalf from every side. Even a person like Mr. Merriman, while speaking on the problem, was obliged to speak out in our favour. Commenting on his views, *The Transvaal Leader*, too, asks for justice.

[1] and [4] *Vide* "Deported Indians Appeal to the King", *Indian Opinion*, 17-9-1910.
[2] *Vide* "*The Times* Correspondent's View", *Indian Opinion*, 17-9-1910.
[3] The Indian South African League

This support that we are getting should encourage us and strengthen the weak. But at the same time we should like to point out that satyagraha does not require encouragement from others. It is like a razor's edge. He who would walk on it does not pause to think of ways of securing help from others.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 17-9-1910

## *272. SORABJI RELEASED*

Mr. Sorabji has been released. What, one wonders, will he do? He has spent most of his time in one and the same gaol right from the moment the second phase of the struggle began. Just as the heaviest load falls on the foundation, the weight [of the struggle] has fallen on Mr. Sorabji, and he has been bearing it. The Indian community has few gems like Mr. Sorabji, who fights on in silence and without a thought of self. He is a gem, however, which wins honour for the entire community and makes its name illustrious.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 17-9-1910

## *273. SPEECH AT DURBAN*[1]

*September 20, 1910*

At the outset Mr. Gandhi explained the present position regarding the Transvaal struggle. He conveyed to the audience an idea of the great strength of the struggle in spite of the fact that only a handful of satyagrahis were participating in it. He stressed how important it was for the entire Indian community at Durban to give rousing receptions and banquets to the deportees when they landed at Durban, as the latter were soldiers fighting for the sake of the entire Indian community. He pointed out that it was their duty to give a hearty welcome to Mr. Polak also in view of the important services rendered by him in India.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 24-9-1910

[1] At a meeting of Colonial-born Indians

## 274. SPEECH AT MEETING OF KATHIAWAD ARYA MANDAL[1]

DURBAN,
*September 20, 1910*

Mr. Gandhi . . . explained things to the audience here as he had done at the earlier meeting[2] of the Colonial-born Indians. He pointed out that, in addition to a rousing reception which should be given by the entire Indian community at Durban to the deportees and Mr. Polak, it was the duty of every association individually to give them addresses and dinners and to raise funds for their reception.

[From Gujarati]
*Indian Opinion*, 24-9-1910

## 275. A NOTABLE EVENT

The election of the Rev. Dr. Rubusana as a member of the Cape Provincial Council for Tembuland by a majority of 25 over his two opponents is an event of great importance. The election is really a challenge to the Union Parliament with reference to the colour clause. That Dr. Rubusana can sit in the Provincial Council but not in the Union Parliament is a glaring anomaly which must disappear if South Africans are to become a real nation in the near future. We congratulate Dr. Rubusana and the Coloured races on his victory and trust that his career in the Council will do credit to him and those he represents.

*Indian Opinion*, 24-9-1910

## 276. JUDGMENT IN BOY'S CASE

Justice Wessels' judgment has gone against Mr. Chhotabhai's son. If this judgment stands, the Indian community will find itself in a hopeless situation and be uprooted before long. An appeal has been filed. Its result will be known within only two or three days of the publication of this comment. Let the appeal court's decision be what it may; we are little concerned with it. We give elsewhere a report of the case in Justice Wessels' Court. It is worth studying. He has stated that the Government's attitude is unjust and inhuman and that, if it is persisted in, there will be a howl against it throughout the civilized world. We

[1] Held to consider the giving of receptions to Polak and the deportees
[2] *Vide* the preceding item.

CWMG - X

are watching what the civilized world has to say. There is no doubt, however, that the Government, as pointed out by the judge, acted with great severity.

If that is so, why did he give judgment against the boy? This question will occur to everyone. It shows up the degrading position of present-day courts. They may dispense injustice instead of justice. It is considered justice on the part of a court if its judgment follows the letter of the law, when this is in conflict with the spirit of justice. In other words, an action which Justice Wessels, the man, pronounces unjust is upheld by him as just in his capacity as a judge.

We cannot submit to such justice or injustice. It is necessary to call meetings everywhere and pass resolutions about this. We cannot rest till the matter is settled satisfactorily.

A perusal of the judgment and the report will show that, even under the Act of 1907, children born outside the Transvaal are not entitled to enter it. Mr. Gregorowski fought hard on this point but Justice Wessels was emphatic that such boys were not protected under the Act of 1907.

[From Gujarati]
*Indian Opinion*, 24-9-1910

## *277. LETTER TO G. K. GOKHALE*

PHŒNIX,
NATAL,
*September 30, 1910*

DEAR PROFESSOR GOKHALE,

I have come here to receive Mr. Polak.[1] I hope to write to you on the situation in a few days' time.

This is to introduce Mr. Manilal Doctor, M.A., Bar-at-Law. Mr. Doctor has been practising in Mauritius for some time. In my opinion he belongs to that class of professional men who use their profession, or try to, to advance national rather than personal interest. He is going to the Congress as a Delegate and will much appreciate your advice and guidance.

*I am,*
*Yours truly,*
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: G.N. 3801

[1] Polak, who had been on deputation to India, returned by s. s. *Sultan*, arriving at Durban on September 28, 1910.

## 278. RITCH TO BE HONOURED

The resolution of the British Indian Association to honour Mr. Ritch is a welcome move. Mr. Ritch has been a great asset to the Committee. Thanks to his intelligence, perseverance and whole-hearted devotion to work, the Committee has won wide public notice and the Imperial Government is obliged to give due consideration to its views. All praise Mr. Ritch's energy with one voice. He will first land in Cape Town, where he will be the guest of the community. We are sure it will give him an excellent reception and so do credit to itself. We publish a photograph of Mr. Ritch as a supplement to today's issue.

[From Gujarati]
*Indian Opinion*, 1-10-1910

## 279. INDENTURED INDIANS' PLIGHT

We believe that, if we had not been alert and had not raised a protest, the account which appears in *The* [*Natal*] *Mercury* under the title 'Spotted Fever' would not have come out. The facts are as follows: Some indentured Indians arrived by the *Umhloti* at the beginning of this month. These Indians were brought from India specially for Sir Liege Hulett. An epidemic of spotted fever broke out among them, as a result of which several Indians were reported to have died. On hearing of this, we addressed an inquiry to the "Protector" of Indians, to which we received an evasive reply. We wrote again. In reply, we were asked to refer to the *Mercury*. The account in the *Mercury*[1] did not satisfy us. In fact, it was the duty of the "Protector" to give us full information. But we shall not say anything about this rudeness on his part. It appears from the report in the *Mercury*, which is, in fact, the "Protector's" own report, that the gentleman is not concerned about the welfare of those who are placed under his protection. He is only worried lest spotted fever should break out among Europeans. He says that there is no reason to entertain such a fear. Moreover, lest the flow of indentured Indian labour should stop if it were to get known that such epidemics occurred only among indentured Indians, he has put out the report in such skilful language that it would apply to all Indians. In point of

[1] This and the letters and the replies referred to herein were published in *Indian Opinion*, 1-10-1910.

fact, however, there is seldom any such epidemic among Indians other than indentured labourers. He has given no information as to how many indentured labourers had set out, by whom they were to be employed, how many of them fell ill, and the present whereabouts of those who did not fall ill. We shall not allow this matter to rest here. It is necessary to pursue it to the end. We hope that the Congress will take it up.

Further, the "Protector" has stated that this disease makes its appearance in surroundings which are not cleaned for long periods and are shut out from sunlight and air. Well, the epidemic broke out on board a ship and there the supervision and the responsibility are those of the "Protector" or his agent. Why did he allow people to remain in filthy, dark and unventilated surroundings? It is quite plain that the blame for this lies entirely with the "Protector". Only those held in indenture—slavery—can possibly be reduced to such a plight. Indians who would not feel happy if they were themselves to be placed in this position should strive their utmost to put an end to the system of indenture.

[From Gujarati]
*Indian Opinion*, 1-10-1910

## *280. TELEGRAMS TO L. W. RITCH*[1]

[DURBAN,]
*October 4, 1910*

SEE 32 DEPORTEES.[2] THEY HAVE CAPE RIGHTS UNDER IMMIGRATION ACT. ACCORDING OLD ACT PERSONS BORN OR DOMICILED ANY PART SOUTH AFRICA ENTITLED ENTER CAPE. IF THIS CONTENTION NOT ACCEPTED, ADVISE MOVING COURT ALLOW REGISTERED INDIANS PASS THROUGH UNION TO TRANSVAAL.

In a second telegram Mr. Gandhi said that some of the men had domiciled Cape rights, and some were born in South Africa, and advised Mr. Ritch to see them, and inquire whether they would apply for duplicates of the registration papers.

*Indian Opinion*, 15-10-1910

[1] Both telegrams were received by Ritch on October 4, 1910 at Cape Town and were cited in the Supreme Court in the Deportees' case on October 7.

[2] They arrived at Durban on September 28 from Bombay by s. s. *Sultan* along with Polak but were not permitted to disembark and were sent by s. s. *Prinzregent* to Cape Town where, too, landing was disallowed.

## 281. INTERVIEW TO "RAND DAILY MAIL"[1]

DURBAN,
[*October 4, 1910*]

There are strong signs here that the Asiatic trouble in the Transvaal is about to be renewed. Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Polak, the latter of whom has just returned from Madras, are taking up between them this week 29 deportees, including three Chinese, in pursuance of the passive resistance movement. They all expect to be intercepted at Volksrust and are prepared for the consequences.

Mr. Gandhi seen today denied all knowledge of the statement in a Pretoria newspaper that the Union Government had considered the Asiatic policy since the elections, and intended to make concessions to the resident Indians. He believed that the restriction measures were to be enforced in all their original vigour. He said he had had a telegram from Johannesburg saying that the staunchest passive resister there had been re-arrested for the eighth time.

*Rand Daily Mail*, 5-10-1910

## 282. SPEECH AT RECEPTION[2]

DURBAN,
*October 4, 1910*

As he [Gandhiji] began to speak in English, he was interrupted by shouts of "Tamil" from the audience, whereupon he said that that too might be possible in course of time, provided General Smuts sent him to gaol. He then paid compliments to Mr. J. M. Lazarus, Mr. Rustomjee and others who had worked to make the function a success called upon the former satyagrahis to join the struggle again and pleaded forcefully with them that they must win in the struggle. He urged them also to look after the next batch of deportees when they arrived. He pointed out how Mr. Ritch had taken on a big job in Cape Town and urged the community to extend an invitation to Mr. Ritch and give him a public reception.[3]

[From Gujarati]
*Indian Opinion*, 8-10-1910

[1] This was published under the title "The Passive Resisters".
[2] In honour of Polak
[3] After this Gandhiji spoke in Gujarati; the text of this speech is not available.

## 283. SPEECH AT RECEPTION[1]

DURBAN,
*October 5, 1910*

Receptions are all right as far as they go, but the important thing is that people should go to gaol. Mr. Ritch has set an example to Indians by plunging into work without enjoying any rest. Mr. Sorabji has been arrested for the eighth time, not remaining out of the struggle even for a while; this, too, is an example for you to follow. So long as you do not learn to be true satyagrahis yourselves, you will not get the full benefit of victory in the struggle. Those who come forward to fight are assured of victory, and it is they alone who truly live.

[From Gujarati]
*Indian Opinion*, 8-10-1910

## 284. INTERVIEW TO REUTER AND S. A. PRESS AGENCY[2]

VOLKSRUST,
[*Friday, October 7, 1910*]

M. K. Gandhi, leader of the Indian community in Johannesburg, who had been to Durban to meet Mr. Polak, secretary of the British Indian Association, passed through Volksrust on his return to the Rand by the up mail yesterday evening. To the surprise of all, no arrest was made.[3] This is strange, because Gandhi had no permit.

I interviewed Gandhi who said he had burned his permit two years ago in company with about 2,500 Indians in Johannesburg, when, as the Indians contended, the Government failed to carry out its promise to repeal the Asiatic Act of 1907.[4] Gandhi stated that he himself could not understand why he was allowed to pass unchallenged, while his son with thirty other resisters who will pass through Volksrust this (Saturday) evening will doubtless be arrested. The Indian community's demands were so reasonable that it was difficult to understand why they were not granted. They did not want an unrestricted influx of Asiatics. All they said was that Indians should not be restricted because they were Indians. The Immigration Law could impose a stiff educational test so as to prevent the entry of all but a few highly educated Indians into the Transvaal province.

Gandhi said he had not yet heard anybody objecting to such a proposal. However, so long as this very simple point was not granted the determined passive resistance

[1] Arranged by the Kathiawad Arya Mandal, at Mr. Parsee Rustomjee's place, in honour of Polak and the satyagrahis back from India

[2] This was published under the title, "Passive Resisters".

[3] *Vide* "Interview to *Rand Daily Mail*", p. 329.

[4] *Vide* Vol. VIII, p. 456.

would continue. In conclusion he indignantly repudiated the suggestion that the passive resisters had anything to do with the cases of forged permits which were tried at the Circuit Court in Volksrust on September 26.

*Rand Daily Mail*, 10-10-1910

## *285. JOHANNESBURG*

### Chhotabhai Case

We have now received the report of the hearing of the appeal[1] in this case. The case was argued at great length. The bench consisted of Mr. de Villiers, Mr. Mason and Mr. Bristowe. Mr. Gregorowski argued hard, and the exchange of arguments between him and the judges showed that the latter's sympathy was on the side of Mr. Chhotabhai. This time, too, the discussion related both to the Act of 1907 and that of 1909[2]. Mr. Justice Mason went so far as to observe that the law could not indirectly deprive the boy of the rights which he enjoyed prior to 1907.

Mr. Justice Bristowe, commenting on Mr. Chamney's affidavit, said that they could not rely on his opinion in deciding whether or not Mr. Chhotabhai should be treated as a resident of the Transvaal. What [he asked] could Mr. Chamney know about the matter?

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 8-10-1910

## *286. LETTER TO MINISTER OF INTERIOR*

[Johannesburg,]
*October 8, 1910*

SIR,

I have just returned from Durban, where I had gone in connection with the British Indians and Chinese who were deported from this Province to India, and who had returned again to claim entry. I am aware that the Chinese produced registration certificates, but that, as they were deported under an administrative order, your Department declined to recognise the right of those Chinese to re-enter the province, and that, therefore, the Immigration Officer at Durban declined to issue visitor's passes enabling these Chinese to proceed to the Transvaal. May I know whether the information given to me was correct, and whether it is the intention of the Government to treat these men who produce

[1] Against Justice Wessels' judgment; *vide* "Judgment in Boy's Case", pp. 325-6.
[2] This should be "1908"

the certificates as prohibited immigrants because of an administrative order of deportation against them? May I know also whether, in the event of the Government holding that these people are prohibited immigrants, they will afford facilities to aggrieved parties to test their right before a Court of Law by granting them permission to land in South Africa? As the matter is urgent, and as cases like the above may arise in Durban very shortly, I shall be obliged if you will favour me with an early reply.

*Indian Opinion*, 15-10-1910

## *287. ADDRESS TO H. S. L. POLAK*[1]

JOHANNESBURG,
*October 9, 1910*

DEAR SIR,

On behalf of the Association we heartily welcome you back among us. We have closely watched your mission in India, and every Indian recognises that the magnificent work done by you in India shows that no better choice could possibly have been made. You have with unexampled energy informed the whole of India of the true position in this Province. The collection made in India for the relief of indigent passive resister families and for helping the passive resistance struggle generally is a magnificent record.

The whole of the Indian community in South Africa is interested in the stoppage of indentured labour, and your work in that connection fills us with hope that the cruel system will soon cease.

We shall never forget the sacrifices that you and Mrs. Polak have made in accepting separation from each other for the sake of the cause. We trust that both you and yours will be long spared to continue the humanitarian work that you have been doing.

*We are,*
*Yours faithfully,*
A. M. CACHALIA
CHAIRMAN
M. K. GANDHI
HON. SECRETARY

*Rand Daily Mail*, 10-10-1910

[1] Presented by the British Indian Association at a meeting to welcome Polak. Held in Fordsburg Mosque, this address was read out by Sorabji and was published in *Rand Daily Mail* under the title "Indians and Indentured Labour" and in *Indian Opinion*, 15-10-1910, under the title "Mr. Polak's Arrival in Johannesburg".

## 288. JOHANNESBURG

*Tuesday* [*October 11, 1910*]

### Support of "The Transvaal Leader"

*The Transvaal Leader* has written a strong article. It appears to have been written under the impression that a settlement is about to be reached. The writer points out that it is General Smuts who is responsible for the prolongation of the struggle. He has shown the Indian demand to be quite reasonable. He has passed severe comments on the Chhotabhai case and made a powerful plea for the removal, at the earliest opportunity, of any defect that may be found in the law. He has taken to task the Government prosecutor.

### Mr. Ritch

Mr. Ritch left Cape Town on Monday. He will reach Johannesburg on Wednesday and return to Cape Town when the cases of 11 Indians come up for hearing.

### Satyagrahis in the Cape

Mr. Ritch's presence in the Cape helped 11 satyagrahis to disembark.[1] They have been provisionally allowed to disembark in order to enable them to prove their rights [in a court].[2] These must now be proved. Preparations for that are going on. The satyagrahis are the guests of the Indian community and both they and Mr. Ritch are being looked after by Mr. Adam Gool. Addresses have been received from the Indian Union at Kimberley for presentation to Mr. Ritch and Mr. Polak.

### Collections for Addresses

Three separate collections are being made for the addresses. One is on behalf of the Association : for this, Mr. Cachalia, Mr. Sorabji, Mr. Medh and Mr. Sodha have been going round. Mr. Thambi Naidoo is busy collecting funds for an address on behalf of the Tamils. The Hindu Association is also raising a fund for an address. The addresses to be presented by the Hamidia Islamic Society are ready. If Mr. Polak reaches here by Saturday[3], the address and the party by the Tamils will be on Sunday.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 15-10-1910

[1] *Vide* "Telegrams to L. W. Ritch", p. 328.

[2] *Vide* "Letter to Minister of Interior", pp. 331-2.

[3] October 15. Polak who had arrived in Johannesburg on October 9, had evidently gone out again during the week.

## 289. EXTRACT FROM LETTER TO S. A. B. I. COMMITTEE

[JOHANNESBURG,
After *October 16, 1910*][1]

. . . You will be deeply pained to hear that one more death among passive resisters has occurred. The man who died, by name A. Narayansamy, was one of those who returned with Mr. Polak from India and who was not allowed to land in Durban. He proceeded, together with 31 others, to Port Elizabeth, and thence to Cape Town, where his landing, as also that of others, was prevented, and he was obliged to return to Durban, with the prospect of being ultimately sent back to India. Mr. Ritch says that he and the other passive resisters were left without boots, hats, and even without sufficient clothing for the body, their clothes having been stolen at Port Elizabeth. But for the charity of the local Indians at Cape Town, they might have gone back to Durban without food. These men have been continuously on board now under exceptionally severe circumstances for nearly two months. It is not at all surprising, therefore, that poor Narayansamy has succumbed. I do not consider this a death in the ordinary course. It is undoubtedly a legalised murder.

*India*, 18-11-1910

## 290. LETTER TO THE PRESS[2]

JOHANNESBURG,
*October 17, 1910*

SIR,

Most of the newspapers published a telegram from Pretoria some days ago to the effect that at last the Asiatic question that has agitated the Colony for the last four years was about to be satisfactorily settled. This news was supposed to be officially inspired, but was immediately followed by the arrest of one of the staunchest and best respected Indians in this province, namely Mr. Sorabji, and his arrest was followed by that of three of his co-passive resisters, equally brave, that is, Messrs Thambi Naidoo, Sodha and Medh.

[1] Narayansamy, referred to in the letter, died on 16-10-1910.

[2] This was published in *Rand Daily Mail* under the title "Death of a Deportee", and in *Indian Opinion*, 22-10-1910, as a letter to the Press. It was published also in *The Transvaal Leader* of October 18, 1910.

I should, however, not have trespassed upon your courtesy and the attention of the public in order merely to give the above information. But, in my humble opinion, it is due to the public to know something of the trials of those Indians and Chinese who, although lawful residents of the Transvaal, and some of them born in South Africa, were deported to India and returned per s. s. *Sultan* about the end of last month.

The tragedy has culminated in the death of a most inoffensive and law-abiding Indian named Narayansamy. When he left this province for India as a deportee, he possessed a healthy constitution, but over six weeks on the decks of different steamers exposed to all sorts of weather evidently proved too severe for his constitution. Mr. Ritch has pointed out that he and his fellow-deportees were not allowed to see friends or legal advisers almost for a week while their steamer was in Table Bay, and ultimately he had to obtain an order from the Supreme Court before he could see them. He has stated in a letter to the Cape papers that he found these men bootless and hatless and in some cases even without sufficient protection for the body, shivering on the open deck of that steamer. They were refused landing first at Durban, then at Port Elizabeth, then at the Cape, and again at Durban, the last time in defiance of an order of the Supreme Court restraining the Immigration Officer from removing them from the jurisdiction of the Provincial Division of Natal. The Officer, acting under instructions from the Minister of the Interior, and in his over-zeal to please his chief, gave a meaning to the order of the Court which no common sense man would give, and in indecent haste sent these men to Delagoa Bay with the result that, as above stated, Narayansamy is no more.

I have not hesitated to call the death of the late Nagappan legalized murder, and I fear that the death of Narayansamy must be classed in the same category. I have the warrant of our own Court for stating that deportation such as Narayansamy's under an administrative order, described by Mr. Laughton, K.C., as "Star Chamber procedure", is illegal. Narayansamy and his fellows, very properly, as I think every lover of justice and fair play would say, disregard such deportation, attempt to return to the country of their birth or adoption and, in the attempt, are driven from pillar to post. Inconceivable difficulties are placed in their way. Is such treatment necessary? Passive resisters are told that they must not complain if they find their lot to be hard whilst they are defying the laws of the land. Passive resisters appreciate the advice. They have no desire to avoid the ordinary consequences of the breach they deliberately commit of laws which they consider to be repugnant to their conscience. But I make bold to say that the public will never endorse the infliction of what amounts to a sentence of death as in the cases to which I have just drawn attention. I doubt not that the people of South Africa wish to see general rejoicing and goodwill among all

the communities residing under the Union, on the approaching visit of a representative of the King, and on the eve of the opening of the first Parliament of the Union. Is the Indian community in any part of South Africa to be expected to share the rejoicings that will take place at the end of the month, and to partake of the goodwill that should permeate all classes?

*I am, etc.*,
M. K. GANDHI

*Rand Daily Mail*, 18-10-1910

## *291. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI*

TOLSTOY FARM,
*Aso Vadi 1* [*October 19, 1910*][1]

CHI. MAGANLAL,

I saw your letter after reaching the Farm. Nowadays I have to go to Johannesburg daily. Please continue to address your letters to the Farm. I have read Chi. Chhaganlal's letter. We shall know more from his letter tomorrow. Chi. Narandas's attitude of indifference to worldly pleasures is a good sign. I wish that he receives encouragement. Bombay is not the place for that. But Narandas is entirely in Khusalbhai's[2] hands. He will get an opportunity for public service if any of you brothers can politely cure Khushalbhai of his infatuation. If, however, he does not get an opportunity to do public service in this life, he will, if he so wishes, get it without effort in the next.

I enclose herewith Doctor [Mehta]'s letter about Chi. Chhaganlal for you to read. Please destroy it after perusal.

Ba wants me to ask you to buy two small locks for the water tank. The suggestion seems to be quite good. Her idea is that he who really wants water may certainly use it, but the tap should not be opened by all and sundry. Moreover, she wants to know whether or not you have put all the things—cots, etc.—in their proper places. If not, please do so. If the Monday meetings are held in that house, it will incidentally get cleaned every week. I think it is better for Veerjee to live in the house formerly occupied by Bihari. It is not good to have to bother about cleaning the big house every day. Please send me at your convenience a list of the books received. Ba is positive that some rice

[1] This letter appears to have been written during Chhaganlal Gandhi's absence from South Africa in 1910, in which year *Aso Vadi* 1 corresponded to October 19.

[2] Gandhiji's cousin and Narandas's father

is there in a bag behind the kitchen door. Please look for it there once more.

It is not good that it should get more and more late each Friday.[1] Purshottamdas thinks that it is due to slackness on someone's part. Please try to complete the work in time by doing it all together with more energy and enthusiasm. Now that the days have become longer, it will be better if you can go [to the press] early in the morning on Fridays.

Do not give up your study of Tamil. What is Chakor digging pits for? Please do not ask him to do anything which you consider unnecessary. Mr. Polak says that Muthoo had been there on Friday. Please send me the passage on tuberculosis which is with Mr. West. I want to show it to a tuberculosis patient.

I have sent a telegram[2] to Anglia Sheth today. I had got the news from Rustomjee Sheth. Please read the article written by someone in *The Transvaal Leader* about Tolstoy Farm. It has appeared in the issue of today, the 19th. It is not known who the writer is.

*Blessings from*
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 4938
Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri

## *292. NARAYANSAMY*

Narayansamy is dead,[3] but even in death he lives. He is no more in the body, but he has left an immortal name behind him. Birth and death are the common lot of all. If we consider the matter deeply, we shall realize that death, whether it comes early or late, should be no cause for grieving or rejoicing. On the contrary, to die in the service of the community or in the pursuit of some other good aim is in reality not to die but to live. Is there any patriotic Indian who will not be prepared to die for the sake of the motherland? Of course, none. So long as we do not have this [spirit] in us, we cannot claim to be patriotic.

Narayansamy suffered much. A voyage on the deck is full of hazards, all the more so if one has insufficient clothing and is handicapped in other ways. Narayansamy undertook such a voyage for the sake of the

[1] The reference is to getting *Indian Opinion* ready for despatch.

[2] On the death of his daughter as "the result of her clothing catching fire from a stove". The telegram is not available.

[3] *Vide* "Extract from Letter to S.A.B.I. Committee", p. 334 and "Letter to the Press", pp. 334-6.

motherland. He has left the world, facing suffering till the end. We shall count him a true satyagrahi. Terms in which we cannot speak of even the greatest satyagrahi will be quite justified when applied to Narayansamy. He has died a perfect satyagrahi. Even a staunch satyagrahi will deserve our praise only when he has proved his worth to the full.

Nagappen achieved immortal fame in his death. And so has Narayansamy. While grieving with the members of his family on account of his death, we shall also congratulate them. All honour unto their mothers for having given birth to Nagappen and Narayansamy.

Though we think thus that Narayansamy died a hallowed death, so far as the Transvaal Government is concerned, it can be charged with legalized murder. If anyone places another person in circumstances which result in his death, the former may be charged with the latter's murder. This is just what has happened in Narayansamy's case. He and his companions were taken first, from Durban to Port Elizabeth, thence to Cape Town, from Cape Town again to Durban and so on. There were innumerable difficulties about accommodation, clothing and food. If the Indian community had not provided the other Indians with clothing and food, they too would have been reduced to the same plight. In acting thus, the Transvaal Government has been guilty of extreme harshness and its harshness has resulted in Narayansamy's death. Hence we charge the Government with murder. Since no legal steps can be taken against it, though it is guilty of murder, we call this legal murder.

Nagappen and Narayansamy have thus left us. The Tamil community is laying the other Indians under an increasingly heavier debt. It is covering itself with greater glory day by day. How will it ever be possible after this to make an adequate return for the services of the Tamil community? Other Indians would do well to take a lesson from it and, copying its example, learn to suffer in silence for the sake of the motherland. The [Indian] community will disgrace itself if it fails in this.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 22-10-1910

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## *293. INDIANS' FUTURE*

We reported last week that Parliament at its next session would pass an Immigration Bill applicable to the whole of South Africa. We have received this news through official sources. Though we may not rely upon it entirely, it is certain that the Indian community needs to be on its guard. Very likely, they will delude the community with some superficially attractive provisions in the Immigration Bill and pass it. It may perhaps contain a provision to the effect that only such Indians as are approved by the Indian residents in South Africa may be permitted to enter as fresh immigrants. If the Indians of the Cape or Natal or the Transvaal walk into this snare, that will be a dishonour to the community and will bring disgrace on the name of Indians. We should repeat it over and over again to ourselves that we must not accept any law which discriminates against Indians as Indians. When it is sought to enact a law applicable to the whole of South Africa, it is but proper for the community to call a meeting of Indians from all parts of South Africa and take whatever steps may be necessary in consultation with them. If there is any undue haste in this matter or if a body of Indians or an Indian leader, prompted by self-interest, gives any undertaking, they will have reason for regret afterwards.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 22-10-1910

## *294. TRADING LICENCES IN THE TRANSVAAL*

The Transvaal Government is not likely to leave the Indian traders there in peace, nor are the whites. Municipalities in the Transvaal have been passing resolutions asking for the expulsion of Indian traders from the country after payment of compensation. We have heard of some Indians approving such a move. They are certain that there will be nothing wrong in leaving this country if an adequate amount is paid in excess of the cost [by way of compensation]. This is a short-sighted view. In the first place, we believe that even one-fourth the amount of profit that we hope for will not be offered. They will pass a law which will hardly allow anything over and above the market price [of the stocks]. Indians, in that case, will be ruined. Hardly anyone from among the Indians settled in South Africa earns much after going to India. All of them come back to this country. In these circumstances, to think of accepting some payment and returning to India is obviously senseless. It should also be borne in mind that we shall prove ourselves

cowards if we allow the Government to drive us out. We think we have as much right to be in this land as the whites have. From one point of view, we have a better right. The negroes alone are the original inhabitants of this land. We have not seized the land from them by force; we live here with their goodwill. The whites, on the other hand, have occupied the country forcibly and appropriated it to themselves. That, of course, does not prove their right to it. A large number even from among them believe that they will have to fight again to defend their occupation. But we shall say no more about this. One will reap as one sows. All that we wish to point out is that Indians will prove themselves selfish if, for the sake of a little money, they accept the offer of something over and above the cost price of their stocks and leave. If they leave out of fear, they will show themselves to be cowards. We hope it will not please any Indian to earn either of these epithets.

[From Gujarati]
*Indian Opinion*, 22-10-1910

## *295. LETTER TO REGISTRAR OF ASIATICS*

DURBAN,
*October 25, 1910*

M. CHAMNEY, ESQ.
REGISTRAR OF ASIATICS
DURBAN CLUB

SIR,

With reference to Mr. Perumal Pillay and 18 other British Indians who are at present being detained at Salisbury Island under order of Court, I have the honour to inform you that all of them claim to have been voluntarily registered in the Transvaal and that 15 of them intend to apply for duplicates of their Registration Certificates.

I interviewed Mr. Harry Smith, the Principal Immigration Restriction Officer, this afternoon, who, I understood, is the officer appointed by you under Section 10 of the Regulations passed under Act of 1908 to receive applications, etc. Mr. Smith informs me that he cannot receive the applications in respect of these men as they have been once deported. The contention of the men is that they have not been deported within the meaning of the Section and that, even if they are, you are bound under the Act of 1908 and the Regulations to receive their applications, and, if they apply in terms of the Act, to grant them.

I beg, therefore, to ask on behalf of my clients whether you are prepared to advise Mr. Smith or any other officer or person to receive their applications for duplicates of their certificates.

I am addressing this letter to you in Durban as the matter is one of great urgency and as, within the time allowed by the Supreme Court, it is my clients' intention, in the event of your decision being unfavourable, to apply to the Transvaal Provincial Division of the Supreme Court in the matter.

*I have the honour, etc.*,
M. K. GANDHI

*Indian Opinion*, 29-10-1910

## *296. LETTER TO REGISTRAR OF ASIATICS*

DURBAN,
*October 26, 1910*

SIR,

I have the honour to acknowledge your letter of even date regarding the Indians on Salisbury Island.

I am unable to say what the men will do at Volksrust in the event of their reaching there. They have been advised that they have a legal right in terms of Act 36 of 1908 to apply for duplicates of Certificates of Registration and to receive duplicates if their applications are in order. I shall be obliged if you will be good enough to reply whether you are prepared to afford them facility to make their applications in terms of Act 36 of 1908 and the Regulations.[1]

*I have the honour, etc.*,
M. K. GANDHI

*Indian Opinion*, 29-10-1910

## *297. DIWALI*

We have taken to Western ways and manners to such an extent that we find ourselves unable to look upon the New Year of the Hindus, the Muslims and the Parsis as our New Year. If we were to adopt "New Year" as the caption of this article, it would carry no meaning. When, however, we come to write of the New Year in the [first] issue of January, everyone will understand it to mean the year 1911. There is no convincing reason to justify this state of affairs. If we have not forgotten what we are, we should observe all the three New Years and, if so inclined, the Western New Year as the fourth. When the Muslim year

[1] To this Chamney replied in the evening that he had received instructions to receive applications and, if the same were in order, to grant duplicates.

changes, all the Indians should observe it, and so also when the Parsi year or the Hindu year changes. This will betoken our fraternal relations and prove that we have become one nation. On the contrary, what we notice in fact is that we show no particular regard for one another's New Year. To create among the inhabitants of India the consciousness of their being one nation, no Herculean efforts are necessary. We are of course a single nation and brothers as among ourselves. We should regain that consciousness this very instant if we could only be open-hearted and get rid of the pride that goes with hypocrisy.

Diwali falls on Tuesday next. It is an important festival for the Hindus. Every Hindu has our good wishes on the occasion. But we do not see how they can materialize. Hindus certainly cannot be happy when their neighbours are not. The New Year will prove happy only for the man who has turned the preceding year to good account. Expecting a good crop in winter when the monsoon has failed is like building castles in the air. The divine law is not that we get what we desire, but that we get what we deserve. In other words, our desires will be fulfilled only if they have behind them the force of merit earned by suitable deeds.

And so we wish a prosperous Diwali to every Hindu who has accumulated during the current year the capital of good deeds, who has borne love to every other Indian as to a brother, who has earned an honest livelihood and shared the sufferings of the unhappy, and we pray to God that the New Year may confirm him in his virtuous disposition. And likewise we pray that the Hindu who has, knowingly or unknowingly, failed in his duty and spent his time merely in the pursuit of self-interest, who has borne ill-will and not love to other Indians, may learn to repent and, be converted to better ways, wake up to a sense of duty. We request our readers' help in working for the fulfilment of this desire of ours.

[From Gujarati]
*Indian Opinion*, 29-10-1910

## 298. INDIANS' DUTY IN NOVEMBER

Mr. Dawad Mahomed has sent a telegram to General Botha to say that he should make it possible for the agitation to be withdrawn, failing which the Indian community cannot participate in the celebrations on the occasion of the inauguration of the Union Parliament in November. This is quite correct. If the struggle does not end in November, we must observe mourning. Thoughtful Indians realize that we should be in mourning for the death of Narayansamy. If we do not join in their celebrations, do not turn out to watch their shows, if we confine ourselves to our homes at the time of the celebrations and do not put up decorations over our shops, the rulers cannot but be impressed. By doing this, we can show to them that the entire Indian community in South Africa feels sore over the prolongation of the struggle.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 29-10-1910

## 299. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

TOLSTOY FARM,
*Kartak Shud 2* [*November 4, 1910*][1]

CHI. MAGANLAL,

सिय राम प्रेम पियुष पूरन होत जनमु न भरत को ।
मुनि मन अगम जम नियम सम दम विषम व्रत आचरत को ।।
दुख दाह दारिद दंभ दूषन सुजस मिस अपहरत को ।
कलिकाल तुलसी से सठन्हि हठि राम सनमुख करत को ।।[2]

This is the last verse in the *Ayodhyakanda*[3]. Please ponder over it. It is still ringing in my ears. In these hard times *bhakti*[4] has acquired the highest place. But even for the practice of that *bhakti* we needs must

[1] This appears to have been written immediately after the Gujarati New Year day (*Kartak Shud 1*) with special reference to the addressee's vow of *brahmacharya*; *vide* "Letter to Maganlal Gandhi", p. 138.

[2] If Bharata, so full of the nectar of love for Sita and Rama, had not been born, who would have practised the rigorous discipline of restraining passions, curbing impulses, subduing desire and keeping to rigid rules of living, unattainable even to the seers? Who would have taken away the evils of pain, suffering, penury and conceit under the pretext of giving victory? Who would have in this age of Kali (era of sin) compelled such a wicked man as Tulsidas to turn his face towards Rama?

[3] The second book of the *Ramayana* by Tulsidas

[4] Devotion

have self-discipline. That discipline is at the root of our education. I am realizing every moment that without it all our intelligence is of no avail. What other blessing shall I wish for you?

It is only when I think of it specifically that I feel some sorrow over the death of Chi. Anandlal's son. Otherwise my feelings are dead.

*Blessings from*
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 4939
Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri

## *300. PROPOSED NEW IMMIGRATION BILL*

*The Transvaal Leader* of the 31st ultimo published the following telegram from its Cape Town correspondent:

> I learn that the Colonial Secretary will early in the session bring in a Bill which, in addition to modifying the existing Transvaal conditions, will, in a considerable degree, aim at the consolidation of the immigration laws of the Provinces of the Union.
>
> So far as the Transvaal is concerned, I understand it is the intention to make some fairly important concessions to British Indians, which, without weakening the attitude of South Africa, will make the law more workable and sensible than the regulations now are. Among these concessions will be the admittance of a limited number of specially qualified Indians per annum (the number suggested in the past was six per year, but it may be made even greater than this). This and other modifications are among those which have been pointed to in the past by the *Leader* as necessary to make the immigration restrictions more satisfactory to all concerned in respect of the consolidation of immigration laws.
>
> This naturally does not imply uniformity of measures in all the Colonies, the position of Natal being a specially difficult problem. A great deal of anxiety is felt in Natal about the restrictions which will be imposed there, as the existence of the sugar industry is stated by the majority of representatives from that Province to depend on the ability of planters to rely on a continuous supply of indentured Indian labour. The suggestion has been made from some quarters in Natal that this form of labour should be allowed within an area bounded by a strictly limited distance from the coast, which will include the sugar and other plantations. What will actually be proposed by the Government will probably not become known till General Smuts brings in his Bill, but it will occur to everyone that, considering the difficulties the country was plunged into as the result of former immigration legislation, the details of the new measure should be laid before both members of Parliament and the public in time for them to consider it very carefully.

We do not know whether *The Transvaal Leader* correspondent has given a correct forecast. If he has and if the provision for the new

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entrants is made on the lines suggested by Lord Ampthill and if no statutory colour bar is created, passive resistance struggle will end, assuming of course that Act 2 of 1907 will be repealed at the same time.

But Indians all over South Africa are nervous regarding the proposed consolidation of the Immigration Laws of the other provinces. Indians of the Cape and Natal cannot accept the Transvaal Registration Act, as registration is totally unnecessary for provinces with a sea border. Nor can they accept the unnecessarily rigorous educational test which will be acceptable for the Transvaal under the peculiar conditions prevailing there. British Indians have accepted the policy of restriction throughout South Africa but they cannot be expected to become party to making legislation for the Cape and Natal more severe than it already is. Indeed, as recent judgments of the Supreme Court at the Cape and Natal have shown, it is severe enough in all conscience.

*Indian Opinion*, 5-11-1910

## *301. CONDITIONS OF CAPE INDIANS UNSATISFACTORY*

This is what an Indian writes to us in English from Karreedouw. He says that no Indian is permitted to enter Kaffir districts such as the Transkei, etc., which are under the jurisdiction of the Cape. Only white traders are allowed to go there. These traders rob the Kaffirs. An Indian happened to go to the Transkei as a waiter. He was turned out by the magistrate like a dog. He was asked to produce a permit, which he did not have. He did not even know what a permit was, for he was under the impression that an Indian could move about anywhere in the Cape. The correspondent points out that the Transvaal agitation is acting as something of a check; otherwise conditions in the Cape would have deteriorated hopelessly.

The Cape Indians should reflect over this letter. It is necessary that the Association at the Cape write to the Government in this matter, asking it to state on what ground entry into Kaffir districts is prohibited.

The matter should not be left there. It will be necessary to watch developments in the Union Parliament and to act with great caution. Mr. Ritch is in the Cape, so that his help will be available to Indians. It should be utilized and necessary steps taken.

We have heard that they want to have a registration law applicable to the whole of South Africa and to limit the total number of Indians admitted into South Africa to six a year. We do not think the Cape and Natal will ever accept this.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 5-11-1910

## *302. WHO IS A SATYAGRAHI?*

Mr. Vallibhai Peerbhai, who is always ready with his hospitality for satyagrahis, writes to say that Mr. Medh received three letters on the very day on which he was arrested. On reading them, he went to Mr. Mulla's shop in Volksrust and performed ablutions and then presented himself for arrest. It appears that Mr. Medh received news of his sister's death, the sister having left three children behind her. "Had I been by Mr. Medh's side", [says Mr. Vallibhai] "when he read those letters I would not have allowed him to go. But no matter, joy and sorrow are the same to a satyagrahi." It does credit to Mr. Valli to say that if he had known of it, he would have stopped Mr. Medh. By going to gaol as a matter of duty without for a moment thinking of staying out because of the news of his sister's death, Mr. Medh has offered additional proof of his being a true satyagrahi. He is a staunch and seasoned satyagrahi. The hardships of gaol life hold no terrors for him. He deserves all the congratulations we can offer him. Mr. Surendrarai Medh has covered the community with glory.

We have said earlier that he alone is a satyagrahi who gives up everything for the sake of truth—forgoes wealth and property, allows his land to be auctioned, parts from his relatives, from his parents, his children, his wife, and sacrifices dear life itself. He who thus loses for the sake of truth shall gain. By disobeying his father's order for the sake of truth, Prahlad not only remained staunch in satyagraha but also did his duty as a son. Making himself a satyagrahi, he won his own and his father's deliverance from this earthly life. No one lacking the determined spirit of Prahlad can ever hold on to satyagraha to the end.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 5-11-1910

## *303. PRAGJI DESAI'S RESOLVE*

Mr. Pragji[1] writes to say that this time the gaol officials behaved with greater harshness. "But the harsher they grow, the more determined I become." Of late, they have stopped ghee altogether for prisoners serving sentences of less than three months. Hence, all of them decided to go without those meals at which ghee used to be served. Mr. Pragji alone remained steadfast in this decision till the end and continued to

[1] Pragji Khandubhai Desai, a passive resister; often contributed to *Indian Opinion* in Gujarati

refuse the meals. He took no notice of the harm which this did to his health. We congratulate Mr. Pragji on this unswerving spirit of his. Mr. Pragji adds that Mr. Shelat was punished twice for refusing to carry slop-pails. At present, he is in charge of cooking.

Mr. Pragji was much grieved to hear, on his release, of his sister's death; but he has declared his determination not to keep himself out of the fight. He writes: "So long as our struggle has not come to an end, a satyagrahi can attend to no other work."

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 5-11-1910

## *304. MAHARAJA OF BIKANER*

News has been received that His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner, like the Mysore Maharaja, has offered help to the satyagraha campaign. The implications of this help are of the utmost value to us. Everyone in India, from the highest to the lowest, is beginning to see how we are being humiliated in the Transvaal. This may hasten the end of the struggle. But it also increases the responsibility of South African Indians. They should wake up *en masse*, appreciating the real value of the Transvaal campaign. It involves not only their honour but also their interests.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 5-11-1910

## *305. TELEGRAM TO CHIEF IMMIGRATION OFFICER*

[DURBAN,
Before *November 6, 1910*]

. . . Mr. Gandhi had telegraphed to the Immigration Officer at Pretoria saying he would be accompanied by Mrs. Sodha and her children.[1]

*Indian Opinion*, 12-11-1910

[1] *Vide* "Letter to the Press", p. 351.

## 306. TELEGRAM TO CHIEF IMMIGRATION OFFICER

[VOLKSRUST[?],
*November 7, 1910*][1]

. . . Mr. Gandhi had addressed a telegram to the Immigration Officer saying that he had no desire to further complicate a situation that was already sufficiently complicated, that Mrs. Sodha did not seek the right of permanent residence in the Transvaal, that she would be looked after at Tolstoy Farm and that she would retire on the close of the struggle.[2]

*Indian Opinion*, 12-11-1910

## 307. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

[After *November 7, 1910*][3]

CHI. MAGANLAL,

There is only one thing uppermost in my mind and that is to introduce the common kitchen. You are not to do it forcibly. If you go on pleading with Santok and Ani gradually, they will be agreeable; and if it does not come about immediately, I hope it will have done so before my next visit. During my recent visit there, you slept in the same room with me and away from your wife. I wish you make this a regular routine. Let Santok and Ani sleep together [i.e., in the same room]. It is as well if they begin to sleep together before dining together. I do not know about the danger of snakes there, but I think the practice of sleeping on a mattress [on the floor] is on the whole good.

I have imposed a great burden on you. I, however, see that you are quite able to bear it. It won't be at all unbearable if you do your work without worrying.

*Blessings from*
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 4940
Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri

[1] This telegram was despatched immediately after Mrs. Sodha was charged at Volksrust on November 7; *vide* "Letter to the Press", p. 352.

[2] In reply, the Chief Immigration Officer refused permission for Mrs. Sodha to enter the Transvaal, saying she would be treated as a prohibited immigrant unless she returned to Natal.

[3] From the reference to Mrs. Ani Desai in paragraph 1, this letter appears to have been written after her husband, Purshottamdas Desai, was sentenced to six weeks' imprisonment on November 7, 1910.

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## 308. TELEGRAM TO MINISTER OF INTERIOR[1]

[JOHANNESBURG,
*November 8, 1910*]

R. M. SODHA, UNREGISTERED RESIDENT TRANSVAAL, IN GAOL AS PASSIVE RESISTER, AFTER DUE NOTICE IMMIGRATION OFFICER, MRS. SODHA, WITH BABY EIGHTEEN MONTHS, ANOTHER THREE YEARS AND CHILD TWELVE YEARS, CROSSED BORDER FROM NATAL ON WAY TOLSTOY FARM. THEY WERE STOPPED AT VOLKSRUST. MRS. SODHA CHARGED AS PROHIBITED IMMIGRANT, CASE REMANDED. HUSBAND REDUCED POVERTY AND BROKE UP NATAL HOME. MRS. SODHA WILL NOT STAY PERMANENTLY BUT ONLY PENDING CONTINUOUS IMPRISONMENT HER HUSBAND. ASSOCIATION HAS NO DESIRE FURTHER COMPLICATE ALREADY COMPLICATED SITUATION. HITHERTO INDIAN WOMEN HAVE BEEN LEFT UNMOLESTED. ASSOCIATION TRUSTS PROSECUTION WILL BE WITHDRAWN.[2]

*Indian Opinion*, 19-11-1910

## 309. SPEECH AT CHINESE FUNCTION[3]

[*November 9, 1910*]

Mr. Gandhi said that without the assistance of Mr. Ritch and Mr. Polak the Indian community would have found it impossible to carry the struggle as far as it had done. He added that the Government was not content with fighting the Asiatic males, but had carried the attack to the children, and now even to the women. He urged, therefore, that they should show themselves all the more determined to pursue the struggle.

[From Gujarati]
*Indian Opinion*, 19-11-1910

[1] This telegram, sent by the British Indian Association, was presumably drafted by Gandhiji; *vide* "Letter to the Press", p. 352.

[2] The Minister replied on 9-11-1910: "Yours yesterday. As neither Sodha nor his family are entitled to enter Transvaal, the Minister regrets that he cannot interfere with the provisions of the Law, which forbid the entry of prohibited immigrants."

[3] In Johannesburg, in honour of Messrs Ritch and Polak

## 310. TELEGRAM TO MINISTER OF INTERIOR[1]

[JOHANNESBURG,]
*November 10, 1910*

REFERRING WIRE[2] MRS. SODHA, WILL MINISTER PLEASE GRANT TEMPORARY PERMIT UNDER IMMIGRATION ACT AND WITHDRAW PROSECUTION? ASSOCIATION SINCERELY ANXIOUS AVOID IMPORTING WOMEN STRUGGLE.[3]

*Indian Opinion*, 19-11-1910

## 311. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

TOLSTOY FARM,
*Kartak Shud 9* [*November 11, 1910*][4]

CHI. MAGANLAL,

Today I saw the letter you mentioned.

When Narandas wrote to me to send my letters to him through you, I did not find fault with his action as a piece of cowardice. I had no such idea in my mind at all. In reply to his question as to what he should do, I wrote[5] to him saying that first he should attain fearlessness as described in अभयं सत्वसंशुद्धि:[6] (fearlessness, purity of heart,) etc. And I wrote it with the idea that he should first acquire that virtue if he wanted to engage himself in any public activity. True public service can be rendered only if fearlessness can be achieved as regards [the loss of] prestige, money, caste, wife, family and even life. Then only will *moksha* (liberation), the ultimate end of life, be attained.

[1] This telegram, sent by the British Indian Association, was presumably drafted by Gandhiji; *vide* "Letter to the Press", p. 352.

[2] *Vide* "Telegram to Minister of Interior", p. 349.

[3] The Minister in his telegram of November 12 replied: "Reference your telegram 10th, Immigration Officer at Volksrust was instructed to give Mrs. Sodha option of returning to Natal instead of having steps taken against her under Immigration Act. Minister regrets he cannot sanction temporary permit."

[4] This letter appears to have been written subsequent to "Letter to Narandas Gandhi", pp. 198-9, in which Gandhiji dealt with the subject of *abhaya* (fearlessness), discussed here; in 1910, *Kartak Shud* 9 corresponded to November 11.

[5] *Vide* "Letter to Narandas Gandhi", pp. 198-9.

[6] In the *Bhagavad Gita*, XVI, 1, *abhaya* is mentioned as the first among the divine attributes.

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I have no time to write a separate letter to Narandas. Please therefore send this on to him. I shall write about the press when I find time.

Please let me know how Manilal is getting on.

*Blessings from*
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 4941
Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri

## *312. LETTER TO THE PRESS*[1]

[JOHANNESBURG,]
*November 14, 1910*

SIR,

Since the well-known Poonia case, the Indian community had come to understand that Indian women crossing the border would not be interfered with, and I know of several cases in which they were permitted to cross the border unchallenged. But after the interference with Mrs. Gandhi, over a month ago, when she was travelling alone, I could see that the spell was broken. Whenever, therefore, wives or other female relatives of passive resisters wanted to enter the Province from Natal, I took the precaution of informing the Chief Immigration Officer at Pretoria, who is also the Registrar of Asiatics, of the movements of these families, informing him also of their exact relationship to the respective passive resisters, and until very recently there has been no actual difficulty. I returned from Natal yesterday week in the company of Mrs. Sodha, the wife of a passive resister who is at present serving imprisonment at Diepkloof for the offence of asserting his right of entry as a free-born British subject possessing the qualifications required by the Immigration Law of this Province, as apart from the Asiatic Act.

Before leaving Natal I had taken the usual precaution of telegraphing to the Immigration Officer that I was crossing the border with Mrs. Sodha. On reaching Volksrust I learnt that the Police had received instructions to stop Mrs. Sodha. She and I, together with other passive resisters who were in my company, got down from the train. Mrs. Sodha[2] has a baby in arms, another under three years and a boy twelve years of age. I took her and her children to the Charge Office

[1] This was published in *Indian Opinion*, 19-11-1910, as a letter addressed to the South African Press under the title "Mrs. Sodha's Case".

[2] *Vide* "Telegram to Chief Immigration Officer," p. 347.

where I was asked to produce Mrs. Sodha the following morning, and on my undertaking to do so I was permitted to take her away. Needless to say, Mrs. Sodha had never in her life seen a Charge Office or been addressed by a constable.

An Indian store-keeper kindly provided shelter and food for her and her children. The next day she was charged as a prohibited immigrant and the case was remanded to the 21st instant, she being released on her own recognizance. Thinking that Mrs. Sodha's arrest might have been due to a misunderstanding, I telegraphed[1] again to the Chief Immigration Officer giving him the information about Mrs. Sodha's children and telling him that she was proceeding to Tolstoy Farm, that she would retire from the Transvaal at the end of the struggle and that she was being taken to the above farm only pending her husband's continuous incarceration. I received at Volksrust a reply to the effect that Mrs. Sodha would be tried as a prohibited immigrant unless she immediately returned to Natal. She and I, however, continued our journey as Mrs. Sodha's case was already adjourned. In order to avoid any further complications, Mr. Cachalia, the Chairman of the British Indian Association, telegraphed[2] to the Minister of the Interior, recounting the circumstances of the arrest and requesting that the prosecution might be withdrawn. The Minister replied in the negative, stating that her husband was a prohibited immigrant. As the British Indian Association was desirous of avoiding importing women into the controversy, it again approached[3] the Minister and requested that a temporary permit should be issued to Mrs. Sodha. He, however, declined to do so.

Mrs. Sodha has entered the Transvaal temporarily as the Sodha family has been reduced to poverty and their home broken up owing to Mr. Sodha's having been in prison almost continuously for the last eighteen months and as passive resister families are being supported at Tolstoy Farm out of public funds.

I do not propose to go into the legal merits of this case which is *sub judice*. Possibly Mrs. Sodha has committed a technical legal offence. If so, all the Indian women, who were allowed to enter the country and to whom I have made reference, have also committed an offence, in so far as the Government are concerned, for the latter have undoubtedly contended that all Indians who have ever been deported under the Registration Act are prohibited immigrants. The Government, however, seem to have distinguished between Mr. Sodha, who is an unregistered pre-war resident of the Transvaal, and other passive

[1] *Vide* "Telegram to Chief Immigration Officer", p. 348.
[2] *Vide* "Telegram to Minister of Interior", p. 349.
[3] *Vide* "Telegram to Minister of Interior", p. 350.

resisters who are registered residents and whose wives and families, as stated above, have entered the province unmolested.

As the wife of a passive resister Mrs. Sodha has now no alternative but to face imprisonment and deportation if found technically guilty. But why this sudden persecution, for I cannot call it a prosecution, of Indian women? The Government are at war with Indian males. They are now attempting to hound out of the Province a certain class of Indian boys born of registered parents. The community was, however, unprepared for an unchivalrous attack on its womanhood. Mrs. Sodha is not a competitor in trade. Her character is admittedly above reproach. A meeker woman it will be, perhaps, difficult to find throughout South Africa. She has committed no crime under the common law of the country. Every means that could be adopted was taken to placate the authorities, whose only aim now seems to be to punish Indian women, as the punishment hitherto inflicted on their husbands appears to have failed in its purpose. I cannot foresee the extent of the terrible effect that must be produced on the minds of the Indians throughout South Africa and of the people of India when the news of this war on women is spread abroad. With this aspect of the question the Minister of the Interior is, apparently, little concerned; but I cannot conceive that the high-handed, wantonly cruel and unnecessary proceedings against Mrs. Sodha will meet with the approval of the people of South Africa. Here is a question for the Loyal Women's Guild and other similar organisations to consider. Whatever may be their views on Asiatic immigration or on the question of general passive resistance, will not the Christian men and women of this Union rise in unanimous protest against this latest parody of administration on the part of the Government?

I trust that Mrs. Sodha's act will not be construed to be one of defiance. She is as innocent of the curious laws of this country as a new-born babe. If anyone is guilty it is the writer, under whose advice and by whose assistance the lady has entered this part of the Union. In any case I wish to recall a graceful act of administration under Crown Colony Government. In 1906, Dr. Abdurahman of Cape Town entered the Transvaal without a permit. Lord Selborne came to know of this and without questioning the legality of Dr. Abdurahman's action he instructed the then Chief Secretary for Permits, Captain Hamilton-Fowle, to send him a permit. The mighty and responsible Union Government lacks both the grace and chivalry to refrain from harassing an inoffensive Indian woman.

*I am, etc.*,
M. K. GANDHI

*The Transvaal Leader*, 15-11-1910
X-23

## 313. FRAGMENT OF LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL GANDHI

[About *November 15, 1910*][1]

I can see that . . . if you do not find the place suited to your health you had better come here. Kashi[2] could be called here even now and she could stay here even in your absence. I only wish you to be at ease.

*Blessings from*
MOHANDAS

From a copy of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5073
Courtesy: Chhaganlal Gandhi

## 314. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

TOLSTOY FARM,
*Kartak Shud 13* [*November 15, 1910*][3]

CHI. MAGANLAL,

India has come to a very bad pass. I have given much thought to the plague and I think there is nothing surprising in its occurrence. It may be eradicated from all other countries, but not from India. The plague does not leave India because we have made this sacred land profane, either by a misreading of religion or by giving up religion altogether. People have learnt to run hither and thither, but they do not change any of their tendencies. They go on practising irreligion and do not care to know even the rules of sanitation, etc. It is only the magic remedies known to them that they are prepared to adopt. No one bothers, while running away, about what happens to the poor who are left behind. How can we prosper in these circumstances? Our own family, too, is open to this charge. What wonder then if we receive news of fever, etc., from India?

In these circumstances, I can well understand the hesitation and the sense of discourtesy you feel in sending for Kashi here. However, this idea is worth considering. Chhaganlal, having taken away Kashi with him, is now penitent and is trying to excuse himself by saying that

[1] From the reference to Kashi, this letter appears to have been written about the same period as the following item.

[2] Wife of Chhaganlal Gandhi, who was in India at the time

[3] This letter appears to have been written during Chhaganlal Gandhi's absence from South Africa in 1910, in which year *Kartak Shud* 13 corresponded to November 15.

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such was the will of God. We can talk of God's will only after first admitting our mistake. It is sheer ignorance to speak of His will otherwise. And what, after all, is God's will?

You need not have any hesitation in sending for Kashi here, for the others will not come without her. And even if they wanted to, there would be difficulties in their way. You should try to find out if any real help can be had from Kashi.

I have a constant feeling that you alone and none else will be able to master Tamil; hence keep at it under any circumstances.

The number of children that are come together here is rather large; some of them are without their mothers. It is a difficult experiment and somewhat risky too. I am not sure what will happen to Rama[1] and Deva[2].

I hope you will have some relief now that Thaker has joined duty. Let him also read Tolstoy's book.

*Blessings from*
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 4942
Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri

## *315. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI*

TOLSTOY FARM,
[After *November 16, 1910*][3]

CHI. MAGANLAL,

The enclosed notation is for *Bande mataram*[4]. You may set the song accordingly if you can.

To write about the Swami on the basis of what has appeared in the [*Natal*] *Advertiser*, is like kicking a dead animal. The proper time for writing was when his letter was published in the [*Natal*] *Witness*. But that occasion has fortunately passed. We should certainly write if by doing so we could do good either to him or to anyone else. But I do not see any occasion for it now; it came, but slipped away. That man will ruin himself with his own hand, if only people are patient. His very ways and doings seem crooked. And why did we not write against the Moulvi? There are many such examples. Please talk

[1] Ramdas
[2] Devdas
[3] This letter, it appears from the reference to Shelat, was written after his release from jail on November 16, 1910.
[4] Composed by Bankimchandra Chattopadhyaya and adopted as the national anthem during India's struggle for freedom

patiently with those who find fault with you. Keep pursuing Ismail Gora and, if even then, he does not pay, please let me know. I shall write to him and, if he does not pay even after that, his advertisement must be discontinued. I shall write to him after I hear from you. We know that he is very unmethodical and far from dependable.

I send herewith an invaluable book, *The Relation of the Sexes*[1]. To one who is conversant with the Hindu scriptures not a single idea mentioned in it is new. Please read it immediately and explain it to Manilal. Then give it to Mr. West.

It seems, from what Shelat says, that this time Harilal faced gaol life exceedingly well. It was he who first started fasting; he was joined by others later. [Supply of] ghee was secured and he was transferred to another gaol. Shelat is loud in his praises and so is Pragji Desai. He (Harilal) seems to have surpassed me. This is as it should be.

Coomaraswami's[2] book is among Mr. Polak's books that are lying at Rustomjee Sheth's. Please read it when you find the time. It is worth reading. What the author has written about music and the harmonium seems to be right. The other things, too, are worth perusal.

Purshottamdas also joined the strike. It was nice that he got into a tussle during his very first imprisonment.

*Blessings from*
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 4943
Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri

## *316. FRAGMENT OF LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI*[3]

TOLSTOY FARM,
[After *November 16, 1910*][4]

. . . is for the library. You may show it to Mr. West. Please copy out the poem on prisoners printed on the first page and see to it that it is published in *Indian Opinion* when space permits. The other one is a pamphlet on civilization. Please go through it and ask Mr. West to

[1] By Leo Tolstoy

[2] Dr. Anand K. Coomaraswami (1877-1947); an eminent Indologist and art critic; historian of Indian Art; author of several books on Indian nationalism, education, Hinduism, Buddhism, etc. The book referred to here seems to be his *Essays in National Idealism*.

[3] The first two pages and what follows page 4 are missing. It is clear from the contents that the letter was addressed to Maganlal Gandhi at Phœnix.

[4] This letter, it appears from the reference to Tolstoy's book, was written after the preceding item.

take something from it, too. It is from *Gulliver's Travels*. Chhaganlal has sent it. I sent you yesterday Tolstoy's book on the relation of the sexes.

The example you cite of Virjee Mehta as regards cholera is quite apt. It cannot be said definitely that such diseases will never occur where external cleanliness is maintained. Only this we know: that such an epidemic occurs less frequently and with less virulence where personal cleanliness as well as public sanitation is well looked after. This, however, is certain: neither cholera nor any other epidemic will occur where there is complete purity of mind. Even with tremendous effort rarely does one attain that purity. To attain that one should . . .

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 4944
Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri

## *317. JOHANNESBURG*

[Before *November 17, 1910*]

### Mrs. Rambhabai Sodha

This case will probably be heard on the 22nd. Mr. Sodha has been summoned to give evidence in the case. In order to forestall the charge that Mrs. Sodha had entered the Colony with the intention of defying the law and to leave General Smuts with no argument whatever, Mr. Cachalia sent a telegram[1] to inform him that she would leave the Colony when the struggle was over. In reply, it was stated that being the wife of a prohibited immigrant, she was not entitled to enter. Mr. Cachalia thereupon sent another telegram[2] to say that being anxious to avoid bringing women into the struggle, they were even prepared to take out a temporary permit for her under the immigration law. To this, too, General Smuts has given a negative reply. Rambhabai has made up her mind to go to gaol and a number of Tamil women have come forward to follow her. It remains to be seen what will happen now. Mr. Gandhi has addressed a letter[3] to the Press regarding this.

### Move for Settlement

There are persistent rumours that a settlement is imminent. On Monday *The Star* had a lengthy article, which too said that the time was ripe for a settlement. There is little possibility of Indian leaders

[1] *Vide* "Telegram to Minister of Interior", p. 349.
[2] *Vide* "Telegram to Minister of Interior", p. 350.
[3] *Vide* "Letter to the Press", pp. 351-3.

being consulted in the matter. It appears, therefore, that whatever happens will happen as a result of direct negotiations with the Imperial Government.

### What Will Settlement Be Like?

It is necessary to give some thought to this question. It appears the demand of the Indians here will be conceded. In other words, Indians and whites will have the same rights of entry so far as the law is concerned, that is, both will have to pass a test in a European language in order to qualify for entry. At the same time, the Governor-General will be given the discretion to fix the maximum number of persons to be admitted from each community, irrespective of the number of persons passing the education test. The obnoxious Act of 1907 will be repealed. This much, if it comes about, will be enough to save the Indians' pledge and uphold their honour.

This is not the end of the matter. There appears to be a snag in it. It seems the Government wants to bring the position in the Cape and Natal in line with that in the Transvaal, that is, to make the education test in Natal and the Cape very stiff and to provide for the registration of all Indians. I am of the view that the Indians in Natal and the Cape should not acquiesce in either of these two things. There should be no question of introducing registration in Natal and the Cape similar to that in the Transvaal—for there can be no justification for it in either province—and to make the education test stiffer would obviously be wrong.

### What about Children?

The Transvaal needs to be watchful about the new threat to the position of children there. The matter has a bearing on satyagraha but the problem of children is such that if no justice is done, satyagraha can be and must be offered.

There are, thus, difficulties in the way of a settlement. The community's pledge may be fulfilled, but we may have to face losses in other ways. It is necessary to take note of this from the first.

### Measures against This

Some effective measures against this are possible. In the first place, Indians in the Cape, Natal and the Transvaal should present a united front. Secondly, the leaders in the different provinces must not in their haste take steps independently of one another. Thirdly, meetings should be held in every town to pass resolutions and these should be forwarded to the Government. A petition should be addressed to Parliament as also to the Imperial Government and the Indian Government. If nothing comes out of all this, the fourth step is resort to satyagraha.

### POLAK'S LETTER

Mr. Polak has addressed a letter to the Press which is worth reading.

### HOW TO STOP IMMIGRATION

The Duke of Marlborough is a prominent English nobleman. He has suggested in the course of a speech in England that for the purpose of restricting immigration into the Colonies, it will be more appropriate to inquire about the character of the men concerned than about their financial position. He seems to be opposed to any discrimination on the basis of race or colour.

### CHHOTABHAI CASE

The judges have at long last given their decision in this case. There were three judges, and each one of them has expressed his own opinion. Two of them having given a decision against Mr. Chhotabhai, the appeal has been dismissed. Mr. Justice Mason expressed himself in favour of Mr. Chhotabhai. The latter has filed an appeal against this decision, so that his son cannot [yet] be deported. This appeal will be heard in the Supreme Court of South Africa. The bench will consist of five judges, and three of these will probably be Sir Henry de Villiers, Sir James Ross-Innes and Mr. Justice Solomon. Perhaps Mr. Chhotabhai will win the appeal. The divergence of views among the judges leads one to believe that the higher court may decide in favour of Mr. Chhotabhai.

### JUDGE PRESIDENT

[He] thinks that Chhotabhai's son is not protected under Act No. 36 and that even if the Act of 1907 had conferred any right on him, it stands cancelled under Act No. 36. He is of the view that the Acts cannot run concurrently.

### JUSTICE BRISTOWE

[He] thinks that there was some chance of his being eligible [for entry] under the Act of 1907, but that under the Act of 1908 that chance disappeared. He also believes that both the Acts are bad. It is difficult to interpret them. The expulsion of children is a manifest injustice; such a law [he says] should never have been enacted. Though he has given his decision, he is not quite sure whether it is correct. It is a decision which he has given with some regret.

### JUSTICE MASON

Mr. Justice Mason believes that under the Act of 1907, the Registrar has the discretion to issue a certificate to Chhotabhai's son. His rights are not protected in the Act of 1908 but the relevant provisions

of the Act of 1907 do not stand repealed [by the Act of 1908]. The boy's case, therefore, should be reconsidered by the Registrar. The judge has also stated that one feels baffled in interpreting the two Acts, and that the position that such children can be deported on their reaching the age of 16 is an intolerable one.

### Settlement in Sight?

Referring to Mr. Polak's speech in India, General Smuts had told Lord Crewe that Mr. Polak had made gross mis-statements of facts. Mr. Polak therefore asked[1] General Smuts to provide him with specific instances of such mis-statements. The latter has now sent a reply. He says that he could do so, but no useful purpose would be served by entering into correspondence on the subject. He does not want [he says] to add to the existing bitterness between the Asiatics and the Government, and believes that there will be a settlement quite soon.

A telegram[2] has appeared in the newspapers here which lends support to this. The report states that Sir Francis Hopwood has had consultations with the Union Government and that everything will be settled quite soon. The Act of 1907 will be repealed and there will be an immigration law based on education. Discrimination on the basis of colour and race will disappear.

[From Gujarati]
*Indian Opinion*, 19-11-1910

## *318. LETTER TO MEMBERS OF ASIATIC CONFERENCE*[3]

Johannesburg,
[Before *November 18, 1910*]

DEAR SIR,

I take the liberty of addressing you as one of the members of the Asiatic Conference that took place in August, 1908, and at which you were present.

You may have noticed from the papers that the Asiatic Department have interpreted the Asiatic Act of 1908, which was partly a result of that Conference, that Asiatic minors, sons of registered Asiatics,

[1] In his letter of October 24, 1910, reproduced along with Smuts' reply dated 12-11-1910 in *Indian Opinion*, 19-11-1910.

[2] The reference is to a Reuter report dated 14-11-1910, reproduced in *Indian Opinion*, 19-11-1910.

[3] This, along with the following item, was published in *The Star*, 19-11-1910, under the title, "The Chhotabhai Case".

not born in the Transvaal or resident in the Province at the commencement of the Act, are liable of necessity on reaching the age of 16 years to expulsion, notwithstanding their willingness to apply for registration under the Act, and notwithstanding the fact that the names of these minors appear on the registration certificates of the fathers.

An actual case has arisen in respect of the son of Mr. A. E. Chhotabhai, a prominent Indian merchant of Krugersdorp. The boy, whose name is inscribed upon his father's registration certificate, on attaining the age of 16 years, applied for registration under the Act; he entered the Colony as a minor with his father, and with the knowledge and consent of the authorities, as he had a legal right to do under the Immigrants' Restriction Act. His application was rejected by the Registrar. He appealed to the Magistrate, who upheld the Registrar's decision, and ordered his immediate removal from the Province, which was suspended, pending proceedings in the Supreme Court. The matter went before Mr. Justice Wessels in Chambers, who characterized the action of the Government as "inhuman" and said "that when known it would create a howl throughout the civilized world", but the learned judge decided that the Act did not provide for the registration of such boys, and he therefore reluctantly dismissed the application. The motion went in appeal before the full bench, which by a majority upheld Mr. Justice Wessels' decision.[1] Notice of further appeal to the Appellate Court has therefore been lodged; the matter is accordingly still *sub judice*.

But I wish, however, to draw your attention to the following remarkable results of the proceedings. The judges have decided that the Act of 1907 is virtually repealed by the later Act, and that whilst Asiatic minors, in the position of Mr. Chhotabhai's son, might be protected under the Act of 1907, that protection has been withdrawn by the Act of 1908. Mr. Justice Mason, who delivered a dissentient judgment in favour of the applicant, has also held that the boy cannot be protected under the Act of 1908, but that provisions regarding minors under the Act of 1907 are not repealed. Besides this, Mr. Justice Mason and Mr. Justice Bristowe have condemned the Government's action, as also the Acts themselves, in somewhat scathing terms.

I have no doubt you will recollect the very lively discussion that took place between several members of the Conference and Mr. Quinn and myself, regarding the proposed repeal of Act 2 of 1907, but General Smuts declined to consider the question of repeal. You will recollect too the discussion that took place with reference to minors, who were to be protected, no matter where born, by their names being inscribed upon their father's registration certificate. There never was a question

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

of giving up any substantial rights already possessed under Act 2 of 1907.

I may be permitted further to add that: (1) General Smuts, at the time of introducing the new measure into the Assembly, never stated that it was calculated to deprive any class of minors of the right of residence in the Colony; (2) Mr. de Villiers as Attorney-General, in his minute to the Governor, stated that, among others, the Asiatic demand regarding the registration of minors was conceded, and that both the Acts were to run concurrently; (3) in no part of the British Dominions are the children of lawfully resident Asiatics torn from parents at any age, much less on reaching the tender age of 16 years. I venture to submit that you, as a member of the Conference, are concerned directly with the results as to minor Asiatics being defeated by what must appear to you, as it does to me, to be an entirely unexpected judgment of our Courts.

I hope that I am right in suggesting that the honour of members of the Conference is involved in the maintenance of the principles adopted at the Conference, and I therefore trust that you will, if you can do nothing more, publicly declare that you never contemplated a deprivation of the rights of minor Asiatics of the class referred to in this letter.

A matter so important as this cannot, in my opinion, be left to be decided by even the highest tribunal of justice, which according to our Constitution, must be entirely unmoved by considerations, however important in themselves, that may have led to the passing of certain laws, and which is obliged to give effect to them, no matter how harshly or morally indefensible these laws may be.[1]

*I am, etc.*,
M. K. GANDHI

*The Star*, 19-11-1910

[1] Replies to this were received by Gandhiji from Albert Cartwright, Drummond Chaplin, Opposition M. P. in the South African Union Parliament, and others, who agreed that if the names of the minors "had previously been inscribed on their father's certificate", their rights were automatically protected and that they were entitled to register on attaining the age of 16. The replies were forwarded by Ritch to the Colonial Office on January 9, 1911.

CWMG-X

## 319. LETTER TO "THE STAR"

JOHANNESBURG,
*November 18* [*1910*]

SIR,

I beg to request that you will be so good as to publish the following letter[1] which I have addressed to those gentlemen who were members of the Asiatic Conference, that was held in August, 1908.

*I am, etc.*,
M. K. GANDHI

*The Star*, 19-11-1910

## 320. LETTER TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO DUKE OF CONNAUGHT[2]

JOHANNESBURG,
[After *November 18, 1910*]

SIR,

I beg to send the following resolution unanimously passed at a special meeting of the Committee of the British Indian Association held on the 18th instant in the hall of the Hamidia Islamic Society:

> That this meeting of the Committee of the British Indian Association, with profound regret, comes to the conclusion that, in view of the death of the deportee, Narayansamy, the tyrannical proceedings against minor children of a certain class, the impending prosecution of Mrs. Sodha, and the continued sufferings of the passive resisters, by reason of the refusal by the Union Government to grant the demands of the Indian community, universally acknowledged to be just and reasonable, it is not possible for the community to be associated in a public presentation of an address of welcome to His Royal Highness, the Duke of Connaught, and thus identify itself with public rejoicings over the inauguration of the Union, which, for Asiatic British subjects, has meant greater bitterness and increased anxiety for its future; and the meeting

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

[2] This letter, presumably drafted by Gandhiji, was signed by A. M. Cachalia. The first paragraph has been retranslated from the Gujarati translation of the full text of the letter published in *Indian Opinion*, 3-12-1910; the resolution itself is from *Indian Opinion*, 26-11-1910; and the last two paragraphs from *Indian Opinion*, 3-12-1910.

hereby authorises the Chairman to address a respectful letter to His Royal Highness, expressing the community's loyalty to the Throne, and tendering a personal welcome to him as representative of the Sovereign.

It is the misfortune of the community represented by my Association that, for the reasons stated above, its representatives are debarred from personally tendering to His Royal Highness a respectful welcome to the Transvaal, and the expression of the community's loyalty to the Throne.

In the absence, therefore, of the presentation of a public address on behalf of my Association, I beg to tender hereby a respectful welcome to His Royal Highness, and to request him to convey to Their Majesties an expression of the loyalty of the community represented by my Association.

*Indian Opinion*, 26-11-1910 and 3-12-1910

## *321. LETTER TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO DUKE OF CONNAUGHT*[1]

[After *November 18, 1910*]

On behalf of the [Executive] Committee of the Hamidia Islamic Society, I beg to request you to communicate our respectful welcome to His Royal Highness on the occasion of his visit to the Transvaal, and request him on our behalf to convey to His Majesty an expression of the loyalty of the members of my Society.

My Society associates itself entirely with the reasons[2] expressed by the British Indian Association and therefore we are very sorry we are unable publicly to take part in this week's celebrations.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 3-12-1910

[1] This letter, presumably drafted by Gandhiji, was sent over the signature of Imam Abdul Kadir Bawazeer, Chairman, Hamidia Islamic Society. The English text is not available.

[2] *Vide* the preceding item.

## 322. SETTLEMENT?

There is now hardly any doubt that the Transvaal Indians' demand will be accepted. *The Times* report[1] which we publish elsewhere in this issue and a letter[2] which Mr. Polak has received from General Smuts point to one and the same conclusion. It also appears that no laws which humiliate Asiatics will henceforth be passed. If we are proved right in our conjecture, satyagrahis will have achieved a complete victory. It is the duty of every Indian to understand the meaning of this victory. It will not in any way advance the personal interests of those who are engaged in the fight; only those who can think will be able to grasp the real issue in this struggle. There will be no legal bar against Asiatics as Asiatics. But our position will remain what it is. Indians will not be able to enter in their hundreds. The difficulties about permits and certificates will continue. It is up to us to have them removed. If we are not greedy, if we remain truthful, and act with moderation and in keeping with the people's honour and our own, we shall succeed in having these difficulties removed. We shall have the tree in the form of a uniform law. It will be for us to choose whether or not to enjoy its shade.

Notwithstanding this good news, Indians need not entertain any [strong] hopes. Though the signs are favourable, things may yet go wrong. Even after the publication of an authoritative cable-report, the Bill may turn out to be quite different. We only speak of things as they appear and make an effort to ensure that the settlement, when it comes, is properly understood.

Further, we have already asked[3] [readers] to consider what the position of the Cape and Natal will be in the Bill that is likely to be introduced.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 19-11-1910

[1], [2] and [3] *Vide* "Johannesburg", pp. 357-60.

## *323. RAMBHABAI'S CASE*

Angad pleaded hard with Ravana on behalf of Shri Ramchandra but Ravana, in his pride, paid no heed. He did not release Sita and called down death at last. General Smuts is in a similar position. Mr. Cachalia pleaded[1] with him on behalf of Rambhabai and urged him to withdraw the prosecution pending against her, but to this General Smuts has given, in his pride, a rude and unbecoming reply. Shri Ramchandra paid Ravana his due and freed Sita. Mr. Cachalia's plea was rejected by Mr. Smuts. What will the Indian community do now? It has only one effective way of bringing General Smuts to book. It may let him see that it will not take his attempt to persecute Rambhabai lying down. There is only one way of refusing to tolerate it. Other Indian women should copy Rambhabai's example and court imprisonment. What men will do if women go to gaol, needs no answer. If they have any manhood in them, they will not show the slightest hesitation in filling the Transvaal gaols. We refuse to believe that men will look on passively if the Government lays its hands on women. All the wealth of men is of little account. They may lose it any day. If, on the other hand, they do not put forth all their strength when Rambhabai has gone to gaol, they will be disgraced and India will stand dishonoured through us. It is our earnest hope that, when Mrs. Sodha is imprisoned, meetings will be held in all the provinces, resolutions will be passed and forwarded to the Government, and that educated Indians from every province, or those who have been in the Transvaal formerly, will soon fill the gaols.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 19-11-1910

[1] *Vide* "Telegram to Minister of Interior", pp. 349 & 350.

## *324. MESSAGE TO MEETING OF BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION*[1]

JOHANNESBURG,
*November 19, 1910*

It will not be possible for us to participate in the celebrations the whites are going to hold in honour of H. R. H. the Duke of Connaught on the occasion of his visit to Johannesburg, nor will it be possible to honour him in view of the troubles we are having, such as failure [on the part of the Government] to bring about a reasonable solution of the satyagraha struggle; harassment of satyagrahis in gaols through extremely unjust treatment; satyagrahi prisoners having to undertake complete fasts to secure the grant of reasonable demands even for things like ghee; depriving minors of the right to register on reaching the age of 16; and the war on women like Mrs. Rambhabai Sodha, whose case is going to be taken up next week. We can give up our struggle only after our demands are satisfied. We would give up our fight if the new immigration law was going to put an end to our grievances. But if under the Union Government that has come into being the new Act applies to all the colonies, and consequently our brethren there are adversely affected and have to take recourse to satyagraha, we shall have to contribute our utmost to it. But we cannot continue the present struggle on account of these grievances. The Cape Indians did not intend to present an address to H. R. H. the Duke, but, as one was ready, it was sent by post; and, as far as I know, the Natal Indians are presenting none. Under these circumstances, we cannot participate even in the celebrations. And, how can we present an address? We can write a letter to express our loyalty and have done with it. If Mrs. Rambhabai Sodha is sent to jail, we should come forward to fill the jails, and if possible, close our shops, hold meetings and pass resolutions to protest against the injustice.

[From Gujarati]
*Indian Opinion*, 26-11-1910

[1] This meeting was held on November 19, 1910 to consider the presentation of an address to the Duke of Connaught then visiting the Transvaal. Being prevented by illness from attending, Gandhiji sent this message to be read out to the meeting.

## 325. LETTER TO DIRECTOR OF PRISONS, PRETORIA[1]

[JOHANNESBURG,]
*November 19, 1910*

My Association learns with deep anxiety that, owing to continual improper treatment of Indian passive resisters who are at present confined in the Diepkloof Convict Prison, several Indian prisoners have thought it necessary to undertake a fast, by way of protest and in order to secure their removal to the Johannesburg Gaol where, they have reason to believe that, under the more immediate supervision of the Governor, they will be given better treatment. I understand that already Messrs Harilal Gandhi and R. M. Sodha have been transferred to Johannesburg Gaol. I also learn that Mr. S. B. Medh has also applied for a transfer, and that he has been fasting for the last six days. As the matter is one of extreme urgency, I shall be greatly obliged if you will give it your immediate attention. I need hardly remind you of the serious consequences to the health of the prisoners and the effect upon the members of the Indian community of the continuance of what is alleged to be the present condition of affairs.[2]

*Indian Opinion*, 3-12-1910

## 326. LETTER TO DIRECTOR OF PRISONS, PRETORIA[3]

[JOHANNESBURG,]
*November 22, 1910*

In reply to your letter herein of the 21st inst., my Association is advised that strong complaint is made against the insulting attitude of some of the warders who appear to regard Indian prisoners as suitable butts upon whom to exercise their mistaken sense of humour, as for example, calling them "Coolie", "Sammy", "Bananas", and so forth. Complaints regarding this matter and other pinpricks have constantly

[1] This letter, presumably drafted by Gandhiji, was sent over the signature of the Chairman, British Indian Association.

[2] Replying on 21-11-1910, the Director of Prisons asked to be furnished "with some information as to the 'improper treatment' of Indian passive resisters confined in Diepkloof Prison, referred to in your letter".

[3] This letter, presumably drafted by Gandhiji, was sent over the signature of the Chairman, British Indian Association.

been made to the chief warder who either ignores it, or replies in an offensive manner. Complaint is also specially made against the conduct of head warder McLoud, who is in charge of the spans. This officer, my Association understands, systematically subjects prisoners to every possible form of harassment, requiring them to perform impossible tasks, and seizing every opportunity to report against them to secure their punishment. Frequent complaint has been made to the Governor of this officer's conduct and my Association learns that he has been more than once reported, and on at least two occasions his charges against the Indian prisoners have fallen to the ground upon examination. Apparently, the complaints have not resulted in any improvement in Mr. McLoud's attitude towards the Indian prisoners, who have, it now appears, been exasperated on account of the treatment that has been meted out to them, both by him and the chief warder.

My Association is quite prepared to learn that these charges are denied by the officers concerned, but, in anticipation of such denial, which has not been infrequent in the past, I would like to point out that no prisoner is likely to refuse to eat for a whole week, as has Mr. Medh, who does not, in his opinion, labour under serious grievances.

My Association will, accordingly, be grateful if you will be so good as to institute urgent inquiries into this matter.

*Indian Opinion*, 3-12-1910

## *327. THE LATE LAMENTED TOLSTOY THE GREAT*

The great Tolstoy has quit this corporeal frame at the ripe old age of 83.[1] It is truer to say that "he has quit this corporeal frame" than that "he has died". There can be no death for Tolstoy's soul. His name will ever remain immortal. Only his body, which was of dust, has returned to dust.

Tolstoy is known to the entire world; but not as a soldier, though once he was reputed to be an expert soldier; not as a great writer, though indeed he enjoys a great reputation as a writer; nor as a nobleman, though he owned immense wealth. It was as a good man that the world knew him. In India, we would have described him as a *maharshi*[2] or fakir. He renounced his wealth, gave up a life of comfort to embrace that of a simple peasant. It was Tolstoy's great virtue that he himself put into practice what he preached. Hence thousands of men clung loyally to his words—his teaching.

[1] Tolstoy died on November 20, 1910.
[2] Great seer

We believe Tolstoy's teaching will win increasing appreciation with the passage of time. Its foundation was religion. Being a Christian, he believed that Christianity was the best religion. He did not, however, denounce any [other] religion. He said, on the contrary, that truth was undoubtedly present in all the religions. At the same time, he also pointed out that selfish priests, Brahmins and Mullas had distorted the teaching of Christianity and other religions and misled the people.

What Tolstoy believed with especial conviction was that in essence all religions held soul-force to be superior to brute force and taught that evil should be requited with good, not evil. Evil is the negation of religion. Irreligion cannot be cured by irreligion, but only by religion. There is no room in religion for anything other than compassion. A man of religion will not wish ill even to his enemy. Therefore, if people always want to follow the path of religion, they must do nothing but good.

In his last days, this great man wrote a letter[1] to Mr. Gandhi to acknowledge copies of *Indian Opinion* in which he expressed these same ideas. The letter is in Russian. We give in this issue a Gujarati translation of it, based on an English translation.[2] The translation is worth reading. What he has said there about satyagraha deserves to be pondered over by all. According to him, the Transvaal struggle will leave its mark on the world. Everyone [he says] has much to learn from it. He extends encouragement to the satyagrahis and assures them of justice from God, if not from the rulers. The latter, being enamoured of their strength, will certainly not be pleased with satyagraha. Despite that, satyagrahis must have patience and continue to fight. Citing, further, the example of Russia, Tolstoy states that there, too, soldiers everyday turn their back upon their profession. He is convinced that, though this movement has had no tangible results in the present, it will assume a big form in the end and Russia will be free.

It is no small encouragement to us that we have the blessings of a great man like Tolstoy in our task. We publish his photograph in today's issue.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 26-11-1910

[1] *Vide* Appendix VI.

[2] This translation by Pauline Padlashuk from the original Russian was also published on the first page of *Indian Opinion*, 26-11-1910.

## *328. CHHOTABHAI CASE*

Though [the decision in] this appeal has gone against Mr. Chhotabhai, we count it as a triumph for him and for the Indian community. Mr. Justice de Villiers' judgment is one-sided. He holds that the Act of 1907 for the most part stands repealed by the Act of 1908. He is, moreover, doubtful whether, even under the former Act, Mr. Chhotabhai's son was protected. This same gentleman, when he was Attorney-General, had told Lord Crewe that Asiatic minors were protected under the Act of 1908 and the Act of 1907 could be availed of. If the Act of 1907 stood repealed for the most part by the Act of 1908, why has General Smuts so far refused to repeal it altogether? The opinion of the other two judges is very good. Mr. Justice Bristowe is also of the view that the Act of 1907 for the most part stands repealed by the Act of 1908 and feels that Mr. Chhotabhai's son would have been protected under the Act of 1907. He shows, moreover, that both the Acts are anomalous and points out that a law which does not protect the interests of minors is tyrannical. He then goes on to say that he has given his decision with profound misgivings.

Mr. Justice Mason, on the other hand, has held that the appeal should be decided in favour of Mr. Chhotabhai. He has even argued that rights which were protected under the Act of 1907 could not be treated as abrogated by the Act of 1908. Under the latter, the position of children born outside the Transvaal is not clear, but under the Act of 1907 the Registrar has been empowered to issue certificates in such cases and in the present case he would have been justified in granting the certificate. According to Mr. Justice Mason, the Registrar had wrongly assumed that he had no discretion under the Act of 1907. He has roundly condemned a state of affairs in which a minor could be expelled.

From all this, it appears certain to us that the Supreme Court will decide in favour of Mr. Chhotabhai.

The strictures passed by the judges show that both the Acts are extremely complicated and must therefore be repealed. It will not be enough to have an amendment giving effect to Mr. Justice Mason's decision. Since it is within the Registrar's discretion whether or not to grant a certificate to a minor in the position of Mr. Chhotabhai's son, it would be a favour on his part to grant one. Indians cannot leave it to be decided by anyone as a matter of favour whether or not a minor should receive a certificate. Whenever parents enjoy a right, the same right for the minors should be protected as a matter of course. It will

certainly be protected if the Indian community has spirit enough, let the courts give what judgments they will.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 26-11-1910

## *329. HAMID GOOL*

News has been received that Mr. Hamid Gool, son of Mr. Yusuf Gool of Cape Town, has passed his final medical examination in England. We congratulate both Mr. Hamid Gool and Mr. Yusuf Gool on this. His success at this advanced examination is evidence of Mr. Hamid's hard work and intelligence. We should like him to give the benefit of his knowledge and his fine qualities of character to the community. It has been reported that he will shortly leave England for South Africa.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 26-11-1910

## *330. UNHAPPY INDENTURED LABOURERS OF MAURITIUS*

The account of the sufferings of these miserable Indians which we publish elsewhere[1] deserves attention. Those who read about these sufferings will be convinced of the need to put a stop to the system of indenture. The all-too-numerous incidents of this kind prove again and again that this system is indistinguishable from slavery. Is there any Indian who will remain unmoved after reading about these sufferings of his countrymen? Indians ought not to rest in peace till they have put an end to them.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 26-11-1910

[1] Not reproduced here

CWMG - X

## 331. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

*Kartak Vad 10* [*November 26, 1910*][1]

CHI. MAGANLAL,

I am not surprised at Kanaiyalal's disappointment. But there is no reason to believe that associations among the English people are run better, though it is true that they appear to be doing well. The reason is that these associations are the product of modern civilization. The English are more adept in that civilization and can therefore conduct these associations better. Our Arya Samaj is not for the general public. It is meant only for the educated. The English institutions can be said to be for the masses to some extent, because even the masses there have come within the purview of that civilization. Therefore their institutions are governed by some discipline. Moreover, the people there consider honesty as the best policy and are honest as a matter of policy. We, on the other hand, are honest for honesty's sake; we do not know how to be honest for the sake of policy. The general tendency amongst our educated is that if one holds a position where one can serve one's selfish ends quickly, one is at once led to do so. Moreover, those who are born and bred in diplomatic surroundings take to dishonest ways even if they are not educated. If we think of our own family, we shall be able to see that the people of whom Kanaiyalal has lost all hopes are a mere drop in the ocean of Indian humanity. Please think of the hypocrisy, the corruption and the immorality of the members of our family who are occupying posts of executive officers.

You have rightly pointed out the discrepancy about mentioning the names of some persons who have gone to gaol and not mentioning those of others under the different dates. You may therefore delete them all as I am not in a position to supply the dates of the others from here. Please retain the names of Mrs. Sodha, Narayansamy and Nagappen.

I have a wire from Hosken saying that Smuts has told him that the new Act will be such as to satisfy the Indian community.

*Blessings from*
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand
Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri

[1] The Bill for the new Act mentioned in the last paragraph was introduced in Parliament in February, 1911. The *Kartak Vad* 10 prior to this was November 26, 1910.

## 332. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

*Kartak Vadi* [*14, November 30, 1910*][1]

CHI. MAGANLAL,

For providing meals to Karamat you should, I think, take money from Rustomjee Sheth. That is reasonable and I do not think Rustomjee Sheth will raise any objection. You did right to ask Karamat to cook for himself. I see nothing wrong in it. I too feel that you cannot take up that responsibility in view of your many preoccupations. I suspect Karamat must have eaten something somewhere. He needs bath [treatment]. It is also necessary to try earth-bandages. I do not, however, think that even the earth-bandages will cure him, for there is too much of suppuration. I think what he needs is complete fasting. But will he stand it? He may take bananas and lemons only if it becomes absolutely necessary. I am writing a letter[2] to him. I think he can read Gujarati; if he cannot, please read it out to him. Even when his wound healed up very quickly, I was afraid that the improvement was rather alarming.

Mr. Polak will leave for the Cape tomorrow. He will go from there to Phœnix. He will also go out for collection. Regarding Purshottamdas, I think nothing should be drawn for him from the [Passive Resistance] Fund. Let Ani draw whatever she wants and debit the amount to my account for the present. You may ask Ani what she requires. She will require less when a good half of her children are at Tongaat. You may, however, give her whatever she asks for. Let me know how Veerjee is faring. I do not write about him here as I have already written[3] to Mr. West. Please write to Ismail Dawji Mian and tell him that the arrangement regarding the school has been completely upset just now. Purshottamdas, who was looking after it, has gone to gaol. However, if he sends his son, we are prepared to take him. He will have to pay £2 a month for him. That will cover his lodging, boarding and tuition. The curriculum will include farming, press work, English and Gujarati methods of accountancy, etc. If he sends his son even after this clarification, you should keep him with you.

[1] The original reads "Kartak Vadi 4" which corresponds to November 20, 1910, but it appears to be a slip for "Kartak Vadi 14", for Polak left for Cape Town either on December 1 or 2 and Doke arrived in South Africa on November 22.

[2] Not available

[3] Letter not available

Mr. Doke has returned. Please ask Mr. West to write to him a letter welcoming him. I forgot to mention this in my letter to him [West].

*Blessings from*
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 4945
Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri

## *333. FRAGMENT OF LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI*[1]

[After *November 30, 1910*][2]

. . . It is good that you take . . . . Keep your mind fully inclined towards it. The reasons you mention as confusing are quite insignificant. Your land will remain yours and you will be able to develop it. The only thing that needs to be done at present is to have a common kitchen. I think it has great merit. It looks very selfish to take one's food all by oneself. Eating in company, one has perforce to control one's palate.

How is Nayak doing? What about Manilal?

I hope your study of Tamil is progressing.

There seems to be every likelihood of a settlement now. You will see this from the newspapers, too.

*Blessings from*
MOHANDAS

[PS.]

Karamat should have no salt. He should take a Kuhne bath every day and should have nothing but coarsely ground wheat and fruits. Please clean his leg well and fill the wound with iodoform.

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 4946
Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri

[1] The first six pages of this letter are missing. It appears from the contents to have been addressed to Maganlal Gandhi.

[2] From the reference to Karamat in the postscript this appears to have been written after the preceding item.

## 334. THE ROYAL VISIT

In the dignified letter[1] sent by Mr. Cachalia to H. R. H. the Duke of Connaught, the Transvaal Indians have but followed the example set by the Cape Indian and Coloured communities, who, as a sign of mourning, refrained from attending the ceremony of presentation. Our countrymen in this Province have done likewise. We believe that this is for the first time that Indians throughout South Africa have felt called upon to avoid identifying themselves completely in a public welcome to a Royal representative. We will remember what our countrymen did when the present King visited South Africa. Magnificent arches, costing hundreds of pounds, were erected, addresses engraved on gold plates were presented, and Indian places of business were profusely decorated. Indians were in no way behind the other communities in rendering homage to the Royal visitors. The step taken on this occasion, therefore, is a momentous one. But there was no other way of marking the community's sense of the deep grief caused by the protracted struggle in the Transvaal, and the uncertainty of its future, engendered by the Union. It is well, however, that Mr. Cachalia and Imam Bawazeer[2] should have emphasised the fact that the community's loyalty to the Throne had not suffered by reason of its afflictions, and that its personal welcome to the Royal visitors was none the less warm on that account.

*Indian Opinion*, 3-12-1910

## 335. SUPREME VIRTUE OF AGRICULTURE

O tiller of the soil,
Rightly they call you father of the world;
You, and you alone, provide
For all mankind;—
Cotton, fruits, flowers and grass,
And foodgrains too,
The food that sustains all creatures,
And clothing that is welcome to all.
Braving heat and rain,
Unremitting in toil,

[1] and [2] *Vide* letters to Private Secretary to Duke of Connaught, pp. 363-4.

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Robust of health,
Ever you move in contentment.
Of worth supreme is the tiller's work,
Work that tends to others' good;
Tireless in your labour,
You teach a good lesson to the world.

We have reproduced this poem from the second standard reader which most of us studied at school. But how many of us have profited from what we learnt? Of course the farmer is the father of the world. But it is his greatness that he is not aware of the fact. Those who devote themselves to good works of any worth are not aware of their own goodness. Just as we breathe every moment but are not aware of the fact, so are good people by their very nature impelled to give expression to their goodness. They are not conscious that they deserve any credit. They do not care to be honoured. If we recite the poem given above before a farmer, he will simply be amused. He will not even understand what we mean. So true a father is he, and so sincere a benefactor.

But we who recite the poem, what do we do? If the farmer is indeed a father and if his profession is indeed the highest, why are we busy padding ourselves with heaps of clothes? Why do we grind the poor under our heels to extort the last farthing from them? Why do we think it manly to be mere clerks, attired in respectable clothes?

Such is our benighted state. We only talk of agriculture. It has got stuck in our throats and does not go further than that.

Those Indians who wish to be happy in this country or wish to render any real service to India should ponder over the poem given above and try to act upon it. Even if there is a single reader who is convinced that he must take to agriculture, he need not wait for others [to join him].

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 3-12-1910

## *336. INDIANS AND H. R. H. THE DUKE*

An unprecedented thing has happened in South Africa. Indians have always presented addresses to Royal guests and participated in public celebrations.

The Cape made a beginning in connection with [the visit of] H. R. H. the Duke this time. It sent an address, but did not attend the public function.

The Transvaal went a step further. It explained the reasons for not sending an address, thus bringing to the Duke's notice the disabilities under which it labours, and conveyed its loyalty in a letter. That

there was no impropriety in such a step, is made evident by the Duke's courteous reply. How can the Indian community, seething with discontent and in mourning, join public celebrations? Its participation can never be sincere. However, everyone must acknowledge that the letters[1] addressed by Mr. Cachalia and the Imam Saheb were but proper. The Natal Congress, too, has taken a similar step, and rightly.

The effect of this step will be known in the future. People will be all the more convinced of our integrity and attach greater weight to whatever we do. They will know that we are no hypocrites, that we do not hesitate to place our views, in proper language, even before an emperor.

[From Gujarati]
*Indian Opinion*, 3-12-1910

## *337. CECIL INDIANS*

Indians are unwelcome, wherever they go. As soon as, having settled in a foreign land for some time, they join in its commerce and industry and prosper, they find themselves under attack. The island of Cecil has a fairly large Indian population, and the numbers grow every year. The majority of the immigrants come from Malabar. Most of the shops in this island are owned by Indians. A few Chinese traders are also to be found. Much of the immovable property in the port has been raised with Indian investment. Agriculture there, as in Natal, owes its development to Indians. Indians have thus sought their own prosperity while advancing that of the Colony. And yet it is interesting to note what kind of attitude the whites adopt to all this. In his report for the previous year, the Governor of the island has called attention, by way of warning, to the acquisition of land by Indian traders, saying that Indians are usually bad farmers, for their aim is to get rich quick by exploiting the land for all it is worth and then run back to India. Land in this country costs on an average Rs. 100 per acre, though it is quite difficult to get any with fertile soil. One wonders, after reading this report, what reason there can be for anything in the nature of a warning if Indians, by their labour on land of ordinary quality, toil for the prosperity of the country and in the process grow prosperous themselves. An English poet, Goldsmith, has said[2] that industrious farmers are a far

[1] *Vide* letters to Private Secretary to Duke of Connaught, pp. 363-4.
[2] Princes and lords may flourish, or may fade;
A breath can make them, as a breath has made;
But a bold peasantry, their country's pride,
When once destroyed, can never be supplied.
—*The Deserted Village*

greater and truer treasure for any country than kings and nobles. It is in the interest of the country and the people that this "treasure" should receive encouragement, instead of being regarded with distrust.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 3-12-1910

## *338. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI*

[Before *Friday, December 9, 1910*][1]

CHI. MAGANLAL,

I send this much today. The rest you will get on Friday. If you find it too much, you may hold it over. Do not delay [the paper] in order to print it. I shall not send much.

Please translate *Fallacy of Speed* if you can. The book is commonplace, but it will serve our purpose. I intend to give a summary of Coomaraswami's book. Let us see what happens.

*Blessings from*
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 4947
Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri

## *339. LETTER TO G. A. NATESAN*

TOLSTOY FARM,
*December 9, 1910*

DEAR MR. NATESAN,

I owe you a long reply. But being obliged to move about and being otherwise busy over the struggle, I have been unable to save a quiet hour for writing to you.

Many thanks for the cable remitting £400. The help is most timely. The unexpected difficulties about the landing of the returned deportees have cost over £500 leaving nothing for current expenses. I was therefore obliged to cable[2] to you for funds. A similar cable[3] was sent to Mr. Petit also. The same day that brought your cable brought also a letter from Mr. Ratan Tata enclosing a cheque for Rs. 25,000. There

[1] The Gujarati translation of Thomas Taylor's article "Fallacy of Speed", mentioned in the letter, was published in *Indian Opinion*, 10-12-1910; this letter was written before the Friday of that week, which fell on 9-12-1910.

[2] and [3] Not available

is therefore no anxiety now regarding money. I enclose copy of Mr. Tata's letter.

Everyone of the returned deportees speaks most highly of your kindness. They tell me that you were most unremitting in your attention to them. May I thank you for all you have done in their behalf?

You will have noticed that not a single Indian deportee has had to go back to India—I mean of the 2nd batch. It was unfortunate that the 19 Chinese had to go back. But partly it was the fault of the Chinese Association. That body was not ready for the emergency that faced it.

You will have noticed too that everyone of the returned men has now already passed through the gaols of the Transvaal or is at present serving his term. This does not include the five men who are still at the Cape. But I expect them to cross the border shortly.

Your fear about the payment to the indigent families was natural though groundless. It did very great credit to your heart. I had suspended payment as I was, as you know, in cable communication[1] with the men. I was in hopes that the men would willingly cable consent to their families going to the Farm, as most of them knew that negotiations were going on for securing one and as they were told that the families could only be supported on the Farm. But as soon as I saw that the men would not consent, all the families who had not consented to go to the Farm were paid up to the 7th of October. That was the last date fixed because I had conferences with the men at Durban. Every fact was placed before them and they were told that the families must either go to the Farm or support themselves. I told them too that the funds in hand would not allow of the families being indefinitely supported outside the Farm. The men, however, elected to go to gaol. Some families have come to the Farm but the vast majority are supporting themselves in Johannesburg. The Farm serves a double purpose. It enables us to support families at a much cheaper rate thus providing for an indefinite prolongation of the struggle and it prevents fraud and deception. For it must be confessed that the fighters—some of them—are not above taking an undue advantage of one's ignorance. The Farm puts a stop to this sort of thing. Those who cannot really support themselves must perforce come to the Farm. Those who do not are some way or other capable of supporting themselves. Moreover this struggle is pre-eminently educative. It is intended therethrough to raise men. This cannot be done unless we purge the community of dross. On the Farm we are also able to give some kind of education to the families.

[1] Not available

In spite of every care taken to satisfy the men, no doubt there is grumbling. It is inevitable, considering the material one has to work with and work upon. The wonder is that there has been so little real grumbling. The credit is all due to the men who are fighting so nobly, so bravely and so uncomplainingly. Our half-educated countrymen certainly could not do what these good men have done. It now remains to be seen how many will stand what might be the final test, should the struggle be further prolonged.

But there is every indication that it may be closed during the early part of the next year. This time it appears there will be no consultation with the leaders of the community. Anyhow, the issue is clear and the struggle can end only on our demands being granted.

Mr. Ritch, after a brief stay here, has returned to London. Mr. Polak has gone to the Cape to look after the concluding stages of the Cape appeal[1].

It was a most fortunate stroke for you to have secured donations from Mysore, Bikaner and [the] Nizam.[2]

Mrs. Sodha's case of which you must have learnt from *Indian Opinion* has not yet been set down. It is just likely that the case may never come off. If it does, she will certainly go to gaol and probably many of her sisters will follow her.

The matter of minor children is still hanging fire.

And now I think I shall cease to weary you with our tale.

As I write this, Messrs Thambi Naidoo and Gopal Naidoo are sitting by me. They join me in sending you regards and in once more thanking you for the noble help you rendered the poor deportees.

*I remain,*
*Yours sincerely,*
M. K. GANDHI

[PS.]

I must not omit to mention how thankful the passive resisters were to receive the beautiful photographs you sent and the copies of *Harishchandra* both of which were publicly presented, as you may be aware, at Mr. Rustomjee's house. Many thanks too for your portrait for me and the group photograph as also a copy of *Harishchandra*. What an appropriate present the latter was!

M. K. G.

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: G.N. 2223

[1] In connection with the deportees' cases

[2] Natesan had secured donations of Rs. 1,000 from the Maharaja of Bikaner, Rs. 2,000 from the Maharaja of Mysore and Rs. 2,500 from the Nizam of Hyderabad.

## 340. SWEET ARE THE FRUITS OF PATIENCE

Indians have been showing impatience ever since people began to talk about a settlement. "Why has no bill been published yet? When will one be published? Has the matter been put off till January? Will it be as late as February? Perhaps there will be no bill, after all." Such impatience is a sign of timidity and cowardice. What we are entitled to, we are bound to get in due time. But we grow impatient for something that we do not deserve and thereby prove that we are not worthy of it. We shall not show impatience about anything which we know or believe we are entitled to.

What does it matter whether a bill is published now or later, or never published at all? Really speaking, continuing delay is of double advantage to us. One, Indians who have remained staunch are being tested. Two, those who are not taking part in the struggle will realize that our demands are bound to be met so long as even one person is left to continue the fight. Indians who understand this, whether they are satyagrahis or not, will not show impatience. We should realize that impatience may delay the result indefinitely. Even in simple matters, we lose our presence of mind if we are in too great a hurry and so find ourselves completely bewildered. That is why it is said that a man in haste is a man at sea, and a man unruffled is one in full command of his wits.[1] We therefore urge all Indians to remain patient.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 10-12-1910

## 341. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

TOLSTOY FARM,
*Magshar Shud 11* [*December 12, 1910*][2]

CHI. MAGANLAL,

I have your letter.

I do not think it proper to comment on the addresses given at Maritzburg. Both deserve to be condemned. Fearing that my criticism might be misunderstood, I gave up the idea of writing about

[1] A Gujarati saying

[2] It appears from the reference to Coomaraswami's book that this letter was written after "Letter to Maganlal Gandhi", pp. 354-5; in 1910, *Magshar Shud* 11 corresponded to December 12.

them. If anybody refers to this omission, you may say that I am responsible for it and that I did not deem it proper to comment on them.

The book of bazaar medicine has been found here.

I am positive I saw Coomaraswami's volume among Mr. Polak's books. It has a white cover.

I do not think we can do anything about it if Dada Sheth[1] discontinues all his advertisements. Let him do so if he chooses. I should prefer it if we could do away with advertisements altogether. I think it proper not to write to him at all. I shall talk to Omar Sheth[2] when I meet him. It is better to forgo the advertisements if Dada Sheth is not agreeable.

I shall write to Gora Sheth[3] only after you let me know for certain. His advertisements, too, may be dropped if he so desires.

What you write about the effect of the Rs. 25,000[4] is quite true. People are still miserably ill-educated in this matter. Constant purity of mind is our only remedy for this. Meanwhile we have to be patient. Personally I hate to take anything from the *Al Islam* property. But Mr. West wanted to. Considering that in these matters my attitude differed from that of you all and to avoid making any major changes so long as the struggle lasted, I was silent and allowed some necessary articles to be taken from it. I shall, however, be glad if we fail to get anything out of it.

I think I have written to you saying that, if you have not got your daughter vaccinated for small-pox, you may postpone it for the present. We shall think over it.

*Blessings from*
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 4948
Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri

[1] Dada Osman, Joint Honorary Secretary, Natal Indian Congress
[2] Omar Haji Amod Zaveri, a leading Indian of Natal; *vide* Vol. VI, pp. 460-1.
[3] Ismail Gora
[4] The donation received from Ratan Tata in aid of the satyagraha struggle. *Vide* "Tata and Satyagrahis", pp. 385-6.

## 342. LETTER TO OLIVE DOKE

TOLSTOY FARM,
*December 15, 1910*

MY DEAR OLIVE,

You need not apologize for not being able to give Ramdas his singing lessons. I could quite understand the difficulty whilst painting operations were going on. And I would not dream of disturbing you during the first few weeks of father's arrival.[1]

Many thanks for offering to give Ramdas a lesson on Monday. But I do not think he could go to Johannesburg next Monday. I come to Johannesburg only three days in the week and then I have hardly time to stir out of the office. I fear therefore that I shall not be able to look you up before X'mas. I wish you and Clement[2] a very happy time at Graaff Reinet[3].

Please remember me to father and mother.

Comber[4] is evidently not going with you. Poor boy! He will feel quite lonely. Please give him my regards as also to Willie[5] when you write to him.

*Yours sincerely,*
M. K. GANDHI

MISS OLIVE DOKE
SUTHERLAND AVENUE
HOSPITAL HILL
JOHANNESBURG

From a photo copy of the original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 4927
Courtesy: C. M. Doke

[1] The addressee's father, the Rev. J. J. Doke, had returned to South Africa after a long tour of Europe and America; *vide* "Letter to Maganlal Gandhi", p. 375.

[2], [4] and [5] Addressee's brothers

[3] A town at an altitude of 2,500 ft. in the Cape province, 185 miles from Port Elizabeth

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## 343. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

TOLSTOY FARM,
*Magsar Shud 15* [*December 16, 1910*][1]

CHI. MAGANLAL,

The matter you have sent for the diary is all right. I shall not make any changes in it. Say only that Rambhabai has been arrested and that the result will be known on Wednesday. Please say that after her arrest other women have decided to court arrest.

In the note regarding the boy's case, please give the decision as reported.

I have already written to you about another acre.[2] Take it after consulting Mr. West.

*Blessings from*
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 4949
Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri

## 344. TATA AND SATYAGRAHIS

By donating another sum of Rs. 25,000 for the satyagraha campaign, Mr. Ratan Tata has demonstrated that he has the utmost sympathy for us and that he fully appreciates its value. Including his earlier donation, a total of Rs. 1,25,000 has been offered in India. Two-fifths of this large sum was donated by Mr. Tata alone. Surely, this is no small gift.

His letter is as inspiring as his gift is generous. Mr. Tata knows very well that this is not a struggle to secure our own narrow ends, but that it is for the honour of India. He has said, in so many words, that the effects of this struggle will be felt in all parts of the world under British rule, and that is exactly what will happen. Even a man like General Smuts has stopped talking of racial discrimination. His two Acts show that in law at least all citizens must have the same status.

[1] Rambhabai Sodha's case referred to in the letter was to be heard on Wednesday, December 21, 1910; it is thus clear that this letter was written in 1910, in which year *Magsar Shud* 15 corresponded to December 16.

[2] Each member of the Phœnix settlement could take two acres of land for cultivation. The addressee, it appears, wanted one acre more between himself and his brother, Chhaganlal. The letter mentioned is not available.



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Fortunate indeed are those Indians who are taking part in a campaign of such remarkable power. What does it matter if they have lost their money and have been separated from their families, if they are starving and have been wasting away in gaols? By sacrificing their all for the sake of the nation's honour, they will but gain what they [seem to] lose. Dying in such a cause, one does not really die, but lives on. What wonder, then, if a wealthy Indian like Mr. Tata contributes money for such a struggle? He feels sorry, and one cannot help feeling sorry, that other Indians do not show the same spirit. All the same, there is no need to feel sorry. As days pass—and the struggle lengthens —its greatness will come to be recognized all the more clearly.

Mr. Tata hopes that before long the Union Parliament will find a solution which will be in keeping with our honour. We join in that hope. It is also likely that such a settlement may shortly come about.

However, the Indian community need not entertain any high hopes. We are dealing with General Smuts. The gentleman is capable of backing out without a moment's hesitation. As time passes, he grows more confident that the satyagraha will collapse; if everyone capitulates, why should he go in for a settlement? But this unholy expectation of his is not likely to come true. We are convinced that so long as there is even a single satyagrahi left, the Act is bound at last to be amended. The great Thoreau has said that a worthy cause should never be deemed lost, that it is bound to triumph, so long as there is at least one sincere man to fight for it. In fact, though a few more satyagrahis may yet fall, there will certainly remain some who will fight on till death. As Dhira[1] has sung, "Only those who are ready for death can bring out pearls." It is so here, too. This is no ordinary fight. Let us lay down our lives in it, and so live. The sesame seed yields oil when crushed; it does not thereby lose, but gains in value. If a man voluntarily allows himself to be crushed, he yields the oil of moral energy which sustains the world. A man so crushed comes to be highly valued, even like the sesame seed. Otherwise, pining away in pursuit of wealth or sense pleasures is to meet death in the manner of a glow-worm. No one pays attention to such a one.

Mr. Tata's letter and the help he has given have doubled the burden of our responsibility. Satyagrahis ought to remain staunch; even those who cannot afford to go so far [as to offer satyagraha] ought to give, as a matter of duty, whatever they can.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 17-12-1910

[1] A Gujarati poet (1753-1825)

## 345. CALCUTTA RIOT

The riot that occurred in Calcutta must have given rise, naturally, to all sorts of reflections among Indians. We do not think that this was a "religious" riot; rather, it was "irreligious". Plenty of irreligious things are done in the world in the name of religion. Little reflection is needed to show that the Marwari[1] had no reason to kill Muslims because the latter kill cows. Surely, the cows will not be saved as a result. By killing Muslims, who are his brethren, the Marwari will make himself doubly a sinner. Why do the Hindus not feel for the cows which the English kill every day? It is known very well that killing anyone is not the way to stop this. Why, again, should the Muslims kill only cows? But where people are out to spite one another, this is bound to be the result. We have been reduced to such a wretched plight and have got so much into the clutches of courts and lawyers, that we cannot use our common sense. If we did, we would immediately see that the Marwari had no reason to fight with the Muslim. What he should do is to plead with the latter once, twice, and if he does not respond, even a thousand times. Such entreaty, however, will be sincere only if we have sworn not to fight or go to court, should the Muslim fail to respond. If, failing to understand this simple thing, we start riots, we shall only be exploiting religion for selfish ends.

If this is the simple duty of religious-minded Hindus, there is a corresponding duty for religious-minded Muslims. They too are not justified in fighting. Besides, they should abstain from killing cows except on occasions when that is enjoined as a religious duty.

The two sides, however, should not keep watching each other's actions. Either of them may take the right step without thinking of what the other might do.

There may also be some who hold back because of the fear that so long as we go on fighting in this manner, we shall always remain a subject people, if not under the British, under some other great power. If we go a little deeper into this, we shall see that this is quite a wrong notion. In fact, it is because of our subjection that the riots occur. So long as we believe that there is a government to shield us when we get the worse of the fighting, the one course that is truly religious will not occur to us. We shall thus go on moving round in a circle, like the bullock in the oil-mill, his vision blocked, fondly believing that we are progressing. There is one royal road even out of this difficult situa-

[1] Marwaris are Hindus of Marwar in Rajasthan, engaged in business in Calcutta and other cities.

tion, and only one. Though dependent, we should behave as though we were independent. If, in consequence, one has to lay down one's life, one must do so. That alone is the final test. He who takes too much thought of this life can gain nothing either in this world or in the other. It is a matter of shame for us that we look to the police for protection. What protection can the police provide? They will only make cowards of us. Such behaviour is unworthy of men.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 17-12-1910

## *346. LETTER TO OLIVE DOKE*

[JOHANNESBURG,]
*Monday* [On or after *December 19, 1910*][1]

MY DEAR OLIVE,

Ramdas and Devdas just now tell me that father is ill. I was sorry to hear this. I dare not leave the office just now. I am going back to the Farm. Please let me know there how father is getting on and what the illness is. You know the address: Tolstoy Farm, Lawley Station.

*Yours sincerely*,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photo copy of the original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 4928
Courtesy: C. M. Doke

## *347. EXTRACT FROM LETTER TO THE PRESS*

[Before *December 24, 1910*]

It is unfortunate that General Smuts has, on the eve (according to his statement) of a settlement being arrived at of the Asiatic question, given utterance in the statement made by him in Parliament to what is incorrect.[2]

*Indian Opinion*, 24-12-1910

[1] This appears to have been written on the Monday after "Letter to Olive Doke", p. 384.

[2] This text is obviously incomplete.

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## 348. EXTRACTS FROM LETTER TO S.A.B.I. COMMITTEE[1]

[Before *December 30, 1910*]

Ministers beg to assure His Excellency that the so-called Indian Passive Resisters are not differentiated against in the Transvaal prisons.

This Mr. Gandhi denies. He states:

*Bona-fide* Indian prisoners, before passive resistance commenced, were, because of their known objection to carrying slop-pails, as a rule, exempted from that duty. That was so when I had the honour to be one of 151 prisoners in Johannesburg and equally so at Volksrust when there were over 75 prisoners. The severity of prison treatment has progressed with the progress of passive resistance and it reached its culminating point when all passive resisters were removed to Diepkloof, where, it being a penal settlement, the regulations are far more strict. For instance, an Indian, and for that matter a Native, undergoing sentence for, say, attempted murder at Volksrust or Johannesburg is able to receive visitors and also to write letters. At Diepkloof, prisoners, whether they are convicted of heinous offences or are passive resisters, cannot by regulation receive visitors for three months. Most of the passive resisters are imprisoned for three months.

Every opportunity was afforded to the individual of proving domicile in any other part of South Africa, but all these persons failed to do so. . . . Wherever it appeared that a person had been resident or born in any other part of South Africa, he was returned thither and not deported to India. . . It was ruled by Supreme Court of Transvaal in case of Leung Quinn and another *versus* Attorney General in May last and subsequently in the question of Naidoo *v.* Rex, that when an Asiatic failed on demand to produce certificate of registration, he could be arrested and brought before Magistrate under Section VII of Act 36 of 1908 and if he does not satisfy Magistrate that he was registered Asiatic, Magistrate had no option but was bound to make an order directing Asiatic to be removed from the Colony.

Mr. Gandhi denies that every opportunity was afforded of proving domicile or South African birth. He says:

[1] Gandhiji, citing from the Blue-book Cd. 5363, wrote a letter to the South Africa British Indian Committee, London, dealing with a number of inaccurate and misleading statements made by the Transvaal Government in its communication to the Transvaal Governor. Pertinent extracts from the letter along with the inaccurate statements dealt with were forwarded to the Under-Secretary of State, Colonial Office, by Ritch on December 30, 1910.

I take the very first case that is quoted by the Government on page 130; it is that of Manikum Pillay. I make bold to say that Manikum Pillay was well known to the Registrar and so was his father. What is more, Manikum Pillay speaks English fluently. He declared himself to have been a student and certainly claimed that he was South African born and that he was entitled to go to Natal by reason of his educational qualifications. The other case is that of R.S.C. Pillay. He too claimed educational qualifications. Similarly T.A.S. Acharya. The despatch in his case makes the admission that he claimed the right to reside in any South African Colony and so he did because of his educational qualifications. I have in my possession letters from him whilst he was being detained in Pretoria, telling me that he had stated everything he had to with reference to his qualifications. But all the prisoners named were deported to India. I know two brothers Pillay who before they went to the Magistrate asked me whether they too would be deported although they were born in Kimberley. I told them that they should not be, and that they should state to the Magistrate that they were born in the Old Colony. I saw them after the order of deportation was made against them. They told me that they had protested that they were born in Kimberley but that it had been of no avail. I well recollect the two brothers having felt offended with me because they thought that I had misled them. I could multiply such instances.

In regard to the Supreme Court cases above cited, Mr. Gandhi writes:

The Government have, I do not know whether consciously or unconsciously, undoubtedly misled Lord Crewe by stating that the cases of Leung Quinn and another *v.* the Attorney General and Naidoo *v.* Rex show that an Asiatic failing to produce a certificate of registration can be arrested and brought before a magistrate under Section 7 for his removal from the Colony. In Mr. Quinn's case, the only question at issue was whether the period of Mr. Quinn's detention after deportation was reasonable. In Mr. Naidoo's case, the question was that of legal objections as to whether the regulations under which he was charged were applicable to his case and whether the Registrar was duly appointed. Ordinarily, the misleading statement now referred to would not matter much, but in the despatch in which it occurs, it is pertinent in order to justify the extraordinary conduct of the Government in trying to bring passive resisters before an administrative board and to procure their deportation rather than allow them to be tried judicially and to suffer imprisonment to which they had become inured. It will not be denied that many of these deportees were during the initial stages of the struggle tried judicially and simply

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imprisoned. They were also known to the police as being registered residents of the Transvaal. Why were they subsequently tried administratively and ordered to be deported?

As regards future deportations, instructions have been given to the police to exercise every care that Asiatics who have been registered are not dealt with under the clause of the Act which entails deportation.

Mr. Gandhi remarks:

Why this precaution only now? Is it not a fact that the proceedings under the deportation section of the Act were taken at the instance of the Law Department and that it was not the police who were responsible for the deportation proceedings? I read a Minute from the then Attorney General before the Union was proclaimed addressed to Crown Prosecutors to the effect that passive resisters were to be charged under deportation sections and not under sections for non-production of registration certificates as of old. I submit therefore that it is highly misleading, if not dishonest, now to state that the police have been instructed to exercise very great care, etc. Let me however give a few instances. There is case 46, R.S.N. Moodaley. He is supposed to have refused to give any means of identification. Now I know that the Magistrate who ordered deportation himself hesitated, as he knew Moodaley to be a resident of some twenty years and as he recognised him also to be an old offender (Passive Resister) and a duly registered Indian. Why was he ordered for deportation? There is the other old offender, Thambi Naidoo. He was not only known to the police, the Magistrate, the Registrar and everybody concerned to have been a registered resident but he was one of those who, when voluntary registration was going on (in 1907), helped the Registrar's Department, and was thanked by the Registrar for his work. Short of producing his registration certificate, Mr. Quinn, the leader of the Chinese Association, produced proof before the Magistrate that he was registered. He tried hard to avoid deportation. He was known to General Smuts, as also to the Registrar. Why was he deported?

Mr. Gandhi adds:

There are other statements made by the Transvaal Government which are also capable of refutation.

From a photostat of the typewritten copy in the Colonial Office Records: C.O. 551/7

## 349. TRIAL OF RAMBHABAI R. SODHA

[JOHANNESBURG,]
*December 30, 1910*

The much-adjourned case[1] of Mrs. Rambhabai R. Sodha came up before Mr. D. J. Schuurman, in "B" Court, Johannesburg, on Friday, the 30th ultimo. She was charged with contravening Section 5, read together with Section 2 of Sub-Section 1 of Act 15 of 1907 (the Immigrants' Restriction Act) in that, being a prohibited immigrant, she entered into or was found within the Transvaal—that is to say, that when asked at Johannesburg by a duly authorised officer, she was unable, through deficient education, to write out and sign in the characters of a European language an application for permission to enter the Transvaal Colony.

Mr. Cramer prosecuted for the Crown and Mr. M. K. Gandhi appeared for the defence.

As soon as the case was called, Mr. Cramer (the Public Prosecutor) allowed Mr. Gandhi to go into an adjoining room with the Immigration Officer (Mr. Emphietze) for the purpose of putting the accused through an education test.

Some difficulty arose in connection with the interpretation of the evidence. Mr. Cramer explained that Mr. Gandhi would act as interpreter. His worship objected to this course.

MR. CRAMER: It is not a matter of evidence. There is a difficulty about the matter, for there are several dialects.

HIS WORSHIP: I have no objection personally, but is it quite regular?

MR. GANDHI: I have no objection.

MR. CRAMER: I have less.

Mr. Gandhi was eventually asked to interpret the charge to the accused.

In reply the accused said that she did not know any European language, but said that she was not guilty.

For further interpretation Mr. Pragji K. Desai was sworn to perform the duty.

Mr. Cramer said this case had been a matter of correspondence between Mr. Gandhi and the Attorney-General's office, and he (the speaker) had been instructed to carry on with the case. He then called Mr. Emphietze, an immigration officer of the Transvaal and a member of the C.I.D., who said that he had asked the accused through Mr. Gandhi as to whether she could read or write a European language. She replied through Mr. Gandhi that she could not. She also said she did not know whether her husband was registered under the Act.

Mr. Gandhi corroborated this evidence, and said he also knew that accused could not speak or write any European language.

This closed the case for the prosecution.

[1] She was arrested on November 6, and on November 7 her case was remanded for 14 days; it was then transferred to Johannesburg.

Mr. Sodha, the husband of the accused, a passive resistance prisoner at present at the Fort, was called by Mr. Gandhi and said he was serving three months' imprisonment under the Registration Act. He had a wife and three children, had been in South Africa nearly 14 years, and came to the Transvaal in 1897. He did business in Pretoria, but during the War went to Natal as a refugee. After the War he came to the Transvaal again, passing the necessary test at Volksrust on the 7th October, 1908. Since then he had been off and on in jail for non-compliance with the Registration Act. While in jail his store was broken into and he had lost all his property.

[Questioned] by the Magistrate: His registration pass, before the war, was issued at Komatipoort. He had not taken out a registration pass under subsequent legislation because of his conscience.

Mr. Gandhi again gave evidence and said that, about two months ago, when he was in Natal, the previous witness was there also. After consultation, and solely upon witness's responsibility, the accused came to the Transvaal. He telegraphed[1] to the Immigration Officer that the accused with her minor children was entering the Province upon a particular date. He received no reply, and the accused and her children left with witness for Johannesburg. At the border she was arrested as a prohibited immigrant.

Cross-examined: Witness considered the accused's real home was in the Transvaal. When he came to the Transvaal he left his wife behind in Natal. The accused came to the Transvaal after her husband was convicted. He left a furnished home for his wife in Natal, but, unfortunately, it was not long furnished.

MR. CRAMER: I put it to you fairly and squarely. Was she not brought up here for the purpose of agitating against the Asiatic law?

[GANDHIJI]: That is entirely wrong.

Why was she brought here?

For the simple reason that the passive resisters' families had to be supported out of public funds, and it was convenient to support Mrs. Sodha in the Transvaal as also to look after her family.

For whom to support her?

For those engaged in looking after the families of the passive resisters.

In the Transvaal?

Yes, in the Transvaal.

Sodha came up here as a passive resister?

Yes, he entered as a passive resister. He came here undoubtedly in order to test his rights.

And afterwards, in order that the passive resisters might better support his wife, you had her brought up?

Yes.

It was not impossible to keep the accused in Natal, said Mr. Gandhi, but it was highly inconvenient in the interests of the health of herself and the youngest child who

[1] *Vide* "Telegram to Chief Immigration Officer", p. 347.

was sickly. Mrs. Sodha was living in a lonely place. And she could be best protected at Tolstoy Farm.

In reply to questions from the Bench, Mr. Gandhi wished to make it quite clear that Mrs. Sodha had not been brought up in order in any manner whatsoever to support what had been called the Asiatic agitation. There had been no desire whatsoever to defy the laws of the country in connection with the entrance of Mrs. Sodha. On the contrary, every possible attempt had been made to conciliate the authorities, even where he thought they were erring on the wrong side so far as the legal point was concerned.

In further reply to the Magistrate, Mr. Gandhi said not a single passive resister got a single farthing as wage or pay for going to jail, unless the support given to dependants could be so termed.

THE MAGISTRATE: No, I do not mean that at all. What do the passive resisters do when they are discharged?

MR. GANDHI: Those who so wish are taken to Tolstoy Farm and there supported.

THE MAGISTRATE: Are they not paid anything?

MR. GANDHI: Not a farthing.

Mr. Gandhi then returned to his chair at the "horseshoe" and said that that was his case.

Mr. Cramer, in addressing the Court, said that the only question was whether the accused had a knowledge of a European language. This it was proved she did not possess. It might be unfortunate that the lady was before the Court; but her Asiatic birth had nothing to do with the case.

Mr. Gandhi, addressing the Court, gracefully acknowledged the courtesy extended by the Magistrate and the Public Prosecutor. He said that if the case ended with the education test, the Crown was bound to secure a conviction. But the speaker submitted that Mrs. Sodha was protected under the other sections of the Act. She was not guilty because she was the wife of a person who was not a prohibited immigrant. Mr. Sodha was not a prohibited immigrant because, according to the evidence, he had passed the education test at Volksrust on his entry. Again, Mr. Sodha, being a pre-war resident of the Transvaal, was an eligible Asiatic under the Registration Act, and, therefore, not a prohibited immigrant. Mr. Sodha's conviction did not affect his (Mr. Gandhi's) contention, as he was convicted only for not producing his registration certificate. This did not make Mr. Sodha a prohibited immigrant in any way whatsoever.

Mr. Gandhi further urged that Mrs. Sodha, being a married woman, could not, under the Common Law of South Africa, be declared guilty of a statutory crime. By the Common Law she had a right to follow her husband. And while her husband was in the Transvaal she had a right to be also. In the circumstances, Mr. Gandhi asked for Mrs. Sodha's discharge.

The Court reserved judgement up to the 6th January.[1]

[1] The judgement was actually delivered on January 11, 1911. Rambhabai Sodha was sentenced to a fine of £10 and one month's simple imprisonment but, notice of appeal having been given, was released on a personal bail of £25.

The proceedings were keenly watched by the Indian community. Many Indian ladies were present. Mrs. Vogl, Miss Schlesin, the Rev. Mr. Doke, and Mr. Kallenbach also attended. The Indian ladies remained with Mrs. Sodha the whole day and showed her marked attention. It was a pathetic scene to see her in the Court house with her baby in her arms and three-year-old child by her side.

*Indian Opinion*, 7-1-1911

## *350. LETTER TO L. W. RITCH*

[On or after *January 1, 1911*][1]

Mr. L. W. Ritch, the Secretary of the British Indians' Defence Committee[2], since his return from South Africa three weeks ago, has had a letter from Mr. Gandhi, who says that a conversation with General Smuts leads him to believe that the promised new Bill will satisfy the Indians. The Bill is likely to be issued about the middle of this month. To satisfy the Indians it must, of course, provide not only for the repeal of the Registration Law, but for the elimination of racial discrimination in the Immigration Law. An interesting indication of the intentions of the South African Ministers is given in General Smuts' speech in the Cape Parliament a fortnight ago. He made it clear that "it will continue to be the policy of South Africa not to let Asiatics into the country". The educated British Indians will not oppose reasonable measures to restrict a flood of Asiatic immigration. Their case is simply that they must cease to be stigmatised under the law as undesirable. General Smuts went on to say that "he hoped the question was near a solution", and that "he agreed that those who were domiciled in the country should be treated fairly".

*India*, 20-1-1911

## *351. A MOMENTOUS DECISION*

Reuter's correspondent at Calcutta cables the gladsome news that the Government of India has decided to issue a notice in April prohibiting the further emigration of indentured Indians to Natal from July 1st. The Hon. Prof. Gokhale, the representative of the non-official members of the Imperial Legislative Council, expressed the deep gratitude of Indians for the decision. Reuter adds that the decision has given the utmost satisfaction in India. There is no reason why, in South Africa, too, it ought not to give similar satisfaction, except among those whose

[1] General Smuts' speech in the Cape Parliament mentioned in the letter was made on December 13, 1910; the New Bill was "likely to be issued about the middle of this month"; and this summary of the letter was published in *India*, 20-1-1911. It must therefore have been written early in January 1911.

[2] This should be South Africa British Indian Committee, London.

material interests will be somewhat adversely affected by the stoppage of the labour supply. South Africa can never be the birth-place of a free and enlightened nation if it harbours slave-labour, which indentured labour certainly is. However that may be, the Indians of South Africa have achieved a notable victory. Mr. Polak had concentrated his efforts whilst in India upon the work of stopping the emigration of indentured Indians. And the credit belongs to Mr. Polak for the very satisfactory result of his labours.

Of the Hon. Prof. Gokhale, we cannot but write with the highest respect. In spite of his many most exacting self-imposed duties, and notwithstanding his indifferent health, he has found time to study our question as no other Indian has done. By his great work on our behalf, he has laid us under deep obligation to him. We hope that, without regard to what may be done to ameliorate the condition of the free Indian population, the Government of India will not swerve from their [*sic*] resolve. We oppose the system of indentured labour on merits—not because indentured Indians are specially badly treated in Natal, but because it is bad in itself and is devoid of merit even when the employers of such labour are the most humane of men. This stoppage will automatically solve the Indian question in this sub-continent. After the removal of the incubus, only time and patience are necessary for a steady improvement in our position under the Union.

*Indian Opinion*, 7-1-1911

## *352. INDIANS IN CANADA*

In a previous issue[1] we reproduced from a British newspaper a letter from one Mr. Sundersingh in Canada. We have now received a copy of the same from Mr. Sundersingh, in which he gives the particulars of the cases of Messrs Harnamsingh and Rahim. Mr. Harnamsingh had already been served with an order of deportation, and Mr. Rahim was about to be. A protest was lodged against this by the Hindustani Association there.

Our correspondent also says that Indians in Canada cannot migrate even to the U.S.A., while Japanese and Chinese traders, students and others are allowed to do so.

Once, we were talking to a Jew, who was a British subject. When, in the course of the conversation, we mentioned the fact of his being a British subject, he vehemently protested: "No; I am a British worm." The reason for his exasperation was that he himself had suffered. One should not be surprised if Indians settled in British colonies also des-

[1] *Indian Opinion*, 24-12-1910. The letter was also published in *India*, London.

cribe themselves as British worms. Kind-hearted persons take care not to trample upon worms. But many whites not only take no care not to trample upon us, they rather go out of their way to do so.

What is this due to? It is the same story in South Africa, and also in British Africa. There is turmoil in Mauritius. Only a few days ago, we printed a letter from Fiji.[1] And now [we find] the Sikhs in Canada are also not allowed to live in peace.

Shall we blame the whites alone for these things? We, at any rate, cannot. If we live like worms, we are bound to be trampled upon. If we cease to be worms, no one will trample upon us.

It is quite easy to see that our circumstances are of our own making. This law also holds good in the case of slaves. In every country, the remedy is the same and a simple one at that. All else is as the mirage.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 7-1-1911

## *353. LETTER TO CHANCHALBEHN GANDHI*

TOLSTOY FARM,
*Sunday, Posh Sud 7* [*January 8, 1911*][2]

CHI. CHANCHAL,

I was very glad to read your long and interesting letter. Ba also read it with interest. Harilal will read it on his release tomorrow. I hasten to write this today as I have no time at the office. I am at the Farm just now. It is 9 p.m.

You must be getting *Indian Opinion* regularly. Do you ever go out for a walk? It is good that you have kept up the habit of reading.

I wish you not to wear jewellery for fear of being criticized if you don't. There is no beauty in jewellery. The first and real ornament for both man and woman is purity of character. That you possess such character is in itself a precious ornament. Our custom of wearing ornaments on the nose and the ears seems to me barbarous. I mean barbarous, not in comparison with the whites, but according to our own ideas [of civilized life]. That the poets have described Ramachandraji, Sitaji, and others as wearing jewels seems to me to be suggestive of the custom prevailing at the time [they wrote]. Otherwise I cannot imagine the benevolent Ramachandraji or the deeply devout

[1] *Vide Indian Opinion*, 10-12-1910. There is no letter from Fiji; but there is a letter bearing the title "Indentured Slavery in Mauritius".

[2] Harilal Gandhi's release referred to in para one of this letter took place on January 9, 1911.

Sitaji carrying even a particle of gold on their bodies. Whatever that may be, we can easily understand that there is no beauty in perforating the nose and the ears and inserting something there or in wearing ornaments round the neck or the arms. However, I say nothing about putting on bangles round the wrists, as their absence would suggest something inauspicious.[1]

It would be enough if we put on these things to prevent talk. These are my views. Think over them and do as you deem proper. You need not be embarrassed and do anything because of me.

Ramdas and Devdas are quite cheerful. There are twenty boys here, so they feel quite at home. I find Ba also happy as she has the company of other women. She has given up tea at least for the present and is now habituated to bathing in cold water.

There is talk that the struggle might come to an end within this month or in February. Let us see what happens. Harilal will remain free, as the Government do not make arrests nowadays. I know his health was excellent in the Johannesburg Gaol.

Purshottamdas is also here after his release from gaol. A kiss to Ramibai[2]. My regards to Chhabalbhabhi[3]. I shall await Bali's[4] letter. What can I expect from Kumi[5] when she does not write at all?

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 9528

## *354. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI*

TOLSTOY FARM,
*Posh Sud 10* [*January 10, 1911*][6]

CHI. NARANDAS,

Received your letter. Remember this as an axiomatic truth that even if a single satyagrahi remains, he will win. During this struggle many successes have already been achieved. Being idol-worshippers, we shall recognize our victory only when the Act has been repealed and the colour bar removed. But for this, the battle is already won.

I read your views about weaving in your letter to Chi. Maganlal. They are quite right. What is required for the present is that every

[1] According to Hindu practice, only widows go without bangles.
[2] Addressee's daughter
[3] Addressee's mother
[4] and [5] Addressee's sisters
[6] Leung Quinn returned to South Africa from his visit to India in the first week of January 1911.

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intelligent person should learn the craft. I see no benefit in getting the work done through hired labour. So that you are right in saying that we should not adopt that course. This is all that needs to be done: The person who weaves cloth after learning that craft must secure a rich buyer, who should make no profit from it, but should, on the contrary, be prepared to sustain a loss. If this comes about, thousands, I believe, will take to weaving.

Your views about Phœnix are, on the whole, correct. But you should not think that the impression you have gathered from a distance would remain the same when you view things at close quarters. This much is certain: under the prevailing conditions, Phœnix is the best place.

What Mr. Quinn told you about me is an exaggeration. It does not mean that I have attained any particularly high stage of development. It only means that Mr. Quinn, not having come in contact with an ordinary person of good character, was enamoured of me on seeing me. The adage, "Where there are no trees, the castor-oil plant passes for one", fits the case.

*Blessings from*
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5074
Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

## *355. DR. GOOL*

We congratulate Mr. Yusuf Gool on his son's entry into the medical profession. Mr. Yusuf Gool has received congratulatory telegrams from many places. Dr. Gool created a fine impression about himself in England. He was always busy with his studies. An examination in a medical course is not a simple affair. But Dr. Gool got through all the examinations at the very first attempt.

To what use will Dr. Gool now put his attainments? His father is a well-known public worker. Dr. Gool can do as much as his father, but the Indian community will expect more from him.

Dr. Gool has two alternatives before him. He may use his qualifications only for amassing wealth. We would consider this to be an abuse of education. The second course is to serve the community, even while engaged in making money. That will be the right use of education.

From the experience we have had of him, we know for certain that Dr. Gool will make the right use of his position.

[From Gujarati]
*Indian Opinion*, 14-1-1911

## 356. FROM "TRANSVAAL NOTES"

*Wednesday, January 18, 1911*

I give the following rumour[1] for what it may be worth, but I warn your readers against placing much reliance on this information, which I send not without much hesitation. It is stated that General Smuts made it a condition precedent to any settlement of the Transvaal trouble, that the repatriation of time-expired indentured Indians should be made compulsory. It, thus, appears that, as against repeal of Acts 2 of 1907 and 36 of 1908, and the restoration of legal equality in point of immigration, he wished to impose other conditions and restrictions, which the Imperial Government considered unacceptable. It is, accordingly, suggested that practically a deadlock exists, and that a general Immigration Bill may not, after all, be introduced during the present session of Parliament. Whether, however, there is or is not any truth in this rumour, I am in a position positively to affirm that passive resisters are thoroughly prepared for an indefinite prolongation of the struggle.

In view of possibilities, it is as well that there is a movement, amongst Indian merchants, towards supplying settlers at Tolstoy Farm with food-stuffs, the supply of which has always been a burden upon passive resistance funds.

Messrs Hansji Morar Patel and Dulabh Veera Bhaga have sent a bag of *bhimri* rice and half a case of ghee to the Farm.

*Indian Opinion*, 21-1-1911

## 357. JOHANNESBURG

[*Wednesday, January 18, 1911*]

### Gifts

Mr. Hansji Morar Patel and Mr. Dulabh Bhula Bhagat of Germiston have sent a bag of *bhimri* rice and a tin of ghee (41 lb). If a number of Indians keep sending gifts, that may mean so much less to spend from the Satyagraha Fund.

### Settlement May not Come off

I find it necessary to say this. From some reports[2] which I have received, it appears that the negotiations for a settlement which were in

[1] *Vide* the following item.
[2] *Vide* the preceding item.

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progress have been abandoned. The Imperial Government has not accepted some of the proposals of General Smuts. It is believed that he wanted the period of contract of the indentured labourers to expire in India, that, in other words, the Government of India should enact legislation for their compulsory repatriation, as a condition for his agreeing to a settlement of the Transvaal agitation. It also appears that General Smuts wished, as in return for repeal of the obnoxious Act and granting of legal equality, to impose other harsh conditions which the Imperial Government did not accept. The new Immigration Bill seems to have been held up for this reason. This report is just a rumour and is based only on inference; it need not therefore be taken as very reliable. All the same, I should like to caution those who support the satyagraha movement and attach the highest value to it, that, should a settlement fail to materialize this time, the movement may perhaps be drawn out over many long years. In that case, the available funds will be exhausted and satyagrahis will be reduced to a pitiable plight; they will then have to depend entirely upon the well-to-do members of the community. That is why I said above that much saving can be effected if Indians take a turn in sending foodstuffs.

[From Gujarati]
*Indian Opinion*, 21-1-1911

## *358. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL GANDHI*

TOLSTOY FARM,
*Posh Vad 6* [*January 20, 1911*][1]

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

Your letter to hand. I think you have been there for over six months now. Chi. Maganlal has asked me how long you would be required to stay there. Hence I intend to discuss the question of your return. Please let me know what you yourself think, leaving aside whatever Doctor [Mehta] might say. I take it that your health has been restored. I also take it that you will now return to Phœnix. At the same time I hold that you are still free in this matter. Both Doctor [Mehta] and I think that you should do as you please. My own idea was that you should live in London for a year and gather whatever experience and knowledge you could. As for study, you will have it for the whole of your life. But if you imbibe the particular kind of atmosphere that obtains there, the voyage to England will have, to my mind, fulfilled its

[1] This letter was written towards the end of Chhaganlal Gandhi's stay in England between June, 1910 and January, 1911. In 1911, *Posh Vad* 6 corresponded to January 20.

purpose. You may, however, let me know your views without any reservation.

The boys—Harilal and others—walked to Johannesburg (a distance of 20 miles) and back. I suggested their going on foot to save money; they agreed and were tested. Devo[1] too joined in and so did Purshottamdas. The health of the boys has improved a lot here; whether or not their moral character too has developed, it is difficult to judge.

A motley crowd has assembled here.

*Blessings from*
MOHANDAS

[PS.]

I do not now think that there will be a settlement. You will see in *Indian Opinion* what I have written in this regard.[2]

From a handwritten copy of the Gujarati original: C.W. 5075
Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

## *359. CHHOTABHAI CASE*

We congratulate Mr. Chhotabhai on his great victory. In fighting for his son, he indirectly fought for the community as a whole. If he had wanted merely to protect his son's interest, he would have probably succeeded in safeguarding his right by servile entreaties to the Government. But he courageously decided that he would fight.

It is, of course, a matter of regret that Mr. Chhotabhai has submitted to the law and that, even in regard to his son, all that was at issue was merely his right to submit to the law. The problem of his son, however, involved a major issue. It had to be solved, sooner or later. Hence, by obtaining an interpretation of the law, he has to that extent served the cause of satyagraha. We hope parents will not now make a rush for their children's certificates. The verdict[3] that has been obtained will not lapse and when a settlement takes place the rights of all children will be protected.[4]

We shall know later the nature of the Court's orders. One thing is certain, namely, that the Government made an all-out attack on minors, but it has failed.

[From Gujarati]
*Indian Opinion*, 28-1-1911

[1] Devdas
[2] *Vide* "From 'Transvaal Notes' ", p. 400 and "Johannesburg", pp. 400-1.
[3] Given by the Supreme Court on January 25, 1911
[4] This was done in the provisional settlement of May 1911.

## 360. JOHANNESBURG

*Wednesday* [*February 1, 1911*]

### Immigration Bill

It is reported by *The Star*'s correspondent that this Bill is being drafted by the Government. He says it will be quite an important Bill, which will reveal the Asiatic policy of the Government. The discussion on Mr. Stallard's resolution[1] in the Transvaal Council suggests that the Asiatic question is going to be a serious one. He said that the intermingling of Europeans and Asiatics was impossible. He has not raised issues of trade, etc. He has raised only one issue—opposition to Asiatics because they are Asiatics. His resolution was supported by 16 members. Most of them were Englishmen. Indians [born in South Africa] were excluded from the scope of the resolution.

Most of the Dutch members opposed this resolution. There seems to be some mystery behind this. There is no reason whatever to believe that they are well disposed towards us.

We shall know everything when the Immigration Bill is published.

### Success of Satyagraha

Even His Royal Highness the Duke has been impressed by the satyagraha campaign. He has seen what a great movement it is. It is reported by Reuter that he referred to it at a party[2] held in his honour, and said that he expected that there would be an early settlement of the question of the position of Indians.

### Chhotabhai Case

Mr. Chhotabhai has received a number of letters and telegrams congratulating him, including a cable from the Mahfil-i-Saif-ul-Islam of Kholwad[3].

Mr. Chhotabhai offers his thanks to all those who sent such messages, saying that he did no more than his duty in taking the risk that he had done in fighting the case. He is very happy that the community has appreciated his action so highly.

*The* [*Transvaal*] *Leader*, *The Star* and other newspapers have condemned the Government's action. They say it is inconceivable that

[1] It recommended "to the Parliament of the Union . . . the enactment of legislation for preventing all further immigration of Asiatics and the repatriation of all Asiatics now in South Africa who have not been born within the Union".

[2] At the Guildhall banquet on 30-1-1911

[3] In Surat district, Gujarat

children, whose parents have the right of residence in the Transvaal, should be deported on attaining majority.

I have not yet received the judges' comments. I shall send them as soon as I do. It will be some time, I think, before I get them from Cape Town.

[From Gujarati]
*Indian Opinion*, 4-2-1911

## *361. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI*

*Maha Shud 2* [*February 1, 1911*][1]

CHI. MAGANLAL,

Received your letters. It would be premature, I think, to buy land in India. Narandas has no experience in this matter. In buying land an element of selfishness is likely to creep in. There is no hurry about it. Something worthwhile can, I think, be done only if some experienced person goes from here. I feel that land will be easily available in India whenever we need it. If, however, Narandas is very enthusiastic about it, we should not discourage him. That Kashi will not come, is bad news. You have done what you could; we have to forget about her return for the present.

Is the article written by Balvantray[2] there? It is not found in the material you sent me.

*Blessings from*
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5076
Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri

## *362. CHHOTABHAI CASE*

As time passes, further reflections[3] occur on this case. The Chief Justice made some remarks which clearly expose General Smuts' design. He had deliberately intended the law to be vague, so that the door might remain open for the deportation of minors. But the door has now been closed. "If the Legislature desires to place restrictions upon the liberty of subjects, it should do so in language which admits of no doubt as to

[1] This letter appears, from the reference to Kashi, Chhaganlal Gandhi's wife, to have been written after "Letter to Maganlal Gandhi", pp. 354-5. In 1911, *Maha Shud* 2 corresponded to February 1.

[2] Balvantray Kalyanray Thakore (1869-1951), Gujarati poet, essayist and critic

[3] *Vide* "Chhotabhai Case", p. 402.

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its intention. Otherwise, we will refuse to give effect to the law.'' These are the words of the Chief Justice. Not only is there no clear intention in the law to deprive the minors of their rights but General Smuts also did not, while introducing the Bill, indicate that minors were not to be treated as residents. This is breach of faith, plain and simple. ''He who digs a pit will fall into it himself''; accordingly, the Transvaal Government has fallen into a pit of its own making.

The community is therefore justified in attaching great importance to the Court's judgement. Those who have sent telegrams and messages to Mr. Chhotabhai speak of his having braved a great risk. He certainly deserves the praise that has been showered on him.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 4-2-1911

## *363. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI*

TOLSTOY FARM,
*Maha Shud 10* [*February 8, 1911*][1]

CHI. NARANDAS,

Received your letter of Magsar Vad 7[2]. You have asked me good questions about the plague[3]. When rats began to die in Rajkot I advised all to leave the house or the town. These were my ideas then. I now feel that it was a mistake on my part. Many of my ideas have undergone a similar change. Every time the objective was the same—the search for truth. Now I see that it is ignorance of the soul's virtue to run away from houses. This does not mean that one's house cannot be changed whatever may happen. We must leave the house if it is on fire. If snakes and scorpions are so rife as to cause instantaneous death, then also we may leave the house. I, however, do not mean to say that there is nothing wrong in doing so. For him who has completely known and realized the self the sky above is the only roof; he would live in a jungle and look upon snakes and scorpions as his friends. We who have not attained such a state live in houses for fear of cold, heat, etc., and we are ready to leave the house when dangers creep in there. Despite all this, we should aspire to realize the self as soon as may be. At any rate this is what I think.

At the time of the plague Motilal Odhavji[4] left [Rajkot] and posted his steward to look after his house. It is improper for one to do so. Had

[1] From the reference to Chhaganlal Gandhi's arrival in India, this letter appears to have been written after his departure from England for India on January 30, 1911.

[2] December 24, 1910

[3] In Rajkot in 1902 when Gandhiji stayed in India for about a year

[4] Motichand Odhavji Sharaf of Rajkot

the house caught fire, the steward too would have run away. From this example you will be able to make out the distinction. The danger from plague, etc., I consider an ordinary one. The Mussalmans do not leave their houses, but stay on there with faith in God. If, however, they took the necessary measures [to fight the plague], they would be doing better. There is hardly any likelihood of the plague disappearing so long as we get panicky and run hither and thither. It is sheer cowardice if, instead of trying to find out the cause of the plague, we run away from the place where it breaks out. But when I myself am not satisfied with this answer, how could you be?

You will be able to know what passes in my mind only when we meet personally and questions come up incidentally. There are two reasons why I cannot explain things fully to your satisfaction. One is that I am so engrossed in other activities that I have no time to think over the matter and put my ideas on paper; the other is that there is no accord between my preaching and practice. If there were that accord which I would like to achieve, I would get the right words to make the thing instantly clear to you.

When respected Khushalbhai asks you to leave the house or the town for fear of the plague, it is but proper for you to do so. It is our duty to obey our elders so long as their orders do not conflict with our moral life. Therein lies our ultimate good. If you leave the plague-infested house not from fear of death but to please your parents, your behaviour will be quite blameless. However, the conditions are so difficult in some places and for some people that we have to think before obeying the orders of elders. I personally feel that the love of parents is so mysterious that one should not offend them without very strong reason. But my mind is not prepared to go to the same extent in respect of the other elders. When we have any doubt concerning problems of morality, we may disregard the orders of other elders; nay, it would be our duty to disobey them. But when there is no doubt about the morality of a question, even parents' orders can be disregarded; nay, it will be our duty to do so. If my father asks me to steal, I must not. If I want to observe *brahmacharya* and my parents' orders are to the contrary, I must politely disobey them. I consider it to be a duty not to betrothe Ramdas and Devdas till they come to their own. Were my parents alive and held a contrary opinion, I would have very politely opposed them. At the same time I believe that my mind is so free from prejudice in these matters that they would have accepted my views.

This is enough. You may question me, if further doubts arise. I have written the foregoing, knowing that you, being virtuous, will not misinterpret my words. A hypocrite, on the other hand, would, because of what I have written, either consider me to be arrogant or, putting blind faith in my words, misinterpret me and disobey elders for the wrong

reasons and would interpret what I have written about the plague to mean that as a proper remedy for plague even liquor, meat, etc., could be taken.

I see from Chi. Chhaganlal's letter that he will reach there in a few days. Please tell Kalyandas[1] that I shall feel satisfied if he writes even a post card to me. Also tell him that he has not kept any of the promises he gave me.

*Blessings from*
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5077
Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

## *364. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI*

TOLSTOY FARM,
*Maha Vad 1* [*February 14, 1911*][2]

CHI. MAGANLAL,

Chi. Chhaganlal intends to come here. It was therefore wise of him to have gone to India. It would have been considered improper had he not done so. We were pressing him to go to India *via* South Africa, if he so desired, when he did not intend coming here. If he comes here I shall be free from worry about his health. His health will never be all right in India.

Let Karamat go to Durban. We have done whatever we could. Now he knows full well what treatment he should take. It is up to him now to take it or not.

*Blessings from*
MOHANDAS

[PS.]

I am mostly busy making sandals these days. I like the work and it is essential too. I have already made about fifteen pairs. When you need new ones now, please send me the measurements. And when you do so, mark the places where the strap is to be fixed—that is, on the outer side of the big toe and the little toe.[3]

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5078
Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri

[1] Kalyandas Jagmohandas Mehta, who had worked with Gandhiji in South Africa; *vide* Vol. V, p. 43 and Vol. VI, p. 461.

[2] This appears to have been written after Chhaganlal Gandhi left England for India on 30-1-1911.

[3] This is followed by a figure of the foot with marks made on it for the strap.

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## 365. LETTER TO ACTING GENERAL MANAGER, SOUTH AFRICAN RAILWAYS[1]

[JOHANNESBURG,]
*February 20, 1911*

The attention of my Association has been drawn to what purport to be railway regulations printed in the S.A.R. Official Tariff Book, No. 1[2], dated the 1st instant. The book appears to reproduce the regulations regarding Asiatic passengers which, as a result of the conference between yourself, the then General Manager, Mr. Bell, and representatives of my Association, were repealed so far as this Province is concerned.[3] I shall therefore be obliged if you will be good enough to let me know whether the replacing regulations referred to by me have been repealed and the old ones re-instated.

*Indian Opinion*, 25-2-1911

## 366. DUTY OF NATAL INDIANS

It seems to us that the future of Indians in South Africa will be determined by what Natal Indians do. There are two main reasons for this. First, the number of Indians in Natal is large, and they have struck deep roots. Secondly, being rather small, Natal allows itself to be led by the Transvaal and the Orange Free State where people are comparatively more hostile to Indians. The new Railway regulations which have been notified will not be brought into force in the Cape, but will be in Natal. They are being followed in the Transvaal though, as we have seen, legally they stand repealed. More will be known from the reply to the letter[4] which Mr. Cachalia has written. In the Orange Free State, these regulations have been in force for some time past. Natal, therefore, has a new case, and a strong one at that. The regulations cannot survive there for a single moment if we protest against them. We think they are only in the nature of a feeler. If we do not protest against them vigorously, by and by severer measures will follow. It is our view that, since these regulations do not yet have the force of law, we can go

[1] This letter, presumably drafted by Gandhiji, was sent by the Chairman, British Indian Association.

[2] Relevant extracts from which were published in *Indian Opinion*, 18-2-1911

[3] *Vide* "Letter to General Manager, C.S.A.R.", p. 218.

[4] *Vide* the preceding item.

further than making a petition and challenge them in a court of law. We trust the Congress[1] will immediately take up the matter.

These regulations should set us thinking. As time passes the Union Parliament will harden, rather than relent, in its attitude to us. Our strength; our enthusiasm, our unity and our spirit of patriotism should grow likewise. In the present circumstances, we have every chance of succeeding if we exert ourselves sufficiently. This is a matter to which Natal Indians would do well to pay some attention.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 25-2-1911

## *367. NEW IMMIGRATION BILL*[2]

JOHANNESBURG,
*Wednesday, March 1, 1911*

The long-expected Immigration Bill[3] has now been received. It is very complicated and comprehensive. I simply give what suggests itself to me as the meaning :

(1) The Asiatic Act 2 of 1907 is to be repealed, save in so far as it protects the rights of minors.

(2) Act 36 of 1908 is not to be repealed.

(3) It seems, but it is not clear, that those who pass the language test can enter the Transvaal and not be liable to registration. (If this is so, it will stop passive resistance.)

(4) The wives and minor children of domiciled Asiatics do not seem to be protected.

(5) The granting of certificates of domicile to Asiatics in Natal and the Cape is at the discretion of the authorities.

(6) The education test is of so drastic a character that not a single Indian may be allowed to enter the Union.

(7) No facilities seem to exist for the protection of those who may be wrongly prohibited by an officer.

*Indian Opinion*, 4-3-1911

[1] The Natal Indian Congress
[2] *Vide* the following item.
[3] *Vide* Appendix VIII.

## *368. JOHANNESBURG*

*Wednesday* [*March 1, 1911*]

### New Bill

At last the new Bill[1] has been published. There is no time to give a translation. It is not even possible just yet to comment on it at length. But I see that it will have the following consequences:

(1) Act No. 2 [of 1907] will be repealed, save in so far as it protects the rights of Asiatic minors.

(2) The other registration Act [No. 36 of 1908] will not be repealed.

(3) Anyone who can write fifty words in a language selected by an [immigration] officer will be allowed to enter. Indian languages are included in this, but that does not mean that Indians will be able to enter in large numbers.

(4) The wives and minor children of domiciled Indians do not seem to be protected.

(5) The rights of old residents of the Cape and Natal are seriously endangered.

(6) The granting of domicile certificates to Indians mentioned in (5) above will be at the discretion of the authorities.

(7) There seems to be no provision for a right of appeal to a court by anyone who may be wrongly prohibited.

This seems to be the position. It appears from General Smuts' speech[2] that Indians will enjoy only the rights which they possess at present in their respective provinces, and that only a limited number of fresh immigrants will be permitted every year.

If the Bill permits educated Indians to come in as fresh immigrants without requiring them to register, it will enable the satyagraha campaign to be withdrawn. Whether or not the Bill bears any such meaning, it is not possible as yet to say with certainty. But what will be the position of Natal and the Cape? It is serious enough to call for a bit of thinking. If the Bill passes into law, educated persons will not be able to come in as freely as they have been doing, and the rights of those who are already there will not be protected. Natal and the Cape need to take immediate steps. I think they should first correspond with General Smuts and then petition[3] the Assembly.

[1] *Vide* Appendix VIII.

[2] Made on February 28, 1911 in the Union Assembly

[3] *Vide* "Natal Petition to Union Assembly", pp. 441-3.

This is a critical time. The Bill does not yet appear to have received publicity.[1] The summary[2] given above, however, is based on the published text of the Bill.

[From Gujarati]
*Indian Opinion*, 4-3-1911

## *369. INTERVIEW TO "THE TRANSVAAL LEADER"*[3]

JOHANNESBURG,
*March 1, 1911*

Mr. Gandhi was asked last evening by a press representative for his views on the [Immigrants' Restriction] Bill. He said:

The Bill[4] is so comprehensive and complicated that I have not been able to get to the bottom of it. Passive resistance has been continued simply to secure the repeal of Act 2 of 1907, and the theoretical legal equality of Asiatics as to immigration into the Transvaal. The repeal of Asiatic Act 2 of 1907 save as to the rights of the Asiatic minors meets the first point. I do not quite understand the operation of the education test. If the Bill is intended to mean that those who pass the education test imposed by the officer appointed under the Bill are free to enter the Province of the Transvaal, as I take it they are to enter the other Provinces, without liability to registration under Act 36 of 1908—which I see is not to be repealed—passive resistance will end. And if such is the meaning of the first section, whilst the position is satisfactory with that meaning, in my humble opinion such a position should be clearly defined in the Bill. I do not see any protection for the wives and minor children of those who may enter the Union under the education test. From the speech of General Smuts, reported in today's papers, I gather that any Asiatics allowed to enter the Union will be free to move about the Union like all other immigrants so far as their mere residence is concerned, notwithstanding the existence of Ordinances such as for instance the Orange Free State Ordinance regarding Asiatics. I shall be asked by British Indians at the Cape, as also in Natal, many questions with reference to the meaning of the Bill; and whilst, whatever restrictions may be placed with reference to Asiatics in these Provinces, the present passive resistance struggle cannot be prolonged by reason thereof. I trust the Government will not resent my bringing to their notice[5] the

[1] It was published in full as a Supplement to *Indian Opinion*, 4-3-1911.
[2] *Vide* the preceding item.
[3] This appeared in *Indian Opinion*, 11-3-1911, under the caption: "Mr. Gandhi's Views".
[4] *Vide* Appendix VIII.
[5] *Vide* the following item.

difficulties that arise in interpreting the Bill. In what manner are the rights of the present Asiatic residents of these Provinces secured? Both the Cape and the Natal statutes exempt from their respective prohibitive clauses domiciled Asiatics. This clause, as well as the clause of exemption regarding the wives and minor children of such Asiatics has been omitted from the Bill, and I cannot help feeling that sub-clause 2 of clause 25 of the Bill renders precarious the position of Asiatics who may wish to absent themselves from their respective Provinces. In view of the remark made by General Smuts that it is not his intention to harry the Asiatics residing in South Africa, I trust that the Bill will be so amended as to leave their position as secure as it is to-day. I miss, too, the usual clause in such Bills affording facilities to immigrants treated as prohibited by an immigration officer to prove their claim of entry or re-entry, as the case may be.

*The Transvaal Leader*, 2-3-1911

## *370. LETTER TO E. F. C. LANE*[1]

[JOHANNESBURG,]
*March 2, 1911*

ERNEST C. LANE, ESQ.
PRIVATE SECRETARY TO GENERAL SMUTS
CAPE TOWN

DEAR MR. LANE,

I have just read the Immigrants' Restriction Bill published in the *Government Gazette Extraordinary* dated the 25th ultimo. As it appears to me to be highly complicated, I am not certain of the meaning to be attached to it; and, as I am most desirous of helping, to the best of my ability, to end the prolonged Asiatic struggle in the Transvaal, I venture to submit the following to General Smuts.

Passive resistance has been continued in order to secure repeal of Act 2 of 1907 and the theoretical legal equality of Asiatics as to immigration into the Transvaal, in practice reduced to the admission of a certain number, say six, of highly educated British Indians per year.

I observe that Act 2 of 1907, save as to the rights of Asiatic minors, is to be repealed. This, therefore, practically meets the first point. I do not, however, quite understand the clause as to the education test, and its effect. As Section 1, besides repealing the laws referred to in the

[1] This letter was drafted before the preceding item; *vide* "Letter to L. W. Ritch", p. 415.

first schedule, also repeals other laws to the extent to which they may be repugnant to the provisions of the Bill, it seems to me that educated Asiatics who pass the test prescribed by the immigration officers will be able to enter and remain in the Transvaal, without being liable to take out registration under Act 36 of 1908. And, if such be the meaning of the first section of the Bill, the Transvaal struggle can happily end. But I venture to submit that such meaning should be clearly and unequivocally brought out in the Bill itself. May I also know under what clause of the Bill the wives of registered Asiatics are protected?

*I am,*
*Yours faithfully,*

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S.N. 5222; also *Indian Opinion*, 18-3-1911

## *371. LETTER TO R. GREGOROWSKI*

JOHANNESBURG,
*March 2, 1911*

DEAR MR. GREGOROWSKI[1],

The enclosed Bill[2], of a copy of which I seem to be the only possessor, I must confess baffies me, the more so as I am suspicious of the intentions of General Smuts. I, therefore, do not trust myself to give a correct interpretation of it. May I, therefore, fall back upon you?

The following are my deductions:

(1) Inasmuch as all laws to the extent that they are repugnant to the provisions of the Bill are to be repealed, an educated Asiatic passing the education test prescribed by an officer is a competent immigrant to the Transvaal, without the necessity of having to submit to the Registration Act No. 36 of 1908 (*vide* Sections 1 and 4).

(2) It is not competent for the aggrieved party to have the decision of the officer imposing the education test brought in review before a Court of Law, no matter how ridiculously harsh the test imposed may be (*vide* Section 4).

(3) An Asiatic immigrant admitted under the education test will be a lawful immigrant even for the Orange Free State, in spite of its exclusive Asiatic Ordinance (*vide* Section 1).

[1] A lawyer of Johannesburg whose opinion Gandhiji frequently sought on matters legal and constitutional

[2] Immigrants' Restriction Bill (1911); *vide* Appendix VIII.

(4) A Transvaal Asiatic will not be able to move to Natal or the Cape, because he will be excluded under Section 4 by means of a rigid education test, unless such Asiatic happened to have residential rights in either of those Provinces.

(5) An Asiatic who has once passed the education test under the Act cannot be challenged in the different Provinces, as soon as he shows that he has been once examined.

(6) The present residents in the respective Provinces do not appear to be in any way protected or exempted from the operation of the education clause. What is their legal position?

(7) The wives and minor children of resident Asiatics or such Asiatics as may enter under the education test are also not protected specifically by the Bill. What is their status? And, if they are protected under the common law, does it mean that the son under the age of twenty-one of a resident Asiatic can claim entry?

(8) Under the reservation clause in the first schedule following the repeal of Act 2 of 1907, minor sons of Asiatics registered in the Transvaal will always be able, if under the age of 16, to enter the Transvaal, and, on attaining the age of 16, to demand registration as a matter of right in virtue of the Chhotabhai judgement.

(9) In virtue of Section 25 Sub-section 2, it seems that every Asiatic leaving South Africa or the respective Provinces in which he may be resident can be made a prohibited immigrant by the Minister declining to give him a certificate of domicile.

Will you kindly treat this letter as a Brief. I do not think I need send you the Immigration Statutes of Natal, because, being repealed, they have no bearing on the question.

*Yours faithfully,*
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the typewritten original signed by Gandhiji: S.N. 5223

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## 372. LETTER TO L. W. RITCH

[JOHANNESBURG,]
*March 2, 1911*

MY DEAR RITCH,

You have arrived on the scene none too soon,[1] and, in the words of the *Times* writer, you are immediately "to co-operate with those advocating on the spot the claims of the British Indians". You will see the new Bill there. I enclose herewith my analysis of it in the letter to Mr. Gregorowski. I enclose also my letter[2] to Smuts, and the interview with the *Leader*.[3] I, at first, wanted to send a letter to Smuts in accordance with [the] interview, which is really taken from the letter that was to be sent to Smuts. Cartwright[4] thought that I ought to publish the letter and make the position clear, but I told him it would be wise not to do that. He, therefore, published the main contents in the form of an interview. Subsequently, I changed my mind, and I thought that to Smuts I should simply write on the struggle, so that, in the event of future disputes, the issues might not be clouded. While, from the theoretical standpoint, the Bill is admirable, seeing that it recognises the equality of Indian languages also with the languages of Europe, the practical effect of the Bill, so far as the Cape and Natal Asiatics are concerned, is, in my opinion, disastrous, as you will see from my analysis. You may just compare the Cape Immigration Act with the Bill, and you will see the glaring difference. Smuts stated definitely, as you will see from the *Leader* report of his speech on Neser's[5] amendment, enclosed herewith,[6] that the way he wishes to meet Asiatic trading is by stopping Asiatic immigration entirely, except for a certain number to be agreed upon between the Imperial Government and the Union Government. This doctrine may be all very well for the Transvaal, but how can the Cape and Natal Asiatics agree to a material curtailment of their rights? It will hinder them from getting clerical and other assistance, because semi-educated young Indians, I think, will hardly be admitted under the education test. I suggest, therefore, first a deputation to the Minister of the Interior, from the Cape, with a written submission; his answer

[1] The addressee actually arrived at Cape Town on March 7, 1911.
[2] *Vide* "Letter to E.F.C. Lane", pp. 412-3.
[3] *Vide* "Interview to *The Transvaal Leader*", pp. 411-2.
[4] Editor, *The Transvaal Leader*, a friend of Gandhiji and Smuts; sympathetic to Indians and interested in a reasonable settlement
[5] Member of the Union Parliament
[6] Not reproduced here

being unsatisfactory, a petition[1] to Parliament, and an interview with the Cape Members who have hitherto been sympathetic, and who have also been receiving the Indian vote. I think that the Cape Members will be largely sympathetic. It is highly unlikely that, with reference to the education test, you will succeed in getting a substantial amendment of the Bill, but you may get a declaration that the test will be so applied as to enable Indians to get the necessary number of educated assistants. But the most important section, on which I think you are almost bound to succeed, is Section 25. The latter ought to define, as the present Immigration Laws both of the Cape and Natal do, the residential rights. The Cape Statute states that domiciled Asiatics and their wives and minor children are exempt from the prohibitive clauses, and the Natal Statute, besides containing the general clause as to domicile, states that, for the purposes of the Act, three years' residence in Natal will be accepted as a title to domicile; and it ought not to be at the discretion of the Minister, but obligatory on him, to issue a certificate of domicile to any Asiatic applicant. I think that in this respect you will find the Cape Members very sympathetic. When I was on board, I discussed the Cape Asiatic Act with Sauer, and he told me that the issue of temporary permits only to Asiatics absenting themselves from the Cape, instead of permanent certificates of domicile, was a crying injustice, and he assured me that he knew nothing about it.[2] If these amendments can be secured, I think that the Immigrants' Act will be admirable. I think, too, that, in order to put the community right in so far as it can do so in the eyes of the European inhabitants, it would be a tactful move to make the admission that, in view of the unfortunate prejudice that exists, we cannot claim the right of inter-communication between the Provinces; but this submission should be modified by the declaration that the education test to be imposed upon people wanting to pass to and fro within the Union ought not to be severe.

I have asked West to send you copies of *Indian Opinion* from and after the 18th ultimo.[3] I hope that you have them. From your letter, I presume that you have not brought Mr. Cohen[4] with you. The publication of the Bill will now keep you there, I take it, for some time. More later on.

*Yours sincerely,*

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S.N. 5219

[1] *Vide* Appendix IX.
[2] *Vide* Vol. IX, p. 285.
[3] This letter to West is not available.
[4] Addressee's father-in-law

## 373. TELEGRAM TO ADAM GOOL

JOHANNESBURG,
*March 2, 1911*

TO
ADAM GOOL[1]
8, KLOOF STREET
CAPE TOWN

MR. RITCH EXPECTED NEXT TUESDAY. PLEASE RECEIVE WITH DUE HONOUR. IMMIGRATION BILL PUBLISHED. SEE "GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY" LAST SATURDAY. BILL BAD FOR CAPE, NATAL. STRENUOUS OPPOSITION NECESSARY. AWAIT LETTER. WIRE WHETHER YOU GOT COPY.

GANDHI

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S.N. 5220

## 374. LETTER TO ABDUL HAMID GOOL

[JOHANNESBURG,]
*March 2, 1911*

DEAR DR. GOOL[2],

Here is something for you which is not merely writing out prescriptions or probing other people's physical wounds. Mr. Ritch arrives on Tuesday. I hope that you will do your best to ensure a hearty welcome. This, however, is the least part of what I expect from you. You will have, I hope, by the time this reaches you studied the new Immigration Bill. Whilst it is likely to satisfy the demands of passive resisters in the Transvaal, it deprives the Cape and the Natal Indians of a very great deal. I think that, if a proper and sustained agitation is taken up, we can at least secure a certain measure of success. The education test is very stiff without any justification. So far as Natal and the Cape are concerned, no good reason can be shown for altering the existing conditions. Then, again, the rights of domiciled Asiatics will be made very insecure, and one does not know the meaning of the Bill as to the status of the wives and minor children of lawfully resident Asiatics. All these things are capable of relief and adjustment. Will you please

[1] Adam Hajee Gool Mahomed, President, Cape British Indian Union
[2] One of the Joint Honorary Secretaries of the Cape British Indian Union

actively co-operate with Mr. Ritch and do whatever is possible and necessary? How are you getting on?

*Yours sincerely,*

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S.N. 5221

## *375. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK*

JOHANNESBURG,
*March 2, 1911*

MY DEAR POLAK,

You will see from the enclosed[1] my analysis of the Bill. The more I consider the Bill, the more certain I feel that the Transvaal struggle will end. The meaning I give to the first section is, I feel, the meaning Smuts has intended to give it; but what a terrible thing for the Cape and Natal. You will see from my letter[2] to Ritch what I suggest should be done for the Cape. I think the same steps might be taken, with the necessary change, regarding Natal. I think that the Natal people should immediately send a representation inquiring about the meaning of the Bill as to the wives and minor children, as also as to the rights of domicile. This should be done by wire, draft of which herewith. After the reply is received, a representation should be sent to the Minister of the Interior, and, failing a satisfactory reply, a petition[3] to Parliament, which will be presented through Sir David Hunter[4]. Haggar's[5] calumnies and other misrepresentations made at the time of the debate opened by Neser should be answered by a public letter to the Prime Minister,[6] a copy of which should be posted to every Member of the Union Parliament. I hope to draft the letter for your guidance, and send it to you.

*Yours sincerely,*

[1] *Vide* "Letter to R. Gregorowski", pp. 413-4.
[2] *Vide* "Letter to L. W. Ritch", pp. 415-6.
[3] "Natal Petition to Union Assembly", pp. 441-3.
[4] and [5] Members of Parliament of the Union of South Africa
[6] No such letter appears to have been sent. In his speech, as chairman of a mass meeting of Natal Indians, Dawad Mahomed said that the slanderous statement by Haggar, that most of them were not Indians at all, but alien Asiatics, had been 'adequately' answered by *The Natal Mercury*.

[Enclosure]

DRAFT[1]

Committee Congress seen Immigration Restriction Bill. Before submitting its views to Government, Committee respectfully desire information following points: In absence special protective clause as in present Act, what are statute rights domicile or residence this Province for British Indians, and under what section or how are rights of minor children and wives lawfully resident Asiatics protected?

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S.N. 5218

## *376. TELEGRAM TO PARSEE RUSTOMJEE*

[JOHANNESBURG,]
*March 2, 1911*

TO
RUSTOMJEE
DURBAN

POLAK LEFT INGOGO[2] MAIL TRAIN FOR DURBAN. INFORM HIM LONG LETTER[3] SENT YOUR CARE REGARDING BILL WILL REACH SATURDAY. HE SHOULD BE TOMORROW PHŒNIX SATURDAY DURBAN. WILL BE TOWN TOMORROW.

GANDHI

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S.N. 5217

[1] This telegram was sent to General Smuts by the Natal Indian Congress on March 4. As no reply was received, a further telegram was dispatched on March 6. On March 7, the Private Secretary to Smuts sent a telegraphic reply: . . .Immigration Bill does not deal with people, whether white or coloured, domiciled or lawfully resident in South Africa, but is, as is outlined in the preamble, a Bill to regulate immigration pure and simple. Asiatic laws regulating rights of those resident lawfully in the Provinces remain unaltered and are not repealed, except Act 2 of 1907 in the Transvaal.

[2] A town in Natal, 297 miles from Durban

[3] *Vide* the preceding item.

## 377. TELEGRAM TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO GENERAL SMUTS

JOHANNESBURG,
*March 3, 1911*

MAY I KNOW WHETHER SECTION ONE IMMIGRANTS RESTRICTION BILL JUST INTRODUCED CONTEMPLATES ASIATICS WHO MAY PASS EDUCATION TEST WILL BE ABLE ENTER TRANSVAAL WITHOUT BEING LIABLE TO TAKE OUT REGISTRATION UNDER ACT THIRTY-SIX 1908. WROTE LETTER[1] YESTERDAY MORE FULLY BUT IN VIEW BILL HAVING BEEN READ FIRST TIME[2] REQUEST TELEGRAPHIC INFORMATION.

GANDHI

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S.N. 5224; also *Indian Opinion*, 18-3-1911

## 378. LETTER TO DIRECTOR OF PRISONS[3]

[JOHANNESBURG,]
*March 3, 1911*

SIR,

Mr. Daniel Armugam, who was discharged from Diepkloof Gaol as a passive resister on the 1st instant, informs my Association that in the cell occupied by him and his fellow-prisoners, about a fortnight before his discharge, at one o'clock, when he was half asleep, he found a snake just crawling on his neck. He naturally got up somewhat terrified, and succeeded in shaking it off. Fortunately, there was a light in the cell, and he awakened his neighbour, towards whom the snake was going. In an instant, all the occupants of the cell were awake. It appears that one of the prisoners was allowed to enter the cell with his sandals, and these were used for killing the snake. Mr. Armugam, as also the other Indian prisoners who were discharged with him, inform my Association that the cells at Diepkloof are ill-constructed, and are not proof against reptiles. Some of the passive resisters further inform my

[1] *Vide* "Letter to E.F.C. Lane", pp. 412-3.
[2] On 2-3-1911
[3] This letter, presumably drafted by Gandhiji, was sent over the signature of A. M. Cachalia.

Association that the discovery of a snake at night-time is not an entirely unusual occurrence in that cell. Within their experience, a snake was found there some time before also. I, therefore, respectfully draw your attention to the matter, so that the cells may be so constructed as to avoid danger of the kind herein mentioned.[1]

*Indian Opinion*, 11-3-1911

## *379. LETTER TO A. H. WEST*

[JOHANNESBURG,]
*March 3, 1911*

MY DEAR WEST,

This will be in your hands on Monday. I think that Polak will perhaps be in Durban. I have just condensed what I thought was necessary regarding Ritch[2]. All the other correspondence from London I am sending you. When Polak comes there you may show it to him. He may make what use he likes of it beyond what I have prepared. For the time being, I shall be almost every day in town, and, in the event of an unfavourable construction of the first section of the Bill, I may even have to go to Cape Town. Everything will depend upon how matters progress. If there is too much pressure on your space in connection with the Bill, I think it will be better to postpone publication of the judgments in the Chhotabhai case.[3] The Bill places the judgments in the background. I send you also leading article[4] from *The Star* of yesterday, which should be condensed and reproduced; and, of course, you will get the Press Notices of the Bill from your exchanges. In the event of the Bill not going through the Assembly or being materially altered for the worse, we shall want to make use of the newspaper notices.

*Yours sincerely,*

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S.N. 5225

[1] The Director replied, saying that he was inquiring.

[2] A report of the meeting held in London to present a testimonial to Ritch appeared in *Indian Opinion* of the 11th, 18th and 25th March.

[3] Accordingly the judgment was published later serially in *Indian Opinion*, 22-4-1911 and 29-4-1911. The Gujarati translation was, however, published in March in four instalments.

[4] Reproduced in *Indian Opinion*, 11-3-1911

## 380. LETTER TO OLIVE DOKE

JOHANNESBURG,
*March 3, 1911*

MY DEAR OLIVE,

I hope you enjoyed your holiday. Father[1] told me you had arrived and I mentioned the fact to Ramdas also. I shall now see whether I can send both the boys[2] on Thursday. The journey from Lawley is an expensive item and the other boys on the Farm too naturally want an opportunity of learning simple singing. In view of the publication of the Bill I propose to wait for a week or so. Thank you all the same for your kind offer.

Pray remember me to mother.

*Yours sincerely,*
M. K. GANDHI

MISS OLIVE DOKE
11, SUTHERLAND AVENUE
HOSPITAL HILL
JOHANNESBURG

From a photo copy of the original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 4929
Courtesy: C. M. Doke

## 381. HELP FROM THREE WOMEN

In the Transvaal struggle we have received help not only from prominent men but in equal measure from notable women also. Readers of *Indian Opinion* are aware of the help received by Mr. Polak in India under the leadership of Mrs. Ramabai Ranade and Mrs. Petit.

And now we have had a Reuter message about a forceful article of Mrs. Mayo [published] in England.[3] We have also received an advance copy of the article itself and have a clearer idea of its contents. She writes about the whole of South Africa. As we intend to publish a translation, we do not wish to say more about the article here. We shall merely give some particulars of Mrs. Mayo. She is an old lady of

[1] Rev. J. J. Doke
[2] Ramdas and Devdas, for taking lessons in music
[3] Mrs. John R. Mayo occasionally wrote under the assumed name of Edward Garrett. The article appeared in the *Millgate Monthly*.

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about 60. She is a novelist and journalist, and one of those selected by the late Tolstoy to translate his works. We can therefore see why it was that her article caused the stir it did.

Besides Mrs. Mayo, there is Miss Hilda Howsin. The report of her lecture at the East India Association is worth reading. In this she discussed the issues involved in matters relating to the Transvaal problem. Everyone who commented on her lecture admired the satyagraha struggle and expressed sympathy for the satyagrahis. About the same time that these two ladies were thus engaged in writing or speaking, Miss Polak was appointed Secretary of the Committee.

What need is there, then, to feel dispirited, when we have been thus getting help, whether or no we ask for it, when the struggle has become well known, and when South African Indians are attracting world-wide attention and India's prestige is rising correspondingly? Seeing that this is the fruit of our struggle having been prolonged, we should fight on with still greater zeal.

We intend to publish Mrs. Mayo's article[1] and the report of Miss Howsin's speech[2] in subsequent issues.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 4-3-1911

## *382. RAMBHABAI SODHA*

The wrangling over Rambhabai's case still continues. The Transvaal High Court having confirmed the decision of the Magistrate,[3] an appeal has been filed to a higher court. This being the first case involving a woman, it will be wise, from a practical point of view, to take all possible steps to prevent her being lodged in gaol. That will be no special reflection on our idealism and the appeal may therefore be welcomed. By filing the appeal, moreover, we secure ourselves against all blame. We give proof to the world of our determination not to send women to gaol except as a last resort. General Smuts can no longer allege that we are intent on sending them to gaol.

[1] *Vide Indian Opinion*, April 22, 29, May 6, 13, 20 and 27, 1911 for the Gujarati translation.

[2] *Vide Indian Opinion*, April 29, May 6, 13, 27, June 3 and 10, 1911.

[3] The Magistrate had sentenced her, on January 10, 1911 to a fine of £10 and one month's imprisonment. The High Court revised the sentence to one of fine or imprisonment.

The clay is on the potter's wheel. We shall see what kind of a pot it turns out. Meanwhile, we urge Indians, both men and women, to emulate the example of Rambhabai.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 4-3-1911

## *383. TELEGRAM TO TOLSTOY FARM AND H. KALLENBACH*

JOHANNESBURG,
*March 4, 1911*

TO
(1) GANDHI
LAWLEY
(2) H. KALLENBACH

INFORM ALL EXTREMELY SATISFACTORY WIRE FROM SMUTS.[1] COMING EVENING TWO SORABJEES[2].

GANDHI

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S.N. 5233

## *384. TELEGRAM TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO MINISTER OF INTERIOR*

JOHANNESBURG,
*March 4, 1911*[3]

BEG THANK GENERAL SMUTS FOR WIRE FOURTH INSTANT AND FOR ASSURANCES CONTAINED THEREIN.[4] COUNSEL HOWEVER ADVISES UNLESS SPECIAL MENTION MADE BILL EDUCATED ASIATICS ENTERING UNDER EDUCATION TEST FREE LIABILITY TRANSVAAL REGISTRATION ACT FREE STATE ASIATIC ORDINANCE THEY WILL BE PROHIBITED UNDER THOSE SPECIAL LAWS. COUNSEL ALSO ADVISES MINOR CHILDREN OUTSIDE TRANSVAAL AND WIVES OF LAWFUL RESIDENTS NOT PROTECTED UNDER COMMON LAW. IF GENERAL SMUTS WILL BE PLEASED GIVE

[1] *Vide* footnote 1 on p. 425.
[2] Presumably, Sorabji Adajania and Sorabjee Rustomjee
[3] The photostat has the date 6th; *Indian Opinion*, however, gives the correct date, the 4th.
[4] *Vide* the following item.

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ASSURANCE BILL WILL BE ALTERED REMOVING UNCERTAINTY WILL GLADLY ADVISE COMMUNITY CEASE PASSIVE RESISTANCE AND GRATEFULLY ACCEPT BILL.

GANDHI

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S.N. 5234; also *Indian Opinion*, 18-3-1911

## *385. LETTER TO E. F. C. LANE*

JOHANNESBURG,
*March 4, 1911*

DEAR MR. LANE,

Will you please convey my thanks to General Smuts for the encouraging wire[1] just received? I need hardly repeat what I have said in my letter of the 2nd instant, that it is my sincere desire to help to bring the struggle to a close. I, therefore, welcome the assurance that those Asiatics who pass the education test will not be subject to the Registration Act No. 36 of 1908 of the Transvaal, which is not to be repealed.

I have naturally not relied, in this very important matter, on my own unaided interpretation of the Bill. I have now received Counsel's[2] opinion, which advises that my interpretation is totally wrong, and that Section 1 of the Bill does not protect educated Asiatics from being subject to Act 36. The opinion before me states emphatically that Section 7, if nothing else, militates against any such interpretation. I, therefore, venture to submit that the Bill should be so amended in Committee as to make the point absolutely clear. I am sure that General Smuts will agree with me that this time nothing should be left understood or uncertain so far as the meaning of the Bill and the intention of the Government are concerned.

The opinion in question also raises a difficulty which I had not anticipated, namely, that the minor children of registered Asiatics who are not at present in the Transvaal are not at all protected, in spite of the judgment in the Chhotabhai case,[3] and that neither the wives nor

[1] This said: ". . . . Asiatics admitted as immigrants under new Immigration Bill would not fall under registration laws and would not be restricted to provincial limits. In order to prevent confusing them with those legally resident in the Provinces and liable to registration it would be necessary to keep the lists of them, but as they will belong to the educated class, their signatures taken on admission ought to be sufficient . . . " Reproduced in *Indian Opinion*, 18-3-1911.

[2] Gregorowski; *vide* letters to H. S. L. Polak, pp. 428 and 440.

[3] *Vide* "Chhotabhai Case", p. 402.

the minor children will have common law protection in this Bill. I trust, therefore, that these two points will also be made perfectly clear during the Committee stage.

On receipt of a satisfactory assurance on the points I have taken the opportunity of raising in this letter, I shall be prepared to advise the community in the Transvaal to send a formal acquiescence,[1] and passive resistance will then naturally end. May I also express the hope that, if the assurance requested is given, those who are now in gaol will be discharged, and those who have been suffering rightly or wrongly for conscience' sake will not be penalised, but that the rights which every passive resister would have under Act 36 of 1908 will be respected.

*I am,*
*Yours faithfully,*

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S.N. 5227; also *Indian Opinion*, 18-3-1911

## *386. LETTER TO L. W. RITCH*

JOHANNESBURG,
*March 4, 1911*

MY DEAR RITCH,

I hope you will receive with this my letter[2] of Thursday last, under separate cover. After that letter was closed, I saw in *The Star* that the Bill had already been read a first time. On Friday, I, therefore, sent the following wire to General Smuts:

> May I know whether section one Immigrants' Restriction Bill just introduced contemplates Asiatics who may pass education test will be able enter Transvaal without being liable to take out registration under Act 36, 1908. Wrote letter yesterday more fully but in view Bill having been read first time request telegraphic information.[3]

To this his reply[4] as per copy enclosed was received today. The reply seems to be satisfactory in more ways than one. It shows clearly how your work in London and Polak's in India have told on the Imperial and Indian Governments, and the latter's pressure on the Union Government. We ought not, however, to be satisfied with the assurance. We want no loophole left. It will, therefore, be necessary still to watch the progress of the Bill, so far as the points affecting passive resisters

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Private Secretary to Minister of Interior", pp. 450-1.
[2] *Vide* "Letter to L. W. Ritch", pp. 415-6.
[3] *Vide* "Telegram to Private Secretary to General Smuts", p. 420.
[4] *Vide* footnote 1 on p. 425.

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are concerned. Polak strongly urges that you should confer with Schreiner[1] regarding the points raised by me in my letter[2] to Gregorowski. I agree with him entirely, and it will be ever so much better if we collect opinions from all sides. I am suggesting to Polak that he should confer with Laughton[3] also. You will have noticed that the Bill has been set down for the second reading on Monday[4] week. All our principal representations, therefore, should be placed either before the Government or before Parliament before that time. As it seems that the Transvaal question will not cause any difficulty, I propose, subject to your approval, to remain here. Polak, of course, attends to Durban, and you remain there until the Bill is through. Professor Gokhale cabled yesterday[5] as follows:

> Wire views new proposals. Arranging here frustrate Natal move. Private.

to which the following reply was sent:

> Thanks assurance Natal. Regarding new Bill cable later.

I think we would wait yet awhile before cabling views on the new Bill. There would naturally be expenses on your side. I hope that the Cape Indians will provide a fund for conducting the campaign. They must not expect passive resistance funds to be used for ameliorating the condition in the Cape Peninsula, nor can we afford to rely upon promises they may make. If they do not want you to take Schreiner's opinion, then, I am afraid, we should drop it. But, if they do, they have to pay for it.

*Yours sincerely,*

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S.N. 5231

## *387. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK*

JOHANNESBURG,
*March 4, 1911*

MY DEAR POLAK,

Copy of my letter to Ritch[6] will give you most of the information I want to give you also. I yesterday sent a packet containing a lot of

[1] William Philip Schreiner (1857-1919); politician and barrister; High Commissioner for Union of South Africa in England, 1914; Member of Rhodes' second Ministry, 1898; twice Attorney-General; Prime Minister of Cape Colony, 1898-1900

[2] Of 2-3-1911, pp. 413-4.

[3] A lawyer of Durban

[4] March 13, 1911

[5] Actually the cable was received on March 2, 1911.

[6] *Vide* the preceding item.

*Indian Opinion* matter to West directly,[1] as I assumed that you would be in Durban on Monday. I purposely refrained from sending the packet to you because it has no connection with the new Bill campaign, and I do not want to interfere with the concentration of your thought upon that. Further newspaper cuttings on the Bill I am sending you. The *Pretoria News*[2] cutting should be condensed, as also that from the *Daily Mail*[3]. What I have said to Ritch about expenses is equally applicable to expenses on your side. Let that particular business be absolutely clear. If they do not want to spend anything, we will still fight on in so far as they will take the advice, but it is impossible to use passive resistance funds for the purpose.

*Yours sincerely,*

[PS.]

After I had finished dictating, I received Gregorowski's opinion[4]. It is dead against the Bill, as you will see. Some points of his opinion I do not share, but we must accept the opinion as if it were wholly correct, because the matter is too important to be in any respect left in a state of uncertainty.

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S.N. 5228

## *388. LETTER TO HARILAL GANDHI*

*Fagan Sud 5* [*March 5, 1911*][5]

CHI. HARILAL,

I had your letter when it was least expected. We are all surprised whenever a letter comes from you. The general expectation is to have no letter from you.

What you write about Ba is not true. Had she intended to go she would hardly have been scared by my stipulation. And my condition also was meaningless. If she had wanted to return she could have borrowed money from anybody and done so. The fact is that Ba does not know her own mind. However I have nothing to say against your pleading for her.

[1] *Vide* "Letter to A. H. West", p. 421.

[2] and [3] These were reproduced in *Indian Opinion*, 11-3-1911.

[4] Gregorowski's opinion not available in full; see however "Letter to E.F.C. Lane", pp. 425-6, and "Letter to J. J. Doke", pp. 434-5.

[5] This letter was written before the second reading of Immigrants' Restriction, Bill, which took place on March 13, 1911. The *Fagan Sud* 5 prior to it was March 5, 1911.

There is nothing to be ashamed of in your being weak in mathematics and general literary education. You could have learnt them had I given you the necessary opportunity. The practical knowledge boys in India possess is not due to the education they receive in schools, but is due to the unique Indian way of life. It is due to the meritorious deeds of our ancestors that we find healthy standards of behaviour, thrift, etc., around us, in spite of the repeated inroads of modern education, the immorality that we see among the people and their growing selfishness. This I am writing to you to give you courage and ask you to go deeper into the matter and observe things for yourself. It is not right to attribute the relation of cause and effect between things after just a superficial glance.

I will not stand in the way of your studies or other ambitions that you may have, provided there is nothing positively immoral about them. You may therefore cast off all fear and pursue your studies as long as you like. I may not like some of your views, but having no suspicion about your character I do not have any anxiety on your account.

Sorabjee is sitting by me as I am writing this letter. Shelat also has come to the Farm.

The Bill has not yet had its second reading.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati original in the possession of the Navajivan Trust: C.W. 663

## *389. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK*

[JOHANNESBURG,]
*March 6, 1911*

MY DEAR POLAK,

I have your two letters. I am glad that you rated our friends in Durban so soundly, as I knew you would. They appreciate it, at least from you.

A suspected person may, in my opinion, be challenged by an immigration officer anywhere, even within the border of the Union. That being so, why could an educated Indian not be challenged on entering Natal from the Transvaal? If you say that he could not be challenged, such an Indian then could not be prohibited from crossing the Natal border from the Transvaal side, and the provincial check would break down, in spite of Clause 7 of the Bill. Any such legislation

at present in existence does not prevent the entry of such persons into Natal. Your argument about Joseph[1] entering from Natal seems to be sound. It seems difficult to believe that the omission of wives and minor children is deliberate, and, if it is, we ought to be able to wreck the Bill. I think that we are bound to protest strongly as from Natal and the Cape against the education test, and we must in this connection raise the question of inter-communication. If Smuts gives a public assurance that the education test will be for purposes of inter-communication, assuming that challenge within the border is possible, we may waive the objection. Otherwise, it should be persisted in. The question Anglia[2] raises about domicile is not a bad one. In law, I think that it is not possible for a man to claim a double domicile. Hitherto, domicile certificates produced by Transvaal residents have passed muster. I have, however, always feared a legal difficulty in the matter, and it may well be that those who are registered in the Transvaal may, in future, be taken to have forfeited their Natal domicile. Production of a certificate of Natal domicile is proof, at most, only of domicile to the day of leaving that place but is not proof that domicile subsists at the time of re-entry. I would suggest that those of the Transvaal Indians who are registered, but who are anxious to retain their Natal domicile, and who are in possession of certificates, should, for the time being, remain in Natal, or, not being there, return to Natal rather than remain in the Transvaal, because in the Transvaal the question of domicile cannot be raised, and a man who is found in Natal at the time of the taking effect of the new Bill cannot be sued. The same remarks apply to the Indians at the Cape.

I hope to send a leading article on the Bill tomorrow.[3] It will be sent to Phœnix, but a copy will be sent to you in Durban. For further information I refer you to my letter to Ritch[4] herewith.

*Yours sincerely,*

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 5235

[1] Royeppen; *vide* Vol. VIII, p. 276.
[2] M. C. Anglia, Joint Honorary Secretary, Natal Indian Congress
[3] But he did not. *Vide* "Letter to H. S. L. Polak", p. 459
[4] *Vide* "Letter to L. W. Ritch", pp. 432-3.

## *390. LETTER TO MAUD POLAK*

[JOHANNESBURG,]
*March 6, 1911*

MY DEAR MAUD,

The enclosures will tell their own tale. You will have the full text of the Bill in *Indian Opinion*[1]. I do not envy your having to study the Bill. However, I suggest your not writing anything at all about the Bill, unless you hear anything from me by cable. I am not at all certain of the meaning of the Bill; nobody seems to be; and in the absence of a certainty all presumption must be against the Bill. When agitation there becomes necessary, you will have the views emphatically one way or the other, and you will have objections from me in concrete form. Till then, you can only give the information to inquirers. I have refrained from cabling anything to you, because we do not want any agitation there at the time of writing. I have anxious cable inquiries from India, but have simply replied[2] that they are to await further cables. All that we for the time being should say is that no Bill will satisfy passive resisters, unless two things are unconditionally granted —repeal of Act 2 of 1907, and the entry of educated Indians who may pass the education test without liability to any registration laws. If the Bill clearly means the latter, as it clearly repeals Asiatic [Act] 2 of 1907, we shall lay down our arms, however bad in other respects the Bill may be. This does not mean that we cease to worry the Government here or the Government there with our other troubles, but we do not take up passive resistance regarding them. For the time being, we still endeavour to carry on a less active agitation. I do not call the petitioning agitation constitutional to distinguish it from passive resistance, because passive resistance is just as constitutional as simple petitioning. What a happy coincidence it is that Mr. Ritch should be here just in the nick of time. I think that he himself will agree that his presence is far more necessary here just now than there. You may unreservedly express your opinion that with reference to the Cape and Natal, the Bill is as bad as it possibly can be. There theoretical equality does not weigh so, because we have it already. The deprivation of practical rights under this Bill, therefore, is a very serious and tangible grievance requiring redress, and, as you will see, the Cape and Natal are moving. I only hope that they will move sufficiently to be able to make an impression

[1] Dated 4-3-1911
[2] *Vide* cable to G. K. Gokhale quoted in "Letter to L. W. Ritch", p. 427.

on the Government. I am perfectly at ease, seeing that Messrs Ritch and Polak are on the respective spots. When I receive the address[1] for Mr. Ritch, I shall gladly buy an oak frame in accordance with your instructions, send you a memo of charges, and present the thing to him. This time, instead of sending £15 for the Committee, I am sending £18. That ought to enable you to get on without a handicap, and there should be no difficulty in paying the quarterly charges.

*Yours sincerely,*

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S.N. 5236

## *391. TELEGRAM TO "INDIAN OPINION"*

JOHANNESBURG,
*March 6, 1911*

TO
OPINION
PHŒNIX
TRANSLATE BILL[2] THERE NO TIME.

GANDHI

From a handwritten office copy: S.N. 5238

## *392. LETTER TO L. W. RITCH*

[JOHANNESBURG,]
*March 6, 1911*

MY DEAR RITCH,

I enclose herewith copy of wire sent to General Smuts today[3]. No reply has been received to the time of writing. I have received the following cable from Natesan,

> Cable immediately advantages disadvantages new Act. Also advise nature future agitation here.

And I have simply cabled the reply[4] that the Bill is being considered, and that they will have a reply later.

I have sent Maud this week £25 for Mrs. Ritch, £17 for Mrs. Polak, and £18 for the Committee. The last amount ought to

[1] Presented in London by Indian and British sympathisers. The address was reproduced in *Indian Opinion*, 18-3-1911.

[2] The Gujarati translation of the Bill was published in *Indian Opinion*, 11-3-1911.

[3] The source has the date 6th but the wire was sent to Smuts on the 4th; *vide* "Telegram to Private Secretary to Minister of Interior", p. 424.

[4] Not available

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prove sufficient. I telegraphed you today as per copy enclosed.[1] Mr. Doke, I may mention, is in correspondence with Mr. Merriman[2]. In the event of Smuts not yielding as to the amendment of the Bill in order to make good the meaning he attaches to it, do you consider that my presence is at all necessary in Cape Town? If you do, please wire. I do not wish to undertake the journey, unless it is absolutely necessary. There should be representations[3] from Port Elizabeth and Kimberley, or authority from them to you or to the League[4] to represent in their behalf.

Did you leave Mr. Cohen with Mrs. Ritch? I hope you will write from there to Maud whatever you may consider necessary. Enclosed is copy[5] of my letter to her.

*Yours sincerely,*

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S.N. 5239

## *393. TELEGRAM TO ABDUL CAADIR*[6]

JOHANNESBURG,
*March 7, 1911*

TO
ABDUL CAADIR[7]
GREY STREET
DURBAN

HAVE ACCEPTED NOTHING. NOT MY POWER ACCEPT ANYTHING. HAVE ALREADY ADVISED[8] CAPE, NATAL OFFER STUBBORN OPPOSI-

[1] Not available

[2] John Xavier Merriman; *vide* Vol. IX, p. 273.

[3] No representations seem to have been sent by the Indians of these towns. However, the British Indian Association of Port Elizabeth and the Indian Political Association of Kimberley had sent messages of sympathy and support to the British Indian mass meeting held at Cape Town on March 12, 1911.

[4] British India League. There were two rival organisations of Indians in Cape Town at this time: the British India League and the South African British Indian Association. Gandhiji and Ritch brought about their amalgamation under the name of "Cape British Indian Union".

[5] *Vide* "Letter to Maud Polak", pp. 431-2.

[6] In reply to Abdul Caadir's telegram of the same date: "Immigration Bill exterminating act. Surprise[d] you accept today's *Mercury*. If you do you ruin whole community. You run after shadow giving away rights of Natal Cape. Be warned in time. Don't blunder again at concluding stage. Reply." (S.N. 5240)

[7] Dr. Abdul Caadir, *vide* Vol. IX, p. 281.

[8] *Vide* "Telegram to Adam Gool", p. 417, "Letter to Abdul Hamid Gool", p. 417 and "Letter to H. S. L. Polak", p. 418.



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TION. KNOW NOTHING ABOUT WHAT "MERCURY" SAYS. IF LEGAL EQUALITY GRANTED AND ACT 1907 REPEALED PASSIVE RESISTANCE TRANSVAAL MUST CEASE. IF YOU OTHER INDIANS NATAL AND CAPE WILL KINDLY DO YOUR DUTY BILL CAN BE TURNED TO GOOD ADVANTAGE. FURTHER INFORMATION SEE MR. POLAK.

GANDHI

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S.N. 5241

## *394. LETTER TO J. J. DOKE*

[JOHANNESBURG,]
*March 7, 1911*

DEAR MR. DOKE,

In accordance with my promise, I reduce to writing the conditions that appear to me to be essential to stopping passive resistance. The demands, as you know, are the repeal of Asiatic Act No. 2 of 1907 and the legal equality of educated Asiatics as to immigration, reduced in practice to the entry into the Transvaal of at least six highly educated Asiatics per annum.

The first demand is granted by the Bill, in that the schedule substantially repeals Act 2 of 1907. The second demand also appears to have been granted. But [it] is the opinion of a well-known barrister[1] that the Bill does not make it possible for educated Asiatics to enter the Transvaal under the education clause of the Bill.[2] In his opinion, as in my own, the existence of the second Registration Act, passed in 1908, blocks the way. It is, therefore, necessary to so amend the Bill as to exempt educated Asiatics who may enter under the education test from the operation of the Registration Act.

A new disability seems also to be contemplated by the Bill. The wives and minor children of non-prohibited immigrants are not protected[3] as they have been hitherto. I can only hope that this is an oversight.

There should be no difficulty in securing the necessary amendment, at least so far as the status of educated Asiatics is concerned, because General Smuts, in a telegram received on Saturday last,[4] in reply to my query[5] says that educated Asiatics are not to be subjected to the registration laws of either the Transvaal or the Orange Free State.

[1] R. Gregorowski
[2], [3] and [4] *Vide* "Letter to E. F. C. Lane", pp. 425-6.
[5] *Vide* "Telegram to Private Secretary to General Smuts", p. 420.

If, therefore, the Bill is amended in Committee as to the points I have raised above, passive resistance can immediately end and the sufferings of conscientious objectors can be avoided.

*I am,*
*Yours truly,*

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S.N. 5244

## *395. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK*

[JOHANNESBURG,]
*March 7, 1911*

MY DEAR POLAK,

The following is the wire received from Smuts, as I telephoned to you :

> 7 March. Your letters of 2nd[1] and 4th[2] March and telegram 4th[3] March all duly received. The legal questions raised by your Counsel are being gone into by Minister with legal advisers.

Enclosed are copies[4] of what I have sent to West directly. If you have any changes to suggest, you will either send special messenger, or go over to Phœnix, or do whatever you choose, and if you want to stop anything from being published you will also advise West. The petition to the Legislative Assembly herewith with copy.[5] A copy thereof has also gone to Ritch and to West. Your copy, after it is duly signed, should be sent to Ritch with a covering letter from the officers of the Congress authorising him to send it to Sir David Hunter or any member he wishes to, that the petition will be presented only if Ritch considers it necessary.[6] I am not sending anything for the Senate just yet, because it will be at least a week, if not more, before the Bill goes to the. . . .[7] A petition to the Senate, therefore, may have to be altered. Herewith copies of telegrams exchanged between Mr. Abdul Caadir and myself.[8]

*Yours sincerely,*

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S.N. 5246

[1] *Vide* "Letter to E.F.C. Lane", pp. 412-3.
[2] *Vide* "Letter to E.F.C. Lane", pp. 425-6.
[3] The source has the date 6th; see, however, "Telegram to Private Secretary to Minister of Interior", pp. 424-5.
[4] Not available
[5] *Vide* "Natal Petition to Union Assembly", pp. 441-3.
[6] The petition dated 9-3-1911 was presented to the Legislative Assembly on 15-3-1911.
[7] One word is cut off here.
[8] *Vide* "Telegram to Abdul Caadir", p. 433 and footnote 6.

## 396. LETTER TO L. W. RITCH

[JOHANNESBURG,]
*March 7, 1911*

MY DEAR RITCH,

My letter[1] to Polak will give you such information as I have. I am just now telegraphing[2] you authority from the British Indian Association, and a telegram[3] is being sent to Smuts also, telling him that you are acting in connection with the Transvaal matter. Polak has just telephoned, and you will have a telegram from him also. You will see what I think is the proper course to adopt regarding the petition from Natal. We do not want to send the petition, if the points raised are covered in some shape or form by General Smuts. If he promises in writing during the Committee stage, no petition need be presented to Parliament. If I were you, I would even ask General Smuts whether he considers it advisable or otherwise to present the petition, that is to say, if he is in a reasonable frame of mind, as he seems to be. His reply to the Natal wire[4] is that the Bill does not affect the rights of those who are domiciled, and that the Asiatic laws referring to the rights of those domiciled remain intact. The telegram is satisfactory in so far as General Smuts appears to be in a receptive mood; but he is probably labouring under a misapprehension and believes that there are some Asiatic laws in Natal also regarding their residential rights. This, of course, is wrong both as to Natal and the Cape. I, therefore, suggest that, even if Smuts is entirely reasonable, [you] should see the friends or those whom you consider to be friends in [the] Assembly and the Senate, and tell them the substance of what is going on, so that they may be ready. I hope that you will use the wire freely, and let me know what happens daily. Please send me any cuttings you may see, and send directly to Polak or to West at Phœnix anything you may desire for publication.

*Yours sincerely,*

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S.N. 5248

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.
[2] *Vide* the following item.
[3] *Vide* "Telegram to Private Secretary to Minister of Interior", p. 437.
[4] *Vide* enclosure to "Letter to H. S. L. Polak", and footnote 1, p. 419.

## *397. TELEGRAM TO L. W. RITCH*

JOHANNESBURG,
*March 7, 1911*

TO
RITCH
CARE ADAM GOOL
8, KLOOF STREET
CAPE TOWN

ASSOCIATION REQUESTS AUTHORISES YOU ACT REGARDING IMMIGRATION BILL BEFORE THE UNION PARLIAMENT SO FAR AS THE TRANSVAAL IS CONCERNED. THIS WIRE SHALL BE YOUR AUTHORITY FOR INTERVIEWING MINISTERS, OFFICIALS AND MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT.

CACHALIA
CHAIRMAN,
BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S.N. 5242

## *398. TELEGRAM TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO MINISTER OF INTERIOR*

JOHANNESBURG,
*March 8, 1911*

ASSOCIATION HAS APPOINTED MR. L. W. RITCH, BARRISTER-AT-LAW, SECRETARY, SOUTH AFRICA BRITISH INDIAN COMMITTEE, LONDON, JUST RETURNED INTERVIEW GENERAL SMUTS AND REPRESENT TRANSVAAL INDIAN COMMUNITY REGARDING IMMIGRATION BILL.[1]

CACHALIA
CHAIRMAN,
BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S.N. 5257

[1] General Smuts declined to recognize Ritch as representative of the British Indian Association. *Vide* "Telegram to L. W. Ritch", p. 443.

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## 399. TELEGRAM TO L. W. RITCH

JOHANNESBURG,
*March 8, 1911*

DO NOT ASK YOUR OWN EXPENSES. THEY WILL BE FOUND HERE. LET ME KNOW WANTS. CAPE, NATAL SHOULD PAY EXPENSES COUNSEL'S OPINION SUCH OTHER REGARDING THEMSELVES. HOPE YOU WILL SEE SCHREINER WITHOUT DELAY. SEEK INTERVIEW SMUTS REGARDING TRANSVAAL NATAL. YOU SHOULD OFFER PERSONALLY ASSIST CAPE WITHOUT FUNDS. IF THEY DO NOT FIND LATTER YOU CANNOT OBTAIN SCHREINER'S OR OTHER LEGAL OPINION. NO TIME SHOULD BE LOST PLACING YOURSELF TOUCH AUTHORITIES. SMUTS TELEGRAPHED YESTERDAY[1] HE WAS CONFERRING WITH HIS LEGAL ADVISERS REGARDING LEGAL POINTS RAISED BY ME. CACHALIA HAS WIRED SMUTS ABOUT YOUR AUTHORITY.[2]

GANDHI

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S.N. 5249

## 400. TELEGRAM TO EDITOR, "*INDIAN OPINION*"

JOHANNESBURG,
*March 8, 1911*

DO NOT PUBLISH CORRESPONDENCE WITH SMUTS.[3]

GANDHI

From a photostat of the handwritten office copy: S.N. 5252

[1] *Vide* "Letter to J. J. Doke", p. 440.

[2] *Vide* the preceding item.

[3] Publication of this correspondence was accordingly withheld from the issue of *Indian Opinion*, 11-3-1911; the correspondence was later published in the issue of 18-3-1911.

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## 401. TELEGRAM TO EDITOR, "INDIAN OPINION"[1]

JOHANNESBURG,
*March 8, 1911*

THINK SECTION DOES NOT CANCEL COLONIAL-BORN INDIAN RIGHT CAPE NOR DOES IT PROTECT. I IMAGINE SUCH PERSON ENTERING CAPE BY SEA WILL BE SUBJECT TO EDUCATION TEST. ASK RITCH ASCERTAIN FROM SMUTS THEIR LEGAL POSITION.

GANDHI

From a photostat of the handwritten office copy: S.N. 5253

## 402. LETTER TO L. W. RITCH

[JOHANNESBURG,]
*March 8, 1911*

MY DEAR RITCH,

The enclosures will speak for themselves. I hope my telegram[2] was quite clear to you. We have got to work for the Cape and the Natal Indians whether they find funds or not, so far as the personal exertions of the three of us are concerned. The expenses of your stay in Cape Town will be found from the funds here, so that the only funds that the Cape people and the people in Natal have to find are for legal opinion and such other matters. If they do not wish to pay the cost of the wires that you may be sending them, we need not worry about this cost. If they will not find the funds, we shall have to work without Schreiner's opinion, which might be valuable. Anyhow, we know how the land lies and, after all, we have to secure if possible the necessary amendments in order to make the position certain and remove ambiguity. There is no further information to give you today. I am waiting anxiously to know what action you have already taken. From Adam's[3] telegram, I gather that you are staying with him.

*Yours sincerely,*

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S.N. 5254

[1] In reply to Polak's telegram dated March 7: "Does section 7 take away right Natal-born Indians going to Cape. . . ." *Vide* "Letter to H.S.L. Polak", pp. 440-1.

[2] *Vide* p. 438.

[3] Adam Gool; *vide* "Telegram to Adam Gool", p. 417.

## 403. LETTER TO J. J. DOKE

[JOHANNESBURG,]
*March 8, 1911*

DEAR MR. DOKE,

The following telegram received from General Smuts throws perhaps a little more light on his mental attitude:

> 7 March. Your letters of 2nd[1] and 4th[2] March and telegram 4th[3] March all duly received. The legal questions raised by your Counsel are being gone into by Minister with legal advisers.

*Yours sincerely,*

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 5255

## 404. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

[JOHANNESBURG,]
*March 8, 1911*

MY DEAR POLAK,

I have no progress to report today. I have telegraphed to you[4] my opinion regarding your question. The seventh section of the Bill I considered very carefully last evening as also this morning. I was, therefore, ready to answer your wire. If it is true that there is to be no education test under the new Bill within the Union—a contention which I do not accept in spite of Gregorowski's opinion—under Section 7 Indians going from the Transvaal to the Cape or Natal will be debarred under the education test of the Immigration Laws now to be repealed, and, if these laws have no potency after the passing of the present Bill, and if Gregorowski's contention is correct, the Transvaal Indians will be free to enter the Cape or Natal without let or hindrance, because there is no Asiatic legislation there except for the Chinese. I do not think that the rights of Colonial-born Indians in Natal are protected under the seventh section. If the Immigration Law of the

[1] and [2] *Vide* "Letter to E. F. C. Lane", pp. 412-3 & 425-6.

[3] The source has the date 6th; see, however, "Telegram to Private Secretary to Minister of Interior", pp. 424-5.

[4] *Vide* "Telegram to Editor, *Indian Opinion*", p. 439.

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Cape is repealed, Colonial-born Indians who had not already entered the Cape will certainly find themselves debarred from the Cape except under the education test, because they will not have acquired any rights under the Cape Immigration Law; and the right of domicile which is left therefore under the Immigration Bill is not a potential right but a right actually being enjoyed. I do not know whether I have clearly explained the legal position. I am not sending anything at all to West today.

*Yours sincerely,*

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S.N. 5256

## *405. NATAL PETITION TO UNION ASSEMBLY*[1]

DURBAN,
*March 9, 1911*

TO

THE HON'BLE THE SPEAKER AND THE MEMBERS OF THE HON'BLE THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY OF THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA IN PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED
CAPE TOWN

THE PETITION OF DAWAD MAHOMED, DADA OSMAN AND MAHOMED CASSIM ANGLIA, IN THEIR CAPACITIES AS CHAIRMAN AND JOINT HONORARY SECRETARIES, RESPECTIVELY, OF THE NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS

HUMBLY SHEWETH THAT

1. At a public meeting of British Indians, held on the 9th day of March, 1911, under the auspices of the Natal Indian Congress, your Petitioners were authorised to petition this Honourable House with respect to the Bill to consolidate and amend the Laws in force in the various Provinces of the Union relating to Restrictions upon Immigration thereto, to provide for the establishment of an Union Immigration Department and to regulate Immigration into the Union or any Province thereof, now before it.

2. Your Petitioners consider it unfortunate that the blessings of Union are not to be enjoyed by His Majesty's Indian subjects of South Africa, in that their movements are to remain as heretofore under Provincial restriction; but your Petitioners have been authorised by the public meeting aforementioned to state that, in view of the anti-Asiatic prejudice existing in many parts of the Union, those represented by your

[1] Drafted by Gandhiji. *Vide* "Letter to H. S. L. Polak", p. 435, from which it is clear that the petition was ready on 7-3-1911.

Petitioners do not desire to raise, for the time being, any objection to the restriction.

3. Your Petitioners have, however, been asked to bring to the notice of this Honourable House the following objections to the said Bill:

(a) Under the existing immigration laws in force in this Province, the clause dealing with the education test enables an intending immigrant to submit to the test in a European language known to him. The present Bill leaves the selection of the language for purposes of examination in the hands of the immigration officer, thus making it possible for that officer to completely prevent the entry of any person or persons of any class, race, or religion, whether such person or persons be British subjects or not. In the humble opinion of your Petitioners, such a prohibition is unwarranted by previous experience.

(b) Unlike as in the immigration laws of the Province now under repeal in virtue of Schedule I to the said Bill, the wives and minor children, absent from the Province, of those who are now resident or domiciled in the Province of Natal are not protected.

(c) The rights of those who are at present residing in the Province of Natal, and those who are temporarily absent but are domiciled in the Province, do not appear to be protected as they are in the Provincial Laws already referred to herein.

(d) Sub-section (b) of Section 25 of the Bill gives absolute discretion to the Minister as to the granting of permits to lawful residents who may wish to absent themselves temporarily. Hitherto the right to such permits or certificates of domicile, as they have been called, has remained unquestioned; and, in the humble opinion of your Petitioners, it will be a great injustice to the resident Indian population of the Province of Natal if this right is now taken away.

(e) The said Bill does not appear to give the party who may be declared a prohibited immigrant by an immigration officer, or who may be prevented from re-entering the Union or this particular Province by such officer, any recourse, as under existing legislation, to the Courts of Law established under the Union.

4. In conclusion, your Petitioners humbly pray that this Honourable House will take into consideration the objections urged herein, and amend the Bill so as to remove those objections, or grant such other relief as to this Honourable House may seem meet. And for this act of

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justice and mercy, your Petitioners shall, as in duty bound, for ever pray, etc.

(Sd.) DAWAD MAHOMED,
PRESIDENT, NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS
(Sd.) DADA OSMAN,
(Sd.) M. C. ANGLIA,
JOINT HONORARY SECRETARIES,
NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS

*Indian Opinion*, 18-3-1911

## *406. TELEGRAM TO L. W. RITCH*

JOHANNESBURG,
*March 9, 1911*

GENERAL SMUTS TELEGRAPHS DECLINING RECOGNISE YOU AS REPRESENTATIVE SAYING HE HAS ALWAYS FREELY RECEIVED AND COMMUNICATED WITH INDIAN COMMUNITY. REPEATING COPY WIRE GENERAL SMUTS TO YOU.[1]

GANDHI

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S.N. 5260

## *407. TELEGRAM TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO MINISTER OF INTERIOR AND L. W. RITCH*

JOHANNESBURG,
*March 9, 1911*

TO
(1) PRIVATE SECRETARY
MINISTER INTERIOR
(2) RITCH
8, KLOOF STREET
CAPE TOWN

REGARDING YOUR TELEGRAM ASSOCIATION AWARE THAT GENERAL SMUTS HAS FREELY RECEIVED COMMUNICATED WITH INDIAN COMMUNITY SOUTH AFRICA AND IS DEEPLY GRATEFUL FOR IT. REASON FOR APPOINTING MR. RITCH AS DEPUTY IS ONLY BECAUSE HE IS AT CAPETOWN AND REPRESENTATIVES TRANSVAAL INDIANS AT

[1] *Vide* the following item.

PRESENT SITUATED FAR AWAY. MR. RITCH IS HIMSELF SOUTH AFRICAN OF OVER TWENTY YEARS STANDING ENJOYS CONFIDENCE INDIAN COMMUNITY AND HAS BEEN REQUESTED IN ORDER SAVE TIME PERSONALLY TO REPRESENT ASSOCIATION NOT WITH A VIEW TO HINDER PROGRESS BILL BUT SO FAR AS ASSOCIATION CAN HELP GOVERNMENT. WOULD FURTHER ADD THAT MR. RITCH HAS NOT BEEN SPECIALLY SENT FOR FROM LONDON BUT AS HIS RETURN TO SOUTH AFRICA SYNCHRONISES WITH APPEARANCE OF BILL HE HAS BEEN REQUESTED STOP CAPETOWN DURING ITS PROGRESS. ASSOCIATION THEREFORE RESPECTFULLY TRUSTS GENERAL SMUTS WILL RECONSIDER HIS DECISION AND RECEIVE MR. RITCH.

BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S.N. 5261

## *408. LETTER TO L. W. RITCH*

[JOHANNESBURG,]
*March 9, 1911*

MY DEAR RITCH,

I have your telegram[1] which fills me with hope. Hajee Suliman Shah Mahomed, the father of the young man whom, you will remember, we met in London, and who belongs to Taunto School, writes to me saying that he will render all the help he can. I hope that you have been receiving all my wires and letters regularly. I am redirecting three letters received for you today from England.

*Yours sincerely,*

[PS.]

Herewith copies of telegrams[2] just dispatched.
Evidently Oom[3] Jan [Smuts][4] fears Bogeyman Ritch.

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S.N. 5263

[1] Which read: "Cape community united at last moving."
[2] *Vide* the two preceding items.
[3] Uncle
[4] The paper here is damaged.

## 409. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

*March 9, 1911*

MY DEAR POLAK,

I have just received a telegram from Ritch saying that the Cape community are united at last.[1] God be thanked for it. It is a surprise to me that they are united at last, and that those who have been hitherto simply in the habit of using butter will now be using harder substances.

Will you please remind Mr. Omar that I want the Church Street property lease? I have used Kallenbach's lease for getting the loan from Pretoria. At that time there was a great deal of hurry about it. Mr. Dada Osman continued to send telegrams after telegrams, and I did not wait to hear where the original lease that Mr. Omar possesses was. Now the bond-holders are keeping Kallenbach's lease. We must, therefore, give his bond-holders our original. Please, therefore, find out who has it, whether Mr. Omar or anybody else. I had a chat with the Solicitors for the Norwich Union Co., who hold the bond over the lease. I will be in town on Saturday also, though I shall attempt to get away by the 1.15 train, but it will all depend upon what I hear from you and Ritch.

Your letters have been redirected to Phœnix. I enclose herewith letter[2] from Buenos Aires. I do not know the writer at all. We do not want to publish the whole of the letter, and, as far as I am concerned, I do not mind if you keep it out entirely, but if you think that there is anything in it, you may give an extract. I am not at all enamoured with the idea of Indians [mi]grating to the Argentine.

*Yours sincerely,*

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S.N. 5264

[1] *Vide* footnote 1 to the preceding item.

[2] Not reproduced in *Indian Opinion*

## 410. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

*Phagan Shud 9* [*March 9, 1911*][1]

CHI. MAGANLAL,

From the serious attention you are giving to the study of Tamil, I feel certain that you will some day master it.

I send one issue of *Saraswati*[2] and Thoreau's biography today. I have gone through the biographical sketch of Ramdasji[3] in the first issue today. It is very well written. Are you sure that you have sent me the second issue? Please look up there and send it to me if it is there. I do not find it here with me. Ask Purshottamdas if he has seen it. Thoreau's biography is worth going through. Read it when you have the time. Mr. West will see it when it is entered in the library. You may, however, draw his attention to it.

It appears that the struggle will definitely come to an end. There is, however, little likelihood of my staying there. No one is likely to stay [here at the Tolstoy Farm] after the struggle ends. Mr. Kallenbach has perhaps spent £600 on buildings alone. I see that the whole burden will fall on him. To prevent this, I propose to stay on at the Farm and make good as much of the loss as possible by means of physical labour. How can I leave Mr. Kallenbach immediately after the struggle is over? At the same time it is necessary for me to go there (Phœnix) but I do not see how it will be possible. My struggle will not be over even when our satyagraha struggle ends. It is as it should be. That I shall have to stay on at Mr. Kallenbach's Farm is something not expected. I shall get plenty of experience even from that; and who knows, it may be for my good.

As soon as the struggle is over, Mr. Polak will have to be sent to England. He will take about six months to return. I want him to return *via* India. It will be very good if Chhaganlal returns before Mr. Polak leaves. I think in all probability he will.

I wish you to win over Harilal Thaker.

Please watch Manilal. Does he or can he put in any study?

How is Santok's health?

I give you a piece of information now which I have withheld so far. Ba became nervous when she had a sudden attack of acute pain.

[1] This letter must have been written before Chhaganlal Gandhi's arrival in South Africa in July 1911.

[2] A Hindi magazine published from Allahabad

[3] Saint Ramdas of Maharashtra was a source of inspiration and strength for the rise of the Maratha power in the seventeenth century.

I was busy and could not go to see her a second time. She must have got angry and when I went to her she burst into tears and made it appear as if she would die. I felt somewhat awkward, but immediately recovered myself and said to her with a smile, "Nothing to worry about if you die. There is plenty of wood. We shall cremate you on this Farm itself." At this she also laughed. Half the pain disappeared with the laugh. Then I decided that very strong remedies were called for. Earth alone would not do. So I suggested to her that she should give up vegetables and salt altogether. She should live on wheat and fruits only. She might take, if she wanted, saltless rice with ghee. She said, "Even you cannot do it." I said, "From today I give up salt, vegetables, etc." How could she take these things then? The result is that for the last one month both of us have been taking food without salt, vegetables and pulses. As for myself, I have no desire for other food. Ba has it sometimes. Once when she could not restrain herself, she took a little *gavar*. Otherwise it appears she has lived on this diet. There was a miraculous change for the better. The bleeding stopped immediately. I got the incidental benefit of extra self-control. This is my argument [as regards the eschewing of salt]: Salt is a powerful chemical. Even a little when added to something changes its quality and taste. Its effect must be to thin the blood. So far as I can think, salt is bound to have an instant effect on the sick—and mostly adverse at that. When I first read the writings of Mrs. Wallace and others [on the subject], they had little effect on me. On this occasion I felt all the time that it would be fine if the doctor could be kept away. Thereupon, it occurred to me to note the effect of saltless diet. Even though Ba may continue her [saltless diet] throughout this month, she won't keep it up beyond that. I think of carrying on the experiment as long as possible.

*Blessings from*
MOHANDAS

[PS.]
Please share this with Purshottamdas.

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5079
Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri

## 411. TRANSVAAL PETITION TO UNION ASSEMBLY[1]

JOHANNESBURG,
*March 10, 1911*

TO
THE HON'BLE THE SPEAKER AND THE MEMBERS OF
THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY OF THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA
CAPE TOWN

THE PETITION OF AHMED MAHOMED CACHALIA, IN HIS CAPACITY AS CHAIRMAN OF THE BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION OF THE TRANSVAAL

HUMBLY SHEWETH THAT

1. The Members of the Association have read the Bill, published in *Government Gazette Extraordinary* dated the 25th February, to consolidate and amend the Laws in force in the various Provinces of the Union relating to restrictions upon immigration thereto, to provide for the establishment of an Union Immigration Department and to regulate Immigration into the Union of any Province thereof.
2. In the humble opinion of the Petitioning Association the restriction of the residential rights of British Indians at present residing in the various Provinces of South Africa to the provincial limits laid down in the Bill is inconsistent with the Union of the Provinces and unjust to the British Indians of South Africa. But, in view of the prejudice that exists in South Africa against the community represented by the Petitioning Association, it has been decided for the time being to acquiesce in the restriction above referred to. But the Petitioning Association ventures to submit to this Honourable House that the said Bill is ambiguous in several essential particulars which very materially affect the interests of British Indians residing in the Transvaal, which particulars are as under:
   (a) The Bill, according to its present wording, does not permit of the residence in the Transvaal of educated Indians who might pass the education test required under Section 4 of the said Bill, by reason of the existence of the Asiatic Registration Act No. 36 of 1908. The Association has been legally advised that, in the absence of any special mention in the Bill, such Asiatics will be subject to the provisions of the said Asiatic Registration Act, and will, therefore, be unable to enter the Transvaal, or, if they are allowed to do so, they will be obliged

[1] A copy of this was sent to Ritch; *vide* "Letter to L. W. Ritch", p. 452.

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to be registered thereunder. The Petitioning Association respectfully submits that British Indians who may pass the education test will be sufficiently identified by reason of such examination, and that, therefore, the Bill may be so amended as to leave no uncertainty as to the right of educated Asiatics passing the education test of entering and remaining in the Transvaal and other Provinces of the Union without being subject to the Registration Laws or such other Laws of the different Provinces.

(b) The Petitioning Association respectfully draws the attention of this Honourable House to the fact that there seems to be no provision in the said Bill protecting the wives and minor children of registered Asiatics, which protection has been hitherto enjoyed by them owing to the existence of Act 15 of 1907, Transvaal, together with the Registration Act. Act 15 of 1907 of the Transvaal is to be repealed by the said Bill.

3. In conclusion, the Petitioning Association prays that this Honourable House will take into consideration the submission made herein, and amend the Bill in the desired direction, or grant such other relief as to this Honourable House may seem meet. And for this act of justice and mercy, your Petitioner shall, as in duty bound, for ever pray.

CHAIRMAN,
BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S.N. 5273; also reproduced in part in *Indian Opinion*, 18-3-1911

## *412. LETTER TO BUDREA*

*March 10, 1911*

MY DEAR BUDREA[1],

I have done nothing about Shankersing. The number will be found in the Union *Gazette*. You will get all the information from Mr. Polak or anybody connected with *Indian Opinion*. I think that you will be able soon to return to Johannesburg, but for the present you ought not to think of it. The struggle is not yet closed.

*Yours sincerely,*

From the typewritten office copy: S.N. 5266

[1] A client who had given a general power of attorney to Gandhiji

## 413. LETTER TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO MINISTER OF INTERIOR[1]

[JOHANNESBURG,]
*March 10, 1911*

SIR,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your telegram in reply to mine of the 9th instant[2], informing my Association that General Smuts is not prepared to depart from his decision not to recognize Mr. Ritch, as he feels that there is no necessity to bring into the matter at this stage one who is an entire stranger to him, and that the leaders of the Indian community may rely that their representations already received from Mr. Gandhi and any further suggestions that they may put forward will receive the fullest consideration of the Government, and that it is entirely unnecessary for anybody to come to Cape Town to emphasise the points put forward. My Association is grateful for the assurance contained in the telegram, and, in accordance with General Smuts' desire, no representative will be sent from Johannesburg.

It is but right for my Association to state that Mr. Ritch having been intimately connected with the controversy for a long time, having made an exhaustive study of the subject, and having lived in Johannesburg for many years, is a gentleman pre-eminently qualified to make representations to the Government. He enjoys the fullest confidence of the community, and it was felt that much might be done towards ending the struggle by personal interviews. Hence it was that Mr. Ritch was deputed to wait upon General Smuts if necessary. My Association trusts that the Bill will be so amended that it will be found in the end that the deputing of Mr. Ritch was unnecessary.

My Association has read the correspondence between General Smuts and Mr. Gandhi; and I am desired to endorse Mr. Gandhi's submission[3] to General Smuts, namely, that passive resistance will end on the Bill being amended during the Committee stage so as to exempt educated Asiatics who may be admitted under the immigration test from the operation of the registration laws in the different provinces, especially

[1] This letter, presumably drafted by Gandhiji, was sent by the Chairman, British Indian Association, and reproduced in *Indian Opinion*, 18-3-1911, as a part of the Gandhi-Smuts correspondence.

[2] *Vide* "Telegram to Private Secretary to Minister of Interior and L. W. Ritch", pp. 443-4.

[3] *Vide* "Letter to E. F. C. Lane", pp. 425-6.

Act 36 of 1908 of the Transvaal, and unequivocally to provide for the protection of the wives and minor children of Asiatics registered or entitled to be registered in the Transvaal or to remain in this Province by reason of the education test, whether such wives and minors are within the Transvaal or without.

My Association trusts that, if the struggle, which has been so prolonged, happily ends, those who are now undergoing imprisonment as passive resisters will be discharged, and that those who have suffered for conscience' sake will not be penalised, but that the rights which they would have under Act 36 of 1908 will be respected.

*I have the honour to be,*
*Sir,*
*Your obedient servant,*
CHAIRMAN,
BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S.N. 5267

## *414. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK*

[JOHANNESBURG,]
*March 10, 1911*

MY DEAR POLAK,

I do not think that there need be any worry about police officer. If the Regulations provide for Kaffir Police, we can fight the Regulations. Even in attacking the details of the Bill, I think we should be very careful not to trouble ourselves with what may be remedied by Regulation. Yes, your reading of the second Section is, in my opinion, correct, but Gregorowski thinks that the seventh Section overrides that construction, and he may be right. You are quite right, the Transvaal right cannot be taken away because of registration, but the Natal right of domicile—a highly legal term—may be annulled by transference. But I quite agree with you that it is not a question to be raised just now. Your letter[1] to the *Natal Witness* I consider magnificent. I do not think the Government of India ever gave thought to the many things you mention in your letter, but it is intrinsically so good and convincing that it should be reproduced in the columns of *Indian Opinion*. I, therefore, return it to you, in case you have not a copy.

*Sincerely yours,*

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S.N. 5271

[1] The letter was reproduced in *Indian Opinion*, 18-3-1911.

## 415. LETTER TO L. W. RITCH

[JOHANNESBURG,]
*March 10, 1911*

MY DEAR RITCH,

I enclose herewith petition[1] to be presented to Parliament and copy of the letter[2] addressed to General Smuts. The petition, if you think that it should be presented—and I think it should be unless there is any special reason to the contrary—might be presented by Sir Percy Fitzpatrick, Farrar, Drummond Chaplin or Emile Nathan, and, if none of these Transvaal Members will accept it for representation, which I can hardly conceive, it might be handed through Theo. Schreiner or Alexander or whoever else you may think proper.[3] I hope that you will send full telegrams as to what happens at the second reading as also during the Committee stage. I assume that you will attend the House at the time of the second reading of the Bill. There is nothing else.

*Yours sincerely,*

[Enclosure][4]

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S.N. 5272

## 416. TELEGRAM TO L. W. RITCH

[JOHANNESBURG,]
*March 10, 1911*

SMUTS TELEGRAPHS[5] HE DOES NOT WISH AT THIS STAGE SEE YOU ENTIRE STRANGER BUT REPRESENTATIONS ARE RECEIVING CAREFUL CONSIDERATION. FURTHER REPRESENTATIONS WILL BE TREATED LIKEWISE AND ADDS NOBODY SHOULD COME FROM HERE EITHER. THEREFORE NO USE MY COMING. SUGGEST YOUR SEEING EVERY MEMBER YOU CAN. MAKE REPRESENTATIONS ON BEHALF PEOPLE THERE THEIR CHAIRMAN SIGNING THEM. HAVE YOU SEEN ANYONE YET.

GANDHI

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S.N. 5274

[1] and [4] *Vide* "Transvaal Petition to Union Assembly", pp. 448-9.
[2] and [5] *Vide* "Letter to Private Secretary to Minister of Interior", pp. 450-1.
[3] The petition was presented on March 15 by Patrick Duncan.

## 417. RITCH'S ARRIVAL

Mr. Ritch has returned from England, and has immediately plunged into work. His arrival at this juncture is quite timely. Such a man is needed at present not so much in England as here. His work in England can be attended to by Miss Polak.

The community owes it to Mr. Ritch to give him all help and encouragement. He will start practice shortly. If the community helps him, he will earn enough for a living. Everybody should remember that Mr. Ritch is a poor man.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 11-3-1911

## 418. TELEGRAM TO MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT[1]

[JOHANNESBURG,]
*March 11, 1911*

MY ASSOCIATION VENTURES DRAW YOUR ATTENTION IMMIGRATION BILL TO BE READ SECOND TIME MONDAY[2]. ACCORDING LEGAL ADVICE RECEIVED BY ASSOCIATION BILL DOES NOT EXEMPT EDUCATED ASIATICS WHO MAY PASS EDUCATION TEST FROM OPERATION ASIATIC REGISTRATION ACTS AND IT DOES NOT PROTECT MINOR CHILDREN WIVES REGISTERED ASIATICS OR ASIATICS WHO MAY ENTER UNDER EDUCATION TEST. TRUST BILL WILL BE SO AMENDED AS TO COVER OBJECTIONS WHEN IT WILL HAPPILY END PAINFUL STRUGGLE WHICH HAS MEANT OVER THREE THOUSAND IMPRISONMENTS AND CAUSED RUIN MANY ASIATIC HOMES. ASSOCIATION OFFERS NO COMMENT ON BEARING BILL NATAL CAPE POSITION.

CACHALIA
CHAIRMAN,
BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S.N. 5276; also

*Indian Opinion* 18-3-1911

[1] This telegram was sent to Members of Parliament at Cape Town and also to Ritch. *Vide* the following item.

[2] March 13, 1911

## 419. TELEGRAM TO L. W. RITCH

[JOHANNESBURG,]
*March 11, 1911*

HAVE SENT WIRES[1] FOLLOWING QUINN, WYNDHAM, T. SCHREINER, JAGGER, W. SCHREINER, CHAPLIN, DUNCAN, FITZPATRICK, FARRAR, NATHAN, ALEXANDER.

GANDHI

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S.N. 5275

## 420. TELEGRAM TO NAIDOO

[JOHANNESBURG,]
*March 11, 1911*

FOLLOW MR. RITCH'S ADVICE MEETING. YOU SHOULD PROTEST AGAINST IMMIGRATION BILL REGARDING SEVERITY EDUCATION TEST, UNCERTAINTY RIGHTS OF DOMICILE AND RIGHT OF WIVES AND CHILDREN, DISCRETIONARY POWER BEING GIVEN AS TO ISSUE OF CERTIFICATES DOMICILE. AUTHORISE MR. RITCH REPRESENT YOU. LOSE NO TIME.

BIAS

From a photostat of the handwritten office copy: S.N. 5278

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

CWMG - X

## *421. CABLE TO NATESAN, GOKHALE AND S.A.B.I. COMMITTEE*

[JOHANNESBURG,]
*March 11, 1911*

1. NATESAN, MADRAS
2. GOKHALE, CALCUTTA
3. DEPURITION[1], LONDON

PRINCIPLE NEW BILL SATISFACTORY BECAUSE IT RECOGNISES LEGAL EQUALITY. IT WILL END PASSIVE RESISTANCE IF IS AMENDED TO EXEMPT EDUCATED INDIANS FROM OPERATION REGISTRATION ACT AND TO PROTECT MINOR CHILDREN WIVES OF LAWFUL RESIDENTS WHETHER FORMER AT PRESENT OUTSIDE TRANSVAAL OR INSIDE. ITS EFFECT NATAL AND CAPE ADVERSE, CURTAILS RIGHTS OF LAWFUL RESIDENTS, DEPRIVES THEM RIGHT BRING WIVES MINOR CHILDREN. WHILE NO OBJECTION TO SEVERE EDUCATION TEST FOR TRANSVAAL, CAPE NATAL INDIANS LEGITIMATELY OBJECT SEVERE TEST BEING APPLIED THERE. ITS EFFECT IS SECURE VIRTUAL EXCLUSION ASIATICS. CAPE NATAL MUCH AGGRIEVED. SUCH EXCLUSION PREVENTS MERCHANTS BRINGING CLERKS ASSISTANTS WHO HITHERTO CAME UNDER EDUCATION TEST. REPRESENTATIONS HAVE BEEN MADE GOVERNMENT UNION PARLIAMENT ABOUT EVERYTHING. PROBABLE NECESSARY AMENDMENTS WILL BE MADE. GENERAL SMUTS STATES IMPERIAL GOVERNMENT ALREADY ACCEPTED BILL PRESENT FORM. IF PRINCIPLE OF BILL ONLY ACCEPTED NO HARM DONE. IMPERIAL INDIAN GOVERNMENTS CANNOT ACCEPT BILL IN DETAIL AND NOT DO INJUSTICE IF THEY DO NOT FIRST SEE INDIAN OBJECTIONS. SECOND READING MONDAY. SUGGEST FOR PRESENT MAKING REPRESENTATIONS AUTHORITIES URGING CONSIDERATION OUR OBJECTIONS BEFORE BILL BECOMES LAW.

From a photostat of the typewritten draft with corrections in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 5279

[1] This was the telegraphic address of the Transvaal Indian Deputation consisting of Gandhiji and H. O. Ally during their stay in London in 1906. It is presumed that this address continued to be used by the South Africa British Indian Committee, London. *Vide* Vol. VI, p. 262 and "Letter to Maud Polak", pp. 456-8.

## 422. LETTER TO L. W. RITCH

[JOHANNESBURG,]
*March 11, 1911*

MY DEAR RITCH,

I have your telegram, as also your letter. You will have received copy of the telegram[1] sent to certain Members. I could not quite understand your meaning, but I interpreted your wire to mean that wires should be sent on behalf of the Association, giving the views on the Bill to the Transvaal Members who have at all interested themselves in the matter. You will see among the names three[2] which are not Transvaal. I thought that these three Members were specially entitled to the wire. The views are also represented in the Petition[3], which I hope you will circulate to the Press also. There is a wire from Cape Town in the *Daily Mail* to the effect that General Smuts has placed on the Table printed correspondence between the Imperial Government and the Union Government regarding the Bill. I hope you will be able to get a copy of it and send it.

*Yours sincerely,*

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S.N. 5280

## 423. LETTER TO MAUD POLAK

[JOHANNESBURG,]
*March 13, 1911*

MY DEAR MAUD,

A long cable[4] was sent to you on Saturday. I hope that you thoroughly understood it. The cable was not sent without a great deal of hesitation. The Bill having been published, I am rather sanguine of the necessary amendments being made. Yet, in order that it might not become law immediately after it is read a third time in Parliament, I sent the cable, so that you could consult Lord Ampthill and Sir Muncherjee, and at least warn the Imperial Government. Similar cables[5] have been sent to Bombay and Madras.

[1] *Vide* "Telegram to Members of Parliament ", p. 453.
[2] Alexander, T. L. Schreiner, and W. P. Schreiner
[3] *Vide* "Transvaal Petition to Union Assembly", pp. 448-9.
[4] and [5] *Vide* "Cable to Natesan, Gokhale and S.A.B.I. Committee", p. 455.

I suppose you know the procedure with reference to a Bill. It is formally read a first time; a full debate takes place on the second reading, and, unless there is opposition to the principle of the Bill, the second reading is carried. Then it is read in Committee, at which stage amendments are made. Then comes the third reading. After that it goes to the Senate, and, if the Senate approves of it, it is submitted to the Governor-General for the Royal Assent. If the Bill does not contain a reservatory clause, it becomes the law of the land immediately. The reservatory clause is inserted when there is any racial differentiation. As there is none in this Bill, there is no reservatory clause at all. It may, therefore, come into force immediately, unless the Governor-General is advised by the Imperial Government not to give his sanction without first submitting the Bill to them. The last recourse left open to objectors is to secure a veto, even though the Bill may come into operation, because a clause in the Royal instructions provides that any Bill, although it may have the force of law, may be vetoed within two years of its promulgation by the King-in-Council.

I expect that the Bill will have been passed through the Lower House by the time this letter reaches you, but it may not have gone to the Senate, or at least it may not have received the Governor-General's sanction. You will have further cables as to the progress of the Bill. I am anxious to make the following position quite clear to you. Passive Resistance has been continued for securing repeal of Act 2 of 1907, and to secure legal equality as to the immigration of highly-educated Asiatics. In the cablegram, however, you have been told that, if the Bill does not protect minors and the wives of lawful residents, it may not end passive resistance. It might be said that this is a new point raised by us. I hope, however, that any such misconception you will be able to remove. Wives and minor children are under the existing legislation fully protected—you will notice that from Mr. Gregorowski's opinion[1] —but the new Bill seeks to deprive us of that right, and passive resisters can hardly be expected to bargain away the rights of parents, specially such inherent rights as those of taking their wives and children with them, against a grant of legal equality. I do not think that there will be any difficulty about getting the necessary amendment carried here, but, supposing that the difficulty does arise and General Smuts again talks of new points being raised by me, you will know how to deal with it. It is General Smuts who is raising a new point, if he is raising it at all. I give him the credit of not raising any contentious issues, by supposing that the matter has only been overlooked by his draughtsmen, and that he will rectify the difficulty at the Committee stage. As to the Cape and Natal, whether the position there is ameliorated or not, the present

[1] Available in part; *vide* "Letter to E. F. C. Lane", pp. 425-6.

passive resistance will stop, if the Bill is amended, so far as the Transvaal is concerned, in the manner suggested by me. You will carefully go through the Petition[1] to the House of Parliament here, and all the other documents. I am asking[2] Mr. Ritch to write to you from Cape Town, so that the information I am giving you will be brought up to date by Mr. Ritch.

*Yours sincerely,*

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S.N. 5281

## *424. LETTER TO L. W. RITCH*

[JOHANNESBURG,]
*March 13, 1911*

MY DEAR RITCH,

I have your letter. I suppose the handwriting is Harold's[3]. I congratulate him and you also. He is copying your style. Are you at the Hotel whose paper you have used? I hope that you have been receiving my letters daily and regularly. I quite agree with you that we should not accept dictation from Smuts as to who should be the representative, and I am glad that he has sent the telegram saying no one should proceed from here either.[4] Your letter to the *Cape Argus* is none too strong. I hope that Schreiner will assist materially in this matter. I expect much from the Cape Press. They should put up a strong fight on behalf of the Cape Indians. From the *Cape Argus* leader, it would appear that the Bill will undergo considerable modifications, as it ought to, in the shape of curtailing the discretionary powers of the Administration. I am sending you cheque for £10, which you should have no difficulty in getting cashed by Silberbauer, if nowhere else. I enclose herewith copy of Laughton's opinion[5]. You have got my deductions.[6]

*Yours sincerely,*

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S.N. 5282

[1] *Vide* "Transvaal Petition to Union Assembly", pp. 448-9.
[2] *Vide* "Letter to L. W. Ritch", pp. 473-4.
[3] Ritch's son
[4] *Vide* "Letter to Private Secretary to Minister of Interior", pp. 450-1.
[5] Not available
[6] *Vide* "Letter to R. Gregorowski", pp. 413-4.

## 425. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

[JOHANNESBURG,]
*March 13, 1911*

MY DEAR POLAK,

Whether you send money from your side to Ritch or not, I have sent £10 from here. I enclose herewith cuttings received from Ritch, thinking you may not have seen them or some of them. The Colonial-born Indians' attitude I can understand. It is largely due to their ignorance which in its turn owes its existence to their indifference and laziness. They have not followed the struggle, and they will not study the laws affecting Indians. You can see the grossest ignorance betrayed in the *African Chronicle* leading article, which I undertook to read after your warning. It is not only ignorant, but it is mischievous. The writer has not even taken the trouble of reading the Law, and quotes words as belonging to a Section which do not occur in it. However, we can only disabuse their minds of misunderstandings to the best of our ability. What I think you may safely promise, and what I think we may have to do, is that, immediately the matter is settled and the Bill is on the Statute Book, we will have to present our Bill of Rights throughout the Union, and work away for it, leaving me out of account,[1] of which a little later.

You will not forget the reminder for Mr. Omar.[2] It is necessary to have the lease as early as possible. I have not written any leading matter yet in connection with the Bill. I do not want to write anything until I have seen the Debate on the Second Reading.

*Yours sincerely,*

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S.N. 5283

[1] Perhaps because Gandhiji was thinking of leaving South Africa to settle in India immediately after the Bill became law.

[2] *Vide* "Letter to H. S. L. Polak", p. 445.

## 426. LETTER TO L. W. RITCH

[JOHANNESBURG,]
*March 14, 1911*

MY DEAR RITCH,

The Debate[1] seems to have gone not badly. Your coaching of Alexander[2] proved very effective. Let us hope that we shall have the necessary amendments. I thought I would have a telegram giving your own impression of the Debate. The report received here is by no means exhaustive. I hope that the petitions[3] were presented yesterday[4]. Have I asked you to get from Silberbauer Team's certificate and all the other certificates that were sent to him in connection with the cases of the deportees ? If not, please get them. I am publishing the correspondence[5], as also a leader regarding yourself.[6] If you think that this is inadvisable, please telegraph Phœnix directly. This will be in your hands early on Friday morning, and if your telegram goes before 10 o'clock to Phœnix, the matter can be kept out. But I think that it should go in. We will have, in the event of the amendments not being made, to go further, and use the incident against General Smuts.

*Yours sincerely,*

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S.N. 5285

[1] On the second reading of the Bill, which began on 13-3-1911

[2] After Smuts' speech on the second reading of the Bill, Advocate Alexander fervently spoke in favour of the Asiatic demands. Gandhiji himself had sent a telegram to Alexander; *vide* "Telegram to Members of Parliament", p. 453.

[3] *Vide* "Natal Petition to Union Assembly", pp. 441-3 and "Transvaal Petition to Union Assembly", pp. 448-9.

[4] According to a Reuter telegram published in the Gujarati Section of *Indian Opinion*, 18-3-1911, the petitions of the Cape, Natal and Transvaal Indians were presented to Parliament on 15-3-1911.

[5] Between Gandhiji and the Minister of Interior; *vide Indian Opinion*, 18-3-1911.

[6] *Vide* "Little-mindedness", *Indian Opinion*, 18-3-1911.

## 427. LETTER TO "RAND DAILY MAIL"[1]

JOHANNESBURG,
*March 15, 1911*[2]

SIR,

There is only one thing in your leading article of today's date on which you will, perhaps, permit me to say a few words. So far as I can voice my countrymen's aspirations, there is no question now, and there was none before, of quietly accepting the existing position governing British Indians in the different Provinces. All that the present Bill can do, so far as the Transvaal is concerned, is to stop passive resistance, and that, too, if it is amended so as to make it clear that the rights at present enjoyed by the minor children and wives of domiciled Asiatics, whether they be at present inside the Transvaal or outside the Province, are not to be taken away by it, and that those few highly educated Asiatics who will enter under the education test will be able to reside in any part of the Union without being subject to Provincial registration laws. Apart from passive resistance, Indians have never ceased, nor have, for that matter, the Imperial and Indian Governments, to press for repeal of legislation which prohibits their holding landed property, interferes with their freedom of movement, etc. I am quite sure that the Cape and the Natal Indians will certainly never submit to legislation restrictive of the rights at present enjoyed by them, without making a desperate effort to avoid such a calamity. In an age which we fondly believe is an age of progress, there can be no such thing as finality, and my countrymen would be less than human, if they did not make a serious endeavour to deserve, at the hands of the European residents in the Union, better treatment than they have hitherto received. The education test in the present Bill is not a fraud, unless you are prepared to give that name to the whole of the British Constitution. The adoption by General Smuts of the policy enunciated by Lord Crewe is a recognition by him of the idea of equality. The administration of the measure will be undoubtedly unequal. There is no secret about it. Administrative inequality will be a concession to the prevalent prejudice in South Africa and to human weakness. Self-respecting Asiatics are bound to make an honest attempt to remove the prejudice, first, by removing the causes

[1] This was reproduced in *Indian Opinion*, 25-3-1911, along with an extract from the leading article.

[2] The source bears the date March 16. But *vide* "Letter to L. W. Ritch", p. 462.

that have led to the rise of any such prejudice and, secondly, by showing that largely it is based on ignorance.

*I am, etc.*,

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 5303

## *428. TELEGRAM TO L. W. RITCH*

JOHANNESBURG,
*March 15, 1911*

WIRE YOUR IMPRESSION DEBATE WHEN COMMITTEE STAGE.

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the handwritten office copy: S.N. 5292

## *429. LETTER TO L. W. RITCH*

[JOHANNESBURG,]
*March 15, 1911*

MY DEAR RITCH,

There has been no letter from you since Monday, and no telegram. I take it that you have been too busy lobbying. I enclose herewith my reply[1] to a leading article appearing in today's issue of the *Mail*. The article itself I shall send you tomorrow. I thought it was necessary to deal with it. I felt like doing it when the *Mail* first wrote in the same strain, but Sorabjee was very nervous about it, and so I thought I would yield. I trust that you will send me, from time to time, wires as to any amendments that may be moved, and their progress. We cannot tolerate any uncertainty regarding the wives and minor children. If you have not already sent me copy of the correspondence between the Imperial and the Union Governments, please do so now. I had expected a copy today from you.

*Yours sincerely*,

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S.N. 5290

[1] *Vide* "Letter to *Rand Daily Mail*", pp. 461-2.

## 430. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

[JOHANNESBURG,]
*March 15, 1911*

MY DEAR POLAK,

The *Rand Daily Mail* article referred to in the letter to Ritch[1] has been sent to West, and also the cartoon[2]. Up to the time of writing there is no wire from Cape Town. I hope our friends there will have collected a fair sum by the time this reaches you. The first thing necessary even for passive resistance in its initial stages will be funds.

*Yours sincerely,*

From a photostat of the handwritten office copy: S.N. 5292b

## 431. LETTER TO "PRETORIA NEWS"

JOHANNESBURG,
*March 16, 1911*

SIR,

Certain inaccuracies in the interview with me which you have published have led, I see, to a great deal of misunderstanding in Natal, and the interview is being used much to the detriment of the cause I have at heart. Inaccuracies are inevitable in an interview, unless it is revised by the interviewed, especially when such an interview takes place, as this one did, over the telephone. I hope, therefore, that you will permit me to remove through your columns the misunderstanding created by the interview in question.

This is my position: If the new Bill admits Asiatics who pass the education test into the Union without their being subject to Asiatic Registration Laws, and if it does not take away, as it is apprehended its present wording does, the rights of wives and minor children of those registered or entitled to be registered to enter the Transvaal, passive resistance must cease; and to that extent I consider the Bill to be satisfactory. However intensely I may dislike the provisions of the Bill regarding the Asiatics at the Cape and in Natal, passive resistance cannot be continued by the Transvaal Asiatics in respect of the disabilities proposed to be imposed upon my countrymen in these two Provinces. So that my satisfaction

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.
[2] Not available

with the Bill can only relate to the Transvaal and to the passive resistance campaign.

The number of Indians at present serving indentures is not 15,000 but nearly 23,000.

*I am, etc.*,

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S.N. 5301

## *432. TELEGRAM TO H. S. L. POLAK*

[JOHANNESBURG,]
*March 16, 1911*

TO
POLAK
CARE RUSTOMJEE
DURBAN

RITCH WIRES PETITIONS PRESENTED BY DUNCAN[1] HUNTER[2] JAGGER[3] RESPECTIVE PROVINCES. ALL CONSIDER PRAYER JUST. OUTLOOK MOST ENCOURAGING. NOT KNOWN WHEN REACHING COMMITTEE. SITUATION HAS BEEN CABLED FROM CAPE.

GANDHI

From a photostat of the handwritten office copy: S.N. 5296

## *433. LETTER TO L. W. RITCH*

*March 16, 1911*

MY DEAR RITCH,

I have your letter, as also your telegram. You have certainly done all that was possible. If the present amalgamation[4] of the various Indian Associations continues after your withdrawal, it will be a very great gain. If young Gool, the doctor, works well and self-sacrificingly, he can do a great deal. I am re-directing seven letters to you. There is nothing new from Maud. I hope that you will carefully scan every amendment that may be moved in Committee, and see to it that General Smuts does not surreptitiously create a colour bar by moving the amendment to the effect that those who may enter under the education test shall not be

[1] Patrick Duncan, Member of Parliament from the Transvaal
[2] Sir David Hunter, Member of Parliament from Natal
[3] J. W. Jagger, Member of Parliament from the Cape Colony
[4] *Vide* footnote 4 on p. 433.

subject to the Registration Act of the Transvaal. The amendment should be that such men should not be subject to the registration laws of any Province, because, if that is not done, the Orange Free State will be barred, and the theory of equality as to immigration will be violated. In an immigration law of the Transvaal, exemption from the Transvaal Registration Act would have been quite enough, but, in a Union Immigration Law, exemption from all registration laws is absolutely necessary. Please note, too, that the minor children of Asiatics registered or entitled to be registered, or entering under the immigration test, have to be protected whether they are without the Union or within. General Smuts is quite capable of bringing in an amendment which would read to mean that Asiatic minors outside the Transvaal but within the Union shall alone be able to enter the Transvaal. *India* has published[1] the full report of your presentation. It reads admirably. Lord Ampthill seems to have acted perfectly, and I was glad to notice Dube[2] speaking out so nicely. The whole affair was evidently a very great success. I should like the names of all who were present; Maud has not supplied me with them. The writer in the *South African News* is a disappointing man. He leads one to think that all one's courtesy is lost upon him. However, your letter made him think.

*Yours sincerely,*

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S.N. 5299

## *434. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK*

[JOHANNESBURG,]
*March 16, 1911*

MY DEAR POLAK,

I pass on the cutting received from Ritch. I hope that the report of the Ritch presentation[3] will go in in full at an early date. Just at this time it is very seasonable. I send you the enclosed[4] from the All-India Moslem League. I do not like the advertising idea underlying it, but I fear that we have to publish it. Naidoo has sent me for correction a petition drafted either by himself or by Aiyar[5] regarding the £3 tax. In spite of your remarks in one of your letters, I still very much distrust

[1] In its issue dated 24-2-1911

[2] An Indian barrister practising in England

[3] The address to L. W. Ritch, Secretary, South Africa British Indian Committee, London, was presented at Criterion Restaurant, London, on 16-2-1911. A report of the proceedings was published in *Indian Opinion*, 25-3-1911.

[4] Enclosure not available

[5] P. S. Aiyar, Editor, *African Chronicle*, Durban

Aiyar's good faith. He is a man of the moment. He will write one thing today, and just the opposite tomorrow. He is thoroughly unscrupulous, and I am nervous about his handling any matters of public importance, and I am much more so when he is disposed to patronise me. I like him best when he swears at me and publicly goes for me. I know that then he would not ask me to assist in any of his public activities. I fear that he is now hoodwinking P. K. Naidoo on the strength of his being a Brahmin, and possessing a better knowledge of the English language than Naidoo. Now you will more fully understand my advice [to] P.K. Naidoo. I send you copy of my letter[1] to him. I feel for him, because I consider him to be infinitely superior to Aiyar in character. All the children and most of the passive resisters on the Farm are in Johannesburg today. I brought them out by special car. The Traffic Manager quoted specially favourable terms. For 26 men and children the return journey costs £1/12/2. I propose to go back with them on Saturday by the one o'clock train, unless you or Ritch retain me in Johannesburg. Of course, I return to the Farm every evening. I was glad to notice through the telephone today that your voice was much stronger and better. I hope there is no trace of cold now left. I enclose herewith copy of my letter[2] to the *Pretoria News*. I am writing the letter because I promised I would, but, on re-reading the interview, I see that I need not have written the letter. Stent has sufficiently explained my view about Natal and the Cape. The little inaccuracy about the figures and the concluding paragraph as to my satisfaction do not matter. However, my letter I hope you will consider sufficient.

*Sincerely yours*,

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S.N. 5302

## *435. LETTER TO J. J. DOKE*

[JOHANNESBURG,]
*March 17, 1911*

DEAR MR. DOKE,

I fear that for a little thing, little, that is, from the European standpoint, the struggle will have to be prolonged. Mr. Ritch telegraphs, saying that General Smuts will introduce an amendment exempting future immigrants from the operation of the Asiatic Act of the Transvaal, that is to say, they will still be liable to the Asiatic Ordinance of the Orange Free State, and, therefore, the colour bar will still remain in the Immi-

[1] Not available
[2] *Vide* "Letter to *Pretoria News*", pp. 463-4.

gration Law. I feel that we cannot possibly accept such a concession. The removal of the colour bar throughout the Union so far as the new immigrants are concerned means nothing for the Orange Free State, because the local disabilities may and will still remain, but, unless the exempting clause is put in, an educated Indian immigrant will have no foothold at all in the Free State. In practice, no educated Indian can exist in the Free State, because there are very few Indians for whom he could cater. I am sending you copies of the correspondence[1] bearing on this point, and am anxious to know how the whole thing strikes you. I feel that, if it is wrong to accept the colour bar in the Transvaal Immigration Law, it is wrong to accept it in the Union Immigration Law which replaces it. I do not want to leave the office just now. Otherwise, I would have come down.

*Yours sincerely,*

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S.N. 5304

## *436. TELEGRAM TO L. W. RITCH*[2]

JOHANNESBURG,
*March 17, 1911*

CONSTITUTION ACT CHAPTER THIRTY-THREE.

GANDHI

From a photostat of the handwritten office copy: S.N. 5306

## *437. TELEGRAM TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO GENERAL SMUTS*

JOHANNESBURG,
*March 17, 1911*

JUST LEARN GENERAL SMUTS PROPOSES MOVING AMENDMENT IMMIGRATION BILL EXEMPT FUTURE ASIATIC IMMIGRANTS FROM OPERATION ACT THIRTY-SIX 1908 THUS IMPLYING APPLICATION FREE STATE ASIATIC ACT SUCH IMMIGRANTS. IF SO IT WILL CREATE A COLOUR BAR IN UNION IMMIGRATION LAW POINTEDLY INSULTING INDIANS HIGHEST CULTURE. HOPE

[1] Between Gandhiji and Smuts

[2] This was sent in reply to Ritch's telegram which read: Schlesin's wire required immunity educated Registration Law Orangia now understand you mean educated immigrants not to be barred Free State despite unrepealed exclusion Law. Wire reference Law in question. . . .(S.N. 5305)

THEREFORE THAT ASIATIC IMMIGRANTS WILL BE EXEMPTED FROM ALL REGISTRATION LAW AS WAS GENERAL SMUTS' INTENTION EXPRESSED IN TELEGRAM[1] TO ME. WISH RESPECTFULLY POINT OUT THAT CONCILIATION PASSIVE RESISTERS REQUIRES ENTIRE ABSENCE COLOUR BAR UNION BILL AND FULL PROTECTION WIVES MINOR CHILDREN AS HITHERTO. IT IS THEREFORE URGED THAT IF FREE STATE MEMBERS WILL NOT EVEN TOLERATE A SOLITARY EDUCATED ASIATIC WITHIN FREE STATE BOUNDARY AND IF WIVES MINORS COULD NOT BE PROTECTED IT WOULD BE MUCH BETTER BILL WAS NOT PASSED AND TRANSVAAL SITUATION DEALT WITH BY AMENDING LOCAL LEGISLATION.

GANDHI

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S.N. 5309; also *Indian Opinion*, 25-3-1911

## *438. TELEGRAM TO L. W. RITCH*

JOHANNESBURG,
*March 17, 1911*

YOU WILL GET COPY MY WIRE[2] SMUTS. JUST SEEN CARTWRIGHT. HE SEES POINT CLEARLY. APPROVES. THERE CAN BE NO QUESTION HAIRSPLITTING WHERE CLEAR PRINCIPLE AT STAKE.[3]

GANDHI

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S.N. 5308

[1] Dated March 4; *vide* footnote 1 on p. 425.

[2] *Vide* the preceding item.

[3] This was in reply to Ritch's telegram: Supporters deprecate what will be reported hairsplitting and evidence unwillingness settle. Think inadvisable press point. (S.N. 5307)

CWMG - X

## 439. LETTER TO L. W. RITCH

*March 17, 1911*

MY DEAR RITCH,

I have your letters and telegrams. Today has been an eventful day. I am much shaken by the news[1] you have given me. As soon as I mentioned the information to Cartwright, he said:

> That is Smuts. If one white man raises any objection to your people getting any rights, he will try to please that white man, no matter even though his doing so may cost an Empire.

Your second telegram[2] about the supporters deprecating what appeared to be hair-splitting perturbed me very much. I thought that we would have to go through the laborious process of explaining to our supporters the fact that we were asking for nothing new, and that opposition to the colour bar as to the Free State was inevitable by reason of the Bill being a Union Bill. But I now see that your telegram was based on a misreading of Miss Schlesin's telegram. She thought that you would never consider that we would ask for free entry into the Free State for educated Indians who are at present resident in South Africa. If we did so as part of the passive resistance campaign, it would be a distinct breach of faith. But, if we did not resist the attempt to prohibit educated immigrants from entering the Free State, passive resisters would be set down as cowards. We are fighting a colour bar and we must continue to fight it, whether it is in a Transvaal law or in a Union law. I hope that you will be able to persuade the supporters to take the same view. I have not yet ascertained the feeling of all the passive resisters. Mr. Cachalia and others are just now in the office and they seem to hold the same view as I do. Personally, I would like an indefinite postponement of the Bill and the desired alteration in the Transvaal Immigration Law.[3] Then, we need raise no question as to the Free State, there would arise no question as to the Cape and Natal, and the whole thing would be quite satisfactory. If General Smuts does not yield, I hope that the Cape friends will also take up passive resistance, because the question then will be no longer provincial. They are as much interested in resisting a colour bar in a Union law as the Transvaal Indians, and, if they would take up passive resistance, the whole thing could be finished in practically no

[1] *Vide* "Letter to J. J. Doke", pp. 466-7.
[2] *Vide* the preceding item.
[3] *Vide* "Telegram to Private Secretary to General Smuts", pp. 467-8.

time. I am writing[1] to Gool and others about funds. The dispatches[2] of Lords Crewe and Morley do credit to them, and they show that great and useful work was done by the South Africa British Indian Committee. The dispatches escape not a single argument or point. Your epitome of what should be done by the Government to placate Asiatics all over is admirable, and I hope that it was read by all the Members of Parliament. Do you suggest a letter from here and Natal to Alexander[3]? He will be, I see, a most valuable helper.

*Yours sincerely,*

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S.N. 5312

## *440. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK*

*March 17, 1911*

MY DEAR MR. POLAK,

I hope you have succeeded in rousing our friends there to a sense of their duty. Though I still hope that there will be a favourable reply to our telegram[4] to Smuts, we, at this end, are making every preparation for a renewal of the struggle. Cartwright is simply disgusted, with his own party as well as with Smuts. I understand that he will be leaving the *Leader* within a week or so, unless something he expects turns up.

*Sincerely yours,*

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S.N. 5313

## *441. THE IMMIGRATION BILL*

The debate on the second reading of this Bill shows how fortunate we have been in having Mr. Ritch at Cape Town just at this juncture. The words of *The Times* to the effect that Mr. Ritch was coming to South Africa in order to co-operate with those who were trying to settle the vexed Asiatic question may be said, in the light of what is happening, to have been prophetic. We can see Mr. Ritch's hand in the weighty contribution to the debate by Mr. Advocate Alexander. He allowed not a single point raised by the Indians throughout the three Provinces to escape him, and he has shown clearly that, if the Bill goes

[1] The letter is not available.

[2] Included in the Blue-book laid on the table of the House by Smuts while introducing the Bill. *Vide* also "Letter to L. W. Ritch", pp. 486-7.

[3] Advocate Alexander; *vide* "The Immigration Bill", pp. 470-1.

[4] *Vide* "Telegram to Private Secretary to General Smuts", pp. 467-8.

through unaltered, passive resisters will have paid too dear a price for peace; and it is certain that, if passive resisters were not bound morally to cease struggling immediately on their demands being granted, they would be very properly justified in rejecting the Bill as an honourable compromise, if the position of the Natal and the Cape Indians were not altered by making the amendments necessary to meet the Indian objections from these two Provinces. But we hope that General Smuts will accept the advice given to him by Sir Percy Fitzpatrick, and grant the very reasonable requests made by the Indians at the Cape and in Natal. They ask for nothing new. They merely wish to stipulate that existing rights shall not be disturbed. It is said that General Smuts wants to admit only twelve Asiatics per year under the education test. In our opinion, this is absurd. The Transvaal Indians suggested that six per year should be allowed for the Transvaal. Surely six for Natal and the Cape is a very small number. The smooth working of the Act will depend very largely upon the spirit that actuates General Smuts in framing his regulations, and the spirit in which the Act and the regulations are administered. The fate of passive resisters will be decided in the course of the next few days. General Smuts has stated that the Bill is intended to exempt those who may enter under the education test from the operation of registration laws. He has, therefore, only to make a verbal amendment in order to bring that meaning out clearly in the Bill; and we refuse to believe that he wishes to go behind the judgment of the Supreme Court and deprive minor Asiatics of the rights which that Court has recognised, or that he does not wish to clothe with absolute protection the wives of lawful residents.

*Indian Opinion*, 18-3-1911

## *442. NEW BILL IN PARLIAMENT*

Every Indian should go through the debate on the second reading of this Bill. One will find it very instructive. Irrespective of whether or not the new Bill is suitably amended, what was said about it and the emphasis that was laid on its bearing only on the Asiatic problem are worth noting. Everyone can see that this is entirely the result of the power of satyagraha. Lord Crewe revised the view which he had expressed in 1909 and requested General Botha to grant the Indians' demands. As satyagraha became protracted, the views of the Imperial Government and the Local Government underwent changes. The Act 2 of 1907 would never be repealed [it was said], and they agreed [subsequently] to repeal it. They accepted voluntary registration, which [they earlier said] they would never do. They were not prepared to permit the admis-

sion of educated Indians, but agreed to do so later under a separate law. They declared then that further than this they would never go, that it would be immoral to grant the Asiatics' demands; the bogey of immorality has vanished now and the demands of the Asiatics have been conceded. It may be asked: what does it profit us if such a demand has been accepted? We shall consider an answer after the Bill has gone through in a form that satisfies us.

For the present, the important point to note is that our demands have been met, more or less. Sir Percy Fitzpatrick[1], who at one time used to hold out threats against us, now says that General Smuts would do well to satisfy the Asiatics. The gentleman is afraid lest satyagraha should spread to the whole of South Africa. Mr. Duncan, the man who designed the obnoxious Act, now advocates its repeal, and says he will be happy if the proposed law sees the end of the satyagraha campaign. We do not find a single member who has spoken against satyagraha. Can there be a triumph greater than this?

[From Gujarati]
*Indian Opinion*, 18-3-1911

## *443. TELEGRAM TO L. W. RITCH*

JOHANNESBURG,
*March 18, 1911*[2]

CONFIRMING YESTERDAY'S TELEGRAM OUR FIGHT AGAINST COLOUR BAR CANNOT CLOSE IF EDUCATED ASIATICS NOT EXEMPTED FREE STATE LAW. EXISTENCE COLOUR BAR IN THIS MOST INSULTING SHAPE WILL WIDEN AREA PASSIVE RESISTANCE. AS SIR PERCY CLEARLY POINTED OUT THERE CAN BE NO COMPROMISE THIS POINT. HOPE CAPE NATAL ASIATICS WILL SEE THAT NOW THEY MUST JOIN HANDS BUT WHETHER THEY DO OR NOT MY ADVICE FELLOW PASSIVE RESISTERS WILL BE STRONGLY CONTINUE STRUGGLE. AM NOW CONFERRING WITH THEM. WILL GIVE YOU THEIR DECISION LATER. DO PRESS CAPE INDIANS COLLECT FUNDS. MAY I WRITE THEM.

GANDHI

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S.N. 5311

[1] Member from Pretoria East, Transvaal

[2] The source has the date 17th, *vide*, however, 'yesterday's telegram', viz., "Telegram to L. W. Ritch", p. 468.

## 444. LETTER TO L. W. RITCH

*March 18, 1911*

MY DEAR RITCH,

What is the meaning of "anticipating trouble from all quarters"?[1] I take it to mean that the Bill will be assailed not only by us, but by the Members on behalf of the community in general. I must confess that I should feel delighted if the Bill were withdrawn, and the Immigration Act of the Transvaal amended. But, if the Bill does go through, you will have to answer all kinds of questions in connection with the Free State, as, for instance, [the] right of the future Asiatic immigrants to be free from restrictions, are they to hold landed property, etc. We ask for no such thing. All we say is that, as to immigration and as to residence, because residence is part of immigration, they should be on the same footing as Europeans. As to all civil rights, they would share the same disabilities as the Asiatics. To illustrate my point, an educated Indian entering the Transvaal would not be subject to the Registration Law, but he would still be subject to Law 3 of 1885. Now, Chapter 33 of the Orange Free State Constitution Act not only deals with the manner in which an Asiatic may reside, but it also takes away other common law rights. Sections 7 and 8 affect such rights. The amendment, therefore, may exempt Asiatics from Clauses 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10 and 11 so far as they may be applicable. If you take hold of the Chapter, you will understand my meaning still more fully. We want to appear before the public with absolutely clear hands, as I profess we actually are. The present passive resistance has absolutely nothing whatsoever to do with the personal gain of a single individual; and if we make this clear and still our approach is rejected, we place our opponent in the wrong in every respect. It is just at a time like this that General Smuts, whom Cartwright considers to be either absolutely disloyal or intensely stupid, betrays either the one or the other of these qualities in refusing to see you. One good interview could settle the whole question, and could also appease the wrath of the Free Staters by showing that their fear is totally groundless. I take it that you will again instruct Maud from your side. I shall send you on Monday a copy of my letter[2] to her, but that can be no guide to you in writing

[1] The reference is to Ritch's telegram of March 18: Committee stage remote. Budget takes precedence. Advise me Smuts reply your wire. I anticipate trouble all around. (S.N. 5310)

[2] *Vide* "Letter to Maud Polak", pp. 456-8.

to her as it will be too late for the time when you must post your letter.

*Yours sincerely,*

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S.N. 5317

## *445. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK*

*March 18, 1911*

MY DEAR POLAK,

I have no telephone message to send you because I have no telegram from Ritch and none from Smuts. Natesan's letters herewith. I opened his letter to you, as also Dr. Mehta's. I am sending you Natesan's letter to me also. A parcel containing copies of his speech[1] is being sent to Phœnix. Please return Natesan's letter to me, as I have not yet replied to it. Ritch's solution of the Transvaal difficulty given in the *Cape Argus*, which I sent you yesterday, should be reproduced in *Indian Opinion*.[2]

*Yours sincerely,*

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S.N. 5320

## *446. TELEGRAM TO SECRETARY TO MINISTER OF INTERIOR*[3]

1, FOX STREET,
JOHANNESBURG,
*March 18, 1911*

ON BEHALF CHINESE COMMITTEE I BEG TO ASSOCIATE THE COMMITTEE IN THE PRAYER OF BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION AS TO IMMIGRANTS' RESTRICTION BILL NOW BEFORE PARLIAMENT AND TRUST THAT THE BILL WILL BE SO AMENDED AS TO REMOVE ALL POSSIBILITY AS TO COLOUR OR RACIAL BAR APPEARING IN IT AND TO AFFORD FULL PROTECTION TO WIVES AND MINOR CHILDREN OF LEGAL RESIDENTS. THE COMMITTEE FURTHER

[1] On the South African question delivered at the Indian National Congress held at Allahabad; reproduced in *Indian Opinion*, 8-4-1911

[2] This was reproduced under the caption, "Mr. Ritch's Suggestions", in *Indian Opinion*, 25-3-1911.

[3] Presumably drafted by Gandhiji; the Post Box number mentioned at the end of the telegram was Gandhiji's.

TRUSTS THAT THE GOVERNMENT WILL PROVIDE IN ADMINISTRATION OF THE BILL, SHOULD IT BECOME LAW, FOR ENTRY OF LIMITED NUMBER OF CULTURED CHINESE WITHIN UNION AND THAT SUCH CHINESE WILL NOT BE LIABLE TO CHINESE EXCLUSION ACT CAPE.

MARTIN EASTON,
ACTING CHAIRMAN,
CHINESE ASSOCIATION,
POST BOX 6522

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S.N. 5321

## *447. LIST OF CHINESE SATYAGRAHIS*

[On or after *March 18, 1911*][1]

Chinese Satyagrahis arrested and sentenced [to] hard labour:

| | |
|---|---|
| C. F. J. Frank | (3 mon. H.L.) |
| Lee Kong | (3 M.H.L.) |
| Luk Nan Dickson | (3 M.H.L.) |
| Ho Low | (10 days H.L.) |
| Sam You | (3 M.H.L.) |
| Chong Ah Kie | (3 M.H.L.) |
| Wo Kim | (3 M.H.L.) |
| Ah Wy | (3 M.H.L.) |
| Ismail Essach | |
| Louis Benjamin | |

They are either at the Fort or Diepkloof.

From a photostat of the handwritten original, the last three lines being in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 5322

[1] The document bears no date but it has been placed immediately after S.N. 5321 which is dated March 18, 1911 and which deals with the problem of the Chinese.

CWMG - X

## 448. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

TOLSTOY FARM,
*Phagan Vad 4* [*March 19, 1911*][1]

CHI. MAGANLAL,

Please dispose of the enclosed papers.

Chhaganlal's health, I am sure, will be restored as soon as he comes here. I wish he comes immediately.

I have no expectations from Anandlal. He can, if he makes up his mind, please respected Amritlalbhai. The charge that he has levelled against Mr. Cordes only shows that he is suspicious and rash. That is why I send you the cutting of Mr. Cordes' speech received by the same mail. The moral is that we should keep our hearts pure and put a favourable construction on other people's doings. If we do this, misdeeds will come to be known without our effort.

The more defects you discover in Harilal, the more love you should have for him. One requires a great deal of water to put out a big fire. To overcome the baser element in Harilal's nature, you have to develop in yourself and pit against it a more powerful force of goodness. Give him the coat too when he asks for a shirt.

I note you are making good progress in Tamil. It would be good if you adopt the practice of speaking with some Tamilian.

*Blessings from*
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C. W. 5080
Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri

## 449. TELEGRAM TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO GENERAL SMUTS

JOHANNESBURG,
*March 20, 1911*[2]

FEAR VERY MUCH IF GENERAL SMUTS CANNOT SEE HIS WAY ADVANCE UPON WHAT IS STATED YOUR LETTER 16TH INSTANT[3] THE PAINFUL STRUGGLE WILL CONTINUE. NO SUB-

[1] This letter was apparently written before Chhaganlal Gandhi's arrival in South Africa in July 1911.

[2] This appears to have been referred to as the telegram of the 19th in Lane's telegram of the 21st (footnote on p. 482) and Report of the European Committee meeting (p. 485).

[3] *Vide* Appendix X.

MISSION MADE FOR REPEAL CHAPTER THIRTY-THREE BUT FOR SO MUCH OF IT AS REQUIRES APPLICATION GOVERNOR FOR RESIDENCE SHOULD NOT APPLY EDUCATED ASIATIC IMMIGRANTS. NO EXCEPTION TAKEN TO EDUCATED ASIATIC IMMIGRANTS BEING LIABLE TO OTHER DISABILITIES COMMON TO ASIATIC RESIDENTS. EXEMPTION FROM REGISTRATION ACT TRANSVAAL SHOULD BE COMPLETE. RIGHTS EDUCATED INDIAN IMMIGRANTS TRANSVAAL SHOULD NOT BE LESS THAN THOSE OF RESIDENT ASIATICS. TWO COUNSELS ONE IN TRANSVAAL[1] ANOTHER IN NATAL[2] HAVE GIVEN WRITTEN OPINION SAYING WIVES AND MINOR CHILDREN OF RESIDENT ASIATICS NOT PROTECTED UNDER BILL AS DRAWN UNLESS THEY ARE AT PRESENT IN THEIR RESPECTIVE PROVINCES. HOPE SMALL RELIEF REQUIRED FOR CLOSING STRUGGLE WILL BE GRANTED.

GANDHI

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S.N. 5326; also *Indian Opinion*, 25-3-1911

## *450. LETTER TO E.F.C. LANE*

*March 20, 1911*

DEAR MR. LANE,

I telegraphed today[3] in reply to your letter[4] of the 16th instant regarding the correspondence between you and me over the Immigrants' Restriction Bill. I now venture to amplify my telegram.

There is no occasion, neither has it been asked on behalf of British Indians, to repeal Chapter 33 of the Orange Free State Constitution; but I respectfully submit for General Smuts' consideration that, just as educated Indian immigrants will, under the amendment he proposes to move, be free from registration under the Transvaal Act No. 36 of 1908, so may such immigrants be free from the Sections of Chapter 33 of the Orange Free State Constitution regarding what amounts to registration. Such seems to have been the intention of General Smuts at the time the telegram of the 4th instant, referred to in your letter of the 16th instant, was sent. It is therein stated that

> Asiatics admitted as immigrants under new Immigration Bill would not fall under registration laws and would not be restricted to provincial limits.

[1] and [2] R. Gregorowski and Laughton; *vide* "Letter to L. W. Ritch", p. 480.
[3] *Vide* the preceding item.
[4] *Vide* Appendix X.

A similar statement appears in the dispatch to Lord Crewe, published in the *Blue Book U/7/11*. All that Asiatics ask for is full immigration rights in law under the Bill without a colour bar. If an educated Indian has to apply under Chapter 33 for permission to reside in the Orange Free State, it means a colour bar in the Immigration Bill, and an amendment exempting such immigrants from the operation of Sections 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10 and 11 would meet the point, and would still make the immigrants liable to the disabilities as to holding fixed property, etc., common to the other Asiatics.

I venture to suggest that paragraph 2 of your letter is not clear. You say that the amendment to be moved will, in effect, exempt the educated Indian immigrants from registration under the Transvaal Act No. 36 of 1908. This may mean that an educated Indian immigrant will not be free from the operation of Act No. 36 of 1908 entirely, but that he will simply not be required to register. It may be that, in that case, an educated immigrant will be in a worse position than a resident Asiatic, a state of things which will hardly be acceptable to the Indian community.

As to the third paragraph, I may state that two advocates of long standing and wide experience, of the Transvaal and Natal respectively, have given their opinion to the effect that the wives and minor children of Asiatic residents will not be able to join them as heretofore, because they will be treated as prohibited immigrants, unless they can satisfy the education test; and, if it is the intention of the Bill not to debar the wives and minor children of such Asiatics, I submit that an exemption clause of a general nature should be added to the Bill.

The matters I have herein submitted are all of no intrinsic importance from the European standpoint, and I venture to think, not at all contentious, but they are of the greatest importance for the Asiatics. I hope, therefore, that General Smuts will be pleased to give them the consideration they deserve, and grant relief.

*I am,*
*Yours faithfully,*

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S.N. 5327; also *Indian Opinion*, 25-3-1911

## 451. LETTER TO MAUD POLAK

*March 20, 1911*

MY DEAR MAUD,

It seems to me that, after all, there will be no settlement, in spite of the Bill. Only, this time, the Imperial Government will have the clearest proof of what General Smuts is and can be. He has stated, in his letter to the Imperial Government, that educated immigrants, if Asiatics, will be free to settle in any part of the Union, and yet you will see from his latest letter[1] that such will not be the case. From the enclosures you will see what, in my opinion, is our demand[2] exactly regarding the Orange Free State and the Transvaal. Mr. Ritch will write to you on Wednesday from Cape Town as to what you should do.

*Yours sincerely,*

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S.N. 5328

## 452. TELEGRAM TO L. W. RITCH

JOHANNESBURG,
[*March 20, 1911*][3]

TO
RITCH
8, KLOOF STREET
CAPE TOWN

LETTER SMUTS[4] SAYS HIS TELEGRAM WHICH[5] DID NOT MEAN CONVEY [ID]EA[6] THAT CHAPTER THIRTY-THREE ORANGE FREE STATE LAWS WOULD BE CANCELLED. LETTER ALSO NOT CLEAR THAT EDUCATED IMMIGRANTS ENTIRELY FREE FROM REGISTRATION ACT. SUGGEST YOUR [MEETING][7] SUPPORTERS IMMEDIATELY SHOWING COMPLETE EXEMPTION FROM REGISTRATION LAWS UNION NECESSARY STOP RESISTANCE. FOR

[1] and [4] *Vide* Appendix X.

[2] *Vide* the preceding item.

[3] This appears to have been sent on the same day as "Telegram to Private Secretary to General Smuts", pp. 476-7 and "Letter to E. F. C. Lane", pp. 477-8.

[5],[6] and[7] These words are not clear in the photostat.

WIVES MINORS LETTER ALSO HOPELESSLY EVASIVE. HE SAYS DIFFICULTY NOT APPRECIATED BY DEPARTMENT.

6522[1]

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S.N. 5300a

## *453. LETTER TO L. W. RITCH*

*March 20, 1911*

MY DEAR RITCH,

Herewith copy of letter[2] from General Smuts, and my reply[3]. I think that we are in for a big battle. He does not want to forfeit the support of the Free Staters and, therefore, evidently wants to recant. The whole letter is quite worthy of him. He is writing entirely in order to conceal his meaning. The first paragraph credits me with a desire I never had. The second paragraph is intended to veil his meaning, namely, that educated immigrants will not be able to, if they wish to do so, take out licences to trade. Now they, if they are self-respecting men, would never want trading licences. That is one thing; but to have a statutory disability is totally another. We are asking for a better status for them than the residents possess. How can we now have for them a legal status inferior to that enjoyed by the residents? The third paragraph betrays an intention not to specifically exempt wives and minor children so that he may put in our way all sorts of difficulties. If need be, you will not hesitate to use Gregorowski's and Laughton's opinions to drive our points home, because, in view of what is happening, we must insist on an unequivocal meaning of the Bill so far as the points raised by us are concerned. Unless the Progressive Party solidly wishes to do its duty, and unless some of the Nationalists like Merriman and a few others favour us, the Bill will not be satisfactory. In that event, it seems to me that it will not receive the Royal sanction.

*Yours sincerely,*

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S.N. 5329

[1] This was Gandhiji's Post Box number.
[2] *Vide* Appendix X.
[3] *Vide* "Letter to E. F. C. Lane", pp. 477-8.

## 454. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

*March 20, 1911*

MY DEAR POLAK,

I have not much to add to what I have stated in Ritch's letter[1]. I have sent to West directly a copy of the Cape petition[2]. Further correspondence which I am sending to you should also go in. I hope to write a leading article on it tomorrow. I take it that the speeches[3] of Lord Ampthill and others at the Ritch reception will go in. A cablegram was received today to the effect that Ritch's father-in-law is dead. Whilst it is a matter for sorrow, it is equally one for congratulation, for Mr. Cohen is free from a living death.

*Yours sincerely,*

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S.N. 5325

## 455. TELEGRAM TO JOHANNESBURG OFFICE

LAWLEY STATION,
*March 21, 1911*

TO
GANDHI
JOHANNESBURG

MISSED TRAIN. ATTENDING SORABJEE[4]. MUCH BETTER. SEND COPY CHAPTER 33[5] ORANGIA POLAK WEST. WIRE IMPORTANT NEWS. SENT PAPERS MEDICINE WITH SORABJEE[6].

GANDHI

From the original as delivered: S.N. 5330

[1] *Vide* "Letter to L. W. Ritch", p. 480.
[2] This was published in *Indian Opinion*, 25-3-1911. *Vide* Appendix IX.
[3] These were published in *Indian Opinion*, 25-3-1911.
[4] Presumably, Sorabjee Shapurjee Adajania
[5] Of the Orange Free State Constitution, reproduced in *Indian Opinion*, 25-3-1911
[6] Presumably, Sorabjee, son of Parsee Rustomjee



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## 456. *TELEGRAM TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO GENERAL SMUTS*

JOHANNESBURG,
*March 22, 1911*

YOUR WIRE[1] 21ST. PLEASE CONVEY THANKS GENERAL SMUTS FOR PROMISING RELIEF REGARDING WIVES MINORS STOP AM SORRY HE THINKS SUBMISSION RESPECTING FREE STATE UNFAIR STOP BEG DRAW GENERAL SMUTS' ATTENTION GENERAL BOTHA'S DISPATCH TWENTIETH DECEMBER WHEREIN HE ASSURES LORD CREWE THAT A LIMITED NUMBER OF EDUCATED INDIANS PASSED UNDER THE BILL WILL AFTER SUCH ENTRY POSSESS PERMANENT RESIDENTIAL RIGHTS IN ANY PROVINCE OF THE UNION STOP BUT APART THEREFROM INVITE GENERAL SMUTS' ATTENTION TO FACT THAT WHOLE STRUGGLE FOR PRINCIPLE AND AGAINST COLOUR BAR STOP IF PASSIVE RESISTERS OBJECT COLOUR BAR TRANSVAAL IMMIGRATION LAW HOW CAN THEY ACCEPT IT IN UNION IMMIGRATION LAW IN WHICH TRANSVAAL LAW WILL MERGE STOP IT IS TRUE THEY HAVE NOT ASKED BEFORE AND THEY DO NOT NOW ASK FOR ENTRY EDUCATED OR OTHER ASIATICS FREE STATE STOP IT IS SUBMITTED QUESTION OF SUBSTANTIAL ENTRY DOES NOT ARISE STOP OTHER CONDITIONS THERE AND ABSENCE OF ANY SUBSTANTIAL INDIAN POPULATION THERE WILL EFFECTIVELY BAR ENTRANCE OF EDUCATED INDEPENDENT ASIATICS SUCH AS WILL BE ADMITTED UNDER PRESENT BILL STOP INDIANS ONLY PROTEST AGAINST UNION PARLIAMENT RATIFYING IN BILL FREE STATE POLICY AND THUS SAYING TO THE WORLD NO INDIAN EVEN THOUGH A POTENTATE CAN LEGALLY ENTER AND RESIDE IN A PROVINCE OF THE UNION STOP AS AGAINST DRASTIC CHANGES CAPE AND NATAL ASIATIC STATUS FREE STATE MEMBERS CANNOT

[1] Which read: 21st March. Yours 17th and 19th. Minister desires me to say he is taking into favourable consideration the question of providing for the women and children of persons lawfully resident, but he considers your attitude on the Free State matter quite unfair. The Asiatics have never claimed to enter that Province, and any such claim now will make it impossible for him to arrive at a satisfactory solution of the Indian question. All the other points in dispute seem now on a fair way to being satisfactorily solved.

REASONABLY OBJECT UNION PARLIAMENT DECLINING OFFER INSULT TO HIGHEST OF INDIA'S SONS BUT IF UNFORTUNATELY THEY DO AND GOVERNMENT CANNOT WELL DISPLEASE THEM IT IS RESPECTFULLY SUBMITTED THAT BILL BE WITHDRAWN AND TRANSVAAL IMMIGRATION LAW SUITABLY AMENDED SO AS TO DO JUSTICE TO ASIATIC SENTIMENT AND CLOSE PAINFUL STRUGGLE.

GANDHI

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S.N. 5340; also *Indian Opinion*, 8-4-1911

## *457. TELEGRAM TO L. W. RITCH*

JOHANNESBURG,
*March 22, 1911*

GENERAL SMUTS TELEGRAPHS[1] HE WILL FAVOURABLY CONSIDER QUESTION WOMEN CHILDREN BUT HE CONSIDERS ATTITUDE FREE STATE QUITE UNFAIR AND SAYS ASIATICS NEVER CLAIMED ENTER THAT PROVINCE AND ANY SUCH CLAIM NOW WILL MAKE IT IMPOSSIBLE FOR HIM TO ARRIVE AT SATISFACTORY SOLUTION. AM REPEATING MY REPLY. SLEPT OVER YOUR CRITICISM.[2] IT IS GOOD FOR CAUTIOUS PEOPLE AND IT WAS YOUR DUTY ISSUE WARNING NOTE. UNACCEPTABLE FOR PASSIVE RESISTERS. SUGGEST YOUR ADVISING CAPE INDIANS TAKE UP FREE STATE MATTER. DO YOU THINK I SHOULD JOIN YOU.

GANDHI

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S.N. 5339

[1] *Vide* footnote to the preceding item.
[2] *Vide* footnote 2 on p. 467.

## 458. TELEGRAM TO L. W. RITCH[1]

JOHANNESBURG,
*March 22, 1911*

THINK INCONSISTENT WITH DIGNITY TO ASK SMUTS NOW TO RECEIVE YOU. RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE INSULT IS HIS. BUT IF YOU STILL THINK THAT WIRE SHOULD BE SENT IT WILL BE IMMEDIATELY.

GANDHI

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S.N. 5341

## 459. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

*March 22, 1911*

MY DEAR POLAK,

I now enclose copies of the resolutions[2] I suggest you may pass at the meeting. What a great achievement it will be if the second resolution is passed intact. I send you also my reply[3] to General Smuts. Mr. Phillips[4] is very hostile to the Bill, because he considers that the Orange Free State disability constitutes a racial bar, and amounts to, in his own words, "the banning of a nation". At his instance, a meeting of the European Committee is being called at Mr. Hosken's office tomorrow. I think that the Committee will address General Smuts strongly in the matter. I have little doubt that all the members will support us.[5] I send you Ritch's letter[6] for perusal. His argument about the Bill is worthy of every consideration. I have myself been unable to see eye to eye with him. We are raising no new issue, and I feel that we would surrender our conscience, if we gave up the struggle. Even non-resisting Indians saw the point when I mentioned it, and they had no difficulty in meeting arguments which I advanced against continuing the struggle. Most of the resisters, though they are most anxious that

[1] This was in reply to Ritch's telegram of March 20 which read: Suggest wiring Smuts again request see me. Bill delayed at least today tomorrow. (S.N. 5324)

[2] *Vide* "Resolutions at Natal Indian Congress Meeting", pp. 492-3.

[3] *Vide* "Telegram to Private Secretary to General Smuts", pp. 482-3.

[4] Charles Phillips, a congregational Minister in the Transvaal

[5] *Vide* the following item.

[6] Not available

the struggle should close, have no hesitation in saying that, if the Free State bar remains, the struggle should continue.

*Yours sincerely,*

[Enclosure][1]

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S.N. 5344

## *460. REPORT OF EUROPEAN COMMITTEE MEETING*

[*March 23, 1911*][2]

A meeting of the European Committee of sympathisers, in Johannesburg, met at Mr. Hosken's office, on the 23rd ultimo, to discuss the situation. Mr. Hosken presided, and amongst those present were Rev. J. J. Doke, Rev. Chas. Phillips, Rev. J. Howard, Rev. T. Perry, and Messrs A. Cartwright, T. R. Haddon, D. Pollock, E. Dallow and M. K. Gandhi. The following resolution was unanimously passed:

> This meeting of the European British Indian Committee, having considered the correspondence between the Minister of the Interior and Mr. Gandhi (especially telegrams dated 17th and 19th March from Mr. Gandhi and the Minister's reply thereto dated 22nd March), desires to record its entire approval of Mr. Gandhi's communications, and is of opinion that the telegram of 22nd March from Mr. Gandhi clearly and equitably sets out the case, and urges the Government to accept the solution proposed therein. The Committee regrets to learn that the Minister of the Interior has thought fit to raise a new point regarding the Free State, in conflict with the Prime Minister's despatch dated 20th December, 1910, which stated, 'It is, however, proposed notwithstanding this test, to instruct these officers to allow the entry of a limited number of educated Indians who will after such entry possess permanent residential rights in any Province of the Union,' and the telegram from the Minister of the Interior to Mr. Gandhi, dated 4th March, which stated, 'Asiatics admitted as immigrants under the Immigration Bill would not fall under registration laws and would not be restricted to provincial limits.'

From a photostat of the original draft, partly in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 5396 b; also

*Indian Opinion*, 8-4-1911

[1] Not available. *Vide*, however, "Resolutions at Natal Indian Congress Meeting", pp. 492-3.

[2] The draft of the report contains the resolution passed on March 23 with corrections in Gandhiji's hand.

## 461. TELEGRAM TO L. W. RITCH[1]

[JOHANNESBURG,
*March 23, 1911*]

HOSKEN CARTWRIGHT DOKE PHILLIPS HOWARD PERRY HADDON POLLOCK DALLOW PRESENT EUROPEAN COMMITTEE PASSED COMPREHENSIVE RESOLUTION ENTIRELY APPROVING OUR CONTENTION REGARDING FREE STATE URGING GOVERNMENT TO ACCEPT SOLUTION PROPOSED BY ME. HOSKEN HAS WIRED RESOLUTION SMUTS MERRIMAN JAMESON HUNTER.

From a photostat of the draft in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 5396 c

## 462. LETTER TO L. W. RITCH

*March 23, 1911*

MY DEAR RITCH,

I have your letters. I wish I had the time to write to you more fully than I can. I am just going to the station to catch my train[2]. How I wish I could chat with you, and persuade you that we cannot possibly abandon the Free State point. The Members of the European Committee—whose names[3] you are having—saw the whole point without the slightest difficulty. Mr. Doke is now as strong as any of them, although he cross-examined me severely yesterday, and although, as I have told you, I read the whole of your objections to him. We are not asking for repeal of Chapter 33. We are simply asking for exemption for educated Indians in a Union Bill, because the colour bar of the Transvaal is being transferred to the Union Bill. General Smuts it is who is raising a new point, because he is committed in his speech and in his telegrams to the principle of such educated Asiatics being able to enter and reside in any Province of the Union. You will note, too, that Lord Crewe has anticipated our objection to any colour bar in the Union Bill. Hence his very serious anxiety on that score, and hence, too, General Botha's emphatic declaration[4] that educated Asiatics who may enter under the Bill can reside in any part of the Union. I do not share your fear that we would have difficulty in persuading Lord Ampthill. My only

[1] This appears to be the draft of a telegram sent to Ritch after the European Committee's meeting; *vide* the preceding item.

[2] For Lawley, probably after the meeting of the European Committee

[3] and [4] *Vide* "Report of European Committee Meeting", p. 485.

difficulty now is to persuade you. Unless you share my enthusiasm and conviction, how can you impart it to Alexander and others? More when I have the time.

*Yours sincerely,*

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S.N. 5346

## *463. TELEGRAM TO H. S. L. POLAK*

[JOHANNESBURG,]
*March 23, 1911*

RITCH TELEGRAPHS SAYING MINISTER IS MOVING AMENDMENTS EXEMPTING PERSONS BORN WITHIN UNION DOMICILED PERSONS WIVES CHILDREN FROM SECTION SEVEN. GOVERNOR GENERAL WILL HAVE POWER PRESCRIBE NATURE PROOF OFFICER MAY DEMAND.

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the handwritten office copy: S.N. 5348

## *464. TELEGRAM TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO MINISTER OF INTERIOR*

JOHANNESBURG,
*March 24, 1911*

YOURS TWENTYFOURTH INSTANT.[1] AT TIME MY LETTER FOURTH MARCH QUESTION FREE STATE WAS NOT RAISED BY GENERAL SMUTS STOP RACIAL BAR WILL CERTAINLY BE CREATED IF EDUCATED ASIATIC IMMIGRANTS BE CONFRONTED SUCCESSFULLY WITH FREE STATE ASIATIC REGISTRATION LAW UPON ENTERING STOP IN TRANSVAAL ACT FIFTEEN 1907 NO DIRECT RACIAL BAR APPEARS BUT AS GENERAL SMUTS WELL KNOWS SUCH IS ITS LEGAL EFFECT REGARDING ASIATICS AND SUCH ACCORDING TO INTERPRETATION GIVEN BY COUNSEL AND APPARENTLY ACCEPTED BY GENERAL SMUTS WILL BE EFFECT OF NEW BILL STOP IT IS FOR THAT REASON THAT AMENDMENT REGARDING TRANSVAAL ACT WILL BECOME NECESSARY STOP IT IS THEREFORE NOT POSSIBLE TO REGARD SUCH AMENDMENT AS A FURTHER CONCESSION AS EVIDENTLY GENERAL SMUTS SEEMS TO CONSIDER PROPOSED AMENDMENT BUT JUST AS

[1] *Vide* Appendix XI.

AMENDMENT REGARDING TRANSVAAL IS NECESSARY TO PURGE BILL RACIAL TAINT SO IS AMENDMENT REQUIRED TO COVER FREE STATE LAW STOP PASSIVE RESISTERS I VENTURE TO SUBMIT HAVE BEEN ABSOLUTELY CONSISTENT FROM THE FIRST; THEY OBJECT TO RACIAL BAR IN PRESENT TRANSVAAL LEGISLATION AND THEY WILL RELUCTANTLY BE OBLIGED OBJECT SUCH BAR IN ANY REPEALING LEGISLATION STOP THEY WOULD BE OPEN TO CHARGE OF RAISING NEW POINT IF THEY OBJECTED ON SCORE OF FREE STATE IN A PROVINCIAL LAW STOP I CANNOT LAY TOO MUCH EMPHASIS ON FACT THAT PASSIVE RESISTERS ARE NOT AT ALL CONCERNED WITH INDIVIDUAL MATERIAL GAIN THEY ARE NOT CONCERNED WHETHER A SINGLE ASIATIC ACTUALLY ENTERS FREE STATE BUT EVEN THOUGH THEIR SUFFERINGS MAY BE INDEFINITELY PROLONGED SO FAR AS I CAN SEE THEY WILL NOT CEASE SUFFERING SO LONG AS RACIAL BAR BE ALLOWED TO APPEAR IN ANY LEGISLATION WHICH IS TO REPLACE TRANSVAAL LAWS AND WHICH IS TO BE PASSED LARGELY TO SATISFY THEM STOP IF HONOURABLE ATTEMPT ON PART PASSIVE RESISTERS TO SECURE EQUITABLE TREATMENT IN ACCORDANCE WITH BRITISH TRADITIONS WITHOUT IN ANY MANNER ADVERSELY AFFECTING MATERIAL POSITION OF EUROPEAN COMMUNITY SHOULD EXASPERATE THAT COMMUNITY WITH ALL RESPECT I MUST STATE THAT WE HAVE TO TAKE THAT RISK BUT I SUGGEST TO GENERAL SMUTS THAT HE IS RAISING A NEW POINT IN CONFLICT WITH HIS TELEGRAM OF FOURTH INSTANT GENERAL BOTHA'S DISPATCH[1] OF TWENTIETH DECEMBER AND HIS OWN SPEECH SECOND READING AND I APPEAL TO HIS DESIRE TO CONCILIATE ASIATIC SENTIMENT AND ASK HIM TO GRANT WHAT MEANS SO MUCH TO ASIATICS AND VERY LITTLE INDEED TO EUROPEANS IN GENERAL AND FREE STATE EUROPEANS IN PARTICULAR STOP I PROPOSE LEAVING FOR CAPETOWN BY THE DIAMOND EXPRESS TOMORROW AND IF GENERAL SMUTS WILL BE PLEASED TO GRANT ME AN INTERVIEW PERHAPS I MAY BE ABLE TO MAKE MY SUBMISSION CLEARER.

GANDHI

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S.N. 5351; also *Indian Opinion*, 8-4-1911

[1] *Vide* "Report of European Committee Meeting", p. 485.

## 465. TELEGRAM TO L. W. RITCH

JOHANNESBURG,
*March 24, 1911*

RECEIVED LONG REPLY FROM SMUTS.[1] IT IS TEMPORISING AND THREATENING. SENT YOU COPY MY REPLY[2]. AM LEAVING DIAMOND EXPRESS TOMORROW.

GANDHI

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S.N. 5354

## 466. TELEGRAM TO H. S. L. POLAK

[JOHANNESBURG,]
*March 24, 1911*

SMUTS HAS SENT HOSKEN DANGEROUS TELEGRAM[3]. I SHALL THEREFORE NEED [A]T CAPETOWN ALL BLUE BOOKS REGARDING [Q]UESTION. PLEASE FORWARD THEM CAPETOWN.

GANDHI

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S.N. 5355

## 467. CABLE TO S. A. B. I. COMMITTEE[4]

JOHANNESBURG,
*March 24, 1911*

GOVERNMENT SEEMED DISPOSED GRANT PROTECTION TO WIVES, MINORS AND LAWFUL RESIDENTS, BUT, DESPITE GENERAL BOTHA'S DESPATCH TO LORD CREWE ON THE 20TH DECEMBER, GENERAL SMUTS' WIRE TO GANDHI OF THE 4TH MARCH AND HIS DECLARATION ON THE SECOND READING THAT EDUCATED ASIATIC IMMIGRANTS WILL BE ABLE TO SETTLE IN ANY PROVINCE OF THE UNION, GENERAL SMUTS NOW SAYS THEY WILL HAVE TO SUBMIT TO

[1] *Vide* Appendix XI.
[2] *Vide* the preceding item.
[3] *Vide* Appendix XII.
[4] The same cable was also sent to Gokhale. It was reproduced in *The Times of India*, 28-3-1911.

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HUMILIATING REGISTRATION LAW OF THE FREE STATE, THUS DEBARRING THEIR ENTRY AND CREATING RACIAL BAR UNION IMMIGRATION LAW. AS PASSIVE RESISTERS HAVE ALL ALONG FOUGHT AGAINST RACIAL BAR, STRUGGLE MUST CONTINUE IF GOVERNMENT GO BACK UPON ABOVE-MENTIONED THRICE REPEATED ASSURANCE AND NOW INTRODUCE RACIAL BAR. RESISTERS FIGHTING PURELY NATIONAL HONOUR AND DEFENDING BRITISH CONSTITUTION. EUROPEAN COMMITTEE PRESIDED BY HOSKEN MET YESTERDAY,[1] ENDORSED INDIAN ATTITUDE, AND URGENTLY TELEGRAPHED ASKING SMUTS NOT NOW REVERSE POLICY FORESHADOWED IN BOTHA'S DESPATCH AND SMUTS' TELEGRAM. TRUST IMPERIAL AND INDIAN GOVERNMENTS WILL TAKE ACTION BEFORE IT IS TOO LATE.

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy in the Colonial Office Records: C.O. 551/21; also from the original draft in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 5375

## *468. CABLE TO G. A. NATESAN*[2]

[JOHANNESBURG,
*March 24, 1911*]

SEE CABLES SENT GOKHALE ACT

From the original draft in pencil in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 5375

## *469. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK*

*March 24, 1911*

MY DEAR POLAK,

I have your letter. I am glad that your tooth is out. I certainly congratulate you upon getting such a splendid dentist. All I can say is that he is an exception. Karamat's case[3] is shocking. He is undoubtedly a great liar. He will not obey instructions. It is, therefore, difficult to treat him. Otherwise, I consider that his is not a hopeless case. Until he can be sent to India, and supported somewhere, all I can sug-

[1] *Vide* "Report of European Committee Meeting", p. 485.

[2] The draft of this cable is found under the text of the cable sent to Gokhale without the addressee's name. It is presumed to have been addressed to Natesan from a reference to it in the following item.

[3] *Vide* "Letter to Maganlal Gandhi", p. 407.

gest is that, if the people at Phœnix are reconciled to the idea, Mr. Rustomjee should build him a hut, and he should live in that hut by himself and cook for himself, the settlers to have strict instructions not to supply him with any other food at all. The cost will be trifling. He could pass his time in a fairly easy manner, and he will have some sympathetic company also. He can take a small plot, which he may do anything he likes with, so long as he keeps his hut and the plot in a sweet condition. He can only be allowed to come to Phœnix, subject, as I say, to the consent of the settlers, if Mr. Rustomjee will undertake to see him personally at least once per month. To send him to a lazaretto is, in my opinion, to ask him to commit suicide. I would far rather place in his hands a revolver than be party to sending him to any place of compulsory segregation. I dare say you know something of the scandals about Robben Island[1].

Unless some telegram is received from Smuts, I shall be leaving for Cape Town tomorrow, and we shall exchange telegrams very frequently. Nothing need, therefore, be discussed by me in this letter. Miss Schlesin will write to you daily with reference to the situation here, and send you what there may be for *Indian Opinion*. I enclose cables sent today to London[2] and Calcutta[3]. I have sent a short cablegram[4] to Natesan asking him to see the cables to Gokhale and act.

*Yours sincerely,*

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S.N. 5356

## *470. LETTER TO J. J. DOKE*

*March 25, 1911*

DEAR MR. DOKE,

You will have received copies of the telegrams exchanged between General Smuts and myself,[5] as also between Mr. Hosken and General Smuts.[6] They portend evil. I am, therefore, going to Cape Town by the Diamond Express. I had intended to call on you before I went away, but there has not been a moment to spare. Mr. Kallenbach is now back

[1] Formerly a leper colony, at the entrance of Table Bay, Cape Province

[2] To the S.A.B.I. Committee

[3] To Gokhale, Calcutta. *The Times of India* printed it as received from Calcutta, 27-3-1911.

[4] *Vide* the preceding item.

[5] *Vide* "Telegram to Private Secretary to Minister of Interior", pp. 487-8; also Appendix XI.

[6] *Vide* Appendix XII.

from Potchefstroom, and he will keep himself in touch with you. I think that vigorous action on the part of the Committee[1] will be necessary to counteract the effect of, if I may use the proper term, General Smuts' lies in his telegram to Mr. Hosken. If he dared to mislead a friend of the cause in this manner, how much more must he not have done with reference to the others who have not even taken the trouble of informing themselves on the question. I have suggested a public letter signed by the members of the Committee, giving their opinion as to what has been the demand from the start. His threat about exasperating the European community reminds me of what the demonstrators did in Durban to inflame the crowd in the December of 1896 and the January of 1897.[2] The European community is certainly not exasperated, but General Smuts is, and he wants to impart his own exasperation to the community.

*Yours sincerely*,

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S.N. 5358

## *471. RESOLUTIONS AT NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS MEETING*[3]

[DURBAN,
*March 26, 1911*]

The Natal Indian Congress meeting passed the following resolutions:

(1) Proposed by Mr. Abdul Caadir:

This mass meeting of British Indian residents of Natal hereby places on record its emphatic protest against the Immigrants' Restriction Bill now before the Union Parliament, in that:

(1) It inaugurates a policy of most total exclusion of British Indians from this Province, and is thus calculated to curtail the facilities which the resident Indian population has hitherto enjoyed of importing from India clerical and other assistance;

(2) No definite provision has been made for recognising the residential rights of the present Indian population, especially those of Indians born in this Province ;

(3) Unlike as heretofore, the issue of certificates of residence has been left by the Bill to the discretion of the Administration;

(4) No provision seems to have been made for assisting persons declared to be prohibited by an Immigration Officer to assert their rights before a Court of Law;

[1] European British Indian Committee
[2] *Vide* Vol. II, pp. 170-6.
[3] *Vide* "Letter to H. S. L. Polak", pp. 484-5.

(5) The wives and minor children of the resident Indian population do not appear to be protected as heretofore;

(6) The Bill seeks to introduce a racial or colour bar, by rendering British Indians, who may enter the Union under the education test, liable to the Asiatic Laws as to residential rights in one Province of the Union;

and respectfully trusts that the Union Government will introduce the necessary amendments granting relief.

Seconded by Mr. G. P. Gandhi; supported by Mr. J. R. Solomon (Tongaat).

(2) Proposed by Mr. Ismail Gora:

This meeting of British Indian residents of Natal declares that, in the event of the clauses imposing the disabilities described in Resolution No. 1, not being removed from the Bill, or otherwise satisfactorily amended, those present at the meeting shall respectfully oppose the Bill with all their strength.

Seconded by Mr. R. N. Moodley (Maritzburg); supported by Mr. S. Emammally.

(3) Proposed by Mr. Abdulla Haji Adam:

This meeting of British Indian residents of Natal hereby authorises the collection of a fund to effectively carry out the objects of the foregoing resolutions.

Seconded by Mr. R. B. Chetty; supported by Mr. M. M. Suliman (Umzinto).

(4) Proposed by Mr. Parsee Rustomjee:

This meeting of British Indian residents of Natal hereby congratulates the Transvaal Indian community upon, and cordially endorses their determination to continue, the "passive resistance" struggle until the racial or colour bar referred to in Resolution No. 1 is removed.

Seconded by Mr. Lutchman Panday; supported by Mr. Mahomed Cassim Coovadia.

(5) Proposed by Mr. Suliman Karwa:

This meeting of British Indian residents of Natal hereby authorises the Chairman to forward copies of the foregoing resolutions to the Union, Imperial and Indian Governments.

Seconded by Mr. P. K. Naidoo; supported by Mr. Rooknoodeen.

*Indian Opinion*, 1-4-1911

## 472. TELEGRAM TO JOHANNESBURG OFFICE

CAPE TOWN,
*March 27, 1911*
11-30 [A.M.]

SAW MINISTER SHORT WHILE. INTERVIEW FOUR O'CLOCK.
GANDHI

From a photostat of the original as delivered: S. N. 5367

## 473. TELEGRAM TO JOHANNESBURG OFFICE

CAPE TOWN,
*March 27, 1911*
5-15 [P.M.]

FAIR INTERVIEW. HOPEFUL. FURTHER INTERVIEW PROBABLE.
GANDHI

From a photostat of the original as delivered: S.N. 5372

## 474. LETTER TO SONJA SCHLESIN[1]

[CAPE TOWN,
*March 27, 1911*]

Here is roughly the purport of the conversation between J.C.S. and me:

SMUTS: You see, Gandhi, I am giving you everything. I could have done so by regulation but now I am protecting wives and children in the Bill. I do not know why, but I know that everybody suspects me. I am also recognising domicile. But you are very unreasonable. Your point is absolutely new.

GANDHIJI: How can you say so, General Smuts? Are you not creating a racial bar?

S.: No, I am not. Can you show it to me?

G.: Certainly. Will you admit that throughout the four years we have been simply fighting against the racial or colour bar?

[1] The addressee's name is not available, as the first two pages of the letter are missing; but from the instructions given in the last four paragraphs, it appears to have been written to Miss Sonja Schlesin, who looked after Gandhiji's Johannesburg office.

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S. started and said after some hesitation, 'Yes'.

G.: You know that in the Transvaal Immigration Law there is no colour bar, but you read sub-section 4 and the Asiatic Act, and you have the bar.

S.: You are not stating it fairly.

G.: Then you shall state it in your own words.

S.: In the Transvaal we wanted total exclusion and that is brought about by the combined effect of the two laws.

G.: And now you want the same thing for the Free State. The combined effect of the Free State Law and the new Bill will be [to] shut out the Nizam of Hyderabad, and I assure you that the passive resisters will fight against it.

S.: There you are unreasonable.

G.: I must deny the charge. I am not at all anxious that a single Indian should actually enter the Free State. I am sincerely anxious to help you.

S.: You do not know my difficulties.

G.: I do. And because I do, I suggest that only so much of the Free State Law should be a basis for exemption as will enable a highly educated Indian to enter the Free State. If you send for the Law, I will show you what I mean.

S. (Sends for the law): But the Free Staters will never consent.

G.: Then why did General Botha write to Lord Crewe that educated immigrants will be able to enter any province?

S.: You do not know all the dispatches. We have not printed everything, you know. Lord Crewe knows that we never wanted to give the rights as to the Free State.

G.: But you repeated the same thing at the second reading.

S.: Yes. I was simply sounding the Free Staters, and I noticed that they were very much opposed.

G.: If they are, it is your duty to persuade them, and if they cannot be, you may simply amend the Transvaal Legislation.

S.: But I am bound to the Imperial Government to pass this Bill. (Reads the Law and asks G. to go over to his side. G. points out the section from which the exemption is to be granted.) Yes, I now see what you mean.

G.: Yes, the educated Asiatics will be still prohibited from owning fixed property and from trading. I am not raising that issue at all. We have still to fight you on the question of Law 3 of 1885. But this has nothing to do with passive resistance. I for one do not wish to offer passive resistance for material gains, but the racial bar we can never accept.

S.: But you have no idea of my difficulties.

G.: I know that you are quite able to overcome greater difficulties.

S.: All right, I shall now talk to the Free State members. You should leave your address with Lane. I hope you will keep the Cape and the Natal Indians silent.

G.: They will certainly not remain silent. I have just got a wire from Natal. It is absolutely necessary to protect existing rights. The question of domicile is ticklish and section 25 requires amending. Certificates should be issued for the asking.

S.: But discretion is always reserved.

G.: Not in the existing statutes. But of this I shall talk later if you will let me.

S.: What are you doing in Jo'burg, etc. ?

G.: Looking after the families of passive resisters, etc.

S.: It has hurt me more than you to imprison these people. It has been the unpleasantest episode of my life to imprison men who suffer for their conscience. I should do the same thing for conscience' sake.

G.: And yet you are persecuting Mrs. Sodha.

* * *

Please let Sorabjee and those on the Farm read the interview. I have written it more for their sakes, and then you may send it to Mr. Polak.

The notes of the interview are not for publication. But they are not to be destroyed.

I hope you received Mr. Hosken's permission to publish the correspondence[1].

Do please get Sorabjee to write daily to the people at the Farm.

*Yours sincerely,*
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 5376

[1] *Vide* Appendix XII.

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## 475. TELEGRAM TO JOHANNESBURG OFFICE

CAPE TOWN,
*March 28, 1911*

SEND POLAK ALEXANDER'S MINISTER'S AMENDMENTS PUBLICATION.[1] AM MOVING REGARDING MINISTER'S AMENDMENTS WHICH ARE NOT QUITE SATISFACTORY. NOTHING FURTHER TODAY.

GANDHI

From a photostat of the original as delivered: S.N. 5370

## 476. LETTER TO E. F. C. LANE

7, BUITENCINGLE STREET,
CAPE TOWN,
*March 29, 1911*

DEAR MR. LANE,

I observe that amendments proposed to be moved by General Smuts to the Immigration Bill require that evidence in respect of domicile, marriage and parental relationship should be furnished to the satisfaction of the Immigration Officer. I venture to submit for General Smuts' consideration that such requirement may open the door to favouritism, corruption and bribery. I also submit that such delicate questions as to marital and parental relationship could only be decided by Courts of Law in case of doubt but not by an administrative officer nor should the matter be left to be dealt with by regulation.

With reference to the question of domicile it is a matter of the utmost importance that an illustrative definition such as occurs in the Natal Statute should be given. Members of the Indian community here lay the greatest stress on this point owing to their unfortunate experience in the past.

As to section 25, the feeling is very strong that those who prove their right of residence should be entitled to receive, on their making application therefor, a permanent residential certificate.

These are points which are of vital importance to the residents, and I hope that they will receive General Smuts' favourable consideration.

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S.N. 5385; also *Indian Opinion*, 8-4-1911

[1] Published in *Indian Opinion*, 1-4-1911

## 477. TELEGRAM TO JOHANNESBURG OFFICE

CAPE TOWN,
*March 29, 1911*

WIRE POLAK HOSKEN'S PERMISSION PUBLISH CORRESPONDENCE[1]. NO NEWS TODAY.

GANDHI

From a photostat of the original as delivered: S.N. 5382

## 478. INTERVIEW TO "CAPE ARGUS"[2]

[CAPE TOWN,
Before *March 30, 1911*][3]

A mistaken impression has got about that the British Indians of the Transvaal are perfectly satisfied with the provisions of the Immigrants' Restriction Bill. Mr. Advocate Gandhi, spokesman of the Transvaal Indian community, who is at present in Cape Town, in conversation with an *Argus* representative, detailed various points of the Bill, which are not approved of by the Transvaal Indians. [Gandhiji said:]

The chief drawback, so far as the passive resisters are concerned, is in the racial bar set up, if educated Asiatics who may enter the Union under the education test may not have residential rights in the Free State. It will be remembered that General Botha in a despatch to Lord Crewe, dated December 20, said that such Asiatics could settle in any Province of the Union, and a like statement was made by General Smuts at the second reading of the Bill. It now appears that the intention is to go back upon this, and debar such Asiatics from entering the Free State.

I may mention at once that the question is purely an academic one, because no Indian will care to enter the Free State under the present circumstances, but the removal of the racial bar in an Immigration Bill is absolutely necessary to salve Asiatic sentiment.

We do not contend that the general disabilities Asiatics labour under in the Free State should be removed. That is to say, if an educated Asiatic immigrant enters the Free State, he would still be under disabilities as to the holding of fixed property and the carrying on of any trade. The objection against the entrance of such educated Asiatics

[1] For the correspondence, *vide* Appendix XII.

[2] The report was "Special to *Cape Argus*" and was published under the heading "Emigration Bill—Mr. Gandhi's Grievances—Some Fresh Points".

[3] The *Argus* interview was published in *The Star* of the 30th.

is based upon ignorance of the situation. I can hardly imagine that the Free State members would object to conciliating Asiatic sentiment by a simple removal of the racial bar. There is little probability that a single British Indian of education will seek to enter the Free State, since the Indian population there is too sparse to support an Indian barrister or doctor. Unless this racial bar is removed, passive resistance, I fear, must continue, and I do not know but that its extent may be increased by the British Indians of Natal and the Cape joining it.

### NATAL AND THE CAPE

I have been receiving telegrams from Natal on other points of the Bill, and on these I am conferring with my countrymen in Cape Town. They are all agreed that the existing rights should be fully protected, and they therefore reason that full protection should be given to the wives and children of those who are domiciled in South Africa, and that the rights of domicile should be fully recognised, as they have been hitherto.

### THE TERM "DOMICILE"

Past experience shows that the term domicile, being a highly technical word, needs exact definition to avoid the possibilities of bribery and corruption. The Natal Act makes it possible for an Asiatic who has resided for three years to receive a certificate of domicile. It is also contended that those having rights of residence should be able to take out certificates if they choose to do so, so as to enable them to move to and fro without difficulty, without having to incur constant expense to prove their rights. It seems to me, indeed, that many of these matters are easily capable of adjustment.

### EDUCATION TEST

The great question for British Indians in Cape Colony and Natal is the disability imposed by the severe education test in the new Bill. Some guarantee is, I think, undoubtedly necessary in order that Indian residents may obtain clerical assistance from India, since this is not to be obtained in South Africa. Hitherto Indians having a fair education have entered under the immigration test, and such facilities will be still necessary if the existing rights are to be protected.

Some of us even go so far as to contend that now, under Union, there should be no restriction of movement from Province to Province, but the most moderate are for the time being reconciled to provincial restrictions. We recognise the difficulty of the Government in the matter, but it is still a pressing grievance.

From a photostat of the cutting from *Cape Argus* in the Sabarmati Sangrahalaya: S.N. 5214; also

*Indian Opinion*, 8-4-1911

## 479. TELEGRAM TO JOHANNESBURG OFFICE

7, BUITENCINGLE [STREET],
CAPE TOWN,
*March 30, 1911*

ASK KALLENBACH IF RITCH MAY LIVE MOUNTAIN VIEW. BILL NOT ON FOR SOME DAYS. SEEING MINISTER TOMORROW. WILL BE THROUGH BEFORE END APRIL.

GANDHI

From the original as delivered: S.N. 5391

## 480. SPEECH AT RECEPTION IN CAPE TOWN[1]

[*March 30, 1911*]

Brothers, I am obliged to you for the trouble you have taken for my sake. If you love me and my work, the only thing I would ask you to do is to join me in the work. I do not think I deserve the praise you have lavished on me. Whatever I have done and am doing still must be attributed to the religious ardour in me. We all know that Prahlad[2] opposed his father, embraced a red-hot iron pillar and went through many other ordeals. He suffered all this, he refused to submit to his father, not because of any animosity towards his father but because of his hatred for untruth. Similarly, friends, we may say that we have resorted to satyagraha not in a spirit of hostility to the Government, but because it is a religious duty to fight untruth. Some believe that satyagraha consists only in going to gaol, but that is not true. Satyagraha means resisting untruth by truthful means. It can be offered at any place, at any time and by any person, even though he may be in a minority of one. If one remains steadfast in it in a spirit of dedication, it always brings success. Satyagraha knows neither frustration nor despair. The admiration you have expressed for the success of satyagraha in the Transvaal does show that you realize its great value.

[Referring to the Immigration Bill, Gandhiji said:]

We are nearing the end, and victory will undoubtedly be ours if we work on in the spirit of satyagraha. What is most humiliating to us

[1] Given by the Cape Town United Hindu Association on March 30, 1911 in honour of L.W. Ritch and Gandhiji

[2] Gandhiji often refers to him as the ideal Satyagrahi of his conception.

in the new Bill is the provision that educated Indians cannot enter the Orange Free State, and that the Orange Free State Act, based on racial discrimination, will stand. This is humiliating to all Indians. We in the Transvaal and in Natal are firm in our opposition to it, and I am glad to know that the Cape Indians have also joined us. If we are united in offering satyagraha, our victory is assured.

Gandhiji then explained the position with regard to the correspondence between General Smuts and himself, and also described how the families of satyagrahis were maintained on the Tolstoy Farm, outlining the steps taken to give them some education of practical value. Finally, he referred to the urgent need for clothes, blankets, etc., for the use of the inmates of the Farm during the winter.

[From Gujarati]
*Indian Opinion*, 22-4-1911

## *481. TELEGRAM TO JOHANNESBURG OFFICE*

KLOOF STREET,
[CAPE TOWN,]
*March 31, 1911*

RAMBHABAI APPLICATION LEAVE APPEAL GRANTED. HEARING TWENTY-FOURTH. BLOEMFONTEIN. GOOD INDIAN MEETINGS YESTERDAY. MASS MEETING SUNDAY.

GANDHI

From the original as delivered: S.N. 5394

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# *APPENDICES*

## APPENDIX I

*ACCOUNT OF THE EXPENSES OF THE TRANSVAAL BRITISH INDIAN DEPUTATION TO ENGLAND*

JUNE 21ST 1909 TO NOVEMBER 1909

| | £ | s | d |
|---|---|---|---|
| Passage to and from London | 218 | 14 | 5 |
| Cables, wires, etc., S.A., India, and local | 36 | 11 | 11 |
| Railway, tram, cabs, etc. | 9 | 2 | 1 |
| Gratuities | 8 | 11 | 6 |
| Typist | 40 | 19 | 0 |
| Stationery | 31 | 1 | 0 |
| Hotel bills | 156 | 12 | 10 |
| Dinners and luncheons, etc. | 38 | 2 | 8 |
| Sundries | 10 | 0 | 11 |
| | £548 | 16 | 4 |

| | £ | s | d | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Less contribution from Natal Delegation on joint expenses | 31 | 16 | 10 | |
| Ditto Dr. Mehta | 11 | 17 | 8 | |
| Ditto Mr. Abdul Kadir | 2 | 0 | 0 | |
| | £45 | 14 | 6 | |
| Balance | | | | £503 1 10 |

*Indian Opinion*, 25-12-1909

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## APPENDIX II

### *PARSEE RUSTOMJEE'S LETTER TO THE JOHANNESBURG PRESS*

JOHANNESBURG,
*February 12, 1910*

SIR,

I was sentenced on the 11th day of February, 1909, at Volksrust to six months' imprisonment with hard labour for having dared to assert my right as an old resident of the Transvaal to re-enter. I finished my sentence on the 10th August last. I was deported the same day. I recrossed the border on the same day, and was sentenced to another term of six months on the 11th August last, and was discharged yesterday. I was removed from Volksrust to Houtpoort, and from Houtpoort to Diepkloof on the 7th October last. From Houtpoort to Johannesburg I was only handcuffed, but from Johannesburg to Diepkloof not only was I handcuffed but my leg, together with that of another fellow prisoner, was heavily ironed.

At Volksrust and Houtpoort I was medically examined, and considered weak enough to receive an extra blanket and special food—that is bread and milk. I am only 48 years, though the medical officers have taken me to be 55.

At the first two gaols I was allowed, for religious reasons, to retain my sacred thread and my own cap, which I was permitted to wear, whether in the presence of the Governor and other officers, or at the time of taking meals.

At Diepkloof, the next morning, the medical officer came to examine all the prisoners. There were several fellow passive resisters. The doctor started by saying to us, "What the devil are you here for?" One of us said, "for conscience' sake." The medical officer retorted, "Your conscience be damned." He then ordered that we should all be at the same time entirely undressed. This was objected to. For an Indian this is a very painful ordeal, but, as we feared violence, we all did as we were told. When my turn came to be examined, I reported that I was put upon the sick list at both Volksrust and Houtpoort, and that I had special food allowed, but the medical officer simply said, "There is nothing the matter with you. You are too fat." I had only ordinary food allowed, but an extra blanket had been allowed to me the previous evening by the head warder. I was immediately given hard work in the shape of stone breaking. I was not allowed to rest at all, and was expected to keep the hammer going continuously. The third day the work proved too much for me, and I complained, but the warder in charge said that he could do nothing, that I had to report myself as sick, but that, until he received other instructions, he was bound to see to it that I did my work without interruption. I, therefore, continued it, and several times felt as if I were finished. Subsequently, I was examined by the doctor, who told me that there was a little soreness in my sides owing to the work, but that there was nothing in it, and that I would be all right when I had thrown off superfluous fat. I had to continue

the work, which resulted in my health becoming worse. I reported again to the Governor, who ordered a re-examination, but that resulted in my being deprived even of the extra blanket that had been allowed, the doctor remarking that I had simply to work harder to become all right. This state of things continued for nearly a fortnight, I becoming worse and worse day by day, until, at last, I became restless at night and could not sleep at all. My fellow prisoners used to shampoo me and try to warm me. I, therefore, reported to the hospital orderly, and he restored the blanket that was taken away from me, and gave me some pills. Throughout all this time the work to which I was put was never interrupted. After I had been in this gaol for over a fortnight the Governor came and ordered me to leave my special cap. I told him that I had received special permission to retain it, and that the matter was decided even by the Natal Law Courts. The Governor said that the order formerly given was given in mistake, and that the Director had written to him saying that I could not retain the cap. I was, therefore, reluctantly obliged to give it up. My religious feeling was thereby hurt. The ordinary cap that I was given I was ordered to take off on the slightest pretext by most of the warders. I was subjected generally to much harassment by the medical officer, the Deputy-Governor, and most of the warders at Diepkloof. I continually complained about sickness, but my complaints were unheeded, sometimes they were jeered at. My eyesight was very much affected, and one of my eyes still remains in a bad condition. When I complained to the medical officer about my eye, he said that I should, on being discharged, spend from £10 to £20, and be operated upon. Every time I complained to the medical officer he made flippant remarks. The Deputy-Governor disregarded the complaints almost entirely. It was only the Governor who took any interest at all in me or, for that matter, in other prisoners. When I had finished all but about twenty days of my imprisonment I was obliged to again complain about absence of medical treatment to the Deputy-Governor, as a result of which I was removed to the gaol at Johannesburg, after which time I received greater attention. The work given to me there was less exacting, being light store work and tailoring. The Governor and the warders were kind, and listened to all I had to say. My health considerably improved during the time. I have lost 73 lbs. in weight throughout my imprisonment, now extending over fourteen months, with a brief interruption after my first incarceration.

It is my opinion that the passive resisters were removed to Diepkloof in order to break their spirit and resolution. Diepkloof is a penal settlement, and the prisoners there, unlike the prisoners in the other gaols of the Transvaal, are deprived of the privilege of receiving monthly visitors, and of writing and receiving monthly letters, these privileges being allowed only after the expiration of three months, and as most passive resisters can get only three months with hard labour, they never enjoy the privilege of receiving a visitor or of receiving or writing a letter. The food has been so selected as to partially starve Asiatic prisoners. Whereas native prisoners get 1 oz. of fat per day, Indian prisoners for three months have no fat allowed at all. This change was made when Indians complained that they could not take the ordinary animal fat that was given. They asked for ghee, which was allowed in the Johannesburg Gaol, and in reply there was a complete stopping of fat or its substitute. The result has been disastrous to many Indian prisoners. At Diepkloof the prisoners

were compelled to carry slop-pails. This work is most repugnant to most Indians, but the majority of us consider that, as passive resisters, we should not object to doing any work no matter how offensive it may be, so long as we are physically able to perform it. One among us, however, made it a matter of conscience and for that reason suffered 33 days' solitary confinement and half rations for the greater part of this period. I say nothing as to minor matters, such as constant insults by warders both European and Native. Most of the warders, contrary to regulations, insist upon Indian prisoners addressing them as Sir, &c.

I do not know why this time the Government have left me alone and not deported me. The almost complete ruin that has overtaken my business requires my presence in Natal for the time being. My health, too, demands attention. But I venture to assure the Government that there are some Indians at least left, including myself, who will not be broken, no matter what hardships they are subjected to, and I shall soon have the privilege of affording the Government an opportunity of sending me to Diepkloof or any other place they choose.

*I am, &c.,*
PARSEE RUSTOMJEE JEEVANJEE

Colonial Office Records: C.D. 5363

## APPENDIX III

### *TOLSTOY'S LETTER TO GANDHIJI*

YASNAYA POLYANA,
*May 8, 1910*

DEAR FRIEND,

I just received your letter and your book *Indian Home Rule*.

I read your book with great interest because I think that the question you treat in it—the passive resistance—is a question of the greatest importance not only for India but for the whole humanity.

I could not find your former letters, but came across your biography by J. Doss[1] which too interested me much deeply and gave me the possibility to know and understand you better.

I am at present not quite well and therefore abstain from writing to you all what I have to say about your book and all your work which I appreciate very much, but I will do it as soon as I will feel better.

Your friend and brother.

*Mahatma*, Vol. I

[1] In fact, by Rev. J. J. Doke; *vide* Vol. IX, p. 528.

## APPENDIX IV

*LETTER FROM GENERAL MANAGER, C. S. A. R., TO GANDHIJI*

JOHANNESBURG,
*April 11, 1910*

SIR,

With reference to the interview that Mr. Bell, Solicitor to the Railway Administration, Mr. Hoy, Assistant General Manager, and the undersigned had with Mr. Cachalia and yourself this morning, I now place on record, as agreed, a summary of the understanding arrived at in the course of the discussion, namely:—

1. That Regulations 221 to 224 inclusive be replaced by the following:

221. It shall be lawful for the General Manager where practicable to set apart different compartments on trains for passengers of different races, and the passengers for whom the compartments are so reserved shall travel only in such compartments and no other, nor will any other compartment be considered as available. Such compartments shall be marked "Reserved".

222. It shall be competent for the guard or the conductor or any other railway official to remove passengers from one compartment to another without giving any reason therefor.

223. It shall be competent for the station-master or other authorised official to refuse a first or second-class ticket to any passenger who may, in his opinion, not be dressed in a decent or cleanly condition.

224. The penalty provided in Section 42 of the Act will apply to any contravention of Regulations 221 to 223, inclusive.

2. That the foregoing alterations in the wording of the regulations have been adopted so as to meet the views and wishes of the community Mr. Cachalia and yourself represent.

3. That the manner in which the regulations and the authority entrusted to the Administration has been carried out in the past has been acceptable to the Asiatic community with the exception of such cases as have been brought specially under notice and which, when it was found that there was just cause for complaint, have been dealt with in a manner that you and the community you represent considered to be proper and just.

4. I undertook that the Administration would continue to act in this spirit, and it was agreed that, should it be represented to you at any time that any member of the staff has acted in an improper manner and you have satisfied yourself by previous enquiry that there has been good cause for complaint, you would communicate with the Assistant General Manager and the Administration would, after investigation, deal with the case as the circumstances call for, and in the spirit of requiring justice and proper treatment being extended to yourselves and to your countrymen.

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5. For the purpose of giving effect to the foregoing, you approved, on my suggestion, that while the regulations to be published should be framed in the manner now provisionally agreed to, there would be no objection to the Administration renewing the instructions to the staff on the lines at present obtaining or with such modification of the existing instructions as circumstances may from time to time call for.

6. It was agreed that, in giving effect to the intention of the agreement now arrived at, toleration would have to be exercised, and that, if an instance should occur (as it is quite possible may be the case) when, say, one of your countrymen might desire to travel by a train and the officers of the Administration considered difficulty and possibly disturbance would probably result therefrom, it shall be open to the officers of the Administration, at their discretion, to require such passenger to travel by another train, and if needs be on another date.

7. It was further agreed that should difficulties arise in connection with the proposed new regulations which may seriously interfere with their practical working, a meeting would be convened with a view to altering the regulations, and you undertook to approach the question of such alteration in the spirit in which our present discussion has been conducted.

8. May I take this opportunity of reiterating the expression of satisfaction I conveyed to Mr. Cachalia and yourself at the spirit in which the discussion had been conducted by both of you and which has resulted in the arrangement now arrived at subject to confirmation by the Transvaal and Orange River Colony Governments and the Railway Board.

*I have, etc.*,
T. R. PRICE
*General Manager*

Colonial Office Records: C.D. 5363

## APPENDIX V

### *W. J. WYBERGH'S LETTER TO GANDHIJI*

JOHANNESBURG,
*May 3, 1910*

MY DEAR MR. GANDHI,

Many thanks for your letter and the pamphlet on Indian Home Rule. I have been prevented by business from giving adequate study to it until the last few days. I find it very difficult to criticise it adequately within reasonable length because I do not think that on the whole your argument is coherent or that the various statements and opinions you express have any real dependence upon one another. I am also inevitably rather ignorant of the actual conditions in India and am afraid, therefore, of being presumptuous in expressing any opinion upon the correctness or otherwise of many facts which you appear to take for granted and make the basis of argument.

Meanwhile I must say that on many questions of fact you are at variance with ordinary opinion. To begin with, as to the question of "loyalty". I must say that while, as a rule, you avoid giving any occasion for specific charges of disloyalty, yet there are so many subtle hints and ambiguous expressions, so many things left unsaid, and so many half-truths put forward, that I am not at all surprised at anyone considering the book highly dangerous. Granting that you do not intend to be disloyal, yet I am sure that the average plain ignorant man without intellectual subtlety would suppose that you were preaching against British rule in India, for you attack everything which the plain man would identify with this rule. You discourage violence, but only because you think violence is both wrong and ineffective, not because the object sought is wrong.

On the far more important general principle underlying your book I must say definitely that I think you are going wrong. European civilisation has many defects and I agree with many of your criticisms, but I do not believe that it is "the Kingdom of Satan" or that it ought to be abolished. It appears to me a necessary step in the evolution of mankind, especially manifested in and suitable for Western nations. While I recognise that the highest ideals of India (and Europe too) are in advance of this civilisation, yet I think also, with all modesty, that the bulk of the Indian population require to be roused by the lash of competition and the other material and sensuous as well as intellectual stimuli which "civilisation" supplies. You are practically preaching "liberation" in the religious and metaphysical sense as the immediate aim of all humanity, for that is what your Swadeshi in its best sense, as explained in Chapters XVI and XVII, and as illustrated throughout the book, really means. Now you individually, and others individually, may have arrived at the stage where it is right to make this the immediate ideal, but the bulk of humanity have not; and I agree with Mrs. Besant when she says that there is a real danger in preaching "liberation" to people who are not ready for it. She says somewhere that what the bulk of the people in India require is not to abandon desire and activity in the lower worlds but to increase them and learn from them, and that passivity for them means stagnation. That does not mean that all the *forms* of Western civilisation are suitable for India, and I don't doubt that we British have erred (in all good faith) in trying to introduce British institutions indiscriminately. But Western *ideals* are necessary to India, not to supersede but to modify and develop her own. India ought, I think, to be governed on Indian lines, (whether by Indians or Englishmen is another question) but "civilisation" is both necessary and useful, if it grows naturally and is not forced and it cannot be avoided.

To turn now to the still more general application of your ideals, apart from Indian questions:—

Firstly, I think you are confusing between "passive resistance" and "non-resistance". What you call "soul-force" and "passive resistance" have nothing to do with love or spirituality in themselves. In advocating these things instead of physical force, you are only transferring the battle and the violence from the physical to the mental plane. Your weapons are mental and psychic, not physical, but also not spiritual. You are still fighting to win, and fighting harder than ever, and, in my opinion, all fighting

in modern times is tending to become more and more a matter of intellectual and psychic force and less of physical force. It is not thereby becoming more moral or less cruel, rather the reverse, but it is becoming more effective. Personally, I have grave scruples about employing "soul-force" for the attainment of physical or political objects, however strongly I may believe in the value of those objects and the justice of my cause. In political life it is often a great temptation to me to do so, for, as you know, I feel very strongly on political questions; but, while, of course, I regard all possible means of *intellectual persuasion and argument* as right and necessary, I think that the use of what you call "soul-force" for concrete ends as dangerous in the extreme, and I always have in mind the refusal of Christ to use "soul-force" for even the perfectly harmless and apparently legitimate purpose of making stones into bread. I think that in this story a very profound truth is conveyed. Now, while *I* think this is very wrong, it does not follow that those who, even while using wrong methods, are unselfishly working for a cause (however mistaken) will not reap for themselves the moral and spiritual benefit which follows upon all unselfish sacrifice, and I am sure that you will do so and are doing so, but I think this is not due to your methods but in spite of them, and that it is actually due to your motives. But there is a danger to others less single-minded. As the *Bhagavad Gita* says: "He who sitteth controlling the organs of action, but dwelling in his mind on the objects of the senses, that bewildered man is called a hypocrite." It would be better to use the "organs of action" I think!

But taking the "passive resistance" movement as a whole, on the assumption that what you are really aiming at is not merely a political object but the assertion of the superiority of *non-resistance*, of love and of true inner freedom as against the compromises and conventions of life, it does not seem consistent that you should allow yourselves to be regarded as martyrs, or complain of the hardships of prison (not that you yourself have, I believe, ever done this) or make political capital out of what seems to you injustice or ill-treatment, or indeed allow the matter to be advertised in the Press or send deputations to England and India and generally carry on a political agitation. If it is really a matter of religion, then I think that the truest heroism is not concerned in this exceedingly active "passive resistance" but that it consists in suffering *as private individuals* and saying nothing about it.

Of course, if the object is political, all these things become questions of tactics and may be very proper and useful weapons according to circumstances. Personally, while I admire heroism displayed in a political cause, and the very real heroism of many "passive resisters", I must say that it seems in no way superior to the more active forms displayed by soldiers or rioters or revolutionaries. Neither does it differ from or deserve more sympathy than that which has been shown by many quite ordinary sufferers in other political causes and such as, for instance, the anti-Asiatic movement. It so happens that neither the soldiers nor the opponents of Asiatic immigration have been called upon to go to prison, but both alike in their respective spheres and according to their duty have risked and often lost that which they held most dear in a cause which, though not strictly "religious", they regarded as most sacred. The physical sufferings of soldiers at any rate have vastly exceeded those of "passive resisters", yet, if the soldier complains that the bullets are too hard or that campaigning is uncomfor-

table and therefore that the enemy is treating him most unkindly, he is regarded as simply ridiculous. Of course, under certain circumstances, it is good tactics to parade your injuries, but that is a matter for you to decide.

Finally, I come to the question of "non-resistance" itself, and its proper use and place. It appears to me that for the individual saint, seeking liberation, for whom the time has come when the personality has to be killed out and the whole world order transcended, in order that the pure spiritual consciousness may unfold,—for him non-resistance may be the right course. I do not presume to speak of this with certainty because I do not know. In its very nature, however, non-resistance of this description can have no political end in view, for its object is to enable a man to escape and transcend the world altogether. But, as a practical political principle suitable for adoption by ordinary men living the ordinary life of citizens, it seems to me altogether pernicious, and utterly disastrous to the public welfare. It is mere anarchy, and I have always regarded Tolstoy, its principal apostle, as very likely a saint personally, but when he preaches his doctrines as a political propaganda and recommends them for indiscriminate adoption, as the most dangerous enemy of humanity. I have no manner of doubt that Governments and laws and police and physical force are absolutely essential to average humanity, and are as truly "natural" in their stage of development and as truly moral as eating and drinking and propagating the species. To undermine them without being ready to substitute something else a little better but still of the same character is simply to destroy the possibility of all advance. Therefore, to my mind, such preaching is far more injurious than mere disloyalty, which after all only proposes to substitute another Government. It is a fatal confusion to suppose that what is right for the saint is right for everyone else. "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's and unto God the things that are God's." When all humanity has reached sainthood Government will become unnecessary but not till then. Meanwhile civilisation must be mended, not ended. Even if as regards India you are right and Mrs. Besant is wrong, and it is really the case that India should be deprived of the Government both of British rulers and of Indian princes, and each man should be a law unto himself, I am at any rate quite clear that for Western nations and for South Africa such ideas are fatal. It would, if true, only illustrate how fundamental are the differences between Indian and European, and would practically justify South Africa in taking extreme measures to get rid of the Indian population. Has it not occurred to you that, if your ideas about India are correct, your conclusion in Chapter XX that "deportation for life to the Andamans is not enough expiation for the sin of encouraging European civilization" would apply with great force to deportation from the Transvaal to Delagoa Bay or to India? I have written at far too great a length, but you have raised very interesting and important issues in your pamphlet and have asked me to criticise. Let me assure you that you and others like you have my most sincere respect and most affectionate regard and admiration, and that, as a matter of public duty, I shall continue to oppose both your object and your methods to the utmost of my ability.

*Yours very sincerely,*
W. WYBERGH

PS.

As you once invited me to contribute to *Indian Opinion* an essay on passive resistance, which at the time I was unable to do, it occurs to me that you might like to publish this letter. If so, please do so.—W. W.

*Indian Opinion*, 21-5-1910

## APPENDIX VI

(i)

### *V. CHERTKOV'S LETTER TO GANDHIJI*

My friend Leo Tolstoy has requested me to acknowledge the receipt of your letter to him of August 15 and to translate into English his letter to you of September 7th (new style 20th September) written originally in Russian.

All that you communicate about Mr. Kallenbach has greatly interested Tolstoy, who has also asked me to answer for him to Mr. Kallenbach's letter.

Tolstoy sends you and your co-workers his heartiest greetings and warmest wishes for the success of your work, his appreciation of which you will gather from the enclosed translation of his letter to you. I must apologise for my mistakes in English in the translation; but, living in the country in Russia, I am unable to profit by the assistance of any Englishman for correcting my mistakes.

With Tolstoy's permission, his letter to you will be published in a small periodical printed by some friends of ours in London. A copy of the magazine with the letter shall be forwarded to you, as also some English publications of Tolstoy's writings issued by *The Free Age Press*.

As it seems to me most desirable that more should be known in England about your movement, I am writing to a great friend of mine and of Tolstoy—Mrs. Fyvie Mayo[1] of Glasgow—proposing that she should enter into communication with you. She possesses considerable literary talent and is well known in England as an author. It should be worth your while furnishing her with all your publications which might serve her as material for an article upon your movement which, if published, in England, would attract attention to your work and position. Mrs. Mayo will probably write to you herself.

With sincerest good wishes from myself. Kindly transmit to Mr. Kallenbach the enclosed letter.

V. CHERTKOV

[1] A journalist and translator of Tolstoy, she had written an article on the Transvaal Indians' struggle.

(ii)

## *TOLSTOY'S LETTER TO GANDHIJI*[1]

"KOTCHETY"[2],
RUSSIA,
*September 7, 1910*

I have received your journal *Indian Opinion* and I am happy to know all that is written on non-resistance. I wish to communicate to you the thoughts which are aroused in me by the reading of those articles.

The more I live—and specially now that I am approaching death—the more I feel inclined to express to others the feelings which so strongly move my being, and which, according to my opinion, are of great importance. That is, what one calls non-resistance, is in reality nothing else but the discipline of love undeformed by false interpretation. Love is the aspiration for communion and solidarity with other souls, and that aspiration always liberates the source of noble activities. That love is the supreme and unique law of human life, which everyone feels in the depth of one's soul. We find it manifested most clearly in the soul of the infants. Man feels it so long as he is not blinded by the false doctrines of the world.

That law of love has been promulgated by all the philosophies—Indian, Chinese, Hebrew, Greek and Roman. I think that it had been most clearly expressed by Christ, who said that in that law is contained both the law and the Prophets. But he has done more; anticipating the deformation to which that law is exposed, he indicated directly the danger of such deformation which is natural to people who live only for worldly interests. The danger consists precisely in permitting one's self to defend those interests by violence; that is to say, as he has expressed, returning blow by blows, and taking back by force things that have been taken from us, and so forth. Christ knew also, just as all reasonable human beings must know, that the employment of violence is incompatible with love, which is the fundamental law of life. He knew that, once violence is admitted, doesn't matter in even a single case, the law of love is thereby rendered futile. That is to say that the law of love ceases to exist. The whole Christian civilisation, so brilliant in the exterior, has grown up on this misunderstanding and this flagrant and strange contradiction, sometimes conscious but mostly unconscious.

In reality, as soon as resistance is admitted by the side of love, love no longer exists and cannot exist as the law of existence; and if the law of love cannot exist, therein remains no other law except that of violence, that is, the right of the mighty. It was thus that the Christian society has lived during these nineteen centuries. It is a fact that all the time people were following only violence in the organisation of society. But the difference between the ideals of Christian peoples and that of other nations lies only

[1] An English translation by Pauline Padlashuk, Johannesburg, was published in *Indian Opinion*, 26-11-1910, under the title "Count Tolstoy and Passive Resistance: A Message to the Transvaal Indians". A translation by Aylmer Maude is also available in Tolstoy's *Recollections and Essays* published by Oxford University Press.

[2] Castle of Tolstoy's eldest daughter

in this: that, in Christianity the law of love had been expressed so clearly and definitely as has never been expressed in any other religious doctrine; that the Christian world had solemnly accepted that law, although at the same time it had permitted the employment of violence and on that violence it had constructed their whole life. Consequently, the life of the Christian peoples is an absolute contradiction between their profession and the basis of their life; contradiction between love recognised as the law of life, and violence recognised as inevitable in different departments of life: like Governments, Tribunals, Army, etc., which are recognised and praised. That contradiction developed with the inner development of the Christian world and has attained its paroxysm in recent days.

At present, the question poses itself evidently in the following manner: either it must be admitted that we do not recognise any discipline, religious or moral, and that we are guided in the organisation of life only by the law of force, or that all the taxes that we exact by force, the judicial and police organisations and, above all, the army must be abolished.

This spring, in the religious examination of a secondary school of girls in Moscow, the Professor of Catechism as well as the Bishop had questioned the young girls on the ten commandments and above all on the sixth "Thou shalt not kill". When the examiner received a good reply, the Bishop generally paused for another question: Is killing proscribed by the sacred Law always and in all cases? And the poor young girls perverted by their teachers must reply: No, not always; killing is permitted during war, and for the execution of criminals. However, one of those unfortunate girls, (what I relate is not a fiction but a fact that has been transmitted to me by an eye-witness) having been asked the same question, "Is killing always a crime?" was moved deeply, blushed and replied with decision "Yes, always." To all the sophisticated questions habitual to the Bishop, she replied with firm conviction: killing is always forbidden in the Old Testament as well as by Christ who not only forbids killing but all wickedness against our neighbours. In spite of all his oratorical talent and all his imposing grandeur, the Bishop was obliged to beat a retreat and the young girl came out victorious.

Yes, we can discuss in our journals the progress in aviation and such other discoveries, the complicated diplomatic relations, the different clubs and alliances, the so-called artistic creations, etc., and pass in silence what was affirmed by the young girl. But silence is futile in such cases, because every one of this Christian world is feeling the same, more or less vaguely, like that girl. Socialism, Communism, Anarchism, Salvation Army, the growing criminalities, unemployment and absurd luxuries of the rich, augmented without limit, and the awful misery of the poor, the terribly increasing number of suicides—all these are the signs of that inner contradiction which must be there and which cannot be resolved; and without doubt, can only be resolved by acceptation of the law of love and by the rejection of all sorts of violence. Consequently, your work in Transvaal, which seems to be far away from the centre of our world, is yet the most fundamental and the most important to us supplying the most weighty practical proof in which the world can now share and with which must participate not only the Christians but all the peoples of the world.

I think that it would give you pleasure to know that with us in Russia, a similar movement is also developing rapidly under the form of the refusal of military services augmenting year after year. However small may be the number of your participators in non-resistance and the number of those in Russia who refuse military service, both the one and the other may assert with audacity that "God is with us" and "God is more powerful than men".

Between the confession of Christianity, even under the perverted form in which it appears amongst us Christian peoples, and the simultaneous recognition of the necessity of armies and of the preparation for killing on an ever-increasing scale, there exists a contradiction so flagrant and crying that sooner or later, probably very soon, it must invariably manifest itself in utter nakedness; and it will lead us either to renounce the Christian religion, and to maintain the governmental power, or to renounce the existence of the army and all the forms of violence which the state supports and which are more or less necessary to sustain its power. That contradiction is felt by all the governments, by your British Government as well as by our Russian Government; and, therefore, by the spirit of conservatism natural to these governments, the opposition is persecuted, as we find in Russia as well as in the articles of your journal, more than any other anti-governmental activity. The governments know from which direction comes the principal danger and try to defend themselves with a great zeal in that trial not merely to preserve their interests but actually to fight for their very existence.

*With my perfect esteem,*
LEO TOLSTOY

From *Tolstoy and Gandhi* by Dr. Kalidas Nag

## APPENDIX VII

### *TRANSVAAL MINISTERS' DECLARATION*

In view of the gravity of the cases of the sons of Messrs Chhotabhai and Tayob Haji Khan Mahomed, we give the following extracts from the Blue-book dated October, 1908, containing "correspondence relating to legislation affecting Asiatics in the Transvaal":

EXTRACT FROM COLONIAL SECRETARY'S SPEECH ON THE SECOND READING OF THE ASIATICS REGISTRATION AMENDMENT BILL, AUGUST, 1908

The third difficulty that they felt against Act 2 of 1907 referred to children. That Act provided machinery under which it was necessary that not only the adult males but also minors between the ages of 8 years and 16 years should register. There was no special reason really for that provision that minors of those ages should be registered, and, as a matter of fact, in the voluntary registration that had taken place I had adopted an alternative procedure which was just as effective, viz., where the parent had been registered, the names, ages, and description of the children up to the age of 16 were inserted on each certificate, so that if a parent at any future date said he had five children it would be quite easy from the certificate to identify these children. That was all that was thought necessary, and that I embodied in the voluntary certificates, and therefore there was no trouble in meeting the Asiatics [*sic*] and embodying them in the law. Hon. members will see, that

is the third innovation made in the Bill—that minors below the age of 16 shall not be required to have certificates of administration, but shall be taken up in the certificates of their parents."

EXTRACTS FROM THE PRIME MINISTER'S MINUTE TO THE GOVERNOR, DATED THE 5TH SEPTEMBER, 1908

Nine points were raised by the Asiatics, and these were recorded in writing as representing their final demands; and, after a discussion lasting some hours, it was decided to meet their views as far as possible and to allow no opportunity for any reasonable men to say that such views had not been met in the widest possible spirit. The objections met were as follows:

(1) Alteration of the definition of the term "Asiatic" so that Mahomedan subjects of the Turkish Dominions should not as expressed in Law 3 of 1885 be specially described as Asiatics.

(2) Unregistered Asiatics domiciled in the Transvaal for three years prior to the 11th October, 1889, should be allowed to return and register themselves, provided they made their applications within one year of the coming into force of the new Act.

(3) The names of male minor Asiatics to be recorded on their parents' certificates and their registration not to be required until they reached the age of sixteen years.

(4) Thumb-impressions should not be required from applicants for trading licences who could sign their names in English in formed handwriting.

(5) An appeal from the decision of the Registrar of Asiatics refusing to register an applicant for registration should be allowed to a Magistrate specially appointed to hear all such appeals.

(6) The provision in Act 2 of 1907 allowing Asiatics under certain circumstances to acquire liquor should be deleted on the grounds that it was contrary to the religion of the majority of the persons concerned to consume the same.

(7) While Act 2 of 1907 was to remain on the Statute Book all Asiatics holding Certificates of Registration under the Validating Act were to be specially exempted from the provisions of the Asiatic Law Amendment Act.

(8) Transfer of certain property in Pretoria to be allowed in favour of the heirs of a deceased Indian named Aboobaker Amod who had acquired the property before the passing of Law 3 of 1885.

The ninth subject of discussion was the fresh demand made for the immigration of Asiatics not claiming previous domicile in the Transvaal but who could pass an educational test. This is a claim which Ministers had previously decided was inadmissible, and, even had it been otherwise, it is difficult to see by what means a Bill providing for the immigration of Asiatics of the class in question could be passed through either of the Houses of Parliament in view of the almost universal feeling of the white Colonists on the subject. The Asiatic leaders were informed that, in this single respect, their wishes could not be met, and this was distinctly understood by them. A Select Committee representing all parties in the Legislative Assembly was

then appointed to re-draft the Bill in accordance with the arrangement come to. The Committee consisted of Sir Percy Fitzpatrick, Messrs Jacobsz, Chaplin, Wybergh, and the Colonial Secretary and a copy of their report, dated the 20th ultimo, submitting a new draft Bill is attached.

EXTRACT FROM THE REPORT OF THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL,
DATED 9TH SEPTEMBER, 1908

IV. The minor Asiatic (i.e., a boy under sixteen) will be included in the certificate of his parent or guardian. Under Act No. 2 of 1907, it was the duty of the parent or guardian, if the child was under eight, to furnish the necessary particulars relative to him, and when such child attained the age of eight to apply for registration on his behalf. Under the New Act the child, when he attains the age of sixteen, will have to apply for registration, and, if he attained that age while he was outside the Colony and he desires to take up his residential rights (if any) in it he will have to apply from a place outside the Colony but in South Africa."

*Indian Opinion*, 10-9-1910

## APPENDIX VIII

### *IMMIGRANTS' RESTRICTION BILL*

(1911)

Re-printed from "The Union of South Africa Government Gazette Extraordinary", dated the 25th February, 1911

GOVERNMENT NOTICE NO. 353 OF 1911

The subjoined Bill, "To Consolidate and Amend the Laws in force in the various Provinces of the Union relating to Restrictions upon Immigration thereto, to provide for the Establishment of an Union Immigration Department and to regulate Immigration into the Union or any Province thereof", is hereby published for general information.

W. E. BOK,
SECRETARY TO THE PRIME MINISTER

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE,
CAPE TOWN, 24th February, 1911

BILL

TO

**Consolidate and Amend the Laws in force in the various Provinces of the Union relating to Restrictions upon Immigration thereto, to Provide for the Establishment of an Union Immigration Department and to regulate Immigration into the Union or any Province thereof.**

*To be introduced by* The Minister of the Interior

Be it enacted by the King's Most Excellent Majesty, the Senate, and the House of Assembly of the Union of South Africa as follows:

PRELIMINARY

1. The laws mentioned in the First Schedule to this Act shall be and are hereby repealed to the extent set out in the fourth column of that Schedule, together with so much of any other law as may be repugnant to or inconsistent with the provisions of this Act.

2. In this Act, and in the regulations made thereunder, unless inconsistent with the context

"department" shall mean the Immigration Department established under this Act;

"immigration officer" shall mean the chief immigration officer or any other officer of the department, or any other person, whether an officer of the department or not, on whom powers have been conferred or to whom duties have been assigned by the Minister as to the carrying out of this Act or the regulations;

"magistrate" shall mean a chief magistrate or a resident or assistant resident magistrate;

"master", in relation to a ship, shall mean any person (other than a pilot) for the time being in charge or command of any ship;

"Minister" shall mean the Minister of the Interior, or any other Minister to whom the Governor-General may assign the administration of this Act;

"owner", in relation to a ship, shall, in addition to the actual owner, include the charterer of the ship, or any agent within the Union of the owner or charterer;

"police officer" shall mean any member of a police force established in the Union under the authority of law;

"port" or "port of entry" shall mean

(a) any place on the coast of the Union; or

(b) any railway station or place within the Union at or near any border thereof,

at which entry into the Union can be effected;

"regulation" shall mean a regulation made and in force under this Act;

"ship" shall include any vessel or boat of any kind whatsoever used in navigation, whether propelled by sails, steam power, or other mechanical means, or by towing or oars or in any other manner whatever.

**The Immigration Department**

3.(1) The Governor-General may establish and, out of moneys voted by Parliament for the purpose, maintain a department to be known as the Immigration Department, which shall be under the control of the Minister.

(2) The function of the department shall be the performance of all work, whether within or outside the Union, necessary for or incidental to the prevention of the entrance of prohibited immigrants into the Union, or the entrance of persons into any Province wherein their residence is unlawful, or necessary for or incidental to their

removal from the Union or any such Province. The department shall further carry out any other powers and duties specially conferred or imposed upon it by this Act or by regulation.

## Chapter I

*Prohibited Immigration*

4. The entry into the Union by land or sea of any such person as is described in this section (in this Act and the regulations referred to as a "prohibited immigrant") is forbidden, namely,

(a) any person who, when an immigration officer dictates to him not less than fifty words in the language selected by such an officer, fails to write out those words in that language to the satisfaction of that officer;

(b) any person who is likely, if he entered the Union, to become a public charge, by reason of infirmity of mind or body, or because he is not in possession for his own use of sufficient means to support himself and his dependents;

(c) any person who, from information received from any Government (whether British or foreign) through official or diplomatic channels, is deemed by the Minister to be an undesirable inhabitant of or visitor to the Union;

(d) any prostitute, or any person, male or female, who lives on or knowingly receives any part of the earnings of prostitution or who procures women for immoral purposes;

(e) any person who has been convicted in any country of any of the following offences (unless he has received a free pardon therefor), namely, murder, rape, arson, theft, receiving stolen goods knowing the same to have been stolen, fraud, forgery or uttering forged documents knowing the same to have been forged, counterfeiting coin or uttering coin knowing the same to be counterfeit, house-breaking with intent to commit an offence, burglary, robbery with violence, threats by letter or otherwise with intent to extort, or of any attempt to commit any such offence, and by reason of the circumstances connected with the offence, is deemed by the Minister to be an undesirable inhabitant of or visitor to the Union;

(f) any idiot or epileptic, or any person who is insane or mentally deficient, or any person who is deaf and dumb, or deaf and blind, or dumb and blind, or otherwise physically afflicted, unless in any such case he or a person accompanying him or some other person give security to the satisfaction of the Minister for his permanent support in the Union, or for his removal therefrom whenever required by the Minister;

CWMG - X

(g) any person who is afflicted with leprosy or with any such infectious, contagious or loathsome or other disease, as is defined by regulation, or who is of a low or degenerate type of the human species.

**Persons Not Prohibited**

5. The following persons or classes of persons shall not be prohibited immigrants for the purposes of this Act, namely,

(a) any member of His Majesty's Regular Naval or Military Forces;

(b) the officers and crew of a public ship of any foreign State;

(c) any person who is duly accredited to the Union by or under the authority of His Majesty or the Government of any foreign State, or the wife, family, staff or servants of any such person;

(d) any person who enters the Union, under such conditions as may be prescribed from time to time in accordance with any law or under any convention with the Government of a neighbouring territory or state and who is not such a person as is described in paragraph (b), (c), (d), (e), (f), or (g) of the last preceding section.

**Offences and Penalties**

6.(1) Every prohibited immigrant who, after the commencement of this Act, enters or is found within the Union, shall be guilty of an offence and liable on conviction

(a) to imprisonment with or without hard labour for a period not exceeding three months without the option of a fine; and

(b) to be removed at any time by the Minister's warrant from the Union.

(2) Pending the removal, the prohibited immigrant may be detained in such custody as may be prescribed by regulation.

(3) The prohibited immigrant may be discharged from the imprisonment or custody aforesaid if security be given to the satisfaction of the Minister that the prohibited immigrant will within one month leave the Union, and not return thereto.

(4) Every such sentence of imprisonment shall terminate as soon as the prohibited immigrant is removed from the Union.

(5) Every officer in charge of a prison or gaol shall, if the warrant of removal be produced to him, deliver the prisoner named therein to any police officer or immigration officer, and the prisoner shall be deemed to be in lawful custody so long as he is in the custody of any such police officer or immigration officer, or of any police officer or immigration officer for the time being in possession of the warrant.

**Provincial Restriction**

7. The provisions of the last preceding section shall apply *mutatis mutandis* in respect of every person who, though domiciled in any Province, enters or is found in any other Province in which, according to the provisions of any law in force at or immediately prior to the commencement of this Act, he has unlawfully entered or has been found to be residing unlawfully, and any such person shall, in respect of the said other

Province, be liable to be dealt with as in the last preceding section is described and removed to the Province wherein he is domiciled. For the purposes of this Act every such person shall be a prohibited immigrant in respect of the said other Province.

**Trading Licences**

8.(1) No prohibited immigrant shall be entitled to obtain a licence to carry on any trade or calling in the Union or (as the case may be) in any Province wherein his residence is unlawful or to acquire therein any interest in land, whether leasehold or freehold.

(2) Any such licence (if obtained by a prohibited immigrant) or any contract, deed or other document by which any such interest in land is acquired in contravention of this section, shall, on conviction of the prohibited immigrant as such, be null and void.

**Arrests**

9.(1) Every person who is suspected on reasonable grounds of being a prohibited immigrant may be arrested without warrant by an immigration officer or police officer, and shall be brought as soon as possible before a court of resident magistrate to be dealt with according to law.

(2) Any magistrate may, if information on oath be laid before him that there is upon any premises a named or described person reasonably suspected of being a prohibited immigrant, issue a warrant empowering a police officer of or above the rank of sergeant to enter those premises and search for the person named or described in that warrant, and arrest him.

**Plea of Ignorance**

10. No prohibited immigrant shall be exempt from the provisions of this Act or the regulations, or be allowed to remain in the Union, or in any Province wherein his residence is unlawful, by reason only that he had not been informed that he could not enter the Union or (as the case may be) that Province, or that he had been allowed to enter through oversight, misrepresentation, or owing to the fact having been undiscovered that he was such a prohibited immigrant.

CHAPTER II

*Special Powers for preventing entry of and dealing with Prohibited Immigrants at Ports of Entry*

11.(1) Any immigration officer may, as and when he deems fit, board any ship which is entering or has entered a port.

(2) Any immigration officer may, whenever it is necessary for the more effectual carrying out of this Act or the regulations, prohibit or regulate any communication with, or landing on the shore from, any ship on which the immigration officer is proceeding with the examination of persons or which has on board or is suspected of having on board any prohibited immigrant, and the immigration officer may take such steps to carry out any such prohibition or regulation as the Minister may approve.

(3) Any immigration officer may order the master of any ship to moor or anchor the ship at such distance from the shore or landing place or in such position as the

immigration officer may consider expedient for enabling the provisions of this Act or the regulations to be carried out effectually.

**Duties of Ships' Captains**

12. It shall be the duty of the master of any ship which enters any port to deliver to an immigration officer upon demand

(a) a list of all passengers on board the ship, classified according to their respective ports of destination and specifying the class which each such passenger has voyaged and such further particulars as may be prescribed by regulation;

(b) a list of stowaways, if any have been discovered;

(c) a list of the crew and all persons (other than passengers or stowaways) employed or carried on the ship in any capacity by or on behalf of the owner;

(d) a certificate under the hand of the medical officer (if any) of the ship or, if there be no medical officer, under his own hand, stating any known cases of disease whether infectious or otherwise which have occurred upon the voyage or any known cases of physical or mental infirmity or affliction, the names of the persons who have suffered or are suffering therefrom and the nature in each case of the disease, infirmity or affliction.

**Place of Detention**

13.(1) If it appear to an immigration officer (whether upon the representation of the master or otherwise) that any person prohibited from landing ought, for the better carrying out of the objects and purposes of this Act, to be kept elsewhere than on the ship which conveyed him, the immigration officer may cause him to be removed in custody from the ship and to be detained in any other place, whether afloat or on shore, which may be appointed by the Minister for the detention of prohibited immigrants.

(2) Every such person shall, while detained, whether on board the ship or at any such other place aforesaid, be deemed to be in the custody of the master and not of the immigration officer, and the master shall further be liable to pay the cost of the landing, removal, detention, maintenance, and control of any such person while so detained.

(3) As soon as the ship is about to sail (due notice whereof shall be given by the master to the immigration officer) any prohibited immigrant removed under this section from the ship shall, if the immigration officer so require, be placed thereon again.

(4) The immigration officer may, prior to the said person being landed, require the master or the owner of the ship to deposit a sum sufficient to cover any expense that may be incurred by the department in connection with the landing, removal, detention, maintenance and control aforesaid.

(5) If for any reason any such prohibited immigrant be not placed again on the ship, in accordance with sub-section (3), the owner shall, without payment by the

Government, provide, at the request of the immigration officer, a passage with proper food and accommodation, in another ship, for the prohibited immigrant to the place at which he originally embarked.

(6) Any such person who escapes or attempts to escape from detention, while being dealt with under the powers of this section, may be arrested without warrant, and shall, in addition to any other offence which he may have committed under this Act, be deemed to have committed an offence in respect of the escape or attempt to escape.

**Forfeits**

14.(1) If after a ship has arrived at any port, any prohibited immigrant lands from the ship at that port without proper authority, the master or the owner shall forfeit a sum to be fixed by the Minister but not exceeding one hundred pounds in respect of every such prohibited immigrant.

(2) Until the sum so fixed has been paid and until the owner or the master has, to the satisfaction of the immigration officer, provided for the removal from the Union of every such prohibited immigrant, no clearance papers shall be given to the master or to the owner.

(3) The ship may be declared executable by order of a Superior Court to satisfy any forfeiture incurred under this section.

**Members of the Crew**

15.(1) On or after the arrival and again before the sailing of a ship at any port, an immigration officer may require the master to muster his crew and may serve upon him a list of such of the crew as are prohibited immigrants.

(2) If any of the crew, being prohibited immigrants, do not answer to the names at the later muster, the master or the owner of the ship may be required before the ship sails to deposit with the immigration officer a sum of twenty pounds in respect of each such person so missing.

(3) Any such sum shall be forfeited to the Government unless the master or owner prove to the satisfaction of the chief immigration officer, within six months thereafter, that the person in respect of whom the sum was deposited is no longer in the Union.

(4) Until any sum required under this section is deposited no clearance papers shall be given to the master or owner.

(5) The ship may be declared executable by order of a Superior Court to satisfy any forfeiture incurred under this section.

**An Agreement**

16. For the purpose of facilitating the clearance of ships habitually calling at the various ports, the Minister may, in his discretion, enter into a bond or agreement with the owner whereby the owner undertakes that he or the masters of ships belonging to him and so calling at ports will carry out so much of the provisions of the

last two preceding sections as relate to the owner or the master, and thereupon the provisions of the said bond or agreement shall be substituted for those sections so far as they relate to the payment or deposit of moneys by the master or the owner.

**Clearance Papers**

17. A port captain or harbour master shall not permit a ship to leave port or to go to any outer harbour or anchorage unless clearance papers be produced to him.

## CHAPTER III

*General and Miscellaneous*

18. An immigration officer may require any person entering the Union to make a declaration in the form prescribed by regulation that he, or any person accompanying him, is not a prohibited immigrant and to state in the declaration such further particulars as may be prescribed by regulation, and may require him to fill in and complete in every respect that form and to produce, in support of the declaration, documentary or other evidence.

Every such declaration shall be exempt from any stamp duty ordinarily imposed by law on affidavits and solemn declarations, anything to the contrary notwithstanding in any law in force in the Union relating to stamp duty.

Any person who fails on demand to comply with any provision of this section or who declares upon the form anything as a fact or produces or gives such evidence as aforesaid, which he knows to be false, shall be guilty of an offence.

**Personal Examination**

19.(1) Every person entering the Union shall, if required, appear before an immigration officer and furnish such information as is prescribed by this Act or the regulations relative to his claim to enter the Union.

(2) Every person entering the Union who is on reasonable grounds suspected of being afflicted with any disease or physical or mental infirmity which would under this Act or the regulations render him a prohibited immigrant shall, if required by an immigration officer, submit himself to examination by a medical practitioner appointed by the Minister for the purpose.

**Aiding and Abetting**

20. Any person, who

(a) aids or abets any person in entering or remaining within the Union or any Province in contravention of this Act or the regulations, knowing that person to be prohibited from so entering or remaining;

(b) aids or abets a person ordered to be removed from the Union or any Province in evading the order, or harbours any such person knowing him to be the subject of any such order;

(c) for the purpose of entering the Union, or any Province wherein his residence is unlawful, or of assisting the entrance of any other person,

in contravention of this Act or the regulations, commits any fraudulent act or makes any false representation by conduct, statement or otherwise,

shall be guilty of an offence and liable on conviction to a fine not exceeding one hundred pounds or, in default of payment, to imprisonment with or without hard labour for a period not exceeding six months, or to such imprisonment without the option of a fine.

**Immoral and Other Offences**

21. Any person, who

(a) has been convicted, whether before or after the commencement of this Act, of a contravention of any of the provisions enumerated in the Second Schedule thereto, or of any amendment of those provisions;

(b) having been removed at the expense, either whole or partial, of any Government from the Union or any part thereof now included in the Union, or being the subject of an order issued under any law to leave the Union or any part thereof now included in the Union, returns thereto without lawful authority, or has failed to comply with the terms of any such order;

(c) having been refused by an immigration officer permission to enter the Union or any Province, has entered the Union or that Province;

(d) admits to an immigration officer in a written document that he is a prohibited immigrant either in the Union or in any Province,

may, if not already under detention, be arrested without warrant and removed from the Union or (as the case may be) from the Province, by the Minister's warrant and, pending removal, may be detained in such custody as may be prescribed by regulation.

**Deportation**

22. Any person (not being a natural born British subject, or a person naturalized in any part of His Majesty's dominion), who, whether before or after the commencement of this Act, if serving a sentence of imprisonment for any of the offences mentioned in paragraph (*e*) of section *four* and who by reason of the circumstances connected with the offence is deemed by the Minister to be an undesirable inhabitant of the Union, may, during or at the expiration of his sentence, be removed from the Union by the Minister's warrant, and, pending removal, may be detained in such custody as may be prescribed by regulation. The provisions of sub-sections (4) and (5) of section *six* shall be deemed to be incorporated *mutatis mutandis* in this section.

**The Burden of Proving**

23.(1) The burden of proving that a person has not entered or remained in the Union or any Provinces in contravention of this Act or any regulation shall, in any prosecution for or in respect of such a contravention, lie upon the accused person.

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(2) Any order, warrant, or other document, which under this Act or the regulations may be issued by the Minister, shall be good and effectual if signed by any officer in the public service authorized by the Minister by notice in the *Gazette* to sign such an order, warrant, or other document, and when so signed shall be evidence in all courts of law and for other purposes that it was issued in accordance with the provisions of this Act or the regulations.

**Magistrates' Powers**

24. A court of resident magistrate shall have special jurisdiction to impose the maximum penalties provided for a contravention of this Act or the regulations, anything to the contrary notwithstanding in any law relating to courts of resident magistrate.

**Temporary Permits**

25.(1) Anything to the contrary notwithstanding in this Act contained, the Minister may in his discretion issue a temporary permit to any prohibited immigrant to enter and reside in the Union or any particular Province upon such conditions as to period of residence or otherwise as the Minister may in the permit specify.

(2) The Minister may also in his discretion issue a permit to any person who at the commencement of this Act is lawfully resident in the Union or any Province and who, desiring to proceed thereout with the intention of returning thereto, is for any reason apprehensive that he will be unable to prove on his return that he is not a prohibited immigrant. The permit in this sub-section mentioned shall expressly authorise the person named therein to return to the Union or the particular Province (as the case may be), but before issuing the permit the Minister shall require such proof of the said person's identity and such means of identification to be furnished as may be prescribed by regulation.

**Authority to Make Regulations**

26.(1) The Governor-General may make regulations, not inconsistent with this Act, prescribing

(a) the duties of immigration officer;

(b) the steps to be taken to prevent the entrance of prohibited immigrants into the Union or the entrance of persons into any Province in which their residence is unlawful;

(c) the times, places, and conduct of the enquiry or the examination, medical or otherwise, of persons entering or desiring to enter the Union or any Province or who, being found in the Union or any Province, are suspected of being prohibited immigrants or unlawfully resident therein;

(d) the procedure for, and the manner of, the detention of prohibited immigrants and unlawful residents pending their removal from the Union or any Province, and the procedure necessary for and the manner of any such removal;

(e) lists of infectious, contagious, loathsome or other diseases, the affliction with which will render a person a prohibited immigrant;

(f) the issue of permits described in the last preceding section, the conditions upon which any such permit may be issued, the fees which may be charged therefor, and the amount and the nature of the security to be found for the due carrying out of any such conditions;

(g) the conditions under which prohibited immigrants may be allowed to pass through the Union while journeying or being conveyed to a place outside the Union or from one Province to another within the Union;

(h) the forms of warrants, permits, certificates, declarations, books, or other documents to be used, or to be made or kept, for the purposes of this Act or the regulations, and the particulars to be inserted on or in any such document;

and generally for the better carrying out of the objects and purposes of this Act.

(2) The regulations may provide penalties for the contravention thereof or failure to comply therewith, not exceeding the penalties mentioned in the next succeeding section.

**Penalties**

27. Any person, who—

(a) for the purpose of entering the Union or any particular Province, or of remaining there in contravention of this Act or any other law, or assisting any other person so to enter or so to remain, fabricates or falsifies any permit or other document or utters, uses or attempts to use any permit or other document which has not been issued by lawful authority or which though issued by lawful authority, he is not entitled to use or any fabricated or falsified permit or other document knowing it to have been falsified; or

(b) fails to comply with or contravenes the conditions under which any permit or other document has been issued to him under this Act or the regulations; or

(c) obstructs, hinders, or opposes an immigration officer or police officer in the execution of his duty under this Act or the regulations; or

(d) contravenes or fails to comply with any provision of this Act or the regulations for the contravention whereof or failure to comply wherewith no penalty is specially provided;

shall be liable on conviction to a fine not exceeding fifty pounds, or, in default of payment, to imprisonment with or without hard labour for a period not exceeding three months, and, in the case of a contravention of paragraph (a) or (b) of this section, to such imprisonment without the option of a fine.

**Title of the Act**

28. This Act may be cited for all purposes as the Immigrants' Restriction Act, 1911, and shall commence and come into operation on the first day of ,1911.

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## FIRST SCHEDULE

*LAWS REPEALED*

| Province | No. and Year of Law | Title or Subject of Law | Extent of Repeal |
|---|---|---|---|
| Cape of Good Hope | Act No. 30 of 1906 | The Immigration Act, 1906 | The whole |
| Natal | Act No. 30 of 1903 | The Immigration Restriction Act, 1903 | The whole |
| ,, | Act No. 3 of 1906 | To Amend the Immigration Act, 1903 | The whole |
| Transvaal | Act No. 2 of 1907 | The Asiatic Law Amendment Act, 1907 | The whole, except so far as it is applicable to the registration of minors lawfully resident in the Transvaal |
| ,, | Act No. 15 of 1907 | The Immigrants' Restriction Act, 1907 | The whole |
| ,, | Act No. 38 of 1908 | The Immigrants' Restriction Amendment Act, 1908 | The whole |
| Orange Free State | Law No. 18 of 1899 | The admission and expulsion of aliens to and from the Orange Free State | The whole |
| ,, | Ordinance No. 25 of 1902 | The Indemnity and Peace Preservation Ordinance, 1902 | Sections *nineteen* to *twenty-four*, inclusive |





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## SECOND SCHEDULE

*PROVISIONS REFERRED TO IN PARAGRAPH (a) OF SECTION TWENTY-ONE*

| Province | No. and Year of Law | Title or Subject of Law | Section Contravened |
|---|---|---|---|
| Cape of Good Hope | Act No. 36 of 1902 | The Betting Houses, Gaming and Brothels | Sections *twenty-two*, *thirty-one*, *thirty-two* and *thirty-three* |
| Natal | Act No. 31 of 1903 | The Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1903 | Sections *three*, *thirteen*, *fourteen* and *fifteen* |
| Transvaal | Ordinance No. 46 of 1903 | The Immorality Ordinance, 1903 | Sections *three*, *thirteen*, *fourteen* and *twenty-one* |
| ,, | Act No. 16 of 1908 | The Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1908 | Section *four* and Section *five*, paragraph (a) |
| Orange Free State | Ordinance No. 11 of 1903 | The Suppression of Brothels and Immorality Ordinance, 1903, as amended by Ordinance No. 19 of 1908 | Sections *two*, *eleven*, *twelve* and *thirteen* |

*Indian Opinion*, 4-3-1911

## APPENDIX IX

*CAPE PETITION TO PARLIAMENT*[1]

CAPE TOWN,
*March 15, 1911*

1. At a public meeting of British Indians held on the 12th instant under the auspices of the above Association, a resolution was unanimously passed directing your Petitioners to petition this Honourable House on the subject of the Immigrants' Restriction Bill, 1911, at present before it.

2. Much as your Petitioners regret that the existing restrictions upon the free movements between the Provinces of British Indians lawfully domiciled within the Union are to be maintained, they recognise that they cannot reasonably close their eyes to the popular prejudices that unhappily exist against their class and consequently they accept this decision of the Government, fervently hoping that a better understanding of them will at some future date lead to a removal of the restrictions.

3. Your Petitioners earnestly desire however to bring to the notice of the Honourable House the many respects in which their position as lawfully-domiciled residents of this Province will be altered for the worse:

(a) Instead of their education test being, as it is under the existing laws of the Province, one in an European language selected by the would-be immigrant, the choice of the language is to be absolutely with the Immigration Officer.

(b) The Immigration Officer is to be invested with other powers so absolute as your Petitioners submit may possibly lead to serious cases of hardship.

(c) The wives and minor children of lawfully-domiciled residents are not protected from the danger of exclusion as prohibited immigrants.

(d) British Indians born in the Province and others lawfully-domiciled therein who are temporarily abroad upon their return are liable to be called upon to pass the education test and to be excluded in the possible event of their failing.

(e) British Indians domiciled within the Province who desire to absent themselves temporarily may be refused permits such as are now granted them and thus either be prevented from attending to matters of importance abroad or have to face the danger of rejection upon their return. Your Petitioners humbly submit that certificates of domicile should be granted to all applicants for them who shall prove residence in the Province for a period to be specified.

[1] This petition to the Legislative Assembly was presented to Parliament, signed by Messrs Adam H. Gool Mahomed, Shamsudin Casimali and Abdul Hamid Gool, M.B., in their capacities as Chairman and Joint Honorary Secretaries, respectively, of the Cape British Indian Union.

(f) No right of appeal to the Courts of Law of the Union against the decision, however arbitrary, of the Immigration Officer, is provided for in the Bill under consideration.

4. Your Petitioners therefore humbly pray that this Honourable House will amend the Bill in terms of the above suggestions humbly and respectfully submitted and thereby preserve the rights hitherto enjoyed by them under the Laws of the Union and the Province, or grant such other relief as to this Honourable House may seem meet.

*Indian Opinion*, 25-3-1911

## APPENDIX X

### *LANE'S LETTER TO GANDHIJI*

*March 16, 1911*

DEAR MR. GANDHI,

With reference to my telegram of the 4th instant, it was not meant to convey to you the idea that Chapter XXXIII of the Orange Free State Laws would be cancelled. No provision was made for this in the Schedule and it was never the intention of the Government to repeal the Chapter.

An amendment will be moved which will, in effect, exempt the educated Indian immigrants from registration under the Transvaal Act No. 36 of 1908. They will thus have full power to reside and to travel in Cape Colony, Natal and the Transvaal, but will not be able to reside in the Orange Free State without complying with the provisions of the local law.

With regard to the second point you raised, I regret to say that the difficulty is not appreciated by the department and perhaps you will be good enough to give a more detailed expression of your views, when the matter will be again considered.

*Indian Opinion*, 25-3-1911

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## APPENDIX XI

### *TELEGRAM TO GANDHIJI FROM PRIVATE SECRETARY TO MINISTER OF INTERIOR*

*March 24, 1911*

YOUR LETTER OF 20TH AND TELEGRAM OF 22ND MARCH RECEIVED. IN REPLY I AM DIRECTED TO INFORM YOU THAT THERE SEEMS TO BE A WRONG IMPRESSION REGARDING MATTER MENTIONED BY YOU. THERE WILL BE NO COLOUR OR RACIAL BAR OF ANY KIND WHATSOEVER APPEARING IN IMMIGRATION BILL OR ANY AMENDMENT WHICH GOVT. INTEND TO MOVE. YOU HAVE REPEATEDLY STATED THAT INDIAN COMMUNITY DESIRE AS A FINAL SETTLEMENT OF THE ASIATIC QUESTION ONE REPEAL ACT 2 OF 1907 TWO EDUCATION TEST FOR ALL UNDER A NEW IMMIGRATION ACT AND DIFFERENTIAL ADMINISTRATION. NOT ONLY DOES GENL. SMUTS CONCEDE THESE POINTS BUT HE GOES FURTHER AND PROPOSES TO EXEMPT EDUCATED INDIANS ADMITTED UNDER NEW ACT FROM REGISTRATION IN TRANSVAAL WHERE THE TROUBLE HAS ARISEN. HE WILL ALSO MOVE AMENDMENTS IN REGARD TO RIGHTS OF DOMICILED OR LAWFULLY RESIDENT PERSONS WIVES AND MINORS WHICH WILL LEAVE THE RIGHTS OF ASIATICS IN NATAL AND CAPE AS THEY ARE TODAY. YOU ARE THEREFORE WRONG IN THINKING THAT THE POSITION OF ASIATICS IS MADE WORSE UNDER THE PROPOSED BILL. THEIR EXISTING RIGHTS WILL BE MAINTAINED EVERYWHERE AND NO STATUTORY DIFFERENTIATION WILL BE MADE. IN REGARD TO YOUR CONTENTION CONCERNING THE ORANGE FREE STATE GENERAL SMUTS HAS NOTHING TO SAY AND PROPOSES LEAVING THE SITUATION AS IT EXISTS UNDER THE PRESENT LAW OF THE PROVINCE. GENL. SMUTS ASKS ME TO SAY IN CONCLUSION THAT IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE STATEMENT IN THE FIRST PARAGRAPH OF YOUR LETTER OF 4TH INST. HE HOPES YOU WILL DO YOUR BEST TO SEIZE THE OPPORTUNITY THAT NOW OFFERS OF BRINGING THE STRUGGLE TO A CLOSE AND WILL NOT RISK A CONTINUATION OF THE PRESENT UNSATISFACTORY POSITION BY THE ABSOLUTELY NEW CONTENTION REGARDING THE O. F. S. SUCH AN ATTITUDE ON YOUR PART WILL HE FEARS EXASPERATE THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY AND COMPLICATE THE POSITION STILL FURTHER.

From a photostat of the original: S.N. 5350

## APPENDIX XII

(i)

### *GENERAL SMUTS' TELEGRAM TO HOSKEN*

CAPE TOWN,
*March 24, 1911*

I HAVE RECEIVED YOUR TELEGRAM. I VERY MUCH REGRET YOUR ATTITUDE. THE INDIAN COMMUNITY HAVE NEVER SO MUCH AS EVEN ASKED THAT EDUCATED INDIAN IMMIGRANTS SHOULD BE EXEMPT FROM THE REGISTRATION LAWS OR SPECIAL LAWS OF THE PROVINCES. ALL THEY HAVE ASKED IS PERMANENT RESIDENTIAL RIGHTS AS OPPOSED TO MERELY TEMPORARY PERMITS. I NOW ENTIRELY OUT OF MY OWN MOTION PROPOSE TO EXEMPT THEM FROM REGISTRATION UNDER THE TRANSVAAL ACT AND AT ONCE IT IS DEMANDED THAT I SHOULD ALSO EXEMPT THEM FROM THE O. F. S. LAW ON PAIN OF THE PASSIVE RESISTANCE MOVEMENT BEING CONTINUED. YOU NOW INFORM ME THAT THIS NEW DEPARTURE MEETS WITH YOUR APPROVAL. I CAN ONLY EXPRESS MY REGRET AT YOUR ACTION WHICH I FEEL IS ILL CONSIDERED AND MISCHIEVOUS. IT IS NOT YOU WHO WILL SUFFER IN THE END BUT THE INDIAN COMMUNITY AGAINST WHOM THE WHITE POPULATION IS BECOMING DAILY MORE EXASPERATED AND DEMANDING EVEN MORE STRINGENT LEGISLATION. A GOLDEN CHANCE FOR A FINAL SETTLEMENT IS NOW TO BE THROWN AWAY BECAUSE OF THE ABSOLUTELY NEW CONTENTION THAT EDUCATED ASIATICS MUST ALSO BE ADMITTED NOT ONLY INTO THE TRANSVAAL BUT THE O. F. S. AS WELL.

From a photostat of the original: S.N. 5353

(ii)

### *HOSKEN'S TELEGRAM TO GENERAL SMUTS*

INDIAN COMMUNITY HAS ALWAYS STOOD FOR THESE RIGHTS FOR PERMITTED EDUCATED INDIANS. SEE MR. GANDHI'S LETTER IN LORD CREWE'S DESPATCH. INDIANS HAVE ASKED NOT SO MUCH FOR PERMANENT RESIDENTIAL RIGHTS EDUCATED ASIATICS AS FOR REMOVAL OF COLOUR BAR. REGARDING FREE STATE WE ONLY CLAIM FULFILMENT POSITIVE COMMITMENT BY PRIME MINISTER IN [HIS] DESPATCH 20TH DECEMBER. IS THAT PROMISE NOT STILL BINDING? ON SECOND READING, DID YOU NOT MAKE SAME PRONOUNCEMENT? AS QUESTION PRACTICAL POLITICS, PROBABLY NOT ONE INDIAN WILL ATTEMPT TO

ENTER FREE STATE, BUT INDIAN COMMUNITY CANNOT ACCEPT COLOUR DISABILITY. I AM MOST ANXIOUS PROMOTE PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT IN INTERESTS SOUTH AFRICA AND EMPIRE.

From a photostat of the typescript: S.N. 5357

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## *SOURCES*

SABARMATI SANGRAHALAYA: Library and Records containing documents relating to Gandhiji's South African period and Indian period up to 1933; *vide* Vol. I, p. 349.

GANDHI SMARAK SANGRAHALAYA, NEW DELHI: Central Museum and Library of Gandhian literature and documentation; *vide* Vol. I, p. 349.

COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS: Housed in the Library of the Colonial Office, London; *vide* Vol. I, p. 349.

INDIA OFFICE JUDICIAL AND PUBLIC RECORDS: Placed in the library of what used to be India Office. These comprise papers and documents relating to Indian matters with which the Secretary of State for India was concerned.

*India*: (1890-1921); A weekly issued every Friday by the British Committee of the Indian National Congress in London; *vide* Vol. II, p. 369.

*Indian Opinion*: (1903-61); A weekly issued on Saturday; founded in Durban and later shifted to Phœnix. Had English and Gujarati sections and also, initially, Hindi and Tamil.

*Gujarati*: A weekly issued in Gujarati from Bombay.

*Cape Argus*: A daily newspaper of Cape Town.

*Diamond Field Advertiser*: A daily newspaper of Kimberley.

*The Natal Mercury*: (1852- ); A daily newspaper of Durban.

*Rand Daily Mail*: A morning daily of Johannesburg.

*The Star*: An evening daily of Johannesburg.

*The Transvaal Leader*: A morning daily of Johannesburg.

*Mahatma: Life of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi*: by D. G. Tendulkar; Jhaveri and Tendulkar, Bombay, 1951-4, in eight volumes.

*Jivananu Parodh*: Prabhudas G. Gandhi, Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, 1943.

*Mahatma Gandhijina Patro*: Ed. by D. M. Patel, Sevak Karyalaya, Ahmedabad, 1921.

*Gandhijini Sadhana*: Raojibhai Patel, Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, 1939.

*Tolstoy and Gandhi*: Dr. Kalidas Nag, Pustak Bhandar, Patna.

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## *CHRONOLOGY*

(*November 13, 1909 – March 1911*)

*November 13:* Transvaal Indian Deputation (Gandhiji and Hajee Habib) left England for South Africa.

Attempt on life of Lord Minto, Viceroy of India, at Ahmedabad.

*November 13 to 22:* Gandhiji wrote *Hind Swaraj* in Gujarati on board s.s. *Kildonan Castle*.

*November 15:* Arrangements for Morley-Minto Reforms coming into force were published by Government of India.

*November 16:* In Lords, Colonial Secretary told Lord Ampthill of strenuous efforts made by Colonial Office and South African Union delegates to find solution to problem of treatment of British Indians in Transvaal. He promised to publish a Blue-book containing record of recent negotiations.

*November 18:* Gandhiji wrote in Gujarati "Preface to Tolstoy's *Letter to a Hindoo*".

*November 19:* Wrote in English "Preface to Tolstoy's *Letter to a Hindoo*".

*November 30:* Arrived at Cape Town with Hajee Habib. Interview to *Cape Argus*.

Cabled Gokhale thanking Ratan J. Tata for donation of Rs. 25,000 in aid of Transvaal struggle.

Romesh Chunder Dutt, Prime Minister to the Gaekwar of Baroda, passed away.

*December 1:* Col. Seely admitted in Commons that even more stringent legislation than Immigration Law of Transvaal, which constituted racial barrier against British Indians' immigration, existed in Orange River Colony.

*December 2:* Gandhiji arrived at Johannesburg. In interview to Reuter at Park Station, thanked Government for allowing his and Hajee Habib's re-entry into Transvaal.

*December 3:* Addressed meeting of Tamil ladies in Johannesburg.

In reply to *The Star* pleaded that "the theory of equality may be restored in our legislation as to immigration, which may be deliberately departed from in administration".

Calcutta mass meeting protested against treatment of Transvaal Indians.

*December 4:* Polak spoke at Calcutta on "non-political aspects of the South African struggle".

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*December 5:* Gandhiji spoke at Johannesburg mass meeting to welcome the Deputation. Praised Hosken's Committee and European friends for support. Meeting resolved "to carry on the struggle by means of self-suffering. . .until legal and theoretical equality as to immigration of British Indians of culture with the other immigrants is restored".

Gave account of his mission at Chinese meeting at Johannesburg. Travelled with Cachalia and Kallenbach to Diepkloof and met Rustomjee and Aswat in jail.

Polak spoke at City College, Calcutta, on "the status and condition of Indian women in South Africa".

*December 6:* Gandhiji wrote to Gokhale on financial and other aspects of Transvaal struggle and asked for £1,000 more.

*December 10:* *Rand Daily Mail* advised Transvaal Government to accept Indian demand for theoretical equality.

*December 20:* At Durban public meeting, Gandhiji described provision for appeal in regard to trading licences as "a bait".

*December 21:* A.M.T. Jackson, Collector of Nasik, assassinated.

*December 22:* Gandhiji entered Transvaal from Natal with Manilal Gandhi, Royeppen and others, but not arrested.

*December 23:* Chairman, BIA, in letter to Colonial Secretary described the Railway Regulations gazetted on December 17, 1909 as "uncalled for, irritating and degrading".

*December 24:* Gandhiji wrote to A. H. West on financial and other aspects of Phœnix scheme.

Shelat released after 6 months' imprisonment.

*December 25:* Gandhiji wrote congratulating Justice Ameer Ali on appointment as Privy Councillor.

On or before *December 29:* Wrote again to A. H. West regarding Phœnix.

*December 29:* Indian National Congress at Lahore passed resolution expressing admiration for struggle in South Africa and urging prohibition of indenture.

*December 31:* In letter to Under Secretary of State, Sir M. M. Bhownaggree drew attention to ill-treatment of Parsee Rustomjee in jail.

*1910*

*January 1:* *Indian Opinion* reduced in size for financial reasons.

*January 5*: Gandhiji attended Boksburg meeting, where certificates were handed in to be destroyed.

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*January 6:* Rev. Charles Phillips and J. C. Gibson had interview with Gandhiji following their conversations with Lord Selborne, High Commissioner of Transvaal.

In letter to J. C. Gibson, Gandhiji refuted charge that South African movement was engineered and controlled from India and that British Indians continually shifted their ground regarding their demands.

*January 7:* Spoke at dinner to Joseph Royeppen and others in Johannesburg.

*January 13:* Gokhale wrote to Gandhiji that disposal of the sums remitted was left to the latter's discretion.

*January 20:* Natal Legislative Assembly passed Indian Immigration (Licences) Act Amendment Bill.

*January 27:* Natal Legislative Council passed Indian Immigration (Licences) Act Amendment Bill.

*February 1:* Joseph Royeppen, David Andrew and Samuel Joseph tried at Volksrust and sentenced to three months' imprisonment with hard labour.

*February 9:* In Gandhiji's office, Mrs. Amacanoo and Mrs. Packirsamy took off their ornaments, vowing not to wear them till struggle was over.

*February 14:* Gandhiji spoke at Chinese reception at Cantonese Club, Johannesburg, in honour of Rev. J. J. Doke, on eve of latter's departure for America.

*February 18:* Spoke at banquet in Masonic Hall in honour of Rev. Doke. Chairman, BIA, in letter to General Manager, C.S.A.R., submitted draft railway regulations to replace those applicable to Asiatics.

*February 20:* Gandhiji addressed meeting of Natal Indian Congress in Durban.

*February 23:* Explained Transvaal struggle at meeting of Kathiawad Arya Mandal, Durban.

*February 25:* Transvaal BIA, Johannesburg, sent telegram to Earl of Crewe on treatment of Royeppen and Rustomjee in Transvaal prisons and on diet-scale of prisoners.

Indian Legislative Council at Calcutta passed Gokhale's resolution to prohibit recruitment of indentured labour for Natal.

*February 26:* Gandhiji wrote in *Indian Opinion* supporting the resolve of Dr. Abdurahman and Cape Coloured people in view of their disfranchisement to observe day of Prince of Wales's arrival as day of mourning.

Spoke at Durban Indian Society meeting in honour of passive resisters.

*March 11:* Accompanied a number of passive resisters to Transvaal to violate immigration laws.

In letter to Moulvi Ahmed Mukhtiar, explained that Phœnix debt was incurred during struggle.

*March 17:* Told the *Star* representative that Indians had come to Johannesburg not to assert their personal rights, but to take part in struggle.

President and Secretaries of Natal Indian Congress forwarded petition to Colonial Secretary against Indian Immigration Law Amendment Bill.

*March 23:* Bill to amend Indian Emigration Act, 1908, was moved by Robertson in Viceroy's Council, to give effect to Gokhale's resolution of February 25.

*March 24:* Bombay *Government Gazette* notified that *Hind Swarajya*; *Universal Dawn*,—Gujarati rendering of Ruskin's *Unto This Last*—; *Mustafa Kamel Pasha's Speech*,—a Gujarati translation of the Egyptian patriot's speech delivered just before his death, in Cairo—; and *Defence of Socrates or The Story of a True Warrior*—all publications of International Printing Press—had been forfeited to His Majesty for reason that they "contain matter declared to be seditious".

*April 4:* Letter to Leo Tolstoy with copy of *Indian Home Rule* for comment.

*April 8/9:* Director of Transvaal Prisons replied to Chairman, BIA, denying complaint that prisoners were sent to Diepkloof Prison to associate them with hardened criminals, and declined to send them elsewhere and change present diet-scale.

*April 12:* Question on emigration of indentured Indians from India to Natal raised in Commons by O'Grady and Rees.

*April 14:* Fifty-nine Indians deported to India from Transvaal by the *Umhloti*.

Gandhiji addressed letter to Attorney General regarding Karodia case and requested Government to use judicious discretion in obtaining warrants of arrest against Indians of standing.

*April 25:* Wrote to Gokhale indicating how Passive Resistance Fund was being used.

*May 5:* Madras public meeting protested against deportation of Indians without trial by Transvaal Government.

*May 6:* King Edward VII passed away.

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*May 8:* Leo Tolstoy, in letter to Gandhiji, commenting upon *Indian Home Rule*, said question of passive resistance was of greatest importance not only for India but for all humanity.

*May 10:* Replying to letter from W.J. Wybergh, M.L.A. (Transvaal), Gandhiji defended views expressed in *Indian Home Rule*.

*May 30:* Wrote to H. Kallenbach expressing thanks for offer of farm near Lawley for use of passive resisters and their families for duration of Transvaal struggle.

*June 1:* Union of South Africa came into being.

*June 2:* In letter to Press, Gandhiji said advent of Union was no cause for rejoicing and described it as "a combination of hostile forces" arrayed against Asiatics.

*June 10:* Sir Charles Hardinge appointed Viceroy of India.

*June 13:* Twenty-six passive resisters, deported to India by Transvaal Government in April, returned to Durban by s.s. *President*.

*June 18:* In Durban, mass meeting of Indians supported passive resistance.

Report of Committee on Emigration from India to Crown Colonies and Protectorates published.

*June 26:* Gandhiji spoke at Socialist Hall, Johannesburg, on "Modern *v*. Ancient Civilization".

*June 29:* In Commons, O'Grady raised question of British Indians in Transvaal and suggested Gandhi-Smuts Conference to arrange compromise.

*July 1:* Gandhiji cabled SABIC on rejection of deportees by Natal.

*July 3:* Appealed for gifts to help settlers at Tolstoy Farm.

*July 8:* BIA, Transvaal, presented address of welcome to Lord Gladstone.

*July 9:* In reply to Secretary of State, Lord Gladstone communicated decision to increase daily ration of Indian prisoners serving sentences of up to 3 months.

*July 21:* Natal *Government Gazette* published rules framed under Indian Immigration Law, 1891, requiring employers of indentured Indian immigrants to provide shelter for children of Indian women working in fields.

Gandhiji paid tribute to G. A. Natesan for his work for passive resisters deported to India.

*July 22:* Lord Morley (Secretary of State for India) expressed to Lord Crewe (Secretary of State for Colonies) his profound regret at refusal of Transvaal Ministers to make any concessions regarding observance

of *Ramzan* in prison or to exempt high-caste Hindu prisoners from tasks involving what they regarded as religious defilement.

*July 26:* In Lords, Lord Ampthill raised question of deportation of Indians from Transvaal.

*July 28:* BIA cabled SABIC regarding deportation of Royeppen to Natal and Government's attempt to make minors prohibited immigrants.

*July 30:* Gandhiji commented on Churchill's statement in Commons that he had given instructions that all persons imprisoned as passive resisters or as suffragettes should be spared unnecessary degradation.

*August 3:* Resolutions passed at London public meeting, under presidentship of Sir Muncherjee Bhownaggree, protesting agains treatment of Indians domiciled in Transvaal and deportation *via* Mozambique.

*August 5:* Gokhale asked questions in Indian Imperial Council regarding Transvaal deportees.

*August 6:* Transmitting Lord Morley's communication of July 22 to Lord Gladstone, Secretary of State for Colonies said that anything offending religious susceptibilities of Indians must be a serious and permanent obstacle to a settlement.

*August 9:* Gandhiji sent rejoinder to *Rand Daily Mail*'s leader "Asiatic Exaggeration" on Lord Morley's repudiation of harsh treatment of British Indian deportees during their enforced voyage from Delagoa Bay to Bombay.

*August 13:* Colonial Office wrote to Sir Muncherjee Bhownaggree and Ritch regarding London meeting of August 3.

*August 15:* Gandhiji wrote a letter to Tolstoy.

*August 23:* A. E. Chhotabhai, a Krugersdorp merchant, appealed against decision of Registrar of Asiatics refusing registration to his son on attaining majority.

Public meeting held at Victoria Hall, Madras, to bid farewell to Transvaal deportees on eve of their departure for Transvaal. Sir S. Subramania presided; Mrs. Annie Besant attended.

*August 25:* Cape Town City Council passed resolution refusing *en bloc* applications of Indians for trading licences.

*September 2:* Ritch sent reply to Colonial Office letter of August 13 regarding registration law and deportation of Indians from Transvaal.

*September 7:* Tolstoy wrote to Gandhiji, supporting passive resistance.

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*September 10:* Gandhiji commented in *Indian Opinion* on Magistrate Jordan's dismissal of Chhotabhai's appeal and its implications for minor Asiatics.

*September 13:* In Supreme Court, Justice Wessels heard in Chambers Chhotabhai's case and dismissed it with costs, observing that, if Government's decision about minors be true, it were a monstrous and cruel injustice.

*September 17:* Gandhiji left for Durban to receive Polak and passive resister deportees from India.

*September 20:* Spoke at a meeting of Colonial-born Indians.
Spoke at Kathiawad Arya Mandal meeting organized to discuss question of welcoming deportees.

*September 24:* Wrote in *Indian Opinion*, congratulating Dr. Rubusana on his election as member of Cape Provincial Council for Tembuland.

*September 26:* Blue-book issued dealing with Asiatic legislation in Transvaal up to August 8, 1910.

*September 28:* Gandhiji met Polak, who reached Durban along with other deportees from India by s. s. *Sultan*.

*October 4:* Ritch, who came from England by R. M. S. *Saxon*, gave interview to *Cape Argus*.

*October 5:* Gandhiji and others spoke at reception by Kathiawad Arya Mandal, Durban, in honour of Polak and passive resisters.

*October 7:* Cape Provincial Division of Supreme Court heard application of President, British Indian League, Cape Town, against refusal by immigration authorities of leave to land to batch of Indians who desired to proceed to Transvaal.

*October 8:* Gandhiji wrote to Minister of Interior in connection with landing of deportees.

*October 16:* Death of Narayansamy.

After *October 16:* In letter to SABIC, Gandhiji described death of Narayansamy as "legalized murder".

*October 25:* Wrote to Registrar of Asiatics, requesting him to advise Principal Immigration Restriction Officer to receive applications for duplicate registration certificates from British Indians detained at Salisbury Island under court order.

*November 6:* After notice to Immigration Officer, reached Volksrust with Mrs. Rambhabai Sodha, her three children and others on way from Durban to Tolstoy Farm.

*November 7:* Appeared in Court for Mrs. Sodha. In telegram to Immigration Officer, said she did not seek right of permanent residence in Transvaal.

*November 8:* Chairman, BIA, telegraphed Smuts on Mrs. Sodha's arrest and requested withdrawal of prosecution.

*November 9:* Gandhiji spoke at Chinese function in honour of Ritch and Polak.

*November 10:* BIA wired Minister of Interior for grant of temporary permit to Mrs. Sodha, adding Association was anxious to avoid importing women into struggle.

*November 11:* Chhotabhai appeal dismissed by Transvaal Provincial Division of Supreme Court of South Africa.

Committee of All-India Muslim League, London, sent representation to Secretary of State for Colonies regarding treatment of British Indians in overseas Dominions of the Crown.

*November 12:* Minister of Interior refused grant of even temporary permit to Mrs. Sodha.

*November 14:* Gandhiji addressed letter to Press in connection with Mrs. Sodha's case.

Smuts moved second reading of Bill to consolidate and amend laws regarding naturalization of aliens.

Before *November 18:* Gandhiji addressed letter to members of Asiatic Conference regarding Chhotabhai case.

*November 18:* At Caxton Hall, London, Polak presiding, Archdeacon Beresford Potter's paper on "Brotherhood within the Empire—with special reference to the British Indians in the Transvaal" was read.

BIA decided not to join presentation of welcome address to Duke of Connaught.

Ratan Tata sent to Gandhiji cheque for Rs. 25,000 in aid of Transvaal Indians' struggle.

After *November 18:* Chairman, Hamidia Islamic Society, conveyed respectful welcome to Duke of Connaught but expressed inability to take part in public celebration.

*November 19:* Chairman, BIA, wrote to Director of Prisons regarding fast by Indian passive resisters in Diepkloof prison.

*November 20:* Death of Leo Tolstoy.

*November 22:* Chairman, BIA, wrote again to Director of Prisons regarding improper treatment of Indian passive resisters in Diepkloof prison.

*December 4:* Gandhiji spoke at Socialist Hall, Johannesburg, on Tolstoy and his message.

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*December 9:* In letter thanked G. A. Natesan for securing donations and rendering help to deportees.

*December 13:* Smuts stated Government's intention to introduce Immigration Bill for whole of South Africa which would provide suitable opportunity to review entire immigration policy.

*December 14:* L. W. Ritch on return from South Africa told Reuter in interview that there appeared to be an earnest desire in South Africa to settle Indian problem.

*December 15:* Gandhiji and others met deportees at Diepkloof after discharge from prison.

*December 27:* Indian National Congress at Allahabad passed resolution expressing admiration for Transvaal Indians' struggle, urging Government of India to prohibit recruitment of indentured labour and protesting against South African policy as unwise, unrighteous and dangerous to Empire.

*December 30:* Gandhiji appeared for defence in case against Mrs. Rambhabai Sodha under Immigrants' Restriction Act.

*1911*

*January 3:* In Viceroy's Legislative Council at Calcutta, Indian Government announced decision to prohibit further emigration of indentured Indians to Natal. Gokhale expressed gratitude.

*January 7:* Natal Indian Congress thanked Government of India and Gokhale for ending recruitment of indentured labour for South Africa.

*January 9:* With T. Naidoo, Gandhiji met prisoners released at Diepkloof.

*January 11:* Mrs. Rambhabai Sodha sentenced to fine of £10 and one month's simple imprisonment. Later released on bail on notice of appeal.

*January 19:* Passive resisters Quinn, Royeppen and others sentenced.

*January 25:* In case of Mahmud Chhotabhai, Chief Justice Lord de Villiers, in Appellate Division of Supreme Court, declared expulsion order null and void and ordered Registrar of Asiatics to issue registration certificate. He observed: ". . .the maintenance of liberty of the subject was of more importance than the prevention of undesirable immigration".

*January 30:* In banquet speech at Guildhall, London, Duke of Connaught expressed hope of early settlement of question of Indians in South Africa.

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*February 1:* New regulations of South African Railways came into force.

*February 14:* Minister of Interior turned down request of Natal Indian Congress to alter Natal law and exempt Indian women from payment of £3 tax.

*February 19:* All-India Muslim League, London, wrote to Under Secretary of State for Colonies about South African Indians' grievances.

*February 20:* Chairman, BIA, wrote against new railway regulations to Acting General Manager, South African Railways.

*February 24:* Writing to *Times of Natal*, Polak condemned slavery in Natal.

*February 25:* Union of South Africa *Government Gazette Extraordinary* published text of Immigrants' Restriction Bill (1911).
Indentured Indian labourers of a Stanger estate-owner offered passive resistance.

*February 27:* Stanger passive resisters sentenced and sent to prison.

*February 28:* Protector of Indian Immigrants secured release of Stanger men.
Smuts told Parliament that Asiatics belonged to an ancient race and they could not be generally treated as barbarians.

*March 2:* First reading of Immigrants' Restriction Bill.
In letter to P.S. to Minister of Interior, Gandhiji sought clarification whether under Section 1 of new Bill Asiatics who might pass education test could enter and remain in Transvaal without being liable to take out registration under Act 36, 1908.
Wrote to R. Gregorowski, a Johannesburg lawyer, seeking opinion on interpretation of Immigrants' Restriction Bill.

*March 4:* Lane in reply to Gandhiji's letter stated that Asiatics admitted as immigrants under new Immigration Bill "would not fall under registration laws and would not be restricted to provincial limits".
In letter to Lane, Gandhiji requested that new Bill be so amended in Committee as to make the assurance given "absolutely clear". He also sought legal protection for wives and minor children of registered Asiatics.

*March 9:* Natal Indian Congress meeting passed resolution against Immigration Bill.

*March 11:* Chairman, BIA, sent telegram to Members of Parliament at Cape Town requesting that new Immigration Bill be so amended as to cover objections raised by BIA.

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In cable to Natesan, Gokhale and SABIC (London), Gandhiji said new Bill was satisfactory in principle because it recognized legal equality and would end passive resistance if amended to exempt educated Indians from operation of Registration Act and to protect minor children and wives.

*March 12:* Mass meeting of Indians at Cape Town protested against Immigration Bill.

*March 13:* Minister of Interior moved second reading of Immigration Bill in Assembly.

*March 15:* Petitions of Cape, Natal and Transvaal Indians presented to Parliament.

*March 16:* In letter to *Pretoria News*, Gandhiji clarified misunderstanding created by his interview.

*March 17:* Sent telegram to P. S. to Smuts regarding amendment of new Bill.

*March 18:* In telegram sent by Acting Chairman, Chinese Association, to Secretary to Minister of Interior, the Chinese joined hands with BIA in request for amendment of Immigrants' Restriction Bill to remove colour or racial bar, to afford protection to wives and minor children of legal residents and to provide for entry of a limited number of cultured Chinese into Union.

*March 20:* Gandhiji sent telegram and wrote to P. S. to Smuts regarding relief under new Immigration Bill. Natal Indian Congress in telegram to P. S. to Minister of Interior opposed amendment to new Bill imposing racial bar against entry into Orange Free State of Asiatics admitted into Union under education test.

*March 21:* Lane telegraphed Gandhiji that Smuts would favourably consider question of providing for women and children of persons lawfully resident, but regarded Gandhiji's attitude on Free State question as "unfair".

*March 22:* Gandhiji telegraphed reply to P. S. to Minister of Interior on Free State question.

*March 23:* European British Indian Committee meeting at Johannesburg approved Gandhiji's latest correspondence with Minister of Interior regarding new Immigration Bill and urged Government to accept proposed solution.

*March 24:* P. S. to Smuts informed Gandhiji that there would be "no colour or racial bar of any kind whatsoever appearing in Immigration Bill or any amendment which the Government intend to move". Regarding Orange Free State, Smuts proposed leaving situation as it was under existing law of Province.



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In telegram to P.S. to Smuts, Gandhiji said racial bar would certainly be created if educated Asiatic immigrants were upon entering Orange Free State confronted with Asiatic registration law.

*March 25:* Left for Cape Town.

*March 26:* Durban mass meeting under auspices of Natal Indian Congress protested against new Immigration Bill.

*March 27:* Gandhiji's interview with Smuts at Cape Town.

*March 29:* Natal Indian Congress in telegram to Finance Minister protested against new Poll-tax Bill.

In letter to Lane, Gandhiji said amendments to be moved regarding domicile, marriage and parental relationship by Smuts to Immigration Bill requiring evidence to be furnished to immigration officer might "open the door to favouritism, corruption and bribery".

Before *March 30:* Interview to *Cape Argus*.

*March 30:* Gandhiji Spoke at meeting of Cape Town United Hindu Association held in honour of L. W. Ritch and himself.

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