# THE COLLECTED WORKS OF MAHATMA GANDHI

## XII

## (1913-1914)

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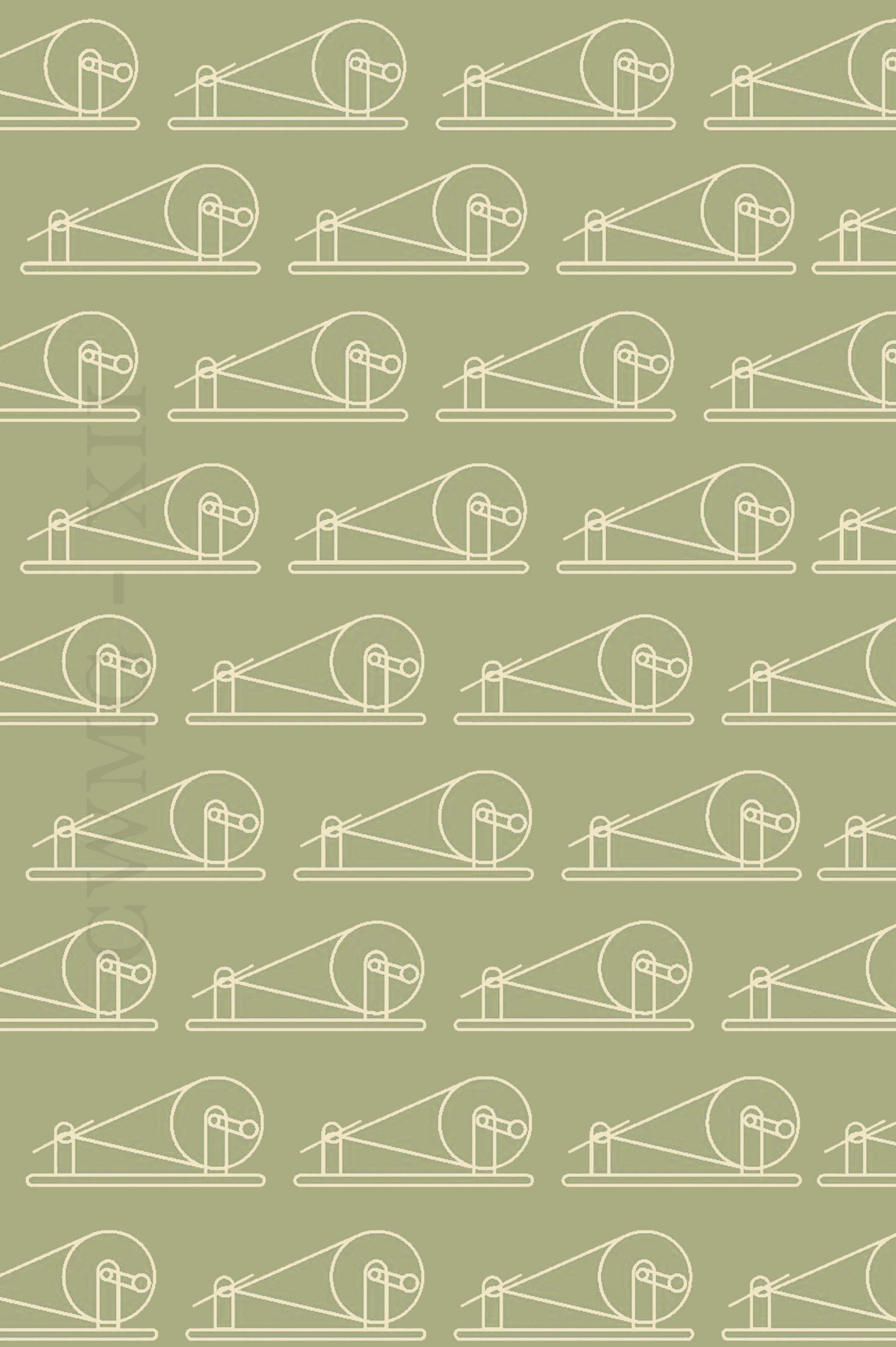

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## XII

(April 1913 - December 1914)

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DURING THE SATYAGRAHA STRUGGLE : 1914

# THE COLLECTED WORKS OF
# MAHATMA GANDHI

XII

( April 1913 - December 1914 )

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THE PUBLICATIONS DIVISION
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## *PREFACE*

This volume is the last in the series dealing with Gandhiji's South African years and covers the period April 1913 to December 1914, which saw the final satyagraha struggle, the Smuts-Gandhi Settlement, leading to the enactment of the Indians' Relief Bill, and Gandhiji's departure for the motherland.

On March 14, 1913, Justice Searle of the Cape Supreme Court had ruled that Indian marriages performed in accordance with non-Christian rites or not registered before a marriage officer could not be recognized in the Union of South Africa. The effect of this decision was to reduce Hindu and Muslim wives virtually to the status of concubines, and their children to that of illegitimate issue. It profoundly hurt Indian religious sentiment.

The new Immigration Bill adversely affected existing rights and imposed fresh disabilities. Domiciliary rights of Natal Indians were disturbed; the wives and children of even educated Indians could hardly obtain entry into the Union. It was of the essence of the compromise which the Provisional Settlement of 1911 represented that Indian immigrants were not to suffer disabilities to which other races or sections of the people in the Union were not subjected. In point of fact, however, the Immigration Bill created a legal racial bar. Gandhiji interpreted it as a deliberate attempt to rid South Africa of its resident Asiatic population.

In his representations to the Ministry of the Interior, during April 1913, Gandhiji stressed that the anomalous situation created by the Searle judgment could be remedied only by modifying the Union marriage laws; that the Immigration Bill should be amended to restore existing rights; that the £3 tax should be abolished; that the racial taint in the Transvaal law should be removed and that existing laws should be administered in a liberal spirit. In case Government failed to meet these demands, the Indian community would have to resort to passive resistance. This time the campaign would be short and swift; it would embrace the whole Union and, for the first time, it would include women among the passive resisters. Indian women, who had been cloistered for ages by social tradition, were ready to take up the challenge of the Searle judgment and decided to join the struggle. By the time the Immigration Bill was read a second time, on April 26, Indian women had registered their emphatic protest and expressed their determination to offer passive resistance.

Government's reaction to all this was sharp: if Indians carried out the threat, they would compel Government to come to "plain terms". Gandhiji explained that the campaign would be an attempt to "cling to the beautiful vision" of the British Constitution, and Passive Resisters were "prepared to fight for making it a reality or die in the attempt". (p. 72)

Government appeared to relent and agreed to restore existing rights under the Cape and Natal laws and amend the Immigration Bill in some respects. But it would not budge from its position regarding Indian marriages. Gandhiji made it clear that he sought recognition only of marriages performed in India according to the Hindu and Muslim faiths. The law could be modified to bring it in line with the Transvaal marriage law which recognized European marriages. Government came out with a stipulation that Indians should produce marriage registration certificates; this, Gandhiji made it clear, was neither possible, since the practice of registration did not obtain in India, nor necessary, since Indian marriages were performed with due public solemnity. Gandhiji made much use of the friendly and sympathetic feeling of a small group of European M.P.s at Cape Town to press amendments to the Immigration Bill, but such amendments as Government accepted were inadequate. On June 2, Gandhiji declared in an interview that passive resistance was inevitable if Government failed to meet Indian demands.

The Government, on its side, appeared to view the probability of a resumption of satyagraha with serious concern. Lord Gladstone, Union Governor-General, in the course of a confidential despatch, urged the Colonial Office to represent to the Indian Government the gravity of the situation and to ask them "to use such influence as they may possess with Gandhi and others" to avoid a crisis. He was doing his best, he observed, to secure the total abolition of the £3 tax.

Government decided early in June to exempt only women from the tax. Gandhiji pointed out that the promise of repeal made to Gokhale implied no discrimination against men. The Immigration Bill was passed on June 11, and on June 13 he declared that, unless Royal assent was withheld and the assurance in terms of the Provisional Settlement of 1911 was implemented, passive resistance by men and women would commence. The British Indian Association followed, on June 16, with a formal request to the Governor-General to withhold approval of the Act. Gandhiji decided to make a last-minute bid to avert the impending crisis. He went to Pretoria, presented on June 28 the Indian case and demanded an assurance that the law would be amended

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at least the following year. In an interview on July 2 with the Secretary for the Interior, he put forward the Indians' basic demands: recognition of right of entry into the Cape Province, safeguarding of domiciliary rights in Natal, doing away with the entrants' declaration in regard to land, trade, etc., in the Free State, and legalization of Indian marriages either by amendment of the law or by authorizing marriage officers to certify them. He contended that all these demands, except the last, could be met by administrative measures. (p. 125.) Gandhiji was ready to wait on General Smuts, but a strike of the Johannesburg coal-miners kept the latter continuously preoccupied.

On August 11, Gandhiji was still waiting for a remission in the industrial trouble to meet Smuts; he had to remain content, however, with the answer that his proposals of July 2 were under consideration by the Ministry of the Interior. On September 3, Gandhiji pleaded that his moderation and restraint in framing demands were intended to facilitate settlement and to show that Indians were not "pining" for a revival of the struggle. On September 10, the Ministry of the Interior declared that it could hold out no promise to alter the basis of the existing marriage law by a Parliamentary measure even the following year, and refused to withdraw pending cases.

Passive resistance, therefore, became imperative; there was no alternative. Gandhiji's words at this time express the anguish of a community driven to desperation by official intransigence: ". . . as an unrepresented and voiceless community which has been so much misunderstood in the past and which is labouring under a curious but strong race prejudice, it can only defend its honour and status by a process of sacrifice and self-suffering." (p. 186.) On September 12, the British Indian Association gave the Government notice of passive resistance.

But passive resistance this time was to take the form not merely of crossing the border into the Transvaal, but also of hawking or trading without a licence and refusing to produce one on demand. Laws without a natural or moral basis were to be openly defied. The campaign was inaugurated on September 15. A party of 12 men and four women, led by Kasturba, set out from Durban for Volksrust for courting arrest. It was a symbolic act, this pitting of a "microscopic minority . . . against a mighty Government". (p. 192.) They were arrested on September 16. Three days later Kasturba was sentenced to three months with hard labour; others to terms from one to three months. The struggle continued despite official attempts to disrupt and discredit it.

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The struggle entered a new and revolutionary phase on October 17 when Indian workers in the Newcastle collieries came out on strike against the £3 tax. Gandhiji asked the strikers to deny themselves employees' rations and to court arrest or proceed to the Volksrust border. In an effort to educate the mine-owners, Gandhiji addressed their conference.

The third phase of the struggle began with the "Great March" on November 6, when he led over two thousand strikers into the Transvaal in a "striking demonstration" against the iniquitous £3 tax. Between November 7 and 11 Gandhiji was arrested thrice and released twice on bail. He was finally sentenced, at Dundee, to nine months with hard labour or £60 fine. He chose prison. He was tried again on November 14, and sentenced on other counts to three months.

Meanwhile, the strike had spread from the collieries to the railways, sugar refineries, dock and corporation works; between 7,000 and 8,000 workers were reported off work on November 8. Acts of official violence occurred, with the inevitable rousing of public opinion abroad. Lord Hardinge, the Viceroy, speaking at Madras on November 29, gave expression to his growing concern and sympathy for the Passive Resisters.

The evolution of official policy in regard to the Indian problem, during the rest of this period, can be traced in the official correspondence, particularly the Governor-General's confidential despatches to the British Colonial Office; here are found the only available reports of some of Gandhiji's interviews with high officials. Of the course of events that followed Gandhiji's incarceration, as, indeed, of the entire Indian struggle in South Africa from 1894 to 1914, an authoritative editorial (*vide* Appendix XXVIII.) in the Golden Number of *Indian Opinion*, December 1914, offers a brief, general survey. In chronicle fashion it speaks of " . . . Lord Hardinge's famous speech at Madras, in which he placed himself at the head of Indian public opinion, and his demand for a Commission of Inquiry, the energetic efforts of Lord Ampthill's Committee, the hurried intervention of the Imperial authorities, the appointment over the heads of the Indian community of a Commission whose personnel could not satisfy the Indians, the discharge of the leaders, whose advice to ignore the Commission was almost entirely accepted, the arrival of Messrs Andrews and Pearson and their wonderful work of reconciliation, the deaths of Hurbatsingh and Valliamma, the strained position relieved only by the interruption of the second European strike, when Mr. Gandhi once more undertook not to hamper the Government whilst they had their hands full with the

fresh difficulty, and, when it had been dealt with, the entirely new spirit of friendliness, trust, and co-operation that was found to have been created by the moderation of the great Indian leader and the loving influence spread around him by Mr. Andrews as he proceeded with his great Imperial mission.''

In his valedictory letter to the Indian community, Gandhiji described the Settlement, embodied in the Indians' Relief Act passed on June 26, as 'the Magna Charta' of Indians' liberty in South Africa, because it marked a change in Government's policy towards them and established their right to be consulted in matters affecting them and to have their reasonable wishes respected. It was thus with the sense of a mission fulfilled that, on July 18, Gandhiji took leave of South Africa, the sub-continent which ''has become to me a sacred and dear land, next only to my motherland.'' (p. 503.)

From August 4 to December 18, Gandhiji stayed in London; the first World War broke out during this time. Despite bouts of illness, he was active in organizing an Indian Ambulance Corps—as an expression of loyalty to the Empire in its hour of need. Here again, he had occasion to offer satyagraha on an issue which touched Indian self-respect and won his point, the right to be consulted in the disposition of the Corps.

On December 19, Gandhiji sailed for India, ''the country where the greatest spiritual treasures were to be found for the comforting and uplifting of the whole world.'' His political outlook was revealed by his emphasis on work to strengthen the ties between India and Great Britain ''by each giving of its best to the other''. (p. 565.) His feelings on board the ship Gandhiji has set down in a letter to West: ''I have been so often prevented from reaching India that it seems hardly real that I am sitting in a ship bound for India. And having reached that what shall I do with myself? However. 'Lead Kindly Light, amid the encircling gloom, lead Thou me on'. That thought is my solace. . . .'' (p. 566.)

The personal letters in the volume reveal Gandhiji's concern, even in the midst of struggle, with thoughts of God and *moksha*. One sees the influence which the Ashram way of life had come to exercise on him and his idea of continuing that life in India. One notes, too, the deep attachment that bound him to Gokhale, his ''political Guru'', as evidenced, for instance, in the compact of a year's silence for study and observation, after landing on Indian soil.

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Of Gandhiji's life and achievements in South Africa, the source-material for which is found in these twelve volumes, the Golden Number of *Indian Opinion* carries the following assessment:

"It is significant that, as Passive Resistance became stronger and purer, it succeeded more and more in bringing together the best representatives of the European and Indian sections of the population. With each new phase came new triumphs and new friends. . . . The struggle commenced with a protest against the universal distrust and contempt for the Indian community. The distrust and contempt have been exchanged for trust and respect. . . . The movement commenced with a demand for the repeal of the Transvaal Act 2 of 1907. The Act was repealed and its threatened extension to other parts of South Africa was completely prevented. At the beginning, racial legislation against Indians was threatened, so as to drive them from the Colony. The Settlement has removed the possibility of racial legislation against Indians throughout the Empire. The system of indentured immigration from India, that had been regarded almost as a permanent feature of South African economics, has been ended. The hated £3 tax has been repealed and its attendant misery and insult destroyed. Vested rights, that were tending everywhere to disappear, are to be maintained and protected. The bulk of Indian marriages, that had never previously received the sanction of South African law, are henceforth to be fully recognized in law. But above and beyond all this is the new spirit of conciliation that has resulted from the hardships, the sufferings, the sacrifices of the Passive Resisters. . . . The struggle has more than proved the immense superiority of right over might, of soul-force over brute-force, of love and reason over hate and passion."

Subsequent history was to show that the racial problem in South Africa was still far from a solution. But Gandhiji had there invented and perfected the weapon of satyagraha which was one day to lead to the liberation of his people and the ending of the age of Imperialism in India.

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## *NOTE TO THE READER*

The letters and representations addressed to various authorities, communications to the Press, and resolutions adopted at meetings, which are included in this volume, are attributed to Gandhiji on grounds similar to those explained in the Preface to Volume I. Where there are special reasons for the inclusion of particular items, these 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 spelt out. Variant spellings of names have, however, been retained as in the original.

Matter in square brackets has been supplied by the Editors. Passages quoted from 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 also been given in small type. Words underlined in the original have been italicised.

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

The date of an item where available or could be inferred has been indicated at the top right-hand corner; if the original is undated, the inferred date is supplied within square brackets, with reasons where necessary. In the case of certain personal letters in Hindi and Gujarati, the originals of which carry the date according to the Vikram Era current in Gujarat, the corresponding date according to the Gregorian calendar has been furnished, sometimes, the year being deduced from internal or external evidence. The date given at the end of an item alongside of the source is that of publication.

References in footnotes 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

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the Part and Chapter in view of the varying pagination in different editions.

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

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

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## *ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS*

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## 1. LETTER TO MINISTER OF INTERIOR[1]

[PHŒNIX,]
*April 1, 1913*

[TO
THE MINISTER OF INTERIOR
CAPE TOWN]

DEAR SIR,

Mr. Justice Searle's decision[2] regarding the validity of Indian marriages and the statement said to have been made by the Immigration Officer in Natal, to the effect that no boys or girls claiming to be the children of resident Indians would be admitted unless they or their parents produce certificates of birth, have created great consternation among my countrymen. And passive resisters have also felt compelled to examine their own position.

According to Justice Searle's decision, no Indian marriage whether celebrated in South Africa or elsewhere can be recognized unless it is in accordance with the marriage laws of the Cape Province, i.e., every Indian marriage is invalid that is not registered before a Marriage Officer or celebrated according to the Christian rites. This, in my humble opinion, is an intolerable position and disturbs rights hitherto exercised by Indians. I need hardly draw the attention of the Hon'ble the Minister to the fact that marriages celebrated according to the Hindu, Mahomedan or Parsee rites are fully recognized in India by Indian law.

With reference to children, it is a well-known fact that very few births are registered in India. Registration of birth is not universally compulsory. And it is practically impossible to produce certificates of birth except in rare cases.

The practical result of both the cases is almost completely to prevent the entry of wives and minor children of domiciled Indians. In the circumstances, I venture to submit that, apart from other considerations, it is necessary in order to give full effect to the provisional settlement[3] to so frame the new Immigration Bill as to

[1] This was published in *Indian Opinion*, 7-6-1913, under the heading "Correspondence with Mr. Fischer".

[2] *Vide* Appendix I.

[3] For the terms of the settlement, *vide* Vol. XI, pp. 38-40.

restore the position as to wives as it availed before Justice Searle's decision and to revoke the instructions regarding children.

May I also suggest that it would be better if the leading members of the community were consulted regarding proof required by the Government as to marriages or the age or sonship of boys. I am sure that the Indian community has every desire to co-operate with the Government in facilitating the examination of relationships of wives and children so as to avoid fraud or deception.[1]

*I remain,*
*Yours faithfully,*
[M. K. GANDHI]

From a photostat of the draft in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 5747

[1] To this the following reply dated April 10 was received: ". . . I am directed by the Minister of the Interior to state that it does not appear that any new principle has thereby been laid down, as from the earliest times, following the introduction of European civilization into South Africa, the law of the land has only recognized as a valid union the marriage, by a recognized Marriage Officer, of one man to one woman, to the exclusion, while it lasted, of any other. A very old established section of the Cape population, and a large one in point of numbers, viz., the Cape Malay community, has always followed the Mahomedan faith and conducted its marriages according to the tenets of that religion; but such unions, unless solemnized by a Marriage Officer, are not recognized under the Marriage Order-in-Council or officially recorded in any way.

"You will note that the law does not demand that unions before Marriage Officers should be in accordance with Christian rites in order that they may be duly recognized as marriages. The unions effected before such officers are by no means exclusively confined to persons holding the Christian faith. It is not possible, therefore, to accept your contention that marriages according to Indian custom, but not celebrated before a Marriage Officer, have hitherto been recognized as valid here; nor is it possible to consider the introduction of any law which would have the effect of disturbing the position so far as it affects the Cape Malay or the Indian sections of the population.

"As has already been intimated, the Government has no intention of departing from the present practice in regard to the introduction of the wives and minor children of British Indians lawfully resident in South Africa, and Immigration Officers have been so advised."

## 2. *THE STORM SIGNAL*

Johannesburg, as was quite proper, has given the storm signal. The mass meeting[1], called by the British Indian Association, was a thorough success. Mr. Cachalia[2] has given a respectful but firm warning that there are some Indians in South Africa who are prepared to give their all for the sake of their and their country's honour. The meeting passed resolutions which we doubt not would receive Government's earnest attention.

Indeed, it would appear that the meeting has already produced some effect on the mind of the Government. Reuter's report of the Johannesburg meeting is quickly followed up by an inspired explanation of the Searle judgment. The wire[3], which we publish in full, is a lame and poor attempt to whittle down the full effect of Justice Searle's judgment. The *bonafides* of Bai Mariam is questioned. The question of polygamy has been quite gratuitously introduced. But the Searle judgment is too clear and too precise to need any explanation. The learned Judge himself said that it was a test case. It was treated as such by both the parties, and the only issue before him was whether marriages solemnized according to the tenets of Islam could be recognized by the Cape courts for the purposes of the immigration law. His Lordship's decision on the point is unequivocal and emphatic. Such marriages are invalid. It is on this that the protest of the Johannesburg meeting is based. The Government may not, they dare not, follow up the case to its logical extent. But the legal possibilities are there. They were clearly brought out by Mr. Ritch[4] in his speech before the meeting. There are some things which we may not worry over until the actuality stares us in the face; but there are some other things whose possible happening, too, must be avoided at all cost. No Indian husband can rest under the possibility of his wife's status being questioned and all the consequences of the possibility becoming an actuality.

[1] This was held on March 30, 1913; for the resolutions passed at the meeting, *vide* Appendix II.

[2] Ahmed Mahomed Cachalia, Chairman, British Indian Association

[3] This is not reproduced here.

[4] L. W. Ritch, barrister, an active associate of Gandhiji; *vide* Vol. IX, p. 10.

It was, therefore, we consider, a most proper thing for Mr. Cachalia to convene the meeting, whose demand cannot be abated by reason of the so-called explanation. It was fitting, too, that, in point of time the Tamil meeting should have been the first. The Tamils were the greatest sufferers during the late struggle. They are now in the forefront. We hope that the other towns of South Africa will follow Johannesburg's lead and support its action. Above all, we sincerely hope that the Government will not miss the golden opportunity they have, during the passage of their Bill, of conceding the very just request of the mass meeting.

*Indian Opinion*, 5-4-1913

## 3. *GENERAL KNOWLEDGE ABOUT HEALTH* [–*XIV*][1]

### 6. HOW MUCH AND HOW OFTEN TO EAT

We have considered what the ideal diet should be. It is necessary to inquire how much and how often to eat, and the topic calls for a separate article. To some extent the two questions, "How much should one eat?" and "How often should one eat?" are interrelated. I say "to some extent" because one cannot, and one should not, eat at a single meal the total quantity of food to be consumed in one day, so that "how much to eat" and "how often" are not so closely interrelated.

Doctors differ widely on the question : how much one should eat. "In plenty", says one doctor, and he recommends different amounts of various foods according to their properties. Another doctor says that physical and mental workers should eat different kinds and quantities of food. A third opines that a labourer and a prince should eat the same quantity of food—that it is simply not true that a prince can make do with less but a labourer must have more. Everyone knows that a weak man and a strong man need

[1] For the earlier articles in this series, *vide* Vol. XI. These were later published as a book which was translated into Hindi and other Indian languages. Based on the Hindi version was *A Guide to Health*, an English adaptation by A. Rama Iyer, published by S. Ganesan, Madras, in July 1921. The book was translated into several European languages.

In August-December 1942, during his incarceration in the Agakhan Palace at Poona, Gandhiji wrote in Gujarati what became, in its English translation by Dr. Sushila Nayyar, *Key to Health*, published by Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, in 1948. While this book was not based on the series of articles published in *Indian Opinion*, according to Gandhiji, it did not fundamentally differ from them.

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different quantities of food. The diet of a man differs from that of a woman. There is a difference in the quantities of food for adults and children, for the aged and the young. Lastly, there is one writer who even states that, if the food is so thoroughly masticated that it turns into liquid and is swallowed with ease like saliva, we would find two to four ounces of food quite sufficient. He has carried out thousands of experiments. His book has been sold by the thousand and is widely read. Such being the position, it is useless to recommend definite quantities of food; most doctors have said, however, that 99% eat more than they require. Even otherwise, the thing is simple enough to be obvious to us all. This being so, it is not necessary to prescribe a minimum diet for fear that people might eat too little. To tell the truth, what needs to be emphasized is that, while planning a diet, all of us should cut down on the quantity we consume.

As mentioned above, food should be thoroughly masticated. By this means, we shall be able to extract the utmost nourishment from even a small quantity of food and gain in every way. It has been shown that the fæces of one who eats only as much as he can comfortably digest are small, well formed, darkish, sticky, dry and free from bad odour. One whose fæces are not so formed must have eaten excessive and unsuitable food and failed to masticate it and mix it with the saliva in his mouth. Thus, from the appearance of our fæces we can make out if we have eaten too much. He whose tongue is coated on rising, who sleeps uneasily and dreams frequently, must have been eating too much. One who has to get up often at night to pass urine must have taken too much liquid. By such detailed observation, anyone can decide the quantity of food required by him. Many people have offensive breath. Clearly, they have not digested their food. At times, those who over-eat get boils and pimples on the face and in the nostrils. But we do not take these affections seriously. Some get continuous hiccups. Others suffer from flatulence. *The simple meaning of all these ailments is that we have turned our stomach into a commode and that we carry this commode with us wherever we go*. If we could spare the time to think quietly about this matter, we would thoroughly despise our own habits. We would definitely eat less and put an end to dinners and feasts, would make it a rule never to attend or give community dinners. Our hospitality would take an altogether different form, much to our own relief and that of the guest. As for dinner parties, one would forget the very mention of them. We do not invite people to join us when we clean our teeth or when we drink water. Eating a meal is a similar bodily function. Why do we go fussing

all over in performing it? Every time we have a guest, we must needs make things unbearable both for him and us. The explanation is that our palate has been spoilt through constant indulgence, so that we trump up one excuse after another for eating something. We feed our guest sumptuously in the hope of being similarly treated at his house. Actually, we seek such occasions so that we can have more opportunities of feasting on rich dishes. If we asked someone with a wholesome body to smell our mouth about an hour after we have indulged in such eating and heard his comments, we would certainly have cause to be ashamed of ourselves. There are even some young gourmets who, in order to be able to enjoy eating, take fruit salt immediately after a meal or vomit out what they have already consumed and then fall to eating the sweets again.

To a greater or lesser extent, we all behave like this. That is why our great men laid down for us certain religious observances like fasts, *rozas*[1], etc. There are numerous fast days among Roman Catholics too. There is nothing wrong whatever in anyone fasting completely or partially once in a fortnight purely for the sake of good health. It will do him a world of good indeed. The practice followed by many Hindus of eating only once a day during the *chaturmas*[2] is based on considerations of health. When the air is humid and the day is overcast most of the time, the digestion becomes slack and one should, therefore, eat less at such times.

Let us now consider how often one should eat. Most people in India eat only twice a day. Those who eat thrice will be found to belong to the labouring classes. People learnt eating four times only when they began to ape English ways. Recently, certain societies have been formed in England and America. Their function is to persuade the public to refrain from taking more than two meals a day. They advise us to go without breakfast. The night's sleep serves the purpose of food. At daybreak, therefore, we are ready not for food but for work. They believe that we are ready for food only after two or three hours of work. These men, therefore, eat only twice a day and do not even drink tea, etc., between meals. A well-known doctor called Dewey has written a book on this subject in which he has described in a convincing manner the benefits accruing from fasting, cutting out breakfast, generally eating less, etc. My own experience during the past

[1] Fasts observed by Muslims from sunrise to sunset, during the month of *Ramzan*

[2] The four monsoon months, from about mid-July to mid-November, during which pious Hindus observe partial fasts

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eight years is that, after the period of youth is past, there is absolutely no need for anyone to eat more than twice a day. Once a person's body is fully grown and further development has stopped, he has no need to eat either much or often.

[From Gujarati]
*Indian Opinion*, 5-4-1913

## 4. *TELEGRAM TO MINISTER OF INTERIOR*[1]

[PHŒNIX,]
*April 9, 1913*

INTERIOR
[CAPE TOWN]

HAVE JUST READ IMMIGRATION BILL. IT IS OPEN TO SERIOUS OBJECTIONS FROM INDIANS' STANDPOINT. IT DISTURBS, CONTRARY TO A PROVISIONAL SETTLEMENT, SEVERAL EXISTING RIGHTS. SECTION THREE TAKES AWAY SUPREME COURT'S JURISDICTION HITHERTO POSSESSED. CLAUSE (a), SUB-SECTION 1, SECTION FOUR SEEMS TO TAKE AWAY THE RIGHTS OF EDUCATED INDIANS WHO HAVE PREVIOUSLY ENTERED THE CAPE OR NATAL BY REASON OF THEIR EDUCATION. SAME CLAUSE ALSO CONTEMPLATES THE PROHIBITION OF ENTRY INTO THE FREE STATE, ALTHOUGH THE IMMIGRANT MAY HAVE PASSED THE EDUCATION TEST. SUB-SECTION THREE, SECTION FOUR, MATERIALLY RESTRICTS RIGHTS POSSESSED BY THE NATAL AND THE CAPE INDIANS TO RE-ENTER AT ANY PORT. SUB-SECTION 1, SECTION FIVE, DEPRIVES NATAL INDIANS, NOT STRICTLY DOMICILED BUT OF LONG RESIDENCE THEREIN, OF RIGHTS HITHERTO POSSESSED. PROVISO SECTION FIVE RESTRICTS THE LEGAL EFFECT OF TRANSVAAL REGISTRATION CERTIFICATES AND NATAL RESIDENTIAL CERTIFICATES. BILL DOES NOT APPEAR TO PROTECT RIGHTS OF INTERMIGRATION TO THE CAPE OR NATAL OF EDUCATED INDIANS UNDER EXISTING LEGISLATION AND SOUTH AFRICA-BORN INDIANS TO

[1] It appears that similar telegrams were sent also to Sir Thomas Smartt and Drummond Chaplin, Members of Parliament. It was later passed on, to and published in *Indian Opinion*, 7-6-1913, with corrections and the following words in Gandhiji's hand: "Mr. Gandhi's telegram to the Minister, 9th April 1913." A copy of this telegram was cabled to G. K. Gokhale. Gandhiji made it a practice to send him such important communications to keep him informed. A similar telegram was sent by Cachalia on behalf of the British Indian Association on April 15.

ENTER THE CAPE UNDER THE EXISTING CAPE LAWS. LASTLY SEARLE JUDGMENT REQUIRES AMENDMENT OF THE BILL RECOGNIZING INDIAN MARRIAGES CELEBRATED ACCORDING TO INDIAN RELIGIONS IN ORDER TO PROTECT LAWFUL WIVES AND MINOR CHILDREN. HOPE ABOVE OBJECTIONS WILL MEET THE SYMPATHETIC CONSIDERATION OF THE MINISTER AND THUS REVIVAL OF PASSIVE RESISTANCE AND ALL CONSEQUENT SUFFERINGS MAY BE AVOIDED.[1]

GANDHI

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy with corrections in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 5752

## 5. *TELEGRAM TO MINISTER OF INTERIOR*

PHŒNIX,
*April 9, 1913*

INTERIOR
CAPE TOWN

REFERRING TO MY TELEGRAM[2] OF TODAY, I JUST OBSERVE THAT SUB-SECTION (g), SECTION FIVE, UNLIKE PREVIOUS BILL, DOES NOT PROTECT WIVES AND MINOR CHILDREN OF EDUCATED ENTRANTS. BILL ALSO NOT CLEAR THAT NO DECLARATIONS WILL BE REQUIRED FROM EDUCATED ENTRANTS INTO THE FREE STATE, ALTHOUGH THEY WILL REMAIN LIABLE TO RESTRICTIONS AS TO TRADE, FARMING AND OWNERSHIP OF LAND. COULD I KNOW WHY WORDS ARE ADDED IN SECOND SCHEDULE TO EXTEND REPEAL ACT 2, 1907, WHICH DON'T APPEAR IN THE LAST BILL?[3]

GANDHI

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy with corrections in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 5753

[1] For the reply from the Minister of the Interior, *vide* Appendix III.
[2] *Vide* the preceding item.
[3] For the reply from the Minister of the Interior, *vide* Appendix III.

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## 6. LETTER TO E. F. C. LANE

PHŒNIX,
NATAL,
*April 9, 1913*

DEAR MR. LANE,

The papers have given the information that General Smuts[1] will be in charge of the Immigration Bill whose text I have only just seen. I enclose herewith copy of the telegram[2] I have addressed to the Government which will show General Smuts how seriously open to objection the Bill is, examined purely from the passive resistance standpoint. You will see that my telegram covers practically the whole ground. You may remember that some of these objections were discussed thoroughly, and General Smuts, so far as I am aware, promised to meet them all. One thing has been omitted from the telegram. In the correspondence between us of last year,[3] I questioned whether declaration would be required from educated entrants under the Free State reservation clause. If it be eligible, the clause will have to be altered so that, whilst the prohibition against the ownership of fixed property, farming, etc., continues, the declaration is dispensed with as regards those who enter under the proposed measure as immigrants into the Union.

The question about Indian marriages might conceivably be treated as a new point, but is it in reality? I certainly never dreamt that Indian marriages that have been hitherto recognized by the Courts of Law in the Union were unlawfully recognized. It cannot for a moment be denied that the Searle judgment shakes the existence of Indian society to its foundation.

Will you place this letter before General Smuts and, even if he is not to be in charge of this Bill, may I look to him for support? I know he will accept my assurance that I am not itching for passive resistance, indeed, I was so sure of the Bill carrying out the provisional settlement both to the letter and in the spirit that I was

[1] Jan Christiaan Smuts (1870-1950); South African soldier and statesman; Prime Minister, 1919-24 and 1939-48

[2] *Vide* "Telegram to Minister of Interior", pp. 7-8.

[3] *Vide* Vol. XI.

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preparing for a visit to India in June, but I fear that, if the objections are not met, a revival of the awful struggle is a certainty.

*I am,*
*Yours sincerely,*

E. F. C. LANE, ESQ.
PRIVATE SECRETARY TO GENERAL SMUTS
CAPE TOWN

[PS.]

You will see that I have sent a further telegram[1] to the Interior as a new discovery has been just made. In it I have brought out the Free State difficulty.

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 5754

## 7. *TELEGRAM TO BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION*

[PHŒNIX,
After *April 9, 1913*]

BIAS[2]
JOHANNESBURG

READ BILL UNACCEPTABLE SENT FULL TELEGRAMS[3] CAPE. HOPE ALL READY FIGHT.

GANDHI

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 5759

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.
[2] Telegraphic address of the British Indian Association
[3] The reference, apparently, is to the telegrams to the Minister of the Interior dated April 9, 1913; *vide* pp. 7-8.

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## 8. *LETTER TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO GOVERNOR-GENERAL*

21-24, Court Chambers,
Rissik Street,
Johannesburg,
*April 10, 1913*

The Private Secretary to
His Excellency The Governor-General
Pretoria

sir,

I have the honour to enclose herewith, in triplicate, copies of Resolutions[1] passed at a Mass Meeting of British Indians held at the Hamidia Islamic Hall, Vrededorp, on the 30th ultimo; and to request that His Excellency will be good enough to have same forwarded to the Hon'ble the Secretary of State for the Colonies and the Hon'ble the Secretary of State for India.

*I have, etc.,*
A. M. Cachalia
Chairman,
British Indian Association

Colonial Office Records: 551/39

## 9. *LETTER TO SECRETARY FOR INTERIOR*

Phœnix,
*April 11, 1913*

to
The Secretary for the Interior[2]
Cape Town

sir,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 4th instant. I beg to thank the Minister for accepting the two names that were rejected from among the educated entrants for the past year.

[1] *Vide* Appendix II; also, "The Storm Signal", p. 3.
[2] E. M. Gorges

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It is not my intention that the names of entrants submitted by me in future should always be accepted. But I do respectfully submit that the names of such entrants up to six for the Transvaal should be submitted by me in my representative capacity and that they should be accepted by the Government so long as the settlement remains in a provisional state. As soon as it becomes final, as I hope it will be during the current session, no doubt, some arrangement satisfactory alike to the Government and the Indian community will be made for the selection.

Personally, I think that the Government of India can have no voice in the selection for the simple reason that they cannot judge the wants of the local community. I venture to think that, if after the settlement becomes final, different Indian associations and groups submit too many different names, it will be for the Government to give due weight to each representation and select from the names so submitted the number, previously determined, of entrants for any particular year.

I note that your letter seems to suggest that the entrants will be restricted to certain provinces. I beg to point out that the settlement contemplates the ability of educated entrants, under a general Bill governing the whole Union, to enter and settle in any province of the Union subject, nevertheless, to the local disabilities not connected with immigration. It is submitted that it is the essence of the compromise that, as to immigration, new Indian immigrants are not to suffer any disability not imposed upon any other section or race. This, however, is a matter which is now, I note from your wire, among the other points raised by me, under the consideration of the Government.

I am now asking the Immigration Office, Pretoria, to let me have permits for the two gentlemen whose names have been accepted.

*I have the honour to be,*
*Sir,*
*Your obedient servant,*

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 5762

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## 10. LETTER TO REGISTRAR OF ASIATICS

[PHŒNIX,]
*April 11, 1913*

THE REGISTRAR OF ASIATICS
PRETORIA
SIR,

We understand that the proof you require in case of wives of registered Indians is a certificate from a first-class magistrate in India to the effect that the person claiming to be the wife of a registered Indian is, to the knowledge of the magistrate gained from the evidence before him, the wife of such Indian and that such certificate should bear the thumb-impression of such registered Indian, if he is then in India.

We understand further that the proof you require in respect of minor children is a certificate from a first-class magistrate that the child appearing before him is to his knowledge, gained from the evidence before him, the child of the person claiming to be its father and that the certificate should bear the thumb-print of the child as also the father, if he be there.

We shall esteem it a favour if you will be good enough to let us know whether we are correctly informed. We may state that we have already published the information in our Gujarati columns but, if we would have it authentically from you, it will materially assist Indian claimants and obviate trouble and delay in future.

*We remain,*
*Yours faithfully,*

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 5764

## 11. THE NEW BILL

The long-promised Immigration Bill has at last seen the light of day. We might say, at once, that it is disappointing, it is worse than its predecessor, and fails in material respects to give effect to the provisional settlement. Elsewhere will be found a detailed list of the points[1] in which it falls short of the settlement. It is a pity that this is so. The Government have so often declared their inten-

[1] *Vide* "Its Effect", pp. 16-7.

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tion of carrying out the terms of the settlement that the Bill will come as a rude shock to those who have at all cared to follow that settlement. The Bill confirms the suspicion that the Government only want to give us what they must, that they wish ill even to those who have established rights in the Union, and that, by hook or by crook, they desire to compass our ruin. In carrying out this ruthless policy, they have gone as far as they dare in their precious Bill. If it becomes law in its present form, it will whittle away some of our cherished and existing rights and make our position, insecure as it already is, doubly so. The Bill plays with words regarding the Free State difficulty and is quite on a par with the Immigration Act of the Transvaal in unscrupulous subtlety. The immigration law of the Transvaal, as we have pointed out so often, has created a *legal* racial bar without anyone, save those well versed in the Transvaal laws, knowing it. So it seems to us, does this Bill create a *legal* racial bar without a superficial reader being able to detect it.

Unless the Government yield and amend the Bill materially, passive resistance must revive, and, with it, all the old miseries, sorrows and sufferings. Homes, just re-established, must be broken up. Those passive resisters who have resumed their ordinary vocations, must exchange them for that of becoming once more His Majesty's guests in his gaols in South Africa. We do still hope that the Government will see their way to grant relief. But, if they do not, we must learn the lesson again of finding pleasure in pain.

*Indian Opinion*, 12-4-1913

## *12. THE MARRIAGE IMBROGLIO*

The letter on the marriage question from the Master of the Supreme Court, Natal Provincial Division, and Counsel's opinion obtained thereon, both of which will be found in another column,[1] show clearly what an important issue faces the Indian community. The Master himself realizes the full significance of his attitude and, therefore, suggests to the European Executor of the deceased that the Supreme Court should be moved in order to determine the position. This case shows, in a manner in which it could not be shown otherwise equally vividly, how absolutely necessary it is for the Indian community to secure an amendment of the law as to non-Christian Indian marriages.

[1] These are not given here.

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Mr. Cachalia has received an apparently soothing reply from the Government on the resolutions of the recently held Johannesburg mass meeting. The Government assure Mr. Cachalia and, through him, the community, that they do not intend to disturb the practice that has hitherto existed, in spite of the Searle judgment. We accept the assurance but it is not worth much. In vital matters, assurances which are in conflict with an actual legal position can afford little relief. For the question is not, in the present case, that of introducing a few Indian wives into the Union per year, but it is one of determining the theoretical status of Indian women. In plain language, the Searle judgment reduces their status from that of being honoured and honourable wives of their husbands to one of concubinage. In the eye of the law, now Mrs. Cachalia, Mrs. Naidoo, Mrs. Cama and Mrs. Gandhi are concubines, and their offspring not honoured and beloved sons or daughters of their parents but illegitimate children. What comfort can it be to these husbands that, though the law may consider their dear ones as the lepers of society, the Government will condescend not to do so? So much for the sentiment of the matter, which, to us, is the reality. It often happens that what hurts the sentiment also hurts the matter. At any rate, such is the position in this marriage question. The Janubie case[1] illustrates our point. The Government's condescension is of no avail to the poor widow. The Master of the Supreme Court has no discretion to do otherwise than carry out a law which he has to administer. So long as the Searle judgment stands, he must treat Janubie, not as the widow of her husband but as a kept woman, and as such disentitled to remission of succession duty. With all the good-will in the world, the Government can grant no relief, for they cannot direct the Master as they can an Immigration Officer. Hence it is absolutely necessary to amend the law as requested by the great meeting of Johannesburg. The Government have a golden opportunity of granting the necessary relief. They can do so by slightly amending the Immigration Bill they have just published, and it will be the best earnest of their good-will.

*Indian Opinion*, 12-4-1913

[1] *Vide* "Janubie Case", pp. 19-20.

## *13. ITS EFFECT*

The above Bill[1] fails to carry out the provisional settlement because it takes away, contrary to the settlement, existing rights, i.e.,

(1) Section 3 takes away the Court's jurisdiction, hitherto exercised in terms of existing statutes now to be repealed.

(2) Clause (a) sub-section 1 of Section 4 seems to take away rights acquired by educated Indians who may have entered the Cape or Natal by passing the education test.

(3) Sub-section 3, Section 4 restricts rights possessed by the Natal and the Cape Indians to re-enter at any port.

(4) Sub-section (f), Section 5 deprives Natal Indians, not strictly domiciled, but of long residence therein of domiciliary rights hitherto possessed. (This may turn thousands of Indians now resident in Natal into prohibited immigrants.)

(5) Proviso Section 5 very largely nullifies the legal effect of Transvaal registration certificates. (These, in spite of treble registration, in most cases, cease, under the Bill, to constitute, in Lord Milner's words, "an indefeasible title to residence in the Transvaal"; for three years' absence from the Transvaal would, under the Bill, destroy the title to residence created by the certificates.

(6) The same proviso invalidates the Natal domicile certificates, after three years' absence by the holders.

(7) The same proviso restricts the right of Cape or Transvaal Indians to enter Natal by passing the present education test of Natal, and of the Natal and the Transvaal Indians to enter the Cape by passing its education test.

(8) The same proviso takes away the right of South Africa-born Indians to enter the Cape under its existing statute.

Further examined from the passive resistance standpoint only, the Bill is also defective in that:

(1) Sub-clause (a) sub-section I of Section 4 seems to contemplate the prohibition of the entry into the Free State of new immigrants who may pass the education test.

(2) Even if it does not prohibit such entry, the Bill seems to require a declaration from an educated immigrant which would not be required from any other immigrant as an immigrant.

[1] The reference is to the Immigration Bill.

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(3) Sub-clause (g) of Section 5 does not recognize the right of the wives and minor children of new immigrants to enter the Union with their husbands.

(4) And the Bill does not correct the defect, discovered by the Searle judgment, in the existing South African laws as to Indian marriages and minor children born of such marriages.

*Indian Opinion*, 12-4-1913

## *14. THE NEW BILL AND THE OLD*

There are many points of difference and of similarity between the above Bill and the abortive draft of 1912.[1] The structure of the new Bill is very dissimilar to that of the 1912 measure. Section 1 corresponds with sub-sections 1 and 2 of Section 3 of the 1912 Bill, but sub-section 3 of Section 3 is elaborated and extended, both as to scope and methods of administration, in the twelve sub-sections of Section 2 of the new Bill, providing the machinery for appeals to Immigration Boards, which are to have, subject to instructions to be given them by the Minister pursuant to the general terms of the Bill, final jurisdiction except on questions of domicile, and Section 3, excluding the jurisdiction of the courts of law, except in matters of domicile, is entirely new.

Section 4 corresponds generally with Section 4 of the 1912 Bill, but it also includes the Provincial restrictions of Section 7 of the old Bill. There are, however, two provisions which radically distinguish it from that measure. First, there is the clause providing for exclusion, at the will of the Minister, upon economic grounds, and secondly, the education test is to be that of the existing Provincial statutes. Sub-sections 2 and 3 are new.

Sections 5 of the two Bills correspond, except that sub-section (f) confines the exemption to persons domiciled in any Province, persons otherwise resident not being protected. No provision is made for the recognition of non-Christian Indian marriages or for the protection of the children of these marriages. South Africa-born Indians, who have today the right to proceed to the Cape Province unmolested, are deprived of that right by the first proviso of this section, whilst the second proviso enables the authorities to prevent the return to South Africa of any Indian who has been absent from the country for more than three years. This proviso is new. Sections 6 of each Bill, though differing considerably in

[1] *Vide* Vol. XI, pp. 552-5.



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language, have substantially the same effect in each. Section 7 corresponds substantially with sub-section 2 of Section 28 of the 1912 Bill. Sections 8, 9 and 10 of each substantially correspond. Chapter III of the new Bill corresponds in the main with Chapter II of the 1912 measure, and deals with the special powers for preventing the entry of and dealing with prohibited immigrants at the ports of entry. Section 19 appears to be intended to cover the provisions of Sections 18 and 19 of the old Bill, but the new Bill provides that any person found within the Union is liable to an inquisition by the Immigration Officer, and may be, unless he satisfies the Immigration Officer that he is not a prohibited immigrant, dealt with as such, subject to his right of appeal to a Board. Sub-section 2 provides a new procedure not contemplated in the obsolete measure. Section 20 of each Bill is the same. Sections 21 and 22 of the new Bill, whilst including the same general provisions as those of the corresponding sections of the 1912 Bill, exempt from their operation persons born in South Africa. Sub-sections 1 and 2 of Section 23 of the new Bill correspond with the similar sub-sections of the old measure. Sub-section 3 is new. Section 24 is the same. The first part of sub-section 1 of Section 25, giving the Minister the power to exempt any person from the provisions of Section 4, is new. Sub-section 2 speaks of a "certificate of identity", and not of a "permit", as does the corresponding sub-section of the 1912 Bill, and the period of its validity is not limited. But this advantage is nullified by the second proviso of Section 5. Section 26 corresponds, generally, with Section 26 of the old Bill, and provides for the issue of regulations by the Governor-General. Section 27, providing for penalties, is the same. Section 28 corresponds generally with sub-section 1 of Section 28 of the old measure, save that any Asiatic not exempted from the provisions of Section 4, all of whose tests he may have passed, is required to register under Act 36 of 1908. Section 29 corresponds with Section 1 of the 1912 Bill, and sets forth the measures to be repealed. Section 30 is generally identical with Section 2 of the old measure. Section 31 brings the Bill, if enacted, into force on July 1st next.

*Indian Opinion*, 12-4-1913

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## 15. *JANUBIE CASE*

We have commented on this case before now.[1] This time we have received more important documents which we reproduce in the English section.[2] Among these is a letter from the Master of the Provincial Supreme Court in which he states that, though there are affidavits by Mr. Ismail Bhayat and other gentlemen, he cannot accept these as evidence. The trustee has to prove that the marriage is legal, failing which no rebate will be allowed on account of the wife's share. The Master has also advised the trustee to consult a lawyer, as the case is important for the Indian community as a whole. Accordingly, the case was referred to a lawyer for his opinion. Mr. Tatham, the lawyer, is of the view that Bai Janubie's marriage cannot be treated as legally valid. A marriage can be considered legally valid only if it has been either registered or solemnized according to Christian rites. The gentleman adds that the opinion he has given need not frighten the Muslims as they can have their marriages registered! We are not surprised at this view. It is necessary, however, to understand it fully. Only those who do not understand this case will remain unconcerned. Those who understand it will not sit still even for a moment. According to Mr. Tatham, men whose marriages were duly solemnized and who have had children should now admit that their wives were hitherto not lawful wives and they are advised to secure legal status for their wives by getting the marriages registered now. We hope no Indians will agree to do so. Does it make any sense to say that a man and a woman who are already married should be married again? Mr. Tatham states, moreover, that a person having two wives will be considered to have committed an offence under the law. This is true, indeed, but it is a position which we cannot tolerate. We give the warning that this case has implications so grave that, even if the Government were to drop the matter, our children will not be recognized as legal heirs by the courts. The Government cannot dictate to the courts. This is not a matter concerning the administration of law but its interpretation, which rests with the courts. The Government can permit the entry of our wives by issuing orders to the officers in charge, so that we may

[1] *Vide* "The Marriage Imbroglio", pp. 14-5.
[2] These are not given here.

be pacified. But it is for the courts to accept our children as legal heirs. If our marriages are treated as legally invalid, the courts will be able to offer us no relief. The difficulty can be solved only through amendment of the law.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 12-4-1913

## *16. FOR HINDUS*

There is a belief, we hear, that the decision of Mr. Justice Searle does not apply to Hindus or Parsees. This belief is unfounded. The decision means, in plain terms, that marriages not contracted according to the law of this land are no marriages at all. It is not material, from the point of view of this ruling, whether as a matter of fact a person has one wife or more. This needs to be carefully borne in mind. We shall go so far as to offer the advice that until this dispute is settled, those Hindus or Muslims or Parsees who do not wish their wives to join satyagraha should not ask them to come here. What surprises and grieves us is the fact that Indians in South Africa have not yet flared up as a result of this judgment. It would seem as though we had lost all spirit. Shall we merely look on when our wives are treated as concubines by the law of this land?

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 12-4-1913

## *17. REPLY TO THE ASSOCIATION*

Mr. Cachalia has received a reply to the resolutions on the subject of marriages passed at a meeting of the British Indian Association in Johannesburg and communicated to the Government at Cape Town.[1] The Minister for the Interior says in the reply that he fails to understand why the decision of Mr. Justice Searle should have agitated the community so much. The community is not unaware [he says] of the legal position and the Government's view on the subject of marriages. The Government has frequently stated that, whatever the legal position, it does not intend to enforce the law in an oppressive manner. If a woman's marriage has been celebrated according to the rites of Islam or any other religion,

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Private Secretary to Governor-General", p. 11.

if the evidence adduced in support of the marriage is satisfactory and if it is shown that the husband has no other wife in South Africa, she is allowed to land. Officers have been instructed not to depart from the practice that has obtained so far, the Searle judgment notwithstanding. This reply goes to prove the correctness of our inference, based on a Reuter telegram, regarding the effect of the resolutions passed at the meeting of the Association. There is no doubt that the Government has been taken aback by the resolution about satyagraha. It appears from [its] telegram that for the present women will not be subjected to further harassment; but this is not enough to reassure us. We cannot rest in peace so long as the sword of the Searle judgment continues to hang over our heads. If, in fact, the Government did not intend to make any change in the current practice, why did it seek a categorical ruling from Mr. Justice Searle? Why was Bai Mariam detained? Even according to the Government, Bai Mariam's co-wife is in India. We do not know whether her husband has another wife. It is, however, a sufficient reply to the Government that even if he has another wife, she is in India. Thus, the assurance given to us in the telegram is an after-thought on the part of the Government. If, moreover, we consider the position of Janubie in this context, we shall see that the Government will not be able to intervene in her case. If her marriage is not treated as legally valid, she forfeits her right and, until the law is amended, neither the Government nor anyone else is empowered to grant us relief. The Parliament alone can do so. It rests with the Government to move the Parliament for the purpose. Now that the Parliament is in session, and the Immigration Bill is before it, the Government has a golden opportunity of redressing our grievance if it really means to do so. If we are sincere enough, and so is the Association, the Government cannot but be sincere likewise. If we mean what we say, we shall hold meetings everywhere to extend support to the Association's resolutions and, if the Association is sincere, it will not yield an inch whether it receives any support or not.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 12-4-1913

## *18. GENERAL KNOWLEDGE ABOUT HEALTH [–XV]*

### 7. EXERCISE

Exercise is just as essential to mankind as are air, water and food, though it is true that man cannot get on for a long time without air, water and food as he can without exercise. It is a fact of common experience, however, that one cannot enjoy really good health without exercise. We have to interpret exercise in the same way that we did "food". Exercise does not necessarily mean *moidanda*[1], football, cricket or going out for a walk. Exercise means physical and mental activity. Just as food is necessary for the mind as much as for bones and flesh, so also is exercise necessary both for body and mind. If the body has no exercise, it is sickly and, if the mind has none, it is dull. Stupidity should also be regarded only as a kind of illness. It betrays sheer ignorance to describe as healthy a wrestler who, though adept at wrestling, is mentally a boor. There is a saying in English that he alone is healthy who has a sound mind in a sound body.

What is this exercise? Nature has so arranged things for us that we can be continuously taking exercise in one way or another. If we but think calmly enough, we shall see that a majority of people in the world live on agriculture. All members in a farmer's family have some form of exercise. It is only if they work eight, ten or even more hours every day in the fields or elsewhere that they can get their daily bread. They need no separate exercise for the mind. A farmer cannot work without applying his mind. He must be able to test the nature of his soil, must watch changes of weather, must know how to manipulate his plough skilfully and be generally familiar with the movements of the stars, the sun and the moon. However clever a city-dweller may be, every time he goes to a farmer's house, he feels altogether out of his element. The farmer can say how seed should be sown; he is familiar with all the by-ways in the vicinity and knows all the men in the neighbourhood. By looking at the stars he can judge the direction even at night. He can make certain deductions from the voice and speed of birds; for instance, when certain birds cluster or sing together, he sees in it a sign of the approach of the monsoon or some other similar phenomenon. Thus, the farmer knows

[1] An Indian game

enough of astronomy, geography and geology to serve his needs. He has to feed his children and has, therefore, some idea of the duties of man, and, residing as he does in the vast open spaces of this earth, he naturally becomes aware of the greatness of God. Physically, it goes without saying, he is always sturdy. He is his own physician, when ill. Thus, we can see, he does have an educated mind.

But all men are not going to be farmers. Moreover, these chapters are not being written for the benefit of farmers. The question is, what should those who have gone into business or some similar profession do in this regard? The farmer's life has been described at some length in order that we may find a rational answer to this problem, that we who are not farmers can arrange our way of life somewhat on the pattern of his and that we may realize that, in so far as our manner of living differs from the farmer's, we would enjoy poorer health. We can conclude from a farmer's way of living that a man should do physical work for eight hours a day and that of a kind that would stimulate our mental powers in the very process of doing it. Now, merchants and others certainly obtain mental exercise in the course of their work, but this is one-sided. A business man does not know astronomy or geography or history, as the farmer does. He may be able to judge about movements of prices and may be proficient in the art of salesmanship, but this is not enough to exercise fully his mental faculties. In this type of work, the body does perform some movements now and then, but they are too slight to be of any account.

In the West, they have invented games like cricket for such people. Another way is to observe some days in the year as holidays, when more games are played, and to do some light reading by way of mental exercise. This is one method which we may consider. To be sure, spending time in sports does give some exercise to the body, but exercise of this kind does nothing to improve the mind. We can see the truth of this from numerous instances. What proportion of men of high intellectual calibre shall we find among those who regularly play cricket or from among the large number who play football? In India, what do we observe as regards the mental development of the princes who give their time to sports? Again, how many of those with well-developed intellectual powers are sportsmen? Experience shows that highly intellectual men are seldom sportsmen as well. The British nowadays are very much given to sports. Their own poet, Kipling, has described these sportsmen as enemies of the mind, and adds that they will also prove themselves enemies to their country. In India, our

intellectuals seem to have found a different way. They provide exercise for their minds but relatively very little or none for their bodies. These people are lost to us. Their bodies are enfeebled by excessive intellectual work. They are continually pursued by some ailment or other and just when they have gained enough experience to be of real use to the country, they pass away. From this we may conclude that neither exercising the brain alone nor the body alone is enough and also that exercise which serves no useful purpose, namely, that derived from sports, has little meaning. Real exercise is that which trains, continuously, both mind and body alike. He alone who takes such exercise can preserve good health. The farmer is the only such person.

Then, what are those to do who are not farmers ? The exercise obtained from sports such as cricket leaves much to be desired. We must, therefore, think of a form of exercise something like what the farmer gets. Businessmen and others similarly placed can make a garden round their house and regularly spend two to four hours a day digging there. Hawkers get exercise from their own work itself. If we are living in a rented room, we should not raise any difficulty about working in another's land, for that would indicate a small mind. We would derive nothing but benefit from working on land, whosoever's it might be. The appearance of our house would be improved and we would have the satisfaction of having looked after another's land. It is necessary to say a few words for those who cannot find an opportunity to work on land or who do not favour such work in any circumstances. Apart from working on land, the best form of exercise is walking. It has been truly described as the king of physical exercises. Our *fakirs* and *sadhus* are very healthy. One reason for this is that they do not use horses, carriages or other vehicles. Their journeys are always performed on foot. There has been a famous American writer named Thoreau[1], who has written a highly thought-provoking book on the subject of walking. According to him, the writings of one who refuses to leave his house on the excuse of lack of time and who undertakes no physical activity, are bound to be anaemic like himself. Speaking of his own experience, he says that when he wrote his best books he was doing his longest walking. He thought nothing of walking four or five hours at a stretch. Just as we cannot work when we are hungry, so it should be with exercise. We do

[1] Henry David Thoreau (1817-62); American philosopher, naturalist and writer; author, among others, of *Walden, or Life in the Woods* and *Excursions*. *Vide* also Vol. VII, pp. 211-2.

not know how to measure mental work, therefore, we are not able to realize that mental work done unaccompanied by physical exercise will inevitably be dull and ineffectual. Walking results in rapid circulation of blood in all the parts of the body, promotes movements in every organ and strengthens it. One should remember that the arms move during walking. We obtain fresh air by going for a walk and behold the beauties of Nature. One should not take walks always in the same place or in narrow lanes but go out into fields and groves. We will then be able to appreciate in some measure the beauty of Nature. A walk of a mile or two can scarcely be called walking. A walk, to be worth the name, should cover ten or twelve miles. Those who cannot do this regularly can take long walks on Sundays. A certain patient, who used to suffer from indigestion, went one day to an experienced *vaidya*[1] for some pills. The *vaidya* advised him to take short but regular walks. The patient protested that he was too weak. The *vaidya* realized that he was, in fact, a timid man. He thereupon took the patient with him in his carriage. On the way he purposely dropped his whip. The patient, out of politeness, had to get out to pick it up. The *vaidya* immediately drove off. The poor patient had to follow, panting hard for breath. The *vaidya* having made sure that the former had covered a fairly long distance, turned the carriage back, picked him up and told him that, since walking was the only medicine for him, he—the *vaidya*—had forced him to walk even at the risk of appearing cruel. By this time, however, the patient was ravenously hungry and had forgotten all about the whip episode. He thanked the doctor, went home and ate his fill. Those who are not in the habit of walking and suffer from indigestion and its accompanying ills should try the experiment.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 12-4-1913

[1] Physician practising *Ayurveda*, an indigenous system of medicine

## 19. LETTER TO SECRETARY FOR INTERIOR[1]

*April 14, 1913*

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 5th instant, in reply to my telegram[2] of the 2nd instant, regarding the recent judgment given by Mr. Justice Searle.

I am to submit that it had never, before the judgment of Mr. Justice Searle, become clear to the community that non-Christian marriages not registered in South Africa would not be recognized by the South African Courts. Mr. Justice Wessels' judgment[3], delivered sometime ago, went perilously near such a pronouncement, but his judgment turned rather upon the legality or otherwise of bigamous marriages than upon the validity of marriages celebrated according to the rites of the various great Indian faiths. As the Hon'ble the Minister will have noticed, Mr. Justice Searle's decision was not based upon any precedent, but was an original pronouncement upon the Marriage Law, the case before him having been considered a test-case.

Moreover, up to now, Hindu, Mahomedan and Parsee marriages have not been questioned, and the Masters of the several Divisions have recognized them. But, since the judgment referred to, the Master of the Natal Provincial Division, my Association understands, has questioned the validity of a Mahomedan marriage in connection with the succession of the widow of a deceased Mahomedan to his estate.[4]

My Association is grateful to the Government for giving the assurance that it is not their intention to apply the law in a harsh or arbitrary manner, but, in view of the judgment in question, I hope that the Government will understand the attitude of the community represented by the meeting in considering the assurance as not sufficiently meeting the requirements of the situation. In the eye of the law now, Indian wives of non-Christian persuasion are not wives but concubines. I feel sure that the Government will appreciate the position of the community if it resents, as it

[1] This was signed by A. M. Cachalia.
[2] This is not available.
[3] *Vide* Vol. XI, pp. 243-4 & 262.
[4] *Vide* "Janubie Case", pp. 19-20.

does resent, such a humiliating reduction of the status of Indian wives and, as has been already pointed out, the legal consequences of the judgment, which, it is apprehended, it is not within the power of the Government by administrative action to remedy, are serious enough to warrant an alteration of the law.

My Association, therefore, ventures to hope that the Government will be graciously pleased to give due consideration to the feelings of the Indian community in the matter, and take the opportunity that the introduction of the new Immigration Bill offers to remedy the evil created by the unexpected judgment of Justice Searle.[1]

*Indian Opinion*, 19-4-1913

## *20. TELEGRAM TO MINISTER OF INTERIOR*

[PHŒNIX,]
*April 15, 1913*

THE INTERIOR

AM GRATEFUL GOVERNMENT FULL REPLY[2] STOP REGRET HOWEVER REPLY UNSATISFACTORY. COMMUNITY'S EXPERIENCE BOARDS HITHERTO MOST UNHAPPY. RIGHT APPROACHING SUPREME COURT CHERISHED PRIVILEGE STOP BOTH PREVIOUS BILLS THEORETICAL RIGHT ENTRY FREE STATE WAS TO BE RECOGNIZED. HOWEVER CONVENIENT SUB-SECTION THREE SECTION FOUR MAY BE IT CONSTITUTES CLEAR DEPARTURE EXISTING

[1] The Secretary wrote on May 9: "I am directed . . . to inform you in reply that it would be entirely opposed to the principles of European civilization to pass legislation which would have the effect of disturbing in any way the position in regard to the solemnization of valid marriages, as it now exists in South Africa under the Roman-Dutch Law, by recognizing as valid any marriages solemnized under a form which permits of the union of one man with more than one woman.

"As you seem to question the statement, made by me in my previous communication that the position, as indicated in Mr. Justice Searle's judgment, has been well understood in South Africa for many years past, I am to invite your attention to the fact that a case bearing on this question was settled in the Cape Courts so long ago as 1860, and, as a result, an Act was passed in that year which provides additional facilities for contracting valid marriages by empowering the Governor to appoint special Marriage Officers for the purpose of solemnizing marriages of persons professing the Jewish faith and of persons professing the Mohammedan faith."

[2] *Vide* Appendix III.

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LAW PRACTICE STOP PRESENT NATAL IMMIGRATION ACT GENERALLY ACCEPTS THREE YEARS RESIDENCE EQUIVALENT DOMICILE. RETENTION SUCH CLAUSE FOR NATAL CANNOT CONFER RIGHT NOT HITHERTO EXISTING STOP IN NATAL INDIAN ABSENTING NO MATTER HOW MANY YEARS CAN LEGALLY RE-ENTER IF HE CAN ESTABLISH PREVIOUS DOMICILE AS LIBERALLY DEFINED BY NATAL ACT STOP PROVISIONAL SETTLEMENT NEVER CONTEMPLATED THAT EXISTING INDIAN RIGHTS COULD BE DIMINISHED BY NEW BILL IF EUROPEAN RIGHTS COULD ALSO BE DIMINISHED STOP MATTER OF FACT VAST MAJORITY EUROPEANS NOT AFFECTED BY PROVISO BUT ALMOST EVERY INDIAN ABSENTING HIMSELF OVER THREE YEARS WILL ASSUREDLY LOSE RIGHTS RESIDENCE A POSITION WHICH I SUBMIT IS TOTALLY UNACCEPTABLE STOP INTER-MIGRATION IS SUCH A TANGIBLE RIGHT AND CAN SO EASILY BE LEFT UNDISTURBED PRESENT BILL THAT PROMISES OF MERE ADMINISTRATIVE LIBERALITY WILL HARDLY SATISFY THOSE CONCERNED STOP EFFECT SEARLE JUDGMENT CAN BE WHOLLY COUNTERACTED IN MY OPINION ONLY BY LEGISLATION STOP IT IS SUBMITTED WIVES AND MINOR CHILDREN EDUCATED INDIANS SHOULD BE PROTECTED BY CLEAR DEFINITION AS IN PREVIOUS BILL STOP IF MINISTER RECOGNIZE LEGAL POSSIBILITY EDUCATED INDIAN ENTERING FREE STATE DECLARATION BY HIM UPON ENTERING CLEARLY UNNECESSARY AND IF INSISTED UPON WOULD UNDOUBTEDLY BE IMMIGRATION DECLARATION NOT REQUIRED FROM OTHER IMMIGRANTS STOP WHILE ADMISSION IN FACT TO FREE STATE UNNECESSARY EXISTENCE RIGHT ENTER UNDER GENERAL BILL REQUIRED FOR RESPECTING THEORY EQUALITY IN POINT IMMIGRATION STOP YOUR REPLY DOES NOT COVER QUESTION EXISTING RIGHTS SOUTH AFRICA-BORN INDIANS ENTER CAPE STOP REGRET REFERENCE PASSIVE RESISTANCE HAS BEEN INTERPRETED AS THREAT AND OFFENDED MINISTER. NOTHING FURTHER FROM MY DESIRE THAN TO USE THREAT OR GIVE OFFENCE BUT IN MENTIONING POSSIBILITY REVIVAL PASSIVE RESISTANCE I HAVE ONLY MENTIONED WHAT I KNOW IS TRUE. I HAD THOUGHT THAT BY THIS TIME GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE SOUTH AFRICA HAD RECOGNIZED THAT PASSIVE RESISTANCE BY UNREPRESENTED COMMUNITY AND OF TYPE PRACTISED BY MY COUNTRYMEN WAS A CLEAN LEGITIMATE METHOD DEMONSTRATING INTENSITY FEELING AND SECURING REDRESS. IF IT GIVE OFFENCE EITHER TO GOVERNMENT OR TO PEOPLE SOUTH AFRICA CO-WORKERS AND MYSELF CAN ONLY TAKE THE CONSEQUENCE AND UNDERGO ORDEAL

HOWEVER TERRIBLE FOR A CAUSE DEAR TO US AS OUR OWN LIVES AND DEARER STILL IF POSSIBLE.[1]

GANDHI

From a photostat of the draft in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 5766

## 21. LETTER TO SECRETARY FOR INTERIOR

[PHŒNIX,]
*April 15, 1913*

SIR,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 10th instant, in reply to mine of the 1st instant,[2] on the question of Indian marriages.

With due deference to the Hon'ble the Minister of the Interior, it is respectfully submitted that the Searle judgment, if my reading of it is correct, lays down a definitely new principle. Hitherto non-Christian Indian marriages have been recognized both by the Immigration Department and the Master of the Supreme Court. Issue of persons married according to the rites of their respective faiths, but not before Marriage Officers, have been hitherto accepted in intestate estates as lawful heirs. But such issue could not, according to the Searle judgment, be now so recognized. The Master of the Supreme Court, Natal Provincial Division, has already, as will appear from the report enclosed herewith, raised the question.

I am aware that the marriages registered before Marriage Officers have not necessarily to be Christian marriages. But the vast majority of non-Christian Indian marriages have never taken place before Marriage Officers. All these and the marriages celebrated and considered by the Indian law to be legal in India, of Indians lawfully resident in the Union, seem to be adversely affected by the Searle judgment.

I trust that the Government do not expect that these marriages should be solemnized or registered before Marriage Officers in the Union, in order that they might be accepted as valid in the eye of the law here. I gratefully acknowledge the consideration that the Government propose to show by directing Immigration Officers not to disturb the existing practice. But the relief that would be

[1] The Ministry of the Interior in reply said that the matters raised in the telegram were engaging the Minister's attention.

[2] *Vide* "Letter to Minister of Interior", pp. 1-2.

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thus afforded would not sufficiently meet the case if only because no administrative action can deal with the legal consequences that are sure to arise from the Searle judgment.

In my letter, I did not raise the question of plurality of wives. That question does not affect vast issues as the one raised by the Searle judgment does. But as your letter seems to imply that South African law does not recognize plurality of wives, I may be permitted to draw the Minister's attention to Act 2 of 1907 (Natal) which countenances the practice among indentured Indians. I refer to Sections 6 and 7 of the Act which I copy and enclose herewith for the information of the Minister.

In my humble opinion, the issue raised by the Searle judgment can be effectively dealt with only by amending the marriage laws of the Union so as to legalize marriages celebrated according to the rites[1] of non-Christian religions and performed before non-Christian priests.[2]

*I have, etc.*,

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 5768

## 22. *LETTER TO DRUMMOND CHAPLIN*

[PHŒNIX,]
*April 16, 1913*

MY DEAR MR. CHAPLIN,

I took the liberty of supplying[3] the long wire[4] I had to send to the Minister of Interior regarding the Immigration Bill which, I see from your letter to Polak, was duly delivered to you and was engaging your attention. I now take the liberty of sending you copy of the further communications that have passed between the Minister and myself. Among the copies you will see the correspondence regarding the recent judgment delivered by Justice Searle whose effect is to invalidate all Indian marriages. Among the points raised is, therefore, one asking for an amendment of the

[1] The original has "rights", evidently a typing error.

[2] The Minister of the Interior replied to this letter on May 9: "The Minister is quite aware of the provision contained in Natal Act No. 2 of 1907, but that is special legislation intended to apply to a particular class of the community who, it was not contemplated, would become a permanent section of the inhabitants of South Africa."

[3] The original has "replying", obviously a typing error.

[4] *Vide* "Telegram to Minister of Interior", pp. 7-8.

law of the existing legislation so as to restore the legal status as it was understood to exist before the judgment.[1] The other points need not be commented upon by me; they were, as you may recall, discussed[2] at the Conference held at Mr. Hosken's house during Mr. Gokhale's stay in Johannesburg.

I do hope that the Bill, if it is passed at all, will be passed with such alterations as may be necessary to meet the vital objections raised on behalf of the community.

*I am,*
*Yours truly,*

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 5770

## *23. CONVERSATION WITH KASTURBA GANDHI*[3]

[Before *April 19, 1913*][4]

When Mrs. Gandhi understood the marriage difficulty, she was incensed and said to Mr. Gandhi: "Then I am not your wife according to the laws of this country." Mr. Gandhi replied that that was so and added that their children were not their heirs. "Then," she said, "let us go to India." Mr. Gandhi replied that that would be cowardly and that it would not solve the difficulty. "Could I not, then, join the struggle and be imprisoned myself?" Mr. Gandhi told her she could but that it was not a small matter. Her health was not good, she had not known that type of hardship and it would be disgraceful if, after her joining the struggle, she weakened. But Mrs. Gandhi was not to be moved. The other ladies, so closely related and living on the Settlement, would not be gainsaid. They insisted that, apart from their own convictions, just as strong as Mrs. Gandhi's, they could not possibly remain out and allow Mrs. Gandhi to go to gaol. The proposal caused the gravest anxiety. The step was momentous.

*Indian Opinion*, 1-10-1913

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

[2] The original has "disgust", evidently a typing error.

[3] This is an extract from the column "News of the Struggle", a weekly feature in *Indian Opinion*. *Vide* also *Satyagraha in South Africa*, Ch. XXXIX, where the incident is recorded in some detail.

[4] Gandhiji intimated to Gokhale on April 19 Kasturba's decision to join the struggle, but requested him not to make it public; *vide* "Letter to G. K. Gokhale", p. 41.

CWMG-XII

## 24. THE IMMIGRATION BILL

This Bill will be read a second time on the 24th instant when we shall learn more about it than we do from merely reading it. In order, however, to understand and appreciate its deadly effect on the Asiatic communities of South Africa, it is necessary to go back to what is somewhat ancient history. Those who have felt interested in the Indian struggle in this land will recall how strenuously the Government tried, by giving a forced interpretation to Act 2 of 1907 and Act 36 of 1908, to prevent from entering or re-entering the Transvaal a certain considerable class of minor children of lawfully resident Indians. If they had succeeded in their attempt, a large portion of the resident Indian population of the Transvaal would have been obliged to leave the Transvaal and face ruin. Happily, this attempt was frustrated by the public-spirited action of the late Mr. Chhotabhai who, at great cost, took his son's case to the Appellate Court and won it.[1] Indians have, ever since, watched every new move of the Government with the greatest suspicion. The most recent events have but confirmed the suspicion. Their circulars about wives and children mark the second big attempt to reduce the number of resident population. The Bill now before Parliament seeks legislative sanction for this policy. And every one of its restrictive clauses has to be studied in the light of this bitter experience. For it should be remembered that the Bill is not wanted for meeting any difficulty of European immigration. It has been brought forward principally, if not solely, to satisfy the passive resisters and to carry out the compact entered into between the Imperial Government and the local Government about the Indian settlement. And yet, instead of carrying out the spirit and the letter of it, and instead of liberalizing the existing laws where they tell harshly against the resident Asiatic population, the Bill represents a deliberate policy of ridding South Africa of its resident Asiatic population. That is how General Botha's statement that there was every desire, on the part of his Government, to treat the resident Asiatics with justice and liberality, is to be interpreted.

*Indian Opinion*, 19-4-1913

[1] The court of trial had ruled that entry of his son's name in his registration certificate did not entitle the former to register. *Vide* Vol. X, pp. 361, 371-2, 402 & 404-5.

## 25. *LORD AMPTHILL'S COMMITTEE*

The representation, made by Lord Ampthill's[1] Committee, to the Secretary of State for the Colonies is a weighty and exhaustive document. It enables one to study, in a connected and compact form, the march of events in South Africa regarding Indian matters. The Committee has shown clearly how the cases cited by it evidence a policy, on the part of the Union Government, of exterminating the resident Indian population. The administration of the immigration laws of South Africa makes Indian residence in it more and more difficult. And the licensing law of Natal, at any rate, steps in where the immigration laws fail to compass our ruin. The Committee's letter will be a difficult document for the local Government to answer.

There is one point made by the Committee which will come as a surprise both to the Imperial and the local Governments. The latter have so often stated that South African law does not recognize polygamy. But the Committee has been able to show that it has been recognized even as late as 1907 and that, too, by a statute. Sections 6 and 7 of Act 2, 1907, of Natal provide :

Sec. 6. The provisions of Section 68 of the Indian Immigration Law, 1891, shall, as regards Indian immigrants arriving in the Colony after the commencement of this Act, apply to all marriages shown in the certified copies of their marriage register, notwithstanding that any such marriage may be a polygamous marriage.

Sec. 7. The Protector of Indian Immigrants may, on the application of any Indian immigrants, men and women, who shall have arrived in the Colony prior to the commencement of this Act, and who shall produce certified copies of their marriage registers, and shall show that they are the persons therein referred to, register such marriage, notwithstanding that any such marriage may have been a polygamous marriage or that the man may have been married in this Colony under the provisions of the said law to any other Indian woman.

[1] Arthur Oliver Villiers Russell, Second Baron of Ampthill (1869-1936); Governor of Madras, 1899-1906; acted as Viceroy and Governor-General of India in 1904. He took active interest in the Indian struggle in South Africa and was Chairman of South Africa British Indian Committee; wrote the introduction to Doke's biography of Gandhiji, *vide* Vol. IX, pp. 578-80.

It is true that it was inconvenient for the then Government not to recognize polygamy, because indentured Indians were wanted by an influential class. It is now inconvenient to recognize it for free Indian settlers because they are intruders. It will be interesting to know how the local Government deal with the dilemma.

*Indian Opinion*, 19-4-1913

## *26. NATAL INDIANS, BEWARE!*

The Government Notice, published elsewhere, regarding the issue of certificates for the protection of those who may wish temporarily to absent themselves from the Province, is a veritable death-trap into which we hope not a single Indian will be caught. The Notice seeks to do what the Natal Immigration Act provides no warrant for. It is a bare-faced attempt to bring the Natal Law into harmony with the Cape Law, even in advance of the new Immigration Bill. It will be seen from the Notice that an Indian who takes out the certificate provided for therein will have only one year in which to return if he wishes to escape the ordeal of a re-examination. This certificate carries with it a fee of £1 and, as the document has to be surrendered immediately after use, every absence from Natal means not only a fresh inquiry but a fresh imposition of £1. So that, if a businessman has to leave Natal, say, for the Cape four times a year and wishes to arm himself with these tickets-of-leave, he must pay £4 for them. This is a monstrous impost. And the method that has been devised to fine poor people is wicked. It is the duty of Indians to send a strong protest against this latest attempt of the Government to harass us into leaving the country.

*Indian Opinion*, 19-4-1913

## *27. SNARE*

Like a hunter, the Union Government lays a number of snares for us. Whichever of them catches us, the Government will have its prey. On one side, there are rigorous restrictions on children, on the other, humiliation of women; thirdly, harassment about licences; fourthly, the new Bill; and now, for those in Natal, a net has been cast among the Indian people, with a bait that smells sweet but contains poison inside. The number of fish that take in the bait will be so much of a gain to the Government. According

to a notice in the *Gazette* of April 11, those who wish to leave Natal for temporary periods may, if they so desire, apply for such permits for absence. It will be for the officer to decide whether or not to grant a permit. Any Indian going out may have one on payment of £1 if he supplies the information required by the officer. One of the conditions of the permit will be that the person concerned must return within one year. If he does so, he will be allowed to disembark without going through an education test. On the expiry of one year, the permit will lapse. A permit that has been used once cannot be used again, but must be surrendered to the officer. Here, a bait is held out that there will be no education test on return. Before issuing a permit, however, they will have done enough to make the applicant gasp; what more can they put him to, within a year's time? Let us consider the consequences of applying for such a permit. First, the applicant will have to pay, as it were, a fine of £1. He will have to pay this fine every time he leaves. Secondly, the officer will put him to a test on every such occasion. Thirdly, if a great many Indians take out these permits, the Government can argue that the provision for three years' absence in the new Bill is a big concession. What objection, besides, can be raised against the limit of one year? As against these dangers, the advantages of not taking out such a permit are many. Anyone who leaves may remain outside without the least anxiety and, on returning, re-enter by furnishing the [required] evidence. If he keeps the evidence ready before leaving, there will hardly be any difficulty. Another important advantage is that a person not applying for a permit would have done no harm to the community. We hope that not a single Indian will look at this permit. We also hope that those who read this note will explain it carefully to others and advise them not to walk into the snare. It is the duty of Durban leaders to protest against this notice without losing any time and to tell the Government in strong, clear terms that the community, instead of regarding this notice as having been issued for its benefit, thinks it injurious and insulting to them.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 19-4-1913

## 28. NEW BILL

We entreat every responsible Indian to give the most serious thought to the new Bill. With great dexterity and malice, the Government have tightened the screw on every section of Indians. If the Bill is passed in its present form, it will be impossible for us to continue our residence in this country. Indians long settled here live now with a certain sense of security; this Bill will shake them out of it. The rich and the poor, the educated and the uneducated, those born here and those born outside—the Government have laid hands on all. We know that the Government will even seek to delude us with sweet assurances that the law will not be enforced. Should any Indian get into the Government's clutches, he will have reason to be sorry afterwards. This Bill and the Searle judgment will have the effect of depriving us of heirs though we have heirs living. Our wives will come to be looked upon as concubines. If we leave South Africa and remain absent for a period of three years or, leaving one province, live in another for the same period, we shall altogether lose the right of returning. No matter what documents we may take with us regarding the business we have left behind, none of it will avail. How long can we hold our own under such conditions? Through this Bill, the ground is being prepared for our total undoing. And yet, we are sorry to say, all South Africa, with the exception of Johannesburg, is slumbering. We are persuaded that, even if a single Indian who understands things comes forward to work in each area, the whole of South Africa will be roused. Our lethargy is bound to be our ruin. It is the duty of every Indian who realizes this to rouse himself and others from such lethargy. If any of them, thinking that it is none of his concern, holds back, he too will go down along with the others.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 19-4-1913

CWMG - XII

## 29. *MRS. PANKHURST'S SACRIFICE*

All Indians are familiar with the celebrated Mrs. Pankhurst[1] who has been fighting for franchise for British women. This lady has broken all bounds in fighting. She advises women to plunder, to destroy. We are against all these things, but about her courage, there is no doubt whatsoever. She has money, and much ability; she has used these in the service of her chosen cause. She is no longer young. She had never before known suffering and has not been trained to bear it; still, she is ever in the front volunteering to suffer. A short while ago, the house of Mr. Lloyd George, Finance Minister, was burnt down at Mrs. Pankhurst's instigation. She willingly took on herself the entire responsibility for this. She was prosecuted and was sentenced to three years' imprisonment. Even in gaol, these ladies are bent on harassing the authorities and so getting themselves released. Accordingly, though Mrs. Pankhurst was offered a variety of delicious dishes in gaol, she refused to touch them and fasted for eight days. She was about to collapse, and was, therefore, released. And now this brave lady is in hospital in a critical condition. This kind of fighting is not satyagraha. A satyagrahi's object is to get into a prison and stay there. He will not even dream of harming others. If, however, we leave aside her mode of fighting and only think of the suffering she has borne, we shall find much to learn from her. Despite numerous difficulties in their way, she and her companions do not yet feel dispirited, nor are they likely to do so. They will struggle on till death. Though a woman, Mrs. Pankhurst is as manly as any man. Indians should emulate all this courage, for the British women being without the franchise is nothing compared to the disabilities we suffer.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 19-4-1913

[1] Emmeline Pankhurst (1858-1928); leader of the suffragette movement in England

### 8. ATTIRE

If health depends on diet, it is also affected to some extent by dress. White women, for the sake of what they fancy to be beauty, dress so that their waist and feet should look narrow and fall victims to various ailments in consequence. In China, women's feet are kept so small that even our children's feet are larger in comparison. The practice does great harm to the health of Chinese women. The reader will easily see from these two illustrations that what we wear does, in some measure, affect our health. The choice of our costumes is not, however, in our own hands. We dress the way our elders did and this seems the right thing to do in our present circumstances. The real function of clothes has gone out of people's minds and these have come to serve as symbols of our religion, country, community, etc. Again, the costumes worn by the labourer and the office-worker differ greatly from each other. It is indeed difficult in these conditions to consider clothes from the point of view of health; it will be useful, though, to give this matter some thought.

The term attire should here be understood to include also shoes, ornaments, etc.

Let us first examine the basic purpose of clothes. In the natural state man wears no clothes. Men and women cover only their private parts, the rest of the body remaining bare. This makes their skin tough and strong. Such men and women find it easy to withstand the rigours of the open air. They do not suddenly catch cold. In the chapter on air, we saw that we breathe not only through the nose but also through the countless pores of the skin. By covering ourselves with clothes, we obstruct this most important function of the skin. In cold countries, man had to cover himself with more and more clothes as he grew more and more lazy. He could no longer bear the cold. In course of time, this became a regular custom. By and by, people came to look upon clothes as a mode of personal adornment, and, ultimately, costumes came to be a means of identifying one's community, etc.

In fact, Nature has provided man with the best dress in his skin. It is altogether wrong to think that the nude body is ugly. The finest pictures we see are of the naked body. By covering up the normal organs of the body, do we not, as it were, suggest

that Nature has made a mistake? The richer we are, the more stylish grows our dress. People dress themselves in a variety of ways and, looking into the mirror, smile with pleasure and congratulate themselves on their appearance. If custom had not perverted our outlook, we would easily realize that man appeared at his best and enjoyed the finest health in his naked state. The moment he puts on a mere shirt, he detracts by so much from his appearance. As if this were not enough, both men and women *wear jewellery*. There are quite a few men who fetter their legs [with anklets] and put rings on ears and fingers. All these things are dust-traps. *Heaven alone knows what charm there is in them.* As for women, they have broken all bounds. Anklets so heavy that they can scarcely lift their feet, numerous rings in the ears, large rings again in the nose, and no end of bangles on the wrists. By wearing these, we collect a great deal of dirt on the body. The filth in the ears and nose is beyond description. We regard this filthy condition as an ornament and feel constrained to spend money on it. The women do not mind risking their lives at the hands of robbers. It has been truly said that for the folly of pride we pay an unlimited price by way of suffering. Women have refused to have their earrings removed, though they have boils in their ears. A bangle cannot be removed, even if there is a boil on the hand and even if the latter has become septic. Be it a he or a she, it would be impairing one's appearance to take off one's diamond ring even when the finger has grown septic! Most people must have personally come across such instances.

It will be difficult to bring about a radical improvement in dress, but we can discard ornaments. We can dispense with garments which do not seem necessary, retain a few in deference to custom and discard the rest. Anyone whose mind has outgrown the fallacious notion that "apparel maketh a man" will be able to effect considerable improvement [in his dress] and safeguard his health.

Nowadays, moreover, a notion is in the air that it is best for us to put on European dress, that it is more impressive and wins us greater respect from people. This is not the place for a discussion of the topic. All that needs to be said here is that, though the European costume is suitable for the cold countries of Europe, the Indian costume suits both Hindus and Muslims in India. Our clothes are loose and, therefore, allow free circulation of air. Being white, they disperse the rays of the sun. In dark clothes one feels hotter in the sun because the rays falling on them are not so dispersed.

We always cover our heads, particularly when going out. The turban has become our especial mark declaring us to be Indians. There will be nothing but benefit, however, from leaving the head uncovered wherever possible. Wearing long hair and parting it with ever so much care seems to be rather uncouth. Dust, dirt, and lice collect in long hair. One will also find it difficult to treat any boils that may develop on one's scalp. For a turban-wearer to grow long hair like a Saheb is sheer absurdity.

We fall into the clutches of many diseases through our feet. The feet of those who wear shoes, etc., become tender. With shoes on, the feet perspire and emit an offensive odour. Anyone sensitive to smell can scarcely bear to stand near such a person when he is removing his shoes and socks, so offensive is the odour of the feet. We call shoes "shields against thorns" or "protectors of the feet", which means that we need wear shoes only when we have to walk among thorns or stir out in extreme heat or cold, and even then, we need cover, not the entire feet, but only the soles; when necessary, therefore, one may put on only sandals. Anyone who suffers from headaches, physical weakness, aching feet, and anyone used to wearing of shoes should try walking barefoot. He will soon discover the advantages of keeping one's feet uncovered, in contact with the earth and free from perspiration. Sandals are an excellent form of footwear and also comparatively cheap. In Africa, they are made by Trappists[1] near Pinetown for anyone who wants them and one can also get them made in Phœnix. The average individual will not have the courage to use sandals only. Even such a person should always keep his feet uncovered whenever possible and use sandals when he must cover the soles and can do without shoes.

[From Gujarati]
*Indian Opinion*, 19-4-1913

[1] Monks of Cistercian order noted for silence and other austerities; *vide* Vol. I, pp. 180-6.

CWMG - XII

## 31. LETTER TO G. K. GOKHALE

PHŒNIX,
*April 19, 1913*

DEAR MR. GOKHALE,

By this time you are already on your way to London. I do hope that there you will get some rest, I was grieved to see from the papers that you had a nervous breakdown. It is on such occasions that I long to be with you.

Polak will write to you fully on the situation. I wish to state only this that this time the struggle, if it comes, will involve more sufferings than before. So far as I know, we shall not appeal to the public in India for pecuniary support. If those who know me personally wish to send anything, I shall gratefully accept the help. The plan would be to beg in S[outh] A[frica] from door to door. I think that thereby we shall manage to get sufficient to feed and clothe us while we are out of gaol. May I ask you also not to make any public appeal for funds.[1] I have still about £300. These I am jealously guarding for emergencies. Most of the settlers here including the womenfolk will join the struggle. The latter feel that they can no longer refrain from facing the gaol no matter what it may mean in a place like this. Mrs. Gandhi made the offer on her own initiative and I do not want to debar her.[2] The matter of Mrs. Gandhi's intention has not yet been made public. Will you also not mention it anywhere for the time being?

I hope that you will do what you can for the London Committee.[3] I am going on with the collections as I promised I would. As soon as I have [a] decent sum by me, it will be passed on to you. We have stopped sending anything to Maud Polak[4] since this month.

It is likely that Maud will discuss with you her conduct regarding her visit to S. A. I wrote[5] to her saying that she had misled me and that you too had been misled. In spite of the breach of the very personal relation between us, she has

[1] For Gokhale's views on this, *vide Satyagraha in South Africa*, Ch. XXXVIII.
[2] *Vide* "Conversation with Kasturba Gandhi," p. 31.
[3] South Africa British Indian Committee (SABIC)
[4] H. S. L. Polak's sister, was Assistant Honorary Secretary, SABIC
[5] This letter is not available.

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continued to do her work on the Committee satisfactorily. She thinks that she is simply the victim of a misunderstanding. I am disinclined to believe it and I have said so to her. I wish I could have saved you the bother of having to revive painful recollections. But I was bound to let you know what had passed between Maud and myself.

I should much appreciate a line about your health and the treatment you may be undergoing. Could you at all find time to visit Just's Jungborn and Kuhne's Institute?

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

From the original in Gandhiji's hand: C. W. 926
Courtesy: Servants of India Society

## *32. TELEGRAM TO KALREY*

[PHŒNIX,
*April 26, 1913*]

KALREY

SECOND READING BILL COMMENCED PARLIAMENT.[1] HOPE COMMITTEE TELEGRAM GONE. COMMITTEE SHOULD WIRE COPY CHAPLIN, ALEXANDER, SMARTT, MERRIMAN. HOPE INDIAN WOMEN'S PROTEST SENT.

GANDHI

From a photostat of the draft in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 5787

## *33. £3 TAX DISAPPOINTMENT*

We learn from an authoritative source that, owing to the exigencies of the political situation, the Government do not intend to introduce this session a Bill to repeal the £3 tax required, under Act 17 of 1895, of ex-indentured Indians who remain free in Natal at the expiry of their contracts. The news will come as a shock and a bitter disappointment not only to those immediately affected, but to the entire Indian community, who rightly regard the impost as a tax upon its honour and social integrity. Because

[1] This was on April 26.

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General Botha[1] and General Hertzog[2] are engaged in a party quarrel, the business of the whole country must come to a standstill. General Botha has adopted the attitude that he is fighting his opponent in the interests of the Empire. He does not seem to realize the inconsistency of that attitude with his inability to keep his unwritten pledge to the Hon. Mr. Gokhale to repeal this tax at an early date. It is an open secret that the only reason why no public announcement of the intentions of the Government was made during Mr. Gokhale's visit was because Ministers desired, before definitely committing themselves, to ascertain the feeling of the Natal members. The views of most of these, as is now well known from General Smuts' statement in the House on the Financial Relations Bill, are against the retention of the tax as inequitable and there is, therefore, no valid excuse for the dilatory tactics of the Government beyond a cowardly fear to arouse further antagonism from the Free State reactionaries, who are in no way interested in the question beyond their notorious obsession by [*sic*] anti-colour mania. We have no doubt that Mr. Gokhale, who is now on his way to England, will have certain home truths to speak to His Majesty's Ministers at the gross manner of the betrayal of his own and the Indian community's hopes. The least the Government can do, to save their face, is to give instructions that the tax and its arrears are not to be demanded, pending the passing of the necessary repealing legislation next session.

*Indian Opinion*, 26-4-1913

## *34. THAT BILL*

The Immigrants' Restriction Bill is apparently meeting with all-round opposition. The scathing criticism of the *Natal Witness* on the withdrawal of the right of access to the Supreme Court, except in certain rare cases, is highly appropriate. It is not the autocracy of little "tin tsars" that the officials now demand. The people of South Africa are now called upon to hand over their liberties into the keeping of an infallible bureaucracy that is afraid to face the criticism and the scepticism of His Majesty's

[1] Louis Botha (1862-1919); Boer General and statesman; Prime Minister of the Transvaal, 1907, and of South Africa Union, 1910-19

[2] James Barry Munnik Hertzog (1866-1942); South African nationalist leader and politician; Prime Minister of South Africa Union, 1924-39

judges. We do not need to emphasize the glaring audacity of the Government's attempt to impose upon the public—or, rather, the Indian public—Immigration Boards whose decisions are to be unappealable, when there is almost daily record of the havoc wrought to Indian interests by the existing Licensing Boards of Natal and the Cape. We are rapidly reaching, in South Africa, that Government by bureaucracy against which Sir James Rose-Innes recently inveighed so strongly, and it is difficult to believe that people with such splendid traditions of liberty and freedom as the South African Colonists can boast will be content to deliver to a close corporation of unchecked permanent officials the control of their movements into and within the Union.

*Indian Opinion*, 26-4-1913

## *35. NEW BILL*

Perhaps, as we write this note, further news of the Bill is already available. At the moment, it seems quite possible that the Bill may fail for reasons not connected with our struggle. There is a split in General Botha's camp. The supporters of General Hertzog have shown their teeth. They came together at a meeting in Bloemfontein and passed a resolution supporting General Hertzog, so that there is little possibility now of the Orange members supporting General Botha. Even in the Cape, General Hertzog has some members to help him. Likewise, there may be a few here and there in the Transvaal too. It does not, therefore, appear that General Botha will be able to continue in power with the support only of his own party. If he seeks the support of the Unionist Party, not only will it be a humiliation to him, but General Hertzog will grow stronger still, and General Botha will be left with very few supporters among the Boers. Many believe that, in this difficult situation, he may not be able to retain the reins of power in his hands. If this view is correct, there are two possible consequences; one, that General Botha may dissolve the Parliament and order fresh elections, so that a new Parliament will come into being; alternatively, he may accept all the demands of General Hertzog's supporters. In either case, there is little chance of this Parliament being able to do much. The papers also report that General Hertzog's supporters have raised two issues, first, that Mr. Sauer[1], who has always been known as a friend of the Zulus

[1] J. W. Sauer, Member of the Union Cabinet, a philanthropist and radical who refused knighthood.

and who champions their cause, has been appointed by General Botha as Minister for Zulu Affairs, and secondly, that he has decided to grant relief to the Indians out of deference to the Imperial Government. Thus, we have also become a cause of friction among them. This is, however, nothing for us to be happy about, for these two reasons just happen to have come in handy. The unthinking Boers are likely to be taken in by them, for there is an element of truth in both of them, which, however, will do good neither to the Zulus nor to us. Mr. Sauer, as Minister, is not going to present the Zulus with cart-loads of wealth nor General Botha to gift away a kingdom to us in order to oblige the Imperial Government. We have seen what it is that he is prepared to give. But the fine words to which General Botha treated the Imperial Government in our case are being deliberately used against him by General Hertzog's supporters. We can, therefore, hope for no advantage to us from all this. Even if General Hertzog comes to power, we shall secure neither more nor less than what we can by our own strength. Satyagraha is equally effective in all circumstances and at all times; such is its invincible and supreme power.

[From Gujarati]
*Indian Opinion*, 26-4-1913

## *36. GENERAL KNOWLEDGE ABOUT HEALTH [–XVII]*

### 9. AN INTIMATE CHAPTER

Those who have carefully followed the chapters on health so far should read this, I submit, with especial care and ponder well over it. Other chapters are still to follow and will, I feel, prove useful, but there will be none in the series as important as the present one. As I indicated earlier, I have in these chapters said nothing on which I have had no personal experience or of which I was not firmly convinced.

There are many things which promote good health, all of them necessary, but the most important is *brahmacharya*[1]. We can have good health by means of good air, water and food; but, if we spend all that we earn, we shall be left with nothing on hand. Similarly, if we fritter away the health which we gain, what re-

[1] Literally, living in the *Brahman*, the Absolute. In ordinary usage, the term has come to signify celibacy, which is considered essential for attainment of that state.

mains of our capital behind? For both men and women, therefore, *brahmacharya* is an absolute necessity if they are to preserve the wealth of physical well-being; no one need doubt this. He who has conserved his generative fluid is known as *viryavan*, a man of strength.

What is *brahmacharya*?—it may be asked. It consists in men and women refraining from carnal enjoyment. "Refraining from carnal enjoyment" does not mean merely refraining from contact with each other with such enjoyment in view, but also keeping the mind free from the very thought of it—one must not even dream about it. Man should not be disturbed by the presence of woman and woman by the presence of man. We should hold back and store within our bodies the mysterious power that Nature has bestowed upon us and use it to promote our health, the health not only of the body but also of the mind, the intellect and the memory.

Let us now take a look at the strange things that go on around us. Most men and women, whether young or old, are submerged in this infatuation. On such occasions we go utterly mad. Our reason ceases to function, a veil seems to come over our eyes and we are blinded with passion. I have observed men, women and young people of both sexes looking distraught when possessed by passion. My personal experience is no different. Whenever I have been overcome by this state, I have lost all sense. Such is the nature of passion. Thus, for the sake of a grain of pleasure[1], we lose a maund of vitality. When our excitement dies down, we find ourselves in a pitiable state. The following morning our body is heavy, we are ill at ease, and a lethargy sets in. Our mind is out of sorts. In order to set these things right again, or keep them right, we must needs drink milk boiled with spices, swallow iron, take *yakutis*[2], approach *vaidyas* for strength-giving drugs and look around for foods that will serve as aphrodisiacs. Thus, as the days and years go by, we decline in body and mind and find our intellect gone in old age.

This, surely, should not be—in old age, the intellect should grow sharper rather than duller. We should be in such condition that the experience gained during a life-time can be of use to us and to others, a condition possible to those who observe *brahmacharya*. Such a person is unafraid of death and does not

[1] The original has a pun on the Sanskrit word *rati* which means pleasure and, also, a measure of weight.

[2] Tonic preparations of the *Unani* system of medicine

forget God even at the moment of death. He does not indulge in vain attempts and does not behave like a dandy. *He who gives up this frame with a smiling face and goes to render his account to the Master is truly a man and she who dies thus is truly a woman.* Such persons alone may claim to have maintained true health.

We do not, as a rule, stop to consider that the basic cause of pleasure-hunting, envy, ostentation, hypocrisy, anger, impatience, violent hatred and such other evils is our violation of *brahmacharya.* If one's mind is not under one's control and one behaves more foolishly even than a child, indulging oneself once every day or oftener, what other crimes would not one commit, knowingly or unknowingly? What unforgivable sins would one stop short of?

But does one ever find anyone observing such *brahmacharya*? If everyone did so, the world would come to an end. [So runs the argument.] This is likely to involve a discussion of religious issues. I shall, therefore, pass over that aspect of the matter and consider it from a worldly point of view. In my opinion, both these questions have their origin in our fear and weakness. We do not want to observe *brahmacharya* and, therefore, seek excuses to escape from it. There do exist people, and in large numbers, who observe it; if, however, they were easy to discover, what would be their worth? Thousands of labourers are imprisoned in the bowels of the earth in order that diamonds might be obtained and, even then, only a handful of these are found in a mountain of broken earth and rock. What efforts, then, would be necessary to discover the jewels among men who observe *brahmacharya*? Let us do a simple sum in the rule of three to calculate. If the world comes to an end because we observe *brahmacharya*, how is that any concern of ours? We are not God. He who has created the world will look after His affairs. Whether others observe it or not is not a question for us to ask. When we select business or law or anything else as a career, we do not ask what would happen if everyone became a lawyer or business man. Finally, those men and women who observe *brahmacharya* will, in the course of time, receive answers to both the questions, that is, they will find others like themselves. And it will also be as plain as daylight to them what will happen to the world if all did the same.

How can these ideas be put into practice by men caught up in worldly responsibilities? What should the married ones do? And those who have children? What should they do who cannot control their desire? We have seen what the ideal is. If we always hold it before us, we shall either be able to follow it faithfully or

approximate to it in some measure. If we place before a child the finest models when teaching it to write the letters of the alphabet, it will copy them to the best of its ability. Similarly, we can place before us the ideal of unbroken *brahmacharya*, and then make every effort to approximate to it. What if we happen to be married? The natural law is that men and women should depart from *brahmacharya* only when they desire progeny. If a couple do so after full deliberation, once in a few years, they will not wholly forget themselves and will remain well stored with vitality. Rarely do we come across couples who indulge in sexual intercourse only for the purpose of procreation. The rest in their thousands seek the pleasures of lust, yearn for them and indulge in them. The consequence is that, against their wish, children are born to them. In enjoying these pleasures, we become so utterly blind that we have no consideration for our partner. In this matter men are more guilty than women. In his stupidity man gives no thought to the woman's weakness; he does not stop to consider whether she is strong enough for the burden of bearing children and bringing them up. People of the West have broken all bounds in this matter. They adopt various techniques so that they may have their pleasure without being burdened with children. Books have been written on these techniques and there are professionals who explain how to indulge in the pleasures of lust and yet have no children! So far at least we have been free from this sin; but we do not think for a moment before imposing burdens on our women and we do not care if our children are weak, lacking in vitality, timid and dull of intellect. Whenever a child is born, we offer thanks to God. This is only a way of covering up our pitiable condition. *Why should we not regard it a sign of divine anger that we have weak, crippled, lustful and worthless children born to us? What reason for satisfaction can there be over a child of twelve having issue? Why should this be an occasion for merry-making? Why should we not regard it as a manifestation of divine wrath that a girl of twelve should become a mother?* We know that, if a tree bears fruit too soon after it has been planted, the latter is immature and we take good care to see that fruit does not appear too early on a tree. When, on the contrary, we have a celebration on the birth of a child to a child-wife by a child-husband, surely we behave with incredible blindness. Of what good is it to India or the world to be swarmed over with worthless creatures, as with ants? Animals are better off than we are inasmuch as the male and the female are brought together only when we intend them to have progeny. Subsequent to the union, the period of pregnancy and

the period between the birth and the weaning of the child, when it can fend for itself, should be looked upon as sacred and during this time at least the husband and wife should scrupulously observe *brahmacharya*. But we give no thought whatever to the matter and continue to take our pleasures recklessly. Such is the sickness of our minds—a good example of incurable sickness. It is a disease which brings us to death, and until that time we wander about like insane men. It is the especial duty of married couples that they should not mistake the purpose of marriage, but should understand it aright and come together only while they have no child and desire an heir.

In our present pitiful condition, this is extremely difficult. Our diet, our way of life, our talk, the sights which surround us, are all such as to excite our lust. Sexual pleasure, moreover, has become a craving with us, much like opium. Is it likely that in such a state we would take thought and turn back? But to any sceptic who wants to know how the ideal can be practised, there is no answer in this chapter. It is intended for those who are ready to think and make an effort to do what ought to be done. Those who are satisfied with themselves will find it boring even to read these things; the chapter is intended, rather, to help those who have realized their abject state and are tired of it to some extent.

We can see from the foregoing that those who have not married should not do so in these difficult times and that, if one cannot do altogether without marriage, one should marry late. *Young men should take a vow not to marry before they are twenty-five or thirty years of age*. This is not the place to consider the other benefits which, apart from good health, may follow from this course; everyone, however, will know how to gain such benefits for himself.

To parents who may read this chapter, we must say that they are guilty of cruelty in selling away their sons and daughters by marriage or betrothal while they are still children; in doing so, they regard their own interests instead of those of the children. They want to feel important and have a name in the community, want to have a big show by celebrating their children's marriage. If they desired the welfare of their children, they would look after their education, care for them and train their bodies. What can be more harmful to the interests of boys and girls today than that they should be married off while they are still children?

Lastly, when a married man or woman is separated from his or her partner by death, it will benefit the survivor's health to

lead the life appropriate to a widower or widow. Some doctors have expressed the opinion that young men and women must have opportunities for sexual relief. There are also some others who argue that this is not necessary in any circumstances. When doctors thus quarrel among themselves, we should take care not to be misled by any of them and sink in self-indulgence in the belief that we have their support. From my own experience and that of others which I have come to know of, I can affirm without the least hesitation that it is unnecessary to indulge in sexual relations for the sake of health; on the contrary, such indulgence and the resultant loss do much physical harm. The vitality of both mind and body developed through many years is so much impaired even by one such occasion that it takes a long time to regain it and, even so, the original state is never restored wholly. One may make use of a broken glass by re-joining the fragments, but it will always remain a broken thing.

In order to conserve virility, fresh air and water, wholesome food as described earlier, and pure thought are indispensable. In this way morals are closely linked with health. A perfectly moral person alone can achieve perfect health. Anyone who, prepared to make a fresh start from the moment that he sees the light, meditates carefully over what has been said so far and puts these suggestions into practice will have direct proof in experience. Even one who has observed *brahmacharya* for some period will notice the increase of mental and physical powers and, having once secured this philosopher's stone, will guard it with care like very life. The slightest lapse and he will realize what an error he has made. I have committed mistakes even after I had thought over—experienced—the countless benefits of *brahmacharya* and I have known the bitter consequences. I have vivid memories of the exalted state of the mind before a lapse and the pitiable condition after it. But from these mistakes, I have learnt the value of that precious jewel. I do not know if I shall be able to preserve it unbroken. I hope to, with God's help. I can see the good it has done to my mind and body. I, who was married in childhood, was blinded [by lust] in childhood and had children while a mere child, awoke after many years and seem to have realized on awakening that I had been pursuing a disastrous course. If anyone learns from my mistakes and my experience and saves himself, I shall be happy to have written this chapter. The following calculation is also worth making. Many people have said, and I believe it, that I have plenty of energy. My mind is not considered weak—as

a matter of fact—some think me obstinate. I have ailments of body and mind; and yet I am reckoned as fairly healthy in comparison with those with whom I have come into contact. If I have been able to maintain this condition because, after some twenty years of self-indulgence, I woke up, who can say what I would have been if I could have saved those twenty years as well. I am sure, myself, that there would have been no limit to my energy and I would have had so much of it to spend on service to the public or myself that others would have found it an ordeal to equal it. This is the conclusion to be drawn from my all-too-imperfect example. The physical, mental and moral strength of one who has been able to observe unbroken *brahmacharya* must be seen to be believed; it cannot be described.

Anyone reading this chapter will see that, when married persons have been advised to observe *brahmacharya* and widowers to continue in that state, there can be no question of any men or women, married or unmarried, being permitted to gratify their desire anywhere. It is not possible, when dealing with questions of health, to consider the dire effects of casting evil glances at other people's wives or prostitutes. This is a matter for religion and ethics. Here we need only state that those who indulge in such extra-marital relations and have contacts with prostitutes suffer, we find, from such unmentionable diseases as syphilis and rot away because of them. Nature is so merciful to them that it promptly incapacitates them; they keep slumbering, however, and run from doctor to doctor in search of a cure for their diseases! Where there is no adultery, fifty per cent. of the doctors and *vaidyas* will lose their occupation. These diseases have such a hold on the human race that thoughtful doctors have been driven to observe that, despite all their discoveries, the nations of the world will soon be wiped out if the evil of adultery continues unchecked. The remedies for the diseases in question are so toxic in effect that, even when the diseases themselves seem to be cured, others take root in their stead and pass from generation to generation.

We shall now indicate how married couples may observe *brahmacharya* and so conclude this rather long chapter. A married person cannot observe celibacy merely by following rules regarding diet, air and water. He must also refrain from being alone with his wife. We shall realize on reflection that, except for the purpose of conjugal relations, it is not necessary to be alone with one's wife. At night the husband and the wife must sleep in separate rooms. During the day they should remain fully occupied with useful activity and pure thoughts. They should

read such books and meditate over such lives as would strengthen them in their good resolve and should frequently remind themselves that all pleasures lead to suffering. Whenever they feel passion rising in them, they should take a cold bath. This will transform the cosmic fire in their bodies into a benign influence for both men and women and increase their happiness. All this is certainly hard of achievement, but conquering difficulties is what we are born for and anyone who wishes to acquire good health must conquer this one.

[From Gujarati]
*Indian Opinion*, 26-4-1913

## *37. TELEGRAM TO GOOL AND GOOLMAHOMED*

[JOHANNESBURG,
After *April 26, 1913*]

GOOL
7, BUITENCINGEL
ADAM GOOLMAHOMED
8, KLOOF STREET
[CAPE TOWN]

HOPE YOU WILL LODGE PROTEST AGAINST IMMIGRATION BILL. READ DEBATE BILL WHICH SAYS INDIANS GENERALLY WILL ACCEPT IT.

From a photostat of the draft in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 5772

## *38. SPEECH AT VREDEDORP*[1]

[JOHANNESBURG,
*April 27, 1913*]

Mr. Gandhi, who had come specially from Phœnix, after explaining the nature of the Bill, said that he hoped that the Government would grant their humble request. But, if they did not, they were bound, after exhausting all their resources by way of petition, etc., to take up the well-tried weapon of passive resistance. This would be the third campaign and he had no doubt that it

[1] A meeting of the British Indian Association was held at Vrededorp, a suburb of Johannesburg, to consider the Immigration Bill. A. M. Cachalia presided. For the text of his speech, which was later forwarded to the Governor-General, *vide* Appendix IV.

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would be the most brilliant of all, though it would involve much greater suffering and would be a protracted ordeal. But, as self-respecting men, they could not shirk it. They must be prepared to risk all for the honour of their womanhood, for the sake of their religions and for the good name of the country of their birth. They wished to deceive neither themselves nor the Government. It was plain to the speaker that, in the impending struggle, they could not count upon hundreds going to gaol, but he knew that what they might lack in numbers would be made up for by the earnestness and the unconquerable will of the few. Those who could not suffer the hardships of a gaol life might still take their share in the campaign. They could hold meetings, they could collect subscriptions, they could sacrifice their time and look after the families of those who might be imprisoned. Such work, too, was necessary. No country in the world could afford to place all its children at the same time on the field. Theirs was an army of peace. Although they used military terms, they agreed with the soldier only in so far as the latter was a sufferer in his own person. A true passive resister could never be party to injuring others. His motive power was not vengeance. It was hardly possible to expect the whole community to become soldiers in such an army. But, whether they had five hundred or fifty, or five, or even one true passive resister on the field, victory was theirs.

## The Resolution[1]

This mass meeting of British Indians hereby endorses the action of the Committee of the British Indian Association in forwarding to the Government its objections against the Immigration Bill and, inasmuch as it affects the honour, the religious sentiment and the very existence of the Indian community in South Africa, solemnly resolves that, in the event of the Government not conceding the request, passive resistance, which has remained under suspense since 1911, be revived and continued, until the sufferings of the passive resisters shall have proved to the Government and the Europeans of South Africa the earnestness of the community and, therefore, the necessity of granting relief.[2]

*Indian Opinion*, 3-5-1913

[1] This was unanimously passed.

[2] The meeting was then addressed by L. W. Ritch and H. Kallenbach on invitation.

## 39. TELEGRAM TO DRUMMOND CHAPLIN AND OTHERS

[JOHANNESBURG,
After *April 27, 1913*][1]

DRUMMOND CHAPLIN
RT. HON'BLE MERRIMAN
SIR THOMAS SMARTT
MORRIS ALEXANDER
THEO. SCHREINER
CAPE TOWN

PROTESTS AGAINST IMMIGRATION BILL HAVE GONE FROM ALMOST EVERY IMPORTANT INDIAN ASSOCIATION. IF BILL PASSED WITHOUT AMENDMENT GRANTING INDIAN DEMANDS PASSIVE RESISTANCE CERTAIN REVIVE. IF GENERAL BILL CANNOT BE CARRIED WITH AMENDMENTS SUGGESTED BY INDIANS, TRANSVAAL IMMIGRATION LAW COULD EASILY BE AMENDED REPEALING ASIATIC ACT OF 1907, REMOVING RACIAL BAR THEREIN AND BRINGING MARRIAGE BILL RECOGNIZING AS BEFORE SEARLE JUDGMENT VALIDATING INDIAN MARRIAGES.

From a photostat of the draft in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 5773

## 40. CABLE TO LORD AMPTHILL[2]

[JOHANNESBURG,
After *April 27, 1913*]

MR. GOKHALE SUGGESTS MY CABLING YOU OBJECTIONS BILL. THEY ARE, BILL CONTRAVENES SETTLEMENT, DISTURBING EXISTING RIGHTS AND IMPOSING DISABILITIES NOT CONTEMPLATED. REPLACES SUPREME COURT JURISDICTION BY CREATION BOARDS OF ANNUALLY REMOVABLE MEMBERS HAVING FINAL JURISDICTION EXCEPT CASES DOMICILE, TAKES AWAY RIGHTS EDUCATED

[1] It appears that this telegram and the cable to Lord Ampthill, *vide* the succeeding item, were sent some time after the mass meeting held at Vrededorp on April 27.

[2] The draft does not bear Lord Ampthill's name, but presumably the communication was addressed to him.

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INDIANS ENTER CAPE OR NATAL FROM TRANSVAAL ON PRESENT EDUCATION TEST. CONTEMPLATES PROHIBITION ENTRY FREE STATE NEW EDUCATED IMMIGRANTS ALTHOUGH SETTLEMENT PROVIDES THAT UNDER GENERAL BILL SUCH INDIANS SHALL HAVE EQUAL RIGHTS WITH OTHERS REGARDING IMMIGRATION. RESTRICTS PRESENT RIGHT ENTRY THROUGH ANY PORT TO ONE PORT SPECIALLY APPOINTED. DEPRIVES NATAL INDIANS LONG RESIDENCE OF RIGHTS OF DOMICILE HITHERTO POSSESSED BY IMPORTING STRICTER CAPE SECTION ON DOMICILE. CONTRARY PRESENT STATUTORY POSITION MAKES NATAL TRANSVAAL INDIANS WHO MAY ABSENT FROM THEIR RESPECTIVE PROVINCES LONGER THAN THREE YEARS PROHIBITED IMMIGRANTS. DEPRIVES S[OUTH] A[FRICA] BORN INDIANS RIGHT ENTER CAPE. RECENT JUDGMENT CONTRARY ESTABLISHED PRACTICE INVALIDATES INDIAN MARRIAGES NOT SOLEMNIZED ACCORDING CHRISTIAN RITES OR BEFORE MARRIAGE OFFICERS WHETHER SUCH MARRIAGES PERFORMED INDIA OR HERE. THUS REDUCING MAJORITY WIVES STATUS CONCUBINES. BILL SEEMS DEPRIVE EDUCATED INDIANS WHO ENTERED UPON EXISTING TEST OF RIGHT RE-ENTRY UNLESS OTHERWISE DOMICILED. IF BILL NOT AMENDED ALL THESE PARTICULARS, REVIVAL PASSIVE RESISTANCE CERTAIN THOUGH CHIEFLY DESIGNED MEET PASSIVE RESISTERS.

From a photostat of the draft in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 5774

## *41. INTERVIEW TO "THE STAR"*[1]

[JOHANNESBURG,
On or before *April 28, 1913*]

Interviewed by a representative of *The Star*, he said the Bill would be totally unacceptable to the Indian community unless it carried out the fundamental principle of the compromise in respect of existing rights and the removal of the racial bar.

It is perfectly true that there are no local wants of the Indian community in the Free State, and it is also true that no

[1] Gandhiji was on a visit to Johannesburg to consult the European Committee and the executive committee of the British Indian Association. The report was reproduced in *Indian Opinion*, 3-5-1913.

Indian is likely to enter the Free State, but we want the theoretical right of entry preserved in a general way. The reason why the first Bill did not pass was because the Government wanted to introduce legislation to meet those points; last year's Bill provided for it, and we quite recognized that Indians who entered the Free State would be subject to local disabilities, such as the prohibition to hold landed property, to farm and to trade. If we accepted the present Bill, the position of Indians would be infinitely worse than it was even before passive resistance began.

The Government appears to be desirous of consolidating the worst features of the Provincial legislation; for instance, in the Cape the term "domicile" has a stricter meaning, and that is the meaning they want to apply to Natal, a contingency which would not have been possible five or six years ago. They want to level down the conditions in Natal to those of the Cape instead of levelling up the Cape practice to that of Natal.

Mr. Gandhi evidently considers it is almost hopeless to expect a general Immigration Bill that would meet the views of Indian communities in the different Provinces, and in reply to a question as to the most ready way to settle the problem, he expressed himself in favour of amending Provincial legislation, and suggested, as far as the Transvaal was concerned, that the Immigration Law should have the racial bar removed, which would not arouse any hostility, and that the offending Asiatic Act of 1907 should be repealed.

It is clear that the Indians are resolved to resist the provisions of Mr. Fischer's Bill in the event of it becoming law, and already they have communicated with Mr. Gokhale, who happens to be in London, with the object of placing before the Imperial Government.

The strained relations between the Indians and the Government began soon after the grant of Responsible Government, and the passive resistance movement continued from 1906 to 1910, when the compromise with General Smuts was reached.

*The Star*, 28-4-1913

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## 42. *LETTER TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO GOVERNOR-GENERAL*

JOHANNESBURG,
*April 30, 1913*

THE PRIVATE SECRETARY TO
HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL
CAPE TOWN

SIR,

I have the honour to enclose herewith, in triplicate, copy of the Resolution[1] unanimously passed at an open-air meeting of British Indians held at Vrededorp on the 27th instant under the auspices of my Association, and to request that His Excellency will be good enough to forward same, as also copy of the Chairman's speech[2] on the occasion, likewise enclosed, to the Hon'ble the Secretary of State for the Colonies and the Hon'ble the Secretary of State for India.

*I have, etc.,*
A. M. CACHALIA
CHAIRMAN,
BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION

Colonial Office Records: 551/39

## 43. *THE BILL*

The Johannesburg mass meeting[3] was held none too soon. Its resolution is most timely. The composition of the meeting, the number of delegates who attended from most parts of the Transvaal, and the messages sent to Mr. Fischer must have shown the Minister that he could not hope to satisfy British Indians unless he was prepared to accede to their request for amendment of the Bill in the direction pointed out in Mr. Cachalia's telegram. It is difficult, therefore, to understand Mr. Fischer when he says, at the second reading of his precious measure, that the Bill would pacify the Indian community. Mr. Chaplin, who

[1] & [3] *Vide* "Speech at Vrededorp", pp. 52-3.
[2] *Vide* Appendix IV.

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contributed to the debate in an excellent speech, uttered seasonable warning when he said that the Bill was useless and unacceptable to the Unionist Party unless Mr. Fischer could give a definite assurance that the Indians were satisfied. In spite of the Bill being pushed forward a stage further, we imagine that it will never reach the third reading stage. But it is well for passive resisters to keep themselves in readiness. It is to be hoped that, if the struggle is revived, the impending third campaign will be the purest, the last and the most brilliant of all. We share the belief, with Thoreau, that "one true passive resister is enough to win a victory for right". Right is on our side. It could not be on the side of a Government that has no regard for its sacred pledges. And we have many true passive resisters. We would all fail to satisfy the definition of an ideal passive resister, but we feel sure that the community contains many who would approach the ideal as nearly as is possible for mortals to do. On such rests a great duty.

*Indian Opinion*, 3-5-1913

## *44. THE CAMPAIGN*

### Resolution on Satyagraha

The mass meeting held at Johannesburg has passed a resolution that satyagraha be started against the new Bill. If the Government does not accept our demands, there is not the slightest doubt that satyagraha will be revived. This was a meeting of no ordinary importance. Many Indians were present. Leaders of every town were there. One can see that, if satyagraha is resumed, the campaign will follow a different pattern. In the past, we could not be sure who would go to gaol or be in a position to do so.[1] We had no means of judging how strong or weak the community was. By now, however, we have had some training. We can now make a fair guess how many and who will be able to court imprisonment. The Government also knows our strength. On the previous occasion, we expected everyone to go to gaol. We besieged persons in order to drag them out. It was the time for such training. Those who besieged people and those who were besieged were alike new to the situation. We know better now from experience.

[1] The reference is to the passive resistance movement of 1909, which was followed by mass arrests of Indians, including Gandhiji; *vide* Vol. IX.

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### Plan of Campaign

Mr. Cachalia has, therefore, made it clear that we will have neither ourselves nor the Government labour under a false impression. The very resolution passed at the meeting implies that those who support it are not bound to go to gaol unless they themselves declare that they will do so. Everyone who approves of satyagraha can make himself a party to this resolution and declare himself in agreement with it. The person accepting this resolution tells the community and the Government that he believes in the justice and the necessity of this satyagraha campaign, that he will oppose the Government, that, even if he does not go to gaol, he will give monetary or other help to those who do, will look after their dependents, will make himself useful in the campaign in other ways, offer body-labour if he has no money, will regularly spend some of his time working for it, will not avail himself of any of the provisions of the law and will not support the Government in its oppressive measures.

### Cape and Natal

This struggle is not for the Transvaal [alone], but for all South Africa. Therefore, it befits the Cape and Natal also to wake up. It is only natural that Johannesburg should lead the way. It would be shameful, however, if the Cape and Natal sit back. From there, too, people should come forward to go to gaol, and meetings should be held in both these provinces similar to the one in Johannesburg. The Government may treat us as if we are separate, but we can demonstrate our "union" by our actions.

### Comparison with Previous Campaign

It was our experience during the previous campaign that those who did not go to gaol sought to thwart the community's effort and join hands with the authorities. Some others, who did not turn against the community, hid themselves in shame and helped in no other way at all, as they should have done. Difficulties of both these kinds should disappear, thanks to the resolution adopted this time. If anyone, for whatever reason, schemes against the community, he will only be acting as its enemy and, to that extent, as his own. As for those who hid themselves, their absence meant so much loss to the movement. Our cause thus received a set-back. It was, however, not possible for us at that time to fight in any other way. We were all being tried in the furnace. We could not distinguish one from another. It was insult-

ing a man to say that he would not be able to go to gaol and the statement was taken as bringing discredit on him. That was but right. All the stronger for the testing, we have now emerged from the furnace. A man will not be in disgrace for not going to gaol and need not feel ashamed. He has realized, and so has the community, that he lacks the necessary strength. Those who come forward to court imprisonment must not feel proud. They should not think that they are doing something great. We are all limbs of one body. Just because the eye performs the function of seeing, it is not justified in looking down on the leg. The leg should not feel humbled for not being able to see as the eye does. The leg and the eye, each works according to its nature. The body needs them both. But either of them will call down disgrace on itself if it fails in its natural function. Then the body and the organ will both suffer. This is equally true of those who volunteer to go to gaol and those who do not.

### To Those Going to Gaol

Now, a few words to those who come forward to court imprisonment. This time, the campaign, if it starts, is likely to be a big one. If the community stands united behind those who go to gaol, the campaign will in all probability be over quite soon. But whether the community is or is not unanimous, whether it helps or does not help, it is not permissible for the satyagrahis to give up their pledge. Hence, they must be prepared to submit to heavy suffering in this campaign. Moreover, a satyagrahi may not take cover behind what others do. He is not concerned with whether others do or do not go to gaol. Some people, it is observed, say that they will go to gaol if the leading businessmen do. If not, [they say,] they are not prepared to sacrifice themselves, poor people that they are. Again, the Tamils say that they will come forward only if the Gujaratis do, and the Hindus only if the Muslims do. The businessman says that he can look after himself quite well, but that, for the sake of the community, he will be prepared to come out if the hawkers do. None of those who argue thus is a satyagrahi. One interested in business will mind his business. He will not look to what others do. He alone can be a satyagrahi whose soul is possessed by satyagraha. He must understand that he has not come forward in order to confer a favour on anyone, but because he has understood and come to like satyagraha and has the requisite strength. The first to benefit from it will be himself. The community's benefit follows from his. In patriotic work, there is no clash between one's own

interests and those of the country. If anyone thinks that there is, he is not patriotic enough. A mother does not seek domination over her child because she has drudged for it. A child is not proud because it has served its mother. He who has dedicated his all to his country or religion feels that he is serving his own interests in doing what he thinks to be his duty. What, then, is so wonderful about doing one's duty? Why look to what others do? Why think ill of others? A satyagrahi can make no conditions. He stands ready to sacrifice himself, body, mind and possessions and, hence, is not afraid of losing wealth or life. He has entered into a pact with death itself. There is no middle of the road line for him. One who feels thus will help to keep up the fight. He will live on even after death. We trust that those who lack this spirit will not come forward for going to gaol. It is our firm belief that fifty Indians so inclined, or five or even one, will be enough for winning our demands.

### To Those Who May Not Go to Gaol

Finally, let us say a few words to those who may not come forward to go to gaol. There will be no one now to shame any person [into doing anything]. That is no reason for any Indian to conclude that he need not go to gaol and so can stay away. No Indian may sit back in the belief that even one Indian will suffice, and that others need not, therefore, go [to gaol]. A man going to gaol may remain unconcerned even if he is the only one to do so. But the one who does not come forward for gaol should feel ashamed within. The shame in one's heart is more painful than what others cause. If a man has the requisite strength, he should prefer gaol; and if he cannot go, he should feel sorry. It is not proper that one who does not go should seek to brazen it out. That's not the meaning of the resolution. What it means is that, if a person wants to go but cannot do so out of sheer weakness, he may be allowed to excuse himself. Indians who thus plead weakness will take much trouble and work untiringly to help the campaign in other ways. The duty of such Indians begins this very day. They should know that they will be supporting the campaign, if they help maintain the London Committee. Perhaps, through the efforts of the Committee, it may even become unnecessary to start the struggle. Therefore, such Indians should dip their hands into their pockets this very day to help maintain the Committee and strengthen its position. This is the right time for doing so. Mr. Gokhale will not be in England for ever. If the Committee is not put on a sound basis now, we

shall have no such opportunity again. This is, therefore, the immediate duty of those who will not be going to gaol and we hope that help will be forthcoming from all the three places, Natal, the Cape and the Transvaal. Making up their minds, if satyagraha starts, to provide for the families and look after the affairs of those who go to gaol, they must begin the necessary preparation right now. With that end in view, we must find out who are likely to go to gaol and fix up simultaneously the arrangements for helping them. If this is done, we shall have an exciting fight this time, one which will surpass the previous one and which will be recognized as on a higher plane.

[From Gujarati]
*Indian Opinion*, 3-5-1913

## *45. GENERAL KNOWLEDGE ABOUT HEALTH [–XVIII]*

### SOME REMEDIES: 1. AIR

We have considered how to keep good health, on what it depends and how to conserve it. If all men always followed the rules of health and observed unbroken celibacy, the chapters that follow would not be necessary because such men cannot possibly suffer any physical or mental illness. But such persons are rare indeed. There is hardly one so fortunate as never to have fallen ill. The average person is perpetually ill with some sickness or other. Such a person will enjoy good health in the measure in which he follows the rules set out in the first part. If, moreover, he knows some simple remedies, he will not get into a panic and rush to a doctor or *hakim*[1] when he does fall ill. It is with this in mind that the chapters which follow are written.

We have seen that fresh air is the first essential for good health: it is also an invaluable cure for certain ailments. For instance, if a man whose joints have become stiff is treated with steam, there will be immediate perspiration and the joints will be relieved. This method of applying steam is known as Turkish bath.

If a person whose body is burning with high temperature is made to sleep naked in the open air, the temperature will immediately come down. He will feel easy and, if he is covered with a blanket when his body has become cool, he will begin to sweat and the fever will disappear. There is a notion among us that, when anyone has high fever, all the windows and doors should be

[1] Physician practising the *Unani* system of medicine

closed, even if that should make the place unbearably hot for the patient, that the latter's head and ears should be wrapped up, and that he should be covered with heavy blankets. This is an entirely wrong notion. The practice causes the patient acute discomfort and makes him weak. It often happens that the patient, having been wrapped up in this way, perspires profusely and the thermometer shows a lower temperature, but the patient is greatly weakened. In fever brought on by heat, no one should be afraid to take the air treatment described above. The patient will immediately feel the benefit and no harm whatever will come of it. One should only make sure that the patient does not shiver when lying exposed. If he feels cold, it means that his discomfort [from heat] had not been too severe to bear after all. In case the patient is not in a condition to lie naked out of doors, there can be no harm whatever if he is made to sleep covered up in the open air.

A change of air is a highly effective remedy for prolonged fever or any other sickness. The practice of going for a change of climate is, as a matter of fact, part of the "air treatment". There is also a custom, among some, of changing houses. Many believe that a house which is never free from illness must be a haunted one. This seems to be mere superstition. The so-called haunting is in fact just polluted air. Consequently, the change of house means change of air, and that is in itself a great advantage. The air we breathe has so close a bearing on the condition of our bodies that the slightest change in it is bound to affect us for better or worse. The rich can go abroad in search of good climate. A poor man can also benefit by going to a neighbouring town or even by a change of residence. Sometimes a patient improves merely by being moved from one room to another. It is superfluous to caution here that on all such occasions the air in the room, house or town to which one goes should be better than that left behind. Sickness caused by a humid atmosphere will not disappear by a change to a more humid place. Sometimes no benefit is derived from a change of air, the reason being that the change is made without a knowledge of the principle involved. Sometimes health does not improve because, though the change has been to a better climate, other necessary precautions have not been taken, with the result that the benefit derived from a good climate is lost.

I would request the reader to compare this chapter with the one in Part I devoted to the subject of "air".[1] The earlier chapter explained the relation between air and good health and it contained

[1] *Vide* Vol. XI, pp. 453-5, 458-60 & 463-6.

a general discussion on air. In this chapter, the therapeutic value of air is considered. Read in conjunction with this chapter, the earlier one will be better understood.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 3-5-1913

## *46. LETTER TO SECRETARY FOR INTERIOR*[1]

[JOHANNESBURG,
After *May 7, 1913*]

I beg to thank you for your letter of the 7th instant, in reply to my telegram[2] of the 4th idem.

My Committee fears that the Government reading of the Searle judgment is different from that of the Indian community —you say that, in my telegram, I "refer to the judgment recently delivered by Mr. Justice Searle, in relation to the question of marriages which have been solemnized by rites or customs which recognize polygamy."

I would respectfully point out that my Association has never understood that the Searle judgment dealt with the question of polygamous marriages. Justice Searle's pronouncement, in the humble opinion of my Committee, is unequivocal "the whole question in the case was whether a wife, married by Mahomedan custom, was a wife within the meaning of the Immigration Act." And what applies to marriages by Mahomedan custom would apply also to marriages by Hindu custom or to marriages by Zoroastrian custom or to marriages consecrated according to the customs of any religion save the Christian, which were not registered before a Marriage Officer. The question of polygamy has, therefore, I respectfully submit, been quite gratuitously introduced.

My Committee trusts that the Government will recognize the great urgency of the question raised by it and that the laws of the Union regarding marriages will be amended during the present session so as to restore the former practice of recognizing in law Indian marriages.

*Indian Opinion* 24-5-1913

[1] This was signed by Sonja Schlesin, Secretary, Transvaal Indian Women's Association, and, presumably, drafted by Gandhiji.

[2] *Vide* the following item.

## 47. *INDIAN WOMEN AS PASSIVE RESISTERS*

The following telegram has been addressed by the Transvaal Indian Women's Association to the Hon'ble, the Minister of the Interior:

> Committee Transvaal Indian Women's Association has carefully considered position, in the light of the Searle judgment, of Indian women resident in South Africa or entitled to enter therein with their husbands possessing rights of residence in the Union, and has come to the conclusion that the honour of Indian womanhood is affected by that judgment. Committee therefore respectfully trusts that the Government will be pleased to amend the law so as to recognize the validity of Indian marriages which have been duly consecrated according to the religious customs of the parties and are recognized as legal in India. I am also to inform the Government that the earnestness of the members of the Association is such that, if the Government cannot see its way to comply with the request, they would offer passive resistance and in common with the male members of the community suffer imprisonment rather than suffer the indignity to which in their opinion the Searle judgment subjects them.[1]
>
> SONJA SCHLESIN
> HONORARY SECRETARY

We understand that the above telegram was sent after over forty Indian ladies of Johannesburg, professing the Hindu, the Mahomedan and the Christian faiths, had decided upon sending it. Most of them have emphatically declared their intention of braving imprisonment, should the Government decline to grant their prayer. The readers of *Indian Opinion* are aware of the fact that the Honorary Secretary (Miss Sonja Schlesin) is not an Indian but a European. She has made common cause with us now for a long time, by way of protest against the prevailing anti-Asiatic prejudice on the part of the majority of the Europeans of South Africa. She has been the Honorary Secretary of the Indian Women's Association ever since its establishment. Miss Schlesin, whilst she is in love with her work, is not in love with the official position she occupies. She considers that the office should rightly

[1] This telegram was dated May 4, 1913. What follows appeared as a "Note" by the Editor, *Indian Opinion*.

belong to an Indian woman. But she recognizes that her Indian sisters have not that knowledge of the English language and of South African politics which is required in a Secretary of an Association like the one which she has been guiding and serving so long. Miss Schlesin has fitted herself for the task before her by being in Mr. Gandhi's office and, therefore, in close contact with the passive resistance movement since its inception in 1906. Miss Schlesin, like the male European workers in South Africa for the Indian cause, demonstrates the unity of human nature, whether residing in a brown-skinned or a white-skinned body, and also that South Africa is not devoid of disinterested souls.

*Indian Opinion*, 10-5-1913

## *48. THE WOMEN'S RESOLUTION*

The remarkable resolution of the Indian women of Johannesburg on the marriage question, that has been agitating our countrymen for the past few weeks, marks an interesting development of the passive resistance campaign. The resolution has been duly wired[1] to Mr. Fischer, and, if the Minister still persists in ignoring the grievance created by the Searle judgment, he will do so with his eyes open. He may rest assured that Indian women are not dying to go to gaol, nor do the male members of the community contemplate with equanimity the prospect of their women-folk being imprisoned. If, therefore, Indian women become passive resisters, they must have what is, to them at any rate, a very serious grievance. We congratulate our plucky sisters who have dared to fight the Government rather than submit to the insult offered by the Searle judgment. They will cover themselves and the land of their birth, as, indeed, of their adoption, with glory, if they remain true to their resolve to the end.[2] We know that they fully recognize what their wire means.

We hope, too, that the male members of the population will realize their own duty in the matter. It is largely in their hands to end the struggle at an earlier stage. "The larger the number of passive resisters, the quicker the termination of the struggle" is a mathematical formula.

*Indian Opinion*, 10-5-1913

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

[2] How the pioneer women passive resisters acquitted themselves in the struggle is narrated in *Satyagraha in South Africa*, Ch. XL.

## *49. GENERAL KNOWLEDGE ABOUT HEALTH [–XIX]*

### 2. WATER TREATMENTS

Air does its work invisibly, so that we cannot fully realize the efficacy of air treatments. But the properties of water and the effects it produces are immediately apparent and we can, therefore, readily see how admirably it works.

Water treatments by steam are more or less familiar to all. We give a steam-bath to a patient suffering from fever. A bad headache can often be relieved by the use of steam. If joints are affected by rheumatism and it is desired to give the patient quick relief, treatment with steam, followed immediately by a cold bath, proves highly beneficial. When there are boils on the skin, too many of them, we cannot apply ointment or poultice to all of them, but they soften in no time if treated with steam.

When exhausted, if one takes a hot bath followed by a cold shower, one feels light in body and the fatigue disappears. If anyone suffering from insomnia takes a steam-bath, followed by a cold shower, he will, more often than not, soon fall asleep.

In most of these cases hot water can be substituted for steam. It is not necessary, therefore, to make any distinction between the two. If one suffers from stomach-ache, it can be quickly relieved by hot water fomentation. This can be done by placing a bottle or other vessel, filled with boiling water, on a cloth over the abdomen. Sometimes it becomes necessary to cause vomiting. This can be done by drinking plenty of hot water. One suffering from constipation can get relief by drinking hot water when retiring or in the morning immediately after brushing the teeth. Sir Gordon Spring, a former Prime Minister of the Cape, enjoyed excellent health. When asked what it was chiefly due to, he replied that he drank a glass of hot water the last thing at night and the first thing in the morning. That was, he said, the secret of his good health. Some people pass a motion only after drinking tea and in their ignorance give the credit to tea. Actually the tea is harmful: it is the hot water in it that produces the effect.

There is a special kind of tub for a steam-bath, but this is not really necessary. A spirit or kerosene stove or small wood or coal fire should be placed under a cane chair or wooden stool. A pot of water should be covered and placed on the fire. A counterpane or blanket should then be spread over the chair and so

arranged over the front that the patient seated on it should not feel too severely the heat from the fire or steam. The patient should be wrapped in a cotton rug or blanket and seated in the chair. The lid should then be slipped off the water pot so that the steam reaches the patient. It is our custom also to cover the latter's head but this is not necessary. Heat generated in the body rises to the head and drops of perspiration form on the face. If the patient is not in a condition to get out of the sick-bed, he may be laid on a cane couch or iron bedstead and given steam-treatment. In that case, also, the blankets should be so arranged that heat and steam do not escape. Care must be taken to see that the patient does not sustain burns and the blankets or other things do not catch fire. Should the patient happen to be extremely weak, one should hesitate to give him steam-treatment, for if steam has its benefits, it can have harmful effects too. After taking a steam-bath, the patient always feels weak. The weakness does not last long but the treatment, if taken habitually, is bound to have an exhausting effect on the patient. Steam should, therefore, be used with great caution. It may also be applied locally. For instance, in a case of headache it is not necessary to steam the whole body. Water should be boiled in a narrow-necked vessel or kettle and the forehead held over the opening. The head should be partially covered with a cloth so that the steam may reach the head through the nostrils. If the nose is blocked, such inhalation will give immediate relief. If an inflammation is confined to a particular spot, it may be treated by applying steam to the affected part only.

The good effects of hot water and steam are fairly widely known, but few seem to know the value of cold water. To tell the truth, the beneficial properties of cold water even surpass those of hot water. It may be said that on most people cold water has a stimulating effect. Even the weakest patient can be given cold water treatment. For fever, smallpox, rash and other skin affections, wrapping up with cotton sheets soaked in cold water is highly efficacious. The effect seems almost miraculous and anyone can test it without the slightest risk. In cases of giddiness or delirium, a piece of cloth soaked in ice-water and placed over the head gives great relief. If one has had no motion, it may be possible to get relief by applying cloth soaked in ice-cold water to the abdomen. Those who have wet dreams often get relief if they sleep every day with a cold wet bandage tied over the lower abdomen. The application of an ice pack stops bleeding in any part of the body. When the nose is bleeding, immediate stoppage is brought about by dashing a lot of very cold water on the head. One suffer-

ing from any disease of the nose, or from cold or headache derives great benefit from drawing up water through the nostrils twice a day. One nostril should be closed, water drawn in through the other and then ejected through the first. Water may also be drawn in through both the nostrils and ejected through the mouth. If the nose is otherwise clean and some of the water passes from the nostrils into the stomach, it does no harm. It is an excellent habit to clean the nose by drawing in water through the nostrils. Those who cannot manage this may do so by using a douche, but anyone can master the technique of drawing water up through the nostrils after a few attempts. Everyone should try to learn it since a headache can often be cured instantly by this easy method. If the nose gives out an offensive smell, for that, too, this is an effective remedy. Some persons suffer from a running nose; they will find the method of drawing water in through the nostrils an unfailing remedy for their condition.

Many people are reluctant to take an enema, and some even argue that it causes weakness. This is a wrong notion. There is no better method of immediate relief from constipation. In various conditions, where other remedies are ineffective, an enema provides relief. It empties the bowels completely and prevents accumulation of new poisons in the body. Anyone who suffers from gas, flatulence or any complaint brought about by poor digestion may take two pounds of water by enema, and so have an immediate rest. There is a book on this subject. Its author had tried many remedies, but failed to cure his dyspepsia. He had grown extremely weak and anaemic. With the use of the enema, his appetite improved and, in a short time he was in excellent health. Complaints like jaundice can be immediately cured by means of enemas. If this treatment has to be prolonged, it is advisable to use cold water, as hot water may cause weakness; this, however, is not to be blamed on the enema as such.

[From Gujarati]
*Indian Opinion*, 10-5-1913

## 50. LETTER TO BHAVANI DAYAL

*INDIAN OPINION*
EDITOR
H. S. L. POLAK

PHŒNIX,
NATAL,
*May 12, 1913*

DEAR SHRI BHAVANI DAYAL[1],

I have your letter. The whole of it is not worth printing, for it contains no new fact or argument. Therefore only the portion commending satyagraha will be published in *Indian Opinion*.[2] I do not think it worthwhile to translate it into English. Your article is not for English readers. I shall send you a copy of *Indian Opinion*.

If the Swami[3] is invited to the Hindu Conference or if it seeks his support in any way, no sensible Hindu can participate in it.

*Bande Mataram from*
MOHANDAS

From the handwritten original in Hindi signed by Gandhiji: C. W. 5743
Courtesy: Vishnudutta Dayal

## 51. LETTER TO DRUMMOND CHAPLIN

[PHŒNIX,
*May 14, 1913*]

DEAR MR. CHAPLIN,

Mr. Fischer's statement is certainly extraordinary.[4] The Imperial Government could never have seen the full text of the

[1] Edited the Hindi section of *Indian Opinion* for some time from January 28, 1914; President of Indian Young Men's Association; was later known as Bhavani Dayal Sannyasi.

[2] This was published in the issue of 17-5-1913.

[3] The reference appears to be to Swami Shankeranand, who visited South Africa during 1908-10, and was again there at this time; *vide* Vol. IX.

[4] Moving the Immigrants' Restriction Bill for the second reading on April 30, Fischer had strongly defended the proposed legislation and the various other measures adopted by the South African Government to control Asiatic influx. *Indian Opinion* reported Fischer to have stated: " . . . complications had arisen through the coloured population in their midst, and thus they had, perhaps, to be more careful in regard to those who would come in, who

Bill. As before, in my opinion, the Union Government have merely cabled home a summary giving their interpretation of the debatable clauses. If so, they have obtained the Imperial Government's consent under false pretences. Be that as it may, I venture to state that if any of the existing rights as set forth in my letter[1] are disturbed and if the legal status as to marriage is not restored as it existed before the Searle judgment, passive resistance will undoubtedly revive and this time it is bound to be of a general character, i.e., it cannot be confined to the Transvaal. You may also have noticed that Indian women will actively participate in the struggle if the marriage question is not settled. I trust you do not mind my writing frankly in this matter.

May I thank you and the Unionist leaders for their sympathetic speeches at the second reading and may I hope that the same vigilance will be exercised by you and them during the remaining stages of the Bill ? I cannot help feeling that, if the Government will not grant all our demands, the best solution will be to amend the Transvaal law.

*I am,*
*Yours faithfully,*

From a photostat of the draft in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 5781

## *52. THE SECOND READING*

In spite of the unanimous opposition of the Unionist Party, the Immigration Bill has been read a second time without a division. The result would be considered astounding if we did not know the ways of the Botha Ministry. The Right Hon'ble Mr. Fischer has bought his second reading by promising to consider favourably the suggestions made by the Opposition for improving the Bill and by telling the House that he had secured the general approval

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were not of that civilization which they had in the country, and not best fitted to promote the best interests of South Africa. . . . With Europeans they in this country could assimilate. With Indians they could not. The large introduction of Indians into this country would give rise to grave economic, moral, social and political evils. . . . It was the intention of South Africa to exclude Asiatics. . . ." On the marriage question, he was reported to have said: " . . . what was recognized was that the marriage was according to the Roman-Dutch law, and according to the civilization to which South Africans belonged. That they should upset the code of marriage laws of this country was not to be acceded to. . . . "

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Secretary for Interior", pp. 29-30.

of the Imperial Government for his measure. We may expect lively debates and drastic amendments during the committee stage. But this may not serve our purpose in the least degree. Nothing but a total acceptance of our demands can satisfy us, and this not because we do not compromise but because there can be no question of compromise on points of existence or honour. Passive Resisters are under a vow not to accept anything in satisfaction of their demands if it disturbs existing rights. By their very constitution they are precluded from bargaining away the rights of others in order to save themselves the sufferings of imprisonment.

From Mr. Fischer's language, it is clear that he wants to egg on the Europeans of South Africa to rise against us, and us to offer passive resistance. Though the majority of the speakers during the debate spoke against his Bill and advised him to placate passive resisters, he gratuitously mentioned that the threat of passive resistance might make the Government to come to "plain terms". We wish they would. We certainly do not want ambiguity. And in pleading for general terms in an Immigration Bill, we do not countenance a subterfuge, as it has been called, but we ask for a continuance of the excellent part of the British Constitution which requires that, however persistent a bad practice may be, it shall not be incorporated into the law. In Lord Ampthill's words, theory should be sound, though one may fail to carry it out in practice. In theory, there is no such thing as a straight line that can be drawn, but because we draw a line that is only fairly but not quite straight, we are not supposed to have resorted to a subterfuge by having still the true, though theoretical, definition in view. To keep our theory right is to obey the law of our higher nature; to depart from it in practice is to concede the weakness of human nature. If, therefore, the Government wish to depart from the theory of the British Constitution to which they owe their very existence, they are welcome to do so; only, then, they will not have used "plain terms" but they will have avowed their enmity to the origin of their existence. And passive resisters who still cling to the beautiful vision of that Constitution are prepared to fight for making it a reality or die in the attempt.

*Indian Opinion*, 17-5-1913

CWMG-XII

## *53. GENERAL KNOWLEDGE ABOUT HEALTH [–XX]*

### 2. WATER TREATMENTS (CONTINUED)

After numerous experiments, a German named Kuhne has discovered that certain water treatments are most effective in a number of ailments. His book on this subject has been translated into many languages. Translations are available in India also. His thesis is that the stomach is the source of all disease. If there is excessive heat in the stomach, it erupts by way of boils on the skin or rheumatism or some such trouble, or as fever, causing the whole body to become hot. There were many before Kuhne to write on water treatments. There is a very old book called *Water Treatments*. But no one before Kuhne had laid the same emphasis as he did on the basic identity of diseases. No one had pointed out that all ailments had their origin in the stomach. It is not necessary for us to accept Kuhne's thesis as gospel truth, nor need we go into the details of the matter. But it seems quite certain that, in a large number of cases, Kuhne's diagnosis and treatment are correct. Thousands have found this by experience. The late magistrate of Durban, Mr. Titan, was struck down by paralysis after an attack of tetanus. Having tried various treatments without success, he was advised by someone to see Kuhne. He went to him, was completely cured and lived in Durban for many years after his return. He always advised people to try Kuhne's treatments. There is a clinic in Natal which gives his treatments. It is near Sweetwaters station. This is only one instance of its popularity; one can find many others.

Kuhne says that the excessive heat in the stomach can be removed by cooling, and for this purpose he advises a bath which will cool the stomach and the adjacent areas of the body. He has invented a special tin bath to make the process easy, but we can do without it. Oval tin tubs of 36 inches, more or less as may suit the patient, are readily available; one of these will do for a Kuhne bath. Three quarters of the tub should be filled with cold water and the patient should be placed in it so that his feet rest outside on a board and the upper part of the trunk also remains above the water-line. Only the portion from the navel to the thigh should be submerged. The patient must be naked in water. If he feels cold, the upper part of his trunk and his feet may be covered with blankets or he or she may wear a shirt or

a blouse, keeping it out of the water. This bath should be taken in a room which can let in light, air and sunshine and, in fact, does let them in while the bath is proceeding. After seating himself in the tub, the patient should rub his abdomen, under the water, with a rough towel or get it rubbed by an attendant. This kind of bath can be taken for 5 to 30 minutes or longer. Sometimes the relief is immediate. If the patient is suffering from gas, wind begins to pass or he begins to belch. If he has fever, his temperature is bound to fall by one or two degrees 5 minutes after the bath has commenced. He will have a free motion. An exhausted person will feel refreshed. One suffering from insomnia will feel relaxed and be able to sleep. One who is excessively drowsy becomes alert and lively. The reason why such seemingly opposite effects are produced has already been stated. Lethargy and insomnia are different results produced by the same cause; they are only apparently opposites. Both diarrhoea and constipation are similarly the results of indigestion. Some get diarrhoea while others get constipation. The bath has a highly beneficial effect on both conditions. Very old cases of piles are cured by this bath treatment in conjunction with correct dieting. If a person feels nausea, he will probably be cured immediately he starts the bath. The weak grow strong with it. Many have been cured of their rheumatism by this means. The bath is also excellent for haemorrhage and useful in cases of blood-poisoning. Anyone having a severe headache will get immediate relief with this bath. Kuhne himself thought that his baths were invaluable even in such terrible diseases as cancer. Pregnant women will have easier deliveries if they take these baths. It is a treatment that can be taken by children, by the young and the aged, by men and women.

There is another way of taking this bath which is unfailingly effective in certain ailments. It is called *the wet sheet pack*, which in Gujarati means "a bandage of wet cloth". The manner of treatment is as follows: Place a table or low seat, long enough for the patient to lie on full-length, if possible in the open air. Arrange on this four or more blankets according to the weather, so that they hang down on all sides. Spread over them two clean bed-sheets, long and thick, which have been soaked in cold water and wrung out. Place a pillow under the blankets for the head. The patient should then be stripped of all clothing, except a small handkerchief or cloth round his waist which may be retained if desired. He should be laid flat on his back between the sheets arranged as above, the arms hanging down

and the [lower] sheet and blankets wrapped round him from both sides, one over the other. The covering at the bottom should be carefully wrapped round his feet. If there is sunshine, a wet cloth should be placed on his head and face, leaving the nose uncovered in all cases. The patient will feel a momentary chill which will be immediately followed by a feeling of relief and comfortable warmth. He may remain in this condition for 5 minutes to an hour or more. By and by, the patient becomes so hot that he perspires. Frequently, he falls asleep at this stage. When he comes out of the wet sheets, he must immediately have a cold bath. This treatment is highly effective in many skin diseases. Eczema, ringworm, pimples, chickenpox, smallpox, simple boils, fever, etc., yield quickly to the "wet sheet pack". However severe the attack, smallpox can, in most cases, be cured by this treatment. An attack of rash is cured by taking one or two baths. The technique of taking or arranging this bath is easily learnt and everyone will discover its effectiveness in experience. During the bath, the dirt from the skin is deposited on the wet sheet. The latter should, therefore, never be used again by the same or another patient until it has been thoroughly washed in boiling water.

Finally, there is one point to be kept in mind about these water-treatments, that, if the bath is taken without proper attention to diet and exercise, it can never have full effect or may have no effect at all. If a man suffering from arthritis takes the Kuhne bath or "wet sheet pack" but eats unsuitable food, does not breathe fresh air, lives in dirty surroundings and takes no exercise, he cannot hope to benefit from the treatment alone. It can be of help only if other rules of health are duly observed. There is no doubt whatever that, if they are, water treatment will help the patient to a most speedy recovery.

[From Gujarati]
*Indian Opinion*, 17-5-1913

## 54. LETTER TO SECRETARY FOR INTERIOR[1]

[PHŒNIX,]
*May 19, 1913*[2]

SIR,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 9th instant in reply to my letter of the 30th ultimo.

I observe that the Hon'ble the Minister resents any reference to passive resistance.[3] I am sorry but the reference as a statement of facts was inevitable. There was no desire to use any threats. Revival of passive resistance is no threat but a certainty, should the Government unfortunately find it impossible or be reluctant to carry out the sacred promise made by the predecessor, in office, of the Hon'ble the Minister. The promise was made in the name of the Government and in its name it was repeated last year. Everyone of the points raised by the Association arises out of the terms of the provisional settlement. Moreover, I am constrained to point out that the policy hitherto pursued by the Government in administering the existing legislation affecting the community represented by my Association is wholly at variance with the "desire" expressed in your letter not to treat that community in any but an entirely fair manner! My countrymen consider not only not fair but harsh and unjust the treatment meted to wives who wish to join their husbands in South Africa or minor children who wish to join their parents, or to those, as in Natal, who want to re-enter on the strength of previous residence or to those, as in the Cape, who try to re-enter after the expiry of the period mentioned in their permits of absence or to those who want temporary permits to enter the Transvaal. It may be added that, if the community in the Transvaal has not been altogether extinguished under the combined effect of the Gold Laws and the Townships Act, it has to thank the Supreme Court and not the Government who so ungenerously attempted to

[1] The letter was sent over the signature of A. M. Cachalia. The correspondence was published in *Indian Opinion*, 24-5-1913.

[2] This is the date assigned by *Indian Opinion*; the draft is undated.

[3] The Secretary of the Interior, in his letter dated May 9, had written: "It is a matter of great regret to Mr. Fischer that, in referring to the draft Immigration Bill, your Association and other representative bodies in the Indian community have seen fit to threaten to revive the passive resistance movement."

read a meaning into the Acts which they did not bear. Even the marriage trouble is due entirely to the deliberately hostile policy of the Government. They could have avoided the ruling of the Court by simply allowing the only wife of the applicant in South Africa to join her husband. It will thus be seen that any pressure that could be put upon the Government by the European community cannot, in my humble opinion, result in greater cruelty being practised upon my community, short of its utter annihilation. And if passive resistance, i.e., self-inflicted suffering of my community, should prompt measures to destroy its existence in South Africa, I doubt not that it will prefer such destruction to a destruction of its honour, its religious sentiments and its self-respect.

*I have*, [*etc.*,]

From a photostat of the draft in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 5755

## 55. *LETTER TO SECRETARY FOR INTERIOR*[1]

[PHŒNIX,]
*May 19, 1913*

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 9th instant, in reply to mine of the 14th ultimo[2] regarding the validity of Indian marriages.

My Committee had, it was thought, made it clear that, in its request, it had not raised the question of polygamy, which could be treated on its merits. What the Searle judgment does is to disregard marriages contracted in India or in South Africa in accordance with the rites prescribed by Indian faiths. I beg to inform the Hon'ble the Minister that the religious ceremonies in India do not mention polygamy, nor do all Indian faiths necessarily recognize polygamy. All my Association asks for is that monogamous marriages celebrated in India or in South Africa according to the ceremonies prescribed by the great Indian faiths may be lawfully recognized, as they were before the Searle judgment. Where my countrymen bring or have more than one wife, the indulgence promised in the Government communication may be exercised till the time is ripe for legal recognition of such marriages.

[1] This letter was signed by A. M. Cachalia.
[2] *Vide* "Letter to Secretary for Interior", pp. 26-7.

I do respectfully hope that the position taken up by my Association has now been made clear.

*Indian Opinion*, 24-5-1913

## *56. THE BILL*

The Immigration Bill promises to become the law of the land, if one may judge from the considerable progress made by it in Committee since Monday last. Mr. Fischer, in spite of his unsatisfactory letter to Mr. Cachalia which we reproduce this week, has seen the error of his ways and actually himself moved amendments which, in his telegraphic and other communications, he evinced no desire to do. The amendments include the restoration of the existing rights of inter-provincial migration under the Cape and the Natal laws, also of the rights of domiciled Indians whose right to return after three years' absence was threatened. The exact effect of the amendments it is impossible to ascertain unless we have the full text thereof before us.

Mr. Alexander, who has been working so disinterestedly and zealously for all causes which are neglected or unpopular owing to the colour prejudice, moved a reasonable amendment which would probably have met our demand on the marriage law, and was met with a fishy and misleading reply from the Minister, although Mr. Chaplin supported Mr. Alexander in a well-informed speech. The Minister threw dust in the eyes of the Members by stating that we had declined to accept a Marriage Officer as we wanted polygamy recognized in South Africa. It has been made perfectly clear that the Searle judgment invalidates every non-Christian Indian marriage if it is not registered. No appointment of a Marriage Officer can meet this difficulty unless Indians are to be expected to register existing marriages and thus impliedly admit their illegality prior to registration—a position which no Indian would humiliate himself by accepting. Nor would such appointment meet the difficulty of wives who may come from India. The Transvaal Marriage Law provides for legal recognition of European marriages, no matter how celebrated in Europe in the following terms:

> All marriages entered into outside this state by persons of whom one or both were not at the time of entering into such marriage resident within this state shall be recognized and considered to be equally valid in this state as in the country where such marriages shall have been solemnized, and should the legality of such marriages be questioned by

> any heirs or other interested parties, the same may be proved in any court of law by producing the marriage registers or certificates, if it should be customary to keep such registers in such country, or to grant certificates thereof, or by producing duly authenticated copies thereof, or by witnesses, or any other means of proof admissible by law in all other ordinary cases.

Presumably, such marriages may, therefore, well be even polygamous; they may be performed according to any rites. Why should not the same recognition be vouchsafed to Indian marriages?

Moreover, Mr. Fischer has evidently not studied Mr. Justice Gardiner's recent judgment. According to that judgment, an Indian wife, unless her marriage is registered, is not exempt from liability to give evidence against her husband. Here, at least, there was not even a suspicion of the question of polygamy arising. But the fact is that Mr. Fischer does not scruple as to how he misleads the House when he has to deal with an awkward situation.

So it may be that the Immigration Bill now in Committee may come out of it satisfying all our demands but the one about marriage. Mr. Fischer proposes to deal with the marriage difficulty administratively. In the words of *The Natal Mercury* parliamentary correspondent, "the objection to the administrative solution is, of course, that it reduces the title of the domiciled Indian to import a wife from a right to a favour—one, moreover, which is dependent on the discretion or caprice of an official". We warn Mr. Fischer that, *even if this question is the only one left unsolved, revival of passive resistance is a certainty.*

*Indian Opinion*, 24-5-1913

## 57. *GENERAL KNOWLEDGE ABOUT HEALTH [-XXI]*

### 3. EARTH CURES

We have learnt something about water treatments. In some cases, earth cures, have shown even more spectacular results. Our bodies are made up largely of earth; it is, therefore, not surprising that earth should have an effect on us. All people regard earth as something sacred. The ground is coated with mud to destroy odours, earth is sprinkled over refuse, dirty hands are cleansed with earth, the private parts can also be wiped clean with earth. Yogis coat their bodies with mud. The original inhabitants of this country [Africa] apply mud to boils. We filter water through sand or earth in order to purify it. Finally, dead bodies buried in earth will not pollute the air. Such, we observe, is the undoubted

excellence of earth. From this we may make a fair guess that earth, probably, has some highly beneficial qualities peculiar to itself.

Just as Kuhne gave much thought to water and said many useful things about it, another German named Juste has written about earth. He goes to the extent of saying that even incurable diseases may yield to earth treatment. He reports how once, in a neighbouring village, a man bitten by a snake and even given up as dead by many was brought to him on someone's advice. Juste placed him under earth and the man soon regained consciousness. This is not an impossible thing to have happened. Juste had no reason to tell a lie. It is obvious that great heat will be generated in anyone buried under earth. We have no means of discovering how the invisible bacteria in the earth act upon the body; it does seem, however, that earth has the power to absorb poisons. By citing Juste's illustration, it is not of course intended to suggest that every case of snake-bite can be cured by earth treatment, but it should certainly be tried on such occasions. The suggestion that earth should be used for bee and scorpion stings is easier to accept. I have myself tried it on such stings and found that immediate relief followed. For this purpose, a stiff paste made of earth soaked in cold water is applied on the affected part, which is then bandaged.

The illustrations that follow are from my personal experience. A patient suffering from dysentery was cured in two or three days by the application of a mud pack to his abdomen. Immediate relief has been obtained by this method in cases of headache. Inflammation of the eyes is cured by placing a mud pack just over the affected eyes. Swelling brought about by blows is relieved. For a number of years I could keep well only if I took fruit salt, etc. I learnt of the efficacy of earth treatment in 1904, since when I have never had to take fruit salt. For anyone suffering from constipation, the application of mud packs to the abdomen is found to be highly beneficial. Stomach-ache also is relieved in this way. Diarrhoea can also be cured by a mud pack. High fever is reduced in an hour or two by tying mud packs to the stomach and the forehead. Boils, the itch, eczema, etc., often yield to treatment by mud pack. However, once pus is formed in the boils, mud packs are found to be of little use. In the case of burns, the immediate application of mud pack reduces pain and prevents swelling. Piles yield to the mud pack. As a result of frost, the hand and feet often become red and swollen. Mud packs are a sure remedy for this condition. Mud has been found to be good for eczema. For pain in the joints, the application of mud brings immediate relief.

From these numerous experiments with mud packs, I have come to the conclusion that as a house-hold remedy mud is invaluable.

Every kind of earth is not equally efficacious. Red earth has been found to be particularly effective. The earth to be used should always be dug out from a clean spot. Earth containing a mixture of dung, etc., should not be used. It should not be excessively sticky. Earth which is partly sandy and partly sticky is excellent. It should be altogether free from grass or roots. It is sometimes advisable to strain the earth through a fine sieve. It must always be mixed with cold water and the paste should be of the consistency of dough. It should normally be placed in a clean unstarched piece of cloth and applied like a poultice to the affected part. The pack should be removed before the mud is about to dry up. A pack usually lasts for two or three hours. Mud from a used pack should not be used again. The cloth, however, may be used after washing, provided there was no pus on it. When mud is applied to the abdomen, a warm cloth should be placed over the pack and then the whole thing tied with a bandage. One should have a tin of earth handy so that it can be used whenever necessary and one does not have to go hunting for it in emergency. In case of scorpion stings, etc., the earlier the mud is applied the better.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 24-5-1913

## 58. TELEGRAM TO DRUMMOND CHAPLIN AND OTHERS

[PHŒNIX,
*May 24, 1913*][1]

DRUMMOND CHAPLIN
PATRICK DUNCAN
SIR DAVID HUNTER
THEO SCHREINER
RIGHT HON'BLE MERRIMAN
MORRIS ALEXANDER
PARLIAMENT HOUSE
CAPE TOWN

MINISTER'S STATEMENT INDIANS DEMAND LEGAL RECOGNITION POLYGAMY WRONG STOP INDIANS DEMAND ONLY LEGAL RECOGNITION NON-CHRISTIAN INDIAN MARRIAGES CELEBRATED INDIA OR SOUTH AFRICA STOP APPOINTMENT MARRIAGE OFFICERS CAN ONLY MEET CASES FUTURE MARRIAGES AND THEN ONLY MARRIAGES CELEBRATED SOUTH AFRICA STOP TRANSVAAL MARRIAGE LAW 1871 SPECIALLY RECOGNIZES ALL EUROPEAN MARRIAGES CELEBRATED EUROPE NO MATTER WHAT FORM STOP SIMILAR PROVISION FOR INDIAN MARRIAGES WOULD MEET CASE STOP DRAW ATTENTION ALSO FACT AMENDMENTS CARRIED COMMITTEE DO NOT INCLUDE PROTECTION RIGHTS ENTER CAPE OF INDIANS BORN SOUTH AFRICA UNDER SECTION 4 SUB-SECTION 'F' PARA 'A' CAPE ACT 30 OF 1906 STOP NOR DO THEY SOLVE FREE STATE DIFFICULTY THEORETICAL RIGHT STOP SUBMIT THAT IF EXISTING RIGHTS DISTURBED OR FREE STATE AND MARRIAGE DIFFICULTY LEFT UNSOLVED PASSIVE RESISTANCE CERTAINTY.[2]

From a photostat of the handwritten draft: S. N. 5784

[1] The draft is undated. It, however, appears from the telegram dated May 24 addressed to Marshall Campbell, *vide* the following item, that this was also sent the same day.

[2] In reply to this, Patrick Duncan sent the following telegram on May 26: "Your telegram. Difficult to see how to avoid recognition polygamous marriages if legal recognition granted Indian non-Christian marriages."

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## 59. TELEGRAM TO MARSHALL CAMPBELL

[PHŒNIX,]
*May 24, 1913*

SENATOR MARSHALL CAMPBELL
CAPE TOWN

THANKS YOUR WIRE IF TAX REMOVED THIS SESSION IT WOULD SAVE GOVERNMENT DISCREDIT AND DISGRACE. FOR INDIANS IT WOULD BE MEASURE TARDY JUSTICE. HAVE WIRED ALEXANDER SAYING MARRIAGE AMENDMENT DOES NOT MEET CASE HARDLY ANY INDIAN MARRIAGE IS REGISTERED IN INDIA. AMENDMENT THEREFORE WILL GRANT NO RELIEF UNLESS REGISTRATION CLAUSE TAKEN OUT. ALEXANDER UNAWARE INDIAN LAW AND CUSTOM. IF MINISTER'S ASSURANCE TO YOU MEANS ANYTHING HE WILL NO DOUBT EVEN NOW AMEND BILL TO RECOGNIZE VALIDITY INDIAN MARRIAGES TO RESTORE RIGHT SOUTH AFRICA-BORN INDIAN[S] ENTER CAPE AND PRESERVE ALL EXISTING RIGHTS FEW AS THEY ARE. PASSIVE RESISTERS CANNOT ACCEPT COMPROMISE FOR SAKE SAVING THEMSELVES IMPRISONMENT OR WORSE IF THEY ARE CALLED UPON ACCEPT SURRENDER OF OTHER PEOPLE'S RIGHTS. YOU WILL EARN GRATITUDE OF HELPLESS PEOPLE IF YOU SUCCEED MAKING GOVERNMENT RENDER JUSTICE AND HONOUR THEIR OWN PROMISES. PLEASE WIRE COMMUNICATIONS PHŒNIX.

GANDHI

From a photostat of the handwritten draft: S. N. 5786

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## 60. TELEGRAM TO PATRICK DUNCAN

[PHŒNIX,]
*May 27, 1913*

PATRICK DUNCAN
CAPE TOWN

THANKS WIRE[1] AMENDMENT MAY RECOGNIZE ONLY ONE WIFE IN LAW AS JUSTICE WESSELS DID JUSSAT CASE. AMENDMENT ACCEPTED YESTERDAY BY MINISTER NOT SUFFICIENT AS IT CONTEMPLATES REGISTRATION IN ADDITION CELEBRATION ACCORDING RELIGIOUS RITES STOP THERE IS NO SYSTEM REGISTRATION MARRIAGES INDIA.

GANDHI

From a photostat of the draft in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 5792

## 61. TELEGRAM TO MINISTER OF INTERIOR

[PHŒNIX,]
*May 27, 1913*

INTERIOR
CAPE TOWN

INVITE MINISTERS ATTENTION TRANSVAAL MARRIAGE LAW 1871 WHICH RECOGNIZES EUROPEAN MARRIAGES CELEBRATED OUTSIDE SOUTH AFRICA NO MATTER UNDER WHAT FORM STOP SIMILAR PROVISION CAN MEET INDIAN CASE STOP BEG STATE INDIANS DO NOT DEMAND LEGAL RECOGNITION POLYGAMY. AMENDMENTS CARRIED DO NOT APPEAR PROTECT RIGHTS SOUTH AFRICA-BORN INDIANS ENTER CAPE UNDER SECTION 4 SUB-SECTION 'F' PARA 'A' CAPE ACT 30 OF 1906 NOR DOES FREE STATE DIFFICULTY THEORETICAL RIGHT APPEAR REMOVED STOP SUBMIT RISK

[1] *Vide* footnote 2 to "Telegram to Drummond Chaplin and Others", p. 82.

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OFFENDING MINISTER THAT PASSIVE RESISTANCE CERTAINTY IF QUESTIONS INCLUDED PROVISIONAL SETTLEMENT LEFT UNSOLVED ACCORDANCE THEREWITH.[1]

GANDHI

From a photostat of the handwritten draft: S. N. 5793

## 62. *TELEGRAM TO SIR DAVID HUNTER*

[PHŒNIX,
*May 27, 1913*]

SIR DAVID HUNTER
CAPE TOWN

THANKS WIRE[2] AND SYMPATHY [STOP] UNFORTUNATELY AMENDMENT ACCEPTED NOT ENOUGH AS IT CONTEMPLATES REGISTRATION STOP THERE IS NO SYSTEM REGISTRATION INDIA STOP REGISTRATION CLAUSE TOTALLY UNNECESSARY AND DOES NOT OCCUR TRANSVAAL LAW REFERRED TO MY TELEGRAM[3] OF YESTERDAY STOP OTHER POINTS ALSO NOT YET MET.

GANDHI

From a photostat of the draft in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 5796

[1] The Minister replied the same day that the amendment recognizing Indian marriages was accepted on the assurance from Sir David Hunter and others that it would "entirely meet the case" of Indians, the point regarding entry into the Cape was a new one, and the question of intermigration referred to in correspondence of February 1912 was fully met. Asking for elucidation of the point regarding the Free State, the Minister hoped there would be no further reference to passive resistance.

[2] This was dated May 26. It read: "Government this day accepted amendment which puts marriage question right. The Bill has now passed second and third readings and I think we may heartily congratulate ourselves upon the concessions obtained by the friends of the Indians."

[3] This is not available; *vide*, however, "Telegram to Drummond Chaplin and Others", p. 82.

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## 63. TELEGRAM TO SCHREINER AND CAMPBELL

[PHŒNIX,
*May 27, 1913*]

SENATOR SCHREINER
SENATOR MARSHALL CAMPBELL
CAPE TOWN

IMMIGRATION BILL NOW BEFORE SENATE FAILS CARRY OUT PROVISIONAL SETTLEMENT OF 1911 ARRIVED AT BY GENERAL SMUTS WITH INDIAN COMMUNITY STOP IT TAKES AWAY RIGHT SOUTH AFRICA-BORN INDIANS ENTER CAPE UNDER PARA 'A' SUB-SECTION 'F' —SECTION 4 OF CAPE ACT 30 OF 1906 STOP BILL AS AMENDED YESTERDAY DOES NOT SOLVE MARRIAGE DIFFICULTY AS IT REQUIRES REGISTRATION MARRIAGES STOP THERE IS NO SYSTEM REGISTRATION INDIA STOP TRANSVAAL MARRIAGE LAW RECOGNIZES MARRIAGES EUROPEANS OUTSIDE SOUTH AFRICA NO MATTER WHAT FORM [STOP] SIMILAR PROVISION REGARDING INDIAN MARRIAGES WILL MEET CASE STOP PROVISO MAY BE ADDED EFFECT POLYGAMY WILL NOT BE RECOGNIZED BY LAW STOP AM NOT AWARE WHETHER BILL NOW PROTECTS NATAL INDIANS' RIGHTS RETURN ON PROOF OF THREE YEARS' RESIDENCE NATAL STOP SETTLEMENT CONTEMPLATES THAT THERE SHALL BE NO RACIAL BAR IMMIGRATION BILL STOP PRESENT BILL SEEMS BREAK THIS CONDITION BY REQUIRING INDIANS MAKE DECLARATION NOT REQUIRED FROM OTHERS STOP IF THIS REQUIREMENT IS WAIVED FREE STATE DIFFICULTY MAY BE SOLVED THOUGH INDIANS SO ENTERING WILL STILL BE LIABLE DISABILITY HOLD LAND OR TRADE OR FARM STOP HOPE YOU WILL SEE YOUR WAY EFFECTIVELY INTERVENE TO HAVE SETTLEMENT CARRIED OUT THUS PREVENTING REVIVAL PASSIVE RESISTANCE.

GANDHI

From a photostat of the draft in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 5805

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## 64. TELEGRAM TO MINISTER OF INTERIOR

[PHŒNIX,]
*May 27, 1913*[1]

INTERIOR
[CAPE TOWN]

BEG THANK MINISTER FOR CONCILIATORY TONE MESSAGE STOP HAVE NO DESIRE HURT FEELINGS BY REFERENCE PASSIVE RESISTANCE STOP YESTERDAY'S AMENDMENT WILL NOT SOLVE MARRIAGE DIFFICULTY AS IT CONTEMPLATES REGISTRATION IN ADDITION RELIGIOUS CELEBRATION STOP THERE IS NO SYSTEM REGISTRATION INDIA STOP AMENDMENT AFTER TRANSVAAL SECTION QUOTED MY WIRE YESTERDAY WOULD MEET CASE STOP MARRIAGES RECOGNIZED AS LAWFUL INDIA SHOULD BE RECOGNIZED HERE SO FAR AS ONE WIFE IS CONCERNED STOP IT IS TRUE NO MENTION WAS MADE ABOUT SOUTH AFRICA-BORN INDIANS BECAUSE OF MY OVERSIGHT OF PARTICULAR SECTION CAPE ACT BUT SETTLEMENT IS BASED UPON MY LETTER[2] 22ND APRIL 1911 SPECIALLY MAINTAINING EXISTING RIGHTS AND GENERAL SMUTS' REPLY SAME DATE STOP COMMUNITY COULD NEVER CONTEMPLATE SURRENDER EXISTING RIGHTS STOP MEMBERS WHO SPOKE DURING DEBATE I FEAR SPOKE IN IGNORANCE BELIEVING THERE WAS NEW MOVE INTRODUCE SOUTH AFRICA-BORN INDIANS CAPE STOP THERE NEVER HAS BEEN ANY LARGE DESIRE NATAL-BORN INDIANS ENTER CAPE BUT IT IS INCONCEIVABLE THEY SHOULD BE DEPRIVED RIGHT POSSESSED BY THEM FOR YEARS STOP MATTER SPECIALLY MENTIONED HON'BLE GOKHALE STOP APART FROM REMOVAL RACIAL BAR ESSENCE COMPROMISE IS THAT EXISTING RIGHTS SHOULD BE MAINTAINED STOP REGARDING FREE STATE CLAIM THAT THERE SHOULD BE NO LEGAL RACIAL DISCRIMINATION AGAINST INDIANS AS TO IMMIGRATION STOP EDUCATED IMMIGRANTS SHOULD THEREFORE NOT

[1] *Indian Opinion*, 7-6-1913, published this telegram as dated May 28. It is likely that it was drafted on May 27 and dispatched the following day.

[2] *Vide* Vol. XI, pp. 38-40.

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BE LIABLE MAKE DECLARATION SECTION EIGHT CHAPTER THIRTY-THREE FREE STATE LAW STOP THIS POINT WAS CLEARLY BROUGHT OUT LAST YEAR'S CORRESPONDENCE [STOP] WITHOUT SEEING BILL AMENDED FORM IMPOSSIBLE SAY WHETHER OTHER POINTS SATISFACTORILY MET STOP IF BILL WILL TAKE TIME BEFORE BEING CONSIDERED BY SENATE AND IF MINISTER DESIRE MY PRESENCE IN ORDER FACILITATE DISCUSSION AND ARRIVE AT SETTLEMENT WILL BE PLEASED COME AND WAIT UPON HIM STOP PRAY ASSURE MINISTER MY EARNEST DESIRE IS ASSIST GOVERNMENT COME TO LASTING SOLUTION CONSISTENTLY WITH HONOUR MY COUNTRYMEN.[1]

GANDHI

From a photostat of the draft in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 5795

## *65. TELEGRAM TO MORRIS ALEXANDER*

[PHŒNIX,]
*May 29, 1913*

ADVOCATE ALEXANDER
PARLIAMENT
CAPE TOWN

THANKS WIRE[2] AM WIRING[3] SENATOR SCHREINER REGISTRATION INDIA SUPERFLUOUS AS INDIAN MARRIAGES PERFORMED WITH GREAT SOLEMNITY AND PROLONGED CEREMONIAL. DURING PROLONGED EXPERIENCE HAVE NOT KNOWN SINGLE INSTANCE UNDESIRABLE INDIAN WOMEN HAVING ENTERED SOUTH AFRICA.

GANDHI

From a photostat of the handwritten draft: S. N. 5802

[1] In a reply on May 29, *vide* Appendix V (1), the Minister held out no hope that Parliament would alter the provisions of the Bill on the points raised by Gandhiji. That the Government, however, was keen on averting a revival of passive resistance is borne out by the Governor-General's confidential despatch to the Colonial Office; *vide* Appendix V (2).

[2] Dated May 28, it read: "Your wire. Have consulted with Senator Schreiner. Telegraph him what you suggest in absence of registration to prevent immigration of undesirable women. Why cannot Indian Government be petitioned to provide for registration."

[3] *Vide* the following item.

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## 66. TELEGRAM TO SENATOR SCHREINER

[PHŒNIX,]
*May 29, 1913*

SENATOR SCHREINER
PARLIAMENT
CAPE TOWN

ALEXANDER SUGGESTS MY WIRING WHAT I THINK WILL MEET CASE IN ABSENCE OF REGISTRATION MARRIAGES TO PREVENT ENTRY UNDESIRABLE WOMEN. THINK REGISTRATION INDIA SUPERFLUOUS BECAUSE INDIAN MARRIAGES CELEBRATED WITH GREAT SOLEMNITY AND PROLONGED CEREMONIAL. MOREOVER DANGER ENTRY UNDESIRABLE INDIAN WOMEN VERY REMOTE. DURING LONG EXPERIENCE HAVE NOT KNOWN SINGLE CASE OF SUCH INDIAN WOMEN HAVING ENTERED SOUTH AFRICA ALTHOUGH BEFORE SEARLE JUDGMENT INDIAN WOMEN ENTERED FREELY UPON HUSBANDS' MERE VERBAL STATEMENT. AMENDMENT AS IT STANDS ENTIRELY USELESS FOR PROTECTION INDIAN WIVES.

GANDHI

From a photostat of the handwritten draft: S. N. 5803

## 67. TELEGRAM TO SENATOR SCHREINER

PHŒNIX,
*May 30, [1913]*

SENATOR SCHREINER
CAPE TOWN

THANKS WIRE DID NOT COMMUNICATE EARLIER AS I HESITATED WORRY YOU UNLESS ABSOLUTELY OBLIGED. LETTERS EXCHANGED BETWEEN GEN. SMUTS MYSELF 22ND APRIL 1911 FORMED BASES PROVISIONAL SETTLEMENT PUBLISHED 29TH APRIL 1911 "INDIAN OPINION". AM WIRING PARTY HAND YOU COPY PROBABLY OBTAINABLE "CAPE TIMES". OFFICE INTERIOR HAS FULL CORRESPONDENCE SEE ALSO IMPERIAL GOVERNMENT BLUE BOOK NO. C.D. 5579 DATE — MARCH 1911 PARTI-

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CULARLY PAGE SEVENTEENTH IN WHICH MR. HARCOURT TELEGRAPHED ANY SOLUTION WHICH PREJUDICED OR WEAKENED PRESENT POSITION OF INDIANS CAPE COLONY AND NATAL WOULD NOT BE ACCEPTABLE TO HIS MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT. MR. FISCHER HAS TELEGRAPHED TO ME TAKING UP IMPOSSIBLE POSITION OF SAYING SOUTH AFRICA-BORN INDIANS ARE TO BE DEPRIVED OF RIGHT EXISTING UNDER PRESENT CAPE ACT OF ENTERING CAPE WITHOUT TEST. AS TO MARRIAGES THERE IS AMPLE REGISTRATION BY PRIESTS LIKE KAJEES AND CERTIFICATES FROM HEADMEN OF DIFFERENT CASTES COULD ALWAYS BE PRODUCED. MAGISTRATES INDIA ARE NOT AUTHORIZED OR OBLIGED GRANT CERTIFICATES SUCH AS YOU MENTION. IN RECENT CASE BOMBAY MAGISTRATE DECLARED INABILITY GRANT SUCH CERTIFICATE FOR ABOVE REASONS. AMENDMENT SHOULD REQUIRE EVIDENCE SUCH AS IS OBTAINABLE AND RECOGNIZED IN PLACE OF CELEBRATION MARRIAGE SUCH IS CLAUSE MARRIAGE LAW TRANSVAAL 1871 REFERRED BY ME PREVIOUS TELEGRAM[1].

GANDHI

From a photostat of the handwritten draft: S. N. 5806

## 68. *TELEGRAM TO MINISTER OF INTERIOR*

[PHŒNIX,]
*May 30, 1913*

INTERIOR
CAPE TOWN

WHILST I BEG TO THANK MINISTER FOR EXHAUSTIVE REPLY[2], FEEL BOUND RESPECTFULLY TO POINT OUT THAT AMENDMENTS SO FAR CARRIED DO NOT SETTLE OUTSTANDING QUESTIONS. AM CONVINCED THAT THE MARRIAGE AMENDMENT REQUIRING AS IT DOES THE IMPOSSIBLE CONDITION OF REGISTRATION IS TOTALLY USELESS. IF THEREFORE GOVERNMENT CANNOT

[1] *Vide* "Telegram to Schreiner and Campbell", p. 86.
[2] *Vide* Appendix V (1).

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SEE THEIR WAY TO REMOVE REGISTRATION CLAUSE IT WOULD CERTAINLY BE MORE HONEST TO WITHDRAW THE AMENDMENT. AS FOR SOUTH AFRICA-BORN INDIANS IF ORIGINAL DRAFT HAD RESPECTED EXISTING RIGHTS NO QUESTION WOULD HAVE ARISEN AT THE CAPE. THERE WAS CERTAINLY NO PUBLIC DEMAND FOR A UNION IMMIGRATION BILL. INDIAN DIFFICULTY COULD BE MET BY MERE AMENDMENT OF THE TRANSVAAL IMMIGRATION LAW. THEN INDIANS COULD NOT RAISE CAPE, NATAL, FREE STATE POINTS WHICH THEY ARE BOUND TO DO NOW WHEN CONSIDERING UNION BILL. BUT IF EUROPEAN PUBLIC OR GOVERNMENT DESIRE PASSIVE RESISTERS TO SELL EXISTING RIGHTS OF THEIR BRETHREN FOR GAINING FREEDOM FROM IMPRISONMENT OR WORSE, THEY MUST RESPECTFULLY DECLINE TO ACCEPT A BARGAIN SO DISHONOURABLE TO THEM. PRESENT BILL NOT AN ORDINARY BILL WHERE PARLIAMENT MAY LEGISLATE WITH FREEDOM. GOVERNMENT IF THEY WISH TO CARRY OUT TERMS OF THE SETTLEMENT CAN ONLY BRING IN A MEASURE CONSISTENT WITH ITS TERMS AND ARE IN MY HUMBLE OPINION, IN HONOUR, BOUND TO WITHDRAW IT, IF PARLIAMENT WILL NOT ACCEPT IT. I TRUST THAT MINISTER WILL EXCUSE THE FRANKNESS WITH WHICH I HAVE TAKEN THE LIBERTY TO EXPRESS MY SENTIMENTS.

GANDHI

From a photostat of the handwritten draft with corrections in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 5807

## 69. LETTER TO JAMNADAS GANDHI

*Vaishakh Vad 10* [*May 30, 1913*][1]

CHI. JAMNADAS[2],

Once again, I have not been able to write to you as I had hoped to, so busy I keep. Since I have had two letters from you, I write this. I shall not be able to write much, though.

I find no harsh words in your letter.

I don't see how you can join the struggle, since neither Maganlal[3] nor anyone else from here can go [to India]. Chhaganlal[4] or Maganlal will write to you about all these matters. I should certainly like you to be with us. But how can we always get what we want?

I return herewith the relevant part of your letter, with your questions serially numbered, so that I have less to write and yet you could follow [the answers].

1. [If there is no God, how can there be *moksha*? What is the meaning of *moksha*?][5]

To ask how there can be *moksha* if there is no God is to fail to understand *moksha*. We can grasp only a part of the meaning of *moksha*; the rest must be experienced; it cannot be put into words. We have no organs with which to describe it. In so far as we can understand, it means deliverance from having to assume an endless succession of various bodies, and from the resultant suffering. There is no need, however, to deny the existence of God. We may try to define God in accordance with the limits of our knowledge.

At any rate, God is no dispenser of rewards and punishments, nor is He an active agent. But, if one *atman*[6] can be conceived after the embodied *atmans* have become free, it is God. He is no material thing, but pure consciousness. This is also the

[1] This appears to have been written after Jamnadas Gandhi left South Africa for India in December 1912.

[2] Son of Khushalchand Gandhi, Gandhiji's cousin

[3] & [4] Addressee's elder brothers

[5] The questions have been supplied from *Mahatma Gandhijina Patro*.

[6] The Self, not identifiable with any aspect of human individuality

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view of the *advaitavadins*[1]. At no time and in no circumstances do we need a kinglike God. By thinking that we do, we put a limit to the power of the *atman*, which is infinite.

2. The same distorted meanings, and as many of them, have been and are being read in the Bible as in any other holy book. Those who level charges against Tolstoy are ignorant. I do not know the truth about Marie Corelli[2]. But to describe her as a witch is sheer ignorance.

3. [What should I do if, though I would not injure a cow and have never done so, I am attacked by one even when I am not in her way? What could be the reason for my being thus attacked?]

If we are attacked by a cow, it must be because we fear cows and other creatures and so the fault is ours. All fear is of the nature of a moral weakness and, so long as we are subject to it, we shall always have to face such misfortunes. While we fear cows, we should take care not to stand in the way of any. If accidentally we find ourselves doing so, we should put up with the injuries. By hitting the cow, we shall do no service to ourselves or to her.

4. [How can one say that a tiger will not kill a man living in his den without fear?]

A tiger will never eat up a man who, on occasion, lives in his den without any fear whatever. In what circumstances he might do so, would need to be considered.

5. I do not in the least approve of the European custom in regard to marriages. When a young man is to be married, wisdom lies in the parents choosing [the bride]. This is true for any young man, even a man of 25 or older. Of course, the parents will consult him.

6. [Did or did not Dharmaraja[3] commit a sin in declaring that Ashvatthama was killed? Why did Lord Krishna advise him to say this?]

The only lesson I draw is that even a Dharmaraja may stumble, so that we too should be on our guard. If we believe that a Shri Krishna in the body advised a Yudhisthira in the body, there

[1] Those who hold the view that the *atman*, the Self in man, is not distinct from the *Brahman*, the Absolute

[2] (1864-1924); celebrated novelist

[3] In the battle of Kurukshetra, Yudhishthira, eldest of the Pandava heroes in the *Mahabharata* and known for his absolute truthfulness, was prevailed upon to say within Dronacharya's hearing: "Ashvatthama is killed." Ashvatthama was the name of Dronacharya's son and also that of an elephant. In fact, only the elephant had been slain. Dronacharya, who had proved invincible as leader of the Kaurava host, laid down his arms on hearing that his son was dead.

is no harm in conceding that Shri Krishna was not perfect. If we look upon Shri Krishna as the Supreme Being, the entire episode will have to be interpreted symbolically. One will then read in it a meaning which accords with one's moral principles. The *shastras*[1] need not be regarded as infallible. We will never go wrong if, having got hold of the inviolable principles of morality, we interpret the *shastras* in the light of these principles and then are guided by them.

7. [Is it necessary that there should be only one religion for the whole world?]

Personally, I think the world as a whole will never have, and need not have, a single religion.

8. There is no such rule that all wholesome foods can be taken irrespective of one's condition. Food which is wholesome for a labourer cannot be so for a tubercular patient.

I have no more time now, but this answers one of your letters. You have committed many grammatical mistakes in the letter to Miss Schlesin. I asked Chhaganlal to keep a copy. If he has done so, I shall correct and return it.

*Blessings from*
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5646
Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

## *70. THE OUTLOOK*

It is difficult to state definitely the position that now faces our countrymen under Mr. Fischer's Bill. It must be admitted that some amendments (we refuse to call them concessions) in the right direction have, undoubtedly, been made. But much more must be done if there is to be no revival of passive resistance, and if there is to be even a bare fulfilment of the terms of the provisional settlement of 1911. Not a single existing right can be surrendered. Passive resisters may not—dare not—buy peace and freedom from imprisonment at the cost of the rights of others. And yet the right of South Africa-born Indians to enter the Cape, which they possess today in virtue of the Cape Immigration Act of 1906, is being taken away by the Bill. South Africa-born Indians, i.e., in practice, the Natal-born Indians, are not pining to go to the Cape. They rarely evinced any such desire throughout all these

[1] Holy books other than those regarded as revelation

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years. But they will certainly not give up on that account the right they possess of being able to enter the Cape. Nor can passive resisters be party to a Bill which deprives them of such a right.

That Mr. Fischer has accepted the marriage amendment, moved by Mr. Advocate Alexander, shows, let us assume, a desire on his part to meet us on the point. But, through no fault of Mr. Alexander's, the amendment has a fatal defect in it. It requires re-registration at the place of celebration. Mr. Alexander does not know that there is no *system* of registration of marriages in India. It is, therefore, not possible to produce registration certificates. This impossible requirement makes the amendment useless for the very purpose for which it is intended.

Nor is registration necessary as a safeguard against the introduction of undesirable women. In the first place, the amendment requires the marriages to be celebrated in accordance with the faiths of the respective parties. Indian marriages are accompanied with great solemnity and elaborate ceremonial, lasting for days, and in some cases even months. Indeed, there is much greater publicity and ceremonial about ordinary Indian marriages than there is in the publication of banns that precede European Christian marriages. This in itself acts as a perfect safeguard better than any system of registration that could be devised. In the second place, it is a well-known fact that there is hardly a case on record during the past thirty years or more of an undesirable Indian woman having been introduced, although Indian women have entered until lately, on the mere verbal statement of their husbands. It should, therefore, cause no difficulty to remove the registration clause during the progress of the Bill in the Senate.

And if this marriage question is settled, and no other existing rights are taken away, and if the Free State difficulty is satisfactorily solved, there will remain the one question of the existing right of the South Africa-born Indians. We can only hope that the Senate will rise to the occasion, the Government will see the necessity of fulfilling a solemn compact, and that this right will be restored. But, if it is not, passive resisters will fight, we have no doubt, on that single issue.

*Indian Opinion*, 31-5-1913

## 71. *MUNIEN'S CASE*[1]

The evidence in this case and the cruel sentence passed by the Verulam Magistrate were reported by us a fortnight ago in these columns. Thanks to the sympathy of Sir David Hunter, the case became the subject matter of a question by him in the House of Assembly. Mr. Sauer gave a chill, unsympathetic and haughty reply to Sir David's very pertinent question. Readers can see elsewhere both the question and the answer, and judge for themselves. It is plain to us that Mr. Sauer gave the answer he did because the matter was one that concerned only a poor, neglected ex-indentured man, belonging to a race that is unrepresented in the House that Mr. Sauer and his colleagues dominate, and that is labouring under a prejudice which makes it possible for anybody to heap insults upon it with impunity. Had the case been that of a European, Mr. Sauer would not have dared in a most careless manner to shirk inquiry, profess and glory in his ignorance of the case and consider Magistrates' decisions above criticism by the Legislature, which, after all, is the body finally responsible for the well-being of the meanest subject of the State.

But truly does pride go before destruction and haughtiness before a fall. Hardly had Mr. Sauer finished his heartless reply when Justice Hathorn began his review of the Magistrate's action and considered it to be so irregular and illegal that he quashed the conviction against Munien and awarded him costs of appeal. The Magistrate, who was more jealous of obedience to his orders than of the welfare of those who had the misfortune to appear before him, gave it as a reason for his vindictive judgment that Munien was punished as an example to others, so that his orders might be obeyed by them. We suppose Mr. Sauer's cynicism will permit him even now to defend the Magistrate and his own action in shirking investigation.

*Indian Opinion*, 31-5-1913

[1] Munien, an Indian, was charged for default of payment of £3 tax arrears. He was sentenced to 14 days' imprisonment with hard labour for contempt of court even after the amount due was paid.

### 4. FEVER AND ITS REMEDIES

Having considered the principal remedies, we shall now turn to a few specific diseases and in the process we shall get some idea of other forms of treatment which do not call for separate chapters.

We use the term fever for any rise in body temperature but English doctors have distinguished many varieties of it and written big volumes on these, ending up in sheer confusion. As shown in these chapters, and according to the popular view of the matter, one remedy is enough for most types of fever. I have had experience of a single remedy applied in all cases of fever ranging from simple fever to the bubonic plague and I believe the results have been quite satisfactory. In 1904, there was an epidemic of the plague among our people.[1] Twenty-three persons were attacked by it. In twenty-four hours, twenty-one cases proved fatal and only two could be removed to hospital. Of these, one survived and he happened to be the only one who could be treated with the mud pack. We cannot, of course, conclude from this that the patient was saved by the earth-treatment, but it can at any rate be maintained that the latter did him no harm. All the victims had inflammation of the lungs and fever. They had become unconscious. A mud poultice was applied to the chest of one of them. He was bringing up blood and phlegm. After taking him to hospital, I learned from the doctor that he had previously been given very little food and that too only milk.

Fever has its origin generally in some stomach trouble. The first step to be taken therefore is fasting. The notion that a weak person or one suffering from fever will be weakened by fasting is entirely mistaken. We saw in an earlier chapter that only that food is useful which can be digested and converted into blood. The rest merely remains in the stomach like a lump of lead, as we have seen in earlier chapters. The digestive system of one who has fever becomes extremely slack. The tongue becomes dark or coated and the lips are dry. What can a person digest in such a condition? Giving him food is bound to raise his temperature. By

[1] *Vide* Vol. IV, pp. 152-7.

stopping all intake of food, we give the stomach a chance to do its work. The fast, therefore, must be continued for at least a day or longer. Kuhne baths should be administered during and after the fast. At least two should be taken every day. In the intervals between baths, a mud pack should be applied to the abdomen. If there is headache or the head feels very hot, a pack should be applied to the head also. The patient should be adequately covered but kept in the open air. The fast should be broken with orange juice added to warm or cold water. Juice should be squeezed out of the orange and strained and then hot or cold water added as required. As far as possible, sugar should not be added. This mixture of orange juice and water will have an excellent effect. If a patient can take lime juice and water without his teeth being set on edge, he should be given that. For the next meal he can take half or a whole banana, well mashed. One spoon of olive oil and half a spoon of lime juice should be added to the mashed banana and given to the patient after mixing them well. If he feels thirsty, he should be given water, which has been boiled and cooled, or lime juice and water. Unboiled water should never be given. Cold water must always be previously boiled. Methods of purifying water have been described in an earlier chapter which should be referred to. The patient should wear only a minimum of clothing and this should be frequently changed. As he is to be covered with a sheet, very little clothing is necessary with this treatment. Some persons suffering even from such a severe illness as typhoid fever have been known to recover and, what is more, they now enjoy excellent health. Quinine brings about an apparent cure but the patient suffers from side effects. Quinine is believed to be particularly effective for patients suffering from "malaria fever", but in fact they are rarely found to be entirely free of it, whereas I have seen even malaria patients completely cured by nature treatment.

Much reliance is placed by others on a milk diet during fever, but my experience has been that milk taken in the early stages of fever does actual harm. It is, moreover, difficult to digest. If necessary, it should be given along with wheat coffee or boiled with a little quantity of rice flour and water. But in cases of obstinate or high fever, it cannot be given even in this form. At such times I have found lime juice mixed in water to be remarkably beneficial. When the patient's tongue has become clear, the banana diet should be started, the banana being prepared in the manner described earlier. If the patient is constipated, rather than a purgative he should be given an enema of hot water

mixed with borax to clear his bowels. Olive oil in the diet will thereafter help to keep the intestines clear.

[From Gujarati]
*Indian Opinion*, 31-5-1913

## *73. STATEMENT ON IMMIGRATION BILL*[1]

[DURBAN,
*June 2, 1913*]

If the Bill is not amended in several material particulars I feel that a revival of passive resistance is inevitable. The provisional settlement of 1911 contains two principal conditions to be fulfilled by the Government, namely, that existing rights should be maintained intact in any legislation that might be passed in order to satisfy the Indian claims, and that Transvaal Act No. 2 of 1907, subject to reservation of the rights of minors, should be repealed, and there should be no racial bar introduced in any such legislation. Both of these conditions are violated by the Bill even in its amended form. Our claim that existing rights should be maintained is fortified by a declaration of the Imperial Government in their despatch dated October 7, 1910, in which it is specially laid down that "any solution (of the Transvaal controversy) which prejudiced or weakened the present position of Indians in the Cape Colony and Natal would not be acceptable to His Majesty's Government," and Mr. Harcourt emphasized the point once more in his telegram of February 15, 1911, in discussing the Immigration Bill of that year. That existing rights are jeopardized is clear from a consideration of the following facts:

South Africa-born Indians have, under the present Cape Immigration Act, the unconditional right to enter that Province. This right is now being taken away. If the Bill is not adequately amended, this deprivation will constitute a very serious grievance, and passive resisters will lose all title to respect if, for the sake of avoiding the hardships of gaol or any other penalty to which they might be liable, they were to accept such a bargain. I do not know what other fatal defects there may be in the Bill as amended.

[1] Lord Gladstone, Governor-General, sent from Cape Town a copy of this statement to the Secretary of State for the Colonies on June 4. It was also published in the *Cape Times*, 3-6-1913 and in *Indian Opinion*, 7-6-1913, along with editorial comments from *The Natal Mercury*.

The question of domicile, for instance, may have been left in a most unsatisfactory position, and so also that of the right of appeal to the Supreme Court.

The marriage amendment moved by Mr. Alexander, and accepted by the Minister will, I fear, frustrate the very purpose with which Mr. Alexander moved it in such a public-spirited manner. It requires the fulfilment of an impossible condition, namely, registration of marriage at the place of its celebration, in addition to proof of due performance of religious rites. There is, however, no system of State registration of marriage in India. As a matter of fact, a recent arrival from India endeavoured to obtain a certificate of marriage from a magistrate at Bombay, who refused to issue it, on the ground that he was not authorized by law to do so. Nor is this requirement necessary for any purpose whatsoever. The religious celebration is accompanied by so much solemnity, ceremonial and publicity, that it is the best possible safeguard against collusive connexions. Finally, the strictness with which the marriage question has been dealt with by the Government is quite unwarranted by past experience. During my 20 years' experience in South Africa, I have never known of the entry under the Immigration Law of a single Indian woman belonging to the undesirable class.

The second condition of the settlement appears also to have been broken by the Government in that a declaration is to be required of such Indian immigrants as may possibly be admitted into the Free State, it not being required of European immigrants. The declaration in question will be highly offensive and wantonly irritating, because, in the case of an educated Indian, who alone could enter that Province, it would be wholly unnecessary. It is merely a statement that the declarant shall not hold landed property, trade, or farm there, disabilities to which he is subject whether he makes the declaration or not. It will be remembered that it was the Free State difficulty that came in the way of a permanent settlement on the two previous occasions.[1] Mr. Fischer cannot now settle the controversy by ignoring it as if it were not of the most vital importance. One can only hope that the Senate will perform its duty as a vigilance chamber and the guardian of unrepresented interests, by insisting upon amendment of the measure, so as to fulfil both the letter and the spirit of the provisional settlement.

*The Natal Mercury*, 3-6-1913

[1] *Vide* Vol. X, pp. 465-9, and Vol. XI.

## 74. TELEGRAM TO MINISTER OF INTERIOR

[DURBAN,
After *June 5, 1913*]

TO
THE MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR AND SEVERAL MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT

I OBSERVE THAT THE £3 TAX IS TO BE REMOVED ONLY FROM INDIAN WOMEN SHOWING, I PRESUME, THAT THERE IS NO PRESENT INTENTION TO REMOVE IT FROM MEN. THIS WILL CAUSE THE GREATEST SHOCK TO THOUSANDS INDIANS WHO DURING MR. GOKHALE'S VISIT WERE MADE TO BELIEVE THAT THE TAX WOULD BE REMOVED FROM ALL MALES AND FEMALES.[1] THE MOST RESPONSIBLE MEN IN NATAL MET MR. GOKHALE. I AM NOT AWARE THAT ANY OF THEM DEFENDED THE TAX OR OBJECTED TO ITS REMOVAL. I HOPE THAT EVEN AT THIS LATE HOUR GOVERNMENT AND PARLIAMENT WILL SEE THE WISDOM OF REMOVING THE WHOLE TAX AND RENDER JUSTICE WHICH IS ALREADY OVERDUE.

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the draft in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 5809

## 75. THE BILL

The correspondence between Mr. Fischer and Mr. Gandhi, published elsewhere,[2] shows clearly that Mr. Fischer had fully intended to deprive us of almost every right that we have been enjoying under the existing Immigration Laws of the different Provinces. The only right that was to be left to us was for those, who are at present physically residing in the respective Provinces, to live confined in their Provinces with little chance of being able

[1] This was during his visit to South Africa in November 1912. When the legislation to repeal £3 tax was being discussed, there was no suggestion to restrict the relief to women.

[2] *Vide* letters and telegrams to the Minister and the Secretary for the Interior, pp. 1-2, 7-8, 27-30, 84-5, 87-8 & 90-1.

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to re-enter if they left their Province. Thanks, however, to the stubborn opposition from the Unionist Members and the fear of passive resistance, some slight modifications have been introduced into the measure. We wish that the Unionist Members had retained their firmness to the last. But Mr. Fischer successfully put them off the scent by telling them that the Imperial Government had already approved of the Bill. But the correspondence makes it clear that, in spite of the amendments, the Bill offers no settlement of the Indian question, that it leaves many big gaps and that, if they are not filled up, passive resistance is sure to revive. Mr. Fischer must consider us to be a perfectly stupid community, if he thinks that, with vested rights taken away, we are going to accept his measure. The threat to withdraw the marriage amendment, if we do not accept his measure, is unworthy of a responsible Minister. Either the amendment is intended to remedy a fault or it is useless. If it is so intended, the attitude of the community cannot affect the necessity of the amendment. But it is perfectly true that the amendment is quite useless and it would be more honest to tell us that our marriages are not to be recognized than to mislead us, by an ineffective amendment, into believing that our wishes are being respected. This marriage difficulty, however, is only one of the many defects in the Bill. And, unless the Senate is prepared to adopt heroic measures, the Bill, which is supposed to have been designed to satisfy passive resisters, will simply compel them to revive the struggle, cost what it may.

*Indian Opinion*, 7-6-1913

## *76. GENERAL KNOWLEDGE ABOUT HEALTH [–XXIII]*

### 5. CONSTIPATION, SPRUE, DYSENTERY, PILES

It will certainly appear strange to most readers that four diseases are considered together in this chapter. But they are, in fact, closely related to one another and our cures for them, which require no medicines, are common to all. When the intestines are heavily loaded, some people, because of their peculiar constitution, become constipated. That is, they do not pass stools regularly and in proper quantity and have to strain. If this goes on for a long time, they begin to pass blood. This results sometimes in the rectum becoming flaccid and sometimes in piles. Still others suddenly develop diarrhoea. If the motions are numerous,

continuing during all hours at short intervals and in small quantities, the condition is known as sprue. Some have dysentery in which mucus is passed and there is griping.

All these patients suffer from lack of appetite, look pale, become weak, have offensive breath and a coated tongue. Some have headaches or develop other ailments. Constipation is so common that hundreds of medicines and powders have been invented for it. Mother Seagle's Syrup, fruit salt, etc., are intended chiefly to cure constipation and thousands come to harm through them, since they are apparently effective. Any ordinary *hakim* or doctor will tell us that the root cause of constipation is indigestion and will also add that constipation will disappear if the causes of indigestion are removed. The more honest among us freely admit that patients want to shake off the disease without shaking off their own bad habits, and hence they are driven to prescribing powders and decoctions. Advertisements nowadays actually announce that those who take the medicines in question will not need to change their diet or other habits; they will be cured by the medicine alone! Those who have been following these chapters must have realized that such advertisements are fraudulent. The effect produced by a purgative is always bad. Though it may remove constipation, it will, however mild it be, give rise to other poisons in the body. Having taken a purge, if one proceeds to change one's bad habits so that purgatives will not again be necessary, one may perhaps derive some benefit from it. Those, however, who continue with their bad habits are bound to get some other ailment even if they are cured of constipation or sprue.

We shall now consider remedies for these four diseases. The first is for the patient to reduce his diet. Heavy foods, those prepared with excessive ghee, sugar and milk kept boiling over a long time, should be eschewed. If he has any addictions like smoking, drinking, hemp-taking, etc., he must give them up. If in the habit of eating white bread, he should give it up. Tea, coffee and cocoa should be given up. The diet should consist mainly of fresh fruits, together with olive oil.

Treatment should begin with a 36-hour fast. During this time and later, mud packs should be applied to the abdomen on retiring and one or two Kuhne baths should be taken daily. The patient should walk at least two hours a day. Anyone following this regimen is bound to benefit. I have actually seen severe cases of diarrhoea, constipation, dysentery, and also of severe and chronic piles, cured in this way. With regard to piles, it is neces-

sary to insist that, as long as mucus or blood is being passed, no food is to be taken. When the patient is in a position to take food, he should have orange juice filtered and added to boiling water. In this way, the worst case of dysentery can be cured in the shortest time without harming the patient. If dysentery is accompanied by severe griping, the abdomen should be fomented with a bottle filled with very hot water or with a heated brick. As in all illnesses, the patient needs fresh air here too.

The following fruits are regarded as especially beneficial in constipation: figs, French plums, muscatel raisins, large grapes, black grapes, green grapes and oranges. One should not, however, imagine from this that these fruits should be eaten even when one is not hungry. When there is griping or a bad taste in the mouth, even these fruits can be harmful. When food is needed, these fruits will be specially beneficial in constipation, that is all that the statement above should be understood to mean.

[From Gujarati]
*Indian Opinion*, 7-6-1913

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

PHŒNIX,
NATAL,
*June 7, 1913*

DEAR MR. GOKHALE,

I thoroughly understood why there was no letter from you. The cause of it grieved me much and I wished I was with you as your nurse. I am glad that you are much better now. India as a whole will never understand you fully and your energy being unapproachable excites jealousy. May you bear it well with a light heart.

As your quack physician, I shall certainly want to know all about your health, diet, etc.

Polak I know has been writing to you regularly. I do not therefore wish to inflict a long letter on you. If you have the time, you will doubtless read this week's *I*[*ndian*] *O*[*pinion*] which reproduces the whole of the correspondence I have carried on with Mr. Fischer. The Unionists put up a spirited fight at first but they weakened in the end. Fischer's information that the Imperial Government had accepted the measure as it stood did the trick. I can hardly believe that they could ever accept the Bill as drafted. If you have followed the debate as printed in the pages of *I. O.*,

you will have noticed that your name was very freely used by several speakers and that mostly to the advantage of our cause. Yes, the visit is bound to produce far-reaching results in many ways.

The Bill has been read a second time in the Senate. There may be some alterations made but I do not think there is enough fight left in W. P. Schreiner to carry all the amendments that are necessary to prevent a revival of the struggle. Have I told you that Mrs. Gandhi, Mrs. Doctor and the wives of Chhaganlal and Maganlal are joining the struggle? Pray do not disclose this just yet. Of course there are many men at the settlement who are joining this time. If the struggle comes, as seems almost certain, my return to India must stand indefinitely postponed.

Polak has now opened office. I have no anxiety about Ritch's expenses. And Polak will presently find his own. The London Committee remittance has been stopped since March last. So that the only burden is *I. O.* and if the struggle revives, Medh's[1] family will have to be supported. Apart from this, there will be only the incidental current expenditure. Medh's I would rather not beg in South Africa. But the other expenses we either find here or do without. I am collecting steadily the amount to be placed at your disposal for the London Committee which I hope you will reorganize. If there is any deficit in the £600 to be collected for 3 years' existence of the Committee, I have a promise from our friend Rustomjee[2] that he will find it. I think that if anyone is reliable in S[outh] A[frica], he certainly is. That reminds me of your cap and umbrella which I hope were safely delivered to you.

Kallenbach is here for a few days.

Hoping that this will find you in good health,

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

From the handwritten original: C. W. 927
Courtesy: Servants of India Society

[1] Surendrarai Medh, a satyagrahi

[2] Parsee Rustomjee, a leading Indian merchant of Natal and a satyagrahi; *vide* also Vol. I, p. 385.

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## 78. STATEMENT ON £3 TAX[1]

[DURBAN,
Before *June 11, 1913*]

I observe that the Government propose to ask Parliament to remove the tax only on women. This, it is to be presumed, shows that they have no intention at present of removing it from men. Mr. Gokhale met most of the public men of Natal at Newcastle, Dundee, Maritzburg, Durban, Isipingo, and elsewhere. I had the honour of being present at all these meetings. And I do not remember a single public man having defended the tax or objected to its removal. Mr. Smuts stated the other day that he was to consult the Natal members of Parliament. If, therefore, now the tax is not removed from both males and females, the presumption will be that the Natal members do not desire to see men released from the burden. In my humble opinion the honour of Natal is involved in this matter. I can recall many a Town Hall meeting held for less important purposes. I am sure that Natal holds its honour dearer than the navigability of its beautiful harbour. Will not the public men of Durban, at a Town Hall meeting, demand from Parliament removal of this iniquitous impost? All, be they never so hostile to Indian aspirations or to my countrymen's presence in this Province, may join hands in overdue justice being done, and the fame of Natal being preserved.

I well remember the great meetings of Indians which Mr. Gokhale addressed at Lord's Ground, Isipingo, and, as the Hon. Marshall Campbell's guest, at Mount Edgecombe.[2] Fully 10,000 indentured and ex-indentured Indians were present at Mr. Campbell's estate. Over 5,000 were present at Lord's. They were assured that, as Mr. Gokhale had met with no opposition from the Europeans to the removal of the tax, it would very probably be removed at an early date. Subsequently, after his interview with the Ministers, he declared that he had received assurances that the tax would be removed. This information was passed on to these thousands of helpless men and women. One man in Verulam had the "effrontery" to believe that the tax had already been repealed, and for that crime was sentenced to

[1] This was reproduced in *Indian Opinion*, 14-6-1913.
[2] *Vide* Vol. XI, pp. 412-3.

be imprisoned with hard labour by the Verulam Magistrate.[1] What will these men think when they hear that, though their women will at last be free, they themselves will have to continue to pay?

*The Natal Mercury*, 11-6-1913

## *79. STATEMENT ON IMMIGRATION BILL*

DURBAN,
*June 13, 1913*

If Mr. Harcourt is correctly reported,[2] his answer is astounding. If he has seen the Bill in its original form, it will be impossible to avoid the conviction that the Imperial Government have thrown the Indians overboard and have gone back upon their own despatches in order to please the Union Government. I shall, however, hope that they have not seen the Bill, and that they have no first-hand knowledge of the full effect of the amendments made. It is perfectly clear, on the other hand, that the Union Government have not only committed a breach of trust towards the Indians, violated the settlement of 1911 and belied their assurances to Mr. Gokhale, but instead of honestly telling the Imperial Government that they do not intend to carry out the terms of the settlement, or to respect the wishes of the Imperial Government as expressed in so many despatches, they have actually deceived the Government.

There is no evidence in the original draft of the Bill of the slightest desire to meet the anxiety of the authorities in Downing Street.

It is a wilful misstatement of facts to say that racial differentiation has been removed by this Bill even in regard to immigration. Indeed, Mr. Fischer's telegram to me completely bears out my remark. The Free State difficulty has been, since 1911, a racial difficulty. Mr. Fischer has not surmounted it, and he says distinctly in his telegram that he will meet it by administrative action. If such a proposal could have been accepted in 1911, the Bill of that year would have become law, but it could not be then and it cannot be now.

[1] *Vide* "Munien's Case", p. 96.

[2] The reference is to his statement in the House of Commons on June 11.

The Union Government, if they have any sense of honour, are bound to remove the racial inequality before the law, and in any measure passed to bring about that end, they are bound not to disturb existing rights. They have failed to carry out either part of the compact.

Mr. Harcourt seems also to be under the impression that the few amendments that have been made in the Bill are due to the initiative of the Union Government or their desire to do justice. They have been wrung from them by an Opposition in Parliament which was as creditable as it was unexpected by the Ministry. Indeed, had the Opposition been only a little stronger and more consistent we should now have a law in spite of the Union Government, that would have made final the provisional settlement of 1911.

As it is, unless the Royal sanction is withheld from the Bill, and fresh assurances given to the community that the terms of the settlement of 1911 will be entirely carried out, and that the marriage difficulty will be removed, passive resistance, this time both by men and women, will be taken up. The Union Government may be, indeed are, indifferent whether it is or is not, but I have faith enough in this sovereign remedy for all the ills that the civic and political life of a community is heir to to know that, if we are true to ourselves, it must succeed.

The latest proposal of the Government to remove the £3 tax only from women demonstrates beyond doubt their consistently hostile attitude and bad faith towards the Indian community.

*The Cape Argus*, 13-6-1913

## *80. THE BILL*

The Bill may now become the law of the land any moment and Indians may find themselves deprived on the 1st August and, thereafter, of several rights which they have hitherto enjoyed. It is not possible to speak with certainty of the amendments so far carried or of the full effect of the Bill. Mr. W. P. Schreiner, who put up a strenuous fight on our behalf, was able to secure a modification of the marriage amendment and, in spite of Mr. Fischer's threat that he would not only not withdraw the registration clause but that if we did not accept the Bill in full, he might take out the whole amendment and restore the original draft, the registration clause seems to have been omitted. What the new clause in its latest form is one cannot judge without having the full text.

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But even if the marriage difficulty is over, there is no doubt that the Bill leaves much that is offensive enough to compel passive resisters to resist it. It appears to leave the question of jurisdiction of the Supreme Court in a very unsatisfactory state. It deprives Indians resident in Natal of the usual facility with which they have hitherto been able to re-enter it. They may not now, as of yore, be able to do so on the strength of three years' previous residence in Natal. Nor may indentured Indians who may have paid the £3 tax be allowed to claim the right of residence therein. South Africa-born Indians may not *now* enter the Cape under the Cape Act. The Free State difficulty remains as it was before. It therefore appears that this is a Bill, resistance to which is a duty and compliance a crime.

It is remarkable, however, that the Bill, though avowedly an anti-Indian Bill, had a stormy passage through both the Houses and that concessions, such as they are, were wrung from an unwilling and hard-hearted Minister. In the Senate, on two occasions the voting on certain clauses resulted in a tie. This is a good augury for the future and speaks well for the effect of passive resistance. It has quickened the spirit of inquiry into Indian matters on the part of a large number of members.

But, if some members of the Union Parliament have spoken zealously in our behalf, the Imperial Government seem to have neglected us entirely and wholly accepted the Union Government's view. Indeed, so far as they are concerned, they appear, incredible as it may seem, to have accepted the Bill as it was originally published, thus going back upon their own despatches. If Mr. Harcourt is correctly reported, he appears to believe that the Union Government are desirous of doing us full justice. This opinion certainly could not be based upon the original Draft Bill nor upon what happened in Parliament. The original draft could not well be more drastic; it was so considered by the South African Press; the attitude of the Minister in charge of the Bill could not well be more hostile.

But we need not feel sore if the Imperial Government have betrayed us and neglected their trust. They are more concerned with pleasing the Union Government who represent an infinitesimal but a boisterous European portion of the Empire, than with pleasing India which, though supposed to be the brightest diadem in the British crown, represents a people who are long-suffering and who do not require to be pleased, much less pampered. Our final court of appeal must be ourselves. If we are true to

ourselves, no doubt others will be true to us, as soon as they discover the fact, but no sooner.

*Indian Opinion*, 14-6-1913

## *81. GENERAL KNOWLEDGE ABOUT HEALTH [–XXIV]*

### 6. INFECTIOUS DISEASES: SMALLPOX—1

We have discussed a few things about fever and some other ailments. It is not intended in these chapters to go into detail with regard to all diseases. Indeed, it is unnecessary to write individually of each disease when both cause and treatment are common to all of them. Infectious diseases like smallpox also arise from the same cause and it is not really necessary, therefore, to write separately about them either. It will not be wrong, however, to devote one chapter to smallpox.

An outbreak of smallpox creates such a scare that hundreds of superstitions connected with it are current. In India, it is actually ascribed to a particular goddess and countless men and women take vows in order to be cured of the disease. Like other illnesses, smallpox arises from polluted blood, which in its turn originates in fever of the intestines. The body throws out accumulated poisons by way of eruptions. If this view is correct, there is no need whatever to be afraid of smallpox. If it was uniformly infectious, then all those who freely touch the body of the smallpox patient would catch the disease. But we know that this does not happen. There is no need, therefore, to dread smallpox, though, of course, we should take precautions against it. We cannot say definitely that it is not infectious. If anyone pre-disposed to the disease touches a smallpox patient, he will certainly get it. That is why, whenever smallpox breaks out, a number of people fall a prey to it. Because the infection is caught in this manner through contact, people are infected with cowpox and misled into believing that the cowpox infection will induce smallpox in a mild, harmless form and so prevent an actual attack of smallpox. The process consists in first infecting a cow's udder with smallpox and then introducing the vaccine taken from that part into our body through the skin, in order to induce smallpox in us and thus protect us against an attack in an acute form. At first it was believed that one vaccination of this sort would provide life-long immunity. But on experience it was found that even those who had been so vaccinated did not remain immune against infection for a very long time. It has been concluded, accordingly, that after the lapse of a certain period, it is necessary to repeat vaccination. Nowadays,

the rule is to vaccinate the entire population wherever an epidemic breaks out, irrespective of whether the people had been previously vaccinated or not. One thus comes across persons who have been vaccinated five or six times or even oftener.

Vaccination seems to be a savage custom. It is one of the poisonous superstitions of our times the equal of which is not to be found even among so-called primitive societies. Its advocates are not satisfied with voluntary vaccination. They insist on making it compulsory. Those who refuse to take it are prosecuted and awarded harsh penalties. Vaccination was invented in 1798. Thus it is not an ancient superstition. During this short period, millions of people have been victims of it. Those who are vaccinated are presumed to be immune against smallpox, but the presumption is without any sound basis. No one can say that they would surely have had a severe attack of the disease if they had not been vaccinated. On the contrary, in view of the fact that there have been cases of vaccinated persons being attacked by smallpox, it certainly cannot be claimed that anyone getting vaccinated will escape the infection.

Vaccination is a filthy remedy. Vaccine from an infected cow is introduced into our bodies; more, even vaccine from an infected human being is used. Some persons generally vomit at the sight of the vaccine. If it so much as comes into contact with the hand, they wash the hand with soap. If we were asked to eat it, we would be nauseated and would pounce upon anyone who might make such a suggestion even in fun. And yet scarcely anyone realizes that, when he is vaccinated, he is absorbing a substance which is in reality infected blood. It is well known that patients are given medicine or liquid nourishment through the skin and this takes effect more rapidly than if given by mouth. What is taken by the mouth is not immediately absorbed into the blood but anything taken through the skin is, and even a small dose acts very quickly. From this point of view, the taking of any medicine or nourishment through the skin is the same as eating it. Even then, in order to save ourselves from smallpox, we, in effect, eat vaccine. It is said cowards die before their death. Similarly, from fear of death or disfigurement by smallpox, we die before our time by getting ourselves vaccinated.

I personally feel that in taking this vaccine we are guilty of a sacrilege. Even meat-eaters are forbidden to drink blood, and the flesh and blood of living animals are, I find, prohibited in all circumstances. But here blood is taken from a blameless living creature, is cultured, besides, and then fed to us through our skins.

A religious man would rather get smallpox a thousand times or die an early death than take such blood.

[From Gujarati]
*Indian Opinion*, 14-6-1913

## *82. TELEGRAM TO GOVERNOR-GENERAL*

JOHANNESBURG,
*June 16, 1913*

HIS EXCELLENCY LORD GLADSTONE
[GOVERNOR-GENERAL
PRETORIA]

VIEW PASSAGE IMMIGRATION BILL PARLIAMENT, MY ASSOCIATION WOULD RESPECTFULLY DRAW YOUR EXCELLENCY'S ATTENTION TO FOLLOWING OBJECTIONS BILL FROM STANDPOINT INDIAN COMMUNITY. BILL FAILS TO CARRY OUT THE PROVISIONAL SETTLEMENT IN THAT CONTRARY TO THAT SETTLEMENT IT TAKES AWAY EXISTING RIGHTS. IT RESTRICTS RIGHT APPEAL SUPREME COURT PRESENTLY EXISTING. IT DEPRIVES INDIANS RESIDENT NATAL OF FACILITY PRESENTLY ENJOYED, REENTER THAT PROVINCE AFTER ABSENCE ON STRENGTH OF THREE YEARS' PREVIOUS RESIDENCE, WHILE INDENTURED INDIANS WHO HAVE PAID £3 TAX MAY NOT UNDER BILL BE ALLOWED CLAIM RIGHT RESIDENCE THAT PROVINCE. IT TAKES AWAY RIGHT SOUTH AFRICA-BORN INDIANS ENTER CAPE UNDER ITS EXISTING STATUTE. FREE STATE DIFFICULTY REMAINS AS BEFORE IN THAT DECLARATION REQUIRED FROM EDUCATED INDIAN IMMIGRANT WHICH WOULD NOT BE REQUIRED FROM ANY OTHER IMMIGRANT AS IMMIGRANT. MY ASSOCIATION THEREFORE EARNESTLY PRAYS YOUR EXCELLENCY TO WITHHOLD SANCTION BILL, AND SO OBVIATE RECURRENCE PAINFUL STRUGGLE WITH ALL ITS HARDSHIPS, SUFFERING, AND SACRIFICE FOR COMMUNITY REPRESENTED BY MY ASSOCIATION.[1]

A. M. CACHALIA
CHAIRMAN,
BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION

Colonial Office Records: Cd. 6940/13

[1] *Indian Opinion*, 21-6-1913, published an extended version of the communication. Lord Gladstone acknowledged it on June 17 and forwarded a copy to his Ministers. However, in reply to a telegram from Parsee Rustomjee on

## 83. LETTER TO G. K. GOKHALE

PHŒNIX,
NATAL,
*June 20, 1913*

DEAR MR. GOKHALE,

The Bill is so bad that passive resistance is a necessity. By the time this is in your hands, some of us may be already in gaol. I propose to go to Johannesburg next week and from there send a final letter to Mr. Fischer reciting our objections and asking him to meet them next year. If he gives a definite written promise that he would do so, the struggle will be suspended. There is very little hope that he would. But before I ask fellow-passive resisters to embark on what would undoubtedly be a very bitter and prolonged struggle, I want to adopt all legitimate methods that prudence may dictate to avert the misery that must result from a renewal of the struggle.

These are the defects in the Bill:

(1) The Free State difficulty appears to remain and therefore the racial distinction.

(2) The existing rights are disturbed in that
   (a) the right of appeal to the Supreme Court is modified,
   (b) the right of the South African Indians to enter the Cape is taken away,
   (c) the right of domicile of ex-indentured Indians . . .[1] pay the tax seems to have been taken away,
   (d) the existing marriage position is considerably modified, though the amendment has eased the tension considerably.

I have only just received the amended Bill by Mr. Schreiner's favour. There may be other defects in it. I shall prepare a full statement[2] to be sent to you next week. I am not explaining the

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behalf of the Zoroastrian Anjuman, the Governor-General informed him that he had given his assent to the Bill the previous week.

[1] The original is illegible here.

[2] This is not available; *vide*, however, "Letter to Private Secretary to Minister of Interior", pp. 120-2.

above-mentioned points, as I am anxious to spare you the trouble of having to read a long letter.

Now for your questions.

1. As you will have seen, the Bill has received the Royal assent.
2. Passive resistance will be resumed probably [at] the beginning of the next month.
3. In order to court imprisonment we will enter all the Provinces in disregard of the new Act and will refuse to show certificates or any other papers. Both educated and uneducated Indians will join the struggle.
4. So far as I can judge at present, 100 men and 13 women will start the struggle. As time goes, we may have more.
5. I do not expect to raise much cash but I do not anticipate any difficulty about getting sufficient food and clothing by begging. If we all go to gaol, Kallenbach has undertaken to do the begging himself. He can be thoroughly relied upon to see that no family is starved so long he has life in him. If no funds arrive unasked from India or elsewhere, we shall perform our wanderings on foot, and no money will then be spent on telegrams and cables. Just at present Miss Schlesin does all the public work in Johannesburg but for her maintenance works elsewhere. I am raising a special fund for the London Committee to be placed at your disposal. I am also getting rid of other pecuniary burdens. *Indian Opinion* staff has been brought down to a minimum and they will be thrown on their own resources. Some of my private burdens are being found by Dr. Mehta[1].
6. The struggle is expected to last a year but if we have more men than I anticipate, it may close during the next session of the Union Parliament. We are making provision for an indefinite prolongation.
7. It is difficult to answer what amount will be required to see the community through the crisis. At the lowest calculation made by me, nothing in cash will be required. But as I get cash, I shall use it for ending the struggle quicker and for giving support to families and *Indian Opinion*. Some people from Natal and the Cape will certainly join the struggle.

My prayer to you is: Please do not worry about us, do not beg for funds publicly and do not injure your health for the cause. This prayer is selfish. I am anxious to meet you in the flesh in

[1] Dr. Pranjivandas Mehta, a friend of Gandhiji since his student days in London

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India, work under you and learn, may I say, at your feet, all I want to and must. In some things I want to be disillusioned if I am in the wrong and I want you to be disillusioned if I am in the right and we do not agree. I shall not misunderstand you if I do not receive any letters from you. But whenever you have time and health, I shall value your letters and advice. They would be a source of comfort.

After the receipt of Mr. Hall's letter I had decided not to write to you personally. But your letter leaves me no choice.

I must write another letter regarding your cable to Polak. He will come if it is at all possible. Funds and his family are the chief considerations. I shall discuss the situation with him tomorrow and leave him to write to you on his return to Durban. He will have a day more than I have for mailing letters.

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

From the handwritten original: C. W. 928
Courtesy: Servants of India Society

## *84. GENERAL KNOWLEDGE ABOUT HEALTH [-XXV]*

### 6. INFECTIOUS DISEASES [CONTINUED]: SMALLPOX—2

A number of thoughtful men in England have carried out researches on the harmful effects of vaccination and a big anti-vaccination society has been formed. Its members refuse vaccination and oppose the law making it compulsory. Some have suffered imprisonment in this cause. They also advise others against vaccination. Many books have been written on the subject and much discussion is being carried on. The following are the reasons the opponents of vaccination advance in support of their stand:

1. Taking vaccine from a cow's udder, which in fact belongs to her calf, is itself an act of extreme cruelty to thousands of living creatures. This cruelty is no credit to man's sense of pity and it behoves him, therefore, to forgo any benefit that may accrue from it.
2. No benefit is derived from such vaccine. On the contrary, taking the vaccine causes other infections. The sponsors of this movement are of the opinion that, since vaccination was introduced, the incidence of other diseases has increased.

3. The infection originates in man's blood, so that the germs of other diseases in the person are likely to be present in the culture and in all the samples of the vaccine.
4. Vaccination does not guarantee protection from smallpox. Its inventor, Dr. Jenner, had claimed that vaccination at one spot on one arm would provide life-long immunity. Later, he said vaccination on both arms would give such immunity. Then it came to vaccination on more than one spot on both arms. When the disease occurred in spite of this, it was said that immunity could not be guaranteed for more than seven years. This period has now been reduced to three years. Thus doctors themselves are far from certain in this regard. In fact, the idea that one who is vaccinated will never get smallpox is entirely untrue. No one can prove that a person who has been vaccinated and has never caught smallpox would have caught the infection if he had not been so vaccinated.
5. Finally, they hold that vaccination is a filthy practice and that it is sheer barbarism to imagine that filth can be removed by filth.

With these and many other arguments and illustrations, the anti-vaccination society has been able to exert a great influence on the British public. There is a town in England where the majority of the population refuse to be vaccinated and, yet, the incidence of the disease among them is very low. Some enthusiastic members of this society have probed carefully into the whole question and have shown that doctors find it in their interest to keep this superstition alive. They earn thousands of pounds annually through vaccination. Consequently, either intentionally or otherwise, they are blind to its harmful effects. This opinion has been expressed by certain doctors themselves and most of these have strongly opposed vaccination.

If, then, vaccination is harmful, should we submit to it? My personal reply would be a definite "No". There are certain exceptions, however. I am certain that no one should get himself vaccinated voluntarily. But in all places where we have settled, the law has made vaccination compulsory. In this country ([South] Africa), to break the law involves a tremendous risk, for, if we refuse to comply with it, we shall invite on ourselves the charge of wilfully endangering public health, in addition to the many other charges often made against us. What should we do in such circumstances? If we live where the majority believe in the benefits of vaccination, it becomes something of a duty for us to fall in line with them

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to avoid a panic among them. Those who object to vaccination on religious grounds, in view of the facts I have set out above, must resist it even if they have to stand alone and must be prepared to suffer the consequences. Those who refuse vaccination merely in the belief that they would remain healthier on that account would not be justified in opposing the law in this regard outright. Anyone who wants to do so must have made a thorough study of the matter. He should be able to convert others to his point of view and should undertake to change public opinion. If one cannot do these things, one may not ignore public opinion merely to protect one's health. There are many things which we dislike and yet feel compelled to do out of regard for the society in which we live. Personal convenience has to yield to public interest. The accepted principle is that only in matters of morality or religion do situations arise in which a man will be justified in standing alone against the opinion of the majority. Those, however, who have no belief of their own but are possibly swayed by writings such as the present one and are unwilling to be vaccinated through sheer apathy, should certainly abide by the law.

Further, those who do not get vaccinated must take pains to study and observe the rules of cleanliness, etc. One who does not want smallpox infection [by way of vaccination] and, at the same time, contracts diseases on account of immoral conduct or suffers in other ways by disregarding the rules of hygiene, has no right to oppose vaccination in a country or society in which it is regarded as a means of preserving health.

[From Gujarati]
*Indian Opinion*, 21-6-1913

## *85. CABLE TO G. K. GOKHALE*

DURBAN,
*June 21, 1913*

GOKHALE
LONDON

GOING TRANSVAAL TO PRESENT FINAL LETTER TO MINISTER.[1] IF REPLY SATISFACTORY AND FRESH SETTLEMENT MADE, NO PASSIVE RESISTANCE. THE ACT APPEARS

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Private Secretary to Minister of Interior", pp. 120-2.

TO CONTAIN FOUR FATAL OBJECTIONS.[1] NOT VERY HOPEFUL. FAILING SETTLEMENT, PASSIVE RESISTANCE STARTING BEGINNING JULY. THEN POLAK CAN IMMEDIATELY LEAVE. IF POSSIBLE FUNDS TO BE RAISED IN INDIA MEET EXPENSES OF HIS TRIP WHICH ARE ESTIMATED FOR ONE YEAR INCLUDING ALLOWANCE FOR FAMILY STAYING HERE AT ONE THOUSAND POUNDS. IT IS AT PRESENT IMPOSSIBLE TO RAISE THESE FUNDS HERE.

GANDHI

From a photostat of the original as delivered: C. W. 4843
Courtesy: Servants of India Society

## *86. GENERAL KNOWLEDGE ABOUT HEALTH [–XXVI]*

6. INFECTIOUS DISEASES [CONTINUED]: SMALLPOX– 3

Writing of smallpox, we have so far considered the harmful effects of vaccination. We must now study ways of preventing smallpox. One who faithfully and intelligently observes the rules concerning fresh air, water and diet described in earlier chapters is in no danger of getting smallpox because his blood will itself contain the antidote against the infection.

For one who has contracted the disease, the wet sheet pack is a miraculous remedy. The pack should be applied to the patient at least three times. This will reduce the burning sensation in the body and the sores will subside in a very short time. It is not necessary to apply ointment, etc., to the sores. If the latter are limited to one or two spots where mud packs can be applied, that also should be done. The patient should be given rice, lemons and light, fresh fruit according to appetite. I have said "light fruit" because, when the body is burning with smallpox, highly nourishing fruit such as dates and almonds should not be eaten. The sores are bound to subside after a week's treatment with the wet sheet pack. If they do not, it means that some poison still remains in the body and is being thrown out. Smallpox need not be regarded as so very serious a disease. It is only a symptom of poison escaping from the body and, therefore, of the body regaining health.

The last explanation applies to many diseases but is more likely to be correct in regard to diseases of the smallpox group. The

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Private Secretary to Minister of Interior", pp. 120-2.

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reason why some patients remain weak or suffer from other ailments, after recovery, is to be found not in the original disease but in the remedies employed. Thus, quinine taken for malaria often causes deafness. Some even get a serious complaint known as quininism. Venereal diseases are cured with mercury, etc. The disorders which this gives rise to, as is well known, remain with the patient for ever. Thus medicines not only do not cure the disease but in fact cause new ones. We shall find numerous instances of patients who resort to purgatives in order to cure constipation and develop piles, etc., in consequence. To understand and remove the basic cause of a disease and, when the latter has disappeared, to obey the laws of Nature is a better tonic than any *bhasma*[1]. Metals are processed so as to make them assimilable and turned into powders like *lohabhasma*[2]. But it is wrong to regard these as unfailing remedies. They do indeed seem to have some beneficial properties, but to the extent that they benefit the body, they strengthen the passions. Thus, they are ultimately harmful to one in their total effect. These medicines find greater favour as cures for smallpox. One who has had an attack of this disease rarely contracts it again. As a matter of fact, he often enjoys excellent health after his recovery because all poisons from the body have been drained out.

When the attack subsides and the sores dry up, olive oil should be applied to the skin and the patient regularly bathed. If this is done, most of the scars will disappear altogether and new skin will be formed.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 28-6-1913

[1] Form of metallic medication in *Ayurveda*

[2] *Bhasma* with properties of iron

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## *87. LETTER TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO MINISTER OF INTERIOR*[1]

JOHANNESBURG,
*June 28, 1913*

THE PRIVATE SECRETARY TO
THE MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR
PRETORIA

DEAR SIR,

I have endeavoured to study the Immigrants' Regulation Act, and observe with thankfulness that it is an improvement upon the original Bill.[2] But I respectfully beg to point out that it fails to carry out the provisional settlement of 1911 in at least four important particulars. In my humble opinion, if redress is granted in regard to these four particulars, the policy of the Government will not be affected, and yet the terms of the settlement, as my countrymen read it, will be just, but only just, satisfied.

The points are:

(1) According to the definition of the term "domicile", those indentured Indians who arrived after the Indian Immigration Law Amendment Act of 1895 and their descendants appear to become prohibited immigrants.

(2) The descendants of this class, although born in South Africa, will, if the above interpretation be correct, be unable henceforth to enter the Cape Province.

(3) Women married in South Africa according to the rites of Indian religions, and going to India, and returning with their husbands will not be on the same footing as those [married][3] in India. Nor are the hundreds of women married according to non-Christian faiths provided for by the amendment.

(4) The Free State difficulty seems to remain as it was before.

With reference to the first point, in view of the fact that the Minister has respected the right of the South Africa-born Indians to enter the Cape, if they are born of Indian parents domiciled

[1] This was published in *Indian Opinion*, 13-9-1913, under the title "Revival of Passive Resistance".

[2] A detailed comparison of the draft Bill and the Act as gazetted was published in *Indian Opinion*; *vide* Appendix VI.

[3] The original is not legible here.

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in South Africa, but not of indentured parents if they were indentured after the Natal Act 17 of 1895. It seems to me to be a small matter for the Government if they were to recognize the status of the descendants born in South Africa of those Indians who were indentured after the Act of 1895. I am sure the Government do not intend to set up distinctions between one class of Colonial-born Indians and another. Nor can it affect the policy of the Government to recognize the right of domicile of such indentured Indians themselves. There could not be more than seven thousand such Indians at the outside. This number, compared with the Indian population of Natal, which is estimated at 133,000, cannot fairly be deemed a dangerous permanent increase to the Indian population, especially when it is borne in mind that these men are wanted by the Europeans of Natal.

To the Indian community both the first and the second points are of the highest moment. According to the judgment of the Natal Courts, these men, if they are paying the annual tax of £3, have a right to remain in Natal as permanent residents. Are they now to become prohibited immigrants? I presume that the Government do not intend to deport them, but do they intend to enforce the provisions of the Act as to trading or the holding of land by them?

As to the marriage question, the difficulty raised by me is, in my humble opinion, obvious and calls for consideration.

As to the last point, in the correspondence that took place between General Smuts and myself,[1] doubt was expressed whether, in spite of the reservation clause, the declaration referred to in Section 8 of Chapter 33 could be required of an Indian who might be permitted to enter that Province under the new Act. What the people of the Free State want, I hope, is not a humiliating declaration from an Indian immigrant, but his legal disability to hold land, to farm, or to trade. If this be particularly mentioned in the Act itself, they cannot reasonably object to the removal of the clause which requires the declaration.

For the moment, and for the purposes of a settlement, I do not raise the question of the ousting (now only partial, I admit) of the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, and the other drastic provisions of the Act which at once make it far more illiberal than the previous Provincial Acts which it replaces.

If Mr. Fischer considers that it is possible for the Government to meet the Indian community, and give an assurance that

[1] *Vide* Vol. XI.

the necessary amendments will be made next year, and if he considers it worthwhile to discuss the points personally with me, I shall be pleased to wait on him. I hope that Mr. Fischer will see his way to consider my letter in the spirit in which it has been addressed. I beg to assure him that I have no desire to precipitate an acute crisis, which is certain to arise if no settlement can be arrived at between the Government and the Indians.

In the event of an appointment being made, it will be necessary to discuss at the interview the administration of the Act as to the admission of married women in cases where the marriage is not monogamous, as also the mode of regulating the entry of educated Indians. I do not discuss them here for fear of making this letter too long, and because I believe that, if the law can be set right, the question of administration is a comparatively easy matter.

I need hardly say that I have throughout this letter assumed that there are no other existing rights disturbed by the Act which have not formed the subject matter of correspondence, telegraphic or written, between the Government and myself.[1]

As I shall await your reply before advising my fellow-workers, may I ask for a telegraphic reply?[2]

*I remain,*
*Yours faithfully,*

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 5811

## *88. LETTER TO SECRETARY FOR INTERIOR*

[JOHANNESBURG,]
*July 2, 1913*

SIR,

With reference to the interview between us this morning, and in accordance with your wishes, I reduce to writing the points discussed between us:

1. With reference to Indians born in South Africa and their right under the Cape Immigration Act to enter the Cape, in my opinion, under Section 5 of the new Act, such men will not be able to enter the Cape by reason of the Proviso of Section 5. If the Government intend to recognize their right to enter the Cape on

[1] This paragraph, in Gandhiji's hand, appears to have been added later.
[2] This letter was followed by an interview on July 2. Gandhiji reduced the points discussed to writing; *vide* the following item.

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proving their South African birth as heretofore, they can do so without further legislation, by regulations that would exempt them from the operation of Section 1 Clause (a) of the Act. It may be observed that, if such Indians can pass the simple education test of the Cape, they can enter that Province under Paragraph A of sub-section 2 of Clause 5. As you are aware, most of the Colonial-born Indians have passed through the Government Indian schools and possess sufficient knowledge to undergo the Cape examination. It is also a well-known fact that, throughout the time that the Cape Act has been in force, hardly any South African-born Indian not belonging to the Cape has endeavoured to migrate to that Province; the reason is that there is no scope for them there.

2. With reference to the indentured Indians who entered Natal under the amending legislation of 1895, as I have already told you, the Natal Courts have held that these indentured men, after they have finished their indentures, are free to settle in Natal and could not be treated as prohibited immigrants if they have not re-indentured themselves, and that, after three years' residence without indenture, these people acquire under the Natal Immigration Act full rights of domicile in the same manner as other Indians; such Indians now appear to be affected by the definition of the term "domicile" in the present Act. I have already told you that we have obtained best legal opinion in Natal, which is to the effect that the definition does not cover such Indians and that their rights will not be affected by the new Act. However, I do not wish to take upon my shoulders the responsibility of advising my countrymen that they may be guided by that opinion alone. It is my sincere desire that any points which I, at least, can foresee should not be left open or not entirely understood. If the Government, however, give the same interpretation to the term "domicile" that our Counsel does, an assurance to that effect settles this point. Let me state it as clearly as I can. We are not seeking to gain any new rights for indentured Indians, but we are anxious that their present rights should be left intact, and these according to the belief of the Indians are that, if an indentured Indian entering into a contract of service after 1895, having become free at the end of his contract, does not re-indenture, lives in the Province for three years, then goes to India and returns, he has a right to re-enter under the present Immigration Law of Natal by reason of his three years' free residence.

3. As to the Free State, I have drawn your attention to the letter from General Smuts to the effect that, in his opinion,

possibly the Free State declaration was not required. If that is the legal position according to the opinion of the legal advisers of the Government, a statement to the effect that such is the position will meet the difficulty. I venture to suggest that the declaration that will be required in terms of Section 19 of the new Act may have all the disabilities printed at the back thereof, including Section 28 of the new Act. Then there need be no repetition of a declaration when a British Indian is recognized as an immigrant for the Free State.

4. As to the marriage question, in view of the Searle judgment[1], it is absolutely necessary to legalize Indian marriages celebrated or to be celebrated within the Union. This can be done by amending the new Act by removing the words "outside the Union" from the marriage clause of the Act, or by amending the Marriage Laws of the different Provinces authorizing the Government to appoint Marriage Officers for different denominations whose certificates as to the celebration of marriages according to the rites of the respective religions of the parties would be recognized as proper proof of marriage.

With reference to the marriage amendment in the new Act, I understand that only monogamous marriages will be recognized, and I appreciate that nothing more can be done in law at present, but an assurance is necessary to the effect that the present practice of admitting one wife of an Indian immigrant so long as she is the only one in South Africa, irrespective of the number of wives he might have in India, will be continued.

Then there will remain the question of polygamous marriages. As I have told you, there are not many such cases, but it is necessary to admit or re-admit plural wives of Indians who are already resident in South Africa. No new polygamous unions need be administratively recognized. A list can easily be prepared of those who have more than one wife either in the Union or outside it. My remarks are naturally applicable to the children of these unions also. I may point out that, in the July of 1911, General Smuts gave the assurance that special cases of polygamy would be considered by the Government.

I think that I have now exhausted all the points we discussed. If you think that there is anything omitted or that I should supplement this letter, kindly let me know. It is clear to me that the solution of this difficulty is very easy because, with the exception of

[1] *Vide* Appendix I.

the marriage difficulty, all the points can be settled without an Act of Parliament.

If a settlement is arrived at, it will be necessary to discuss the mode of admitting new entrants and the number for the various Provinces. May I suggest that, if the solution suggested by me is considered acceptable by General Smuts, you should telephone to me, so that I can come over to Pretoria and a final letter setting forth the terms of the settlement may be given to me. I make the suggestion so that there may be no correspondence necessary in order to elucidate any doubt that might arise as to the language of any letter that might be given to me, and the question of new entrants could also then be discussed. I have told you how urgent the matter is, and may I rely upon your courtesy to let me have an early reply?[1]

I am sending this letter per Mr. Pragji Desai[2], who will be at your disposal to carry any communications you may wish to send me, and, if you require me at the telephone, you have only to ring up 1635, and I shall be at the telephone from wherever I may be.

*Indian Opinion*, 13-9-1913

## *89. LETTER TO JAMNADAS GANDHI*

*Jeth Vad 14, 1969* [*July 2, 1913*]

CHI. JAMNADAS,

You have asked me some questions about serpent-bite and cited the experiences of others. What I say about this should be treated as no more than my inference. It is not based on experience. The instances you have come across do not deserve much attention. There may be something behind the cases of frenzied shaking of the head from side to side, but for the most part they are cases of fraud. I believe the same about cures of snake [-bite] and scorpion [-sting]. Possibly there is something in them, but one had better not go inquiring into these matters. We are to concern ourselves only with activities that tend to spiritual welfare. Everything else—even health—is subordinate to that.

[1] *Indian Opinion* reported that, for a time, the negotiations were suspended by Smuts due to civil disturbance in Johannesburg. When, however, peace was restored, Gandhiji resumed the correspondence on August 11, 1913.

[2] Pragji Khandubhai Desai, a satyagrahi

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Certain it is that he who strives to realize the Self will have everything else given to him.

Many people put on woollen clothes all through the year. Though it is true that they are non-conductors, it will be better not to use them in summer, for one may otherwise grow a little too soft in body. Instead of trying to maintain the body at an even temperature, we should train it to stand both cold and heat.

God exists, and yet does not. He does not, in any literal sense. The *atman* that has attained *moksha* is God and therefore omniscient. The true meaning of *bhakti*[1] is search for the *atman*. When the *atman* realizes itself, *bhakti* is transformed into *jnana*.

Narsimha [Mehta][2] and others gave themselves to such devoted search of the *atman*.

Krishna, Rama and others were divine incarnations, but we, too, can be like them when immense *punya*[3] has accrued to us. The *atmans* about to attain *moksha* are so many divine incarnations. We need not believe in their perfection while yet alive.

It is difficult to say who was the greatest among Krishna, Rama, the Buddha, Jesus, etc. Their achievements differed, because they lived in different times and under different circumstances. In point of character alone, possibly the Buddha was the greatest. But who can say? They have been described by their devotees according to their own inclinations. *Vaishnavas* attribute perfection to Krishna. One has to, of course. Otherwise single-minded *bhakti* would be impossible. Christians do the same to Jesus. In India, Krishna being the last [of the incarnations], his figure is invested with especial greatness.

Those who deny the existence of God will end up on the wrong path, for they will be obliged to deny the existence of the *atman*. *Avatar* is, and will always remain, a necessity. It is only when people are in utter despair and immorality is widespread that a belief in *avatar* comes to prevail. A small number following normal morality in the midst of a wicked majority looks for support. In a situation of this kind, a man of great moral strength who has no fear of the wicked but of whom the wicked stand in fear, is looked upon as an *avatar* after his death, or even during his life-time. It is not probable, in most cases, that such a person regards himself as an *avatar* right from the beginning.

[1] Devotion
[2] Poet-saint of Gujarat
[3] Accumulated merit

Comparison of religions is uncalled for. One must gain a mature understanding of one's own religion and then study others. For purposes of comparison in a general way, the criterion is compassion [taught] as a rule of life. The greater the scope for compassion in a way of life, the more of religion it has. "The ethical way has its roots in compassion"—that is the first principle to be taught to everyone; and the second, "*Brahman* is the Reality; the Phenomenal world is unreal." No single principle may appeal to all, but it would seem that one who is in quest of the *atman* will have the right principle spring to his lips at the right time.

Caste-distinctions are both necessary and unnecessary. Their forcible observance is unnecessary. . . . G's action in giving encouragement to the pariah was praiseworthy.

In fact, there are as many paths as there are human beings. So long as men differ [in temperament], their paths are bound to differ. He who sees the identity of his *atman* with the *atmans* of others will also see unity in the [different] religions.

When the *atman* is free from bondage to the body, it is said to have attained *moksha*. The nature of that state is not to be described. It can only be experienced. Ghosts, etc., are an evil order of beings. Those guilty of wicked deeds are born in that order.

I have glanced through the book on milk-treatment. I was not impressed by it. That is, however, because of my present frame of mind. Even if anyone could prove that meat had a highly beneficial effect on the body, it would remain unacceptable. I hold the same view about milk. It is but another form of meat and man has no right to take it. [To argue] that because a baby sucks the mother's milk, man should take cow's milk is the very limit of ignorance.

*Blessings from*
MOHANDAS

[From Gujarati]
*Mahatma Gandhijina Patro*

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## *90. LETTER TO SECRETARY FOR INTERIOR*

[JOHANNESBURG,]
*July* [*4*], *1913*

DEAR MR. GORGES,

I thank you for your note of the 3rd instant, and in view of my conversation with you regarding Mr. Polak, may I ask you to 'phone to me as early as you can tomorrow, Saturday? I shall be practically up to half-past-two at my office, telephone No. 1635.

I promised to let you have the Natal case regarding the indentured Indians who are paying the £3 tax. The case is Subrayen *versus* the Principal Immigration Officer, Natal Reports, page 638. This is the substance telegraphed to me of the case:

> Subrayen had served indentures which expired in 1906. Thereafter, he had paid tax till May 1911. He then proceeded temporarily to India, leaving his wife in charge of business. Subrayen returned in November 1912, but was restricted under Section 5, sub-section A of the Natal Act, 1903. Under sub-section B, Section 32, the Court held that Subrayen's residence in Natal as free Indian on payment of the tax did not come within the meaning of the words "or the like" following after "indenture" [in] section 32 and that he was entitled to exemption from operation of the Act under Section 4.

I think you will agree that the case completely bears out the contention submitted by me.

*I remain,*
*Yours truly,*

E. M. GORGES, ESQ.

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 5823

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### 7. OTHER INFECTIOUS DISEASES

We have considered smallpox in some detail. Now remain allied diseases such as chickenpox, measles, etc. The plague, cholera, and fast-spreading dysentery are also infectious diseases. We are not afraid of chickenpox and measles because they are seldom fatal, nor do they cause disfigurement. Apart from this, they are very similar in effect to smallpox and are contracted in the same manner. Cold water treatments and wet sheet packs are the best remedies for them. Diet during the attacks should be extremely light and bland. If a patient can subsist on fresh fruit, his recovery will be rapid.

The "tumour fever" is a terrible disease. In English it is called "the bubonic plague". Hundreds of thousands have died of it in India since 1896. Despite much fuss, doctors have so far been able to discover no remedy for it. Nowadays, a preventive inoculation similar to vaccination is given for this disease also. Producing with it a mild attack of the plague, the doctors explain that this will confer immunity against further infection. But this is a mockery similar to vaccination and is an equally sinful experiment. Just as it cannot definitely be stated of anyone who has been vaccinated that he would surely have got smallpox if he had not been vaccinated, so also is it impossible to say that one who has been inoculated against the plague would have got it were it not for the inoculation. There is no known antidote against the bubonic plague. Nor can any guarantee be given that water and mud treatments will prove effective against the disease. However, for the benefit of those who do not fear death and who have trust in God, the following measures may be suggested:

1. On getting fever or at the very first signs of it, take a wet sheet pack.
2. A thick mud pack should be applied to the swollen glands.
3. The patient should be given no food whatever.
4. If he feels very thirsty, cold lime juice and water should be administered.
5. The patient should lie in a place open to plenty of fresh air.
6. Except for one person, no one should be allowed to go near him.

7. If anything can bring about a cure, these measures certainly will.

No definite knowledge is available regarding the origin of the plague. Many, however, are of the opinion that it is spread by rats and there seems to be some basis for this impression. In areas where cases of the plague have occurred, it is imperative that houses be cleared of rats, and that grains, etc., be stored so that rats cannot gain access to them and are not attracted. Rat-holes should be filled in; if a house cannot be completely freed of rats, it must, of course, be vacated.

But the best insurance against the plague is to adopt from the start a clean, wholesome and spare diet, give up all addictions, take regular exercise, live in fresh air, keep one's home and surroundings clean and thus maintain oneself so fit that this fashion of a plague does not touch one. This should be the normal manner of living but, even if that is not possible, it should in any case be followed while an epidemic is on.

An even more terrible disease and one which breaks out simultaneously with the bubonic plague is fever accompanied by difficult breathing, known in English as the pneumonic plague. The temperature shoots up very high and the patient remains for the most part unconscious. Recovery from this *kalajwar*[1] is rare. This disease came to Johannesburg in 1904 and only one out of twenty-three cases survived. Some account of this incident has already been given. For this condition, too, the remedies are the same as those suggested for the bubonic plague, except that in this case it is necessary to apply mud packs to both sides of the chest. If there is not enough time in which to keep the patient in a wet sheet pack, thin mud poultices should be applied to the head. For this disease also preventive measures are easier to take and more effective than remedies for cure, and it will be wise to employ these as shown above.

Cholera appears horrible when there is an actual case but, in fact, it is a much less serious disease than the plague. Wet sheet packs cannot be used here because the patient suffers from cramps, especially in the thighs. It may be of some benefit in this condition to apply mud packs to the abdomen, but where there are cramps it is necessary to foment the spot with hot water bottles. The patient's feet should be rubbed with mustard oil. No food, of course, must be given. The patient's friends should see that, instead of his getting scared out of his wits, his courage is kept up.

[1] Literally, deadly fever

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If he has frequent motions, he should not be made to leave bed for the purpose, but he should be provided with a shallow pan without sharp edges in which he may pass stools. If these measures are taken without delay, there will be little risk for the patient. During an epidemic of cholera, there are effective measures with which to protect oneself against it. The disease usually appears in summer. People suddenly start eating unripe or rotten fruit. We are not as a rule accustomed to eat fruit, but many kinds ripen in this season and are cheap, so that they are eaten in large quantities. This is in addition to the usual food, with the result that the harmful effect of such fruit follows immediately. Even as it is, we frequently suffer from stomach-ache and such other complaints. When the stomach can stand the strain no longer, we get cholera. Others' physical condition is similar to ours and hence they also get an attack. No special precautions are taken regarding the patient's stools and the germs from these pollute the atmosphere. Water also is bad during the hot weather. With everything going dry, water becomes dirty and infected and is drunk without being filtered or boiled. Under such conditions, is it any wonder that diseases occur? It is only because Nature has provided us with a tough physique that we survive at all. Otherwise, looking at our conduct and habits, we deserve a very early end indeed.

We shall now consider the precautions to be taken during an epidemic of cholera. It is very important to keep the diet light and moderate. Good fruit may certainly be eaten but it should be carefully examined. We should never, out of miserliness or because of their tastefulness, eat mangoes or any other fruits which are rotten in parts. Fresh air is essential. *Drinking water must always be boiled* and filtered through a thick and clean piece of *khadi*[1]. Excreta of patients must be burned and the place covered with dry earth. If it became a regular practice with every person to sprinkle ashes over the excreta after using the latrine, the danger would be greatly reduced. To tell the truth, this should be a permanent rule. Cats dig a hole into which they pass stools and then cover it up with earth. It is only we who neglect to do this, thinking it to be a kind of pollution or feeling squeamish about doing it, and so fall victims to disease. If ashes are not available, dry earth should be used. If in lumps, the earth should first be broken up and made into dust.

[1] Any coarse cloth; later, in India, the term came to signify handspun and handwoven indigenous cloth.

The fast-spreading dysentery is the least serious of these infectious diseases. In this condition, if only mud packs are properly applied to the abdomen and all intake of food stopped, the disease will be cured. It is essential that excreta be covered up in the manner described above. In regard to water, the same precautions should be taken as for cholera.

Finally, when any of these infectious diseases occurs, neither the patient nor his friends and relatives should lose courage. With fear, the patient will succumb much sooner, and his relatives, and others as well, will be in danger of catching the infection.

[From Gujarati]
*Indian Opinion*, 5-7-1913

## *92. RIOT IN JOHANNESBURG*

### History of Strike

In Johannesburg, the white workers in the mines had gone on a big strike unprecedented in the gold area. It ended on Monday. Nearly 40,000 labourers had struck work. It was all much ado about nothing.[1] The cause was insignificant. Forty new labourers were hired in a mine. The management demanded a quarter of an hour's extra work from them on Saturdays, which the labourers refused. The management insisted. This was a downright mistake. There was a conflagration. The secretary of the Union gave notice that the workers would go on strike if they were made to work a quarter of an hour longer. The secretary was not employed in any of the mines. No weight was attached to his letter. This was an insult to the Union, and added fuel to the fire. The workers went on strike. The proprietors then came round. They agreed to take back the new workers on their terms. But the game was out of their hands. The workers were now in no mood to listen. They considered the insult to the secretary as an insult to themselves. The fire spread. Workers in the other mines were also members of the Union. They, too, went on strike. One by one, the mines began to close down. If any labourer went to work, he was assaulted. In Benoni the workers started looting. The houses of the manager and others were burnt down. Huge meetings were held and bitter speeches were made. The Government was caught unawares. There were hardly any police.

[1] The Gujarati saying literally means: "a mustard seed being magnified into a mountain!"

The few there were proved inadequate. This emboldened the workers still further. The Government is being blamed by many people.

The flames spread to Johannesburg. Friday saw the worst. Life and property were in danger. The Government requisitioned the entire police force of South Africa. Meanwhile bloodshed continued. There was blood in the workers' eyes. They carried red flags and were bedecked with red tassels. They intimidated the men working the trams. The authorities showed wisdom and stopped the trams. The leader was a woman named Mrs. Fitzgerald. Accompanied by a gang of 50 people, she threatened the shopkeepers and made them close down the shops. Trade came to a standstill in Johannesburg. People were in panic and began to store foodgrains, etc. The cost of a bag of coal went up to ten shillings.

Things did not stop there. At night, Mrs. Fitzgerald and her companions went to the railway station, where they broke windows and doors. The ticket-office and the godown were reduced to ashes. They were in no way deterred by the police. One Kaffir employee was burnt to death. Then, at about nine at night, the crowd went to the office of *The Star*. There some of the men broke the windows and went in. They made a heap of all the copies of the paper and put a lighted match-stick into it. A few hours, and a beautiful building was a heap of ashes. This newspaper has been under a cloud many a time. It has not come out till Tuesday. The fire brigade which came to extinguish the fire was driven back by the workers. Then they looted the arms and ammunition shops and, taking possession of guns and powder, prepared themselves to fight. Other shops were also plundered. Three or four Indian shops, too, were looted. This seems to have been the work not of the workers but of ruffians. When there is chaos, who will listen to whom?

Meanwhile, the Government had woken up. Johannesburg was crowded with police. Guards were posted at important buildings. On Saturday afternoon, the strikers began an attack on the Rand Club. The police warned the people, coaxed them. The law-breakers paid no heed. Shots were fired over their heads. But they were not frightened. Thereupon, they aimed the guns exactly at their bodies. Bullets descended in a shower, killing the guilty and the innocent. Blood flowed in streams. Many died and many were wounded. The Red Cross came, removed the dead and took the wounded to hospital. Terror reigned now. People began to run for their lives. The Rand Club was saved.

Meanwhile, someone spread a rumour that Mr. Chudley had fired a shot from the Club. Immediately people rushed to his magnificent shop to wreak vengeance. There they broke the window panes and sacked the shop.

Such was the state of affairs when General Botha and General Smuts came to Johannesburg. At a meeting with the strikers' leaders, an agreement was drawn up and signed by the two generals and three leaders. The terms of the agreement are that the workers in the mines, as also the other workers, will be reinstated, that the Government accepts responsibility for the dead and the wounded and, as far as possible, will compensate their dependants and that it will inquire into the other grievances. The leaders demanded that no action be taken against those who had incited the people and taken part in looting. General Botha said that he would do his best, but that he could not promise to interfere with the course of justice. At present, nearly 100 people are under arrest. Mrs. Fitzgerald has also been arrested. Newspapers had stopped publication. Except *The Star*, all the others resumed publication on Tuesday. Other activities have also been resumed. At the moment of writing, it looks as if nothing had ever happened in Johannesburg. Man soon forgets his misery and his danger.

On Monday, Johannesburg observed mourning. Flags were flown half mast, all the dead were buried at four in the afternoon. It is estimated that a crowd of 30,000 followed the funeral procession. These same people, the previous day, saw blood. On Monday they followed the funeral procession in a slow, sad march.

It is now that the difficulties of the strike-leaders have begun. Some of the strikers abuse the leaders and say that they were cheated by the Government. Some say that the leaders betrayed them. Some want to fight on still. The bulk have accepted what the leaders have done. Votes of the different unions were taken. The railway workers, too, were defiant. In the end, however, they calmed down. Quite a few hold that they should watch how the Government keeps its promise and so normal activities have been resumed. The miners have also been warned, at a meeting, that they should be vigilant lest the Government let them down, as it had done with the Asiatics. Regarding this suspicion, one leader said that, if the workers remained strong, the Government dared not play foul and that, if it did, they should reply with a still bigger strike.

At the special request of the Government and in order not to excite public feeling, both the leading newspapers have refrained from commenting on this epic strike and apportioning blame.

Pressure is being put upon Mr. Harcourt in England. Imperial troops are stationed in South Africa. The understanding is that these troops are not to be used to deal with a situation of this kind. Mr. Harcourt was, therefore, questioned why Lord Gladstone used the Imperial troops. He is being blamed by several people. Thus, the story of this uprising is not yet over. At present, no one can say who has lost and who has won. In Johannesburg, the loss on account of looting and arson alone is estimated at £50,000, apart from the losses in business and those sustained by the railways, trams, etc. The number of deaths is put at 18. In all, nearly 400 people are believed to have been wounded. There are still ten wounded men lying in the hospital in a critical condition.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 12-7-1913

## *93. GENERAL KNOWLEDGE ABOUT HEALTH [–XXVIII]*

### 8. CONFINEMENT

We have so far considered general diseases. It is not the intention, in these chapters, to write on all the maladies one may come across in this world or make suggestions about them, but rather to show that most diseases have a common origin and a common form of treatment. Those who have been driven to desperation by illness and are afraid of death will certainly consult a doctor, whatever books are placed before them. The most that these chapters can indicate is how those who suffer from ordinary ailments may recover and, observing the laws of good health, may not fall ill again or become a prey to a serious disease. Only a few have the courage even for this. That those few may find these brief articles useful is one of the objects in view in the present series. We have now reached a point when, after a brief consideration of confinement, infant-care and accidents, we may conclude these chapters.

The subject of confinement has been made too much of. Delivery is nothing very dangerous for a woman whose body is healthy. Among villagers, a confinement is regarded as a very ordinary occurrence. Pregnant women perform their usual tasks right up to the last and suffer no harm during child-birth. There have been cases of *Bharwad*[1] women resuming normal work

[1] A community of shepherds in Gujarat

immediately after giving birth to a child. Animals, we know, suffer no pain.

Then, why do urban women suffer so much pain? Why do they suffer such unbearable agony during the birth of a child? Why does it become necessary to give these women special care before and after delivery? Let us take up these questions.

The city women's way of life is completely unnatural. Their diet and dress are opposed to Nature's laws. The most important reason, however, is something quite different. If a girl becomes pregnant while she is still a child, if her husband does not refrain from intercourse with her even during this period and, soon after delivery, so conducts himself that within a short time she becomes pregnant again, why will she not suffer? We see hundreds of thousands of girls and women in this fearful and pitiable condition. City-life of this kind is no different from hell. As long as men continue thus to behave like monsters, women can never be happy. Many men blame women. It is not our business in this chapter to say who is more to blame. Whether it be the fault of both parties or of one, having realized that something is wrong, parents, child-husbands and child-wives should take heed. As long as intercourse during childhood, during pregnancy and immediately following confinement is not given up, deliveries can never be easy. Because the women do not have to suffer excessively for a very long period and as it is considered inevitable that they will be weak for a month and a half afterwards, they put up with the ordinary pains of child-birth and, thanks to the prevailing ignorance about this state of affairs, a race of cowardly, emasculated and spiritless creatures is coming into existence day by day. This is a terrible thing indeed, and each one of us needs to work tirelessly to prevent it. If even one man or woman shuns such evil practice, that will be so much gain to the whole world. In this matter, one should never wait for another to make a beginning.

According to this view, then, the first step to be taken in the care of a pregnant woman is for her husband to stop all sexual intercourse with her. Many responsibilities are to devolve upon her during the nine months of pregnancy. It should be realized that the future conduct of the child will depend to a great extent upon that of the mother during this period. If the *mother* is affectionate, so will the child be. If *she* is bad-tempered, the child too will be bad-tempered. It is quite important, therefore, that the mother should maintain a very pure state of mind during these nine months. She should be engaged in virtuous deeds, avoid anger, be particularly compassionate and generous, be free

from anxiety and fear, not allow carnal thoughts even to enter her mind, not waste time in useless gossiping, and never tell an untruth. If a woman observes all these rules, the child to be born to her cannot but grow to be an illustrious person.

Just as it is imperative that the mind be kept pure, so also must the body be kept clean. It is essential always to have fresh air. During pregnancy, the woman's respiration becomes more rapid. Consequently, she must be in a place where the air is much fresher. Her diet should be regular, easy to digest and nourishing. A good diet should be planned along the lines recommended in earlier chapters. She should consume during this period olive oil, bananas and wheat in quantities which she can digest. If she gets constipated, she should not go in for any medicine but increase the quantity of olive oil. If suffering from nausea, she should take lime juice in a little water without sugar. Spices, chillies, etc., should be completely stopped, during these nine months, at any rate.

Some women feel all kinds of fanciful desires and aversions at this time. The best way to combat them is to have regular Kuhne baths. This bath will increase strength, improve the lustre of the skin and ensure easy delivery. Many women have had this experience. It is also necessary to control these fancies when they come. It is possible to forget an object which the mind hankers after by disregarding the desire on one or two occasions. At all times, both mother and father must be careful of the safety of the child she is carrying.

It is the husband's duty not to agitate the wife by starting quarrels with her during this period. She should be kept happy and relaxed. If she has to carry too heavy a burden of domestic work, the husband should try to lighten it. It is essential for her to have a short walk in the open air every day. During pregnancy, it should be seen to it that no medicine of any kind is swallowed by the mother.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 12-7-1913

## 94. LETTER TO G. K. GOKHALE

"MOUNTAIN VIEW",
[JOHANNESBURG,]
*July 12, 1913*

DEAR MR. GOKHALE,

I hope you duly received the cable[1] I sent you. As there was no certainty about a settlement being arrived at and as your wires were imperative, it was thought best to send Polak to you. There is up to the time of writing no definite information from General Smuts. In reply to a personal letter[2], his secretary telegraphs saying owing to the crisis General Smuts has no time to go into the points raised by me. There are internal dissensions too in the Cabinet.

In the event of a settlement, I have suggested to Polak that he should unreservedly place himself at your disposal. If you can use him for your own secretarial work, he will, I know, feel honoured and he can be spared. If you think that he may be the Secretary of the London Committee, you may appoint him as such.

Regarding his expenses the position is this. Mr. Rustomji has advanced for his start nearly £250. His monthly expenses I am paying out of the little I have still left with me. Mrs. Polak and the rent of his office need at least £35 per month. His passage and other expenses have already come to roughly £50. If it is at all possible, I have therefore asked him to suggest to you that £300 at least should be sent to me for the time being.

But if the raising of the money means any mental [strain][3] or trouble to you, may I beseech you not to trouble about the funds. I shall manage somehow or other till his return. In my cablegrams I felt bound to place before you my position. But the cablegrams need not worry you at all. All I care for is, selfishly, to see you alive for some years at least. And nothing would grieve me more than to find that our troubles hastened your departure from this earth. Nor is it at all necessary in the event of the struggle reviving, for you to go to India in August or before your

[1] *Vide* "Cable to G. K. Gokhale", pp. 117-8.
[2] This is not available.
[3] The original is damaged here.

health is restored. I have spoken to the passive resisters and they have all asked me to tell you that they are not frightened by the prospect of prolongation of the struggle. I personally feel that but for a Cabinet crisis and but for strikes, the struggle, if it is revived, will be sharp and swift.

I hope you will be able to read my horrible writing.

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

From the handwritten original: C. W. 929
Courtesy: Servants of India Society

## *95. IMMIGRATION LAWS*

Regulations have been framed under the Immigration Act and published in *The Union Gazette*.[1] We have no time just now to give a summary of the regulations. We must study them carefully and decide what is best to be done about them. The administration of the Act will depend on these regulations. Even an otherwise excellent law can be made oppressive, and an oppressive law can be made milder, through regulations. We have glanced through these regulations and have so far not seen any section which may prove particularly dangerous. But we can also see that much has been left out in them and that supplementary regulations are likely to be published. We must state in this connection that some gentlemen have drawn our attention to section 19 of the Act and told us that we have either overlooked or failed to understand the implications of that section. It has certainly not escaped our attention. We have gone through it again, word by word. We see nothing dangerous in it. The section is to the following effect:

> Every person who enters or is found within the Union will, if required, have to appear before an [immigration] officer and satisfy such officer that he is not a prohibited immigrant either in respect of the Union or in respect of any particular province. The officer may require every such person to give a declaration in the form prescribed under the regulations and to produce documentary or other evidence relative to his claim to enter or remain. The person must

[1] For an analysis of the Regulations and the related documents, *vide* Appendix VII.

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submit to any examination or test. If he is suspected of being afflicted with any disease [which would render him a prohibited immigrant], the officer may also require him to submit to a medical examination. Every such declaration will be exempt from stamp duty. After such test, every person whom the officer considers not to be a prohibited immigrant will be free [to enter or remain,] but if any person fails to undergo the test as above or, having given it fails to satisfy the officer that he is not a prohibited immigrant, he will not be permitted to land and will be informed in writing that he may, if he chooses, appeal to an immigration board. If the person is on board a ship, such notice [of appeal] will have to be given immediately; otherwise, within three days of the receipt of written intimation from the officer.

This is the meaning of Section 19 as we understand it, and according to this interpretation we find nothing objectionable in it. This Section can be used oppressively. But so can many other sections. Under this Section, the Government can authorize an officer to demand finger prints or other humiliating means of identification, but it has not done so. There are such sections even in the old Act. If, when the regulations are framed, the Government prescribes under this Section evidence which it would be a hardship to produce, we must certainly protest. But this is a separate question and does not arise from Section 19. We cannot object to the Government being invested with such power under the law. Laws cannot even be enforced unless the Government is armed with such powers. What we must do is to protest every time against their abuse. As we have said above, we see no provision in the regulations framed under Section 19 which need cause alarm. After we have read the regulations again, and made sure of their correct interpretation, we shall be in a better position to advise the community.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 19-7-1913

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## *96. NEW IMMIGRATION ACT*

### Its Objectionable Features

Mr. Gandhi has returned from Johannesburg. In a message to him, General Smuts says that the current agitation by white Railway workers leaves him no time for anything else, and he will, therefore, think about the matter when conditions become a little more peaceful. The following are the points in this Act which remain to be settled:

1. Indentured labourers who arrived after 1895 seem to lose their right of settling down [in Natal] on the expiry of their term of indenture.
2. The right of entry into the Cape which all Indians born in South Africa have enjoyed seems to disappear.
3. Indian marriages celebrated in South Africa must be recognized as valid. Moreover, the term "monogamous" used in the Bill must not be interpreted by the Government to imply that any woman intending to immigrate should be the only wife of her husband in India. So long as the husband does not have another wife in South Africa, there should be no objection to the entry of such a woman. Further, if any of those who are already resident in South Africa have married twice in India, or here, both the wives should be free to leave and return [to South Africa].
4. An Indian entering the [Orange] Free State as a fresh immigrant should not be required to sign the declaration that he has to at present.
5. Particulars about the admission of Indians this year must be settled.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 19-7-1913

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## *97. GENERAL KNOWLEDGE ABOUT HEALTH [–XXIX]*

### 9. CARE OF CHILDREN

It is not intended in this article to go into the details with which midwives are concerned. We shall therefore turn to the time after the child has been delivered. Those who have understood the previous chapters will realize that even during confinement it is not necessary that the mother and child must be kept roasting in a dark, unventilated room, with bedding all too dirty and heated from beneath. However old the practice of keeping a confined woman in a dark room, it is cruel all the same. Keeping out fresh air is even more cruel. The custom of placing fire under [the cot] is entirely unnecessary and one full of risk. During the winter the patient will certainly need greater warmth. For this purpose, she should be supplied with extra coverings. If the room is cold, a fire, first lighted outside, may be brought in after the smoke has subsided, and the air in the room be warmed but it is absolutely unnecessary to place it under the cot. A hot-water bottle in the mother's bed will as well help to keep it warm. It is also a cruel and superstitious practice to provide her with dirty sheets to sleep on. After recovery, the clothes can be thoroughly washed and used again.

The child's health depends on the condition of the mother. Therefore, in addition to these precautions, she should be given an easily digestible and nourishing diet. There is no evidence that [tonic foods made with] gum and things of that kind are particularly beneficial. If the mother eats a diet of wheat, banana and olive oil, sufficient heat will be generated in her body and she will have plentiful supply of milk. Olive oil will give milk a mildly laxative quality, and this will ensure clear motions for the child. If the baby has any complaint, it is the mother who should be examined. To give any drug to the baby will be risking its life. The child's intestines being extremely delicate, the toxic effects of the drug will be felt immediately. At such times, it is the mother who should take the medicine as its curative properties will in an imperceptible manner pass into her milk. If the baby appears to have too many motions or to be coughing frequently, there is no need for panic. Instead, one should wait for a day or two. The specific cause of the trouble should be removed and the child will recover. Flying into a panic and

giving medicines will definitely harm the baby's health.

Infants should be bathed in lukewarm water and should have a minimum of clothing. For the first few months it will be better for the baby to have no clothing at all. It is best wrapped in a soft white sheet and then covered with a warm shawl. In this way the bother of dressing the child is avoided. Fewer clothes will be soiled and the baby will come to have a tough rather than a weak constitution. A folded thin cloth should be laid over the umbilicus and a bandage tied over it. The custom of tying the umbilical cord to the neck with a string is bad. The bandage should be changed every day. If there is any raw skin round the umbilicus, finely strained powder of cleaned rice should be sprinkled over it with clean cotton wool. This will help the part to dry up.

As long as the mother has a plentiful supply of milk, it is unnecessary to give the infant any other food. When the supply decreases, the child should be given the flour of roasted wheat, mixed with warm water and a little jaggery and this will have the qualities of milk. Alternatively, half a banana mashed and well mixed with half a spoon of olive oil will prove very beneficial. If cow's milk is to be given to start with, a mixture of one part milk and three parts water, heated to boiling point, should be used. A little quantity of pure jaggery should also be added to this. Substituting sugar for jaggery seems to be harmful. If the child is gradually given increasing quantities of fresh fruits, its blood will remain in excellent condition from the very start and it will grow strong and vigorous. Many mothers feed babies with *dal*, rice, vegetables, etc., as soon as its teeth appear or even earlier than that. But this is undoubtedly no good for it. Tea and coffee should in no case be given to a child.

When the baby has grown up, that is, has learnt to walk, it may be dressed in a shirt, etc. Shoes are quite superfluous. An infant does not have to walk among thorns. If, therefore, it remains barefoot, the child's feet will be toughened and there will be no obstacle to the circulation of blood which might otherwise be constricted because of the shoes. It is both vulgar and cruel to dress up a child, for the sake of show, with silken clothes, or dresses padded with cotton, narrow pyjamas, a cap on head and ornaments round the neck. To imagine that we can improve upon the appearance that Nature has given the child is sheer vanity and ignorance.

It must be realized that the child's education begins right from its birth and that its real teachers are its father and mother. To threaten a child, to pad its body [with dresses], to overload

its stomach all these are a violation of educational principles. If the parents are irritable, the child will grow likewise, and from parents who are soft it will learn to be soft. Its ways of speech also it will learn from the parents; if the parents pronounce words correctly, so will the child; if they use stammering or foul speech, the child will do likewise. If they follow immoral ways, to be sure, the child will learn them. "As the father so will be the child, as the banyan tree so will be its fruit"[1]—is indeed a true saying. Here the word 'father' stands for both parents. The child learns to eat the food the father eats. Later on, it will never get elsewhere the education that it can receive in its home.

When we consider all this, it becomes clear how very delicate is the responsibility the parents carry. Man's primary duty is to teach children purity of conduct so that they may bring credit to themselves and the parents. We observe of trees and their fruits that only plantains can come from a plantain tree and that an excellent tree alone produces good fruit. A fine animal has fine offspring. Man falsifies this rule. Parents with a reputation for purity have children of impure conduct and apparently healthy parents have unhealthy offspring. The chief or rather the only reason for this is that, though not worthy to be parents, we frequently become such merely in consequence of self-indulgence. How then can we be mindful of children's interests? But it is incumbent on right-minded parents to bring up their children in the best possible manner. To be able to do this, both father and mother must have received true education. Parents who have not done so should, if they realize their error, leave their children in the charge of other well-educated and virtuous persons. It is vain to hope that children will learn good behaviour at school. There is only one way of teaching good behaviour and that is to give the child an opportunity to live constantly in that kind of atmosphere. If there is one sort of training at home and another at school, the children can never improve. It follows from this that there are no fixed times when a child is to receive its education. Its education commences at its birth and from that very moment begins its physical, mental and spiritual or religious training. Its training in language starts the moment it begins to prattle. Instruction in letters also it can have from its parents, as it plays. In olden days, this was what usually happened. Now, it has become the custom to send children to schools. If parents would do their duty by their children, there would be no limit to the heights the latter

[1] A Gujarati saying

could reach. But, if we regard children merely as toys, fondle them excessively, spoil them out of a mistaken notion of affection with sweets and rich clothes right from their childhood, allow them to do as they please, if we are greedy for money ourselves and teach this greed to children, are engrossed in pleasures and set that example before children, are lazy ourselves and make them lazy, are dirty and teach them dirty ways, tell lies and teach them lies, then is it any wonder that our progeny grow up to be feeble, immoral, lying, lustful, selfish and greedy? Thoughtful parents need carefully to ponder over these remarks. India's future, a good half of it, lies in the hands of parents.

[From Gujarati]
*Indian Opinion*, 19-7-1913

## *98. LETTER TO JAMNADAS GANDHI*

[PHŒNIX,]
*Ashad Vad 1* [*July 19, 1913*][1]

CHI. JAMNADAS,

I got your two letters together. I advise you to marry because I do not credit you with spiritual strength of a high order. By obstinately refusing to marry, you will cause extreme pain to your parents, and still more to your prospective father-in-law. You can do all this, but for that you require higher knowledge. When you have achieved it, you will ask me no questions, nor will your parents or anyone else take your words amiss. You cannot say with certainty that your present state of mind will last for ever. When Lord Buddha had an indirect knowledge of the truth, he went away, abandoning his wife as she slept, and causing much grief to his parents. Yet, the world has admired his action. At present, your ideas rest on your faith in me. I have, therefore, given you advice in keeping with your state. You may, however, remember my condition. I have told you that you will have to marry. All the same, if you have no sexual union with your wife, this cannot but conduce to the welfare of both of you. It will also be an excellent example to others. It is more difficult to observe unbroken *brahmacharya* in marriage than without marrying. You will be able to observe it only if you are strongly impressed with

[1] The letter appears to have been written after the addressee's departure for India in December 1912.

its great virtue. This will happen only if you have earned extraordinary *punya* in your previous lives. If you have the strength, you should do this. You should respectfully tell your parents of your views and your father-in-law through them. You may tell them : "I desire to observe inviolate *brahmacharya* and feel that it will be better for me not to marry. If you understand my ideas, kindly help me. If you think this to be mere childishness in me, I will obey you and marry. But I shall have no union with my wife. I shall try to persuade her also to observe *brahmacharya* and seek her cooperation in my effort. We shall not share the same bed. I shall look after her in all other ways and bear her pure love." If you can speak these words with knowledge, they will have effect and, having announced this, you will find it extremely difficult to seek union with the lady, notwithstanding the fact that you two are married. You will see that this course will keep you free from the difficulties of looking after children, etc., which you have been thinking of.

There has been no settlement yet. I believe there will be one. Even if there is, it is not possible now to leave here before September. I shall send you a cable when I start.

You have correctly explained why unwholesome food produces an immediate effect on persons like us. When Lord Buddha ate the flesh he received as alms, his body fell dead. If, through ignorance or oversight, eggs have been used in Mrs. Besant's[1] food, she vomits it.

It will be a good—an excellent—thing for Valji Fojdar's son to take in water through the nostrils. He should also modify his diet. First, he should fast for a day or two. For some days he should live on fruit diet, and of that, too, only one meal every day. He should take Kuhne baths and eschew supper altogether. Ghee should be washed and mixed well with camphor powder, and this may then be smelt. It will be good to do this three or four times every day. There is no harm in smelling tobacco either. Tobacco can be used with discrimination for medicinal purposes.

You are right in what you say about Sir Isaac Newton's discovery. The well-known scientist Wallace has recently expressed the same view. He says that people's moral sense has in no way improved as a result of all these discoveries.

Don't suppose that no one has ever thought about milk. I am sure there must be quite a few who go without milk. But as I

[1] Annie Besant (1847-1933); theosophist leader, politician and social reformer

said once,[1] the giving up of meat-eating in India at the instance of some great man was a change of such far-reaching importance that we do not find anyone to have thought or written about milk. This, however, is due to our ignorance. We have not read everything and seen everyone. The best test is this : "Does the thing appeal to reason, leaving aside the question whether or not it was considered in the past?" Moreover, nobody has said or believed that it is a sin to do without milk. Swami Ramatirth's[2] teaching appeared to me very gross in many places. Some of it also seemed morally unsound. His ideas about travel are much too rough and ready. Malbari[3] has better ideas. There is no need whatever for a religious leader from India to go preaching to America. *Karmayoga*[4] imposes limits on us and to cross them would be *moha*[5] and *mamata*[6] on one's part.

I have never believed that Japan and America are advancing. The man who gave up his life to no purpose did nothing worthy. That was self-will on his part and, therefore, a sinful act.

If the husband and wife belong to different religions, there can be no sense of oneness.

Printing presses and newspapers are also evils. Knowing this, we should not venture upon new ones. What I have written in *Hind Swaraj*[7] on this still holds good.

Manilal has written about the episode involving him . . ., so I will say nothing here. It has many lessons to teach.

*Blessings from*
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C. W. 5647
Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

[1] *Vide* Vol. XI, "Letter to Jamnadas Gandhi", p. 512.
[2] (1873-1906); Hindu religious thinker, philosopher and poet
[3] Behramji Mervanji Malbari (1854-1912); poet, journalist and social reformer
[4] The concept of doing one's duty disinterestedly and in a spirit of worship, no one type of service being intrinsically superior to another
[5] Self-delusion
[6] Sense of "I" and "mine"
[7] *Vide* Vol. X, pp. 6-68.

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## 99. LETTER TO BHAVANI DAYAL

[PHŒNIX,]
*Ashadh Krishna 5* [*July 23, 1913*]

DEAR SHRI BHAVANI DAYAL,

I have your letter. I could not inform you of my departure from Johannesburg because it was so sudden; for this I beg to be excused.

The correspondence with the Minister of the Interior has not come to an end. However, I had a telegram from Pretoria which says that the Government could not attend to any other matter so long as the strike[1] trouble was there. When that is over, I shall go to Johannesburg. We shall know then whether the struggle will continue or a settlement will be arrived at. I am unable to advise whether Swami Mangalanand Puri should come here to preach or to court imprisonment.

Shri Satyadevaji may come here on a visit any time he likes.

*Bande Mataram from*
MOHANDAS

From the Hindi original in Gandhiji's hand: C. W. 5735
Courtesy: Vishnudutta Dayal

## 100. LETTER TO REGISTRAR OF ASIATICS

[PHŒNIX,
After *July 23, 1913*]

THE REGISTRAR OF ASIATICS
PRETORIA

SIR,

[*Re:*] *Mahomed E. Bhayat: 41/E/857*

With reference to your letter of the 23rd July last, as per the telephonic message sent to you when I was recently in Johannesburg, I have now traced the correspondence I had with Mr. Lane. I beg to refer you to my letter to him of the 11th April 1912

[1] The reference is to the strike in the Johannesburg gold mine area; *vide* "Riot in Johannesburg", pp. 132-5.

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and the official reply dated the 8th May of the same year.[1] Reading the two together, I venture to submit that my interpretation that the permit is to be indefinitely renewed (naturally during the minister's pleasure) is not unwarranted. It always has been my intention as it is now also to ask for a permanent certificate. But I was waiting for the new legislation to be passed. Unfortunately although the legislation has been passed, there remain outstanding questions yet to be settled. If they are satisfactorily settled, I shall hope to make my due submission regarding this lad. Meanwhile, may I ask for further extension of the permit? I observe that you have suggested in your letter to Bhayat of the 26th ultimo that Mr. Bhayat should deposit £10 for the extension to be issued to the boy. I presume however that the powers given to you under Act 36 of 1908 remain unimpaired. If you agree with my interpretation, a deposit is not required. In view of my submission, I hope that you could waive the undertaking required by you in that letter.

I may draw your attention to the fact that the boy is not 17 years but that he is under 16.

*I have, etc.*,

From a photostat of the handwritten draft: S. N. 5848

## *101. GENERAL KNOWLEDGE ABOUT HEALTH [-XXX]*

### 10. ACCIDENTS: DROWNING

We have made a brief study of certain ailments. Everyone should have some knowledge regarding accidents that may occur at any time so that he can render assistance if anyone is in mortal danger. If children are given such knowledge from quite an early age, they are likely to develop kindliness in greater measure.

We shall begin with the treatment to be given to one who may have fallen into water. In England, a philanthropic association has been established to render assistance in such emergencies. It has issued some valuable suggestions. The following note is chiefly based on these, with some modifications and additions. It is said that a person can live for hardly five minutes after he stops breathing. That means that, when a drowning man is taken out of the water, there is little life left in him. Immediate measures have to be taken to keep life going—to bring the drowning person back to consciousness. Two things must especially be attended to

[1] *Vide* Vol. XI, pp.257-8.

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in such a case. One is to make the victim resume normal breathing by giving artificial respiration and the second is to give him warmth. When thinking of remedies, it has to be kept in mind that immediate treatment has to be given, if needed, at places like river banks where no equipment is available. It is possible to render treatment to a drowning man only if there are two or three other persons present. These must possess presence of mind, courage and promptness. If they themselves fall into a panic, nothing can be done. If each of the two or three men wants to follow his own method or starts advising the others, there is little hope for the victim. They must immediately recognize the most capable among themselves and follow his instructions at once.

As soon as the victim is taken out of the water, his wet clothes should be removed. His body should be wiped with any cloth the companions may have. A hand should then be placed on his forehead and he should be gently turned over for a minute. A hand should be pressed against his chest and dirt and water removed from his mouth. When the tongue comes out, it should be held. This can be easily done with a handkerchief, etc., kept ready in the hand. The tongue should be kept pulled out all the time, till there are signs that life is reviving. The patient should then be turned on his back, but with the head and upper parts a little higher than the feet. A man should now kneel behind his head. The patients' arms should be slowly lifted and drawn full-length towards the person volunteering this service. With this the ribs will be lifted and air from without will enter the patient's body. Then the arms should be bent and placed on his chest. Thereby the ribs will be pressed down and the breath exhaled. Hot and cold water should be dashed against the chest. If the materials required to make a fire are within reach or if fire can be obtained immediately from some source, fomentation should be applied and the victim be made warm. Those present should cover him with whatever clothes they have. His body should be vigorously rubbed so as to make it warm. It is necessary to continue these measures for quite some time. Hope should not be abandoned too soon. Dr. Moore states that with these measures a victim resumed breathing even after five hours. They should be taken, therefore, with great energy and promptness. If he comes round, the patient should be given a hot drink. If given orange juice in hot water or a decoction of cinnamon, cloves and pepper, he will quickly rally. It may also help if he is made to smell tobacco. People should not crowd round him as he has need of all the fresh air he can get.

Signs of death in these cases are generally as follows : The victim does not breathe and no heart-beat can be detected by the hand or stethoscope. There is no pulse, the eyes are half closed, the pupils are dilated, the jaws are clenched, the fingers are bent, the tongue is between the teeth, there is froth in the mouth, the nose is slimy and the whole body extremely pale. A feather held over the mouth does not flutter nor does vapour collect on the mirror. If all these symptoms are present, it may be taken that life is extinct. But Dr. Moore says that even with these signs, life is sometimes not over. The only definite symptom of death is that decomposition starts within the body. We may conclude from this that hope should be abandoned only after prolonged treatment has been given.

[From Gujarati]
*Indian Opinion*, 26-7-1913

## *102. CABLE TO G. K. GOKHALE*

DURBAN,
*July 29, 1913*

GOKHALE
LONDON

INDUSTRIAL CRISIS BLOCKS PROGRESS NEGOTIATIONS SETTLEMENT.

GANDHI

From a photostat of the original as delivered: C. W. 4844
Courtesy: Servants of India Society

## *103. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK*

[JOHANNESBURG,
*August 1, 1913*]

MY DEAR HENRY,

I see that you have not allowed the grass [to grow] under your feet. Already you have worked the oracle. I see your hand in Reuter's cable also. All this does not surprise me. You have accustomed me to those experiences of your ability to identify yourself with your cause.

The strike affair here paralyses all other activity. It is impossible to expect the ministry to do anything just now for us. But your work there will tell whenever the negotiations are reopened.

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I see that I have now hardly £150 left with me. I do not know how to tide over the prolongation of the agony. If the struggle were to start, we should be independent of funds. For the maintenance will come from the begging. But in the state of suspense the difficulty is very great. If Mr. Gokhale is well, you may discuss the situation. On no account do we want a public appeal. But a private donor will solve the difficulty. You must however use your judgment. Please let it be made clear to the donor if there be one that he will give, if he does, not for families in distress but to facilitate my hanging on and to enable me to continue in comparative ease the undertakings we have in hand and which will enable us to declare passive resistance whenever we want to. Whilst I give you the financial position, you need not give yourself anxiety over it. If you can do anything, you should do it. If you cannot, I shall manage somehow. We have still got the jewellery!—the gifts—in the Bank.[1] I shall not hesitate to use it, if the necessity arises.

With love to all,

*Yours sincerely,*
BHAI[2]

[PS.]

You will study the remarks on the regulations. I have reproduced the Senate debate for your use, should the struggle revive. It so thoroughly discredits Fischer.

From the original in Gandhiji's hand: C. W. 930

## *104. GENERAL KNOWLEDGE ABOUT HEALTH[–XXXI]*

### 11. ACCIDENTS: BURNS

When any person's clothing or something else about him catches fire, we get into a panic, which is like branding a man who has already sustained burns[3]—instead of being helpful to the victim, we make things worse for him. It is everyone's duty therefore to know what remedies to apply to a man who has suffered burns.

The person whose clothes catch fire should also not become terrified but, if it is the loose end of a garment, should promptly rub it with the hand. If the entire clothing has caught fire, he

[1] The reference is to a trust, created by Gandhiji in 1901, of gifts and ornaments presented to him; *vide* Vol. III, pp. 246-7.

[2] "Brother"; this was how associates addressed Gandhiji.

[3] A Gujarati saying

should roll on the ground or, if there is a carpet or similar thick cloth within reach, he should wrap himself in it. If water is available, it should be thrown on the flames. As soon as the fire is extinguished, he should be examined for burns. If there are any, the cloth is likely to stick to those parts. This should not be pulled off. The remaining clothing should be cut round with a pair of scissors and the part that has stuck to the skin left in place. Great care should be taken not to tear the skin. Leaving the victim in this condition, one should collect clean earth forthwith and mix it with cold water to make a poultice and this should be tied over the burns so that the victim will suffer the minimum of pain. If cloth is sticking to the burns, it may safely be left under the bandage. As soon as the mud dries, the poultice should be changed. There is no need to be afraid of using cold water.

For anyone who may not think of this treatment at the moment, here are others which will be useful to note. They are taken from a book by a British writer. Take a green banana leaf and spread olive oil or sweet oil [sesame oil] over it. Then place it over the burn and tie it up. In the absence of a leaf, a clean soft cloth soaked in oil will do as well. A mixture of linseed oil and lime water in equal proportion and well shaken is also effective. If cloth-pieces get stuck and cannot later be removed, lukewarm milk and water should be used to soak them. When they are softened, it will be possible to remove them. If oil bandages have been used, they should be changed after two days in the first instance and subsequently renewed every day. If a blister is formed, it is necessary to open it. The skin need not be removed.

If the burn has only caused redness of the skin, there is no better remedy than a mud poultice. The burning will cease immediately.

If the fingers have been burnt, they should be kept carefully separated from each other by clean bandages. Sometimes a person receives burns through a strong acid which falls on his skin. The remedies suggested above are effective in this case also.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 2-8-1913

## 105. LETTER TO JAMNADAS GANDHI

[JOHANNESBURG,]
*Shravana Sud 6* [*August 7, 1913*][1]

CHI. JAMNADAS,

You say you were scared by what Harilal told you about baths. There is no reason for it, though. Harilal has been talking in his ignorance. All that caution is unnecessary. I never bother to take the temperature and so on. There is no need to. The temperature of the water should be lower than that of the body. The rest one knows from experience. Whenever Kuhne baths seem to be called for, they may be taken without the least hesitation.

This is the reason behind the notion that tomato, lime, etc., are a cause of fever. When they are taken with a heavy meal and illness follows, it is blamed on them. Secondly, when a person whose blood is excessively hot through the use of spices, such as chillies and pepper, and pulses and things of that nature, starts taking lime, etc., there is likely to be a crisis at first. If, however, he gives up the use of spices and similar things and starts the use of lime, etc., according to need, there is no doubt that his blood will be purified. A man who has been in a very hot place and then suddenly exposes himself to a breeze may get cramps. It is possible that lime may have a similar effect on one who has been accustomed to eating chillies, etc.

I think I have written to you about looking upon Brahmins with reverence.

I am not against a good school, but I believe that a school with too many pupils cannot be a good one. Moreover, that alone is a school in which the pupils are on the campus for all the twenty-four hours. Otherwise, one receives education of two different sorts.

When I am there, the Press will continue to work as usual. Mr. Polak will carry on his practice. Miss Schlesin is already fixed up elsewhere. Mr. Kallenbach will very likely accompany me. Miss West will stay on in Phœnix for the time being. Manilal will go with me.

We need not assume that all our *shastras* have been written after careful thinking and from knowledge. Charvaka's[2] is also a

[1] This appears to have been written after the addressee's departure for India in December 1912.

[2] A philosopher who propounded materialism

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*shastra*. If by the term *shastra* we mean that alone which contains perfect knowledge, then, of course, we can say that all *shastras* have been written from knowledge. From this point of view, any *shastra* which mentions human sacrifice, etc., should be taken to be mere ignorance. The idea may have been interpolated in the genuine *shastras* at some later time. One who wants to realize the *atman* need not go in for such research. It is the concern of the historian; we, on the other hand, should look for the essence, the spirit, of every text or utterance. Why should we put ourselves to the bother of reading sense in their nonsense in the belief that all *shastras* are *shastras* [in fact] ?

In India, as elsewhere, knowledge and ignorance go hand in hand and so we find obnoxious practices, like offering sacrifices to Kali[1], followed in the name of religion. We may not concern ourselves at present about stopping them either. Our first concern is that we should realize the *atman*. When we have learnt that lesson and mastered it, we shall be able to solve all others with little effort.

If Vibhishana[2] went over to Shri Ramachandra with no selfish motive, what he did was perfectly right. Who would conceal from God the fault of even a blood brother? One is, moreover, justified in seeking God's help to undo a brother's evil.

It is not possible to cling to the literal meaning of the verse you have quoted from the *Bhagavata*[3]. Krishna alone knows the meaning of His sport. He may, submitting to the urge of desire, pursue love, but we creatures of flesh and blood cannot do likewise. The freedom He may have by virtue of his Godhead, we cannot possibly take. Apart from this, the author of the *Bhagavata* wrote what he did about Krishna within the limits of his own knowledge. No one knows the real Krishna.

For the present, you should spend your time in the service of your parents, in manual labour and studies.

I cannot say where I shall settle down permanently. I don't know where a photograph of mine may be found. You need not insist on securing one. Mr. Kallenbach's will be available.

I have not passed the test qualifying me for *moksha*. All my desires have not been subjugated. I cannot still claim to have

[1] The Mother Goddess in her destructive form

[2] Younger brother of Ravana in the *Ramayana*, who urged his brother to return Sita and make peace with Rama

[3] One of the 18 *Puranas*, sacred narrative poems in Sanskrit, part history and part legend; it depicts the love of Radha and Krishna as symbolical of the love of the human soul for God.

mastered the palate. I dare not assert that the desire for sexual pleasure will never get the better of me in whatever state I may be. Love for the wife, the sons and other members of the family has not yet melted away. All that can be said about me is that I am one who is striving earnestly to attain *moksha*.

All your letters, which I have been carrying with me for so many days, are now answered. You may ask whatever else you may yet feel like asking.

I have been in Johannesburg for the last ten days. I have come here to revive the struggle in case a settlement fails to come off. I cannot say what will happen. I am waiting for a reply from Pretoria. Mr. Polak has gone to England as desired by Mr. Gokhale.

Let me know your daily routine. Write to Kotwal. His address : Kotwal House, Thana.

*Blessings from*
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C. W. 5648
Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

## *106. GENERAL KNOWLEDGE ABOUT HEALTH [–XXXII]*

### 12. ACCIDENTS: SNAKE-BITE

Men have always feared snakes. There are countless superstitions, too, connected with the serpent. We are afraid even to mention its name. At night we refer to it as "the big creature". Among Hindus, the snake is an object of worship. *Nagpanchami*[1] is regarded especially as the day of snake worship. There is a popular belief that the earth is supported on the head of the serpent *Sheshnag*. God also is held to be *Sheshshayi*, i.e., lying on *Sheshnag*. God Shiva is said to wear a snake as a garland. "*Sheshnag* with his thousand mouths could not describe this"; in saying this we attribute intelligence and knowledge to the serpent. There is a similar idea in Christianity also. "Be wise as the serpent", so runs a saying in English. The serpent *Karkotak* conferred a boon upon Nala[2] by biting him, thereby making him so ugly and deformed through its poison, that none would look upon him with evil intent as he

[1] Fifth day of the bright half of *Bhadrapad*

[2] A victim of the Kalipurusha, the malignant spirit of the Iron Age, he lost his kingdom and was cruelly separated from his wife, Damayanti. The story is told in the *Mahabharata* for the benefit of Yudhishthira.

wandered in the forests. The serpent also stands, in the Bible, for the Devil. It was he who tempted Eve.

Thus, there are all kinds of beliefs and tales about this creature. It is easy to understand the dread of snakes. If a snake-bite takes full effect, death is inevitable, and no one wishes to die. Hence this fear. It is also easy to see how snakes have been worshipped out of fear. If the snake had been a tiny creature, it would not perhaps have inspired such worship despite its being the terror that it is. But being long, large, beautiful and of strange aspect, it is even ceremonially worshipped.

It is more difficult to say without thinking why the snake has been credited with intelligence. Modern scientists aver that it has none. According to them, a snake should be killed at sight. Government statistics show that in India 20,000 people perish annually from snake-bite. I think the figure must be higher. The Government offers a reward for every poisonous snake killed; it is doubtful, however, if the offer has served any useful purpose. This confirms the general experience that the snake does not bite without cause. It bites only if attacked or teased. Does this possibly indicate intelligence, or, if not that, harmlessness? It uses its fangs in its own defence. Man also uses teeth for that purpose often enough. To attempt to make India or any other place entirely free of snakes is like trying to wrestle with the air. Snakes can be prevented from coming to a particular spot. Killing the ones found entering the place will prevent others. They will come to realize that going to the place is like walking into the jaws of death. But this can be done only for a limited area. The attempt cannot be made over a vast country like India. To seek, therefore, to kill and extirpate the snakes entirely in this way from the country amounts to throwing money down the drain.

Moreover, it is the same God who creates snakes [as well as ourselves]. We cannot understand all the works of God. Surely, He has not created beings like tigers, lions, snakes and scorpions only so that we may kill them! If the snakes themselves were to get together and consider how men killed them at sight, they would ask if God had created man for the sole purpose of destroying them. Just as that would be a mistaken belief, so would be ours regarding snakes.

St. Francis was a great *Yogi* in Europe. He used to wander in the forests among reptiles, etc., but they never harmed him. On the contrary, they were friends with him. Thousands of *jogis*[1]

[1] Corrupt form of *Yogi*, used commonly for ascetic

and fakirs live in the forests of India. They move fearlessly among tigers, wolves, snakes, etc., and one never hears of their coming to any harm on that account. It might be argued that there must be casualties even among them through snake-bites, or predatory animals; this is very likely. We know, though, that in comparison with the great number of reptiles, etc., the *jogis* and fakirs are so few that if these deadly creatures were set on destroying them, not one of them would survive. We are told—and we believe it to be true—that these *jogis* and fakirs keep no weapons with which to withstand these beasts. This proves that some dreaded beasts are friendly to or, at any rate, do not touch some *jogis* and fakirs. I personally feel that when we rid ourselves of all enmity towards any living creatures, the latter also cease to regard us with hate. Compassion or love is man's greatest excellence. Without this he cannot cultivate love of God. We come to realize in all the religions, more or less clearly, that compassion is the root of the higher life.

Furthermore, is it not possible that the very existence of creatures like snakes or the cruelty in their nature reflects our own attitudes? Is there not cruelty enough in man? On our tongues there is always poison similar to a snake's. We tear our brethren to pieces as wolves and tigers do. Religious books tell us that when man becomes pure in heart, the lamb and the tiger will live like friends. So long as in our own selves there is conflict between the tiger and the lamb, is it any wonder that there should be a similar conflict in this world-body? We but mirror the world. All the tendencies present in the outer world are to be found in the world of our body. If we could change ourselves, the tendencies in the world would also change. As a man changes his own nature, so does the attitude of the world change towards him. This is the divine mystery supreme. A wonderful thing it is and the source of our happiness. We need not wait to see what others do.

The purpose of writing at such length on the subject of snake-bite is that if, instead of merely suggesting a few concrete remedies, we go deeper into the matter, we discover a miraculous remedy with which to face all such terrors and, if even one reader adopts it, my writing this will not have been in vain. It has been said earlier, moreover, that the purpose of these chapters on health is not merely to promote physical health but examine the means of cultivating health of every kind.

Even modern research-workers admit that a man who is healthy, whose blood is not overheated and whose food is wholesome, will not be affected by snake venom. On the other hand, if a man's blood is overheated with intoxicants, spices, or hot foods,

snake venom spreads through his body in no time and he succumbs to it quickly. All this has been experimentally established by medical experts. One of them has gone so far as to declare that the blood of a person who discards salt and lives exclusively on fruits becomes so pure that it is able to combat poison of any kind. It is not possible to confirm from experience how far this last statement is true. Moreover, having abstained from salt, etc., for a year or two, one is not justified in believing that the blood which had lost its quality through a life-time's abuse had regained it because of wholesome living for a year or two.

It has also been demonstrated through experiments that if any poison gets into the system of one who is nervous or in a rage, the effect is instantaneous and more potent. Everyone can discover for himself that, when frightened or angered, the pulse is faster and the heart-beats increase. Whenever the blood circulates at a greater speed, it becomes hot. Heat generated by anger, etc., is unnatural and, therefore, deleterious. There is no reason to doubt that rage is a kind of fever. We can at least infer from this that one of the best defences against snake-bite is to have only as much as we need of wholesome food, that is, food which Nature has placed at our disposal, to avoid anger and fear and, even when bitten by a snake, not to fall dead with fear before even a remedy has been tried. One should have confidence in the potent effect of the purity of one's life and ultimately take courage in the thought that the length of one's days is that ordained by God.

That many deaths which are apparently due to snake-bite are in reality caused by fear or wrong treatment has been confirmed by Mr. Fitz-Simon, head of the museum in Port Elizabeth. He has studied snakes for many years and performed experiments on their poison. He has written much about the different types of snakes and also suggested remedies for their bites. He states that he has known cases where the condition had become serious owing to sheer panic and others where the persons had died as a result of extremely painful remedies.

All snakes are not poisonous and even the venom of those that are does not cause instantaneous death. Moreover, the most poisonous snake does not always get time to empty the entire poison from its fangs into our blood. Knowing this, no person need be terrified by a snake-bite. An easy remedy is current nowadays which one can apply oneself. This is as follows :

A handkerchief should be bound tightly just above the spot where one has been bitten by the snake. This can be tightened by means of a tourniquet made with a pencil or piece of stick. The

idea is to prevent the venom from circulating through the arteries. Then a cut should be made, half an inch in size, over the bite with a fine blade and allowed to bleed. After this, the purple powder of a salt called potassium permanganate should be rubbed into the cut. This powder is said to be a potent and unfailing remedy. A tube about one and a half inches in size and shaped like a stick, with facility for holding the potassium permanganate on one side and with a small, sharp blade on the other, is also available in the market for one shilling. If this implement is not at hand, either another person or the victim himself should suck the wound and spit out the matter he has sucked up. This cannot be done by anyone who has sores in the mouth as the sucked-up matter contains poison. This method is effective only if it is employed within five to seven minutes of the bite. Once the poison has entered the blood stream, it is rarely that it can be neutralized. Juste, who has experimented with mud treatment, declares that he cured a patient who was supposed to have succumbed to a snake-bite. The victim was placed in a hole dug in the earth and given warmth; the poison was drawn out, and there he was, rising again. Juste reports other similar instances. I have no personal experience of snake-bite but, having tried the mud treatment in many other cases, I have come to have unshakable faith in it. Immediately after a cut has been made at the spot where the bite has occurred and potassium permanganate rubbed in, or the poison sucked out, a large mud poultice, half an inch thick, should be placed over it. For instance, if the hand has been bitten, it would be well to cover the entire arm with the poultice. Everyone should keep a tin of such earth ready in his house. It will be excellent if the earth be ready powdered and strained, and better still if kept outside in the sun, at a level where water cannot reach it. Bandages made from torn clothes should be kept handy. These preparations prove useful not only in cases of snake-bite, but also for other accidents, injuries, etc.

If the patient feels drowsy or his breathing stops, artificial respiration, as in the case of drowning, should be given. In the former case, he should be given warm water or a decoction of cloves and cinnamon. The victim should be kept in the open air but well covered. If his body is getting cold, hot water bottles should be placed round his body or he should be warmed with the help of flannel pieces wrung out in hot water.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 9-8-1913

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## *107. LETTER TO IMMIGRATION OFFICER*

[JOHANNESBURG,
*August 10, 1913*]

THE IMMIGRATION OFFICER,
PRETORIA

SIR,

I understand that an Indian named Purshotam Mavji was, whilst on his way to India, deprived of his registration certificate last week. This certificate was obtained by him in terms of Act 36 of 1908. Will you kindly let me know whether the information given to me is correct, and if it is, in terms of which section of the new Act Mr. Purshotam Mavji was deprived of his certificate?[1]

*I have the honour to remain,*
*Sir,*
*Your obedient servant,*

From a photostat of the draft in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 5854

## *108. TELEGRAM TO SECRETARY FOR INTERIOR*

[JOHANNESBURG,]
*August 11, 1913*

WROTE MR. LANE LAST WEEK.[2] I OBSERVE HE IS ON LEAVE. COULD YOU PLEASE ASCERTAIN AND WIRE WHETHER GENERAL SMUTS COULD NOW DEAL WITH MY PROPOSALS. WILL WAIT ON HIM IF REQUIRED. WIRE PHŒNIX.[3]

GANDHI

*Indian Opinion*, 13-9-1913

[1] On August 15, the Registrar of Asiatics wired Gandhiji, asking by whom and at which place Purshotam's certificate was taken. *Vide* "An Effect of the New Act", p. 162 and also "Letter to Registrar of Asiatics", p. 179.

[2] The letter referred to is not available.

[3] To this the following reply was received: "Yours yesterday. Your proposals are receiving Minister's careful consideration and he hopes to let you know a little later what his views are, as he wishes first to consult his colleagues. I will advise you in due course whether necessary for you to come here." For the letter which followed this, *vide* Appendix VIII.

## *109. AN EFFECT OF THE NEW ACT*

We understand that an Indian named Purshotam Mavji, a British Indian, duly registered in terms of Act 36 of 1908 (Transvaal), was deprived of his registration certificate whilst he was on his way to India and was told by the officer who took the certificate from him that it would be restored to him if he returned within one year of the date of his departure from the Transvaal. We do hope that our information is not correct or that, if it is correct, it is merely an error committed by an overzealous officer. But if the Act is interpreted by the Government to mean that the rights acquired under the Registration Act of the Transvaal are adversely affected, it would be one more grievance against the Government and a further justification for a revival of the struggle.

*Indian Opinion*, 16-8-1913

## *110. THE LATE SIR ADAMJEE PEERBHAI*

We learn through Reuter's cables with regret that Sir Adamjee Peerbhai, a great philanthropist of Bombay, is no more. He was a wealthy merchant who knew how to use his money. He was best known to many as the owner of a famous sanatorium in Bombay. But his charities were not confined to a particular project or persons. They were most catholic. Sir Adamjee's son, Mr. Cureembhai, it will be remembered, paid a visit to Natal some years ago. Ever since that time, a link was established between the Indians of South Africa and the late Sir Adamjee, who always took a kindly interest in all South African Indians who visited him. We sympathise with the deceased's family in their loss.

*Indian Opinion*, 16-8-1913

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### 13. ACCIDENTS: SCORPION AND OTHER STINGS

We have a saying, "May none suffer the agony of a scorpion sting", so unbearable it is. As a matter of fact, it is far more painful than snake-bite and yet we dread the latter more, for it is likely to prove fatal. A scorpion sting rarely causes death. Dr. Moore says that one whose blood is pure suffers less pain.

The remedies for this and similar stings are simple. A cut should be made at the spot with a sharp knife or with the special instrument used for snake-bite, and some blood allowed to escape. The cut should then be sucked and the poison spat out. A bandage should be tied a little above the spot, to prevent the poison from spreading, and a large mud poultice applied. With the latter, much of the pain will probably subside at once.

Some books recommend the frequent application of a compress soaked in equal parts of water and vinegar or washing of the area with salt water. If the affected part can be held in the solution, it should be. But the mud poultice is by far the most effective remedy, as anyone unfortunate enough to be stung by a scorpion can test for himself. It must be remembered that the poultice should be as large as possible. The use of two seers of earth for the purpose will not be excessive. If a finger has been stung, it will not be too much to extend the poultice as far as the elbow. If the mud is placed in a long vessel and the arm buried in it, the pain is immediately relieved. Even for the stings of centipedes, bees, etc., the remedies are the same.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 16-8-1913

CONCLUSION

These chapters on the subject of health have been appearing for the past few months. They have now come to an end. If I get time, I plan to publish, as a sort of supplement, the qualities and uses of a number of simple materials. The present series, however, ends with the preceding chapter. Before I take leave of my readers, I feel it will not be out of place if we once again examine the purpose of these chapters.

I have repeatedly asked myself why I wrote them. I am not a *vaidya.* My knowledge of the subject is but superficial. Is it not likely that my suggestions have been made after inadequate thought or observation? In truth, both study and observation are bound to be incomplete, a process without end. Every day new facts are observed and new ideas emerge. Why, then, this effort? Thus has my mind been perplexed.

And yet, medical science is itself based on inconclusive experiments. Most of it is quackery, as I have shown. With so much of it about, if these chapters are also reckoned as such, no great harm will be done! They have been written from a worthy motive. The intention is not to recommend what medicines to take after the onset of a disease. The more immediate purpose, rather, has been to show how sickness may be averted. A little thought will show that the steps for prevention of diseases are easy enough. No specialized knowledge is necessary for this. The difficulty lies in taking to that way of life. I have felt it proper to write on certain diseases, but only in order to show that most ailments have a common origin and, as a result, the treatment also should be common to them all. Moreover, despite all precautions, the diseases mentioned in these chapters do occasionally occur. Some remedies for these, one finds, are known to all. If my experience is added to these, nothing is likely to be lost.

The main question, however, still remains to be considered. Why is good health necessary? We behave as if no such necessity exists. To be sure, rather than build a stout and healthy body and give it over to the enjoyment of luxuries, regard the body as the only thing worth preserving and be puffed up with pride to see it strong, it will be better to have it rotting with leprosy.

All religions have looked upon this body as a place where one may meet and recognize God. It is called the House of the Lord. It has been leased to us, all the rent we have to pay being praises of the Master. Another condition in the rent note is that we must not misuse it. It should be kept clean and pure inside and out and returned to the Master in due course in the same condition in which it came to us. If all the conditions are duly fulfilled, the Master will reward us at the end of our tenure and will make us his heirs.

All living creatures have bodies alike in their design, in that they have organs for hearing, sight, smell and pleasure. But the human body has been described in prose and verse as a *ratnachintamani*. The term signifies a jewel which secures to one anything one may wish for. In an animal body, the soul cannot attain to the highest knowledge and cultivate devotion to God. Without these, there can be no freedom for the soul and, so long as the soul has not attained freedom, there can be no true happiness and no ending to our real suffering. This body is of some service only if it is well used, that is, made the abode of God, otherwise, it is a filthy mass of bones, flesh and blood, and the breath and water that exude from it are full of poison. Of all the excreta coming out of the innumerable openings in the body, there is nothing that we would wish to retain. One is nauseated at the very thought or sight or touch of them. It is only with the greatest difficulty that we can prevent them from being infested with worms. By means of the body, we practise a thousand things which we would do better to avoid, cunning, self-indulgence, deceit, stealing, adultery, etc. Its desires are endless.[1] Even when they are all gratified, it is so like a glass bangle that it has less strength to resist a blow than has a broken vessel. It is destroyed in an instant.

Such a state is quite natural for the body. Anything that can be used for the highest purpose is also capable of being misused. Otherwise, it would be impossible to know or estimate its value. We can measure the value of sunlight because we experience the darkness that follows the sun's absence. In that same sun, without which we cannot live, resides the power to turn us to ashes. A king can be both magnanimous and wicked.

God is striving for mastery over the body, and so is Satan engaged in a desperate struggle for it. When it is under the control of God, it is like a jewel. When it passes into the control of the Devil, it is a pit of filth. If engrossed in pleasure, gorging itself the whole

[1] The original Gujarati saying literally means: "That little pot must needs have thirteen things."

day with all variety of putrifying food, exuding evil odours, with limbs employed in thieving, the tongue uttering unworthy words and taking in unwholesome things, the ears hearing, the eyes seeing and the nose smelling what they ought not to, the body is worse than hell. Everyone recognizes hell for what it is. But though we use the body as if it were hell, we go on pretending that it is heaven. Such is our hypocrisy in regard to the body. Knowing a latrine for what it is, we shall know its right use. If a splendid hall, however, comes to be used as a lavatory, the result is bound to be evil. Therefore, if the body be in the Devil's control, it would be far better to desire its destruction, rather than its well-being.

In these chapters on health, an effort has been made to bring home the truth that the body can remain in health only by obeying the laws of God. It can never be healthy if it obeys the Devil. Where there is real health, there alone is true happiness possible, and in order to achieve real health we must conquer the palate. If we succeed in this, all other organs will be automatically under our control, and one who has this body under control can subdue the world because such a one becomes God's heir, a part of Him. Rama is not in the *Ramayana*, nor Krishna in the *Gita*. *Khuda* is not in the Koran, nor Christ in the Bible. They all live and have their being in the purity of human conduct, which springs from morality. Morality consists in truth, which is the same as *Shiva*[1]. You may know it by whatever name you please. That one may have a glimpse, if only occasional, of this truth in these chapters on health has been the underlying purpose of this effort.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 16-8-1913

## *113. LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI*

IN THE TRAIN, ON WAY TO PHŒNIX,
[After *August 16, 1913*][2]

CHI. MANILAL,

I hope you have taken with you the *I*[*ndian*] *O*[*pinion*] file. You should be very much on your guard against laziness.

See that you get up not later than four in the morning, even if you have to force yourself to do it. Being none too fit, I am rather

[1] God of austerity and self-mastery in the Hindu trinity

[2] The last instalment of articles on health referred to in the letter was published in *Indian Opinion*, 16-8-1913.

weak in this matter; you should not take my consequent irregularity on this account as an example to be followed.

Make it a regular practice to complete the appointed work for each day. Do everything after careful thinking and with understanding. When asked by Mr. Ritch, you should have given whatever reply you wanted to. Now, however, when you are yourself again and have settled down to regular work, you should pay him a visit one evening and spend an hour or two with him. It would be better not to go before the middle of next week.

Also, be regular with the exercises in Arithmetic. Among the hours we counted, one for these exercises. . . . [1]

. . . and it will also be possible to include it in the table of contents of the Chapters on Health.

Write to me every day without fail, even on Sundays, and let me know whatever you want to say.

Always take pleasure and keen interest in being of service to others. Last evening, it should have immediately occurred to you to carry the lantern. When the guests arrive, they should be immediately received and welcomed with due regard. Protect yourself against heat and cold, but don't feel miserable.

There is a leather bag of ours there, the one which Kallenbach had taken away. There are some baskets also. Keep them all. They will be useful to us.

Since there is some wheat in stock, it should be ground into flour and used for making bread. Afterwards, it will be better to order flour. The bread made of it is generally good.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C. W. 101
Courtesy: Sushilabehn Gandhi

## *114. THE LATE MR. JOSEPH J. DOKE*[2]

Mr. Doke is no more! The thought is terrible. He who was seen only the other day by a host of friends, when he set out on his journey to the North-western border of Rhodesia, close to the Congo border, full of hope and buoyancy, has gone to his reward. And he quitted this mortal frame without any of his relations by his side. Even his son Clement, who accompanied him, was sent home. But in a death like this is summed up Mr. Doke's life.

[1] Here two pages of the letter are missing.
[2] This was published as "A Memoir specially written for *Indian Opinion*".

He claimed no exclusive relationship with anybody. To him every human being was truly a friend and brother. He, therefore, died surrounded by newly-made friends. His life preached the gospel of work. He died in harness, doing his duty. His life preached love to his fellowmen. He died whilst finding further fields for his loving activity. And as he loved, so is his death today mourned by not only his European congregation, not only by Englishmen, but also by many of his Native, Chinese and Indian friends. In a place where even men of religion are not free from the local prejudice against colour, Mr. Doke was among the few who know no distinction of race, colour or creed. Though dead, Mr. Doke lives through his work of love and charity in the hearts of all who had the privilege of coming in contact with him.

Mr. Doke's energy was inexhaustible. He was a man of many activities. In his own department—that of preaching—he was eloquent and earnest. He said nothing he did not mean. He advised no rules of conduct for which he was not himself prepared to die. His preaching, therefore, was effective. He was an able writer. He wrote a memoir of his own grandfather. He contributed to magazines. He wrote *An Indian Patriot in South Africa*—a popular history of the story of Indian passive resistance. Lord Ampthill wrote a very flattering introduction to it. To Mr. Doke it was purely a labour of love. He believed in the Indian cause and the book was one of the many ways in which he helped it. Only a short time ago was published his book, *The Secret City*—a romance of the Karoo. It is a wonderful piece of imaginative work. The book has already passed through the second edition and has been translated into Dutch. He was so impressed with the Indian campaign of passive resistance that he was engaged in writing an elaborate treatise on passive resistance as a rule of conduct. For writing it, he had specially studied a number of books bearing on the subject.

He was an artist of no mean order. Some of his paintings are worth treasuring. His irrepressible humour can be traced in many cartoons he drew for a New Zealand paper.

Mr. Doke had a frail body but a mind of adamant. His jaws showed the determination of the owner. He feared no man because he feared God so. He believed in his own religion with a burning passion, but he respected all the other great faiths of the world. He detested lip Christianity, but he considered that final salvation was possible only through heart Christianity.

His special work for Indians during practically the whole of his stay in Johannesburg is too well known to the readers to need

recapitulation here. But it is not known to many that he came to the Indian cause uninvited. He was ever a seeker, ever a friend of the weak and oppressed. As soon, therefore, as he came to Johannesburg, he set about finding out the problems that engaged people's attention. He found the Indian problem to be one of them, and immediately sought out the leaders, learnt the position from them, studied the other side of the question and, finding the Indian cause to be wholly just, allied himself to it with a rare zeal and devotion. He risked loss of popularity among his congregation. But that was no deterrent to him. When the Editor of this journal was in India, Mr. Doke's was the guiding hand, and never did a week pass during a period of nearly six months, but Mr. Doke sent his ably-written and well-informed leading articles. He guided, too, the deliberations of the British Indian Association, jointly with Mr. Kallenbach, at a most critical period of its history. When he went to America in connection with his Church, a grateful community held a banquet in Mr. Doke's honour at which Mr. Hosken presided. Mr. Doke's words then uttered still ring in the ears of those who heard him. It may truly be said of Mr. Doke that he lived well and he died well. He is mourned by many more than the members of his family, and may that thought comfort and sustain them in a loss which is just as much that of those who had learnt to love Mr. Doke as of the members of his family.

The late Rev. Joseph J. Doke was born at Chudleigh, Devonshire, on the 5th November, 1861. He was the younger, by some two and a half years, of a family of two. His father was the Baptist Minister of Chudleigh. His brother, the late Mr. William H. Doke, died as a missionary at the end of 1882 on African soil.

The late Rev. Doke had very little schooling, owing to delicate health. At the age of 16 he lost his mother. At the age of 17, on the resignation of his father from the pastorate, he became pastor. At the age of 20 he came to South Africa, where he was in Cape Town for a short time. Later, he was sent by the South African Baptist Union to open up a new cause in Graaf Reinet. Here he met and married Miss Biggs, in 1886. Shortly after, he returned to Chudleigh. From Chudleigh Mr. Doke was called to the pastorship of the City Road Baptist Church, Bristol, where, with the exception of a visit to Egypt, Palestine and India, he remained until 1894. In 1894, Mr. Doke removed with his family to New Zealand. Here he was Minister of the Oxford Terrace Baptist Church, Christchurch, for a period of seven and a half years, returning to England in 1902. In addition to the duties connected with his pastorship, Mr. Doke conducted a class for

Chinese, which was greatly appreciated and which is still being continued by his successors.

Towards the end of 1903, Mr. Doke received a call to the Grahamstown Baptist Church, and took up his work in South Africa again. After four years in Grahamstown, he came to the Rand as Minister of the Central Baptist Church. He remained Minister of this Church until his death. All his life, more especially since the death of his brother, Mr. Doke's ambition was for missionary work, but owing to his health and family circumstances, the way was not clear, until, just at the end of his life, it seemed to open up. Together with his son, Clement, he decided to visit a lonely mission station in North-western Rhodesia close to the Congo border, and on the 2nd July they set out on this trip, which was to take about six weeks. Mr. Doke was also entrusted by the South African Baptist Mission Society to visit a mission station near Umtali, they taking advantage of his being in Rhodesia to secure particulars which they wanted. Mr. Doke enjoyed the trip to the 'Ndla District immensely, and maintained good health throughout. He suffered, however, from footsoreness —the distance to be traversed was some 350 miles—and he travelled most of the way by "machilla" —a hammock slung on a pole and carried by two natives—, but despite this he was in the best of spirits and had the greatest hope for the success of his mission. Through an interpreter he spoke at numerous villages, and he did a great deal of writing and took many photographs with a view to lecturing on his return. On the 4th August, Broken Hill was reached, and on the 7th August, Mr. Doke parted from his son at Bulawayo, the latter being called home by business duties. Mr. Doke then proceeded to Umtali, after a few days' waiting at Bulawayo, reaching the end of his train journey on the morning of the 9th instant. Here the Rev. Woodhouse met him and the greater part of the day was spent in the discussion of missionary matters. In the afternoon the party proceeded to the residence of Mr. Webber—a friend—just outside the town, where, owing to Mr. Doke's feeling too unwell, they remained for the night. The next morning, Mr. Doke was up before sunrise, feeling very ill, and all thought of going to the mission station then was abandoned. Mr. Doke complained of severe pains in the back and had to take to his bed again. The usual remedies for fever were applied, but, as there seemed to be no temperature, it was concluded that the malady was not fever, and a doctor was sent for, who at once ordered him to the Umtali Hospital, whither he was conveyed by "machilla". Here he was under the best doctors and nursing

supervision possible. On the 12th a telegram was sent to Mr. Doke's family, saying that he had a slight attack of pleurisy, but that there was nothing serious and no one was to come. On Friday evening, the 15th, a further telegram was received by Mrs. Doke saying that Mr. Doke was seriously ill with enteric. Mrs. Doke at once made preparations to leave by Saturday night's train, but on the morning of that day a telegram was received that Mr. Doke had passed away at 7 o'clock the previous evening. Owing to the great distance, the remains were not conveyed to Johannesburg, but the funeral took place at Umtali at four o'clock on Sunday last, a service being held at the Baptist Church, Johannesburg, at the same hour.

During his sojourn on the Rand, Mr. Doke was prominently connected with many religious organizations.

Besides the widow, the deceased has left three sons: Willy, Clement, and Comber, and one daughter, Olive. The eldest boy, Willy, is training in America as a medical missionary.

*Indian Opinion*, 23-8-1913

## *115. THE LATE MR. DOKE*

In the death of Mr. Joseph J. Doke, the Indian community of South Africa has lost one of its truest friends. This is not the place to recount Mr. Doke's general public work, great and substantial as it was. But, paying our humble tribute to the memory of the deceased, we cannot help contemplating Mr. Doke's noble work for us. When Mr. Doke came to the cause, he threw himself into it heart and soul and never relaxed his efforts in our behalf. It was usual with Mr. Doke to gain complete mastery over the subject he handled. He, therefore, became one of the best informed men on the subject in South Africa. He loved passive resisters as they were his own congregation. The poorest Indian had free access to this pious Englishman. His pen and his eloquence were continually used by him during the troublous times through which the community has passed. He missed no opportunity of visiting passive resistance prisoners in gaol. And at a critical period in the history of the community and this journal, he magnanimously and at no small inconvenience to himself, took charge of our editorial department, and those who came in contact with him during that period know how cautious, how painstaking, how gentle and how forbearing he was. It is

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such a noble soul whose withdrawal from this transitory world we, the Indian community, mourn in common with his family and his congregation. We tender our respectful sympathy to Mrs. Doke and family.

*Indian Opinion*, 23-8-1913

## *116. THE LATE REV. JOSEPH DOKE*

This great and altruistic man has given up his earthly life. The writer's pen shakes in his hand even in writing this sentence, and various are the thoughts surging in his mind. As a human being, Mr. Doke was full of nobility; as an Englishman, his conduct was such that, had all Englishmen been like him, there would be no bitterness between them and the Indians. As a priest, he was a man of faith in God and, although he was very zealous in his religion, he never vilified other religions. Not only that, but he did his best to understand the importance of other religions. However, it is for his excellent services to the Indian community of South Africa that it will for ever cherish the name of Mr. Doke. In 1907, when preparations for the satyagraha campaign were in full swing, Mr. Doke had recently come to the Transvaal from New Zealand. He began taking a keen interest in the Indian problem from the very day he arrived, and continued to help till he died. With the exception of one or two, no other Englishman, and hardly any Indian, had such clear grasp of our problem as Mr. Doke. He had gone through all the documents and laws having a bearing on it and equipped himself to meet anyone on the subject. He never concealed his sympathy for the Indians. In his house, every Indian, whether rich or poor, was given the same consideration. One of his many hopes was to see a satisfactory solution to our problem, and for achieving this he was ever ready for any sacrifice. Who will not grieve over the loss of such a friend and well-wisher? We had learnt to look upon Mr. Doke as our shield. That shield is now gone. Our duty is clear. After the death of a friend, we must not forget his kith and kin. We must show our sympathy for them. But the most important duty is to live up to Mr. Doke's ideas of us. Mr. Doke believed that we were true satyagrahis, that we were ready to sacrifice our lives for the sake of our honour and our religion, that we would not wish ill of anyone who might injure us but, leaving justice in the hands of God, would love even those

who bore us ill-will and fight them with the sword of love. Maybe all of us cannot be so good or behave so well but we can all make an effort. Even if a few of us succeed, we shall have honoured his memory aright and God will send us another Doke. It is not as if one becomes a saint on meeting a saint; it is rather that on becoming a saint one finds a saint.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 23-8-1913

## *117. LETTER TO SECRETARY FOR INTERIOR*

JOHANNESBURG,
*August 24, 1913*

I thank you for your letter[1] of the 19th instant.

I have come to Johannesburg in order to attend the Doke Memorial Service and shall be here for a few days. If, therefore, General Smuts desires my presence in Pretoria, I would be pleased to come down. I submit the following for General Smuts' consideration regarding the points dealt with in your letter.

As to South Africa-born Indians, it is perfectly true that I did not raise, in the correspondence of 1912, this point. It had entirely escaped me until a friend drew my attention to it. But I assured the friend that no difficulty need be anticipated as the correspondence setting forth the provisional settlement of 1911 protected all existing rights of British Indians. I freely admit that I do not lay claim to a full knowledge of all such rights possessed by my countrymen throughout the Union or even the Transvaal. The fact that very few South Africa-born Indians availed themselves of the right was used by me to show that the Government had no occasion to fear a sudden influx into the Cape of South Africa-born Indians if the right was retained. From the Indian standpoint, I wanted to emphasize the fact that we were fighting for the sentiment, viz., that the liberal and reasonable view, taken by the old Cape Legislature, should be left untouched. And I fear that I must press that view again on General Smuts' attention. I have already submitted that the Cape members laid stress on this point because the Right Hon'ble Mr. Fischer fostered, I submit, without a knowledge of the facts, the view that there was a large influx of South Africa-born Indians into the Cape.

[1] *Vide* Appendix VIII.

I observe that your letter seems to suggest that I am asking for a breaking of the Provincial boundary altogether. Though this would be a legitimate desire, I have not asked for it as I know that it is no part of the provisional settlement.

As to the second point, I am glad that the Government interpretation agrees with that of the Indian community.

As to the Free State difficulty, the point raised by me has not been understood. I do not ask, for the sake of asking, that the attention of intending immigrants should be drawn to the disability. But I have submitted that the wording of the Act seems not to require the declaration in question at the Free State border. If such is also the Government interpretation of the Act, the Free State difficulty could be solved without any statutory alteration. In order to allay anxiety on the part of the Free Staters, I suggested that the disability in the Free State might be notified on the general declaration to be made at the first port of entry at the coast. I need hardly say that I have assumed the legal possibility of an Indian being permitted under the new Act to enter the Free State.

As to the fourth point, the question of the legality of the marriages already solemnized in South Africa of the resident Indian population, as also of the marriages hereafter to be solemnized within the Union, is of vast practical importance. A definite assurance that legislation will be introduced next session is necessary to settle this very thorny problem. Regarding the plurality of wives, I have not asked for a general recognition of polygamy. All I contend is that, in continuation of the practice hitherto followed, existing plural wives of domiciled residents should be allowed to enter. And this was the assurance given in the letter quoted by me in my correspondence with you.[1] The number of such wives could be easily ascertained at the present moment, and the toleration may be restricted only to the number so ascertained.

I observe that cases have already arisen in Natal out of the new Act. I cannot help remarking that the marriage case is inconsistent with the assurance contained in your letter under reply. For Kulsambibi is admittedly the only wife in South Africa of her husband. I would respectfully suggest that the case be withdrawn and the lady set free. The other cases are regarding domicile. The Government contention seems to be that, even where there

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Secretary for Interior", p. 124.

is no dispute as to facts or the *bona fides* of the holder of a certificate of domicile, his right should be impugned if he has been long absent from the Province of domicile. If such is the Government interpretation of the new Act, *existing and acquired* rights are threatened. And in the event of a decision unfavourable to the Indian community, a position will be created that would be totally intolerable and inconsistent with the provisional settlement as also the declaration of the Right Hon'ble General Botha and other members of the ministry that there is no desire to harass the resident Indian population. I, therefore, venture also to suggest that these cases may be withdrawn. I have assumed that you are fully aware of these cases. They are reported in the current issue of *Indian Opinion.*

May I ask for an early reply?[1]

*Indian Opinion*, 13-9-1913

## *118. SPEECH AT MEMORIAL SERVICE*[2]

[JOHANNESBURG,
*August 24, 1913*]

Mr. Gandhi said that the Indian community revered Mr. Doke's memory for the great work done by him for them. He was one of its truest friends. It could not be said of every man that death was swallowed up in victory and that death had no sting. But it could undoubtedly be said of Mr. Doke. A death like Mr. Doke's really called for no mourning. Mr. Doke's was a life of perfect self-surrender. He had dedicated his all to his Maker.

[1] To this communication Gandhiji received the following reply on September 10: "Am directed by Minister reply your letter 24th August. As to first point, regrets he can add nothing to statements already made in my letter 19th idem. Second point calls for no further action. As regards third point, there is no difficulty, as any declaration made would be on entry into Union and not at Free State Border. With regard to marriage question, cannot give any assurance that a marriage law will be introduced next session on lines asked by you which would apparently alter whole basis of existing law in South Africa. Your reference to an assurance given to you that plural wives would be admitted not understood as I can find nothing in communications from this Department to that effect. Should you please elucidate? Regarding appeal cases at Durban, those you refer to are apparently still *sub judice* and Minister would consequently not be able to interfere."

[2] A memorial service was held at 7.30 p.m. for Rev. J. J. Doke at Grahamstown Baptist Church, Johannesburg, of which he was pastor. Gandhiji, who had specially arrived from Phœnix to attend the service, paid a tribute to the deceased.

He would now rise with a glorified and better body for the service of his Maker. But it required men like Mr. Doke not to mourn. For him (the speaker) with whom probably the soul was crushed in the care for the body, he needed a friend in the flesh. He therefore mourned for a true friend and wise counsellor. Mr. Gandhi here recalled the assault committed on him[1] by a countryman which he said was delivered in order to redress a wrong which his assailant thought, rightly or wrongly, he had done to the community and which, in the assailant's opinion, could only be redressed by an assault. Mr. Gandhi proceeded:

When I was lying in the office of a friend in a helpless condition there stood over me Mr. Doke, and his words ring in my memory today, as they were so appealing to me that afternoon. They were something like these: "Would you rather go to hospital, or would you rather be carried to my home? I am sure that Mrs. Doke and my family will welcome you, and we shall do all we can in order to relieve your pain." I had no hesitation in making my choice, and I shall never regret the choice I made. I remember the evening when, at my request, the whole family sang to me the beautiful hymn, "Lead, Kindly Light". That tune will never die from my memory; it will never fade out. It is as fresh to me to-night as it was soothing to my nerves on that great evening when I saw myself surrounded by people who were no longer strangers. During the night, whether it was 12 or 1 or 2 o'clock, I could see peeping through the door, that had been purposely left open, Mr. Doke's face, just glancing in occasionally to ascertain whether I was suffering or whether I needed anything. The whole family were at my disposal in order to nourish me, in order to serve me, in order to soothe me, although I was a stranger to them and had never done a single service to them.

Mr. Gandhi added that he was certainly proud to have had such a friend. Mr. Doke had always been willing to help those who needed his help, and those who needed his help had not to go to him. He went to them. The speaker also recalled to instance Mr. Doke's fervent faith in his own religion and his (Mr. Doke's) efforts to convert him to Christianity. Mr. Gandhi told him that he, as a Hindu, believed that the fullness of Christianity could only be found in its interpretation in the light and by the aid of Hinduism. But Mr. Doke was not satisfied. He missed no occasion to bring home to him (the speaker) the truth as he (Mr. Doke) knew it and which brought him and his so much inward peace. Mr. Doke's was not modernized and civilized Christianity. He practised the original. Mr. Doke believed in practising as he preached.

[1] *Vide* Vol. VIII, pp. 93-7 and *Satyagraha in South Africa*, Ch. XXII.

The speaker thought the deceased was quite capable, like the martyrs of old, of being burnt at the stake for the sake of his convictions. The binding tie between them was the belief they shared in the doctrine preached by Jesus of non-resistance to evil—a doctrine that was smothered nowadays in a multiplicity of exceptions. With Mr. Doke, hatred was to be conquered by love, vice by the fullest exercise of virtue. Mr. Gandhi wished that Mr. Doke's mantle would descend to his children and that the thought that Mrs. Doke had such a noble husband, whose memory was revered by so many men and so many races, would sustain and comfort her.

*Indian Opinion*, 30-8-1913

## *119. INDIA'S GRAND OLD MAN*

Our readers hardly need a reminder that India's G.O.M. celebrates his eighty-ninth birthday on Thursday next, the 4th September. We again have the pleasure of expressing our good wishes to India's greatest son. Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji has done more than one man's share of public work and is now enjoying rest from his labours. The memory of his strenuous life in the interests of his countrymen is a constant spur to our small efforts. Such lives make a nation rich—not in material possession—but in all that goes to make national honour and faithfulness to duty. For those who may wish to send messages of congratulations and who may not know his cable address we may state that messages addressed "Dadabhai Naoroji, Versova, Bombay", will find him. We present with this issue a special supplement, giving the portrait of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji.

*Indian Opinion*, 30-8-1913

## *120. MORE FRIENDS GONE*

The fates seem to have decreed that South Africa should lose, in quick succession, some of its best men. Following on the heels of the news of Mr. Doke's death, comes the shocking news of the death of Dr. Ross, that well-known Presbyterian Minister on the Rand who relinquished his ministry only last year and the death of the popular Editor of *The Natal Mercury*, Mr. Milligan. Dr. Ross's was an influential personality. We say nothing about him as a public man of Johannesburg. But we cannot help recalling with gratefulness the fact that Dr. Ross had made himself acquainted with the Transvaal Indian struggle and that he had

joined Mr. Hosken's Committee[1]. He was often present at Indian functions and never hesitated, in unequivocal language, to show his sympathy towards us. We know that, when passive resistance was at its height, he even carried on personal correspondence with General Smuts, urging him to grant the demands of passive resisters.

With Mr. Milligan's services to the Indian cause Indians are quite familiar. He carried out the best traditions of the *Mercury* and worthily filled the chair that used to be occupied by the late Sir John Robinson[2] and the late Mr. Ramsay Collins—no easy task. Only the other week, we had the pleasure to reproduce a trenchant leading article written in his paper by the deceased regarding the arbitrary action of immigration officials. His pen was ever ready to be used for any just cause.

In the passing away of such men, South Africa is undoubtedly the poorer. And the loss will be difficult to make up. We tender our sympathy to the families of the deceased.

*Indian Opinion*, 30-8-1913

## *121. IMPORTANT JUDGMENT ABOUT MARRIAGE*

An Indian woman named Bai Manchhi was stopped by the Immigration Officer when entering [the Cape Colony] with her husband. The latter, Bhagwan Bhikha by name, obtained an interdict to enable her to land. Since their marriage in India was not recognized, the counsel advised marriage with the woman here. On the counsel writing to the magistrate, the latter expressed his inability to register the marriage on the ground that the woman was a prohibited immigrant. The husband thereupon went in appeal, which Mr. Justice Gardiner decided in his favour last week. The judge has held that under the law anyone's marriage can be registered. The parties must only prove that they are both eligible to get married under the law in force here. At the time of marriage, whether one is a prohibited immigrant or not is an irrelevant question. Accordingly, the magistrate has been ordered to register the marriage without raising any such issue, provided there is no other ground for objection. As a result

[1] Committee of European sympathizers of the Indian cause led by William Hosken, M.L.A. It had "pledged itself to support the British Indians in their struggle" and to secure justice for them; *vide* Vol. IX, pp. 128 & 518.

[2] (1839-1903); Prime Minister and Colonial Secretary of Natal, 1893-7

of this judgment, if any Indian brings out his wife and she is stopped by the Immigration Officer, they can get married after landing. Whether, after the marriage, she can stay on or not is a different question, which the judgment referred to above does not decide. It is also a separate question, and a big one, whether or not one should go through a marriage in this manner. If a man, having married a woman once, declares that he has not and so marries her again, his action will prove him to be a man without honour and, therefore, a coward. The poor people must have patience and assure themselves that the problem will solve itself in due course. If they fail to get relief meanwhile, the honourable course for them is to leave their wives in India.

[From Gujarati]
*Indian Opinion*, 30-8-1913

## *122. LETTER TO REGISTRAR OF ASIATICS*

[JOHANNESBURG,
After *September 1, 1913*]

THE REGISTRAR OF ASIATICS
PRETORIA

SIR,

[*Re:*] *Purshotam Mavji 17162*

With reference to your telegram herein of the 15th ultimo in reply to my letter of the tenth[1] ultimo, I regret the delay that has been caused in dealing with it. Before replying I had to make inquiries and I find that the information given to me was misleading. Purshotam Mavji having left for India, it is difficult to ascertain what actually happened. But it is now surmised that Purshotam Mavji referred not to a Transvaal certificate but to a Natal one.

*I have, etc.*,

From a photostat of the draft in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 5854

[1] The original has "15th tenth", evidently a slip. *Vide* also "Letter to Immigration Officer", p. 161.

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## 123. LETTER TO ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR INTERIOR

[JOHANNESBURG,]
*September 3, 1913*

As I informed you through the telephone, today, I am leaving for Phœnix tomorrow. But, before I leave, I would like to draw General Smuts' attention to the eagerness and impatience with which many of my co-workers are looking forward to some final answer. Indeed, I have even been blamed for writing the first letter. Their impatience is natural. All our activity is at a standstill. Several have been obliged to refuse offers of handsome employment owing to the suspense. I hope, therefore, that among the many important matters that engage General Smuts' attention, this will find its proper place. If nothing definite is vouchsafed by Tuesday next,—the day given by you—may Mr. Gorges' letter be taken as the final answer? I would also like to mention that, if the negotiations now going on prove abortive, the struggle will be revived on a wider issue. Several most important items have been omitted from my correspondence for the purpose[1] of securing a settlement and in order to show that we are not pining for a revival of the struggle.

I hope that General Smuts will appreciate the spirit in which this letter has been written.

*Indian Opinion*, 13-9-1913

## 124. THE DEBATE IN THE LORDS

We have now the full text of the debate initiated by Lord Ampthill in the House of Lords on the Immigration Act of the Union.[2] The debate is memorable for more than one reason. Most weighty contributions were made to it by an ex-Governor of Madras and one-time acting Viceroy of India in the person of Lord Ampthill, by an ex-Governor of Bombay in the person of Lord Sydenham[3] who has only just returned from India and

[1] The original has "purchase".

[2] His speech was published in *Indian Opinion*, 20-9-1913 and its four subsequent issues.

[3] George Sydenham Clarke (1848-1933); British soldier and administrator, an authority on military matters; Governor of Bombay, 1907-13

who, therefore, knows the pulse of India on this question, and by an ex-Viceroy of India in the person of Lord Curzon. All these noblemen spoke fervently in our behalf and admitted the full justice of our demands. They did not satisfy themselves with general statements but each of them showed a mastery of details of the question which one is not accustomed to in such debates. Of Lord Ampthill's great pains, care and attention we have now known for a number of years. His Lordship has made our question his own. But it is most consoling and refreshing to find Lords Curzon and Sydenham also possessing a wonderful grasp of the subject. Their interest in our question is a happy augury for the future and it considerably strengthens Lord Ampthill's hands in his advocacy of a cause he has found to be just and of such Imperial importance as to warrant, in the midst of his many other activities, his constant and personal attention.

The debate shows, too, that Lord Crewe had no case. The attitude of *non possumus* that he took up is dangerous in the extreme. We venture to think that the doctrine of non-interference by the Imperial authority with the domestic affairs of self-governing Colonies is being carried too far and is reaching a point that endangers the very stability of the Empire. It is a mockery to describe self-governing Colonies as part of the British Dominions if they are to be so independent that they may defy Imperial traditions and Imperial considerations. They cannot, for any length of time and with safety to the Empire to which they pretend to belong, always take and never give. As has been pointed out by the great English newspapers which we have already quoted, the Union Government were ready enough to fall back upon Imperial troops in the hour of their need.[1] May they not be expected to show equal readiness to help the Imperial Government out of a serious situation facing them in their Government of the Indian Empire by doing a simple act of justice? India will certainly demand and have a satisfactory answer some day.

*Indian Opinion*, 6-9-1913

[1] *Vide* "Riot in Johannesburg", pp. 132-5.

## 125. TELEGRAM TO SECRETARY FOR INTERIOR

[DURBAN,]
*September 10, 1913*

THANKS FOR WIRE.[1] FEAR REPLY MAKES REVIVAL STRUGGLE IMPERATIVE NOTWITHSTANDING EVERY EFFORT MINIMIZE POINTS OF DIFFERENCES. REGARDING POLYGAMOUS MARRIAGES REFER ASSOCIATION LETTER 5TH JULY 1911 AND INTERIOR MINISTER REPLY 10TH SAME MONTH.[2]

*Indian Opinion*, 13-9-1913

## 126. LETTER TO SECRETARY FOR INTERIOR[3]

110, FIELD STREET,
DURBAN,
*September 11, 1913*

THE SECRETARY FOR THE INTERIOR
PRETORIA

SIR,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 21st ultimo in reply to mine of the 15th idem regarding the regulations framed under the Immigrants' Restriction Act.

On behalf of the Anjuman, I respectfully submit that most of the objections raised by my Anjuman are to principles and not to details. Lapse of time will certainly fail to affect principles. That certificates of identity whose applicability is limited to a period of one year would be of infinitely less value than the permanent certificates that were issued under the old Natal Act is a fact

[1] *Vide* footnote 1 to "Letter to Secretary for Interior", p. 175.

[2] To this Gorges replied on September 19: "I was somewhat at a loss to understand what assurance you were referring to; hence my enquiry. Looking now at the past correspondence on this subject, I fear that the very wide interpretation you are seeking to apply to the Immigration Officer's letter of 10th August, 1911, is not one which was ever contemplated or one which would be accepted by the Minister."

[3] An office copy of this letter is found in the Sangrahalaya papers and it is presumed that this was drafted by Gandhiji.

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of which the value will not be affected either way by lapse of time. Nor will the fact of the imposition of the fee of £1 for even interprovincial visiting permits be affected by time. In the humble opinion of my committee, the objections raised on its behalf merit early and favourable consideration.

With reference to the appointment of Immigration Officers as members of Appeal Boards, their inclusion is open to serious objection in spite of their not deciding all the individual cases themselves in the first instance. They are the officials who are responsible to the Government for administering the Act in accordance with their instructions and they are the officials who will, my committee presumes, issue instructions to their subordinates. They, therefore, could not be considered unbiased judges applying their minds without preconceived ideas to cases before them. My committee, therefore, strongly urges that the appointment of these officials should be cancelled in order to give the public interested in the proceedings of the Appeal Boards a sense of security and to inspire that public with confidence in the decision of these Boards.

*I have, etc.*,
CHAIRMAN,
ZOROASTRIAN ANJUMAN

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 5858

## *127. LETTER TO SECRETARY FOR INTERIOR*[1]

[JOHANNESBURG,
*September 12, 1913*]

SIR,

On behalf of the British Indian Association, I have the honour to submit, for the information of the Hon'ble the Minister, that, after having read your telegram[2] of September 9, addressed to Mr. Gandhi, it has been most reluctantly and with the utmost regret decided to revive passive resistance, owing to the inability or unwillingness of the Government to concede the points submitted by Mr. Gandhi in his letters to you, which my Association has seen.

[1] This was published in *Indian Opinion*, 20-9-1913, under the caption "The Indian Demands".

[2] *Vide* footnote 1 to "Letter to Secretary for Interior", p. 175.

I venture shortly to explain the position that unfortunately faces the community represented by my Association.

Ever since the British occupation, the position of the Indians residing in this Province has admittedly grown worse than it was during the Republican regime. In 1906 it culminated in the Bill of that year, which not only summed up the black past but foreshadowed a blacker future, and which, though then vetoed, was repassed almost as the first Act of the Responsible Government, and became known as Act 2 of 1907[1]. As the measure was considered by the community to be humiliating, and as the circumstances surrounding it showed a policy deliberately hostile to an honourable existence of the community in the Transvaal, my countrymen solemnly decided in the month of September, 1906 to adopt passive resistance.[2] As is well known, over 3,500 imprisonments were suffered by my countrymen during the struggle, over 100 deportations to India took place, and even two deaths occurred, owing to the suffering gone through during the crisis. Several families were rendered homeless, and they had to be supported from public funds. Then came the provisional settlement of 1911, which the Indians thought not only promised them what they had been suffering for but also meant an attitude of friendliness towards them such that, almost complete prohibition of Indian immigration being obtained, the resident Indian population would be free from the state of uncertainty it had lived in and might look forward to a steady improvement in its status, as a permanent element of the new nation that was forming in South Africa. Moreover, the inauguration of the Union gave it some hope, though it filled it equally with misgivings and threw on the passive resisters a responsibility for the whole of the Union instead of for the Transvaal only.

But the community was soon disillusioned. The administration of existing laws specially affecting it grew steadily harsher. The Cape Licensing Act, the Natal Licensing Act, the Gold and the Township Laws of the Transvaal and the existing Immigration Laws of the Provinces began to be administered as they never had been before. What has been termed the "northern" spirit began to pervade the administration in Natal and the Cape. Thus the spirit of the settlement certainly began to be broken as soon as it was effected.

[1] The Transvaal Asiatic Law Amendment Act, also known as the Transvaal Asiatic Registration Act; *vide* Vol. VII, pp. 20-6, 75-9, 402-8 & 480-9.

[2] *Vide* Vol. V, p. 423.

The abortive Bill of 1912 showed that even the letter would be broken. The original draft contained serious flaws and was in conflict with the two principles of the settlement—the removal of the racial bar and the maintenance of existing rights throughout the Union. I must admit in fairness that, so soon as the defects were pointed out, there was a willingness on the part of the Minister to remodel his objectionable clauses. But that Bill fell through, and fresh assurances were issued to the community that the settlement would be carried out.

Then came the memorable visit of the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale. High hopes were again raised. The position was made perfectly clear. And declarations were made by responsible statesmen inducing the expectation that a satisfactory Bill would be passed during the ensuing session, and that the iniquitous and admittedly unjust tax of £3 on certain ex-indentured men and women would be withdrawn. The Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale declared at public meetings that he had every confidence that the tax would be abolished both for men and women.

But the last session dashed all hope to the ground. The Draft Immigration Bill broke almost every condition of the settlement of 1911, and it showed that the community was to expect nothing from the Government, who would have carried the Bill as it was, could they have done so. That the Act itself is a great improvement on the original Bill is due entirely to the unexpected opposition that the Government met from all quarters of both Houses of Parliament. The attempt of the Government to remit the £3 tax only on women showed also that they, at any rate, were not prepared to remove it from men.

Notwithstanding such gloomy indications of the hostile spirit of the Government, Mr. Gandhi was authorized to enter into negotiations for a settlement by submitting proposals which, if accepted, would have just, but only just, sufficed to fulfil the letter of the provisional settlement of 1911 above referred to. The community had hoped that, if even such a settlement were effected, the terrible passive resistance could be avoided, and that other grievances could be pressed on the attention of the Government by means involving less personal sacrifice and suffering by the community.

But the Government evidently thought otherwise. They have not only rejected most of Mr. Gandhi's proposals, but they are showing by their administration of the new Act in Natal and by their having passed regulations under the Act, some of which are harsh and unjust, that it is their desire not only to keep out new

immigrants, but also to keep out domiciled residents who, before the new Act, found no difficulty in re-entering, and to put obstacles in the way of wives of domiciled Indians entering the respective Provinces.

In the circumstances, there is now no course left open to the community but to take up passive resistance again, which now naturally will not be confined to this Province alone, and which, on this occasion, will be taken up by women as well as men. The leaders of the community fully realize their responsibility in the matter. They know also what they and their countrymen will have to suffer. But they feel that, as an unrepresented and voiceless community which has been so much misunderstood in the past and which is labouring under a curious but strong race prejudice, it can only defend its honour and status by a process of sacrifice and self-suffering.

Passive resistance has been recognized by the Government as a legitimate means of securing redress. It is, therefore, hardly necessary to assure the Government that the community has no desire to defy the laws of the land, to which it will submit by bearing the penalties provided for a breach of the obligations thereunder which the community cannot discharge consistently with its honour and self-respect.

In conclusion, I beg to state that the struggle will be continued so long as:

(1) a racial bar disfigures the Immigration Act;

(2) the rights existing prior to the passing of the Act are not restored and maintained;

(3) the £3 tax upon ex-indentured men, women, and children is not removed;

(4) the status of women married in South Africa is not secured;

(5) generally, so long as a spirit of generosity and justice does not pervade the administration of the existing laws referred to herein.

And it is respectfully submitted that a smooth and just working of the laws is not possible until the Government consult the leaders of the community in the different Provinces.

[*I have, etc.*,]
A. M. CACHALIA
CHAIRMAN,
BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION

*Rand Daily Mail*, 15-9-1913

## *128. NO SETTLEMENT*

We reported earlier that negotiations for a settlement were going on between the Government and Mr. Gandhi. We have now to announce that they have failed and that satyagraha will be revived. In this, too, there must be some divine purpose. So far as we can judge, the revival of the struggle is to our advantage. Had there been a settlement, it would have barely fulfilled the letter of the terms of the 1911 settlement. The object of the settlement would have been defeated, for the settlement would have been honoured only in the letter. The rights of Indians born in South Africa to enter the Cape would have been safeguarded. The marriage problem would have been solved and, in theory, the colour bar would have disappeared. Even this would have been all right, though it was not likely to have satisfied the community. Now the Government has placed us under an obligation by not granting even that much. The real object of our fight must be to kill the monster of racial prejudice in the heart of the Government and the local whites. We feel the presence of this monster in the Government's administration of the Gold Law in the Transvaal and the new immigrant law, in its insistence on the collection of the £3 tax from poor, miserable, helpless Indians, and in its attitude towards our women. The best cure for all this lies, not in securing the repeal or amendment of the respective laws, but in rooting out the evil from the heart. There is only one way to kill the monster and that is to offer ourselves as a sacrifice. There is no life except through death. Death alone can raise us. It is the only effective means of persuasion. It is a seal which leaves a permanent imprint. We will not conquer the whites by hating them. We can gain no victory by killing them. We may kill a white in the body, but the monster inside will survive and multiply. A tree will grow the larger when a branch is cut. It will be destroyed only if it is pulled out by the roots. In the same way, we are not concerned with the body of any white, but only with the evil in his heart. The only effective way of bringing about a change in his attitude is satyagraha. It is a divine law that even the most hard-hearted man will melt if he sees his enemy suffering in innocence. The satyagrahi volunteers to suffer in this way. There is another remedy, but it is not likely to be adopted. For the prejudice in the heart of the whites against us, we are partly responsible. We have several defects. We tell lies and follow

wrong courses. We give false evidence. We are dirty in our ways. We can overcome the whites' prejudice only if we give up these bad habits. But this is not likely to happen. The Indian who is full of faults will not read writings of this kind. Nor can those who do make him see reason. Satyagrahis should die for his sake as well. Their death will be an education for these our brethren, whom ignorance has made blind. It has always been the way of this world that the fruit of one's death is reaped by others. Not to seek gain through one's death is in itself a gain. This difficult saying needs to be pondered over. It is the great secret by which one can gain true life. Those alone who join satyagraha in this spirit will win in this great fight that is beginning. We entreat those who cannot join the fight not to oppose it, but to give whatever help they can. They should think of the community's interest. If they can do or say nothing good, let them stay quiet. If they are weak, let them admit their weakness rather than weaken others. In this way we can help one another. The campaign this time has no programme or plan of action. The plan will unfold itself as we proceed. This is a fight for bringing about a change in the Government's hostile attitude to us. The obnoxious £3 tax must go at any cost. That is a debt we owe to the defenceless Indians, and to Mr. Gokhale.

The Government, breaking a promise made to him, has broken a promise made to us. We hope that many Indians will utilize this golden opportunity and that God will give the requisite strength and faith to those who join the fight.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 13-9-1913

## *129. FRAGMENT OF LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI*

[DURBAN,]

*Wednesday September 17, 1913*

CHI. MANILAL,

. . .[1] Ba and others boarded the train with great courage on Monday. . . .[2] Besides *tamas*, there are the qualities of *rajas* and *sattva*.[3] The first keeps a man blind, ignorant and lethargic. The second makes him rash, daring and energetic in worldly pursuits. The quality of *rajas* predominates among the nations of Europe.

[1] & [2] There is indication of some omissions here in the source.

[3] Mental propensities derived from one's physiological equipment, *vide Bhagwad Gita*, XIV, 5-8.

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Most of our activities are also of a like nature. Those endowed with the quality of *sattva* are tranquil, self-collected and discriminating. They do not bother themselves with the affairs of the world, but keep their minds fixed on God. This *sattvic* disposition has been rightly described as "soothfastness". "Soothfast" means calm. With "ness", the word becomes a noun and means peace. Only when the mind is peaceful can one realize God, and the state of mind in which such realization becomes possible is the *sattvic* state. God, as transcending the three qualities, has no activity, good or otherwise, but [through] *maya*[1] He exists as *chaitanya*[2]. He is beyond the three qualities. When, however, He does engage Himself in some activity, such as instructing Arjuna, the impulse behind it is a *sattvic* one and, since activity as such is a mode of qualification, He [Krishna] is described as [God] in his *sattva*-qualified aspect. Keep your mind very steady.

[*Blessings from*
BAPU]

[From Gujarati]
*Jivannu Parodh*

## *130. LETTER TO HARILAL GANDHI*

[DURBAN,]
*Bhadarva Vad 3* [*September 18, 1913*][3]

CHI. HARILAL,

You have not kept your promise about writing to me. You gave such a promise more than once and you have broken it every time.

I am very unhappy that your health has gone down. I always thought it would. I even warned you. You know that, though you went with my consent, I did not want you to go. Even now, your way of life and your ideas do not appeal to me. Personally, I feel that the education you are having is of the wrong kind. You have harmed Chanchi's interests and now you are harming those of the children. Still, I regard you as friend, with due affection, so that I do not wish to order you. I want to bring you

[1] A Vedantic concept, seeking to explain phenomenal existence

[2] Principle of life and consciousness

[3] The arrests referred to in the letter took place on Tuesday, September 16. This letter was written on the following Thursday.

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round only by appealing to you. I do not wish to exploit your filial piety to make you do anything. There is no anger in this. I do this as a matter of duty. Still I must advise you to shake off this craze for examinations. If you pass, it won't impress me much. If you fail, you will feel very unhappy. However, take the course you think is best. If you give up the thought of examinations and if, when you get this letter, the struggle here is continuing, come over here along with Chanchi, both of you prepared for imprisonment.[1] Chanchi has otherwise no right to come now. If the struggle ends soon, I shall go there immediately and we shall have a good hug and a talk.

There is only one remedy for your dyspepsia—a daily walk of 15 miles. By way of diet, you should have solid food, according to appetite, which you can chew. If you have read the chapters on health,[2] the experiments described there will help you to get rid of [the complaint] altogether. It is not surprising that you have lost your mental powers. The education there is useless because it is ill-conceived. Since you have never reflected over the mental vacuity of thousands of educated people, what can I say and to whom am I to say it? What have your studies been that you should acquire strength of mind through them? Where the aim is merely to pass an examination, the result is bound to be unhappy. As far back as thirty years ago, Mr. Ranade[3] used to discuss this problem. Just think of the condition of the ordinary B.A. What can you do if, after passing a big examination, you find yourself a physical or mental wreck? Have you had a careful look at things round you?

Ba, Ramdas, Kashi[4], Santok[5], Chhaganlal, Kuppu, Govindoo[6], Revashankar[7], Shivpujan, Raojibhai[8], Maganbhai[9], Sam, Rustomjee

[1] Gokhale, however, detained Harilal and cabled Gandhiji on December 26, saying: "Your son Harilal saw me Bombay, told me you had asked him return South Africa immediately rejoin struggle. I have taken on myself responsibility asking him remain India and continue studies. Forgive my intervention."

[2] *Vide* Vol. XI, p. 502, and "General Knowledge About Health" pp. 4-7 & 22-5.

[3] Mahadev Govind Ranade (1842-1901); judge of the Bombay High Court, social reformer, economist and politician

[4] Wife of Chhaganlal Gandhi

[5] Wife of Maganlal Gandhi

[6] A compositor in the Phœnix Press

[7] Son of Rambhabai and Ratanshi Sodha; *vide* Vol. X.

[8] Raojibhai Manibhai Patel, a life-long associate of Gandhiji

[9] Maganbhai Patel, a teacher in Phœnix School

Sheth, Solomon[1] and others have set out to get imprisoned. They were arrested at Volksrust on Tuesday. I am writing this letter on the morning of Thursday. There has been no telegram yet about what happened yesterday.[2] Devdas is in Phœnix. He has acquired great efficiency. I get up at 3.30 a.m. and Devdas at 4.30 a.m. At 5, studies and other activities begin. He has filled out a little. Of course, changes do occur in this schedule. For the present, the boys who have remained behind go without salt on all days except Sunday. They propose to continue the practice as long as the satyagraha lasts. Maganlal and Miss West[3] will look after the children. I shall leave for Johannesburg on Saturday.[4] People at Johannesburg will then try to get arrested. I shall get arrested last. I have thought out a way of getting arrested, one which will require a little especial courage. I am constantly praying to God to grant me that. Manilal is in Johannesburg. He has now subjected himself to strict vows and is going through a course of penitence. He will court arrest in Johannesburg. Jeki[5] has accompanied Ba to get arrested. She, too, has changed her way of life altogether. Medh and Desai are also in Johannesburg. Jamnadas is impatient to be in gaol. I shall most probably wire to him to come over. I have not made up my mind, though. Please remember that you have not sent me your examination papers, which I had asked for. I am trying to make arrangements for the maintenance of Gangabhabhi. For the present, my desire to go over there has come to nothing.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

[PS.]

My wish is that whatever steps you take should be without reference to me or my views.

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 9540

[1] Solomon Royeppen, nephew of Joseph Royeppen, who was one of the educated Indians admitted to the Transvaal in 1912

[2] The trial came off on September 23 and all the 16 satyagrahis were sentenced to three months' imprisonment with hard labour.

[3] Miss Ada West, sister of A. H. West, manager of International Printing Press

[4] In fact, Gandhiji left Durban on Thursday, September, 25.

[5] Jayakunvar, daughter of Dr. Pranjivan Mehta

## 131. LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI

[DURBAN,]
*Thursday* [*September 18, 1913*][1]

CHI. MANILAL,

I have your letters. Today too I don't have time to write much. Ba and others have been arrested in Volksrust. They were to attend court yesterday.[2] I am, however, waiting for a telegram to know what happened. I wanted to pass on the news to you, but I haven't got any so far. The more disappointed you are, the more miserable I shall be. I have not budged from the promise I made to you. I have made no great change. It cannot make me unhappy, surely, to cultivate inward serenity. I do not suffer by being bound by vows; rather, I feel happy. It is ignorance on your part to be concerned on this account. I can be unhappy only if you misbehave. Whether I am happy or otherwise depends on how you behave. By thinking about what I do, you cannot remove my suffering. You can make me happy if you think of your duty.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 107
Courtesy: Sushilabehn Gandhi

## 132. MR. CACHALIA'S LETTER[3]

The irrevocable step has been taken. The British world knows, through the magnificent agency of Reuter, that the handful of Indians in South Africa have declared passive resistance—that this microscopic minority of men have pitted themselves against a mighty Government, against a European population comparatively overwhelming in numbers and enjoying the privileges which cannot belong to Indians in this sub-continent, perhaps, for generations. Indeed, this time, passive resistance is not

[1] Mrs. Gandhi's arrest referred to in the letter took place on Tuesday, September 16.

[2] Actually, the trial came off on September 23.

[3] *Vide* "Letter to Secretary for Interior", pp. 183-6.

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merely against the Government and the Europeans of South Africa, but it is equally against the Imperial Government. Lord Ampthill, in his great speech in the House of Lords, has made it clear that, had the Imperial Government done their duty, the course of legislation would have been different; had they been only neutral, the Immigration Act would probably have not been passed. We may not, therefore, expect any assistance from them unless, by passive resistance, we open their eyes and they begin to see clearly how criminally they neglected their trust.

Mr. Cachalia has made it perfectly clear why the great and awful step has been taken—a step that may mean ruin to hundreds of our countrymen. He states definitely the demands of the community. He asks for (1) removal of the racial bar from the Immigration Act, (2) the restoration of rights that existed prior to the legislation, (3) a generous and just administration of the existing laws throughout the Union affecting Indians, (4) the removal of the £3 tax, and finally (5) a spirit of friendliness towards the community in place of one of hostility which one notices in all their acts concerning Indians. And this is what Lord Ampthill asked in his speech just referred to.

Let us examine each point as briefly as possible. We notice that *The Natal Mercury*, in its otherwise admirable leaderette on the situation, falls foul of the objection to the racial bar. We feel sure that our usually well-informed contemporary has in this instance secured the service of a leader-writer who is not yet *au fait* with the question. That the racial bar should be removed has been common cause since 1910. Indeed, the Union Government have defended—and the Imperial Government have approved of—the measure, contending that there is no racial bar in it. Nor does its removal in this case involve racial equality in every other case. To remove the racial bar merely means a reversion to the state that existed in 1906. It refers to racial equality in law for purposes of immigration. Even when this equality is granted, as it must be sooner or later, there will still remain racial inequality in respect of many other laws in all the provinces. That, in spite of the Government's protestations, racial inequality is to be found in the Act has been clearly shown by Lord Ampthill. The Act requires from an Indian immigrant an unnecessary and insulting declaration which it does not from a European immigrant. The declaration is merely an admission of the legal disabilities imposed on the Indians of the Free State. Without the admission the disabilities, as had been admitted by the Government, will remain. The retention of this racial bar is due merely to the unreasoning

obstinacy of the Free State Members of the Union Parliament. The Government do not wish to offend these, their supporters. Otherwise, removal of the racial bar means nothing to the Government and it may not add a single Indian resident to the Free State population. As a matter of fact, removal of the racial bar is one of the items of existing rights. It has been separated from other such rights because the struggle hinged, prior to1911, only round the racial bar question.

The existing rights attacked by the new Act are, for instance, the right of South Africa-born Indians to enter the Cape under the now-repealed Cape Act by reason merely of their birth, the right that existed, or was assumed to exist, of the wives of resident Indians married in South Africa according to non-Christian rites, to be regarded as legally married; the right of Natal Indians to absent themselves for any length of time from Natal and to return if they were proved to be *bona fide* holders of certificates of domicile. We do not touch upon minor existing rights which may or may not have been taken away by the Act.

The £3 tax is the sorest question from many points of view. It is a burden imposed upon a most helpless class and it is a tax which was universally condemned during Mr. Gokhale's stay last year in South Africa and, as Lord Ampthill most emphatically states, "the Ministers in South Africa definitely promised Mr. Gokhale that this £3 poll-tax should be removed and Ministers told the Governor-General that they had given him this promise". We hold that a promise given to Mr. Gokhale is a promise given to the Indian community. It, therefore, becomes our sacred duty to offer passive resistance until the tax is repealed.

Indians cannot be expected to sit still if the administration of the existing laws is made harsher day by day. Formerly Indian wives were admitted without fuss and without much questioning. Now the Government have instructed Immigration Officers to demand closest proof, and then, too, there are all kinds of quibbles raised. Kulsambibi's case is the latest. There never has been any justification offered for such harshness of procedure in admitting Indian wives. There has been no charge brought against us of having attempted to bring in women of questionable character or of our women having offered any competition. Then, take the unreasonable deposit of £25 required from men who want to prove their domicile as against £10 which used to be demanded before. Visiting passes which used to be issued fairly liberally are now being granted in a most niggardly spirit. We know of cases in which sons have been refused permits to visit their parents and business

people to visit other provinces to collect their debts. It is no easy matter for an Indian creditor to secure a permit to visit the Transvaal for the purpose of collecting his book-debts. The tendency of the administration is to wipe out the resident Indian population by making its life in South Africa as intolerable as possible. The administration of the Gold Law and the Townships Act in the Transvaal and of the trade licensing laws in Natal and the Cape has been simply scandalous. Mr. Cachalia, therefore, insists that this method of administering the laws affecting us must be changed.

And none of the reforms Mr. Cachalia desires can possibly be attained unless the Government and the Europeans of South Africa adopt a less hostile and more reasonable attitude. If the former continue to frown upon us and the latter continue to pass resolutions demanding our destruction by a process of compulsory civic starvation, we must meet them by showing that we are capable of dying for our honour and an honourable existence in South Africa, not by fighting them bodily, but by a process of voluntary suffering which at once purifies and dignifies.

*Indian Opinion*, 20-9-1913

## *133. HOW TO DO IT*

Passive resistance, this time, will be comparatively an easy matter, as it will extend to all the Provinces of the Union,—not that the sufferings will be less; indeed, they are likely to be greater, but to court imprisonment will be easier. Hitherto, passive resisters have challenged arrest by crossing the Transvaal border. That is how the present struggle, too, has been commenced. We may, on this question of the crossing of the border, at once say that this method of resistance does not mean that we are asking for a breaking of the provincial boundaries. On the contrary, as soon as the reason for the struggle ceases, those who will have crossed the borders of different Provinces will return to the Province of their domicile. Passive resisters are not fighting—dare not fight—for personal and individual rights.

But the crossing is an expensive business. Those who feel inclined to take an active part in the campaign can, in a quiet and dignified manner, court arrest by hawking or trading without licences, or, if they have their licences, without showing them. They should, in each case, inform the police or the courts that it is not their intention thus to break the law but that, until there is a settlement with the Government, they propose not to assist the

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authorities in carrying out the laws of the land which have no moral or natural but only an artificial basis. This is not a struggle of a day. Each one can think out for himself how he can best court arrest. Time and experience will show the right way if we have the will to suffer for the sake of our own and our country's honour.

*Indian Opinion*, 20-9-1913

## *134. HOW TO ORGANIZE THE STRUGGLE*

This third campaign will embrace the whole of South Africa. We believe, therefore, that going to gaol will be an easy matter. It does not mean that this time the sufferings in gaol will be less. They may even be more. Only, it will not be difficult, as it was before, to find ways of going to gaol. So far, people courted imprisonment by entering the Transvaal. There is no need to do that this time. If, in every town and every province, a few Indians at least take intelligent interest in the fight, they will be able to participate in it in some measure, however small, and help it. The easiest way is for the hawkers. Those who are hawkers by profession, as also those who are not, can get arrested by hawking without licences. For this, the imprisonment will be only for a short term. It will involve no risk of goods being auctioned. Moreover, they can pause and rest when tired. If we can have such a movement in every town, we shall have put up a big fight. It will agitate the whole of South Africa and compel the most serious attention from those in power. Even those who hold licences can act in this manner. The police demand licences from time to time. If, having them, we do not produce them, it will be their duty to arrest us. Store-keepers and even their assistants can do this and so get arrested. As we think of it, we see that this is the easiest way and the simplest. It will involve comparatively little of suffering, the initiative will always be with us and we shall be able to have rest whenever we want. The hawkers and store-keepers should remember that their interests are deeply involved in the struggle. Both the Government and the whites feel sore over trade more than anything else. If we were not to engage in trade, we would provoke much less envy. Trade is our very life here. One should always remember that our sufferings will diminish in the measure in which we command increased respect. We hope, therefore, that the business community will utilize this excellent opportunity which will cost them so little. We need hardly say that even one

single Indian in a town can put up such a fight. If there is any such hero, he should send us his name before going to gaol. Those who get arrested by crossing the border must bear in mind that they will not thereby acquire any rights for themselves. Satyagraha is not meant for acquiring rights for oneself. Selfishness and satyagraha can never go together.

## How to Help in Other Ways

We have seen above that it is only by going to gaol that we can best help the struggle. But we know that all Indians do not have the pluck for this. We need then to consider what such Indians should do. We give below the ideas that occur to us.

1. One may look after the business of those who go to gaol and care for their families or see to the maintenance of their dependants.
2. This time we are not going to ask for money from India. At the same time, we are left at present with very little money; it is up to everyone to send contributions to the satyagraha fund.
3. Those who cannot afford to give money, may send foodgrains.
4. In every town of every province, meetings should be held and resolutions passed approving of Mr. Cachalia's letter[1] and these resolutions should be dispatched, by telegram or post, both to the local and the Imperial Governments.
5. Telegrams welcoming the fight should be sent to the [British Indian] Association.
6. Wherever meetings cannot be held, telegrams and letters should be sent to the Government on behalf of public bodies.
7. The matter should be discussed with the whites of one's town and they should be kept well-informed through issues of *Indian Opinion* having a bearing on the struggle.
8. Shaking off lethargy, every Indian must acquaint himself with the aims of the campaign and the nature of the issues involved.
9. Issues of *Indian Opinion* pertaining to the struggle should be procured and sent to different places in India and England.
10. One should help in the collection of funds for the London Committee.
11. Every Indian should set apart some time for the fight and engage himself during that period in some work or other connected with it.

Most of these things may be done by every Indian and by every organization. Every individual and every association must undertake as many of them as possible. What can be done right now

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Secretary for Interior", pp. 183-6.

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is to hold meetings at every place, pass resolutions and send them to both Governments.

[From Gujarati]
*Indian Opinion*, 20-9-1913

## *135. LETTER TO "THE NATAL MERCURY"*[1]

[DURBAN,]
*September 21, 1913*

SIR,

There is evidence in the special article from Pretoria on the Indian position which you published in your issue of Saturday last that its writer has been in the know. It will, therefore, be accepted by the public as a weighty pronouncement on behalf of the Government. You will, therefore, perhaps permit me to correct some of its most glaring errors. The writer contends that two of the four things in dispute were granted by the Government. This is only partly true. The Free State difficulty is that of the legal racial bar. The last telegram from Mr. Smuts lends colour to the suggestion that the difficulty is removed. But in reality it is not. What is required is an admission in the same way in which it was made about the point raised regarding the right of ex-indentured Indians, that the new Act does not in law require any declaration not required from any other immigrant, from an Indian who may, under the Act, enter the Free State. This is quite different from saying that such declaration will only be taken upon an Indian entering the Union. The point is that, so far as immigration only is concerned, an Indian should be able to enter on the same terms as a European. Administrative differentialism there undoubtedly will be. But that will regulate the number of entrants, not the legal mode of entry. The point is somewhat technical from the nature of the case. The struggle has been directed hitherto towards guarding against a fundamental change in the British Constitution which is based upon the theory of equality. The letter of the Indian contention was granted in 1910 after four years' continuous suffering on the part of my countrymen. But the spirit of it is missed even now in the new Act by reason of the ambiguous Free State clause.

[1] Evidently, Gandhiji had simultaneously sent a copy of this letter to *Indian Opinion*, which published it in its issue of September 24.

The second difficulty not solved is the marriage question. Your correspondent asserts that I have asked for legal recognition of polygamy, and therefore, a subversion of the marriage law of the country, which is based on the Christian doctrine. A glance at the correspondence[1] between the Government and myself, published in *Indian Opinion*, September 13, will show that I have not asked for any such thing. I have asked that the legality of marriages of Indians celebrated in South Africa should be recognized in the same way as those celebrated in India will be, under the new Act. I directed attention to the flaw in the wording of the marriage clause in the new Act, and showed two ways of dealing with it, i.e., either by slightly amending the new Act or by similarly amending the marriage laws of the Union without in any way interfering with the monogamous nature of marriages. The writer at Pretoria has raised the question of the meaning of "monogamous marriage". The point will be soon decided by the Supreme Court. If the phrase does not mean what it was meant to mean when the marriage clause was passed, the blame will be that of the Government. They have raised the issue, not the Indian community. Millions of Indian unions in which the husband has married only one wife are, to the lay mind, monogamous marriages. If the phrase means anything else, the Government have misled the Senate, the Imperial and Indian Governments, and the Indian community. It will not be denied that this marriage question is one of the highest importance to us. I am sure the Europeans of South Africa will permit us to cherish the honour of our womanhood as much as they cherish that of theirs.

As to the £3 poll-tax, I note that your correspondent does not seriously contend that it is a new point. He has only to look at the reservation clause in the correspondence of 1911 to see that it cannot be treated as a new point. It is new in the sense that it was not included in the recent negotiations. It could not well be as the discussion turned only upon the new Act. Had there been a settlement on the basis of the negotiations, the community would have continued to urge the removal by way of petitioning, etc., but the negotiations having failed, the way was open for the community to include this matter of simple humanity in the struggle. Lord Ampthill has declared that the Union Government gave

[1] This, *inter alia*, included letters addressed to the Private Secretary to the Minister of the Interior dated June 28, to the Secretary for the Interior dated July 2 and August 24, and to the Assistant Secretary for the Interior dated September 3. These have been given in their chronological order.

Mr. Gokhale a definite promise that the tax would be removed. If the Government intend to keep the promise, they have but to say so, and there will be no struggle on that point. If they do not intend to keep it, Indians would have no right to exist side by side with a free and self-respecting community if they have no decency, and moral strength, to suffer imprisonment, or worse, in order that a promise given to their distinguished countryman may be fulfilled, and their poor, helpless countrymen freed from a burden which ought never to have been imposed on them, and for which the sin must, I fear, be shared by the free Indian population of South Africa almost equally with the Europeans.

Lastly, your correspondent's advice that we should accept thankfully what has been granted, and what has been denied as being of little importance, and then press forward the redress of the balance of grievances by way of petitions, etc., and his suggestion that, then, we may be blessed with a special law such as the Natives' Land Act, whereby we may have a reserve set apart for us where we can buy land, etc., remind me, if he will forgive me for the analogy, of Æsop's justice-loving wolf. We have petitioned in vain all these years. Right after right has been taken away from us. And an Indian reserve means that the substantial right at present enjoyed of owning and buying land in Natal, and the Cape, and a modified right of possessing land in the Transvaal should be surrendered, and we must allow ourselves to be penned in an enclosure, and then bless the Government for this grace as a reward for not offering passive resistance, which involves suffering for nobody but ourselves, but which, if it ensures nothing else, at least saves us from a surrender of our manhood.

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

*The Natal Mercury*, 25-9-1913

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## *136. LETTER TO SECRETARY FOR INTERIOR*

[DURBAN,]
*September 22, 1913*

DEAR MR. GORGES,

I am much obliged to you for your letter[1] of the 19th instant regarding the marriage question. I have not widened the original scope of my request. But I shall endeavour as clearly as possible to re-state the position.

It is submitted that authority should be taken from Parliament during its next session to legalize monogamous marriages already solemnized or hereafter to be solemnized by Indian priests among Indians belonging to non-Christian denominations. Legislation has become necessary only because the marriage clause in the new Act was hastily worded without considering the full position. Unless the relief now sought is granted soon, the status of Indian women married in South Africa is that of concubines and their children not lawful heirs of their parents. Such is, as I take it, the effect of the Searle judgment combined with the action of the Natal Master of the Supreme Court and the Gardiner judgment[2]. I have asked for a promise of amelioration during the next session because I submit that the matter is one of urgency. With regard to polygamy, I have not asked for legal recognition but the admission, under the powers vested in the Minister, of plural wives without the Government in any way recognizing their legal status. The admission is to be restricted only to plural wives already married to Indians who may be found to be unquestionably domiciled in the Union. This at once restricts the scope of the Government's generosity and enables them to know *now* how many such wives will have to be admitted. I have already submitted a plan as to how this can be brought about.

In my humble opinion, the letter of the 10th August, 1911, referred to in your communication, bears the interpretation I have placed upon it. The British Indian Association raised the question of polygamy and the above-mentioned letter containing the assurance was the reply. I suppose you know that plural wives have actually been admitted by the Immigration Officers and that

[1] *Vide* footnote 2 on p. 182.
[2] *Vide* "Important Judgment about Marriage", pp. 178-9.

polygamous unions are even registered on the Transvaal registration certificates.

As doubts have arisen as to the meaning of the term "monogamous marriage", I beg to record that the meaning that the community has placed upon it is that a marriage is monogamous if a man is married to only one woman, no matter under what religion and no matter whether such religion under given circumstances sanctions polygamy or not.

I observe that paragraph 2 of your letter seems to suggest that my reply to your last wire did not [cover], though it might have covered, the other points referred to therein. I purposely refrained from touching the other points as I felt that no scope was left open for me to do so. But if General Smuts is still prepared to consider the other points, I shall be certainly prepared to make a further submission. I cannot help feeling that the unfortunate rupture has taken place on points very vital to the Indian community but of little consequence to the Government or the dominant population of the Union.

Pray, always consider me to be one the least desirous to obstruct the Government and most anxious to serve it in so far as I can do so consistently with my duty to my countrymen.[1]

[*I have, etc.*,]
M. K. GANDHI

*Indian Opinion*, 29-10-1913

## *137. THE RESISTERS AT VOLKSRUST*

We reported last week that the passive resisters were told they would be deported on receipt of warrants from Pretoria. Fuller details that have come to hand show that the spokesman[2] was summoned before the Immigration Officer on Thursday[3] last and told that he had received instructions from Pretoria to submit to the party for filling in forms prescribed under the Act. The spokesman regretted that the party could not comply with the

[1] Acknowledging this on September 27, Gorges wrote: "I have submitted your communication to the Minister, who, after full consideration of the matter, requests me to say that it will not be possible for him to give any assurance that legislation on the lines indicated in Section 4 of my personal letter of the 19th ultimo to you will be introduced at the next session of Parliament."

[2] Chhaganlal Gandhi

[3] September 18

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request. Would they submit to the test? The spokesman said they could not do that either.

"Then," said the officer, "you are all prohibited immigrants." And, so saying, he handed the usual notices for all, informing them of his decision and saying that they could appeal against his decision to the Appeal Board within 3 days. The spokesman said the party did not want to appeal at all. The officer then said that, in that event, he would deport them all upon receipt of warrants. Thereupon, the spokesman urged that they should all be taken in custody, as they did not wish to remain free and not proceed with their journey. But the officer said he could not take them in custody. The next day the party informed the officer that, unless they were kept under custody, they would proceed to Johannesburg.

"Then," said the officer, "I shall have to stop you, but I will not imprison you." Thereupon, the following letter was addressed to the officer, signed by the spokesman :

My fellow-passive resisters and I have been stopped by you from continuing our journey to Johannesburg since Tuesday last, the 16th instant. I told you then that, if you wished to detain or arrest us, you could do so only by keeping us in prison, as we did not desire to remain in Volksrust with friends, however insistent they might be to accommodate us. But you told us that you had not sufficient room at the Police Station for such a large company as ours and that, therefore, you would rather that we remained out, pending receipt of instructions from the Government. We have waited, it would be admitted, long enough to enable you to receive your instructions.

On my telling you on Friday that, if you could not keep us under custody, the party would consider itself free to proceed to Johannesburg, you informed me that you would prevent it from so doing and that yet you could not keep us in custody until you had heard from the Government.

I beg, therefore, now to inform you that unless you take charge of the party, we shall entrain for Johannesburg on Monday, by the Kaffir Mail, and if you offer physical resistance at the time, as passive resisters, we can only yield to it for the time being. But, if you set us free afterwards and do not hold us bodily, we shall seek some other means of continuing our forward journey.

Later wires received from Volksrust show that the delivery of the notice acted like a charm. The whole party was deported on Monday, at 10 a.m., to the Natal border. Deportation merely consists in pushing the deportees beyond a line midway in a shallow stream. As soon as the party was deported and the back of the deporting officer was hardly turned, they re-crossed and were arrested. They were straightway taken to the Charge Office.

*Indian Opinion*, 24-9-1913

## *138. THE LATE MR. HOOSEN DAWAD*

We regret to announce that young Hoosen Dawad, who was ailing for a long time and who had the benefit of the most skilled medical attendance and the unceasing and devoted nursing of a loving father, passed away on Monday night. We consider that Mr. Hoosen gave promise of being one of the greatest Indians of South Africa. We extend our sympathy to the bereaved family. We hope to give a special memoir[1] and portrait of the deceased in our next issue. This issue being specially published for giving news of the passive resistance struggle, it is impossible for us to cope with the memoir.

*Indian Opinion*, 24-9-1913

## *139. THE £3 TAX*

For many reasons we consider that the central point of the struggle is this blood tax, as we have not hesitated to call it. It ought never to have been imposed. The history of the imposition does not reflect any credit on Natal. It would never have been imposed if we, the free Indian settlers of Natal, had, at the time, done our duty completely. It would never have been imposed if the otherwise fine statesmen of Natal, who were then in power, had not truckled to the planter and the farming communities. We may here recall the fact that the original intention of the then Government was to impose an annual tax of £25 on ex-indentured Indians and to make its non-payment a criminal offence. This was too much for the Government of India, though it was soft and accommodating enough. The figure was, therefore, brought down to £3 and the Government of India would not listen to the proposal to make its non-payment a criminal offence. So a Bill was passed in 1895 imposing the tax, the condition being that, if the ex-indentured Indian left for India on the termination of his indenture or entered into further indenture, he was exempt but, if he did not do either and wished to settle in Natal as a free man, he and his were bound to pay the tax which could be collected by a civil summary process. The first collections started in 1900,

[1] *Vide* "The Late Mr. Haji Hoosen Dawad Mahomed", pp. 222-4.

and since then men, women and children have been harassed, more or less inexorably, to pay this wretched penalty for their freedom. We call it a penalty because it is admittedly not a revenue-producing impost. It is avowedly for the purpose of compelling the helpless people to re-indenture or to return to India from whence they came to avoid starvation, and on the strength of unscrupulous allurements of touts. The law-officers then set about working to find out how they could send these men to gaol although it was a compact between the Natal and the Indian Governments that it was not to be deemed a criminal offence if the tax was not paid. They found out that it was possible to use effectively the small debts clause of the Magistrates' Courts Act in order to override the compact and send these people to gaol if they did not pay the tax. Disobedience of an order of Court is contempt of Court for which the defaulter is sentenced to imprisonment. There is an exception to the clause to the effect that, if a debtor shows that he has been unable, through want of means, to discharge a debt which he is ordered to pay, he may not be imprisoned. But we know that, in most cases, the Magistrates, after all human beings living in the midst of the all-powerful planting community, have disbelieved the evidence as to poverty and sentenced the men to be imprisoned for non-payment. The latest case in point is that of Sarjoo[1]. He has not paid for the last three years. He paid what he could and then pleaded inability. But the plea was not accepted and he had to serve imprisonment with hard labour for 30 days. And even this imprisonment does not free him from payment. If he is believed by a police officer to have means, he can be re-arrested and re-sentenced unless he pays the tax. Thus we hold that the local Government have broken faith with the Government of India by resorting to the Magistrates' Courts Act to thrust the poor men and women into gaols for non-payment.

But one would have thought that, with the stoppage of the system of indenture, the tax would be abolished. Nothing of the kind has happened. The relentless employers, who want indentured labour, having tasted the sweets of it, are not satisfied with anything less, certainly not with free labour. And so the tax has continued.

Then came the climax. Prominent people of Natal assured Mr. Gokhale that the tax would go, that they did not want it.

[1] An ex-indentured Indian who had not paid his tax arrears; Maganlal Gandhi was summoned for employing him.

The Union Government made a definite promise to our distinguished countryman that they would remove the tax. And yet, during the last session of Parliament, they broke the promise.

Who can say that the local Indian community have decided a second too soon upon passive resistance? It would have been proper at any moment. It is doubly so at this moment. If our readers only knew, as we know, how this breach of faith, this failure to remove the tax, has shaken Mr. Gokhale and how, in spite of strong medical advice, he decided to return to India to rouse the Government and the people to action, and what extraordinary pressure was brought to bear upon him to induce him to postpone his departure from England, every Indian would let every consideration of self go and fight for the removal of this tax even unto death. It is a simple, primary duty every Indian in South Africa owes to his country, to Mr. Gokhale and to the poor men who are the victims of gold hunger on the part of the employers of indentured Indian labour.

*Indian Opinion*, 24-9-1913

## *140. WHAT APPEAL BOARDS STAND FOR*

*The Natal Mercury*, in a leaderette, offers the opinion that the Appeal Boards are a distinct advantage to the Indians because one or two men have been successful in their appeals. This would be true if the Appeal Boards had taken the place of something worse. But the facts are that they are dealing with a situation that did not exist before. That is to say, before the Act was passed, men who were undisputed possessors of their domicile certificates re-entered as a matter of right. Now the Act has nullified the effect of these certificates and created work for the Boards which reject the majority of cases, which formerly were quite safe and then grant one or two. Thus the law, having deprived the community of all its rights, allows Appeal Boards to restore some. If, for this mercy, one has to be thankful, one ought also to thank a thief who restores part of stolen property. Of course, we have nothing to say against the Boards as such. Indeed, the appointment of Mr. Binns and Mr. Maurice Evans is unexceptionable. But the best judge is of no use, if he is appointed merely to act as an anaesthetic acts when a patient has to undergo a severe operation resulting in the loss of a limb. And the analogy is some what too flattering for the Government. In the latter case, the patient submits to the operation

willingly and for his own good. In the former case, he is the unwilling victim.

*Indian Opinion*, 24-9-1913

## *141. THE £3 TAX*

It is, I think, our good fortune that the £3 tax has been included among the issues for satyagraha. The previous history of this problem is worth recalling. The proposal for the £3 tax first came up in 1894. The Natal Government sent a deputation to India. At that time the Indians protested violently against it.[1] The Government's original intention was to levy a tax of £25 and, if any Indian could not pay that tax, the Government wanted to be empowered to effect his compulsory repatriation. Thanks to our agitation, the Indian Government rejected both the proposals and passed a resolution that an Indian who, after completing his indenture, did not re-indenture himself should either return to his country or pay an amount of £3 tax each for himself, his wife and his children. If anyone did not pay the tax, it could be recovered by auctioning his property, if he had any, but that the Government would have no power to imprison him. The Indian community made a strong representation against this too. In 1896, meetings were also held in India in this connection.[2] Nevertheless the tax remained. For some time, thereafter, the Government collected the tax from those who paid it. Meanwhile, though there was no provision for imprisonment [in case of default], the Government found an indirect way of sending defaulters to gaol. According to a section in the law relating to magistrates' courts, anyone failing to comply with a magistrate's judgment is guilty of contempt of court for which the court could sentence him to imprisonment. Under this section, first a decree would be issued on an Indian to pay his tax. Then, if he did not pay the tax, he would be brought before the court for contempt of court. If he is able to prove his poverty, the court must discharge him. Why should the court believe the evidence of such a miserable wretch? The result was violation of the agreement made with the Indian Government. This was breach of trust. And hundreds of Indians found themselves in prison. Several women and young men were also imprisoned. Are we not to blame for all this? Had we taken

[1] *Vide* Vol. I, pp. 176-9, 212-4.
[2] *Vide* Vol. II, pp. 70-89, 94-121.

more pains than we did, these poor people would have been free from the yoke which they had borne for 15 years. Would not thousands of pounds of the poor have been saved? It must sear our hearts to hear all these questions. We did not hear the cry for help at our own doors! Who can tell how much of such burden [of guilt] we have to bear? It is enjoined by all religions that we should share in the suffering that we see around us. We have failed to do so. An opportunity has offered itself today.

We are sure that, if many from the community fight against it, the tax will be repealed forthwith. If only a few do so, there is likely to be delay. But the repeal of the tax is certain. The campaign that is now coming is such that it should be easy for all Indians to join it with zest. So far we could ask nothing of the thousands of ex-indentured Indians. Now, they too can join the fight with all their heart. We are convinced that, if every Indian who is not able to court imprisonment or give money for this cause, just spares one hour of his time to acquaint the poor and the illiterate people with the issue of the tax, there will be a real fight indeed. No one, moreover, should remain complacent in the belief that the tax is bound to be repealed. On the contrary, everyone must do his best. The community will find a great deal to learn from this struggle and will be able to raise itself very high. A wise man does not avert his face or go to wash it when Lakshmi[1] comes to him, in his own house, to put a *tilak*[2] on his forehead.

[From Gujarati]
*Indian Opinion*, 24-9-1913

## *142. LETTER TO CLEMENT DOKE*

PHŒNIX,
NATAL,
*September 24, 1913*

MY DEAR CLEMENT,

I have your letter but not the list. I am now sending you 25 copies[3] for distribution among father's friends and congregation. You can have more. It never was the intention to charge European friends for the memoir. The idea was to get Indians to buy copies for wide circulation in India.

[1] Hindu goddess of prosperity
[2] Auspicious vermilion mark
[3] These were copies of a memoir of Rev. J. J. Doke, addressee's father; *vide* "The Late Mr. Joseph J. Doke", pp. 167-71.

Thanks for inquiring about Mrs. Gandhi. She is now in gaol at Volksrust as a passive resister together with 3 other ladies from Phœnix.

*The Secret City*[1] is enchanting. I have been reading it in my spare moments. I have nearly finished it.

I am leaving tomorrow for Johannesburg.

I hope you are getting and reading your copy of *Indian Opinion* regularly.

With regards to you all.

*Yours sincerely,*
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: G. N. 743

## *143. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI*

IN THE TRAIN,
[After *September 25, 1913*][2]

CHI. MAGANLAL,

I find myself in an awful state today. I ran for the train. I gave no end of trouble to the boys. Everyone was delayed because of me. Unmindful of that, I committed a further mistake and sent Purshotam[3] again. Thinking of this, I felt extremely miserable. Even those of my actions which I believed to be for a spiritual purpose have a big flaw in them. I am too full of *moha* and *lobha*[4]. It is never the mark of a spiritual aspirant to be in too great a hurry and make himself a nuisance to others. He may, of course, not overtax himself—ought not to. What an ignoble state to be in! All this is the consequence of initial mistakes. I also realized that if I had skipped the meal, I could have worked with an unruffled mind, with plenty of time on hand, and would have been no cause of trouble to any of you. A spiritual aspirant should not accept exacting services for himself. To make you give up the school and to send the boys running argue an abject state of mind. I always knew this, but realized it vividly today. I felt ashamed within myself

[1] A book by Rev. Doke; *vide* p. 168.

[2] This appears to have been written by Gandhiji on his way to the Transvaal. He left Durban on September 25 and reached Johannesburg on September 27.

[3] Purshotam Desai, a satyagrahi, in charge of the Phœnix School for some time

[4] Greed

even as I was on the way—I reproached myself. I, who used to believe that I had perhaps something in me, find myself today in a humiliating state. I tell you all this because you attribute so many excellences to me. You should see the faults in me in order that you may save yourself from like faults. Plunged as I have been in the affairs of South Africa, I think I can be entirely free only in India. But please warn me whenever I take upon myself too heavy a burden. You will be with me, no doubt, even in India. If I am imprisoned, it will be all peace and nothing but peace for me. If not, I may even return there. Please warn me if ever in future, even in South Africa, you find today's story being repeated. We could have done without bread for Mr. Kallenbach and without groundnut jam for me. We need not have been particular about feeding the children. Or rather, we might have pleased ourselves in all these ways and yet things would have been all right if I had not insisted on having my meal. But I would ride all the horses and that is why God ordained my fall. Surely this is not the first occasion when such a thing has happened to me. This time, however, the lesson has been brought home to me. I will now change myself a little.

Please arrange the household things, or have them arranged properly. There are old cotton beddings near where the tools are stored. Ask Baku to wash them. Have them stitched by Mrs. Sam[1] and put them back well arranged.

For the present, let the children learn to write the addresses carefully. It will be good to lighten this burden on Devibehn[2] by half—and to remove it entirely by and by. If Chhotam and Navin worry her, draw them away to yourself. The matter about Lord Ampthill will now have to be attended to by you, unaided.

While in Durban, I heard that the men will be removed from Volksrust to Maritzburg.[3] If they are, it is just as well. That will be some experience indeed and, with Rustomjee Sheth there, they will be better able to face the situation.

*Blessings from*
MOHANDAS

[PS.]

If the children cannot manage to write 300 addresses this time, you should try and help them to complete them on Sunday or

[1] Wife of Govindsamy
[2] Indian name given to Miss Ada West by Gandhiji
[3] The prisoners were removed to the Maritzburg Gaol on September 28.

Monday. You will find there a jacket made by me for Budrea[1]; this is to be sent on to Polak.

Two powers [of attorney] on behalf of Rustomjee Sheth have been left there. They should be attested by you and Devibehn under the date of Monday, Phœnix, and preserved there. Fill [in the details], if you can.[2] Otherwise I shall do that when I am there.

From the Gujarati original in pencil in Gandhiji's hand: C. W. 5649
Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri

## *144. LETTER TO SOUTH AFRICAN RAILWAYS*

[JOHANNESBURG,]
*September 27, 1913*

TO
THE GENERAL MANAGER
SOUTH AFRICAN RAILWAYS
[SIR,]

With two other Indians I was travelling by the Kaffir Mail that left Durban on Thursday to the Transvaal. We were all travelling third-class. We occupied one of the corridor third-class compartments which are usually attached to the Natal trains. My companions and I were put in the compartment we occupied by one of the conductors. At Ladysmith, however, the new conductor came and told me that we would have to shift from the compartment we were occupying to another. On enquiring for the reason I was told that the compartment we were occupying was meant for Europeans only. I drew the conductor's attention to a compartment which was so labelled, also to the fact that our compartment was not labelled at all, and that I had travelled in such compartments several times on the Natal line. I informed him also that the conductor at Durban had placed me in that compartment, but the new conductor said that I was to obey instructions or to get permission from the Station Master to remain where I was. Thereupon, I saw the Station Master, but I must say that, in rather a rude manner, he told me that I was to do as the conductor asked me, and that I ought to know that the conductors could ask passengers to shift as many times as they chose without

[1] An old client of Gandhiji
[2] The original is not clear at this point.

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giving any reason whatsoever. I did not argue the matter with the Station Master but simply went and occupied the compartment I was in and awaited developments there. Meantime, unknown to me, a friend who happened to be on the platform, and who knew me, disclosed my identity to the conductor who subsequently spoke to me and told me that, in asking me as he had done to remove, he was only carrying out instructions. I told the conductor then that, after having known who I was, it was his duty to have me arrested for disobeying instructions, but that he would not do. I was told by the Indians who were on the platform at the time, and who were watching the proceedings, that such difficulties happened to Indian passengers very often. I do not know what truth there is in what the conductor told me. I can only hope that he has misread the instructions of the administration, because, in my humble opinion, it would be preposterous if even third-class Indian passengers may not travel without being disturbed, and without being told that the nicest compartments were always reserved for Europeans.

I hope that you will be good enough to investigate this matter and do whatever you consider is necessary. I feel that high officials, such as Station Masters, ought to be told to realize their responsibility and behave courteously towards passengers even though they may not belong to the European race. I hardly think that it was necessary for me to disclose my identity before I could claim courteous treatment from the Station Master.

[*I have, etc.*,
M. K. GANDHI]

*Indian Opinion*, 8-10-1913

## *145. ON POINT OF BEING ARRESTED*

[*September 27, 1913*][1]

On Thursday[2] last, Mr. Gandhi went to the Transvaal with some satyagrahis. He and his companions were in a third-class compartment. Among the third-class carriages, there are some which are clean and comfortable. The railway official had put Mr. Gandhi and his companions in one of these. When the train reached Ladysmith, the conductor ordered them to vacate the

[1] *Vide* reference to preceding item in the last paragraph.

[2] September 25

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compartment and occupy the next one. Mr. Gandhi said : "We are not going to, and we will reach the Transvaal in this very compartment."

The conductor said, "I order you to go."

Mr. Gandhi said, "It was the conductor at Durban who placed us here." The conductor retorted, "Don't argue with me. I tell you to get out. This compartment is for the Europeans. This train is under my charge."

Without entering into an argument, Mr. Gandhi decided to remain in the same compartment with his companions and hoped to be arrested for disobeying the conductor's order. He thought that this was a good opportunity that had offered itself for him to go to gaol. Some Indians who were present there saw what was happening and were glad to think the incident would have a good result. But Mr. Windon, who was on the spot, spoiled the game. The conductor did not recognize Mr. Gandhi. Mr. Windon went to him and told him the name. That made the conductor hold his peace. Afterwards he had a long conversation with Mr. Gandhi in the presence of other conductors and told him that he was only doing his duty. In his ignorance, however, the friend, with the best of intentions, behaved like an enemy. Had Mr. Gandhi been arrested at Ladysmith, some of the problems concerning railways would have been solved and, incidentally, the struggle would have gained strength. All the Indians on the platform were disappointed and, later on, Mr. Windon realized that it would have been far better if he had not interfered.

Mr. Gandhi has sent a written complaint about this to the General Manager, telling him that he was informed by the Indians who were on the station that such hardships were a common experience. He has also pointed out in the letter that the Station Master, instead of attending to the complaint, behaved rather rudely.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 1-10-1913

## 146. LETTER TO SECRETARY FOR INTERIOR

[JOHANNESBURG,]
*September 28, 1913*

DEAR MR. GORGES,

I do not know that I am justified in writing this letter to you, but, as you have been personally solicitous about the non-revival of passive resistance, and as, in the course of my conversations with you, I have so often told you that I have nothing to withhold from the Government, I may as well inform you of what is now going on.

I wrote to you[1] from Phœnix in reply to your last letter, and if you have not yet replied to my communication but intend to do so, I would suggest your sending your reply to my Johannesburg address, as I shall be here for some time at least.

The campaign has started in earnest. As you know, sixteen passive resisters, including four women, are already serving three months' imprisonment with hard labour.[2] The resisters here were awaiting my arrival and the activity here will commence almost immediately.

I cannot help saying that the points on which the struggle has re-started are such that the Government might gracefully grant them to the community. But what I would like to impress upon the Government is the gravity of the step we are about to take. I know that it is fraught with danger. I know also that, once taken, it may be difficult to control the spread of the movement beyond the limits one may set. I know also what responsibility lies on my shoulders in advising such a momentous step, but I feel that it is not possible for me to refrain from advising a step which I consider to be necessary, to be of educational value and, in the end, to be valuable both to the Indian community and to the State. This step consists in actively, persistently and continuously asking those who are liable to pay the £3 tax to decline to do so and to suffer the penalties for non-payment and, what is more important, in asking those who are now serving indenture and who will, therefore, be liable to pay the £3 tax on completion of their indenture

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Secretary for Interior", pp. 201-2. The Secretary's reply dated September 27 had evidently not reached Gandhiji by this time.

[2] *Vide* "Letter to Harilal Gandhi", pp. 190-1.

to strike work until the tax is withdrawn. I feel that, in view of Lord Ampthill's declaration in the House of Lords,[1] evidently with the approval of Mr. Gokhale, as to the definite promise made by the Government and repeated to Lord Gladstone, this advice to indentured Indians would be fully justified. That the tax has weighed most heavily upon the men I know from personal experience, that the men resent it bitterly I also know from personal knowledge. But they have submitted to it more or less with quiet resignation, and I am loth to disturb their minds by any step that I might take or advise. Can I not even now, whilst in the midst of the struggle, appeal to General Smuts and ask him to reconsider his decision on the points already submitted and on the question of the £3 tax and, whether this letter is favourably considered or not, may I anticipate the assurance that it will in no wise be taken to be a threat?

[*I have, etc.*,]
M. K. GANDHI

*Indian Opinion*, 29-10-1913

## *147. SPEECH AT VREDEDORP MEETING*[2]

[JOHANNESBURG,
*September 28, 1913*]

Mr. Gandhi at the outset stated that he had already addressed two meetings that afternoon, one of which consisted of some fifty Indian women who were mostly affected by the Immigration Act. All of them had decided to throw in their lot with their sisters who were serving three months' hard labour at Vereeniging. (Applause.) They had decided, some of them with babies in arms, to undergo all the hardships that gaol life meant. They were going to suffer for their own honour, and though he had warned them, and had even exaggerated the factor of the hardships of gaol life, they would be gratified and surprised, possibly, to hear that the women were staunch. In a few days' time they would be in His Majesty's gaol. (Applause.)

Mr. Gandhi touched upon the requests of the Indian community and the reasons for resuming the campaign of passive resistance.

Our demands are, in my opinion, incredibly simple. The first in point of importance is that the poll-tax of £3 be abolished. This is payable by all the ex-indentured Indians, their wives and

[1] *Vide* "The Debate in the Lords", pp. 180-1.

[2] Gandhiji addressed a well-attended mass meeting of Indians at the Hamidia Hall. A. M. Cachalia presided.

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grown-up children, so that in the case of a family of six the tax is £18 per year. This tax, as Lord Ampthill stated in the House of Lords, was on promise of repeal during the last session of Parliament. This was a promise made to Gokhale when he came to South Africa. The second thing is the marriage difficulty. I see wild statements made to the effect that we are trying to alter the whole basis of the marriage law of South Africa and to legalize polygamy. Nothing can be further from our thought than that. All we ask for is the restoration of the status that existed before the Searle judgment, and that is, legal recognition of monogamous marriages according to our own religious rites. Surely, this does not mean any alteration of the basis of the marriage law of South Africa. We have certainly asked for the admission of the existing plural wives of the Indians who are domiciled here, but for no legal recognition of their status. This has been done before, and we simply ask for its continuation. It affects a very small number of Indian women. You will be surprised to know that the law of South Africa has actually, in the interests of the planting community, even legally recognized polygamy in the case of the indentured Indians. But we are asking for no such legal recognition for plural wives of free Indian settlers. The third point is the retention of the right of South Africa-born Indians to enter the Cape by reason of their birth. The fourth point is the Free State difficulty. This is almost settled. We claim that the new Act does not mean that an Indian who may possibly enter the Free State is required to make as an immigrant the Free State declaration as to prohibition of holding landed property, to farm and to trade. If such is the interpretation placed upon the law by the Government also, there is no dispute. If the Government make that admission, the whole difficulty is solved. (Applause.)

[RESOLUTION][1]

That this meeting held under the auspices of the British Indian Association endorses the action taken by Mr. Cachalia in his letter to the Government, and congratulates the pioneers from Natal who are waiting in His Majesty's gaol at Vereeniging. This meeting further resolves upon the immediate taking up of passive resistance and to continue it until the requests contained in Mr. Cachalia's letter are granted. The meeting respectfully urges the Union Government to grant that request in fairness to the

[1] After Kallenbach, L. W. Ritch and Joseph Royeppen had spoken, the meeting adopted the resolution, presumably drafted by Gandhiji. The resolution, with some verbal variations, was also published in *Indian Opinion*, 1-10-1913.

community and also asks the Imperial and Indian Governments to help the community and trusts that the leaders of thought, both in England and India, will support the community in the endeavour to conserve national honour.

*Rand Daily Mail*, 29-9-1913

## *148. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI*

[JOHANNESBURG,]
*Monday* [*September 29, 1913*][1]

CHI. MAGANLAL,

Your letter. You need not have made yourself unhappy. Even if you had not gone on to finish your meal, all the things could not have been completed and the confusion[2] could not have been avoided. How can my defects be removed by your disciplining yourself? The remedy lies with me alone.

Manilal, Medh and Pragji have dressed themselves as hawkers and gone out for rounds. I am awaiting news of their arrest.

There will be a good number of women coming forward here. They will start in a day or so. I hear that even women have been removed from Volksrust to Maritzburg. I find that it will also be necessary to start a Satyagraha Fund. On their own, men are coming forward with contributions. Acknowledge the following amounts, therefore :

Mrs. Noor Mahomed Babul 1-1-0
Jogi Fakir of Bejalpur 1-0-0

You will see dehydrated bananas everywhere on that side. For quick dehydration, you may put them into the fire. It seems that Ba has been removed to Maritzburg. Nobody can say when, if ever, we shall be permitted to send food there. You will not need a mortar and pestle. You may make minute pieces with a nut-cracker and grind them in a stonemill. I am sending on a letter from Chhaganlal received here.

*Blessings from*
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 5868

[1] The acknowledgment of the amounts referred to in the letter appeared in *Indian Opinion*, 8-10-1913.

[2] The reference is to the situation described in "Letter to Maganlal Gandhi", pp. 209-10.

## 149. INTERVIEW TO "THE TRANSVAAL LEADER"

[JOHANNESBURG,
*September 29, 1913*]

Mr. Gandhi . . . discussed the situation fully and frankly. He considers that the people of the Transvaal are all with the Indians in their demand for fuller rights. Everyone he spoke to, he said, was sympathetic.

[REPORTER:] Then you do not consider that Parliament truly reflects the feeling of the country?

[GANDHIJI :] No, there you have professional men.

Mr. Gandhi said that the Indians were as steadfast and loyal to the cause as ever. Numerically they would not be so strong, but they were quite as earnest as before. The trouble, he said, had arisen to purify them. Asked why the number of resisters would be smaller, he stated that many who had experienced the discomforts of Transvaal prisons had no wish to return.

Some merchants too are not joining your ranks?

They may not go to prison, but they will help us with money.

Are you as well-off in a financial way as on the occasion of the last campaign?

No, we are not.

He went on to say that it was not a question of 3,000 convictions this time. A different procedure will be followed. Instead of a large number of men being in prison for short periods, a hundred or so would bear the brunt of the attack, and, as the Government seemed disposed to inflict the maximum penalty, they would spend a long period in gaol, even if they were only arrested three or four times. They would be assisted by their compatriots in the other Provinces. In the Free State they were only fighting for a theoretical right.

"The thin end of the wedge," suggested the interviewer.

Hardly that, though perhaps in some respects it is.[1]

*The Transvaal Leader*, 30-9-1913

[1] Gandhiji then explained that the people in the Orange Free State must first be educated on the question. The report added that a number of Indian merchants were opposed to passive resistance, which Gandhiji refuted; *vide* the following item.

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## *150. LETTER TO "THE TRANSVAAL LEADER"*[1]

[JOHANNESBURG,]
*September 30, 1913*

TO
THE EDITOR
*THE TRANSVAAL LEADER*

SIR,

I trust that you will allow me to correct the many misrepresentations made by your reporter with reference to the passive resistance movement. No doubt they are not all consciously made, but he certainly has been the instrument through which they have been made. "The Indian Passive resistance campaign", you have reported, "is threatened with collapse." This statement will prove to be untrue even if there is one passive resister earnest enough to carry it on, and I prophesy that, so long as there is one passive resister left to fight, the points we are now fighting for will be granted, not because of the strength of such solitary passive resister, but because of the invincible strength of the truth for which he may be fighting. That our demands are just you have admitted in your leading article, only you have asked us not to revive passive resistance, but to be patient and to petition. Which course is the better is a matter of opinion. I hold that the points at issue are to the community of such vital importance that passive resistance is the only remedy, petitions having failed.

Now for facts. Your report states : "The Indian merchants throughout the Transvaal have dissociated themselves from the movement, and have withdrawn from Mr. Gandhi sources of revenue without which the campaign must fail." The fact is that the great mass meeting of Sunday[2] was attended by almost all the Indian merchants of Johannesburg, and telegrams in support of the objects of the meeting were received from all the principal towns of the Transvaal, sent by the Indian merchants of those places, and

[1] This is a rejoinder to an allegation in *The Transvaal Leader*, in a report of the interview with Gandhiji on September 29, that a number of influential Indian merchants were opposed to passive resistance. Similar letters were written by L. W. Ritch and H. Kallenbach and were reproduced along with this in *Indian Opinion*, 15-10-1913.

[2] September 28

delegates attended from the towns which could send them upon hardly 24 hours' notice. If there is a split in the community, I assure you that it will not be because passive resisters are asking too much, but because they will be asking too little, for I admit that there are men amongst us who undoubtedly want passive resisters to go to the full length. They cannot be held blameworthy, but they certainly will not represent the moderate wing. I do not know who the influential Mahomedan merchants are who gave your reporter the information that there is very little ground for complaint, and that those who attended the Gold Law Conference were against passive resistance. Your reporter is free to see the names in my possession of the principal merchants in the Transvaal who have expressed themselves heart and soul with the movement. It is true that they have not all offered to go to gaol, but they have certainly offered to help with their purses. But I need not carry any further the refutation of the misrepresentations contained in your report, for the proof of the pudding is in the eating, and time will show whether the movement collapses either for want of men or of money. This, however, I will add, that the movement does not necessarily depend upon financial help, as I endeavoured to make clear to your reporter yesterday. Indeed, my view of passive resistance is that it is impure so long as it has to depend upon any pecuniary assistance whatsoever. It is essentially a religious force, but I do not claim for the movement, in which I am a humble participator, that it has reached the purest stage. When it does, it will be independent of any public demonstration in the shape of public meetings, resolutions or appeals to even England and India. Our ideal is that truth, in order to assert itself, needs no such props. We are striving to reach it, and we can but die in the attempt.

Lastly, permit me to say that the statement that passive resisters "demand payment for their penance, there must be compensation for enforced confinement, martyrdom is on a money basis," is an atrocious libel, and a cruel wrong to the men and women who have suffered during the last campaign, and who will suffer now. A statement of disbursements was published some time ago, and details are open to inspection by any person who may care to go through them. There never has been any payment to passive resisters for their services as such. There has been maintenance given to the dependents of those who were in gaol, and the payments were made for barest necessities of life. Your reporter should challenge his informants for facts in support of the statements made by him. Indeed, fairness should have dictated this course to

him before he undertook to publish them in the confident and emphatic manner in which he has. Nothing could have been easier for him than to have at least come to me and asked me to refute or corroborate them. He admits that there was no want of candour on my part in replying to any questions he put to me.

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

*The Transvaal Leader*, 1-10-1913

## *151. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI*

*September 30, 1913*

CHI. MAGANLAL,

I have your letter. Send a copy of the paper to Mrs. Blair.

I have left behind a watch there in the [jacket] I wear at home. Please look for it and find it.

Manilal, Medh and Pragji tried hard yesterday to get arrested, but did not succeed. They have gone out [hawking] again today. The women will set out in a day or two.

Let me know under what strain you have to work. Does Shanti give trouble?

*Blessings from*
MOHANDAS

[PS.]
If you find any letter of Raojibhai's in the jacket or anywhere else, please send it. There is something about Gordhanbhai[1] in it. I have received Bhayat's papers. I am sending herewith Rustomjee Sheth's power [of attorney] for attestation. Sign it as witness and keep it safe. I also send some matter for the press. Send on to Omar Sheth the power [of attorney] in his favour. Ask him to affix a five[-shilling] stamp on it. Medh, Pragji and Manilal have been arrested.

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C. W. 5653
Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri

[1] Raojibhai's uncle

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## *152. THE LATE MR. HAJI HOOSEN DAWAD MAHOMED*[1]

The rose has withered in its bloom. Young Hoosen has died in the prime of life, leaving a nation in mourning. He was but twenty-two, but he carried on his shoulders a head that would sit well on a wise man of forty-two. Truly do the gods take away those they love best. Had Mr. Hoosen Dawad lived to see the winter of life, I feel sure that he would have left a mark on the history of the Indian community in South Africa. Not that he has not, by the purity of his life, influenced it even now. But what he was able to do was merely the shadow of what was to come. He was a young man of truth for which alone he lived. He was impatient of cant, hypocrisy and humbug even in those who were his elders. He stood up for truth against all odds. From his early age, he wanted his word to be as good as a bond. He was innocence personified. No evil company could influence him. He influenced his companions, no matter how depraved they might be. Once Mr. Dawad Mahomed wrote to him, asking him to beware of snares that lured young men in London and of bad companions. He was indignant and wrote almost in these words: "Father, you do not know your boy. Snares cannot affect Hoosen. Bad companions mislead those who do not know where they are. Your son knows where he is. He lives for truth and will die for it." To this sterling character, he added a burning enthusiasm for his country, India, which then existed only in his imagination. He had never seen it. But it was enough that it was the land of his forefathers. He had read about it and he had learnt to love it with a passion that could not be stifled. "O, Mr. Rustomjee," young Hoosen said to him when he went forward on the 16th ultimo as a passive resister, "if I rise from this sick bed, you will find me in gaol. What a glorious death it would be, to die in gaol for the sake of Truth and Justice!" He clung to life desperately. But his desire was unalloyed with selfishness. He wanted to live in order to serve his country and humanity.

When quite young, he began to hate trade, though Mr. Dawad, his father, was and is a merchant prince. He scorned possession of wealth. He wanted to study. He was placed with me at Phœnix

[1] This was published as a "Special Memoir". *Vide* also *Satyagraha in South Africa*, Ch. XXX.

by Mr. Dawad Mahomed and the whole settlement began to value the golden worth of the boy. He became a loved member of my family. But Phœnix was not enough for him. He liked the life but he wanted scope for his literary and political tastes. He wanted to fight his country's battles. He felt a call. He thought (I think erroneously) that it was necessary for him to go to London and become a barrister, if he was to do any good. He was the idol of his father. He went to London amid the good wishes of all. In London he soon made himself loved wherever he went. He applied himself to study. And I know that he used to go to Hampstead Heath, sit on the damp grass, read his favourite poets and lose himself in dreams. He used even to compose poems which, those who can judge tell me, were promising.

But it was ordained that Hoosen was not to live. The dread disease that destroyed his body began its operations upon it in London. He tried many cures. He was under the treatment of specialists. He rallied for a time, but was never cured. He returned to Durban and felt better. Dr. Adams, who loved Hoosen, treated him with rare attention. He was better, but only better. He was longing to go to England and study. He went to India and saw it with the eye of reverence. He said, in one of his many letters to me, that he wanted not to see the stone work of India; he wanted to see its heart. He went with his father and a distinguished company to the Holy Shrine in Arabia. The pilgrimage made a lasting impression on him. In one of his letters, he broke into raptures over the powers of the Prophet who could summon millions, year after year, to pay their homage to the Creator in this special manner. Thence the party proceeded to Constantinople whilst the war with Italy was going on. Young Hoosen was really his father's guide and friend. The whole company leant on him during this visit. The highest in Turkey were seen by them. There, too, in that strange land, Hoosen became the favourite of those who came in contact with him. He parted company with his father there. His second Mecca was London. He must go there to finish his studies. But the fiend never let go the grip of him. He was suddenly taken ill. Mr. Dawad Mahomed received a cable, saying that Hoosen was returning. It told its own tale. The father knew that the son was returning to die in his lap, and so he died, conscious to the last moment, in the lap of a father whose love was rare. (I had almost said, supernatural.) Mr. Dawad Mahomed became Hoosen's exclusive nurse. For five long months and more, this loving father never left the side of Hoosen's bed. It was a privilege to me to make a

pilgrimage to Mr. Dawad's house to see the young patient whenever I was in Durban and it was a treat to see how Mr. Dawad nursed the son and how the latter relied entirely upon his nursing and no other. Dr. MacKenzie, assisted by Dr. Adams, treated him. But Hoosen never left the bed that he occupied on his return from Turkey.

The funeral procession was enormous. Thousands followed the hearse. Hindus from all provinces of India vied with the Mahomedans in paying their respects to the memory of this good youth. Colonial-born Indians mustered in strong force to pay their respects to the memory of one who, like themselves, was born in South Africa. Special trams emptied themselves at Congella, during practically the whole of the Tuesday on which the funeral took place. All Indian shops in Durban were closed for two hours and so was the Indian Market, by consent of the Corporation. No Indian has ever received the spontaneous tribute to his memory that this young man of brilliant promise received. His death made us all forget, for the moment, that we were Hindus, Mahomedans, Parsees or Christians. He, even in his death, makes us realize that we are sons of India after all—we are kith and kin, owning the same mother. I have loved to linger on Mr. Hoosen's character. I knew him as few did. And it has not been my good fortune to meet many young men—aye, even old men—with a spotless character that Hoosen possessed. To me Hoosen is not dead. He lives in his character. May this humble tribute be accepted by Indian youths throughout South Africa in the spirit in which it has been offered, and may we all copy the example set to us by Mr. Hajee Hoosen Dawad Mahomed.

*Indian Opinion*, 1-10-1913

## *153. THE MARRIAGE QUESTION*

The struggle, this time, involves so many matters of highest importance that it is well to devote particular attention to each. We dwelt, last week, on the £3 tax question. This week we propose to examine the marriage question which, in so far as it has drawn our women into the struggle, is of even greater importance than that of the annual exaction from ex-indentured men, women and children.

The marriage difficulty dates from the Searle judgment. It is, therefore, necessary to understand the position that existed before that now historic judgment. Little did Justice Searle know what

effect his judgment was likely to produce among the Indians of this sub-continent. Before the judgment, Indian wives were recognized as lawful married wives of their husbands. The masters of the Supreme Courts of the different Provinces recognized the claims of such wives and their issue in intestate estates. Never did an Indian have cause to suspect that the legality of marriage might be questioned by the Courts of South Africa on the ground of the want of its Christian character or the want of registration in South Africa. But the Union Government, in pursuance of their policy of greater repression of the Asiatic than before and not being satisfied with their attack on the male members of the community, wanted to extend their hostile operations to our womenfolk. Some zealous law officer discovered that it was possible to prevent the entry of wives of domiciled Indians by declaring their marriage to be illegal in terms of the South African law. They, therefore, challenged the entry of such a woman at the Cape, and Justice Searle was called upon to decide the issue now raised for the first time by the Government. The learned Judge pronounced marriages performed according to the rites of a religion that allows polygamy to be illegal, and, as the person, claiming before him to be the wife of a domiciled Indian, was a Mahomedan, her marriage could not be recognized by the Courts of the Union. This ruling was followed by the Master of the Natal Provincial Division of the Supreme Court. The Master rejected the claim of the only wife of a deceased Indian for exemption from succession duty by reason of her marriage not being in accordance with the laws of the Union. The doctrine was carried to its furthest limit by Justice Gardiner when he declined to recognize the marriage of an Indian wife when she claimed exemption from liability to give evidence against her husband in a trial against him upon a charge of murder. Thus, suddenly, non-Christian Indians found that, in South Africa, their wives occupied merely the position of concubines and their children were considered illegitimate. The reader must remember that, not only does this discovery of their awful position hurt the susceptibilities of a proud race, but it also effectually prevents the entry of almost every Indian wife and every Indian child. If the Government had dared to follow out the consequences of the Searle judgment which they deliberately invited, not an Indian wife or her children could have entered the country. That would have been an injustice which even the humanity of the Europeans of South Africa would not have tolerated. Therefore, after having us at their mercy, the Government were graciously pleased to declare that the judgment

would not interfere with the practice of the administration to admit the wife of a domiciled Asiatic so long she was the only wife of his in South Africa. This so-called forbearance, it must be remembered, would not have saved the wives and children thus admitted on sufferance from the other consequences already adverted to of the Searle judgment. Indians were not to be satisfied with exchanging the legal status of their wives for a position of total uncertainty in law, notwithstanding their admission. They were not prepared to put up with the implied slur on their womenfolk. The Government, therefore, reluctantly, in a most niggardly spirit, and in instalments, accepted, first Mr. Alexander's and then Senator Schreiner's amendments to the Immigration Bill that was under consideration by the Union Parliament. But the amendments, being hastily drawn, gave (if they did at all) partial relief only. For they legalized Indian monogamous marriages celebrated *outside* South Africa, no matter under what religious rites they were solemnized. These amendments, therefore, left undefined the status of women married or to be married in South Africa. Indians now contend that Indian marriages celebrated in South Africa should be placed upon the same footing as those celebrated in India. And this, as has been[1] pointed out to the Government, can be done with but a slight alteration in the Immigration Act or by an amendment of the marriage laws of the Union.

We have used the expression "if they did at all" with reference to the relief granted by the amendments. This qualification has become necessary owing to the attitude of the Government in the case of Kulsumbibi now pending before the Supreme Court. The Immigration Officer at Durban, no doubt upon instructions from the Government, has raised the question whether a marriage celebrated under the rites of a religion which permits polygamy can be called monogamous, although the woman so married may be the only wife of her husband. This issue the Government need not have raised. But they evidently intend to show that the amendments made were not made in good faith. They were made ostensibly to meet the Indian demand for legalization[2] of Indian marriages. Mr. Alexander's amendments fell short of that. Mr. Schreiner's was, therefore, accepted. The Government knew that the most popular religions of India, viz., Hinduism and Islam, did not prohibit polygamy. If,

[1] The original has "even".
[2] The original has "legislation".

therefore, they accepted the amendment with the mental reservation that the adjective "monogamous" would by law still exclude the women married according to the rites of these two great religions, they certainly misled Parliament and the Indian community. We think that the Supreme Court will reject the Government interpretation, but, should its decision be otherwise, it certainly will be necessary to alter the Immigration Act in order to clothe all Indian marriages with legality. Even at this eleventh hour, the Government could withdraw the case and not challenge a decision.

Then, there remained the question of the admission of plural wives as distinguished from their legal status after admission. The practice has been always to admit such wives of domiciled Indians. In the Transvaal such unions are even noted on the registration certificates. The first shock of disturbance in this practice was felt in 1911 by a decision of Justice Wessels,[1] which, too, was invited by the Government. As a result of the decision, the British Indian Association carried on correspondence with the Government and an assurance was given by them that all cases of hardship would be considered by them. This correspondence seemed to settle the question, for the Indian demand as to plural wives is not for legal recognition but for admission into the Union of the existing plural wives of domiciled Indians. But the disposition of the Government seems to be now to recede from the assurance contained in their communication. We shall reproduce this correspondence in our next issue so that the reader may judge for himself whether the correspondence can bear any other interpretation than that put upon it by the community.

To sum up, then, the demands of the community are simple and three-fold:

(1) Legalization of monogamous marriages already celebrated and to be celebrated in South Africa; (2) The term "monogamous" to include marriages celebrated according to the rites of religions that may not prohibit polygamy, so long as the woman whose union is to be recognized is the only wife of her husband; (3) the admission of existing plural wives of domiciled Indians without granting such wives a legal status apart from full residential rights.

*Indian Opinion*, 1-10-1913

[1] *Vide* Vol. XI, pp. 120 & 122.

## *154. THE MARRIAGE QUESTION*

Just as we considered last week the obnoxious £3 tax, we must now consider the marriage question. Not one, but many important issues, unrelated to one another, are involved in this struggle. The community must have a clear understanding of all these issues. The marriage question itself has three aspects.

First, that marriages celebrated according to Hindu, Muslim or Parsi religious rites are not recognized as legally valid. Before the Searle judgment, there simply was no problem about Indian marriages. All marriages were recognized in courts. But the Searle judgment changed all that. The Government acted deliberately in seeking that verdict. After the formation of the Union, there came to be greater strictness than before. The desire entered the Government's mind to root out Indians from South Africa, be the means what they might. Till now the Government did not lay hands on women. But now it has cast its evil eyes on them. The Government seems to have had the wicked idea that, by preventing the entry of women, their children can also be stopped. Its officers, accordingly, looked up the various laws and found that it might be possible to hold that Indian marriages were not valid according to the laws of this country and that, if this was proved right, the Government's object would more or less be fulfilled. And so the Government challenged the right of one woman, and the case went up to Mr. Justice Searle. He held that a marriage solemnized under a religion which permitted polygamy, even if it was in fact monogamous, could not be recognized in South African law. Following upon this judgment, the Master of a Natal Court decided that a widow and her children could not be exempted from payment of succession duty after the decease of her husband if her marriage with the deceased husband had been celebrated otherwise than under Christian rites.[1] In Ladysmith, again, Mr. Justice Gardiner ruled that a woman so married could not claim the privilege of exemption from giving evidence against her husband.[2] The result of these three decisions is that Indian women and their children cannot come to this country. The women who are already here become mere concubines and their children will not be

[1] *Vide* also "Janubie Case", pp. 19-20.

[2] Kulsumbibi's case

accepted as the legal heirs of their parents. Having established this as the legal position, the Government declared, in its graciousness, that despite the new law it will permit one wife to come in with every individual. This only means that the women will be granted right of domicile but that they will be looked upon as concubines. Consequently, neither they nor their heirs will have any rights in a court. Indians cannot accept such a position. Strong letters [of protest] were addressed to the Government. It introduced in the new Bill amendments suggested by Mr. Alexander, and later by Mr. Schreiner. But it did so rather unwillingly, without applying its mind to them, and only because it was left with no choice in the matter; the amendments, therefore, remained defective, and the result was that the validity of marriages celebrated in India was recognized, but not that of marriages which have been or which may be celebrated in this country under our religions. Hence, we have asked the Government to treat marriages celebrated in South Africa, or those that may be celebrated in future, on the same footing as marriages celebrated in India. We have also pointed out how this may be effected.

The second point is that the amendment made in the Bill has the effect of recognizing the validity of monogamous marriages. In Kulsumbibi's case, the Government purposely raised the objection that the new law does not recognize a marriage solemnized under a religion which permits polygamy. If this interpretation is correct, the difficulty created by the Searle judgment has not been removed and the Government can be accused of a bit of sharp practice. It knew well enough that our demand related to marriages solemnized under the Hindu and Muslim faiths. If it was the Government's intention not to recognize such marriages, it has deceived us, and also deceived the Parliament, the Imperial Government and the Indian Government. Kulsumbibi's case was not brought up by us. It was the Government that did so. The decision is not likely to be what the Government wants it to be. But in case it is, the Government will have to hide its face in shame and amend the law again so as to include within its scope marriages celebrated under our faiths.

The third point refers to cases of polygamy. The issue was raised in 1911. If an Indian had more than one wife, all the wives were [previously] allowed to come in. But the Government brought up the issue and Mr. Justice Wessels ruled that under the law here only one wife could come in. Mr. Cachalia thereupon addressed a letter to the Government and the latter re-

plied that it would consider such cases. We acquiesced in the position. We did not ask for recognition of polygamous marriages but for permission for all one's wives to enter this country. The Government now says that its letter of 1911 is not to be interpreted as we have done. We are, however, convinced that it can bear no other interpretation.

We have thus made three demands of the Government. One, that marriages celebrated in this country, and those to be celebrated in future, according to our religious rites should be recognized as valid. Two, that the term "monogamous" marriage should include a marriage celebrated according to our religions. Three, that in case an Indian is already married to more than one woman, all his wives should be permitted to come in.

We will not sit down for a moment's rest till the Government concedes these demands. Since women have been attacked, they too have had to join the struggle. In so far as this marriage question involves an insult to our religions and an attack upon our national honour, it is far more serious than that of the obnoxious tax. A nation that cannot protect its women's honour and the interests of its children does not deserve to be called by that name. Such people are not a nation but mere brutes. Even animals use their horns to defend their young ones. Will men, then, if they are men, hang back, clinging to their wretched finery and their pleasures?

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 1-10-1913

## *155. CRIPPLED WITHOUT WEAPONS*

Much has been written by correspondents in the columns of this paper about the Indians not getting licences for weapons. We sympathize with them. Our view, of course, is that a man does not need any weapons. But this rule can apply only to those who have no interest in wealth. Those who carry on business and wish to protect themselves from attack need weapons, no doubt. But it is also certain that writing letters to newspapers will bring no redress. Something may be done if leaders exert themselves hard enough. Meanwhile, we suggest to our correspondents that they should send us all the letters that were exchanged between them and the Government. Names of places where robberies have occurred with positive evidence, the strength of population in the neighbourhood, —if all this information is

supplied to us in clear handwriting, we are ready to take suitable steps. The time, we feel, is also very opportune. In the present satyagraha campaign, we can take up many new issues whenever we think it right. If prompt steps are taken, there will be no difficulty in securing arms.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 1-10-1913

## *156. HAJI HUSSAIN DAWAD MAHOMED*

It is with full deliberation that I say that the untimely death of Bhai Hussain has widowed the Indian community here. People may wonder whether it is not something of an exaggeration to say that a young man of 22, of whom most Indians had not even heard, whom not many had seen, who never made any big speeches and never sought to teach wisdom to people, has widowed the people by his death, but my answer will still be the same. The character which Bhai Hussain possessed I have seen in few youths or grown-up men. In South Africa, I can think of no grown-up man who can equal him, and I doubt if there is any among the many youths whom I know. If there is anyone who can surpass him, such a one is not known to me. Bhai Hussain had based his way of life on truth. He lived for truth. Bhai Hussain detested lying, deceit, cunning and hypocrisy. He felt extremely uncomfortable in the presence of deceit. Whenever he saw people lying, his head would ache and he felt like flying away from there, if only he had wings. The lies that go on in ordinary company were so disgusting to this youth that, many a time, he felt disinclined to stay on in Durban. Whenever he heard and believed that a man was good, he was all admiration for him. So guileless was he. His heart was meek like a cow's. I never observed the slightest taint of sin in him. His innocence and his frankness were all his own. A budding rose has withered. But its fragrance remains. We can still enjoy deep draughts of it. He has left that fragrance with everyone who came in contact with him. Evil company had no effect on him. Once Mr. Dawad Mahomed wrote to Hussain, "My son, guard yourself against the temptations of life in England. Beware of evil company." I remember what Mr. Hussain wrote back in reply: "Father, you do not know your son. Evil company cannot taint Hussain. Your son is not likely to succumb to the temptations in England." That was the gist of his reply. It takes a Hussain to write with

such assurance. He was a *parasmani*[1]. Base metal—like iron—would turn into gold in contact with it. I request the readers not to think that I have exaggerated anything in what I have said. Along with these other virtues, the fire of patriotism always kept burning in his heart. Having never seen India, he had drawn a picture of her in his dreams. This youth was prepared to die for India and Indians. How Indians may prosper, how the sons of India may shine out was his constant concern. I believe he was a zealous Muslim, but he had not the slightest hatred of other religions. To him all Indians, Hindus, Muslims, Christians and Parsees, were the same. That they should be good was all that he wanted. Indians, for the simple reason that they were Indians, were like brothers to him. Who can think it an exaggeration to say that we have been widowed by the passing away of one so richly endowed?

Though Bhai Hussain was born in the house of a merchant prince like Mr. Dawad Mahomed, he had a distaste for business right from his childhood. A desire for education came upon him. His father put him under my charge in Phœnix. Forthwith, all the inmates of Phœnix fell in love with him. With his guileless nature, he soon spread the aroma of his presence all around. He became entirely one with my family, and I felt I had gained a fifth son. After he had stayed for a few months, he wrote to me: "I like Phœnix. I wish to spend my life here. But just now I wish to go to England. I have satisfied you that I am not likely to get corrupted there. It is my desire not to. Kindly give me your permission and secure my father's permission." He was not content with Phœnix. He desired to acquire a good education in letters. He wanted to utilize his gift for poetry. He copied the poem "A garden in spring, this world" and sent it to me. He had taught it to everyone in Phœnix. In copying the last verse, he changed, "Let Nazir[2] remember this" to "Let Hussain remember this". I asked him why. He told me that though the poem was not his, the thoughts it expressed were his too. His desire was to be a Nazir. The boy then went to England. He wanted to be a barrister. I did not fancy the idea. I reasoned with him. He told me, "That may be so for you, but not for me. For myself, let me be a barrister." "What will you do after that, my friend?"

[1] A precious jewel, famed to have the virtue of transmuting base metals into gold.

[2] Nazir Akbarabadi (1735-1830); Urdu poet and saint who showed catholicity and breadth of mind in his choice and handling of religious themes.

"You will see." "Do you want to practise and earn money?" His vehement answer "Certainly not, Sir", still rings in my ears. "My only desire is to serve my country. Having made myself a lawyer and a well-informed man, I will stay in Phœnix and share the sufferings of my fellow-countrymen." Dawad Sheth sent Bhai Hussain to England. The moment he reached there, he started work on his studies. He worked on and on. There's a beautiful ground near London, where he would go and sit all alone and fall into a reverie. This is a state similar to *samadhi*[1]. He would be engrossed in his favourite poems. He often showed me the poems he wrote sitting there. One or two of these I showed to persons[2] who were good judges of English poetry, and they told me that Hussain, indeed, showed promise of developing a gift for poetry. In a place like England, he preferred solitude. I do not remember that he ever fell a prey to a single one of the innumerable temptations in England.

But fell Time was stalking Bhai Hussain. Just when I was in England, he manifested symptoms of tuberculosis. I was alarmed. He was sent for a change of air. The best doctors there and a doctor in Paris too were consulted. But the disease had gone deep. Periods of progress were followed by relapses. Hussain's lustre began to fade. His spirit was gone. He felt miserable. The hope for life was strong in him. Not, however, for the sake of pleasures. He wanted to live on only because he wanted to serve the country. He returned to South Africa. There were again signs of improvement. He toured in India, as on a pilgrimage. Writing from there, he said, "I have not come to see the places in India. I am looking into India's heart, which I came to see." Then he went on to holy Mecca. There he poured out his pure heart to God. The pilgrimage had a deep effect on his mind. In a letter that he wrote from there, he said, "How great must be the power of the Prophet for whose sake millions of people every year gather in this holy place? Who can doubt his being a Prophet? I feel extremely happy at heart that I came here." There, the Bulgarian war was on. Bhai Hussain soon became the adviser, guide and friend of his father and other companions. He won the hearts of the big officers there and created a fine impression about India and Indian Muslims. What must have made the people adore this child? I will say that it was the light of his truthfulness. The

[1] Yogic trance

[2] This was some time in July-November 1909, when Gandhiji was in England on a deputation.

father and son then separated. Dawad Sheth returned to Durban. Bhai Hussain, however, wanted to complete his education in England. But God had willed otherwise. Suddenly Bhai Hussain started spitting blood. His health went down badly. Dawad Sheth received a cable. He resigned himself to his fate. He knew that Hussain would not come back unless he was seriously ill. That relapse proved to be the last. In Durban he was put to bed, where he remained, never to leave it. He was treated by the best of doctors. The father turned into a nurse. I have seen very few fathers attending on their sons as this one did. Hussain was to Dawad Sheth as the very pupil of his eye. He watched him day and night. Never did he leave his side even for an hour. But human effort is unavailing before fate. Fate always walks two paces ahead,[1] and strides on so fast, that one can never overtake it.

Whenever I went to Durban, Congella became a place of pilgrimage to me. Once I saw tears in Hussain's eyes. I asked: "Is death so difficult to face, brother?" With a smile, Hussain replied, "I am not afraid of death." Then, crying, "But I have as yet done nothing whatever, I want ever so much to serve the country." I tried to console him, saying, "Bhai, you have done much indeed for the country. If India was to produce young men like you, her condition would change for the better this very day. Even if you die, to me you will always be alive. The body will perish, it has ceased to be of service. But the soul is immortal. Personally, I believe that you will come to possess a more splendid body and will be able to render better service to India." But this was no consolation to him. He could be sure, so to speak, of that alone which was already in his hand. He wanted to achieve more in this very life. Had he yet done anything to show the miraculous power of truth in him? How much could he do now? Hussain's funeral was attended as no other funeral in South Africa has ever been. In an instant, there were thousands of Indians on the spot. Muslims, Hindus, Christians, all attended in large numbers. No one had gone to persuade them. They went of their own accord on hearing of the death. Hussain proved in the hour of his death that the children of India, Hindus, Muslims and Christians, are all one people. On Tuesday, there were no distinctions. People big and small, Madrasis, Bombayites, Colonial-born Indians, all turned up to pay homage to the memory of a jewel of an Indian. Special trams emptied themselves in front of Mr. Dawad's bungalow. Indian shops remained closed

[1] A Gujarati saying for: "Who can control his fate?"

for two hours, and the Indian Market, too, with the permission of the Corporation.

Thus, Bhai Hussain, following truth, showed the invincible power of truth in this cruel Iron Age. Hussain Mian is not dead; he will live in the fragrance of his character. My pen will never tire of writing praises of Hussain's virtues. Numerous examples of his purity keep haunting my mind. I hope the readers will understand my purpose in this article. Let everyone be an Indian of the same stamp as Hussain. Let us all, young and old, emulate Bhai Hussain's conduct, no matter whether we are Hindus or Muslims. If we cherish his memory and follow in his footsteps, we shall cease to make distinctions among us. Let us hold on to truth and dedicate our all to the country's cause. Though Bhai Hussain was on his death-bed, when Rustomjee Sheth went to visit him before starting again on the 16th on a pilgrimage to gaol, he said, "Yes, uncle, you are going. If I could leave this bed, I too would go to gaol with you. How happy I would be to die in gaol for the sake of the country!" May India beget thousands of Hussains!

[From Gujarati]
*Indian Opinion*, 1-10-1913

## *157. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI*

THE TENTS,
"MOUNTAIN VIEW",
P. O. BOX 2493,
JOHANNESBURG,
*Aso Sud 3* [*October 2, 1913*]

CHI. MAGANLAL,

If you receive any report or news about the Johannesburg school, do not print it. Habib Motan must be kept out. When the English matter is in excess, the advertisements, etc., on the last page should be omitted and the number of pages for English should be increased to seven.

It appears from the telegram in yesterday's *Star* that the women too had gone on fast. [They] are having a good taste of suffering.

*Blessings from*
MOHANDAS

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[PS.]

*Thursday Morning*

I have your letter. Twelve women have left today[1] for Maritzburg to court arrest. They are accompanied by Mr. Kallenbach. Two others[2] have been arrested today for hawking. The letter from Jamnadas is full of despair. Orders have been issued for the restoration of the sacred thread and shirt[3] and the suspension of vaccination.

I propose to wire Jamnadas asking him to come alone. I shall send the telegram[4] today or tomorrow. I have sent some material. Some of it is of a kind that may be used whenever needed.

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 5901

## *158. LETTER TO OLIVE DOKE*

JOHANNESBURG,
*October 3, 1913*

MY DEAR OLIVE[5],

Miss Schlesin was the first to remind me yesterday that it was the day on which one year more was written off against me. Yours is the second reminder. Many thanks for the trouble you take to think of my birthday.

Please remember me to mother and tell her that the fact that I have not come to see her does not mean that the family is absent from my thoughts. Indeed just now there are special reasons for recalling father's memory and with that for thinking of you all. But mother knows that I am not formal. Whenever I am wanted there or I can do anything, you can all command me.

*Yours sincerely,*
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5698
Courtesy: C. M. Doke

[1] October 2
[2] Rajoo and Willie Murgan
[3] Parsee Rustomjee was deprived of his Zoroastrian sacred shirt and thread in Maritzburg Gaol. *Vide* also "Letter to Maganlal Gandhi", pp. 237-8.
[4] This is not available.
[5] Daughter of Rev. J. J. Doke

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## 159. RESOLUTION AT PATIDAR ASSOCIATION MEETING[1]

JOHANNESBURG,
*October 5, 1913*

This meeting of the Patidar Association resolves that, in its opinion, *The Transvaal Leader* report, to the effect that the mercantile section of the Indian community is against passive resistance and that only some of the poorest in the community are likely to take part in the struggle is unjust and false; the meeting is heart and soul with the movement, approves of Mr. Cachalia's letter to the Government, and will undertake to support the movement with men and money, and requests the Government to end the sufferings of those already incarcerated by conceding the just demands of the community.

*Indian Opinion*, 15-10-1913

## 160. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

[JOHANNESBURG,]
*Sunday* [*October 5, 1913*][2]

CHI. MAGANLAL,

This is rather excessive matter which I am sending today. But all of it has got to be printed. Today's meeting was excellent. Acknowledge receipt of £22-7-6 only in the Satyagraha Fund. Say "From Patidar Mandal (Johannesburg)".[3] All the names must be included in the report[4]. I have promised that they will be. It seems now that the Jaffar from whom we had a telegram is none else but Gajjar; for the latter has again sent a telegram here. About your zeal, all I can say is that you should be mindful of your health. I also feel that the report about

[1] The meeting was addressed by Gandhiji at some length and, thereafter, a number of Indians announced their intention to go to gaol immediately. No report of Gandhiji's speech, however, is available. The resolution adopted at the meeting was presumably drafted by Gandhiji.

[2] The meeting of the United Patidar Society, to which the letter refers, was held on October 5; *vide* the preceding item.

[3] This was acknowledged in *Indian Opinion*, 15-10-1913.

[4] This was published in *Indian Opinion*, 8-10-1913.

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Rustomjee Sheth having been deprived of his sacred thread, etc., must be taken from there.

Sodha's batch will honour its pledge.

*Blessings from*
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 4365

## *161. IMPORTANCE OF VOWS*

If we resolve to do a thing, and are ready even to sacrifice our lives in the process, we are said to have taken a vow. It is essential for every person to train himself to keep such vows; one can strengthen one's power of will by doing so and fit oneself for greater tasks. One may take easy and simple vows to start with and follow them with more difficult ones. It seems the negroes of the Congo have taken such a [simple] vow. For the past three years, the whites have been trying hard to get the negroes over there to extract rubber, but they answer that their forefathers had pledged themselves not to do so. They are, therefore, unable to go against their plighted word. We shall find several examples in history of men undergoing great suffering for the sake of a pledge. To embrace satyagraha amounts to taking a great vow. Having taken it, one must die rather than forsake it. Such is the profound import of satyagraha, and it is for this reason that satyagraha may be said to know no defeat.

[From Gujarati]
*Indian Opinion*, 8-10-1913

## *162. LETTER TO DIRECTOR OF PRISONS*[1]

[JOHANNESBURG,]
*October 9, 1913*

[SIR,]

Messrs Medh and other British Indian passive resisters, who last week served a term of imprisonment at the Fort of Johannesburg, complained that Dr. Visser was unnecessarily and wantonly

[1] This was published along with a letter to the Press dated October 7, signed by Surendra B. Medh, Pragji K. Desai and Manilal M. Gandhi, requesting the Editor to write in protest against the brutal treatment to which they had been subjected.

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rude and insulting to them. They were asked to strip themselves entirely bare in the presence of other prisoners, for medical examination. They respectfully submitted to the doctor that it was contrary to their moral scruples and to their notions of decency, and they added that they were prepared to submit to the examination in a separate cell. Dr. Visser grew angry over this request and used most insulting language. The exact expression used by him was "the . . . coolies". He also charged them with disobedience, but my Committee is informed that the charge was never pursued, and that, upon their complaining to the Superintendent of the gaol, they were privately examined. My Committee hopes that an inquiry will be instituted into this complaint, and necessary steps will be taken to prevent officers using language alleged to have been used by Dr. Visser, even though it be towards prisoners.

The discharged passive resisters also complained that there was no ghee or any vegetable fat supplied with their meals, as used to be the case before. Their meals, my Committee understands, consist of rice, mealie meal, vegetables, and a little bread. My Committee showed, it is submitted, during the last campaign of passive resistance, that ghee or some vegetable fat was absolutely necessary for maintenance of the human frame in fair order.[1] My Committee understands that animal fat for one of the meals still forms part of the diet given to the Native prisoners. It is therefore respectfully requested that instructions will be issued to supply one ounce of ghee per day, as was the case formerly with British Indian prisoners, who are precluded from taking meat or animal fat.

*Yours, etc.*,

*Indian Opinion*, 22-10-1913

## *163. AN OFFICIAL STATEMENT*

The situation today in regard to the Indian passive resistance movement is explained in the following statement which has been officially communicated to Reuter's Agency, and the Press. The demands of the Indian community are:

(1) The removal of the annual tax of £3, which ex-indentured Indians—men, women, and children—are liable to pay as the price of their remaining free from re-indenture in Natal.

[1] *Vide* Vol. IX, pp. 49-50, 53, 71 & 74.

(2) (a) An amendment of the marriage law of the Union, so as to recognize the legality of monogamous Indian marriages celebrated, whether in India or South Africa, according to the rites prescribed by the Hindu and Mahomedan religions. Although both of these religions countenance polygamy, statistics show that only 1 per cent. of Indian marriages are polygamous.

(b) Administrative admission of existing plural wives (not more than 100 in all) and their children, of Indians already domiciled. This was the position at the time of the inauguration of Union. Legal recognition of polygamy is not asked for.

(3) Restoration of the right of South Africa-born Indians to enter the Cape Province, a right that they possessed at the time of the introduction of the Immigration Bill, and its retention may in practice mean the admission of hardly more than a dozen Indians annually to the Cape from Natal and the Transvaal.

(4) The Government say that there is no racial bar in the Immigration Act. Therefore, an admission from them is necessary that no declaration will in law be required from an Indian at the Free State border that will not be equally necessary from a European. In practice, this does not mean that any Indian will necessarily enter the Free State, but, if he does, he will still remain liable to the prohibition to own land, to farm and to trade.

(5) A declaration that existing laws, such as the Transvaal Gold Law and Townships Act, the Licensing Laws of the Cape and Natal, and the Immigration Act, shall be administered in a liberal spirit, and with due regard to vested rights. The policy of the Government is, for example, to prevent Indians with *bona-fide* proof of previous residence from re-entering their respective Provinces, if they have been absent for a long period. This situation is intolerable.

The first point was the subject of a definite promise to the Hon. Mr. Gokhale. The others arise out of the provisional settlement of 1911.

### What Indians Do Not Want

Indians do not fight for equal political rights. They recognize that, in view of the existing prejudice, fresh immigration from India should be strictly limited, provision being made for the entrance of a sufficient number annually for reasonable wear and tear.

### Passive Resistance

As no relief could be obtained by prayers, petitions, or negotiations, Indians started passive resistance on September 15 by

12 men and four women setting out from Natal to court imprisonment at Volksrust.

The movement is spreading. There are already in gaol 35 passive resisters—a larger number than when the two previous campaigns started or when the provisional settlement of 1911 resulted in a suspension of passive resistance. Numbers of men and women are coming forward daily to seek arrest. Several of the women have taken their babies with them, as they have not yet been weaned or are incapable of being looked after otherwise. Arrest is courted by crossing the border or by hawking without licences or by refusing to show licences or permits, or by breaking other civil laws which do not involve a breach of the moral law. The Free State border is left untouched, as there is no desire to inflame public opinion so far as it can be avoided, and there is every desire to show that Indians wish to respect the Free State prejudice. The movement will also consist in advising indentured Indians to suspend work until the £3 tax is removed. The indentured Indians will not be invited to join the general struggle. On the strength of the promise made to Mr. Gokhale, and which promise was brought to the notice of the House of Lords by Lord Ampthill, these men were assured by Indian leaders, at meetings of thousands, that the tax would be repealed during the last session of Parliament. Meetings in support of the claims of the passive resisters have been held at Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, East London, Woodstock, Durban, Maritzburg, Tongaat, Verulam, and Johannesburg (representing all the principal towns in the Transvaal), and similar meetings are being held at other centres.

### The Way to Grant Relief

If the Government wish to grant relief, fresh legislation will be necessary only on the marriage and the £3 tax questions. All other points are capable of easy adjustment without legislation. The marriage difficulty can be solved by a brief amendment of the Immigration Act without in any way interfering with the general marriage law of the Union.

*Indian Opinion*, 15-10-1913

## *164. LETTER TO HARILAL GANDHI*

[DURBAN,]
*Aso Vad 2* [*October 17, 1913*][1]

CHI. HARILAL,

It hurts me to have no letters from you. Your lethargy in this matter makes you doubly guilty. The first guilt is that you neglect the duty which you owe to your father, and the second that you break your promise to me that you would write regularly. There have been three mails [from India] and no letter from you. Mr. Sorabji[2] and Ratanshi[3] left after you did, but I have had more letters from them than from you. Chanchi writes more often than you do. Ba, too, is unhappy because there are no letters from you.

Both of you may come over here and get arrested. Chanchi may come while the fight is on only if she has the courage to go to gaol. I have already written to you to say that you should not wait for the examination. If you yourself wish otherwise, I do not want to come in your way. Ask for money from Doctor Saheb[4]. It is likely that I shall be in gaol when you arrive. I think I shall succeed in getting myself arrested somehow or other.[5] I have been making efforts to this end. If, before this letter reaches you, you hear that there has been a settlement, there will be no need for you to come over.

I want you to be fit and at peace with yourself.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 9537

[1] From the reference to gaol-going in the letter, it appears to have been written in 1913.
[2] Sorabji Shapurji Adajania, *vide* Vol. X.
[3] Sodha, *vide* Vol. X.
[4] Dr. Pranjivan Mehta
[5] Gandhiji was arrested on November 7.

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## 165. INTERVIEW TO "EVENING CHRONICLE"

[JOHANNESBURG,
After *October 17, 1913*]

Interviewed by the *Evening Chronicle* (Johannesburg) on Mr. Fischer's recent statement,[1] Mr. Gandhi said that during the last session of Parliament, all the time the Hon. A. Fischer said he would grant nothing, so long as there was talk of passive resistance, he continued to grant. He even withdrew his own threat of removing the slight amendment in the marriage clause, if Indians did not withdraw their demand for a better amendment. In spite of that threat in the Senate, Mr. Fischer accepted the very amendment that was suggested by the Indians, so that he could not help saying that Mr. Fischer was not to be taken seriously.

*Indian Opinion*, 29-10-1913

## 166. KULSUMBIBI'S CASE

A move is afoot in Durban to take this case to the Appeal Court. A bioscope show was also arranged to collect money for the purpose. There is no harm in taking the case to a higher court, but the community need not imagine that this is bound to bring some gain. The case might just as well go against us as in our favour. Even if the result should be so happy, it should be remembered that, where a marriage is solemnized in South Africa, the wife will continue to be treated as a concubine. Hence those who know what the struggle means must not become lukewarm. The fight must be carried on in right earnest. We see on all sides that everyone concedes our demands to be reasonable, the latest instance being that of Mr. Orr, a member of Parliament, who said in a speech in Maritzburg that the £3 tax must be repealed

[1] In an interview to Reuter's Agency in London on October 17, Fischer had said: "My own department deals with the Indians, and it is impossible to alter the law on any material point. Indeed the spirit in South Africa is to make the law more strict. The Government will be content to let the law stand. To meet the views of the Indians we will make administrative arrangements where we can, but the popular sentiment and needs of South Africa must be considered. Therefore the Indians in their own interest must be cautious and moderate. If the Indians abandon theoretical questions and adopt a practical standpoint, then a *modus vivendi* is possible."

and that we must get full justice on the marriage question. Whatever the interpretation of the court, [he said] it was clearly understood by Parliament that a man with only one wife would have no difficulty in bringing her in.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 22-10-1913

## *167. CABLE TO G. K. GOKHALE*

JOHANNESBURG,
*October 22, 1913*[1]

GOKHALE
POONA

NEARLY HUNDRED [IN] GAOL. NEARLY TWO THOUSAND LABOURERS FAMILIES INDENTURED AND FREE IN NATAL COLLIERIES ON STRIKE. STRIKERS WILL RESUME WORK WHEN GOVERNMENT PROMISES REPEAL THREE POUND TAX. THEY NOT INVITED JOIN GENERAL STRUGGLE. NEARLY HUNDRED INCLUDING SOME BRAVEST WOMEN DESPERATELY COURTING ARREST. STRIKE DUE LARGELY THEIR INFLUENCE. THEY NOT HAVING BEEN ARRESTED CROSSING BORDER HAVE BEEN MOVING AMONG LABOURERS QUIETLY INFORMING THEM POSITION. NO FORCE OR RETALIATION USED DESPITE PROVOCATION OFTEN AMOUNTING ASSAULT. STRIKE LIKELY SPREAD OTHER COLLIERIES. EUROPEAN OPINION INCREASINGLY FAVOURS REPEAL TAX. UNIONIST PARTY LIKELY PASS OFFICIAL RESOLUTION THAT EFFECT MOVEMENT SPREADING. POLAK [IN] NEWCASTLE. HE WILL BE [IN] DURBAN THURSDAY.

GANDHI

From a photostat of the original as delivered: C. W. 4845

[1] It appears this cable was drafted on October 21, but actually sent the next day; *vide* the following item.

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## 168. CABLE TO G. K. GOKHALE

JOHANNESBURG,
*October 22, 1913*

GOKHALE
POONA

ELEVEN WOMEN[1] WITH SIX BABIES REFERRED TO [IN] YESTERDAY'S CABLE[2] SENTENCED THREE MONTHS HARD LABOUR AS VAGRANTS WHILST SPEAKING STRIKERS NEWCASTLE.

GANDHI

From a photostat of the original as delivered: C. W. 4846

## 169. INTERVIEW TO "RAND DAILY MAIL"

[JOHANNESBURG,
*October 22, 1913*]

In connection with the mass meeting of Indians held at Durban on Sunday[3], Mr. M. K. Gandhi told a *Mail* representative yesterday that the report published in a contemporary was only half the version and was incorrect. There certainly was a disturbance at the meeting, said Mr. Gandhi, and one of the secretaries, at the time of tendering his resignation, made a long statement consisting of an attack upon Mr. Gandhi and upon his work during the past 20 years which he characterised as being not only worthless but highly injurious to the Indian community. So much so that, in his opinion, Mr. Gandhi was instrumental in having enticed the Indian community into slavery.

[GANDHIJI: ] Personally, I don't think that any but very few people at the meeting took him seriously, but I saw that there were elements of discord and that passions were rising on either side, and I felt that the best thing under the circumstances would be to have the meeting closed. I, therefore, suggested to the chairman that he should dissolve the meeting, which he promptly did. It was really an attempt to bring about a schism in the Indian community and was

[1] These were: Mrs. Bhavani Dayal, Mrs. Thambi Naidoo, Mrs. N. Pillay, Mrs. K. M. Pillay, Mrs. A. P. Naidoo, Mrs. P. K. Naidoo, Mrs. K. C. Pillay, Mrs. N. S. Pillay, Mrs. Ramalingam, Miss M. Pillay and Miss M. B. Pillay.

[2] *Vide* the preceding item.

[3] October 19

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not on the question of passive resistance by any means, because I don't think there was any difference of opinion as to passive resistance. A great many side issues were brought forward having no bearing on the present trouble.

Upon the dissolution of this meeting, those who disapproved of the action of the secretary immediately formed themselves into a procession and a meeting was held at Mr. Rustomjee's premises and a new body was formed, with Mr. Dawad Mohamed as president and Mr. Omar Haji Amod Jhaveri as secretary, two of the most respected Mohammedans in the community. At this meeting a resolution was passed in support of the movement, and a collection was taken for defraying the expenses in connection with the fares, etc., of the passive resisters who accompanied me to court imprisonment. The utmost enthusiasm prevailed, and it was considered that the most reasonable and peaceful Indians would join this body. Personally, I feel that if this new Association is worked along strict passive resistance lines, then those who may be considered hostile to this body and even to the movement will ultimately throw in their lot with the body. That the movement has a strong hold in Natal is demonstrated by the fact that Natal has supplied the largest number of gaol-goers. There are at present nearly 100 Indians in the gaols at Maritzburg and Newcastle, and of these by far the largest number are from Natal and include all sections of the Indian community.

A strike, too, which promises to become very formidable, is going on in Natal. Up to now six collieries are affected and 2,000 Indians are on strike. I may say that, though I had hoped that the strike would come about, I had never expected that the response would be so spontaneous, sudden and large.

The ladies who tried to get arrested at Vereeniging, as the public knows, failed, and they have further crossed over into Natal, where they were left untouched. When they went into Natal, they were joined by eight men, none of whom was arrested on the Natal border. It was proposed that they should go to Newcastle and there place the position before the men serving on the collieries and ask them to strike work pending the promise of removal of the annual tax of £3 which ex-indentured Indians and their wives and children have to pay.

The presence of these brave women who had never suffered hardship and had never spoken at public meetings acted like electricity, and the men left their work.

The strike is being conducted on purely passive resistance lines, and the men have instructions on no account to use physical

force, to retaliate or to defend themselves physically. I saw a man who was severely assaulted at Dannhauser yesterday, and the assault was cruel. He states that he had gone to fetch water and was assaulted by one of the compound managers. The man himself is able-bodied and well able to defend himself, but on account of the above order having been issued, he did not defend himself, and suffered the severe injury without a word. He is now being looked after in Newcastle, and he will certainly make a deposition in this by no means isolated case.

We are at present putting up with physical injury, insults and everything. The reason why we ask the men to strike is that by means of such demonstration we may bring about the repeal of the £3 tax. It was stated during the last session of Parliament that the majority of employers of labour in Natal were adverse to the removal of the tax. I feel that the only way in which such employers can be brought to see the humanity of removing it is for the men to strike work. The strikers will immediately resume work as soon as the Government see their way to make a promise that the tax will be repealed during the coming session of Parliament. If they make that promise, they will simply be fulfilling their obligation to Mr. Gokhale which, Lord Ampthill says, they incurred during the interview that took place between Mr. Gokhale and the ministers.

I may also add that the Government were not without notice that the strike was also on our programme. I addressed a letter[1] on the 28th September to that effect to the Government.[2]

*Rand Daily Mail*, 23-10-1913

## *170. TELEGRAM TO GENERAL BOTHA*

[NEWCASTLE,
Before *October 23, 1913*]

WE HEAR YOU TOLD THE COLLIERIES' MANAGERS THAT THE INDIANS WERE ADVISED TO STRIKE FOR A GENERAL STRUGGLE, AND THAT THE STRIKERS

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Secretary for Interior", pp. 214-5. The official assessment of the strike situation was summed up in a confidential despatch from the Governor-General to the Colonial Office, dated October 23, 1913; *vide* Appendix IX.

[2] The report concluded with the observation by *Rand Daily Mail*: " . . . the women mentioned above have been arrested at Newcastle and the strike is assuming larger proportions. It is no longer confined to the coal fields, but is extending to the sugar and tea plantations and to the railways in Natal."

WERE SIMPLY DECEIVED FOR SELFISH ENDS. I BEG TO STATE THAT SUCH NEVER WAS, AND IS NOT NOW, THE INTENTION. THE STRIKE HAS BEEN ADVISED PURELY REGARDING THE £3 TAX AND THE STEP HAS BECOME NECESSARY OWING TO THE NONFULFILMENT OF THE PROMISE MADE TO THE HON. MR. GOKHALE THAT IT WOULD BE, AND AS A DEMONSTRATION AGAINST THE STATEMENT MADE BY THE GOVERNMENT DURING THE LAST SESSION THAT THE MAJORITY OF NATAL EMPLOYERS ARE AVERSE TO THE REPEAL OF THE TAX. IF GOVERNMENT WILL SEE THEIR WAY TO PROMISE TO REPEAL IT NEXT SESSION, THE STRIKERS WILL BE ADVISED TO RETURN TO WORK.

*Indian Opinion*, 29-10-1913

## *171. TELEGRAM TO THE PRESS*[1]

[NEWCASTLE,
*October 23, 1913*]

WE ARE ADVISING THE STRIKERS TO LEAVE THE MINES AND COURT ARREST, AND FAILING ARREST, TO MARCH TO VOLKSRUST. WE CONSIDER IT IMPROPER TO LIVE ON MINE RATIONS WHEN WE DON'T WORK. THE MOVEMENT MAY START INSTANTLY.

*Indian Opinion*, 29-10-1913

[1] This was part of a Reuter message from Johannesburg according to which Gandhiji stated that Indians had struck work on more mines and that many had been arrested. For the circumstances which prepared the ground for the march, *vide Satyagraha in South Africa*, Ch. XLI.

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## *172. LETTER TO MINISTER OF INTERIOR*[1]

[JOHANNESBURG,]
*October 23, 1913*

THE HON'BLE THE MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR
PRETORIA

SIR,

I am directed by my Association respectfully to invite your attention to the following. My Association has been informed that :

1. On or about the 27th September, a British Indian named Abdool Fazula Khan was arrested at Johannesburg under Section 4(Ia) of the Immigration Law of 1913, which reads :

Any such person as is described in any paragraph of this sub-section who enters or is found within the Union, or who, though lawfully resident in one Province, enters or is found in another Province in which he is not lawfully resident, shall be a prohibited immigrant in respect of the Union or of that other Province (as the case may be), that is to say—any person or class of persons deemed by the Minister on economic grounds or on account of standard or habits of life to be unsuited to the requirements of the Union or any particular Province thereof.

2. The said Khan appealed against the decision of the local Immigration Officer, and on the 13th October the said appeal was duly heard by the Board sitting at Pretoria and dismissed.

3. The evidence led at the hearing of the appeal, and which was not disproved or rebutted, shows :

(a) That the said Khan first came to the Transvaal in 1900 as a private of the Indian Transport Corps No. 2 Division.

(b) That he received a good discharge in November 1902 and, thereafter, remained in this Province for nearly another year—till towards the end of 1903.

(c) That he then went to Cape Town where he filled several situations, among others, working for Messrs Jagger & Co., Ohlson & Co., and Petersen & Co. He remained in Cape Town about eight or nine years with the exception of a few months of service in German South West Africa.

(d) The said Khan then returned to the Transvaal by rail from the Cape and entered this Province without let or hindrance.

[1] This was sent on behalf of the Chairman, British Indian Association.

(e) While in German South West Africa, Khan lost his discharge and several other papers of a similar character.

4. On the day the said Khan's appeal was dismissed, as stated in Paragraph 2 and immediately after, he was removed to Pretoria Gaol for deportation, but before removal, his Attorney, Mr. Ritch, saw the Principal Immigration Officer and represented to him the claims of the said Khan to be sent to the Cape Province. Mr. Ritch gave the names of the principal employers for whom the said Khan claims to have worked.

5. On the following evening, the said Khan was deported to Natal without his having had an opportunity to collect his clothes or other belongings and without any further communication having been made to his Attorney, and, thereafter, was immediately transported to India.

6. I am desired to point out that no effort would appear to have been made to investigate the said Khan's claims to be sent to the Cape, where he had resided for so many years, and to add that, in the respectful opinion of my Association, this should have been done even though it might have meant a few weeks' longer detention in the Transvaal of the said Khan.

7. My Association also desires me to call attention to the serious hardships which must necessarily follow such sudden deportation as this, in which case the deportee would appear to have been sent away without any means and with no more clothing than he stood in. Had Khan's Attorney been notified a few hours beforehand, his friends would have passed over to him his clothing and blankets and also money to assist him on his journey.

8. My Association trusts that the facts in this case will be fully investigated by you; and that steps will be taken to prevent a repetition of the unfortunate incident.

*I have, etc.*,

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 5904

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## 173. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

[NEWCASTLE,]
*Aso Vad 9* [*October 24, 1913*][1]

CHI. MAGANLAL,

No, I have not forgotten about Jamnadas, but I have not had a moment to myself. I send the letter[2] herewith. You have Tyob Sakur's address. Please dispose of the letter. And also write to Thakkar Damodar Anandji and Khetsi in my name. I am not sure of their correct names. You have them. Also say that Jamnadas should see them. They will take it ill if we do not write to him. Inquire when *Pundua* will reach Beira, and also consider when these letters will get there. If you find that they are not likely to reach there in time, send a telegram to Beira through the Company. Such telegrams are delivered "inland" and cost less. Wire to Tyob Sakur that he should put up Jamnadas, buy him a ticket for Bulawayo and give him the necessary money for the voyage, debiting the amounts against me.

Great things are happening in Newcastle. There is a move to lead a march of 2,000 men into the Transvaal. Let us see what happens. I do not know whether I shall be able to send any matter. The telegrams and letters from here the Secretary will continue to send. Medh is here. Pragji is at Volksrust. Manilal has been arrested. Write to me at the following address:

37, Murehesion Street,
Newcastle.

Send a copy of *Indian Opinion* to Mr. Lazarus at the foregoing address. The ladies' block should appear this time. Speak to Muttu about this. About the block itself, speak to West. I have no time to write to him.

*Blessings from*
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 5906

[1] The date is assigned on the basis of the reference in the letter to the picture of the women satyagrahis, which appeared as a supplement to *Indian Opinion*, 29-10-1913.

[2] This is not available.

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## 174. CABLE TO G. A. NATESAN[1]

DURBAN,
[Before *October 25, 1913*]

THE REPORT IS ENTIRELY FALSE; MEETINGS HELD THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY ARE STRONGLY SUPPORTING THE MOVEMENT, AND NEARLY A HUNDRED MEN AND WOMEN REPRESENTING ALL SECTIONS OF THE COMMUNITY ARE ALREADY IN GAOL.

*The Times of India*, 25-10-1913

## 175. STATEMENT AT CHAMBER OF COMMERCE[2]

[DURBAN,]
*October 25, 1913*

At joint meeting of representatives of coal, sugar, and agriculture industries held this morning, Mr. Gandhi stated that present strike of coal mines was specifically due to failure of Union Government to carry out definite promise given by them repeatedly that the annual tax of £3 would be repealed. He states that a promise or assurance was given definitely to Mr. Gokhale, and that this is confirmed by a statement made by Lord Ampthill in the House of Lords, and reported in Blue-book, without reservation as to men, women and children. Mr. Gandhi states that Indians will be immediately advised to resume work, regardless of any other grievances, as soon as Government give assurance that they will carry out their promise.[3]

*Indian Opinion*, 5-11-1913

[1] This was in refutation of a cable from Reuter which was published in *The Times of India*, 21-10-1913: "There appears to be a decided split among the local Indian community, but it is believed that the majority will support the passive resistance movement."

[2] A meeting of leading employers of Indian labour was held at the Chamber of Commerce on October 25. Gandhiji made a statement on the position of the strike. This is an extract from a telegram sent by the Coal-owners' Association to the Minister of the Interior on October 25. No separate report of Gandhiji's statement is available. For an account of Gandhiji's discussion with the mine-owners, *vide Satyagraha in South Africa*, Ch. XLII.

[3] The telegram went on to state: "After hearing Mr. Gandhi, the meeting resolved that the Union Government be asked to say whether they gave assurance regarding £3 tax mentioned by him, and as confirmed by Lord Ampthill in the House of Lords; whether said assurance applied to men, women

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## 176. INTERVIEW TO "THE NATAL MERCURY"

DURBAN,
*October 25, 1913*

. . . After the conference[1], Mr. Gandhi was asked by a *Mercury* representative whether there was any truth in the suggestion that the strike was at an end.

[GANDHIJI :] No, the strike is still continuing. I have telegrams from Dannhauser district to say that that is so, and from Dundee and Newcastle also. The position is that the men were to be withdrawn from the collieries in order to court arrest and imprisonment in Natal, or, failing that, to cross the border to the Transvaal, and be arrested there. As this conference was coming, this movement was suspended. So the position is that they are on strike, but have not left the mines.

The idea behind this proposed movement from the mines was that it was not a proper thing to draw rations from the mine-owners, and yet not to work. I personally felt that the strike was weak so long as the men did not actually leave the mines. What will happen now will depend on the result of the conference, and that I am unable to foreshadow. The strike, however, will continue. According to my estimate there are nearly 3,000 on strike. The effect of this is not entirely to stop work as they have a certain amount of Kaffir labour, and with this Kaffir labour and the Europeans they are able to do some work, though the bulk of it is certainly at a standstill.

I saw it reported that we might even ask the Kaffirs to strike. But such is not our intention at all. We do not believe in such methods. We have nothing against the employers as such, but as the employers are supposed—at least some of them—to have opposed the repeal of this tax, this demonstration has become necessary. As soon as the Government make a promise to the effect that the tax will be repealed during the next session of Parliament, the strikers will be advised to resume work.

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and children, and, if not, what were the reservations, if any? The meeting would be glad to know, also, what the present intentions of the Government are in regard to tax of £3. In view of the extension of the strike daily, they would be indebted for immediate information for guidance of further joint meeting to be convened immediately such reply is received."

[1] This was held at the Chamber of Commerce; *vide* the preceding item.

It is not the intention to ask them to join the general struggle at all; because, apart from the £3 tax, there are other grievances also for which the passive resistance by the general body of the people will continue. The other grievances are the marriage question; the question of domiciliary rights; the harsh administration of existing laws, as the Gold Law in the Transvaal; the right of S[outh] A[frica] born Indians to enter the Cape by reason of their birth; and the theoretical question of the social bar. For these things, even if the promise to repeal the £3 tax is given, passive resistance, without the strike, will continue.

I may state also, that no intimidation of any sort was used against non-strikers, and the strike is absolutely a voluntary act, and in so far as I have been able to see, quite spontaneous. The men only needed the position to be placed before them to strike.

For the relief of the strikers, whom we have to support, subscriptions are being collected everywhere. In Durban, 110 bags of rice, dholl, and other articles were promised, and the bulk of this is already upon rail. More collections are still going on.[1]

If the Conference ends in a fiasco, we shall certainly endeavour to widen the area of the strike, but I am totally unable to say what response we shall have. Wherever indentured Indians or ex-indentured Indians are working as labourers, we shall advise that they should strike.

*The Natal Mercury*, 27-10-1913

## *177. TELEGRAM TO MINISTER OF INTERIOR*

[NEWCASTLE,
Before *October 28, 1913*]

HAVE READ GOVERNMENT REPLY NATAL COLLIERIES ASSOCIATION.[2] BEG DRAW MINISTER'S ATTENTION FACT PROMISE TO MR. GOKHALE MENTIONED MR. CACHALIA'S LETTER, ALSO MY LETTER SEPTEMBER 28TH. NO REPUDIATION THEN MADE. REPEAL TAX THOUGH ONLY NOW MADE MATTER PASSIVE RESISTANCE CERTAINLY NOT AFTER-THOUGHT AS COULD BE PROVED FROM DOCUMENTARY

[1] The situation which Gandhiji and his co-workers had to tackle is vividly described in *Satyagraha in South Africa*, Chs. XLII & XLIII.

[2] The Government said, in the course of the reply: "With regard to your telegram, Government never gave such promise as Mr. Gandhi alleges, either to Mr. Gokhale or anybody elsewhere. . . ."

EVIDENCE IN POSSESSION GOVERNMENT. HAVE REPEATEDLY STATED INDIAN EMPLOYEES UNDER INDENTURE NOT BEING BROUGHT OUT FOR OTHER POINTS OF PASSIVE RESISTANCE. INDEPENDENT NATAL INDIANS CERTAINLY FIGHTING ON GENERAL GROUNDS. MARRIAGE, SOUTH AFRICA-BORN INDIANS TO ENTER CAPE, IMMIGRATION ACT, LICENSING ACT QUESTIONS AFFECT NATAL INFINITELY MORE THAN OTHER PROVINCES. GOVERNMENT CANNOT COMPLAIN OF STRIKE SEEING AMPLE NOTICE WAS GIVEN. ANY CASE RESPECTFULLY ASK MINISTERS NOT TREAT STRIKE AS THREAT, BUT EMPHATIC EXPRESSION OF INTENSE FEELING AGAINST TAX. HUNDREDS OF POOR HELPLESS AND COMPARATIVELY IGNORANT PEOPLE WILL NOT LISTEN TO FANCIED UNFELT GRIEVANCES OR GRIEVANCES SERIOUS IN THEMSELVES, BUT BASED UPON THEORY. I THEREFORE APPEAL TO MINISTER TO CONSIDER TAX QUESTION UPON MERITS ONLY.

*Indian Opinion*, 5-11-1913

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

NEWCASTLE,
*October 29, 1913*

DEAR MR. GOKHALE,

Polak keeps you informed of the progress of the struggle. I am marching out presently with the strikers in order to court arrest for ourselves. But this I write to ask you kindly to facilitate Polak's residence in London. He can then do public work and manage the London Committee. After my withdrawal which will take place as soon as the settlement comes, he thinks that he would not be able to work efficiently in South Africa. I agree with him in this view. Mr. Dube has invited him to settle in London. This he can only do if he receives the support of some of the Pleaders in India who handle Privy Council cases. Polak as you know intends to practise as Privy Council Agent in London.

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

From the original in Gandhiji's hand: C. W. 931

## 179. TELEGRAM TO MINISTER OF INTERIOR

[CHARLESTOWN,
*October 30, 1913*]

TO
MINISTER OF INTERIOR
PRETORIA

NEWCASTLE INDIAN COMMITTEE HAVE LEARNT THAT GAOL DOCTOR FORCIBLY VACCINATED PASSIVE RESISTANCE FEMALE PRISONERS BY REMOVING BLOUSE AND HOLDING ARM. LADIES NOT SUPPLIED WITH GHEE, REQUEST INVESTIGATION, PROMPT RELIEF.[1]

GANDHI

*Indian Opinion*, 5-11-1913

## 180. GIST OF LETTER TO SECRETARY FOR JUSTICE[2]

[CHARLESTOWN,
*October 31, 1913*]

Mr. Gandhi wrote to the Secretary for Justice from Charlestown on the 31st ultimo pointing out that a large number of Indians had surrendered themselves for arrest and, as the Government had no accommodation for them nor facility for feeding them, they were being fed and housed by the Indian Committee there at Government expense. Mr. Gandhi suggested that all the people should be arrested, but, if not, he stated that they would proceed with their march into the Transvaal—an event which he was anxious to avoid. He also warned the Government against allowing Indians to remain free on the border and stated that it was the desire of the passive resisters to guard in every way they could against the surreptitious entry of a single Indian.[3]

*Indian Opinion*, 12-11-1913

[1] To this the Director of Prisons replied that instructions had since been issued to the Newcastle Magistrate that the Minister of Justice would not insist on the Gaol Regulations in regard to vaccination being enforced where religious objections were raised by passive resisters.

[2] The original letter is not available.

[3] Official policy in regard to the handling of the strike situation is clarified in a confidential despatch, dated November 6, from the Governor-General to the Colonial Office; *vide* Appendix X.

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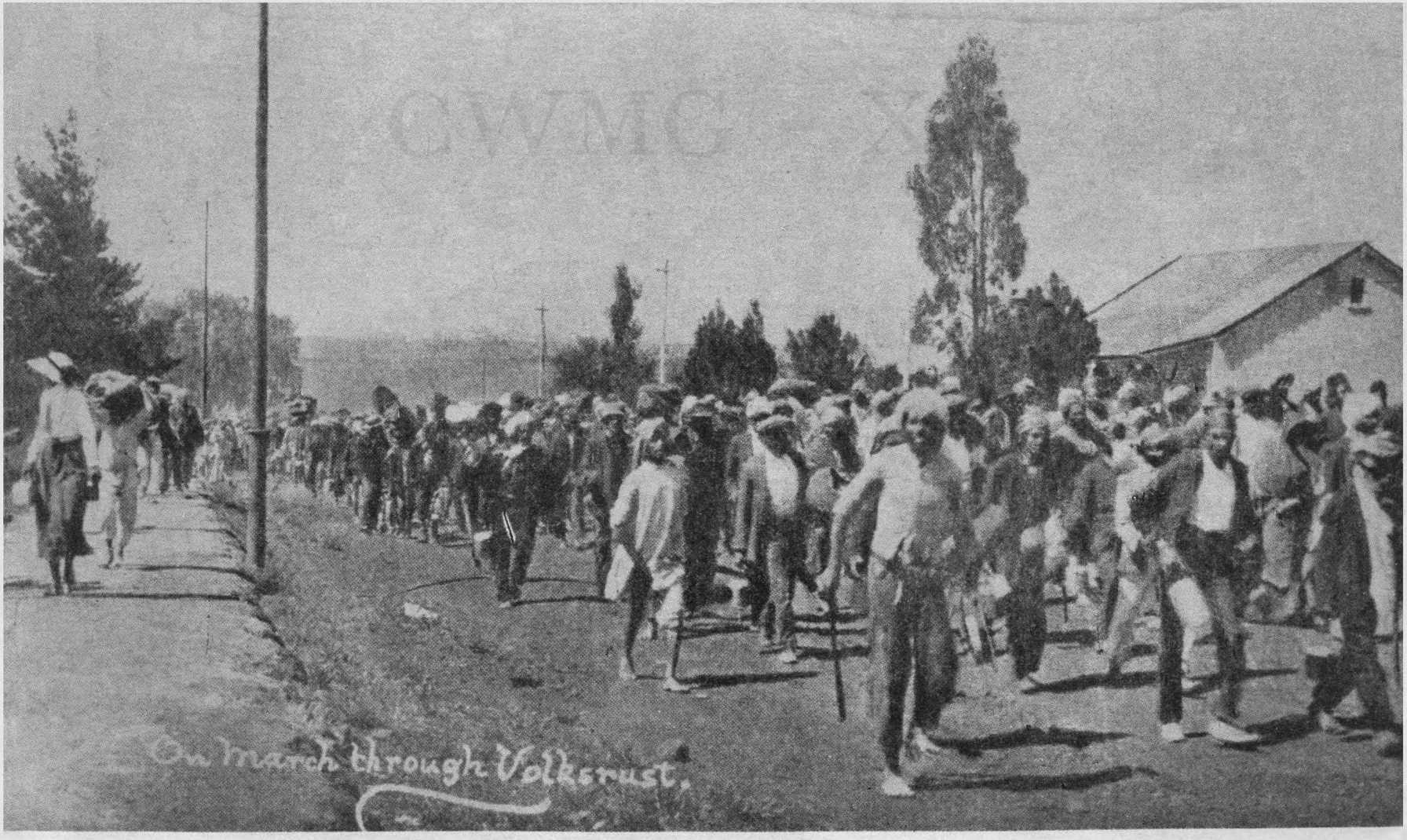
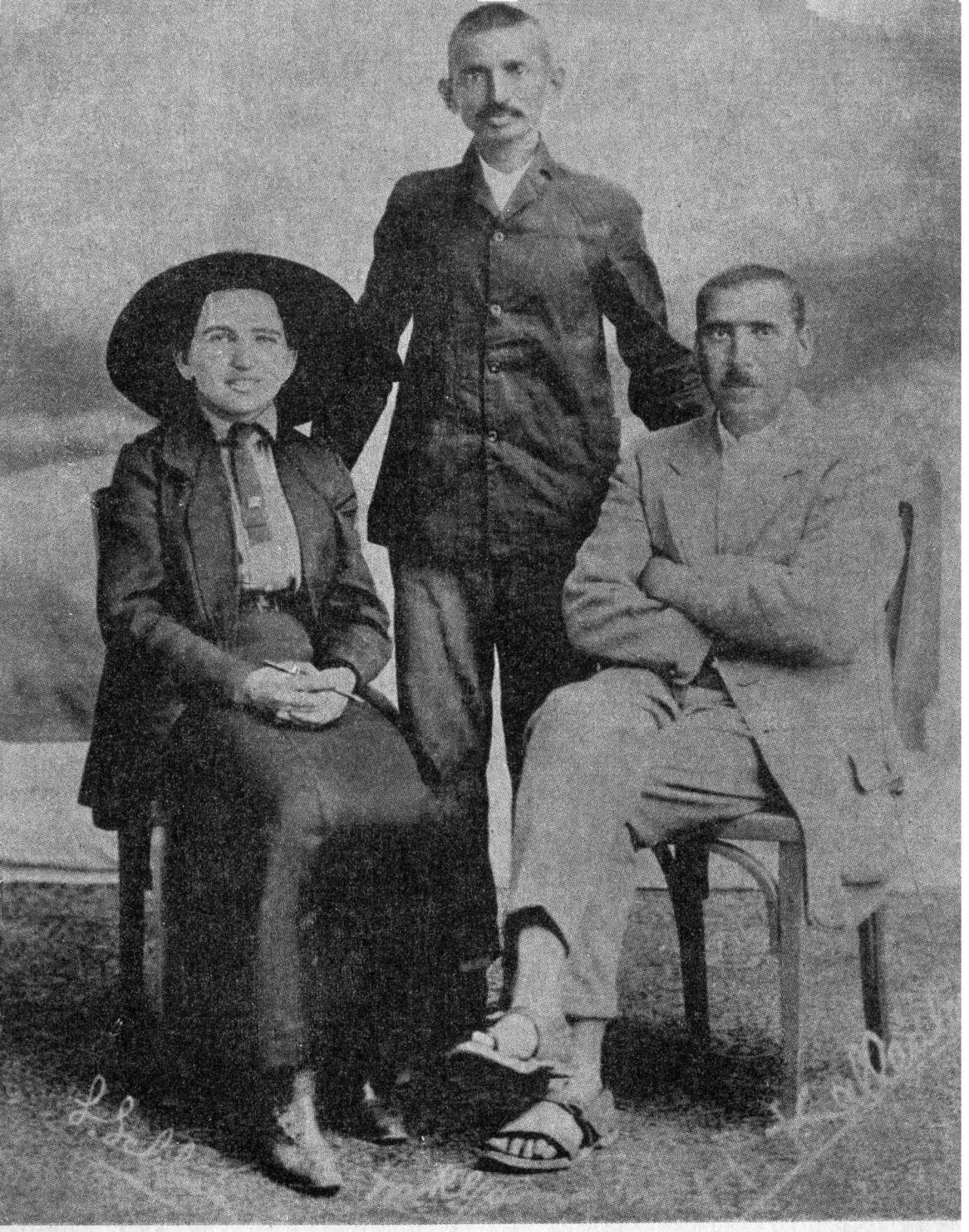



"THE GREAT MARCH"



WITH MISS SCHLESIN AND KALLENBACH

## 181. GIST OF LETTER TO IMMIGRATION OFFICER[1]

[CHARLESTOWN,
*October 31, 1913*]

A letter was addressed on the same day by Mr. Gandhi to the Immigration Officer, Pretoria, pointing out that all passive resisters receive at the Transvaal border three days' notice of appeal, although they declare they do not wish to appeal, and that they are allowed to roam about as they please. In Mr. Gandhi's opinion the Act does not require the warning to be given in all circumstances.

*Indian Opinion*, 12-11-1913

## 182. INTERVIEW TO REUTER[2]

[CHARLESTOWN,
*November 3, 1913*]

Mr. Gandhi, interviewed, stated that he contemplated moving 1,500 men to the Transvaal to court arrest, and if not arrested they would proceed further, and would probably settle down on Mr. Kallenbach's farm at Tolstoy, near Lawley.

*Indian Opinion*, 12-11-1913

## 183. CABLE TO G. K. GOKHALE

[CHARLESTOWN,
Before *November 4, 1913*]

FIVE THOUSAND ON STRIKE, OF WHOM FOUR THOUSAND HAVE TO BE FED, INCLUDING THREE HUNDRED WOMEN AND SIX HUNDRED CHILDREN. THREE HUNDRED ARE IN JAIL, AND TWO HUNDRED MORE HAVE BEEN ARRESTED. FIFTEEN HUNDRED STRIKERS ARE AT CHARLESTOWN AND THE REST ARE GATHERING AT NEWCASTLE PRIOR TO CROSSING THE BORDER TO COURT ARREST. THERE IS

[1] The original letter is not available.

[2] Gandhiji had camped at Charlestown along with other marchers. He had an interview with a Reuter correspondent of which only this brief report is available.

A GROWING ENTHUSIASM AMONG THE STRIKERS. THE CLERGY IN MANY PLACES ARE MOVING TO SECURE THE REDRESS OF OUR GRIEVANCES.

*The Times of India*, 5-11-1913

## *184. INTERVIEW TO "THE NATAL MERCURY"*

[CHARLESTOWN,
*November 5, 1913*]

Mr. Gandhi readily granted an interview, but had nothing to say, except that he and his followers were still quite determined, and would march into the Transvaal on the following day, courting arrest, and if they were unmolested, would march right on until they reached Tolstoy Farm. They would then remain quietly there until satisfactory terms had been made with the Government. All arrangements had been made along the route, and food depots established at eight different points along the way. Their object was to court arrest, but they wished to do everything quite openly, and had acquainted the Government with their intentions.[1]

*Indian Opinion*, 12-11-1913

[1] Before zero hour was reached, Gandhiji made a final bid to avert the march. This is what he has himself recorded :

"When all the preparations for the march were completed, I made one more effort to achieve a settlement. I had already sent letters and telegrams. I now decided to 'phone even at the risk of my overtures being answered by an insult. From Charlestown I 'phoned to General Smuts in Pretoria. I called his secretary and said : 'Tell General Smuts that I am fully prepared for the march. The Europeans in Volksrust are excited and perhaps likely to violate even the safety of our lives. They have certainly held out such a threat. I am sure that even the General would not wish any such untoward event to happen. If he promises to abolish the £3 tax, I will stop the march, as I will not break the law merely for the sake of breaking it, but I am driven to it by inexorable necessity. Will not the General accede to such a small request?' I received this reply within half a minute : 'General Smuts will have nothing to do with you. You may do just as you please.' With this the message closed.

"I had fully expected this result, though I was not prepared for the curtness of the reply. I hoped for a civil answer, as my political relations with the General since the organization of Satyagraha had now subsisted for six years. But as I would not be elated by his courtesy, I did not weaken in the face of his incivility. The strait and narrow path I had to tread was clear before me. The next day (November 6, 1913) at the appointed stroke of the hour (6.30) we offered prayers and commenced the march in the name of God. The pilgrim band was composed of 2,037 men, 127 women and 57 children." *Satyagraha in South Africa*, Ch. XLIII.

## *185. CABLE TO G. K. GOKHALE*

[CHARLESTOWN,
Before *November 6, 1913*]

THE STRIKE IS CONTINUING. THE GOVERNMENT IS NOT ARRESTING PASSIVE RESISTERS. MONTHLY EXPENSES EXCEED £7,000. LOCAL CONTRIBUTIONS ARE EXPECTED TO COME UP TO £1000 EVERY MONTH IN PROVISIONS AND CASH. I AM MARCHING ON THURSDAY[1] TO TRANSVAAL WITH FOUR THOUSAND MEN. ENDURANCE AND DISTRESS ARE GREAT. SEVERAL BIRTHS HAVE OCCURRED IN THE CONCENTRATION CAMPS WHICH HAVE BEEN FORMED. TWO DEATHS OF BABIES OCCURRED DURING THE MARCH.

*The Times of India*, 7-11-1913

## *186. NEWS OF STRUGGLE*[2]

[CHARLESTOWN,
Before *November 6, 1913*]

During the Transvaal march, Mr. N. C. Desai was diligent in attending to the indentured labourers. He offered tea to people and shelter to the women who were tired. The Indian community in Standerton supplied one thousand tins of jam and entertained the marchers generously. At Vaal station, Mr. Patel was in attendance and he took persons who had fallen sick to stay with him. During two stages in the march, Mr. Badaat proceeded ahead of the marchers by train and had bread ready for them. Mr. Valli Peerbhai offered his carriage for transport of stores during the first stage. Dr. Briscoe gave four pounds worth of medicine free of charge for the pilgrims. Mr. Sidaat of Ingogo supplied tea and biscuits to those who had started on the march from Newcastle. In this way, at every place the marchers were cared for by Indians. The Indian community in Charlestown

[1] November 6
[2] This was published as "From Mr. Gandhi".

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was, and still is, very diligent. Mr. Sheikh Mukadam devotes all his time to this work.

[From Gujarati]
*Indian Opinion*, 19-11-1913

## *187. TELEGRAM TO MINISTER OF INTERIOR*[1]

[PALMFORD,
*November 7, 1913*]

WHILST I APPRECIATE THE FACT OF GOVERNMENT HAVING AT LAST ARRESTED PRIME MOVER IN PASSIVE RESISTANCE STRUGGLE, CANNOT HELP REMARKING THAT FROM POINT VIEW HUMANITY MOMENT CHOSEN MOST UNFORTUNATE. GOVERNMENT PROBABLY KNOW THAT MARCHERS INCLUDE 122 WOMEN, FIFTY TENDER CHILDREN, ALL VOLUNTARILY MARCHING ON STARVATION RATIONS WITHOUT PROVISION FOR SHELTER DURING STAGES. TEARING ME AWAY UNDER SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES FROM THEM IS VIOLATION ALL CONSIDERATIONS JUSTICE. WHEN ARRESTED LAST NIGHT LEFT MEN WITHOUT INFORMING THEM. THEY MIGHT BECOME INFURIATED. I, THEREFORE, ASK EITHER THAT I MAY BE ALLOWED CONTINUE MARCH WITH MEN OR THAT GOVERNMENT SEND THEM BY RAIL TOLSTOY FARM AND PROVIDE FULL RATIONS FOR THEM. LEAVING THEM WITHOUT ONE IN WHOM THEY HAVE CONFIDENCE AND WITHOUT GOVERNMENT MAKING PROVISION FOR THEM IS IN MY OPINION AN ACT FROM WHICH I HOPE ON RECONSIDERATION GOVERNMENT WILL RECOIL. IF UNTOWARD INCIDENTS HAPPEN DURING FURTHER PROGRESS MARCH OR IF DEATHS OCCUR, ESPECIALLY AMONG WOMEN WITH BABIES IN ARMS, RESPONSIBILITY WILL BE GOVERNMENT'S.

*Indian Opinion*, 12-11-1913

[1] Gandhiji was arrested near Palmford and charged with having brought unauthorized persons into the Transvaal. He was produced before the magistrate at Volksrust and released on bail. The telegram was evidently dispatched after this. He was, however, re-arrested the next day at Standerton. For an account of the arrest at Palmford and the court proceedings, *vide Satyagraha in South Africa*, Ch. XLIV.

## *188. APPLICATION FOR BAIL*[1]

STANDERTON,
*November 8, 1913*

Before pleading, accused stated he was already on bail, and asked to be admitted on bail. Accused stated his object in asking for bail was to enable him to take the men to their destination. The Prosecutor opposed bail unless the accused would refrain from taking further part in the demonstration. The accused said he was not prepared to give this assurance.[2]

*The Star*, 8-11-1913

## *189. INTERVIEW TO REUTER*[3]

STANDERTON,
*November 8, 1913*

Mr. Gandhi . . . replied that he felt sure the Government would repeal the tax. He was positive that the Government had told Mr. Gokhale it was its intention to repeal the tax.

[GANDHIJI:] If the Government can show a justifiable reason why the tax should be paid, the Indians would pay it, but no good reason for paying has yet been given. The crowd is very orderly and under perfect control.

*The Star*, 8-11-1913

[1] Gandhiji arrived at Standerton with about 2,000 passive resisters. 85 Indians who had left Hatting Spruit Colliery were arrested. Gandhiji was charged with "aiding or abetting prohibited persons to enter the Transvaal".

[2] According to a report in *The Transvaal Leader*, when the Prosecutor protested against Gandhiji's plea for bail, "the Magistrate pointed out that every prisoner not charged with a capital sentence was in law entitled to be allowed to give bail for his appearance, and said that Mr. Gandhi could not be deprived of that right." Gandhiji was then released on his own recognizance of £50, and the case was remanded till the 21st. As soon as Gandhiji was released, the column continued its march. For a detailed first-hand report of the next part of the march, *vide* Appendix XI; also *Satyagraha in South Africa*, Ch. XLIV.

[3] After Gandhiji was released on bail, a representative of Reuter who interviewed Gandhiji asked him "what he thought would be the outcome of the demonstration".

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## *190. LETTER TO INDIANS*[1]

[Before *November 11, 1913*]

The like of this struggle will not come again. We have reached the limit now. The courage that the indentured labourers have shown and the suffering they have gone through have been boundless. How many men will be ready to foot 24 miles a day on one and a half pounds of bread and a little sugar? This is what our poor brethren have done. They have suffered horses' kicks. They have silently endured kicks and blows by whites. Women have walked in the heat of the noon, two-month-old babies in arms and bundles on head. Everyone has braved the rigours of weather, heat and cold and rain. To what end? For India. Such sacrifice will no doubt result in repeal of the £3 tax but what is more, it will enhance India's prestige.

I consider the Transvaal march to have been perfectly successful. The object was to get arrested and all have been arrested.

It is only now, however, that the struggle will grow really exciting. Hundreds of men, who are not ready for gaol, can play their part. They have only to resolve that they themselves will go without meals but feed the strikers. Whether or not any money arrives from India, we must supply the food from here. We should put courage in the strikers' hearts and advise them not to retaliate even if mercilessly kicked. All Indians can do this. An opportunity like this will not come again. Every Indian may take a pledge. He can cut out a meal every day, and with the money so saved provide food to the hungry. Decency requires that traders in every place should give food and shelter to any striker who might find his way to that place and then send him on to where facilities exist for feeding large numbers. If any Indian fails to

[1] Gandhiji was arrested for the third time, on November 9, at Teakworth. He was taken to Heidelberg and produced before the magistrate on the following day. Gandhiji applied for remand of the case. He was to be tried at Dundee; *vide Satyagraha in South Africa*, Ch. XLV. This is Gandhiji's message issued before he was taken to Dundee Gaol on November 11.

play his part in this great venture, I for one will consider him an unfortunate man indeed.

*India's servant*
*Satyagrahi*
MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI

[From Gujarati]
*Indian Opinion*, 19-11-1913

## *191. TRIAL AT DUNDEE*

[DUNDEE,
*November 11, 1913*]

Mr. Gandhi was on the 11th instant charged on three counts, before the Resident Magistrate, Mr. J. W. Cross of Dundee, with inducing indentured immigrants to leave the Province. The court was crowded with Indians and Europeans. Mr. W. Dalzell-Turnbull was specially instructed by the Attorney-General to appear for the prosecution, and Mr. Advocate J. W. Godfrey appeared for Mr. Gandhi. Mr. Gandhi pleaded guilty to the charges.

Mr. Turnbull read the section and left the matter in the hands of the Magistrate.

Mr. Godfrey stated that he was under an obligation to the defendant not to plead in mitigation in any way whatsoever. The circumstances which had brought Mr. Gandhi before the Magistrate were well known to all persons, and he was only expressing the desire of the defendant when he stated that the Magistrate had a duty to perform, and that he was expected to perform that duty fearlessly, and should therefore not hesitate to impose the highest sentence upon the prisoner if he felt that the circumstances in the case justified it.

Mr. Gandhi obtained the permission of the Court, and made the following statement:

As a member of the profession, and being an old resident of Natal, he thought that, in justice to himself and the public, he should state that the counts against him were of such a nature that he took the responsibility imposed upon him, for he believed that the demonstration for which these people were taken out of the Colony was one for a worthy object. He felt that he should say that he had nothing against the employers, and regretted that in this campaign, serious losses were being caused to them. He appealed to the employers also, and he felt that the tax was one which was heavily weighing down his countrymen, and should be removed. He also felt that he was in honour bound, in view of the position of things between Mr. Smuts and Professor

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Gokhale, to produce a striking demonstration.[1] He was aware of the miseries caused to the women and babes in arms. On the whole, he felt he had not gone beyond the principles and honour of the profession of which he was a member. He felt that he had only done his duty in advising his countrymen, and it was his duty to advise them again, that until the tax were removed, to leave work and subsist upon rations obtained by charity. He was certain that without suffering it was not possible for them to get their grievance remedied.

The Magistrate then addressed as follows: In this case the accused had pleaded guilty to the three counts, and the section of law under which the accused was charged made him liable to a fine of £20 for each immigrant he attempted to induce, or induced, to leave the Province. Mr. Gandhi was an educated gentleman, and had the distinction of being a member of the legal profession, and whatever he had done, he had done with a full knowledge of the consequences of his act. The Magistrate then referred to the conditions under which Indians were brought into this Province, and the terms they had agreed upon for remaining here after the expiry of their indentures. He also referred to the contention of the Indians regarding Mr. Smuts' alleged promise to the Indians. The Natal members of Parliament had consented to the tax being removed so far as it affected the women and children, but not the men. The Government had, therefore, not broken faith with the Indians and he believed this was the ground upon which Mr. Gandhi had advised the Indians to strike. To strike was to defy the law, and the Government's position was that, so long as the Indians were out on strike, it was impossible for them to consider any legislation regarding repeal. The defendant was, by his threatening conduct, only bringing ruination to the men and harshness upon themselves. He therefore advised the Indians to stop the passive resistance, and make representations to the Government. He also believed that the Indians were alienating the sympathy of the Europeans who were at one with the Indians in requesting the Government for the repeal of the tax. It was a painful duty to pass sentence upon the conduct of a gentleman like Mr. Gandhi, upon the deliberate contravention of the law, but he had a duty to perform, and Mr. Godfrey, his counsel, had asked him fearlessly to perform that duty. The accused having pleaded guilty, he (the Magistrate) accepted that plea, and passed the following sentences: Count 1: £20, or three months' imprisonment, with hard labour; Count 2: £20, or three months' imprisonment, with hard labour, to take effect upon the expiration of the sentence in respect to Count 1; Count 3: £20, or three months' imprisonment, with hard labour,

[1] The difference of opinion was over the abolition of the £3 tax, regarding which the Union Government insisted it had given Gokhale, in 1912, no assurance; *vide* Appendix XII for General Botha's categorical denial.

this to take effect upon the expiration of the sentence imposed in Count 2.

Mr. Gandhi, in a clear and calm voice, said:

I elect to go to gaol.[1]

*Indian Opinion*, 19-11-1913

## *192. MESSAGE TO STRIKERS*[2]

[DUNDEE,
*November 11, 1913*]

No cessation of the strike without the repeal of the £3 tax. The Government, having imprisoned[3] me, can gracefully make a declaration regarding the repeal.

*Indian Opinion*, 19-11-1913

## *193. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI*

DUNDEE GAOL,
*Tuesday* [*November 11, 1913*][4]

CHI. MAGANLAL,

I have got nine months and if I get six months each at the other two places, that will make 21 months; I shall be most lucky in that case. That I could get into gaol without having to disguise myself was so much the less bother. Today, for the first time after the commencement of the strike, I have some leisure. You must certainly have received some news of Jamnadas. Lest the Government cast its eye on the money in my name, I have written[5] to Mr. Kallenbach to get it transferred to your name and West's. This arrangement is also to be followed in respect of the sums Mr. Gokhale may send hereafter. You must watch what cheques are issued. Miss Schlesin or whoever else is outside will give you the account. Omar Sheth[6] and Cachalia Sheth should

[1] A large crowd of friends waited outside to see Gandhiji come out, but the police took him away secretly and no one knew how he was taken away.

[2] After the trial J. W. Godfrey visited Gandhiji who said "he was cheerful and confident" and sent this message through him.

[3] The original has "imprisonment", which, evidently, is a misprint.

[4] This letter was written on the day Gandhiji was sentenced and sent to Dundee Gaol.

[5] This letter is not available.

[6] Omar Haji Amod Zaveri; *vide* Vol. VI, pp. 460-1.

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have supervision over the money. Expenses will be heavy only for the duration of the strike. If people remain firm even in my absence, the £3[tax], at any rate, will go.

It looks as though your responsibilities had increased and I was enjoying myself. Going to gaol has become holidaying for us. Even so, I felt I should not hold back any longer from going to gaol. The case today was full of technical loopholes. But how could I take advantage of them? That would have been *moha*. I remained firm, for fear that it would be sheer conceit on my part to believe that I could work better by staying outside. James Godfrey was keen on appearing on my behalf and so I allowed him. He said that he would send the whole report. They will take me to Volksrust from Dundee on Thursday for the case there.[1] If you wish to write to me, send the letter to Badat; it will probably reach me.

Right from today the doctor has ordered fruits, etc., for my diet. I shall have no difficulty, therefore. If I can write down an account of the march, I shall send it on. It was a wonderful experience. And so I took a pledge yesterday that I would live on one meal a day till a repeal of the tax was promised. Four months have passed even according to the English calendar. The pledge this time will permit my taking lemon or orange squash. I can write no more.

*Blessings from*
MOHANDAS

MAGANLAL K. GANDHI
PHŒNIX, NATAL

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: G. N. 2538

## *194. TRIAL AT VOLKSRUST*

[VOLKSRUST,
*November 14, 1913*]

Mr. Gandhi appeared in Court before Mr. Jooste, Assistant Magistrate, charged under Section 20 of the Immigration Regulation Act. He pleaded guilty, but the formal evidence of a resister named Poldat was called.

Witness stated he belonged to Ballengeich Mine, and remembered during the current month proceeding with a number of Indians into the Transvaal. Poldat said Mr. Gandhi was leading them from Charlestown to Johannesburg.

[1] On Friday, November 14, Gandhiji was sentenced at Volksrust to a further 3 months' imprisonment.

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Poldat recognized Mr. Gandhi as the leader. Poldat knew he had no right in this Province, because he was a prohibited immigrant.

Mr. Gandhi said he would like to ask witness two questions.

Why did Poldat enter the Transvaal?

Poldat said he entered the Transvaal as a protest against the £3 tax.

Would Poldat have gone back to the mines if that £3 tax had been repealed?

Poldat said yes; if the Government had agreed to repeal the £3 tax, he would have gone back.

Mr. Gandhi was asked if he wished to make a statement.

Mr. Gandhi then addressed the Court.[1]

I admit that I advised not only the last witness but hundreds of other Indians, whom I knew to be prohibited immigrants, to cross the border from Natal into the Transvaal. Of my intention to do so I gave the Minister of the Interior due notice and I specially interviewed the Immigration Officer at Volksrust, and informed him even of the date on which I proposed to cross the border. I told both the Government and the Immigration Officer that in doing so my only object was to make a demonstration against the £3 tax which was weighing heavily upon those who were affected by it, and to court for myself and the party who crossed with me imprisonment. I assured them that nothing could be further from my wish than to desire that a single one of those men who crossed the border should remain in the Transvaal and settle there. I said also that, with such a large number crossing with me, I might be totally unable to prevent them for all time from roving about the country and that, therefore, I hoped that the Government would take charge of the men. Throughout the march into the Transvaal, I endeavoured to keep the men under control and to prevent them from dispersing, and I claim that not a single Indian left the column if it may be so called. I heard something at Heidelberg about the formation of a Vigilants Committee at Volksrust, whose aim I understand was to make the Government enforce the Immigration Act. There is, therefore, common cause between the Committee and my co-workers and myself. Through the Court I beg to make the assurance that the present movement has nothing whatsoever to do with the unlawful entry for purposes of residence in the Transvaal of a single Indian. I think I may fairly claim that my whole career in the Transvaal has been actuated with the motive of assisting Govern-

[1] The statement as reported in *Indian Opinion* is in the third person. The original statement given here is extracted from the Transvaal Court Records.

ment in preventing surreptitious entry and unlawful settlement, but I have pleaded guilty as I know that I have committed a technical breach, on a vast scale, of the section under which I am charged. I am aware too that the steps I have taken are fraught with the greatest risks and intense personal suffering by those who have accepted my advice, but after very mature consideration, based upon 20 years' experience of South Africa, I have come to the conclusion that nothing short of such suffering will move the conscience of the Government as also of the inhabitants of the Union of which, in spite of the so-called breach of the Statutory Laws of the Union, I claim to be a sane and law-abiding citizen.

The Court then adjourned for a quarter of an hour for the Magistrate to consider his decision.

On resuming, Mr. Jooste passed sentence of three months' imprisonment.

*Indian Opinion*, 26-11-1913; also Transvaal Court Records

## *195. EVIDENCE AT POLAK'S TRIAL*[1]

[VOLKSRUST,
*November 17, 1913*]

Mr. Gandhi gave evidence that the march to the Transvaal was fixed without consultation with Mr. Polak, who intended leaving for India on November 14th, and he knew all arrangements had been made for Mr. Polak's departure from Durban. Had it not been for witness's arrest before reaching Greylingstad, Mr. Polak would certainly have left at that station. Under the circumstances, Mr. Gandhi thought Mr. Polak should lead the column to its destination, so that the men would not disperse. In Mr. Gandhi's opinion, if Mr. Polak was guilty of aiding and abetting, so also were the troopers who

[1] Polak and Kallenbach were arrested at Charlestown on November 10. Polak was charged before Mr. Jooste, Assistant Magistrate, under Section 20 of the Immigration Act, but declined to plead guilty to the charge. The evidence of five witnesses including Kallenbach and Gandhiji was called. Rifleman Joubert stated that he had seen Polak asking Gandhiji for instructions at Balfour and thought that Polak was one of the leaders of the movement. Constable Kneen stated that Polak had addressed the Indians and advised them to return to Charlestown. Kallenbach said that Polak's intention had been to return to Durban. His purpose was to discuss certain matters with Gandhiji regarding his departure for India. Polak was found guilty and was awarded three months' simple imprisonment without hard labour. Earlier, while awaiting trial in Volksrust Gaol, Polak had addressed a communication to Lord Ampthill, which furnished a detailed account of incidents leading to his arrest; *vide* Appendix XIII.

guided the column on its way. He considered that Mr. Polak had rendered service to the State, and to his race, by acting as he had. The men had been handed over to Mr. Polak because Mr. Cachalia had not then arrived on the scene.

*Indian Opinion*, 26-11-1913

## *196. LETTER TO MISS DEVI WEST*

BLOEMFONTEIN GAOL,
*December 14, 1913*

Name of convict: M. K. GANDHI
Number: 1739
TO WHOM SENT:
Name in full: Miss Devi West
Occupation: Schoolmistress
Postal Address: International Printing Press
Nearest Town: Phœnix, Natal

MY DEAR DEVI,

As I do not know where everybody else is, it is the most appropriate for me to write to you.

I am quite happy and well here. It is almost as hot here as in Phœnix this time of the year.

Hope that you and others are keeping good health and that Devdas, Prabhudas and the other boys are observing the discipline that was introduced after the ladies' withdrawal from Phœnix and that the boys are thriving under it. Pray remind Devdas of the promises he has made me at various times. Ask him if he can recall them all. When you or someone else writes to me, I should like [to know] the day's routine for the boys. Is Shanti giving trouble? Is Navin obedient? And are Sivparsad and Chhotam as playful as ever? I hope that Rukhi causes no extra trouble to you or to Maganlal. Krishna, Radha and Keshu are not out of my mind, but they are used to being with Maganlal and, therefore, do not call for special inquiry. I hope Rustom West is growing and that he still remains the most beautiful baby in the world to Mrs. Pywell and Mrs. West.

Please tell Mrs. Sam that I did not forget her message to Mr. Sam but, as she knows, I never had the time or the opportunity to have it delivered. I have no doubt however that she will soon see Mr. Sam and then secure his approval of the proposed

match. That reminds me that Muthu promised to help all he could and I hope he is keeping the promise.

Miss Schlesin, if she is there, must be proving very useful.

When the ladies and the boys return, please tell Mrs. Gandhi that she will please me immensely by not disturbing the routine established after her withdrawal and I hope that Ramdas and the other boys will fall in with it. Your reply to this should be sent after their return, so that you may give me full information about them. I shall not withdraw any other letter but the reply to this.

I hope Mrs. Gandhi's old trouble did not revive and that she kept good health. Please let me know too how the other ladies fared. Jekibehn should adhere to the promises made by her to me. Please tell that hardly a day passes when I do not give much thought to her. As for her diet, I do not bind her to any promises or resolutions she may have made. She may take whatever suits her constitution. But she must keep not only good health but be robust. She must grow her hair unless she has definitely heard otherwise from Dr. Mehta.

How I wish Kashi and Santok could join the common household and Mrs. Gandhi could approve of it?

I hope Maganlal traced my Tamil volume that was missing; otherwise he should inquire of Govindoo and find and keep it safe. Most of my spare time is being devoted to Tamil study. A short time is daily given to compiling the book on food values and the uses of popular and comparatively harmless drugs.[1]

A money order should be sent to Khushalbhai (Rajkot) to cover Jamnadas' expenses whatever they may have been in Rajkot and for his travelling and £10 extra. Out of the latter, he should pay the widow of my deceased brother Rs. 20 per month. Khushalbhai should also be asked to prevail upon my sister to cut down her allowance to the extent of Rs. 5 or Rs. 10. Of this Rs. 5 may be added, if necessary, to the allowance to my brother's wife. The whole of the money that may be sent may be debited to suspense or emergency a/c.

Mr. MacIntyre should be reminded by Miss Schlesin to start repayment that he promised to do so long ago.

Jamnadas, if he is there, should follow Maganlal in his dietary and other habits and he will keep well. I am anxious to know how he has been keeping in body and mind.

Chhaganlal should take as much olive oil as he can and do as much garden work as possible, and should sleep in the open

[1] It is not known if Gandhiji actually completed this work and published it.

in all weathers and take deep breaths early in the morning and at the time of retiring. He may also smear and rub his chest and his back with olive oil every day for 15 minutes. This massage should be given gently by some strong person. Maganlal or Ramdas should do it. He should read Dr. Carton's thesis on consumption. It was given by me, I think, to Maganlal to read. I hope Maganlal received from Mr. Dowd the books that were lent to Hassan. Out of them, I should like *Food Remedies* sent to me.

I returned to the Gaoler at Volksrust the following: a roll conta[in]ing Mr. Kallenbach's and my blankets and my writing leather case, *Uttar Ramcharit*, Addison's *Essays* and Dayanand's commentaries on *Rigved* &c. The Gaoler promised to return them to Phœnix. If you have them, Addison's *Essays* should be returned to Mrs. Polak. I hope she and the children are keeping well and that her wants are being supplied.

The trustees under the Phœnix settlement should be kept supplied with the monthly a/cs we prepare. Does Mr. Omar visit the settlement. If not, remind him of his promise.

What has happened to Mr. Budree's case? You may inquire of Mr. Budree or Mr. F. S. Tatham, to whom Mr. Polak handed the case. Mr. Ismail Parekh wrote to me saying that the case could be adjourned *sine die*.

Please also write to Khushalbhai, saying that I shall see to my niece Tulsi's a/c being settled whenever I return to India. If I do not within 18 months' time, I shall see to its settlement otherwise. The interest I am doubtful about. I must add that I wrote to Dr. Mehta, asking him to advance the monthly sum to my brother's wife. If he has commenced to do so, £10 extra need not be sent to Khushalbhai.

I implore Mrs. Gandhi not to be anxious about me. She will help me to keep better by looking after her own health. And the secret of it is in sticking to the dietary prescribed for her.

With much love to you all,

*Yours very sincerely,*
M. K. GANDHI

[PS.]

This should be read by all and be sent to Miss Schlesin wherever she may be. Remember me to Mr. Kotwal when you write to him. I hope Lalchand is helping. How is he keeping and the little baby?

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 5913

## *197. SPEECH AT JOHANNESBURG*[1]

JOHANNESBURG,
*December 18, 1913*

Speaking at a meeting at the old Gaiety Theatre, Mr. Gandhi said he was not the least thankful for having been released, for he preferred solitude and the peace of prison because it gave him opportunity and time for meditation; but, having been released, he should now resume the work upon which he was engaged when he was convicted. For himself he was not satisfied with the Indian Commission appointed by the Government.[2] He was uncertain whether it would be effectual, and whether it would be in the interests of the Indian population that he and others should give evidence before it. However, it had been decided that he and Messrs Polak and Kallenbach should proceed to Durban in the morning, and when there they would decide whether they would accept the Commission as it was at present constituted. He was not at all satisfied, and rather than have a weighted or packed Commission which would militate against the welfare of the Indian community in South Africa, he would prefer to go back to prison and allow the Indian cause to stand upon its own merits. He would not positively say at the present time that he would not give evidence, but his inclinations were that way as the Commission was loaded against them. His prison experience, just over, had been a change from that he had undergone on a previous occasion. He had been treated with the utmost courtesy, and he would like publicly to record the excellent manner in which the prison officials had considered his comfort.[3]

*Indian Opinion*, 24-12-1913

[1] An "Indian Inquiry Commission" was set up by the Union Government on December 11, to inquire into the causes of the strike and the disturbances in connection with it. On the Commission's recommendation, Gandhiji, Polak and Kallenbach were brought to Pretoria and released unconditionally on December 18. They were accorded a reception on reaching Johannesburg in the evening.

[2] The Commission's personnel consisted of Sir William Solomon as Chairman, Ewald Esselen, K.C. and J.S. Wylie, K. C. For the official view of the situation and policy in regard to the Commission, *vide* Appendix XIV.

[3] After Gandhiji, Polak, Kallenbach and William Hosken addressed the meeting, it was unanimously resolved not to tender evidence before the Commission as then constituted.

## *198. SPEECH AT DURBAN*[1]

DURBAN,
*December 20, 1913*

Mr. Gandhi intimated to the audience that they were on the eve of a most momentous decision, and that he proposed to take a vote of their considered views at a mass meeting to be held on the morrow. He indicated that the question that they would be called upon to decide was whether they could in honour tender evidence to a Commission which had been constituted without any reference to Indian wishes or opinion, and also whether the personnel of that Commission could be regarded as fair and impartial.

*Indian Opinion*, 24-12-1913

## *199. INTERVIEW TO "THE NATAL MERCURY"*

[DURBAN,
*December 20, 1913*]

Interviewed by a *Mercury* representative, Mr. Gandhi said that at the meeting which followed his arrival with Mr. Kallenbach and Mr. Polak, thanks were expressed for the reception accorded them. His release, he added, was a surprise, and only when he was out of the prison did he learn that his release was due to a recommendation of the members of the Commission.

We feel that our release throws a great responsibility upon our shoulders, and, on learning how the Commission is constituted, I feel that the fundamental fraud is that the Indian community was not consulted as to the nomination of the members. The spirit of the whole passive resistance struggle since 1907 has been that, in matters affecting the community, the Government should consult its opinion and sentiments. This the Government, apparently, have not done regarding the Commission, and therefore[2], there is objection to its nomination of itself.

With reference to Mr. Esselen and Col. Wylie, Mr. Gandhi said he had the pleasantest recollections of both gentlemen, and had not the slightest doubt that they would discharge their duties on the Commission conscientiously, but

[1] On reaching Durban station, Gandhiji, Polak and Kallenbach were garlanded and taken in a procession to the office of the Natal Indian Congress where they addressed the gathering.

[2] The original has "thereto".

he could not credit them with the superhuman qualities of divesting themselves of their anti-Asiatic views, which they were known to so profoundly hold. Now that they had been nominated members of the Commission, he would not object to their appointment, but it was due to the Indian community, he added, that the influence they might have on the findings should be counter-balanced by appointments from the European nationality known to possess no anti-Asiatic bias.

Unless the Government accede to this reasonable request, it is not possible for us to accept this Commission or assist its deliberations. Unless the submission be accepted, we have decided not to give any evidence before them, and we shall resume activities in order to seek re-arrest and re-imprisonment.

*The Natal Mercury*, 22-12-1913

## *200. SPEECH AT MASS MEETING*[1]

[DURBAN,
*December 21, 1913*]

Mr. Gandhi was received with cheers on rising and a bunch of flowers was placed in his hand by one of those near the platform. He mentioned that he would have preferred to speak first in one of the Indian tongues, but in the presence of Messrs Polak and Kallenbach, his fellow-convicts, feelings of gratitude compelled him to speak first in the tongue they knew. They would notice he had changed his dress from that he had formerly adopted for the last 20 years, and he had decided on the change when he heard of the shooting of their fellow-countrymen. No matter whether the shooting was found to be justified or not, the fact was that they were shot, and those bullets shot him (Mr. Gandhi) through the heart also. He felt how glorious it would have been if one of those bullets had struck him also, because might he not be a murderer himself, by having participated in that event by having advised Indians to strike? His conscience cleared him from this guilt of murder, but he felt he should adopt mourning for those Indians as a humble example to his fellow-countrymen. He felt that he should go into mourning at least for a period, which should be co-extensive with the end of that struggle, and that he should accept some mourning not only inwardly, but outwardly as well, as a humble example to his fellow-countrymen, so that he could tell them that it was necessary for them to show by their conduct and outward appearance that they

[1] Gandhiji addressed a mass meeting held under the auspices of the Natal Indian Association, attended by about six to seven thousand persons including some prominent Europeans. Abdul Kadir presided.

were in mourning. He was not prepared himself to accept the European mourning dress for this purpose, and, with some modification in deference to the feelings of his European friends, he had adopted the dress similar to that of an indentured Indian. He asked his fellow-countrymen to adopt some sign of mourning to show to the world that they were mourning, and further to adopt some inward observance also. And perhaps he might tell them what his inward mourning was—to restrict himself to one meal a day. They had been released, he continued, not on any condition, but they knew that they were released on the recommendation of a Commission appointed by the Government, in order that every facility might be given not only to them, but to the Indian community, to bring before the Commission any evidence that community might have in its possession. He thought that a right and proper thing that the Government had appointed a Commission, but he thought the Commission was open to the gravest objection from the Indian standpoint; and he was there to tender his humble advice to them that it was impossible to accept the Commission in a form in which the Indians had no voice. They were fighting for so many grievances, and the underlying spirit of the struggle was to obtain full recognition on the part of the Government of the right of consultation in anything which appertained to Indian interests. Unless the Government was prepared to condescend to that extent, unless they were prepared to ascertain and respect the Indian sentiments, it was not possible for Indians, as loyal but manly citizens of the Empire, to render obedience to their Commissions or laws which they might have passed over their heads. This was one of the serious fundamental objections. The other objection was that it was a partisan Commission; therefore, the Indians wanted their own partisans on it. This they might not get, but they at least wanted impartial men, who had not expressed opinions hostile to their interests, but gentlemen who would be able to bring to the deliberations of the Commission an open, just and impartial mind. (Applause.) He considered that Mr. Esselen and Mr. Wylie, honourable gentlemen as they were, could not possibly bring open minds to bear on the inquiry, for the simple reason that they had their own human limitations and could not divest themselves of their anti-Asiatic views which they had expressed times without number. If the Government appointed the Indians' nominees, and thus honoured their sentiments, and granted a release for the prisoners now in gaol, he thought it would be possible for them to assist the Government, and therefore, the Empire, and bring, perhaps, this crisis to an end without further suffering. But it might be that they might have to undergo further suffering. It might be that their sins were so great that they might have to do still further penance.

Therefore, I hope you will hold yourselves in readiness to respond to the call the Government may make by declining our just and reasonable requests, and then, to again force the pace by again undergoing still greater purifying suffering, until at last the

Government may order the military to riddle us also with their bullets. My friends, are you prepared for this? (Voices: "Yes.") Are you prepared to share the fate of those of our countrymen whom the cold stone is resting upon today? Are you prepared to do this? (Cries of "Yes.") Then, if the Government does not grant our request, this is the proposition I wish to place before you this morning: That all of us, on the first day of the New Year, should be ready again to suffer battle, again to suffer imprisonment and march out. (Applause.) That is the only process of purification and will be a substantial mourning both inwardly and outwardly which will bear justification before our God. That is the advice we give to our free and indentured countrymen—to strike, and even though this may mean death to them, I am sure it will be justified.

But if they accepted the quiet life, he went on, not only would the wrath of God descend upon them, but they would incur the disgrace of the whole of that portion of the European world forming the British Empire. (Applause.) He hoped that every man, woman, and grown-up child would hold themselves in readiness to do this. He hoped they would not consider self, that they would not consider their salaries, trades, or even families, their own bodies in the struggle which was to his mind a struggle for human liberty, and therefore, a struggle for the religion to which they might respectively belong. It was essentially a religious struggle—(hear, hear)—as any struggle involving assertion and freedom of their conscience must be a religious struggle. He therefore hoped they would hold themselves in readiness to respond to the call and not listen to the advice of those who wavered, nor listen to those who asked them to wait or to those who might ask them to refrain from the battle. The struggle was one involving quite a clear issue, and an incredibly simple one.

Do not listen to anyone, but obey your own conscience and go forward without thinking. Now is the time for thinking, and having made up your minds, stick to it, even unto death.[1]

## THE RESOLUTIONS[2]

(1) This mass meeting of British Indians of Natal, held under the auspices of the Natal Indian Association, hereby resolves that the community may not, in honour, give evidence before the Commission recently appointed by the Government because the community has not been consulted as to the choice of the members of the Commission, and because it does not include any

[1] The meeting was then addressed by Kallenbach, Polak, Ritch and Rev. Baillie, Superintendent of the Indian Mission, Natal.

[2] The resolutions adopted were presumably drafted by Gandhiji.

members specially representing the community, whose interests are to be vitally affected by the finding of the Commission.
(2) This meeting respectfully urges the Government to add to the membership the Hon. Mr. W. P. Schreiner and the Hon. Sir James Rose-Innes, or such other eminent members of the European race residing in South Africa whose nomination would be acceptable to the South African Indian community.
(3) This mass meeting, in the event of the Government's accepting the Indian view that the personnel of the Commission should be added to for the purpose of securing adequate representation of all interests involved in its inquiry, also requests the immediate discharge of all the passive resistance prisoners presently in gaol, and, on its part, the Indian community undertakes to suspend passive resistance until the publication of the findings of the Commission. In the unfortunate event, however, of the Government's refusal to comply with its respectful requests, the community will be obliged at once to prosecute the struggle with renewed vigour and determination.

*The Natal Mercury*, 22-12-1913

## *201. LETTER TO MINISTER OF INTERIOR*[1]

[DURBAN,
*December 21, 1913*]

SIR,

We understand from the papers that our release from imprisonment, before the natural period of the respective terms to which we were sentenced, was due to the recommendation of the members of the Commission which has been recently appointed to investigate the causes that led up to the strike of indentured and other Indians in Natal and other Indian matters. We fully appreciate the reasons which moved the Commissioners to make the recommendation, and the Government's acceptance thereof, and we are desirous of helping the Commission to investigate the causes. We beg to express our gratefulness for the appointment of a Commission for the purpose above indicated, but we are reluctantly obliged to inform the Government that we shall be unable to render the assistance which it is in our power to do, unless the objections presently to be set forth are met by the Government. We have ascertained that the Indian

[1] A gist of this letter appears in *Satyagraha in South Africa*, Ch. XLVII.

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community of South Africa has not been given the opportunity of making any nomination on its behalf to the membership of the Commission. We may point out that the spirit of the passive resistance struggle, ever since its commencement in 1907, has been to secure a recognition from the Government of the fact that, in matters touching the community, it is necessary to consult and respect its wishes and sentiments before it can be expected to give willing obedience to or acceptance of laws or matters affecting the vital interests of the community. We feel that it was a grave omission on the part of the Government, in selecting the Commissioners, not to have given an opportunity to the Indian community of submitting for appointment on the Commission two names of gentlemen of known South African standing who, in its opinion, could have guarded and specially represented its interests. This, in our humble opinion, is a fatal and fundamental objection to the acceptance by the Indian community of the Commission.

Moreover, we observe that the appointment of Mr. Ewald Esselen, K.C., and Col. Wylie shows that the Government, for reasons best known to itself, intended to give the commission a partisan character, for it is within our knowledge that Mr. Esselen has expressed anti-Asiatic views in very strong language, and that Col. Wylie has not only done likewise, but has even recently given his opinion that the £3 tax levied on ex-indentured Indians should be retained. Again, the acts of the military in connection with the strike will be before the Commission for investigation. We hold that Col. Wylie, by reason of his prominent connection with the military, is naturally an interested party. Against Mr. Esselen and Col. Wylie, as South African statesmen, we can have nothing to say. The first undersigned has pleasant recollections of his professional connection with both Mr. Esselen and Col. Wylie; and of Col. Wylie when he served under him during the late Zulu rebellion as sergeant-major in charge of the Indian Volunteer Ambulance Corps, that was formed,[1] and whose services were offered during that crisis to the Government; and we have no doubt that, in so far as they could, they would endeavour to sit as impartial judges on the Commission, but we cannot help fearing that they share the common human failing of not being able to divest themselves entirely of their bias. Much, however, as we regret the appointment on the Commission of these gentlemen, we do not propose to raise any objection to their nomina-

[1] *Vide* Vol. III, pp. 163-9.

tion; but, in order to counter-balance the effect that their bias may have on the finding of the Commission, we submit that it is absolutely necessary to appoint gentlemen of South African standing, known to possess no anti-Asiatic bias, on the Commission, and, as such, we venture to suggest the names of the Hon. Sir James Rose-Innes and the Hon. W. P. Schreiner.

Immediately on our release, without a moment's delay, we began to ascertain the feeling of the Indian community, and, to our agreeable surprise, we found that the community had already anticipated what would undoubtedly have been our humble advice to it, that it had already sent strong protests to the Government against the nominations, and had submitted to the Government the names mentioned above. We found, too, that by way of further protest, 36 passive resisters, of whom five were women, had crossed the Volksrust border from Natal, and had been arrested and received imprisonment. In their statement to the Court, we understand, they informed the presiding Magistrate that their object in courting arrest was to lodge a respectful protest against the partisan character which had been given to the Commission, and we found further that two other parties of passive resisters had already left for Volksrust for the same purpose.

Our position, therefore, was easy and clear. A mass meeting was called to-day by the Natal Indian Association. We were invited to attend that meeting, and all that we had to do was to tender our advice that the protest that had already been sent should be ratified by that meeting, and this, we are glad to be able to say, was done. We hope and pray that the Government will be pleased to accede to the submission and nominate on the Commission the gentlemen whose names have been proposed by the meeting.

If the nomination is accepted, we beg to state that, before we can tender our evidence to the Commission and advise the community to offer the overwhelming evidence which is in its possession, it will be necessary to release the passive resisters who are presently undergoing imprisonment, whether in the ordinary gaols or in mining compounds which have been turned into gaols. We hope that the Government will recognize the force of this prayer, for it would ill become us to remain free whilst those who have courted imprisonment partly through our advice are still under incarceration, and it would be hardly possible for us to advise other passive resisters to refrain, pending the inquiry by the Commission, from courting imprisonment whilst their brethren and sisters are suffering the hardships of gaol life.

If the additional appointments suggested above are made, and if our request as to the release of the passive resistance prisoners is accepted, we would advise the community to suspend passive resistance pending the Commission's finding. Further, if we are enabled by the Government's accepting our suggestions to tender evidence before the Commission, we and other members of the community will have to have full and free permission to enter the different estates and collieries where Indians are employed, in order to collect evidence, and for the purpose of advising the people to continue to work under their contracts, pending the investigation.

We take it that the Commission has sufficient powers to investigate all the grievances that have caused the revival of passive resistance as set forth in Mr. Gokhale's letter, and to make its recommendations to the Government.

Finally, we beg to place on record the advice that we have tendered to the community, that, whilst the finding of the Commission—enlarged in the manner suggested—will finally settle the dispute as to the allegations of ill-treatment of workers and others and the acts of the military, its recommendations on the grievances, whose redress is being sought, will not be accepted by the community in derogation of its demands. If, unfortunately, the Government does not see its way to accept our prayer, there will be no course left open to us but to seek re-imprisonment. We, as passive resisters, can never rest still, having been discharged before the termination of our terms of imprisonment.

We beg to reiterate the declaration we have often made that, as passive resisters, we countenance no violence, even by way of retaliation, on the part of those who take part in the movement, whether as strikers or otherwise. We have repeatedly given effective advice, which has been acted upon, to the effect that passive resisters must submit to personal violence in the course of their passive resistance, even though such violence may entail death. It becomes necessary for us to re-declare the above view, as after our incarceration, we observe that it has been alleged that, on some estates, strikers used violence.

The last two undersigned, as Europeans, desire to assure the Government that, in throwing in their lot with their fellow-South African Indian subjects, they have but rendered service to the State and to their fellow-Europeans. They have done so after very careful investigation, and their intimate experience of Indians of every grade has enabled them to see that the grievances of which the Indian community is seeking redress are grievances

which are keenly felt by it, and for whose redress it has patiently waited for an unduly long time. It is because we firmly believe that to delay in granting the demands of the Indian community endangers the reputation of the Europeans of South Africa as members of a civilized race worthy of self-government, that we have so fully identified ourselves with their cause, and we ask the Government during this season, which for it means, or ought to mean, peace for all living in South Africa, to give the community an earnest of its desire to redress its legitimate grievances by accepting this prayer.

*We have the honour to be,*
*Sir,*
*Your obedient servants,*
M. K. GANDHI
H. S. L. POLAK
H. KALLENBACH

[PS.]

May we request an early reply, as our dispositions are to be made by New Year's Day, in the event of an unfavourable reply.[1]

*Indian Opinion*, 24-12-1913

## *202. SPEECH AT MARITZBURG MEETING*[2]

MARITZBURG,
[*December 22, 1913*]

Mr. Gandhi rather rebuked the decorators, urging that the present was rather a time for mourning for the blood of their fellow-countrymen which had been spilt, rather than for receptions and rejoicings. He thanked them, however, for their kindness. He urged the men to show their sympathy by discarding

[1] In his letter of December 24, the Minister of the Interior rejected Gandhiji's terms. The Governor-General's despatches of December 22 and 23 to the Colonial Office furnish the Union Government's reactions to Gandhiji's demands. *Vide* Appendix XV.

[2] On the release of Kasturba Gandhi, Mrs. Chhaganlal Gandhi, Mrs. Manilal Doctor, Mrs. Maganlal Gandhi and Solomon Royeppen from Maritzburg Gaol, a procession was taken out which terminated in a reception meeting. Gandhiji addressed the audience on behalf of the released passive resisters. For a report of his speech in Gujarati, *vide* the following item.

the use of tobacco, betel-leaves, and other luxuries, and felt that the women might lay aside their fine dresses and jewels in this time of mourning.[1]

*The Natal Mercury*, 23-12-1913

## *203. SPEECH ON KASTURBA GANDHI'S RELEASE*

MARITZBURG,
[*December 22, 1913*]

This is a very sad time for us. We can have no joy in gatherings and celebrations. All the same, I give thanks to you, on behalf of my wife and the other ladies, for the welcome you have accorded them. My brethren have lost their lives, killed by bullets, and I feel extremely sad, at a time like this, in taking part in this reception even to the extent that I have done. In gaol, I was free from all anxieties. This crying[2] is perfectly suggestive of our mourning. My Indian brothers and sisters can at this time express their sincere sympathy with the helpless widows and orphans by themselves observing mourning in various ways. Men can leave off tobacco, betel-leaves and betel-nut; women may lay aside ornaments and fine dresses.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 24-12-1913

## *204. SPEECH AT MARITZBURG MASS MEETING*

MARITZBURG,
[*December 22, 1913*]

[Gandhiji] explained the resolutions passed at the Durban mass meeting on Sunday. Passive resistance, he said, was a harmless search for truth, and he appealed to every Indian present to be prepared to die, if need be, for the truth.[3]

*The Natal Mercury*, 23-12-1913

[1] Speeches were also made by Kallenbach, L. H. Greene and Mrs. Polak. Shortly after, a mass meeting was held.

[2] Gandhiji was referring to a weeping child in the audience.

[3] P. K. Naidoo then moved the resolution endorsing the resolutions passed at the Durban mass meeting, which was passed.

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## 205. CABLE TO G. K. GOKHALE[1]

DURBAN,
*December 22, 1913*

HON'BLE GOKHALE
SERVINDIA
POONA CITY

WE WERE DISCHARGED UNCONDITIONALLY THURSDAY ON RECOMMENDATION COMMISSION STOP HAVE ADDRESSED JOINT LETTER[2] GOVERNMENT INFORMING UNABLE ASSIST COMMISSION BY EVIDENCE UNLESS COMMUNITY RIGHT TO BE CONSULTED MATTERS AFFECTING IT RECOGNIZED AND PARTISAN CHARACTER COMMISSION COUNTER-BALANCED BY APPOINTMENT SCHREINER APPELLATE JUDGE ROSE-INNES OR OTHERS EQUALLY IMPARTIAL APPROVED BY COMMUNITY AND UNLESS NEARLY FOUR THOUSAND PASSIVE RESISTANCE PRISONERS IN ORDINARY AND MINE GAOLS RELEASED. WE THEN UNDERTAKING ADVISE SUSPEND PASSIVE RESISTANCE PENDING FINDING COMMISSION STOP HAVE ALSO STATED SCOPE INQUIRY SHOULD INCLUDE EXAMINATION ALL GRIEVANCES AND THAT WHILST FINDING ON ALL ALLEGATIONS BRUTALITY AND ACTS MILITARY WILL FINALLY SETTLE CONTROVERSY THEREON. ANY FINDING ON GRIEVANCES IF DEROGATORY PASSIVE RESISTERS DEMANDS SET FORTH CACHALIA'S LETTER[3] SEPTEMBER WILL NOT BE ACCEPTED BY COMMUNITY. HAVE FURTHER INFORMED GOVERNMENT THAT IF PRAYER REJECTED WE SHALL SEEK REARREST AND ADVISE STILL MORE RIGOROUS PROSECUTION CAMPAIGN STOP MASS MEETING TO-DAY ATTENDED ABOUT SIX THOUSAND CONFIRMED ABOVE ADVICE PASSED RESOLUTIONS ACCLAMATIONS STOP

[1] Gokhale had received Reuter's summary of a report of Gandhiji's interview to *The Natal Mercury*, *vide* pp. 273-4. The following cable was received from Gokhale at 10 p.m. on December 21: "Reuter cables substance your interview. After Solomon's speech fear boycotting inquiry will be grave mistake, alienating sympathy Government of India and many friends England. Engage best counsel and yourself Polak assist offering evidence. Inquiry does not concern general grievances passive resisters but it is most important, opportunity offered producing evidence support allegations cruelties should not be refused. I venture suggest draw up protest against Esselen and Wylie, explaining fully objection to both and appear under protest."

[2] *Vide* "Letter to Minister of Interior", pp. 277-81.

[3] *Vide* "Letter to Secretary for Interior", pp. 183-6.

TRANSVAAL OTHER CENTRES UNANIMOUS STOP MEETING INFORMED IN EVENT UNFAVOURABLE REPLY PEOPLE MUST HOLD READINESS MARCH FOOT STARVATION RATIONS FROM DURBAN TO PRETORIA SEEKING REARREST. ANTICIPATE TAKING IN THOUSANDS EN ROUTE STOP MEETING WARNED EXPECT BULLETS AND TOOK DECLARATIONS READINESS UNDER OATH STOP CHURCH COUNSELS, INFLUENTIAL INDIVIDUAL EUROPEANS HAVE SUPPORTED REJECTION PRESENT COMMISSION STOP DURING TRAVEL FROM PRETORIA TO DURBAN WE MET REPRESENTATIVE INDIANS ALL PRINCIPAL STATIONS. ENTHUSIASM GREAT AND DISAPPROVAL PRESENT COMMISSION UNIVERSAL STOP DISCOVERED OUR RELEASE PEOPLE LARGE NUMBERS HAD SHOWN UNEXPECTED POWERS ENDURANCE SUFFERINGS. WE WERE STAGGERED UNLOOKED FOR ABILITY INDENTURED INDIANS WITHOUT EFFECTIVE LEADERSHIP ACTING PERFECT COOPERATION DISCIPLINE DETERMINATION STOP ASK INDIANS' IMMEDIATE VIGOROUS CO-OPERATION.[1]

GANDHI
KALLENBACH
POLAK

Servants of India Society

## *206. LETTER TO "THE NATAL ADVERTISER"*[2]

[After *December 22, 1913*][3]

Having known most of these passive resisters for a number of years and come into close contact with them, I can say that they are not the men to make baseless allegations. Mr. Rustomjee, an old and respected resident of South Africa, was also

[1] To this cable Gokhale replied the next day: "Since release unconditional, most important Polak should proceed England immediately with fullest information regarding whole position and occurrences. Absolutely essential keep Press England well-informed. Parliament opening 2nd February. Ramsay MacDonald taking up question specially system indenture and methods adopted suppress strike." *Vide* also "Cable to G. K. Gokhale", pp. 311-2.

[2] *The Natal Advertiser* did not publish this letter on the ground that a Commission of Inquiry had been appointed. Later, it was translated into Gujarati for the readers of *Indian Opinion*. The original is not available. This is an English rendering.

[3] Parsee Rustomjee and other passive resisters referred to in the letter were released on December 22, 1913.

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in this batch. He took a leading part in the previous campaigns and had experience of the gaols in Volksrust, Heidelberg, Diepkloof and Johannesburg. This time, on being sentenced at Volksrust, he was brought to the Pietermaritzburg Gaol and later removed to the Durban Gaol. He had a taste of the Maritzburg Gaol, but his experience in the Durban Gaol, he tells me, was the worst.

Mr. Rustomjee declares, and he is supported by other passive resisters, that the Native warders used to assault them, with no fear of consequences. One, Mr. P. K. Desai, was assaulted so violently that the blow sent him reeling to the ground and from there he was dragged to his cell. The treatment of the injuries kept him in the hospital for eleven days. Mr. Rustomjee and his fellow-prisoners had to resort to a fast to secure him [permission to wear] his shirt and sacred thread. A good Parsi will not move a single step in the absence of these two things. Mr. Rustomjee was also assaulted twice by Native warders. The matter was brought to the notice of the superintendent, but to no purpose. A youngster was beaten for standing out of line.

On one occasion, several passive resisters went on a fast to register a strong protest against such treatment. At the end of four days of complete fasting, the boy referred to above was forcibly fed while he kept shrieking in protest all the time. Even the prison doctor in charge is reported to have condemned this display of barbarism and stated that he did not accept responsibility for the forcible feeding. The fact that the prisoner was a vegetarian was ignored: the milk which was fed to him was mixed with eggs.

The prisoners were supplied dirty clothes which could be a menace to their health. The food was poor and was served, half-cooked, in rusted tin bowls, and the prisoners report that in consequence many of them got dysentery. Some are troubled by it even now in gaol. Cockroaches and insects were found in the food, and, when the matter was reported to the officer, his reply was that a prison was no hotel and that even in a hotel one found insects in food.

Most of the passive resisters were men of good education. Though well used to reading, they were not given books to read from the prison libraries nor permitted to read any of their own.

Despite protests, all the gaol officers, from the highest to the lowest, used to address the passive resisters as "coolies". The more they resented this, the more obstinate the officers became. They [also] report that the present doctor pays no attention to their health. During these three months, the magistrate visited the

gaol only once. He did not listen to the complaints of the prisoners. Indian prisoners are generally allowed sandals and socks. In this gaol most of them did not get these; even women were not given any. Quite often the prisoners were supplied only one blanket each, and that a torn one. They were refused permission to see their lawyers and were not even allowed to write to the Director of Prisons.

All this is but a brief summary of the tales of suffering I have heard from my countrymen. The affidavits to be submitted to the Government on this matter are under preparation. This is, however, quite a serious matter and calls for public attention. There is no exaggeration whatever in what I am reporting and you are free to show this to the officers concerned before publishing it. Mr. Rustomjee and his fellow-prisoners ask for nothing but a full, fearless, independent and impartial discussion, and demand an inquiry.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 7-1-1914

## *207. CABLE TO G. K. GOKHALE*

DURBAN,
*December 23, 1913*

SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY
POONA

BEEN MARITZBURG WHICH AT MASS MEETING ENDORSED YESTERDAY'S DURBAN RESOLUTIONS. IMPOSSIBLE ACCEPT COMMISSION UNLESS SUGGESTION ADDING TO COMMISSION, RELEASE PRISONERS ACCEPTED. PEOPLE EARNEST ENTHUSIASTIC. THEY WILL NOT LISTEN ADVICE ACCEPTANCE COMMISSION EXCEPT ON ABOVE CONDITIONS. THEY ARE DESPERATE, THOROUGHLY DISTRUST GOVERNMENT. COMMISSION SEEMS INCLUDE EXAMINATION GENERAL GRIEVANCES. ANYWAY OUR LETTER ASSUMES INCLUSION SUCH EXAMINATION AND ASKS FOR IT IF OUR INTERPRETATION INCORRECT. SIXTEEN PIONEER PASSIVE RESISTERS INCLUDING RUSTOMJEE FOUR LADIES DISCHARGED EXPIRATION SENTENCES. RUSTOMJEE OTHERS WHO ARE AMONG MOST RESPECTABLE MEMBERS COMMUNITY STATE PRISON TREATMENT BARBAROUS, CRUEL. RUSTOMJEE WHO HAS EXPERIENCE MANY PRISONS DURING PREVIOUS LONG IMPRISONMENTS SAYS PRESENT TREATMENT DURBAN PRISON UNPARALLELED IN

CRUELTY. MAGISTRATE INDIFFERENT RARELY VISITS PRISON RECEIVE COMPLAINTS, GOVERNOR ALMOST UNAPPROACHABLE. BEFORE HUNGER STRIKE, WARDERS RUDE, RUFFIANLY STUDIOUSLY INSULTING. THEY DECLINE TAKE COMPLAINTS, NATIVE WARDERS CRUEL, UNWARRANTABLY THRASH PASSIVE RESISTERS WITH IMPUNITY. PRAGJI DESAI, WHOM YOU KNOW, WAS WITHOUT CAUSE ROUGHLY ASSAULTED MAKING HIM FALL, WAS THEN DRAGGED TO CELL LYING IN AGONY CONSIDERABLE TIME BEFORE RECEIVING ATTENTION AND REQUIRED ELEVEN DAYS' HOSPITAL TREATMENT. PHŒNIX SCHOOL STUDENT SIXTEEN YEARS ROUGHLY ASSAULTED. RUSTOMJEE, MANILAL GANDHI OTHERS ALL KNOWN TO YOU KICKED, ROUGHLY HANDLED, INSULTED, CALLED COOLIES IN SPITE REPEATED PROTESTS MANY NOT RECEIVED SANDALS, SOCKS, SOME DEPRIVED SANDALS ON ASKING SOCKS. DIRTY UNWASHED GAOL CLOTHING ISSUED. PROTESTS AGAINST SUCH DIRTY DANGEROUSLY INSANITARY HABIT UNHEEDED AND JEERED AT. GAOL LIBRARY BOOKS NOT ISSUED, PREVENTED FROM TAKING THEIR OWN. RUSTY DISHES, RUSTY PANNIKINS CONTINUOUSLY ISSUED. FOOD INFERIOR QUALITY, GHEE ADULTERATED. OFTEN UNDER-COOKED BEANS ISSUED CAUSING DYSENTERY, FROM WHICH SOME LADIES WHO ARE STILL IN DURBAN GAOL ARE SUFFERING. COCKROACHES, MAGGOTS FOUND IN FOOD, YET FOOD NOT REPLACED. BY WAY PROTEST AGAINST SUCH ILL-TREATMENT MANY HUNGER STRUCK. FAST LASTED FOUR DAYS. FOURTH DAY ONE OF THEM VEGETARIAN BY RELIGION FORCIBLY FED WITH MILK AND EGGS. STRIKE DISSOLVED BY GAOLER PROMISING RELIEF WHICH NEVER CAME. DURING STRIKE PRISONERS ASKED SEE GOVERNOR WHO WAS NOT SEEN TILL AFTER TWENTY-FOUR HOURS. THEY HAD ALSO HUNGER STRIKE IN MARITZBURG FOR THREE DAYS BEFORE RATIONING GHEE WAS ISSUED. RUSTOMJEE'S STATEMENT[1] OF GRIEVANCES HAS CREATED SENSATION. DISCHARGED PASSIVE RESISTERS SHOW FIXED DETERMINATION COURT RE-ARREST IMMEDIATELY, IF NECESSARY. PREPARING AFFIDAVITS SUBMISSION GOVERNMENT. REQUESTING INQUIRY.[2]

GANDHI

Servants of India Society

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

[2] An abstract of this cable was released to the Press and appeared in *Indian Opinion*, 29-10-1913.

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

DURBAN,
*December 23, 1913*

SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY
POONA

WE NEVER WENT PRETORIA SEE MINISTERS STOP UNLESS PROMPTEST AGITATION INDIAN SUPPORTING OUR DEMANDS GOVERNMENT ACCEDING UNLIKELY STOP VICEROY MISAPPREHENDS SITUATION STOP INSPIRED TELEGRAM[2] PUBLISHED TODAY SAYS COMMISSION NOT APPOINTED CONCILIATE LOCAL INDIANS; BUT ONLY IMPERIAL INDIAN GOVERNMENTS. THAT AGITATION FICTITIOUS CARRIED ON AT DICTATION EXTREMISTS INDIA PURPOSE EMBARRASSING INDIAN GOVERNMENT STOP GREAT EFFORTS BEING MADE BY LOCAL GOVERNMENT DISCREDIT AGITATION WHICH IS ASSUMING ALMOST UNCONTROLLABLE PROPORTIONS. MY FIRM CONVICTION THAT MASS PEOPLE SO INDIGNANT THAT IF ATTEMPT WERE MADE ASK THEM ACCEPT PRESENT COMMISSION, THEY WOULD KILL LEADERS. STRONG PROTESTS WERE LODGED WITH GOVERNMENT FROM MOST CENTRES BEFORE OUR DISCHARGE AND MANY DEMANDED NOT ADDITION BUT SUBSTITUTION ESSELEN WYLIE. IT REQUIRED CONSIDERABLE TACT CALMNESS INDUCE PEOPLE ACCEPT ESSELEN WYLIE EVEN IF OUR NOMINEES APPOINTED. ESSENCE STRUGGLE RECOGNITION RIGHT CONSULTATION VITAL MATTERS. IF RIGHT WAIVED AT THIS CRITICAL STAGE, PASSIVE RESISTANCE DIES. ESSELEN SPOKE MEYLER MEMBER ASSEMBLY PRIVATELY RECENTLY MOST OFFENSIVELY AGAINST INDIANS.

[1] This was sent in reply to two cables from Gokhale: The first, received at 9 A.M., read: "Powerful attempts here separate Viceroy from us. These greatly assisted by Reuter's partisan cables. Cannot counteract unless you reply promptly. Cable urgent some length your objection Esselen Wylie mentioning specific instances anti-Indian conduct." The second, which reached Durban two hours later, said: "Your last evening's cable just received. Reuter reported you had proceeded Pretoria see Ministers. Cable what happened. Cable also what probability Government conceding demands Sunday meeting. Viceroy feels strongly inquiry secured after great efforts. Desirable satisfy him your reasons boycotting good. Cable therefore urgent objections Esselen Wylie. Must issue statement today. Country anxiously waiting."

[2] *Vide* the following item.

MEYLER PUBLICLY PROTESTED APPOINTMENT ESSELEN HAS DECLARED ON PUBLIC PLATFORMS EMPHATICALLY ANTI-ASIATIC VIEWS. IN REALITY HE IS SO INTIMATELY RELATED POLITICALLY UNION MINISTERS THAT HE MAY BE DESCRIBED AS NON-OFFICIAL MEMBER MINISTRY. WYLIE DURING AGITATION HAS SAID TAX OUGHT NOT BE REPEALED. IS COLONEL DEFENCE FORCE WHOSE ACTS SUBJECT INQUIRY. LEGAL ADVISER MANY ESTATE-OWNERS AND ADMITTEDLY ANTI-ASIATIC SINCE EIGHTEEN NINETY-SIX, WHEN ADVISED PEOPLE SINK SHIPS[1] BRINGING INDEPENDENT INDIANS STOP EVEN IF WE MUST BOYCOTT COMMISSION, WE CAN PRINT INDIAN EVIDENCE SUPPORTING CHARGES STOP IT IS PATENT PRESENT COMMISSION DESIGNED NOT GRANT RELIEF BUT GAIN TIME HOODWINK PUBLIC.

GANDHI

Servants of India Society

## *209. CABLE TO LORD AMPTHILL*

DURBAN,
*December 23, 1913*

LORD AMPTHILL

INSPIRED TELEGRAM PUBLISHED TODAY SAYS COMMISSION NOT APPOINTED CONCILIATE LOCAL INDIANS BUT ONLY IMPERIAL INDIAN GOVERNMENTS THAT AGITATION FICTITIOUS CARRIED ON AT DICTATION EXTREMISTS INDIA PURPOSE EMBARRASSING INDIAN GOVERNMENT. GREAT EFFORTS BEING MADE BY LOCAL GOVERNMENT DISCREDIT AGITATION WHICH ASSUMING UNCONTROLLABLE PROPORTIONS. MASS PEOPLE SO INDIGNANT THAT IF ATTEMPT MADE ADVISE ACCEPTANCE PRESENT COMMISSION THEY WOULD KILL LEADERS. STRONG PROTESTS LODGED GOVERNMENT FROM MOST CENTRES BEFORE OUR DISCHARGE. GREATEST DIFFICULTY EXPERIENCED INDUCE ACCEPTANCE PEOPLE PRINCIPLES ADDITIONAL MEMBERS INSTEAD OF SUBSTITUTION. ESSENCE STRUGGLE RECOGNITION RIGHT CONSULTATION VITAL MATTERS. IF RIGHT WAIVED THIS CRITICAL STAGE PASSIVE RESISTANCE DIES STOP UNLESS PROMPTEST AGITATION

[1] These were s.s. *Courland* and S. S. *Naderi*; for details of the anti-Indian demonstration led, among others, by Col. Wylie, *vide* Vol. II, pp. 154-76.



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ENGLAND SUPPORTING OUR DEMANDS UNLIKELY GOVERNMENT ACCEDING RESULTING UNTOLD MISERY HARDSHIPS DEATH.

GANDHI
POLAK
RITCH
KALLENBACH

Colonial Office Records: 551/52

## *210. CABLE TO LORD AMPTHILL*[1]

[DURBAN,
*December 23, 1913*][2]

VEREENIGING INDIANS AT PUBLIC MEETING ASSOCIATED THEMSELVES WITH ACTION BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION DETERMINED PASSIVE RESISTANCE AND CONGRATULATED BRAVE BROTHERS AND SISTERS NOW SUFFERING IMPRISONMENT INDIA'S HONOUR. TRUST UNION GOVERNMENT WILL GRANT RELIEF AND ENGLAND AND INDIA WILL HELP.

ASWATH
CHAIRMAN

From a photostat of the draft in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 5902

## *211. LETTER TO "THE NATAL MERCURY"*

110, FIELD STREET,
DURBAN,
*December 23, 1913*

SIR,

I venture to suggest that, in your editorial this morning on the resolutions passed at the mass meeting on Sunday and upon the letter addressed to the Government by my colleagues and myself, you have taken up an attitude that is hardly calculated to serve the Empire. You see the mote in our eye, but you miss the beam in that of the Government. I do not admit that the tone adopted by the speakers at the mass meeting was aggressive

[1] A copy of this was sent to *Immortal*, Bombay.

[2] The draft of the cable is undated. It is likely that it was drafted about the same time as the preceding item; it is not known whether it was actually sent.

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or offensive, unless the mere assertion of rights be so considered. In my humble opinion, the Government not only refuse to do justice, to which you consider we are entitled, but the manner of denying it is also offensive and contemptuous in the highest degree. Take the inspired telegram published this morning. According to it, the Commission has been appointed, not to conciliate us —we are beneath notice—but to conciliate the Imperial and Indian Governments. We are accused of being tools in the hands of the Indian extremists, and of nursing a fictitious agitation. Do you think that, if you were in our place, you would, under any circumstances whatever, take advantage of a seemingly relieving measure? I submit that if we have a grain of self-respect left in us, it is impossible for us, after learning the view of the Government—if the telegram does represent it—to recede an inch from the position which we have taken up. Peace for us is unattainable until we dislodge the Government from the attitude of contemptuous disregard of our sentiments.

In asking us to revise our prayer, you are asking us to surrender a principle, namely, that of the right to be consulted in matters vitally affecting us, the very thing for which we have been fighting, and now dying; whereas the Government, if they granted our prayer, would be only giving what we are entitled to, and what would justify them in the estimation of the civilized world.

You say that by its present attitude the Indian community is alienating the sympathy of its South African friends. This warning has been given to the community on many an occasion, and yet the truth of its cause has each time succeeded, not only in retaining, but in increasing it. It may be that we might, this time, have relied once too often upon its retention. If so, I should be very sorry. I value that sympathy, but I value the cause more, and if, in prosecuting it, we must forfeit the former, we must be content for the time being, and believe in the ultimate triumph of truth, which is on our side.

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

*The Natal Mercury*, 24-12-1913

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## *212. CABLE TO G. K. GOKHALE*

DURBAN,
*December 24, 1913*

GOKHALE
SERVINDIA
POONA CITY

UNDERSTAND YOUR FEELING[1] STOP WOULD GIVE MY LIFE IF THAT MIGHT HELP STOP THIS STRUGGLE INDEPENDENT VICEROY, IMPERIAL MINISTERS ANY TEMPORAL POWER. SOLEMN DECLARATION GOD'S NAME SUNDAY IRREVOCABLE STOP IF PEOPLE'S STRENGTH PERSISTS MOST ADVERSE CIRCUMSTANCES, IT WILL ONLY ACCELERATE ATTAINMENT JUSTICE, WHICH MUST BE RENDERED SOONER LATER STOP MY FIRM CONVICTION ANY ONE OF US ESPECIALLY I ADVISING PEOPLE NOW ACCEPT COMMISSION WITHOUT ADDITION WOULD BE VERY JUSTIFIABLY KILLED STOP QUESTION ASKED BEFORE ADMINISTRATION OATH, WHETHER I WOULD REVISE ADVICE IF YOU OR VICEROY URGED US ABANDON CONTENTION, I SAID NO HUMAN BEING COULD INDUCE ALTERATION DECLARATION ONCE SOLEMNLY MADE STOP FEEL WE ARE GAINING GROUND HERE; BUT WHETHER OR NOT AND WHETHER AFTER VICEROY'S REPUDIATION WE RETAIN OR LOSE HOLD ON MASSES STRUGGLE MUST CONTINUE TILL THE FEW PERISH IN ATTEMPT STOP THROUGHOUT THIS LONG SPIRITUAL STRUGGLE WE HAVE HITHERTO SUCCESSFULLY UPHELD ABOVE VITAL PRINCIPLE STOP DURING STRUGGLE IMPERIAL MINISTERS HAVE REPEATEDLY REPUDIATED AFTERWARDS RALLIED LIKE LOCAL MINISTERS STOP MAY YOU HAVE STRENGTH DURING TERRIBLE CRISIS AND MAY YOU FIND WAY OUT NOTWITHSTANDING OUR INABILITY RECEDE.[2]

GANDHI

Servants of India Society

[1] The reference is evidently to Gokhale's anxiety that a boycott of the Commission might alienate the Viceroy; *vide* footnote 1 to "Cable to G. K. Gokhale", p. 288.

[2] Gandhiji gives the gist of a similar cable in *Satyagraha in South Africa*, Ch. XLVII, and states that C. F. Andrews too concurred with it. This is obviously incorrect as Andrews reached South Africa only on January 2, 1914.

## 213. CABLE TO G. K. GOKHALE[1]

DURBAN,
*December 24, 1913*

CONFIDENTIAL. TO-DAY SEVEN REPRESENTATIVE MINISTERS RELIGION CONFERRED LENGTHILY US THREE. THEY HAVE WIRED GOVERNMENT OFFERING INTERVENTION. IF NOT ACCEPTED THEY WILL AGITATE PUBLICLY FOR GRANTING OUR DEMANDS. "RAND DAILY MAIL" "EAST LONDON DESPATCH" STRONGLY URGE GOVERNMENT CONCEDE. HOSKEN HAS ISSUED PUBLIC APPEAL SUPPORTING DEMANDS.

GANDHI

Servants of India Society

## 214. CABLE TO LORD AMPTHILL

DURBAN,
*December 24, 1913*

LORD AMPTHILL

SEEN[2] CABLE RITCH[3] NO PEREMPTORY TONE ADOPTED STOP CAPE TIMES ADMITS REASONABLENESS DEMANDS COURTEOUS TONE BUT OBJECTS EFFECTS LETTER AS ULTIMATUM STOP WE HAVE NOT DEPARTED HAIRBREADTH FROM MODERATE LANGUAGE DESPITE GRAVE PROVOCATION BUT ALTERNATIVE SUGGESTED NAMELY RENEWAL PASSIVE RESISTANCE AN ALTERNATIVE WHICH HAS ACCOMPANIED ALL SUCH LETTERS IS BEING TREATED AS THREAT STOP "RAND DAILY MAIL" JOHANNESBURG "EAST LONDON DESPATCH" ASK GOVERNMENT CONCEDE

[1] This cable, with the last two sentences omitted, was also sent to Lord Ampthill.

[2] The original has "sent", which is evidently a typing mistake.

[3] Lord Ampthill had cabled L. W. Ritch: "Tell Gandhi that in my judgment his present attitude will alienate sympathies now obtained after ten years patient persistence, will place friends here and in India in false position and will wreck cause. Peremptory tone not in accordance with spirit of passive resistance. Earnestly exhort him to meet half way undoubted wish for settlement."

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DEMANDS THUS RECOGNIZING ITS IMPERIAL OBLIGATIONS. HOSKEN ISSUED PUBLIC APPEAL SUPPORTING OUR LETTER. CHURCH COUNCILS MOVING SAME DIRECTION WE SHALL ENDEAVOUR UTMOST CONTINUE TRADITIONS PASSIVE RESISTANCE THUS RETAINING YOUR LORDSHIP'S CONFIDENCE AND YOUR POWERFUL EFFECTIVE ADVOCACY.

GANDHI
POLAK
KALLENBACH

Colonial Office Records: 551/52

## *215. TELEGRAM TO MINISTER OF INTERIOR*

DURBAN,
*December 25, 1913*

VERY URGENT.
INTERIOR
PRETORIA

HAVE SEEN PAPERS TEXT GOVERNMENT REPLY JOINT LETTER[1] FROM POLAK KALLENBACH SELF. APPRECIATE CONCILIATORY TONE AND VENTURE HOPE POSITION NOT IRRETRIEVABLE. BEG ASSURE GENERAL SMUTS OF DESIRE AVOID INFLICTION SUFFERING ON WHITE AND INDIAN. WOULD DO ANYTHING WITHIN MY POWER PREVENT LOSSES TO EMPLOYERS INDIAN LABOUR FOR SOME OF WHOM I ENTERTAIN HIGH REGARD BUT AM COMPELLED HEEDLESS OF SUFFERINGS FOLLOW COURSE DICTATED BY CONSCIENCE. IF GENERAL SMUTS BE APPROACHABLE I WOULD LIKE WAIT ON HIM AND HOPE SUBMIT SUGGESTIONS ACCEPTANCE WHEREOF MIGHT LEAD REMOVAL DEADLOCK WITHOUT LOSS OF DIGNITY FOR GOVERNMENT OR HONOUR FOR INDIANS. ONLY REASON FOR PUBLISHING OUR LETTER WAS THAT OUR APPEAL WAS INTENDED BOTH FOR GOVERNMENT AND FOR PUBLIC. MOREOVER OUR RELEASE WITHOUT OFFICIAL INTIMATION OF REASONS THEREFOR WAS INTERPRETED BY US TO MEAN ABSENCE OF DESIRE ON PART GOVERNMENT CONSULT COMMUNITY EITHER FORMALLY OR INFORMALLY IN MATTERS VITALLY AFFECTING IT. OUR LETTER I SEE HAS BEEN MISDESCRIBED AS AN ULTIMATUM. BUT I HOPE MINISTER WILL ACCEPT MY WORD THAT IT WAS MEANT

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Minister of Interior", pp. 277-81.

NEITHER TO BE ULTIMATUM NOR THREAT. WE HAVE CONDEMNED PROCEDURE. GOVERNMENT HAS GRACEFULLY RECOGNIZED [USEFULNESS] OF INFORMING THEM THAT ON CERTAIN OCCASIONS COMMUNITY'S FEELING IS SUCH THAT NOT GRANTING REQUESTED RELIEF WOULD RESULT IN CONTINUATION OR REVIVAL PASSIVE RESISTANCE NAMELY SELF-SUFFERING. I VENTURE HOPE GENERAL SMUTS WILL BE PLEASED APPOINT TIME GRANTING INTERVIEW. WILL REFRAIN FROM HANDING THIS PRESS PENDING REPLY.[1]

GANDHI

Colonial Office Records: 551/46

## *216. CABLE TO G. K. GOKHALE*[2]

DURBAN,
*December 25, 1913*

GOVERNMENT'S REPLY OUR LETTER RECEIVED. THOUGH REJECTING DEMAND ADDITION COMMISSION, IT LEAVES OPENINGS NEGOTIATION. HAVE ASKED FOR PRIVATE INTERVIEW.

GANDHI

Servants of India Society

## *217. CABLE TO G. K. GOKHALE*

DURBAN,
*December 26, 1913*

PRAY ASSURE HIS EXCELLENCY FROM YOUR KNOWLEDGE OF ME I WOULD DO EVERYTHING CONCEIVABLY POSSIBLE FOR ME NOT EMBARRASS OUR GOVERNMENT. I ASSURE YOU HIS

[1] The following telegram, dated December 29, was received from the Minister of Interior: "Your wire 25th. Minister is pleased to note therefrom that a more conciliatory attitude is being adopted by the leaders on the Indian question. The Minister notes request for an interview but in view of misunderstandings which have occurred in the past he would prefer that the points on which it is desired to make representations be formally set out in writing. The Government are prepared to give any reasonable representations their careful consideration." *Vide* also "Letter to Minister of Interior", pp. 277-81.

[2] It appears a similar cable was sent the next day to Lord Ampthill who acknowledged it and earlier cables, adding that he was "doing all that is possible".

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UNFLINCHING ADVOCACY[1] HAS CREATED SILENT SUBTLE INFLUENCE FAVOUR BRITISH CONNECTION WHICH NO DECLARATION NO COMMISSIONS COULD POSSIBLY HAVE DONE. HIS UNEQUIVOCAL, COURAGEOUS PRONOUNCEMENT HAD RING SINCERITY WHICH PRODUCED PROFOUND IMPRESSION UPON EUROPEANS INDIANS. AM EXPECTING HOURLY REPLY FROM INTERIOR ABOUT PROPOSED PRIVATE INTERVIEW. OTHER LOCAL INFLUENCES WORKING OUR FAVOUR. YOU KNOW INTERIOR'S REPLY SAYS GOVERNMENT INTENDED MAKE COMMISSION IMPARTIAL; THAT THEY DID NOT CONSULT PLANTERS TIME APPOINTMENT STOP AT INTERVIEW IF GRANTED OTHERWISE PUBLICLY BEFORE MARCHING, SHALL ASSUME GOVERNMENT'S IMPARTIALITY WITHDRAW CHARGE PARTISAN CHARACTER AND FORSAKE MAKING GOOD FUNDAMENTAL POSITION, THAT OUR SENTIMENT SHOULD BE FORMALLY [OR] INFORMALLY CONSULTED RESPECTED AND FOR APPEASING COMMUNITY. IN PRESENT STATE TENSION, SUSPICION, INDIGNATION, REQUEST NOMINATION ONE ONLY ADDITION MEMBER OUR SIDE, PLANTERS HAVING RIGHT NOMINATE ONE THEIRS. APPREHEND NO DIFFICULTY REGARDING DISCHARGE PASSIVE RESISTANCE PRISONERS WE NOT ASKING SO CALLED PASSIVE RESISTERS, IF ANY, CONVICTED VIOLENCE STOP EVERYBODY ADMITS ABSOLUTE NECESSITY DISCHARGE. "PRETORIA NEWS" STRONGLY URGES GOVERNMENT ACCEPT PRAYER. COULD HIS EXCELLENCY POSSIBLY URGE ACCEPTANCE THIS MIDDLE COURSE WHICH, WITHOUT IMPAIRING OUR PRINCIPLE, WOULD CAUSE GOVERNMENT NO LOSS DIGNITY PRESTIGE, SMOOTHS WAY FUTURE PERMANENT SETTLEMENT. ARE TRYING OUR SIDE AND YOU SHOULD YOURS TO SEE THAT IF FORTUNATELY WE ENABLED ACCEPT COMMISSION AND SUSPEND STRUGGLE. NO DOUBT LEFT COMMISSION COVERING ALL GRIEVANCES.[2]

GANDHI

Servants of India Society

[1] The reference is to Lord Hardinge's speech at Madras on November 24. *Vide* Appendix XVI.

[2] Gokhale, in reply, cabled the next day: "I repeated yesterday Viceroy your cable asking him support, suggested middle course. He replies, many thanks telegram, repeating substance Lord Crewe."

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

DURBAN,
*December 26, 1913*

OATH INCLUDES NOT FIRST JANUARY. ALREADY PROMISED CLERGY REASONABLE POSTPONEMENT. NOTHING FROM INTERIOR YET.

GANDHI

Servants of India Society

## *219. CABLE TO G. K. GOKHALE*

DURBAN,
*December 26, 1913*

SERVINDIA
POONA CITY

WEST WENT DELIVER MY CABLE FOUND YOURS[2] ABOUT FUNDS AND REPLIED. REASON FOR ASKING YOU HOLD FUNDS IS NONE KNOWS LIMIT TO LOCAL GOVERNMENT'S REPRESSIVE METHOD. THEY MAY UNDER MARTIAL LAW SEIZE EVERYTHING EVERYBODY. MARTIAL LAW WAS SERIOUSLY SUGGESTED. BETTER THEREFORE IF YOU HOLD FUNDS AND SEND AS REQUIRED. MOVEMENT SPREADING BEYOND ALL EXPECTATION. REMAIN BESIEGED BY PEOPLE ALL DAY. MARCH WILL BE POSTPONED ALMOST CERTAINLY. WHILST THERE IS HOPE OF PEACE AM NOT FIXING PRELIMINARIES NECESSARY PROVIDING PROBABLY FIVE THOUSAND MARCHERS WHOSE RANKS MAY SWELL, TWENTY THOUSAND AS MOURNING BUT DETERMINED MEN WOMEN PROCEED. AM ATTENDING MASS MEETING[3] MARITZBURG SATURDAY. ARRANGING YOUR CABLES BEING REPEATED. WILL GIVE PROMPTEST ATTENTION CABLE INSTRUCTIONS.

GANDHI

Servants of India Society

[1] This was in reply to the following cable of the same date from Gokhale: "Cable urgent if oath includes lst January as definite date renewal. Has interview been granted."

[2] Gokhale's cable dated December 26 read :"Cabling tomorrow seven thousand Bombay one thousand Madras."

[3] *Vide* "Speech at Maritzburg", p. 302.

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## *220. LETTER TO MARSHALL CAMPBELL*

110, FIELD STREET,
DURBAN,
*December 26, 1913*

DEAR MR. MARSHALL CAMPBELL[1],

I learnt only two or three days ago that you had returned from England. Will you allow me to tell you how deeply concerned I was when I learnt that your men were among the first to strike on the coast? At an important meeting, when I was actually asked why I would not advocate a strike on the sugar plantations also, I replied that we were endeavouring to confine the area to the collieries only, in the hope that the strike on the collieries would be a sufficient demonstration to secure relief. Whilst I was at Newcastle organizing relief for the collieries' men who had come out, I was asked by my co-workers in Durban what answer to give to the coastal Indians who wanted to join the movement, and I emphatically told them that the time was not ripe for them to do so. Later, too, when I was again approached, I made the same statement and one of my last letters[2] before my arrest was that, as we were so much indebted to you for your efforts to bring about the repeal of the £3 tax legislation, your men should be the last to be called out; but I am absolutely certain that after my arrest the workers found it impossible to control the men and the movement became not only spontaneous, but it assumed gigantic proportions. I would like you to enter into our feelings. Had I been free and assisted in calling out the men, I must freely admit that I would have certainly endeavoured to call out your men also; but, as I have already stated, yours would have been the last estate.

As you know, in this struggle for honour and self-respect, and for the relief of the distress of my dumb and helpless countrymen, the indentured Indians, it was not possible for us to consider or confine the extent of our sufferings. In this struggle we have not hesitated to invite our own women and children to suffer and lose their all, and we could not very well be expected to consider the interests of individual friends and sympathisers. In

[1] Chairman, Board of Directors, Natal Estates, Ltd.
[2] These are not available.

all our struggles of this nature the innocent as well as the guilty suffer. I hope, therefore, that neither my countrymen nor I have forfeited the valuable co-operation and sympathy which you have always extended. I may state that I am just now carrying on delicate negotiations with General Smuts, in spite of his rejection of our prayer, and if you have the leisure and could interest yourself in the negotiations, and if you would appoint a time and place, I would come over and discuss the situation.

Both Messrs Kallenbach and Polak, who have pleasant recollections of the luncheon you gave in honour of Mr. Gokhale, associate themselves in the sentiments I have expressed.[1]

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

THE HON. MARSHALL CAMPBELL
MOUNT EDGECOMBE

*The Natal Mercury*, 5-1-1914

## *221. INTERVIEW TO REUTER*[2]

[DURBAN,
Before *December 27, 1913*]

Mr. Gandhi, interviewed by Reuter on the subject of the reply received from Government,[3] said that there seemed in it a tone of conciliation of which he was trying to take advantage. He would not state anything beyond saying that he had placed himself in private communication with the Government, but he thought that a way out of the deadlock was possible, and that, without any loss of prestige or dignity, Government could respond to the earnest prayer of the Indian community for the representation of its interests. The Government's declaration that it, at any rate, did not intend the Commission to bear a partisan character was a hopeful sign.

He added that he wanted to assure the Europeans in South Africa that he felt just as much for the Europeans as for his own countrymen, regarding the sufferings to be undergone by them both in a struggle of this gigantic nature; and that, realizing fully his sense of responsibility, he would leave no stone unturned to avoid a revival of passive resistance.

[1] For Marshall Campbell's reply *vide* footnotes to "Letter to Marshall Campbell", pp. 312-3.

[2] This was reproduced in *Indian Opinion*, 31-12-1913.

[3] *Vide* Appendix XV (1).

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He claimed to rank amongst the staunchest loyalists alike to the Imperial Government as to the Union Government and, his loyalty being rather to the Constitution than to persons, was unaffected by acts of the Government, however harsh he might consider them to be.

He, therefore, begged the citizens of South Africa to believe him in his declaration that he would leave nothing, short of compromising his own conscience, undone to avoid a recrudescence of the sufferings. On his release from imprisonment, he was deeply pained to learn that employers on the coast, for some of whom he entertained high regard, had to suffer losses. He only hoped that the Government would appreciate the private communication which he had made, and that the European public would lend their support even though it might be on trust.

*The Natal Mercury*, 27-12-1913

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

DURBAN,
*December 27, 1913*

WILL CERTAINLY POSTPONE TILL ROBERTSON'S ARRIVAL. MAY WE GIVE PUBLIC RECEPTION STOP IN EVENT PRESENT NEGOTIATIONS FAILING MAY WE ANNOUNCE WE AWAITING ARRIVAL BEFORE RECOMMENCING. MEANWHILE WE SHALL REFRAIN GIVING EVIDENCE.

GANDHI

Servants of India Society

[1] This had reference to the following cable which Gandhiji received the same day from Gokhale: "Understand if Robertson starts twenty-ninth will reach about eighth. But arrangements departure suspended pending your definite promise that he will have at least one week there before you renew struggle. Viceroy meanwhile undertaking move Lord Crewe secure adjournment Commission till end week. Do you promise? Cable explicitly. You certainly entitled if your present negotiations fail announce reason postponement struggle, also to abstain from participation inquiry if Commission not adjourned. Public reception Robertson desirable." *Vide* also the following item.

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## *223. CABLE TO G. K. GOKHALE*

DURBAN,
*December 27, 1913*

I PROMISE SUSPEND MARCH UPTO ONE WEEK AFTER ROBERTSON'S ARRIVAL PROVIDED HE LEAVES TWENTY-NINTH.[1] MEANWHILE HOPE PRESSURE WILL BE EXERCISED FROM INDIA ENGLAND REGARDING MY PROPOSAL SUBMITTED YESTERDAY AND ASKING GENERAL SMUTS GRANT REQUEST WITHOUT REFERENCE ROBERTSON'S ARRIVAL. MISS HOBHOUSE, STAUNCH FRIEND GOVERNMENT, HAS JUST WIRED ASKING ME SUSPEND MARCH AND SHE IS INTERVENING. SIMILARLY SYMPATHY BEING GAINED HERE. THIS POSITION SHOULD NOT BE DISTURBED EITHER BY VICEROY OR LORD CREWE UNDER PRESSURE FROM UNION GOVERNMENT AS HAPPENED DURING PASSAGE IMMIGRATION BILL BY EITHER APPROVING UNION GOVERNMENT ACTION OR CONDEMNING OURS. ON YOUR REPLY HERETO[2] WILL ANNOUNCE THAT AT VICEROY'S DESIRE, BECAUSE ROBERTSON COMING, WE HAVE SUSPENDED MARCH WITHOUT COMMITTING OURSELVES TO COMMISSION AT PRESENT CONSTITUTED AND WITHOUT TAKING PART AT ITS SITTINGS. THIS

[1] This was in response to Gokhale's suggestion contained in a cable dated 27th reading: "Please make no public mention Viceroy moving Lord Crewe secure adjournment or what you will do if adjournment not granted this to avoid appearance threat. Confine announcement for the present statement you postpone renewal struggle pending arrival Robertson and one week after. Say, if necessary, you do this under strong pressure from India."

[2] Gokhale sent two cables the following day. The first cable was: "Have just sent following wire Viceroy: 'Gandhi promises not renew struggle till Sir Benjamin has had one week there after arrival. I have given Gandhi to understand Sir Benjamin starts immediately.' Impossible now Robertson start tomorrow. He must have at least one day hand over charge after receiving Viceroy's orders, and another for journey Nagpur to Bombay."

The second said: "Viceroy wires: 'In view promise given by Gandhi and my intense desire secure peaceful settlement, Robertson will leave first January arriving Durban about eleventh. Have asked Lord Crewe endeavour arrange with Union Government short postponement meeting Commission.' Viceroy wants you communicate freely with Robertson on arrival. He goes [to] give fullest assistance community. Viceroy, however, thinks it desirable you should know that if community resort passive resistance or violence, Robertson will immediately dissociate himself." For the full text of the Viceroy's cable to Gokhale, *vide* Appendix XVII.

ANNOUNCEMENT WILL NOT BE MADE UNTIL I HAVE DESPAIRED OF NEGOTIATIONS WITH SMUTS. ANDREWS[1] WILL BE FULLY HONOURED. SO WILL ROBERTSON.

GANDHI

Servants of India Society

## *224. SPEECH AT MARITZBURG*[2]

MARITZBURG,
[*December 27, 1913*]

Mr. Gandhi, in a speech of noteworthy moderation, intimated that negotiations of an important character were proceeding in connection with the grievances of the Indians. Indians had, he said, to await the final issue of the negotiations. He counselled them to be ready, as it might happen that they would be called upon to join in the march from Durban to the Transvaal to court arrest. He did not anticipate that the march would commence on January 1. It might not take place until January 15. And in the event of such a march taking place, they had to make all the necessary arrangements for commissariat, which was a matter of very great importance. He claimed, in the course of his speech, that they were simply seeking to obtain the elementary rights of humanity and ordinary justice.[3]

*Indian Opinion*, 31-12-1913

## *225. TELEGRAM TO MINISTER OF INTERIOR*

[DURBAN,]
*December 29, 1913*

BEG THANK MINISTER FOR WIRE[4] VENTURE SUGGEST THAT ONE MEMBER BE SELECTED BY PLANTERS AND OTHERS AND ONE BY INDIAN COMMUNITY. THIS WILL ALLAY SUSPICION AND WILL BE AN EARNEST OF GOVERNMENT'S INTENTION NOT

[1] Charles Frere Andrews (1871-1940); British missionary who took great interest in Viswabharati, University founded by Tagore; his devoted services for many years in the cause of the Indian people, especially those in distress or difficulty, won him the name "Deenabandhu", friend of the poor; he was deeply attached to Gandhiji.

[2] Gandhiji spoke at a meeting attended by about 1,000 Indians. This report was reproduced in *Indian Opinion* from *The Natal Mercury*.

[3] Parsee Rustomjee and H. S. L. Polak also addressed the gathering.

[4] *Vide* footnote 1 on p. 295.

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DISREGARD INDIAN SENTIMENT IN MATTERS VITALLY AFFECTING INDIAN COMMUNITY. WE SHALL MAKE PUBLIC STATEMENT THAT WE ACCEPT THE ASSURANCE OF GOVERNMENT THAT THEY DID NOT INTEND GIVE COMMISSION PARTISAN CHARACTER BUT THAT AT OUR EARNEST REQUEST THEY HAVE APPOINTED ADDITIONAL COMMISSIONERS TO REPRESENT US GIVING THE SAME RIGHT TO PLANTERS AND OTHERS. I MAY STATE THAT I SHALL BE PREPARED ADVISE MY COUNTRYMEN ACCEPT A SINGLE MEMBER COMMISSION SIR WILLIAM SOLOMON BEING SOLE MEMBER IF GOVERNMENT COULD SEE THEIR WAY ACCEPT MY HUMBLE PROPOSAL. FROM THE TONE OF THE REPLY DATED 24TH INSTANT I ASSUME THAT THERE WOULD BE NO DIFFICULTY ABOUT DISCHARGING BONA FIDE PASSIVE RESISTANCE PRISONERS AT PRESENT UNDERGOING IMPRISONMENT BUT NOT SO CALLED PASSIVE RESISTERS WHO MAY HAVE BEEN GUILTY OF VIOLENCE. ALSO THAT THE REFERENCE TO THE COMMISSION WOULD BE WIDENED SO AS TO INCLUDE AN INQUIRY INTO ALL THE GRIEVANCES AND TO BRING IT IN A LINE WITH SIR WILLIAM SOLOMON'S STATEMENT AT THE OPENING SITTING. THIS CONCESSION BEING MADE WE SHALL UNDERTAKE SUSPEND PASSIVE RESISTANCE PENDING FINDING COMMISSION. IF GOVERNMENT AT ALL VIEW MY SUBMISSION WITH FAVOUR I STILL RESPECTFULLY PRESS FOR INTERVIEW WHICH WILL FACILITATE SETTLEMENT MATTERS OF DETAIL. SHORTHAND NOTES MAY BE TAKEN AT THE INTERVIEW SO AS TO AVOID ANY FUTURE MISUNDERSTANDING. IF GOVERNMENT COULD ENABLE ME ANNOUNCE ACCEPTANCE PRAYER BEFORE NEW YEAR'S EVE IT WOULD RELIEVE TENSION AND MY COUNTRYMEN WOULD BE ABLE TO LOOK FORWARD TO NEW YEAR WITH HOPE AND FEEL GRATEFUL FOR GOVERNMENT'S ACT OF JUSTICE.[1]

GANDHI

Colonial Office Records: 551/46

[1] For the Minister of the Interior's response to this representation, *vide* Appendix XVIII (1). The subject matter of these communications was covered in a secret despatch of December 31 addressed by the Governor-General to the Colonial Office, which incidentally threw light on Sir William Solomon's own reaction—apart from the Government's—to Gandhiji's proposals for reconstituting the Commission. *Vide* Appendix XVIII (2).

## 226. CABLE TO G. K. GOKHALE

DURBAN,
*December 29, 1913*

SERVINDIA
POONA CITY

NO FURTHER WAY OUT POSSIBLE STOP IF WE MUST LOSE LORD CREWE'S INDIA'S SYMPATHY WE MUST BE CONTENT. ALL I HOPE YOU WILL KINDLY DO IS NOT BE OVER-ANXIOUS ABOUT US. WE HERE ARE PERFECTLY CHEERFUL SUFFERING IS WHAT WE BARGAINED FOR AND WE SHALL TAKE IT STOP SERIOUS ENOUGH POSTPONE MARCH PEOPLE DESPITE WARNINGS ALREADY SELLING FEW BELONGINGS ANTICIPATION STOP WHERE SO MUCH EARNESTNESS DESPITE WITHDRAWAL OUTSIDE HELP THERE IS HOPE STOP SENDING STATEMENT[1] LATER.

GANDHI

National Archives of India: File No. 45
Courtesy: Servants of India Society

## 227. CABLE TO G. K. GOKHALE[2]

DURBAN,
*December 29, 1913*

SERVINDIA
POONA CITY

INDIANS CONSIDER COMMISSION AS AT PRESENT CONSTITUTED PACKED. ALMOST ENTIRE SOUTH AFRICAN PRESS AGREE

[1] *Vide* the following item.

[2] This was sent in response to the following cable, dated December 28, from Gokhale: "Necessary now explain country your position. Best course you cable me immediately for publication compact connected statement four hundred words or more if necessary first detailing your objections Esselen Wylie and explaining your reasons distrusting Commission generally. Secondly feeling and advice friendly Europeans South Africa about Commission. Thirdly describing briefly but effectively cruel treatment passive resistance prisoners, including ladies gaol. Fourthly any other circumstances stirring indignation community before meeting Sunday. Fifthly declaration made at meeting and reasons for same. Sixthly any negotiations going on to which public reference

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REASONABLENESS INDIAN SUGGESTIONS AS TO ADDITIONAL MEMBERSHIP. ESSELEN WYLIE KNOWN GENERALLY ADMITTED TO BE AMONG STRONGEST VIOLENTEST ANTI-ASIATIC PARTISANS STOP COMMISSION ACCORDING CHAIRMAN'S INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT INVESTIGATING NOT ONLY MATTERS FACTS AS TO ILL-TREATMENT BUT ALSO POLICY SUCH AS GRIEVANCES STOP THOUGH INTEGRITY CHAIRMAN UNDOUBTED HE COULDN'T CONTROL COLLEAGUES MATTERS POLICY. COMMISSION NOT MERELY JUDICIAL BUT POLITICAL ALSO AS EVIDENCED FROM VERY PERSONNEL STOP INDIAN POSITION ALWAYS HAS BEEN INSIST ON COMMUNITY'S BEING CONSULTED EITHER FORMALLY OR INFORMALLY REGARDING MATTERS VITALLY AFFECTING IT STOP IN CONSTITUTING PRESENT COMMISSION INDIAN SENTIMENT NOT ONLY NOT CONSULTED BUT CONTEMPTUOUSLY IGNORED STOP DURING RECENT DEADLOCK EUROPEAN RAILWAYMEN'S GRIEVANCES MEN PERMITTED CHOOSE THEIR NOMINEE BY REFERENDUM STOP WE MERELY ASK INFORMAL CONSULTATION STOP AGAIN BEFORE DISCHARGE THREE LEADERS THEY WERE NOT INFORMED REASONS THEREFOR NOR CONSULTED AS TO COMMISSION STOP SCORES MEETINGS PRIOR DISCHARGE PROTESTED NOMINATIONS WHICH WERE ALL IGNORED STOP PEOPLE'S INDIGNATION WAS WHITE HEAT OWING FLOGGINGS SEEN THEIR OWN EYES SHOOTING WHICH THEY BELIEVE UNJUSTIFIED REPORTS HARROWING TREATMENT GAOLS WHEREON PASSIVE RESISTERS HAD RESORT HUNGER STRIKE ORDER SECURE ORDINARILY HUMANE TREATMENT. PRISON TREATMENT INCLUDES INSULTS BY WARDERS FREQUENT ASSAULTS BY ZULU WARDERS NOT SUPPLY BLANKETS SANDALS SOCKS BOOKS. ALSO BAD FOOD OFTEN BADLY COOKED BY ZULUS STOP THIS INFUSE INDIGNATION ADDED TO BY KNOWLEDGE

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may be made. Seventhly present position and prospects. And lastly any message you would like send India. Let statement be conciliatory but firm in tone, appreciative Viceroy's support so far and calculated inspire hope this country. Statement should arrive here Tuesday morning without fail." On December 30, at 9.30 a.m., Gandhiji received a cable from Gokhale saying: "Publishing statement with additions important details previous cables." Gokhale released the statement to the Press on December 31 and sent Gandhiji the following cable: "Have issued statement today after editing and incorporating into it portions some previous cables. Statements sentiments wholly yours, language occasionally altered suit requirements here. Expect will have excellent effect. Bombay cabled seven thousand yesterday, Madras cabling one thousand. Had intended seeing Robertson Bombay tomorrow before departure, but doctor forbids. Sending him special note our case with Shastri." For the text of the statement issued by Gokhale, *vide* Appendix XIX.

COMMUNITY'S FEELINGS COMPLETELY IGNORED AS TO CONSTITUTION COMMISSION STOP PEOPLE ALSO FELT THIS AS INDICATION GOVERNMENT'S DISINCLINATION GIVE FAIR PLAY. DISCHARGE LEADERS INTERPRETED NOT ACT GRACE BUT CHALLENGE TO COMMUNITY. THEREFORE INSTEAD PRIVATELY APPLYING FOR ENLARGEMENT COMMISSION COMMUNITY OPENLY DEMANDED IT SHOWING WHAT WOULD HAPPEN EVENT REJECTION DEMANDS STOP FEELING THAT IN SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES ACCEPTANCE PRESENT COMMISSION IMPLIED COMMUNITY'S SURRENDER SELFRESPECT. MASS MEETING TWENTY FIRST ACTUATED BY RELIGIOUS FERVOUR PASSED RESOLUTIONS TAKING OATH NOT ACCEPT PRESENT COMMISSION BUT REVIVE STRUGGLE UNLESS ABOVE DEMANDS AFFECTING VITAL PRINCIPLE GRANTED STOP COMMUNITY DEEPLY GRATEFUL AND SUSTAINED BY REASON VICEROY'S HUMAN SPEECH MADRAS AND HIS EXCELLENCY'S SUBSEQUENT PERSISTENT ADVOCACY OUR CAUSE SUPPORT FROM INDIAN ENGLISH PUBLIC TOO HAVE CONSOLED IT DURING TERRIBLE CRISIS STOP EUROPEAN FRIENDS HERE PRESENTLY ENDEAVOURING REMOVE DEADLOCK SECURE ACCEPTANCE COMMUNITY'S PRAYER FOR CONSULTATION AND ADDITIONAL IMPARTIAL NOMINATIONS STOP CAN BUT HOPE INDIA WILL EFFECTIVELY SUPPORT OUR PRAYER WHICH UNIVERSALLY ADMITTED INTRINSICALLY JUST STOP EXCEPTION HAS BEEN TAKEN TO FORM PRESENTATION THEREOF BUT WE CANNOT BE HAMPERED AT PRESENT CRITICAL JUNCTURE BY MERE CONSIDERATIONS ETIQUETTE STOP WE MUST NOT BE PENALIZED BY GOVERNMENT'S CRIMINAL BLUNDER NOT CONSULTING COMMUNITY AND APPOINTING MEMBERS TO WHOSE NOMINATION GOVERNMENT MUST HAVE KNOWN THERE WOULD BE TREMENDOUS OPPOSITION STOP WE WOULD BE PREPARED LEAD EVIDENCE BEFORE SIR WILLIAM SOLOMON ALONE WHO SHOULD SIMPLY ENQUIRE CHARGES FLOGGING ACTS MILITARY OTHER ILL-TREATMENT. BUT COMMUNITY MORE INTERESTED REMOVAL GRIEVANCES THAN PROVING ILL-TREATMENT STOP FINALLY ASSURE COUNTRYMEN SITUATION SO DESPERATE THAT ANY ATTEMPT ON PART LEADERS EVEN IF SO INCLINED DEPART FROM ESSENCE DEMANDS WOULD RESULT THEIR BEING KILLED AND JUSTLY SO STOP GENERAL SMUTS HAS REPLIED MY COMMUNICATION ASKING THAT PROPOSALS MAY BE SUBMITTED IN WRITING PROMISING

CONSIDERATION. HAVE WIRED PROPOSAL WHICH I HOLD OFFERS HONOURABLE VIA MEDIA.

GANDHI

National Archives of India: File No. 45
Courtesy: Servants of India Society

## *228. INTERVIEW TO "THE NATAL MERCURY"*[1]

[DURBAN,
*December 29, 1913*]

[GANDHIJI:] The effect of the Indian Congress resolutions which we have received certainly strengthens our position, because the Congress has given its powerful and unanimous support, and it has expressed entire approval of our prayer that Indian interests should be represented on the Commission. I can therefore only hope that, what with the Congress's support, and what with the efforts that are being made by influential European friends today to induce the Government to concede our prayer—which has been hailed by the whole South African Press as being just in itself—that this prayer will be granted by the Government.

Unless we have a satisfactory reply in reference to our prayer, it will not be possible for us to take any part in the Commission; but just now, at the request of friends who have intervened, and in view of the fact that I am still in telegraphic communication with the Government, we have decided not to proceed with the contemplated march to Pretoria on January 1, but that we shall wait until we know that we have left no stone unturned to arrive at an honourable settlement, and that there is no hope of such a settlement being concluded. For the present, the march is only suspended; but all the evidence I am receiving day by day forces the gravity of the situation on my attention. I see poor men are already making preparations, and people who go and tell them that the march is not to be proceeded with on January 1 are not even believed. I am therefore endeavouring to circulate a leaflet[2] signed

[1] Gandhiji was interviewed by a representative of *The Natal Mercury* about the effect of the Indian National Congress resolutions on the South African question. These resolutions, adopted at the Karachi session, December 26-28, protested against the treatment still meted out to Indians in South Africa, declared that the people of the British dominions which refused Indians the rights of British citizens should be ineligible for appointments in India, and demanded the abolition of indentured labour.

[2] This is not available.

by myself informing everyone that we are suspending the march for the time being.

Asked if it was intended to call out the Indians on strike again on January 1, Mr. Gandhi said:

We are not calling out the men on January 1. But, we shall leave no stone unturned to bring about a strike, only with a view to bringing about imprisonment, and nothing else, if all the endeavours we are making for a settlement with the Government come to naught. I am hoping that the contemplated march will not be necessary, and there are reasons for my thinking that it may not be; but the communications that are in my possession are of such a delicate nature that it is not possible for me to say anything further at this stage.

Mr. Gandhi proceeded to say that he was pained deeply that the indignation of the Indians was aggravated by the stories of distress by the passive resisters released from gaol. He proceeded to detail allegations of "brutal and barbarous treatment" in Durban Gaol—that assaults were committed by Native warders on passive resisters, that complaints were unheeded, and that many of the prisoners were suffering from dysentery. It was also alleged that they were given unwashed prison clothing to wear, were denied the use of books, and were chaffed by responsible officers. Prisoners were stated to have been even bathed in sheep-dip after taking their bath, while allegations were made that many prisoners had to hunger-strike before their religious susceptibilities were respected. All these allegations Mr. Gandhi was reducing to affidavits, to be sent to the Government for investigation.

*The Natal Mercury*, 30-12-1913

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

[DURBAN,
*December 30, 1913*]

SERVINDIA
POONA CITY

TRUST ME TO DIE TO MAKE GOOD WORD GIVEN BY YOU MY NAME. HAVE NOT GIVEN REASONS

[1] The message was conveyed through Reuter. Gokhale had cabled Gandhiji the previous day: "Reuter wires you have announced 15th as date renewal. Robertson leaving first and arriving about 11th. Delay starting due to your promise reaching me only 28th and Viceroy's orders reaching Robertson only yesterday afternoon. He hands over charge today and leaves Nagpur tomorrow. I have guaranteed that you will wait one week after Robertson's arrival and feel confident you will make my word good."

POSTPONEMENT BUT TOLD PUBLIC WE SHALL SUSPEND MARCH UP TO FIFTEENTH EARLIEST. ASSURE YOU WE SHALL WAIT ONE WEEK EVEN LONGER AFTER ROBERTSON'S ARRIVAL STOP AFTER RECEIPT SMUTS' FINAL REPLY WILL IF SATISFACTORY HAVE ANNOUNCE STATEMENT. PROPOSE SAYING AS VICEROY'S REPRESENTATIVE COMING IF ONLY OUT OF DEFERENCE WE SHALL DO NOTHING UNTIL HE HAS HAD OPPORTUNITY EXAMINING SITUATION. PRESS CABLES ANNOUNCE YOU ABSENT CONGRESS ILL HEALTH. PLEASE ENLIGHTEN US.

GANDHI

National Archives of India: File No. 45
Courtesy: Servants of India Society

## *230. LETTER TO "THE NATAL MERCURY"*

DURBAN,
*December 30, 1913*

SIR,

Your first leader in today's issue of your paper invites a statement from me, which I hope you will permit me to make.

You imagine that a more potent reason for delaying the contemplated march is "to be found in the fact that the mass of the local Indian community could not be relied upon to join in the resuscitation of a form of conflict which recoiled most injuriously upon the Indians themselves". There are other inferences, also, you have drawn from the delay, with which I shall not deal at present. I, however, assure you that you are wrongly informed if you consider that the mass of the local Indian community is not to be relied upon to join the march, if it has ever to be undertaken. On the contrary, the difficulty to-day is even to delay it and my co-workers and I have been obliged to send special messengers and to issue special leaflets[1] in order to advise the people that the march must be postponed for the time being. I admit that speculation as to whether the mass of the local Indian community will or will not join the march is fruitless, because this will be, if it has to be, put to the test at no distant date. I give my own view in order that the public may not be lulled into a sense of

[1] These are not available.

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false belief that the movement is confined to a few only among the community.

The chief reason, therefore, for trespassing upon your courtesy is to inform the South African public through your columns that, whilst the great National Congress that has just closed its session at Karachi was fully justified in asking, and was bound to ask, for full citizen rights throughout the British Dominions for all the King's subjects, irrespective of caste, colour, or creed, and whilst they may not and ought not to be bound by local considerations, we in South Africa have repeatedly made it clear that, as sane people [we] are bound to limit our ambition by local circumstances, we are bound to recognize the widespread prejudice, however unjustified it may be, and, having done so, we have declared—and I venture to re-declare through your columns—that my co-workers and I shall not be party to any agitation which has for its object the free and unrestricted immigration of British Indians into the Union or the attainment of the political franchise in the near future. That these rights may come in time will, I suppose, be admitted by all; but when they do come, they will not be obtained by forcing the pace, as passive resistance is undoubtedly calculated to do, but by otherwise educating public opinion, and by the Indian community so acquitting itself in the discharge of all the obligations that flow from citizenship of the British Empire as to have these rights given to them as a matter of course. Meanwhile, so far as my advice counts for anything, I can only suggest that the efforts of the Indian community should be concentrated upon gaining or regaining every lost civil right or every such right at present withheld from the community; and I hold that even this will not happen unless we are ready to make an effective protest against our civic destruction by means of passive resistance, and unless through our self-suffering we have demonstrated to the European public that we are a people that cherishes its honour and self-respect as dearly as any people on earth.

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

*The Natal Mercury*, 31-12-1913

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## 231. HINDI AND TAMIL

The satyagraha campaign, as carried on this time and still continuing, has hardly a parallel in history. The real credit for this goes to the Hindi and Tamil speaking brothers and sisters living in this country. Their sacrifice has been the highest of all. Some of them have even lost their lives, killed by the bullets of the white soldiers. As a tribute to their memory, we have decided to give Hindi and Tamil news in this paper. Some years ago, we used to bring out this paper in these two languages as well, but we had to discontinue the practice owing to some difficulties.[1] Those difficulties are not yet over. And yet, we resume publication in these languages for the duration of the struggle, that being, in our judgment, the least that we must do, even at some inconvenience to ourselves, in honour of communities whose members have made such sacrifices in a struggle of this kind. It is not with a commercial motive that we are publishing in these languages. Whether or not to continue the practice after the struggle is over we can only decide in the light of the circumstances then prevailing.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 31-12-1913

## 232. CABLE TO G. K. GOKHALE[2]

DURBAN,
*December 31, 1913*

SERVINDIA
POONA CITY

SUGGESTION POLAK GOING LONDON FULLY WEIGHED. HAD HOPED BE ABLE SEND. WE ALL THINK SITUATION

[1] Publication of Hindi and Tamil columns was suspended in 1906 owing to difficulty in securing the "services of the necessary editors and compositors"; *vide* Vol. V, p. 183.

[2] This was in response to a cable Gandhiji had received earlier in the day from Gokhale: "I have promised Ramsay MacDonald that Polak would send him immediately full statement on indenture system and three pounds tax, also fairly detailed account of our strike and methods adopted suppress it. MacDonald hopes raise questions debate address, so Polak must send statement earliest possible. You have not replied my suggestion about Polak going England beginning February. Strongly think it indispensable." *Vide* also footnote 1 to "Cable to G. K. Gokhale" p. 283.

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DEMANDS HIS PRESENCE HERE. IF COMMISSION ENLARGED HE MUST BE HERE GIVE EVIDENCE. IF MARCH UNDERTAKEN EVERY LEADER NECESSARY. HE TOO MADE SOLEMN DECLARATION. FULL STATEMENT PREPARING DESPATCH MACDONALD. SEVEN THOUSAND RECEIVED.

GANDHI

National Archives of India: File No. 45
Courtesy: Servants of India Society

## *233. LETTER TO MARSHALL CAMPBELL*

110, FIELD STREET,
DURBAN,
*January 1, 1914*

DEAR MR. MARSHALL CAMPBELL,

I am much obliged to you for your letter of the 30th ultimo, and for frankly expressing your feelings. I see that recent events have caused a breach between my friends and myself which must be left to time and future uniform conduct on my part to heal. I can only give you my assurance that I know of no agent who has been permitted to encourage or advise violence.[1] It is the essence of passive resistance to be free from violent methods even under circumstances the most provoking. I know you will permit me to say that neither Mr. Gokhale's acceptance nor the Indian Committee's acceptance of your hospitality can be allowed to interfere with what Mr. Gokhale or we here might consider to be our public duty.[2]

The strike and the subsequent courting of imprisonment were not intended to be a protest against the general treatment of indentured Indians, but against the Government's breach of promise given to India's greatest representative, and the injustice of perpetuating a cruel tax which has been so universally condemned.

[1] In his letter dated December 30, Marshall Campbell had written, *inter alia*," . . . I may add that they [indentured labourers] were only induced to come out by grave threats of personal violence made by persons whom I believe to be your agents, two of whom were arrested and fined."

[2] This had reference to Marshall Campbell's remarks in his letter: "Mr. Gokhale and your Committee accepted my hospitality, and ate of my salt less than 12 months ago, and between 10,000 and 15,000 Victoria County Indians did the same."

Passive resistance, which your letter seems to condemn in unmeasured terms,[1] has been the only weapon of the community for securing redress of grievances for the last six years, and whilst each stage of it in its commencement has evoked such condemnation as you have seen fit to pronounce, reflection that, as time went on, public men were able to give to the struggle, justified it in their estimation. In a large measure it brought about the relief for which the weapon was used. This time it has covered a larger range, it has caused much greater suffering both in intensity and extent, and has, therefore, called forth a great, though not unexpected, outburst of indignation, especially from parties immediately affected. It is hoped that the Government will, in deciding upon the proposals submitted to them after the utmost consideration, be guided by wisdom and justice rather than by expedience. Should it, therefore, be otherwise, and should they reject our prayer, much as I dislike it, I fear that a recrudescence of the struggle is inevitable. Posterity alone will be able to judge as to the wisdom or otherwise of those who are at present guiding the Indians.

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

*The Natal Mercury*, 5-1-1914

[1] Campbell had observed: "If anything, it, in my opinion, aggravates the unfortunate blunder of your policy. More than this, no movement can be successful, however high the ideals of its founders, if it involves the suffering of innocent and guilty alike; the inherent injustice of such an effect must work its ruin, and you will pardon me if I say quite frankly, though as a friend, that many of those you lead are realizing the weakness of your policy more and more every day, and are coming to the conclusion that to use a large body of, in the main, contented but ignorant people, namely, the indentured labourers, by inflaming their passions with high words, false hopes incapable of realization, and violent threats, as a tool for procuring political rights by which most of them will never benefit, even if they are ever attained, to put it very mildly, is not a policy dictated by wisdom and far-sightedness."

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## 234. CABLE TO G. K. GOKHALE[1]

DURBAN,
*January 1, 1914*

SERVINDIA
POONA CITY

"UMTALL" EXPECTED HOURLY[2] CABLE STATE HEALTH MANY ANXIOUS INQUIRIES.

GANDHI

National Archives of India: File No. 45
Courtesy: Servants of India Society

## 235. CABLE TO G. K. GOKHALE

DURBAN,
*January 2, 1914*

SERVINDIA
POONA CITY

ANDREWS PEARSON[3] DULY HONOURED.[4] FEELING WELL. THEY SEND LOVE. ROUGH PASSAGE.

GANDHI

National Archives of India: File No. 45
Courtesy: Servants of India Society

[1] This was evidently in reply to Gokhale's cable of December 31, 1913, inquiring if C. F. Andrews and W. W. Pearson had arrived.

[2] s.s. *Umtali* was due to arrive on December 28; but it had encountered stormy weather and actually reached Durban harbour five days later, on January 2.

[3] William Winstanley Pearson; had worked in Bengal as a missionary and collaborated with Andrews in Y.M.C.A. work; for some time, teacher at Santiniketan; in South Africa, studied the conditions of Indian labour on Natal Sugar estates.

[4] At the Wharf were Gandhiji, several Indian associates, H. S. L. Polak, A. H. West and a number of European clergymen including the Rev. Archdeacon Gregson. On landing, Andrews greeted Polak and asked: "'Where is Mr. Gandhi?' Polak turned to a slight ascetic figure, dressed in a white *dhoti* and *kurta* of such coarse material as an indentured labourer might wear. Andrews bent swiftly down and touched Gandhi's feet." *Charles Freer Andrews*, p. 94.

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## 236. CABLE TO G. K. GOKHALE[1]

DURBAN,
*January 2, 1914*

THE REV. C. F. ANDREWS AND THE REV. W. PEARSON HAVE ARRIVED AND WERE ACCORDED A MOST CORDIAL RECEPTION BY THE INDIAN COMMUNITY. THEY HAD A VERY ROUGH PASSAGE. WE ARE NOW TRYING TO SECURE THE ADDITION TO THE COMMISSION OF AT LEAST ONE EUROPEAN MEMBER IN WHOSE IMPARTIALITY WE HAVE CONFIDENCE. THE PLANTERS, IF NECESSARY, ARE TO BE ALLOWED TO NOMINATE ONE ON THEIR SIDE. I SINCERELY HOPE INDIA WILL SUPPORT US IN THIS. PRAY ASK ALL NOT TO BE OVER-ANXIOUS ON OUR ACCOUNT. WE DISCOVERED ON OUR RELEASE THAT A LARGE NUMBER OF OUR COMMUNITY HAD SHOWN UNEXPECTED POWERS OF ENDURANCE AND SUFFERING, AND WE WERE ASTONISHED AT THE UNLOOKED-FOR ABILITY SHOWN BY INDENTURED INDIANS WITHOUT EFFECTIVE LEADERSHIP TO ACT WITH DETERMINATION AND DISCIPLINE. WE ARE QUITE CHEERFUL IN OUR CALAMITY PREPARING FOR AND AWAITING EVENTS.

*The Times of India*, 5-1-1914

[1] This cable was reportedly sent after a meeting of Andrews and the Indian leaders. He had asked Gandhiji: "'Isn't it simply a question of Indians' honour?' Gandhi's eyes flashed. 'Yes!' he said vehemently, 'That is it, that is it. That is the real point at issue.' 'Then', said Andrews, 'I am sure you are right to stand out. There must be no sacrifice of honour.' He and Gandhi were friends from that hour; within two or three days they were 'Mohan' and 'Charlie' to one another." *Charles Freer Andrews*, p. 95.

## 237. CABLE TO G. K. GOKHALE[1]

DURBAN,
*January 3, 1914*

SERVINDIA
POONA CITY

GODFREY ILL INFORMED QUESTION KNOWLEDGE ILL DIGESTED. ASKED HIM PLACE HIMSELF YOUR DISPOSAL. PLEASE TAKE REST DURING SUSPENSION. NO SUMMARY REUTER. ANDREWS WANTS ME PASS ONE WEEK WITH HIM PHŒNIX. HAVE AGREED. SUBJECT YOUR SANCTION FEEL HARILAL SHOULD COME. HE VOWED SEE STRUGGLE THROUGH AS RESISTER. SHOULD BE PERMITTED FULFIL OBLIGATION. MY OPINION GAOL OTHER EXPERIENCES SUBSTANTIAL EDUCATION.

GANDHI

National Archives of India: File No. 45
Courtesy: Servants of India Society

## 238. SPEECH AT RECEPTION TO C. F. ANDREWS[2]

[DURBAN,
*January 4, 1914*]

Mr. Gandhi said that, for the past twenty years, it had invariably been his duty to act the part of interpreter of the chairman's speech when it was delivered in the Hindi or Gujarati language. He had been asked to do so

[1] This was in reply to the following cable dated January 2 from Gokhale: "Robertson started yesterday. Communicated your intention giving reception arrival. He, however, thinks best plan small deputation meet him demonstration might cause misunderstanding. He has sent message he will do his best for community. Papers announce Godfrey arrived Bombay cable how far he is trustworthy. Am suffering accumulation fluid cavity heart result extreme exhaustion system. Must lie bed several days. Your statement published yesterday made up of various cables and elaborated to nearly two thousand words. Bringing public opinion strongly round your side. Has Reuter cabled summary."

[2] On Sunday morning, Andrews and Pearson were given a reception by the Indian Hawkers' Association at the Surat Hindu Association Dharmashala in Victoria Street. Gandhiji was given a purse of £60 as donation to passive resistance funds.

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on this occasion. The chairman had said that the small purse of gold represented the hearty sympathy of their people for the movement. They might not all be able to go to prison, but they wished to show that they were heart and soul in the movement. The Hindus of Durban extended a warm welcome to their guests from India. When the announcement was made in the papers of their coming, it gave a new hope to them in a time of darkness. They felt that the hand of God was upon their movement. The chairman mentioned one grievance which he was desirous of bringing to the notice of Messrs Andrews and Pearson. That was the fact that many of their caste fellows, who had the right of domicile, had been refused admittance by the Immigration Officer, who took advantage of some slight flaw in their evidence and sent them back to India, away from their friends, to face poverty there.

*Indian Opinion*, 7-1-1914

## *239. LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI*

110, FIELD STREET,
DURBAN,
*January 4, 1914*

MY DEAR BOY,

I was delighted to receive your letter. In the first place, ever since my discharge I have had not a minute's rest and I hardly get full sleep any day. In the second place, there were so many to whom I should have written, that I thought I would neglect you all and you would understand the reason why; but your letter compels me to write to you. I think that, on your discharge,[1] you will see both mother and me. Ramdas is looking well and has done well. Devdas has proved a hero. He has developed a sense of responsibility which was unexpected. Prabhudas did almost equally well, but he is not so quick as Devdas. All the women folk are well and are looking forward to meeting you all. I am sorry that you were not able to read much. I think that, if you approach the Magistrate for more books, he will grant you the permission and you may remind him that you had all the books you desired granted to you at Johannesburg and elsewhere. You will be pleased to hear that I had become a most industrious student at Bloemfontein and I was sincerely sorry to have my studies interrupted. I gave about eight hours a day to solid reading and writing, principally Tamil. The authorities kindly gave me every

[1] Manilal Gandhi was serving a three months' sentence for participating in the passive resistance movement.

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facility. Jamnadas arrived, as you perhaps knew, before you were imprisoned. He is in Christiana. Harilal may return shortly. The money was sent to Medh's father. With love from us all.

*Yours sincerely,*
BAPU

From a microfilm of the original in Gandhiji's hand: C. W. 5687
Courtesy: Louis Fischer

## *240. INTERVIEW TO REUTER*

DURBAN,
*January 4, 1914*

Interviewed by Reuter with regard to the correspondence which has been exchanged between Senator Campbell, the well-known sugar planter, and Mr. Gandhi, the latter said that he had appealed to Mr. Campbell to continue his co-operation and sympathy.

Mr. Campbell in reply stated that he adhered to his opinion that the three pound tax should be repealed and still supported Indians seeking redress from harsh administration and the licensing laws, but that nevertheless he appealed to Mr. Gandhi to desist from lawlessness and not to refuse to accept a Commission composed of men with judicial minds and of known integrity.

Mr. Gandhi replied that the strike and the subsequent courting of imprisonment were a protest against the Government's breach of the promise to Mr. Gokhale and the three pound tax, not against the general treatment of indentured Indians. He feared a recrudescence of former measures if the Government rejected the Indians' prayers.[1]

*The Hindu*, 5-1-1914

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Marshall Campbell", pp. 312-3.

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## 241. LETTER TO "INDIAN OPINION"

[DURBAN,
After *January 5, 1914*]

TO
THE EDITOR
*INDIAN OPINION*

I give below a few facts known to me concerning Bhai Hurbatsingh, who passed away on Monday last[1], believing that readers of *Indian Opinion* would like to know them.

When I was in Volksrust gaol two months ago, it was sanctified by the coming of Hurbatsingh. He was one of the batch of 37 Indians or so who, after waiting for a while in Charlestown, entered Volksrust and elected to go to gaol. When I saw Hurbatsingh among them, my heart overflowed with joy. I became introspective and reflected over what I had done. My heart was full because even a 70-year-old Indian like him, who had spent 30 years in Natal as a labourer, had thought of India, India's honour and of India's *tapascharya*[2] in ancient times. Even in his declining years, he preferred to endure the sufferings of prison life rather than live in comfort. I grew sad as I reflected: "Dear self of mine! If you have led your innocent brothers, unlearned but wise, into a wrong path, what a burden of sin will you have to bear? If ever you discovered that you had made a mistake, what good would your remorse do then? The men whom you had led to death would not come back to life; those who, following your advice, endured the hardships of gaol-life, would never forget them." At this thought I felt sad. But then I considered: "No blame would attach to you if you acted sincerely in advising your brothers to go to gaol. Truly is it said that without *yagna*[3] this world would perish. But *yagna* is not merely kindling wood and pouring ghee and other things into it. This may purify the air, but surely it will not purify the spirit. When we offer up our bones to burn like wood, pouring out our blood like ghee in order that they may burn, and sacrifice our flesh to the flames, that alone will be true *yagna*, and by such sacrifice will the earth be sustained. Without such *yagna*, such sacrifice of self, it cannot be sustained.

[1] Hurbatsingh died on January 5. *Vide* also the following item.
[2] Voluntary suffering as a means of self-purification, penance
[3] Sacrifice

No people has risen without self-sacrifice; can it be otherwise with us? Certainly not." Reflecting thus, I saw that it was no matter for grief if an old Indian like Hurbatsingh went to gaol for India's sake and died while in prison. I once asked Hurbatsingh why, in his extreme old age, he thought of going to gaol. In reply he said : "When all of you, and the women too, are going to gaol, what should I alone do outside ? When you went to Charlestown, I decided to leave my small farm and follow you. When my friends came to gaol, I also did the same." "But, friend," I asked, "What if you die while in gaol?" This wise Indian replied: "If I must, I shall. I am an old man; what is the good of my living on?"

This veteran had been sentenced to imprisonment with hard labour. When the first batch of prisoners during the first satyagraha campaign was sentenced to simple imprisonment, the Government, I believe, hinted to the Courts not to award simple imprisonment to any Indian satyagrahi. In consequence, after the first cases of simple imprisonment, no Indian received such sentence. Fortunately, in Volksrust the gaoler was kind to Hurbatsingh. The latter used to work in the garden, watering the plants, and his energy put the younger satyagrahis to shame.

Is there an Indian who will not shed tears of joy at the glorious death of such an Indian ? When Hurbatsingh's body is carried to the cremation ground, I do hope that every Indian will follow it on foot right up to the ground.[1] By paying this homage, we shall not only honour the memory of the departed one but shall also honour India and ourselves.[2]

*I am,*
*India's bond-slave,*
MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI

[From Gujarati]
*Indian Opinion*, 7-1-1914

[1] The funeral procession on January 8 included Europeans and Indians of different faiths.

[2] *Vide* also *Satyagraha in South Africa*, Ch. XLV.

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2993—9/12/02—10,000. L.D. 16.

# RECOGNIZANCE.

Be it remembered, that on the 8 day of November 1909/13, personally came before me

and acknowledged himself ~~themselves~~ to owe to our Lord the King, the said

the Sum of Fifty pounds

and the said

the sum of / Sterling, of good and lawful Money of this Colony to be made of their several Goods and Chattels, Lands and Tenements, respectively, to the use of our said Lord the King, his Heirs and Successors, if the said

M K Gandhi

shall make default in the Condition underwritten.

The Condition of this Recognizance is that if the said

M K Gandhi

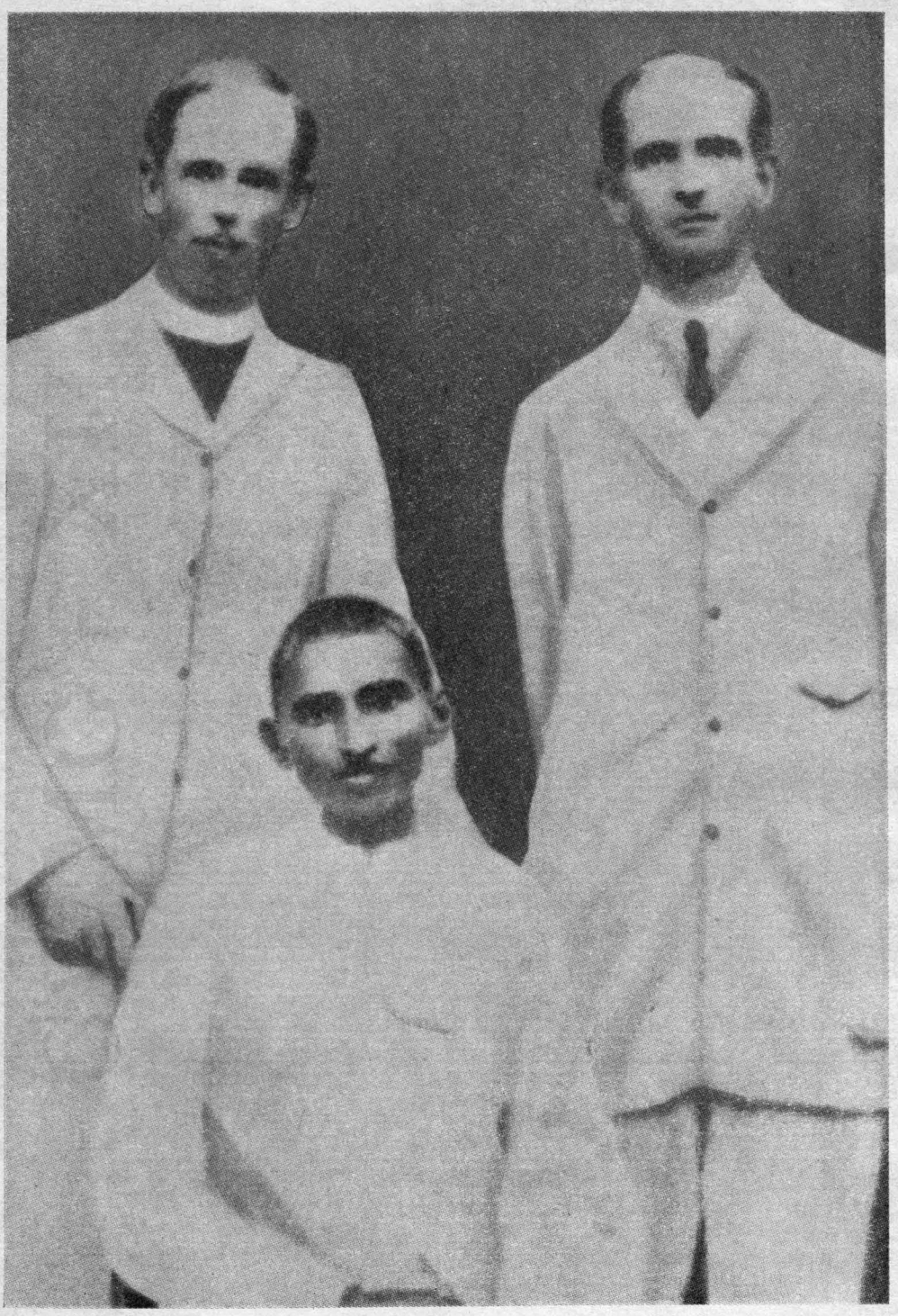
shall appear in the Court of the Resident Magistrate for the district of at Standerton on the 21 day of Nov 1913 to answer a Charge of Contec 20 Act (1) Act 22/1913 and at all such times and places to which the case may be postponed, then this Recognizance shall be null and void, or else remain in full force.

M K Gandhi
E.

Taken and acknowledged the Day and Year above written before me, the aforesaid

[signature]

THE BAIL BOND



WITH ANDREWS AND PEARSON

## 242. IMMORTAL HURBATSINGH

Hurbatsingh, an indentured Indian, 70 years old, with no kith or kin, gave up this earthly life on Monday. The whole Indian community mourns for him. He who had not one relative in this wild, forbidding land has today 150,000 Indians living here as his kinsmen. His death, which ordinarily no Indian would have heard of, will, in the unusual circumstances of today, be known to the whole of India. One may ask, why? The answer is that he was a satyagrahi; and as truth is eternal, even so a man who resolutely clings to truth is immortal. Just as one cannot hide the sun by covering it, truth also will come out, however much one tries to hide it. Therefore, one who serves truth even in the smallest measure can never be eclipsed. An indentured labourer of old days, Hurbatsingh did not have to pay the £3 tax; nevertheless, because the others came out, he too chose to do likewise.

His body has been buried. As soon as the fact was known, a request was made to the Government for its return. By the time this article is out, the request will have been granted. When received, the body will be cremated. We trust that every Indian will follow the funeral procession.

Hurbatsingh has achieved immortal fame by joining the struggle. We wish that all Indians have his courage and his understanding.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 7-1-1914

## 243. INTERVIEW TO "PRETORIA NEWS"[1]

[PRETORIA,
*January 9, 1914*]

[GANDHIJI:] I cannot tell you anything about the confidential negotiations which are proceeding at the present moment.

[REPORTER:] What about the Railway strike?

I haven't anything to do with the Railway strike.

I know, but what is your attitude towards it?

I have no attitude. What attitude can we, a voteless and neglected people, have in such a crisis?

[1] Gandhiji, accompanied by C. F. Andrews, arrived in Pretoria on the morning of January 9, for negotiations with Smuts. A brief summary of these observations appeared in *Indian Opinion*, 14-1-1914. The Governor-General, Lord Gladstone, forwarded to the Colonial Office, a clipping of the interview "in which", he observed, "Mr. Gandhi gave a personal assurance that he and his friends would refrain from resuming operations until the railway strike was settled." In *Charles Freer Andrews*, pp. 95-6, there appears a report of this interview which puts it in its proper context: "At Pretoria, the Editor of the *Pretoria News* greeted Gandhi in friendly fashion. 'Are the Indians going to join the General Strike?' he asked. 'No, certainly not,' replied Gandhi. 'We are out for a clean fight. Passive resistance will be suspended.' 'May I publish that?' 'No—there is no need to do so.' The Editor turned to Andrews. 'Do persuade him, Mr. Andrews,' he said. 'There will be Martial Law within twelve hours.' Andrews took his meaning; up and down they walked, outside the Editor's office, while he argued the point with Gandhi. 'Of course, you are right to suspend the struggle,' he said, 'but if no one knows till afterwards, all the good effect will be lost—people will say you did it out of fear?' At last Gandhi yielded: the message went out, with all its power for good, to Cape Town and the world. A few minutes later the strikers cut the telegraph wires." In *Satyagraha in South Africa*, Ch. XLVII, Gandhiji has this to say on his refusal to embarrass the Government: "This decision of ours created a deep impression, and was cabled to England by Reuter. Lord Ampthill cabled his congratulations from England. English friends in South Africa too appreciated our decision. One of the secretaries of General Smuts jocularly said: 'I do not like your people, and do not care to assist them at all. But what am I to do? You help us in our days of need. How can we lay hands upon you? I often wish you took to violence like the English strikers, and then we would know at once how to dispose of you. But you will not injure even the enemy. You desire victory by self-suffering alone and never transgress your self-imposed limit of courtesy and chivalry. And that is what reduces us to sheer helplessness.' General Smuts also gave expression to similar sentiments."

The point is this, are you going to take advantage of the Government's embarrassment at the present moment to revive your passive resistance and strike movement?

Mr. Gandhi looked very thoughtful; he paused a moment and then said: That has never been our policy.

Come, come, plain speaking. Never mind your policy in the past; what are you going to do now?

For myself I will be no party to embarrassing the Government at a time like this, we shall follow the policy that we adopted during the Rand miners' strike in July.[1] At that time we suspended all operations, and we shall do this again, if necessary. I am most anxious that there should be no confusion of issues between our case and the case of the Railwaymen; such confusion might occur if we revived passive resistance at this moment. In any case I mean to take no unfair advantage of the Government . . . .

I am hopeful that the negotiations now proceeding and the representations of our European friends in South Africa may successfully avert any need for further passive resistance, but whatever happens (this very emphatically) whether the Minister's reply to us be favourable or unfavourable, *we shall not resume operations until this Railway matter is settled; for that you have my personal assurance.*

*Pretoria News*, 9-1-1914

## *244. IMPORTANT ADVICE*[2]

I have heard that some Indians enter into a second indenture on the expiry of the first. Probably all friends know that there is no need whatever to renew indenture. Once the £3 tax is removed, there will be no need for accepting a second term of indenture. While, therefore, the present struggle is in progress, [no one] should renew indenture and accept slavery by doing so. I hope every educated man will consider it his duty to give this information to those who do not get or cannot read this paper.

MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 14-1-1914

[1] *Vide* "Riot in Johannesburg", pp. 132-5.

[2] A Hindi translation of this also appeared in *Indian Opinion*, 14-1-1914.

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## 245. INTERVIEW WITH GENERAL SMUTS[1]

PRETORIA,
*January 16, 1914*

The original proposal laid before General Smuts by Mr. Gandhi on Friday last was as follows:

He asked for definite assurances on four points:

(a) The £3 Tax: General Smuts enquired whether he would be satisfied if the payment of the licence money were abolished, but the licence retained and no further alteration made in the provisions of Natal Act 17 of 1895. Mr. Gandhi thought that this solution would meet his requirements, but he urged that if the licence were retained, it should be made a standing licence not subject to annual renewal.

[1] This official version of what took place at the interview between Gandhiji and General Smuts on January 16 is extracted from a confidential despatch dated January 22 which the Governor-General, Lord Gladstone, addressed to the Secretary of State for the Colonies. The Governor-General, referring to the developments, wrote: "I am glad to be able to report that the prospects of an early settlement of the principal points at issue between my Government and the Indian community in this country have distinctly improved during the past week. Obstacles which it would be imprudent to disregard still exist, and others, either unforeseen or only dimly foreseen at present, may yet arise before mutually acceptable legislation can be passed. But on the whole the situation is more hopeful now than at any previous period of my term of office.

"Numerous personal interviews have taken place between General Smuts and Mr. Gandhi, General Smuts and Sir Benjamin Robertson, and Sir Benjamin Robertson and Mr. Gandhi. Mr. Andrews also has had conversations both with the Minister and with Sir Benjamin Robertson. General Smuts has shown a most patient and conciliatory temper. In spite of a series of conflicts extending over many years, he retains a sympathetic interest in Mr. Gandhi as an unusual type of humanity, whose peculiarities, however inconvenient they may be to the Minister, are not devoid of attraction for the student. Sir Benjamin has proved himself tactful, judicious, and reasonable. He has established excellent relations not only with General Smuts but also with the Prime Minister, and is on friendly terms with the other members of the Cabinet whose acquaintance he has made, while on Mr. Gandhi his firmness and shrewd common sense would seem to have exercised a salutary restraining influence. It is no easy task for a European to conduct negotiations with Mr. Gandhi. The workings of his conscience are inscrutable to the occidental mind and produce complications in wholly unexpected places. His ethical and intellectual attitude, based as it appears to be on a curious compound of mysticism and astuteness, baffles the ordinary processes of thought. Nevertheless, a tolerably practical understanding has been reached."

(b) The marriage question: He did not make it quite clear what precisely he desired, but General Smuts gathered that his expectations were not unreasonable, and that they would probably be satisfied if statutory recognition of *de facto* monogamous wives were accorded.

(c) The admission of South Africa-born Indians into the Cape Province: Mr. Gandhi did not press for legislation on this point but only for an assurance that the law would be so administered that the education test would not be applied to such Indians seeking to enter the Cape. This was to be subject to the understanding that only a small number would thus seek admission, and that if large numbers came forward, the education test should be applicable. I cannot vouch for the actual wording of the stipulation, but I believe that this was its substantial effect.

(d) The declaration said to be required under the Orange Free State Law: General Smuts pointed out that the Government had already in Mr. Gorges' letter of the 19th August (Cd. 7111, page 51) signified their willingness to accept Mr. Gandhi's suggestion on this point. Mr. Gandhi said that he did not so understand the relevant passage in that letter, but that a slight verbal amendment of its terms would meet the difficulty.[1]

Mr. Gandhi explained that if General Smuts would give him a clear assurance in writing on his four points, he would regard it as disposing of the whole general question of Indian grievances. The Commission need not then consider general grievances or policy. Its enquiry should in that case be limited to the occurrences of the recent passive resistance campaign and the strike and the various allegations to which that movement and the manner of its repression had given rise. On that basis he and his friends would be prepared to appear before the Commission and give evidence. If the assurance were not forthcoming, they would still be willing to appear before the Commission and give evidence on all matters included in the terms of reference, provided that either Sir James Rose-Innes or Mr. Schreiner were added to its membership. In that event he would raise in detail the whole question of all Indian grievances dating, I think, from 1885, and he let it be understood that his opening statement alone would occupy at least two days of the Commission's time.

If neither of his alternative proposals was accepted, he could have nothing to do with the Commission and must reserve complete freedom of action although he would consider himself bound by his promise not to embarrass the Government by a renewal of passive resistance while the present industrial troubles remained unsettled.

General Smuts pointed out the obvious objections to any interference with the present constitution of the Commission, and endeavoured to impress on Mr. Gandhi how desirable it was in his own interests that instead of asking

[1] Lord Gladstone here observed: "It will be seen that only the first two of Mr. Gandhi's points would involve fresh legislation."

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for assurances he should state his case on his four points of grievances before the Commission. The Government would be in a far stronger position to carry remedial legislation if they could base it on recommendations made by the Commission. From private conversations with Sir William Solomon and Mr. Esselen, the Minister had gathered the conviction that remedial legislation would be recommended by the Commission, and Mr. Gandhi would therefore be ill-advised if he neglected the opportunity of making his views on these points clear to the tribunal.[1]

Mr. Gandhi however insisted on the insuperable obligations of his vow, and General Smuts ended the interview by promising to consider his proposals and give him an answer as soon as possible.[2]

Colonial Office Records: 551/54

[1] In *Satyagraha in South Africa*, Ch. XLVIII, Gandhiji has reported Smuts' observations as follows : "The Indians had demanded that a member should be co-opted to the Commission to represent Indian interests. But on this point General Smuts would not give in. 'That cannot be done,' said he, 'as it would be derogatory to the Government's prestige, and I would be unable to carry out the desired reforms. You must understand that Mr. Esselen is our man, and would fall in with, not oppose, the Government's wishes as regards reform. Colonel Wylie is a man of position in Natal and might even be considered anti-Indian. If therefore even he agrees to a repeal of the £3 tax, the Government will have an easy task before them. Our troubles are manifold; we have not a moment to spare and therefore wish to set the Indian question at rest. We have decided to grant your demands, but for this we must have a recommendation from the Commission. I understand your position too. You have solemnly declared that you will not lead evidence before it so long as there is no representative of the Indians sitting on the Commission. I do not mind if you do not tender evidence, but you should not organize any active propaganda to prevent anyone who wishes to give evidence from doing so, and should suspend Satyagraha in the interval. I believe that by so doing you will be serving your own interests as well as giving me a respite. As you will not tender evidence, you will not be able to prove your allegations as regards illtreatment accorded to the Indian strikers. But that is for you to think over."

[2] For the rest of the despatch covering the subsequent course of negotiations, *vide* Appendix XX. During the last days of the negotiations, news reached Gandhiji that Kasturba was seriously ill in Durban. At a moment, on January 21, when the talks had reached a deadlock over a phrase which General Smuts had wanted to insert in the proposed agreement, an urgent telegram summoned Gandhiji to Durban; but Gandhiji refused to leave till the deadlock had been removed. Andrews recorded what happened during that critical night in these words: "That night we talked till 1 a.m. Finally, an alternative phrase occurred to me. The difference seemed to be very slight, but Gandhi found it acceptable. 'If General Smuts will accept your phrase,' he said as we went to bed, 'then everything is finished.' In the morning, saying nothing to Gandhi, I went to Smuts and at eight o'clock found him alone. I told him Gandhi's personal anxiety, and showed him the suggested wording. 'I don't mind a bit,' he said, 'it makes no difference as far as I am concerned.' 'Would

## 246. LETTER TO SECRETARY FOR INTERIOR[1]

PRETORIA,
*January 21, 1914*

TO
THE SECRETARY FOR THE INTERIOR
PRETORIA
SIR,

Before leaving for Phœnix I venture to express my thanks to General Smuts for the patient and kindly interviews that he has been pleased to grant me during a time of overwhelming pressure. My countrymen will remember with gratitude his great consideration.

I understand that the Minister is unable to accept (with regard to the Indian Enquiry Commission) either (1) my suggestion that a member representing Indian interests should be co-opted when questions of policy are enquired into; or (2) my suggestion that a second Commission, with Indian representation, should be appointed to deal with these questions only; the present Commission in that case becoming purely judicial. I submitted a third proposal also, but this, in view of the Government's decision, I need not state here. Had any of my suggestions been viewed favourably by the Government, it would have been possible for my countrymen to assist the labours of the present Commission. But with regard to leading evidence before this Commission (which has a political as well as a judicial character) they have conscientious scruples, and these have taken with them a solemn and religious form. I may state briefly that these scruples were based on the strong feeling that the Indian community should have been either consulted or represented where questions of policy were concerned.

The Minister, I observe, appreciates these scruples, and regards them as honourable, but is unable to alter his decision. As,

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you make the change and sign on the spot?' 'Certainly.'" *Charles Freer Andrews*, pp. 96-7. The settlement reached, Gandhiji and Andrews left for Durban, by the 11 o'clock train, on January 22. According to the Governor-General's observations at the end of his despatch of January 22, 1914, the sentence inserted at Gandhiji's suggestion was: "He also recognizes the motive which makes you unwilling to revive old sores by courting libel proceedings before another tribunal." *Vide* Appendix XXI, paragraph 1. *Vide* also the following item.

[1] This was reproduced in *Indian Opinion*, 28-1-1914; also, a summary is found in *Satyagraha in South Africa*, Ch. XLIX.

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however, by granting me the recent interviews he has been pleased to accept the principle of consultation, it enables me to advise my countrymen not to hamper the labours of the Commission by any active propaganda, and not to render the position of the Government difficult by reviving passive resistance, pending the result of the Commission and the introduction of legislation during the forthcoming session.

If I am right in my interpretation of the Government's attitude on the principle of consultation, it would be further possible for us, without violating the spirit of the vow we have taken, to assist Sir Benjamin Robertson, whom the Viceroy with gracious forethought has deputed to give evidence before the Commission.

A word is here necessary on the question of allegations as to ill-treatment during the progress of the Indian strike in Natal. For the reasons above stated the avenue of proving these through the Commission is closed to us. I am personally unwilling to challenge libel proceedings by publishing the authentic evidence in our possession. I would far rather refrain altogether from raking up old sores. I beg to assure the Minister that as passive resisters we endeavour to avoid as far as possible any resentment of personal wrongs.[1] But in order that our silence may not be mistaken, may I ask the Minister to recognize our motive and reciprocate by not leading evidence of a negative character before the Commission on the allegations in question.

Suspension of passive resistance moreover carries with it a prayer for the release of the bona-fide passive resistance prisoners now undergoing imprisonment either in the ordinary gaols or the mine compounds[2] which have been declared as such.

Finally, it might not be out of place here to recapitulate the points on which relief has been sought. They are as follows :

(1) Repeal of the £3 tax in such a manner as the Indians relieved will virtually occupy the same status as the indentured Indians discharged under the Natal Law 25 of 1891.

(2) The marriage question.

(These two are the points that, I have verbally submitted, require fresh legislation.)

(3) The Cape entry question.

(This requires only administrative relief, subject to the clear safeguards explained to the Minister.)

(4) The Orange Free State question.

[1] *Vide Satyagraha in South Africa*, Ch. XLVIII.

[2] Since all the passive resisters could not be accommodated in the gaols, the Government resorted to use of mine compounds for the purpose.

(This requires merely a verbal alteration in the assurance already given.)

(5) An assurance that existing laws specially affecting Indians will be administered justly and with due regard to vested rights.

I venture to suggest that the Nos. 3, 4 and 5 present no special difficulty, and that the needful relief might now be given on these points as an earnest of the good intentions of the Government regarding the resident Indian population.

If the Minister, as I trust and hope, views my submission with favour, I shall be prepared to advise my countrymen in accordance with the tenor of this letter.[1]

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

*Rand Daily Mail*, 23-1-1914; also, Colonial Office Records: 551/54

## *247. LETTER TO RAOJIBHAI PATEL*

PRETORIA,
*Wednesday, Posha Vad 10* [*January 21, 1914*]

DEAR SHRI RAOJIBHAI,

I had thought of leaving this very day for Johannesburg with Mr. Andrews. But that was not to be. General Smuts' reply to my letter is not satisfactory. I hope, if possible, to get it amended. I am therefore staying on tomorrow. If I get a satisfactory reply, though I shall not take it as concluding a settlement, it will be an important step towards one. I haven't the time to explain everything. I am leaving in a moment to see Sir Benjamin again.

I am surprised that Maganbhai's complaint persists. If for nothing else, at least to observe the symptoms of his ailment, I wish to spend some time in Phœnix in complete peace. Do what you can. If we get a satisfactory reply from General Smuts, I may hope to have some peace of mind. Take particular care to see that the boys resume their regular work.

*Blessings from*
MOHANDAS

[From Gujarati]
*Mahatma Gandhijina Patro* and *Jivannu Parodh*

[1] For the Minister of the Interior's reply, *vide* Appendix XXI; also, *Satyagraha in South Africa*, Ch. XLIX.

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## 248. CABLE TO G. K. GOKHALE[1]

JOHANNESBURG,
*January 22, 1914*

LETTERS EXCHANGED GOVERNMENT SELF PROMISING PROVISIONAL AGREEMENT. GOVERNMENT UNABLE ACCEPT ANY OF THREE COMMISSION PROPOSALS SUBMITTED[2] BUT DECLARE THEMSELVES DESIROUS SPEEDY SOLUTION. THEY ACCEPT PRINCIPLE CONSULTATION AND GIVE FULLEST OPPORTUNITIES. WE CANNOT BREAK VOW AND GIVE EVIDENCE BUT WILL ASSIST ROBERTSON WHERE POSSIBLE. APPRECIATING GOVERNMENT'S POSITION WE SUSPENDED PASSIVE RESISTANCE HAVING ASSURANCE PROPOSED LEGISLATION DURING FORTHCOMING SESSION. REGARDING ALLEGATIONS AS PASSIVE RESISTERS WE REFRAIN FROM REVIVING OLD SORES BY PUBLISHING OUR AUTHENTIC EVIDENCE. GOVERNMENT RECOGNIZE OUR MOTIVE AND THEMSELVES GIVE NO EVIDENCE ON ALLEGATIONS OF NEGATIVE CHARACTER. RELEASING ALL PRISONERS. AM NOW SUBMITTING MY ACTION FOR RATIFICATION COMMUNITY. WE TOOK CONSIDERATION EVERY CIRCUMSTANCE INCLUDING YOURS AND VICEROY'S FEELINGS. AGREEMENT JOINT WORK ANDREWS SELF.[3] ANDREWS PRESENT LAST INTERVIEW SMUTS EXPECT BE DURBAN SATURDAY.[4]

GANDHI

From a photostat of the draft in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 5929

[1] An extended version of this was published in *The Hindu* and *The Times of India* of January 24, 1914.

[2] For details of the proposals regarding the constitution of the Commission, *vide* "Speech at Mass Meeting", pp. 333-6.

[3] Andrews had held talks with Smuts and Sir Benjamin Robertson. On January 13, he had met the Governor-General in a private interview, a report of which the latter forwarded to the Colonial Office in the course of a despatch. *Vide* Appendix XXII.

[4] For the official version of the implications of the Provisional Settlement, *vide* Appendix XX; for Gandhiji's explanation of the spirit behind it, *vide Satyagraha in South Africa*, Ch. XLIX.

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## 249. INTERVIEW TO "RAND DAILY MAIL"

[JOHANNESBURG,
*January 23, 1914*]

Yesterday a *Mail* representative asked Mr. M. K. Gandhi for a statement of the position at present. Mr. Gandhi—barefooted and clothed in white, an indication of the deep religious view now being taken of the Indian cause—has taken offices at 15 Anderson Street where he is in touch with his countrymen in prison, and with the rest of the world by wire and cable,

[GANDHIJI:] I hope that the European public in South Africa will recognize the spirit in which the Indians are endeavouring to meet the serious deadlock that arose through non-representation of Indian interests on the Commission, and that they will also understand and reciprocate the attitude I am advising my countrymen to take up in connection with the allegations of ill-treatment during my incarceration.

Our suspension of passive resistance, and our refraining from taking any action regarding the allegations should leave the public and the Government free to calmly consider the five points that gave rise to passive resistance on their merits, and which five points have, in my opinion, commanded almost universal sympathy. No reasonable man can question our right to have Indian marriages recognized as legal, or our right to have the three pounds tax unconditionally repealed. The other points of passive resistance, as I have already stated, require only administrative solution. As you will observe from my letter, the points are exactly the same as they were enumerated in Mr. Cachalia's letter to the Government sent immediately before the revival of passive resistance last year. In conclusion, I would like to state that we appreciate the action of the Government in releasing our passive resistance prisoners.

*Rand Daily Mail*, 24-1-1914

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## 250. LETTER TO BHAVANI DAYAL

Box 1156,
PRETORIA,
*Friday* [*January 23, 1914*][1]

DEAR MR. BHAVANI DAYAL,

I hope your are well. I was very glad to hear about your excellent performance in the gaol. I had received your message. Accommodation is ready for you at Phœnix. You may stay there with your family. You will get from Mr. Polak the information about the negotiations that are going on for a settlement.

*Bande Mataram from*
MOHANDAS GANDHI

From the Hindi original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5689
Courtesy: Vishnu Dutta Dayal

## 251. CABLE TO G. K. GOKHALE

[DURBAN,
On or before *January 25, 1914*][2]

PROVISIONAL AGREEMENT REACHED. WE NOT ASSISTING COMMISSION OWING SOLEMN DECLARATION BUT HELPING ROBERTSON. SUSPENDING PASSIVE RESISTANCE PENDING LEGISLATION WHICH GOVERNMENT PROMISES AFTER COMMISSION. PRINCIPLE OF INDIAN CONSULTATION ACKNOWLEDGED. GOVERNMENT ROBERTSON BOTH SATISFIED. PRISONERS BEING RELEASED. OPPORTUNITY FOR SETTLEMENT NOW MORE FAVOURABLE.

From a photostat of a draft with corrections in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 5928

[1] Bhavani Dayal was released on Saturday January 17, 1914; this letter appears to have been written on the following Friday. He took over as Editor of the Hindi section of *Indian Opinion* from its issue dated January 28.

[2] Gandhiji explained the provisional agreement, soon after it was reached, at a mass meeting on January 25; *vide* the following item. It is likely that this cable was sent on or before January 25.

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## 252. SPEECH AT MASS MEETING[1]

[DURBAN,
*January 25, 1914*]

Mr. Gandhi, before proceeding to explain the terms of the provisional agreement, announced that Mr. Andrews had received a letter from England preparing him for the death of his beloved mother, whom he had expected to meet on his arrival in England. He also added that Mr. Andrews was suffering from fever due to the strain under which he had worked in Pretoria in connection with the agreement. Notwithstanding these facts, Mr. Andrews had insisted on attending the meeting.

Mr. Gandhi addressed the meeting at length, both in English and Hindustani, his remarks being subsequently rendered into Tamil. Mr. Gandhi said that those to whom he was addressing his remarks in English would, he hoped, have read what had been published in the papers, but he would give them the purport of the agreement with the Government. At the first interview he had had with General Smuts, he had placed before him three propositions, the acceptance of any one of which would have enabled the community to lead evidence before the Commission without violating the solemn declaration made some time ago on that very ground. These alternatives were that either the Government should appoint another Commission and restrict the scope of the present Commission purely to a judicial inquiry into the allegations that had been made as to ill-treatment and cruelty, while the other should go into the question of grievances, when the community would be able to lead its evidence before both; or that a member should be co-opted to the Commission to represent Indian interests who would sit specially on the Commission hearing the statement of grievances as apart from the allegations of cruelty, so that the functions of this Commission could clearly be divided into judicial and political; or that the scope of the present Commission should be restricted purely to a judicial inquiry, and that before the community's appearance before it, the Government should grant the community's request in terms of Mr. Cachalia's letter[2], namely, the five points (1) the repeal of the £3 tax; (2) the restoration of the status of Indian wives as it existed before the Searle judgment; (3) the restoration of the right of South Africa-born Indians to enter the Cape; (4) the removal of the little difficulty that still exists with

[1] A mass meeting of Indians numbering over 3,000 was held under the auspices of the Natal Indian Association to discuss the details of the provisional agreement between Gandhiji and Smuts, and to take action thereon. Imam Abdul Cadir Bawazeer presided.

[2] *Vide* "Letter to Secretary for Interior", pp. 183-6.

reference to the racial bar regarding the Orange Free State; and (5) the question of the just administration of existing laws with due regard to vested rights. The last three points could be dealt with administratively; the first two only by amending legislation, and he had ventured to submit to General Smuts the easiest and the quickest way in which the matter could be dealt with. General Smuts had said that he would consider the matter, and after he had considered and conferred with the Cabinet, he said, in the presence of Mr. Andrews, that the Government were willing to grant these things, but wanted the Commission to sift them, and that they could not possibly, though they would gladly have met the community, meet them at that stage with reference to its propositions regarding the Commission.

Of course, that would create a deadlock, and that meant either passive resistance and all that that meant, or it meant a suspension of passive resistance until the Government had had a chance, until the Commission had had a chance, of doing what they proposed to do, and he had had no difficulty in coming to the conclusion, after consultation always with Mr. Andrews, that the community could fairly suspend passive resistance, seeing that the Government had taken up the, what he considered, reasonable attitude, and seeing also that the Government were prepared to understand and appreciate that the community was bound by its solemn obligation not to take part in the Commission, and not to resent that attitude on the part of the community, and, as against that, he had suggested to General Smuts that, if the community suspended passive resistance, it was only fair that Government should release the passive resistance prisoners then undergoing imprisonment. There then remained the very serious questions of the allegations of cruelty. What was to be done with regard to those if the community was not to lead evidence even with regard to the judicial aspect of the Commission, and yet it seemed clear that in the present circumstances they could not lead evidence. It then meant that they should publish a book containing the whole of the evidence in their possession, and challenge anybody who wished to bring libel proceedings against the community, so that in defending the charge the community could prove its case. As a passive resister, it immediately occurred to him that there should be no difficulty in dropping those proceedings. That would avoid all irritation, and in the estimation of those who might think for themselves and who knew the history of passive resistance the community would stand justified. In any case, if the community could stand justified in the estimation of the Government, and if the community could ask the Government to appreciate its motive in not challenging libel proceedings, he felt that the community could ignore what the world might say as to its being afraid now of coming to a court of law because it had really no evidence, and that it had simply taken allegations to India in order to work on feeling there. They must tolerate such criticism from the world, for the world would have something to say against the best actions, but, if the Government appreciated the

community's attitude, he felt that, as passive resisters, it became them to act in that manner. They were not passive resisters of the purest type. They had, for example, taken advantage of law and defended actions in law courts; pure passive resisters would not have done that. But they had not yet reached the purest stage of passive resistance. They must, however, keep such an ideal actively before them and, perhaps, one day, they would have made such an approach to that state that they would be considered perfect passive resisters. Till they had reached that stage, they could not call themselves perfect passive resisters, but they need not therefore remain stationary, and he had felt that they might take that step in advance, and he had come to the conclusion that that was a proposition that might be submitted to the Government. The net effect of the letter written to him by the Government and their reply was, in his opinion, that they had accepted the principle of consultation, that they had recognized the motive of the community in dropping the question of the allegations altogether, that they recognized the community's motive in not leading evidence before the Commission, that they had given an assurance that they wished to settle the matter in accordance with the community's submission, and they wanted to do this through the Commission, but they felt that the community's demands were so reasonable and had been so sanctified and strengthened by the suffering that it had undergone during the past months, that there should be no difficulty in securing the recommendation from the Commission. They felt, he thought, also confident because of the presence of Sir Benjamin Robertson and because of the prestige that was behind Sir Benjamin Robertson, that he came not in his individual capacity but as the representative of the Viceroy, that as such his testimony before the Commission was bound to carry its due weight. And under those circumstances they need not worry themselves, thinking or fearing what might happen; and why need a passive resister ever fear so long as he had the purest weapon in the world at his disposal? The future lay entirely in their own hands, and, holding that future as firmly as ever, he had no hesitation in recommending the adoption of the agreement, and he hoped that the meeting would approve the action they had taken. At the same time he had not bound the community. He had bound the community on occasions when he had gone with a clear mind and when he had known what the community had already asked for, but on this occasion a new situation had arisen, and for that situation he certainly required the ratification of the community. He could not possibly bind the community with reference to this matter which he had not himself contemplated. He had therefore stated to General Smuts that he was prepared to advise his countrymen in accordance with the tenor of his letter, but he had not bound the community, so that they were free agents entirely and might dismiss the agreement from their minds if they wished, but he believed that they might accept it—it was perfectly honourable, dignified, and would save an amount of misery. What was more, they wanted, if they possibly could, to

conciliate the Viceroy. He had said that Viceroy or no Viceroy, Mr. Gokhale or no Mr. Gokhale, no matter what friends or the world said, if their consciences did not approve, if their oath did not approve, they could not accept their views, but when it was possible for them to keep their oath to satisfy their conscience, he thought that then they should go to the utmost length in meeting the wishes of their friends, and such a noble Viceroy, for whom, perhaps, there was no equal except perhaps, Lord Ripon and Lord William Bentinck; and he did not know what the Viceroy might still have in store for them. But that was the picture one formed of the Viceroy, and that had been strengthened by what Mr. Andrews had told him of his noble qualities. They ought to take into account the Viceroy's wishes at that stage, seeing that it was possible for them to do so without violating their oath. Their distinguished countryman, whom India had idolised, to whom they offered reverence, who, while lying on a sick bed, had yet worked for their cause and made it world-wide and had made India ring from end to end with that and nothing else—Mr. Gokhale—also desired it. Lord Ampthill also had been saying: "They had a noble cause, they were bound to win; let them now stay their hand; they had made sufficient demonstration; they had aroused the conscience of the United Kingdom; let them now even give their evidence under protest before the Commission." That view they had been unable to accept, but they could accept the present arrangement. From every point of view, the agreement was good, dignified, and worthy of acceptance.[1]

*Indian Opinion*, 28-1-1914

## *253. CABLE TO G. K. GOKHALE*

DURBAN,
*January 26, 1914*

INDIAN MASS MEETINGS AT DURBAN, PRETORIA, JOHANNESBURG AND OTHER CENTRES HAVE UNANIMOUSLY ENDORSED AGREEMENT.

*The Times of India*, 28-1-1914

[1] After Polak, C.F. Andrews and Kallenbach had spoken, the following resolution was moved by Parsee Rustomjee and unanimously passed: "This mass meeting of British Indians, held under the auspices of the Natal Indian Association, after having heard the terms of the provisional agreement arrived at between the Government and Mr. Gandhi, hereby endorses Mr. Gandhi's action, and earnestly and respectfully hopes that the prayer of the Indian community, as set forth in Mr. Gandhi's letter, will be granted."

## 254. LETTER TO INDIAN GRIEVANCES COMMISSION

DURBAN,
*January 26, 1914*

THE CHAIRMAN
INDIAN GRIEVANCES COMMISSION
DURBAN

[SIR,]

We understand that our discharge from imprisonment, on the 18th ultimo, before the expiry of our respective sentences, was due to the recommendation of the Indian Grievances Commission, to enable the Indian community to have such assistance as we were able to give in order to prepare and place its case before the Commission. It is, therefore, a matter of deep and sincere regret that we are unable, for the reasons already set forth in the correspondence between the first undersigned and the Minister of the Interior,[1] with whose tenor we understand the Commission is already acquainted, to avail ourselves of the opportunity for which we are indebted to it.

We earnestly trust that our refraining from appearing before the Commission, in the circumstances therein described, will not be regarded by it as an act of discourtesy.

M. K. GANDHI
H. S. L. POLAK
H. KALLENBACH

*Indian Opinion*, 28-1-1914

## 255. SMUTS-GANDHI CORRESPONDENCE

Elsewhere in this issue is published a translation of these letters which, we hope, every Indian will go through carefully. We have not enough space or time to offer detailed comments in this number. The following is the upshot of the two letters :

(1) Not a single Indian must give evidence before the Commission.
(2) The Government has turned down the request for enlargement of the Commission.

[1] *Vide* the following item.

(3) If, therefore, Indians gave evidence, it would mean violation of the community's pledge.
(4) The Government has recognized that our refusal to give evidence before the Commission is based on conscientious grounds.
(5) Our refusal to produce, in another court, evidence on flogging, etc., since we are unable to do so before the Commission, does not imply weakness on our part. On the contrary, we show ourselves the better satyagrahis for that. The Government appreciates this attitude.
(6) We have been pressing, in recent times, that the Government should consult us in regard to measures affecting us; this demand has been conceded.
(7) In view of this, we shall be justified in placing our case before Sir Benjamin Robertson.
(8) The Government has declared its intention to satisfy us by conceding our demands and introducing necessary amendments in the law, and it hopes to do so without delay in the ensuing session of Parliament.
(9) In view of this, we should give an opportunity to the Government to carry out its intention and should postpone resumption of satyagraha.
(10) The Government is bound not to lead negative evidence before the Commission in regard to flogging and other repressive measures.
(11) The Government will release the satyagrahis now in gaol.

The Government's position is that whatever it intends to grant, it will do through the Commission.

If the Government acts in this way, we may hope that this great struggle is near its end. If it does not, we lose nothing. We shall be able to show greater strength still. By taking the step we have done, we have met the wishes of the Viceroy and have refrained from provoking the local community; we shall not appear to have treated the advice of our friends and counsellors with contempt and, if we have to resume the struggle, we shall make our satyagraha shine all the brighter in the world and expose more effectively the Union Government's misdeeds and iniquities.

[From Gujarati]
*Indian Opinion*, 28-1-1914

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## 256. CABLE TO G. K. GOKHALE[1]

DURBAN,
*January 30, 1914*

THE CONGRESS MEETING[2] NUMBERED LITTLE OVER A HUNDRED PEOPLE. OPINION IS SHARPLY DIVIDED. THE MAJORITY VOTED AGAINST OFFERING EVIDENCE. SO FAR THREE INDENTURED INDIANS ONLY HAVE APPEARED BEFORE THE COMMISSION. THE CONGRESS MEETING WAS ENGINEERED BY MEN WHO WERE OPPOSED TO PASSIVE RESISTANCE AT THE VERY BEGINNING OF THE STRUGGLE. NO IMPORTANCE IS ATTACHED TO THE MEETING LOCALLY THE GENERAL EUROPEAN FEELING IS GROWING IN OUR FAVOUR. AN INFLUENTIAL MEMBER OF THE SENATE PAID A PERSONAL VISIT TO MR. GANDHI AT PHŒNIX YESTERDAY AND WAS MOST CORDIAL. HE OFFERED ALL HELP TOWARDS A SETTLEMENT, AND WANTED BYGONES FORGOTTEN. DON'T BE ANXIOUS.

*The Times of India*, 2-2-1914

## 257. VIEWS ON THE MARRIAGE QUESTION[3]

*February 2, 1914*

Mahommedan and Hindu monogamous marriages shall be legalized by an amendment of the immigration law or by a special statute. Statutory legalization can be effected by a system of registration whereby all past monogamous marriages will be entered in a record book to be kept by the respective religious priests, who will be authorized marriage officers, and the validation of these unions will date back to the original marriage ceremony, whether performed in South Africa or in India. Future marriages will also be celebrated by these priests religiously and simultaneously recorded

[1] This was sent jointly by Gandhiji and C. F. Andrews.

[2] The Reuter-South Africa Press Agency released on January 28 the following news report about the Durban meeting: "At a meeting of the Natal Indian Congress tonight, it was decided to give evidence before the Indian Enquiry Commission. This body does not support Gandhi."

[3] The typescript of this item bears the heading "Mr. Gandhi's Position" and is evidently the gist of Gandhiji's views presumably recorded by himself after a discussion or an interview.

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in the record book, and no other marriage between one of the parties and another person could be so recorded or otherwise validated during the lifetime of the other.

Legal effect would be that no Hindu or Mahommedan will be able to take to himself more than one wife, but it will not preclude him from taking a number of women whom he calls his wives, but who, in the eyes of the law, will be considered as concubines. Such, says Mr. Gandhi, is the state of English marriages today. This does not mean that he wants the State to recognize any polygamous marriages. But he objects to a declaration being made by either party to the marriage contract that neither will take another partner in future, because any such declaration would be tantamount to a renunciation of their religion.

In the case of a past marriage, a man can have only one wife before he can make the declaration that she is his only wedded wife.

### Divorce

A marriage which is legalized according to the South African law can only be dissolved in terms of that law. A woman can only be divorced under South African law for adultery or desertion.

From a photostat of a typewritten copy: S. N. 5930

## *258. LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI*

[Phœnix,]
*Tuesday* [*February 3, 1914*][1]

CHI. MANILAL,

I have had two letters from you. I am also sorry I had no talk with you. No doubt, I was very much hurt that you ate chillies. It is possible that you will not feel the effects just now. But never forget that *tamasic* food[2] cannot but have an evil effect. I am sure it will do you good in future if you discipline your senses. For all that I can see, there has been no spiritual gain to you through your experience of gaol. You have great need to cultivate thoughtfulness. It is a rare gain to have come into contact with Mr. Andrews. I should like you to take the fullest

[1] From the reference to Andrews in the letter, it appears to have been written when Manilal Gandhi accompanied Andrews as secretary on the latter's tour of Natal between January 30 and February 5, 1914.

[2] Spicy, salted food; liable to stimulate the qualities of *tamas* or darkness, animality.

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advantage of the occasion by preserving the utmost purity. So far, Mr. Andrews has expressed himself perfectly satisfied about you.

Keep an account of every pice you spend. Have no shame about doing any work for Mr. Andrews. You may even massage his calves. Having done so once myself, I know that he probably finds it agreeable. Polish his shoes and tie up the laces. You must not forget to write to me every day. Maintain a diary of meetings with all persons and the developments from day to day.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

[PS.]

It is impossible to say anything about Ba's health. Medh and Desai are here today, and Lal Bahadursingh too.

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C. W. 100
Courtesy: Sushilabehn Gandhi

## *259. WHO MAY BE DEPORTED?*

Seen superficially, the difference between satyagraha and brute force is so subtle that it escapes notice and both satyagrahis and non-satyagrahis, i.e., those who believe in brute force, are misled. Some of our well-wishers and friends did not like our strike in Natal, as they thought we had overstepped the limits of satyagraha. Others mistakenly imagined that the recent strike of the white railwaymen was satyagraha, though the difference between their aim and ours in going on strike is as great as that between North and South. If we went on strike, it was not in order to harass the Government. We only wanted to suffer—do *tapascharya*—by going to gaol. In the event, we find that our victory is at hand. That victory is also unique. We seek no political powers for ourselves. We only wish to preserve our self-respect and defend our religion. Whatever we may suffer in our own persons, we shall never seek to injure our opponent or dislodge him from office. The railwaymen's attitude is the precise opposite of this. Their fight is not for self-respect. They have nothing to do with religion. They wanted a rise in their pay—wanted improvement in their economic condition. They went on strike not in order to get themselves gaoled but with the object of bringing pressure on the Government. If the latter were to use force against them, they, too, would, if they could, use force in return. If it were possible, they would even overthrow the Government and install

themselves in power. In fact, that is their ultimate object. And so they have had to surrender in sheer helplessness before superior force. The Government, too, on its part, acted boldly and deported them overnight, secretly, without producing them in any court. All the world has commended its action and praised its courage. If it were to deport us, it would lay itself open to the charge of being oppressive, though we, of course, would have to submit with a smiling face. There is thus a vast difference, which every Indian should note and understand, between satyagraha and *asatyagraha*[1]. Satyagraha is not a game in which one might either win or lose. There is no room for failure in it. Brute force has to take its chance of success or failure. And the odds are always with the stronger party, irrespective of the rights of the case.

[From Gujarati]
*Indian Opinion*, 4-2-1914

## *260. THE IMMIGRATION ACT*

The interpretation of this Act daily presents new difficulties. The latest is Justice Broome's decision in the matter of Dawad Ismail and Daya Purshotam against the Immigration Officer. According to Justice Broome's interpretation of the Act, the Supreme Court may not even grant an interdict against that officer, acting under the Act of last year, in respect of persons seeking to re-enter the Union as was the case in the matter we are discussing. Thus the Supreme Court will be powerless, if Justice Broome's decision holds good, to prevent a manifest miscarriage of justice, as happened in this case, through the stupidity of the under-officials. As Justice Broome himself remarked, here the ends of justice were not defeated only because the aid of the Court was improperly invoked and as improperly given by the Court granting the interdict. If such is the correct reading of the law, every Indian is entirely at the mercy of Immigration Officers. The only comfort that the Court could give to the parties grossly injured was that they had not to bear the costs of crown although the proceedings were irregularly brought by them. It is true that the Court came most reluctantly to the decision it did. But we cannot eternally live on sympathy unless it leads to useful action. This case is merely a sample of several others like it. Every section of the Act—even the protective sections

[1] Fight for untruth

—seems to have been designed, wittingly or unwittingly, to harass the resident Indian population. So that the law not only prohibits Indian immigration in practice, but it materially interferes with the liberty and the free movement, within the law, of the resident Indian population of the Union.

Take, again, the case recently decided by the now defunct Appellate Board, appointed for Natal under the Act. There, Mr. Binns, delivering the judgment of the Board, reluctantly granted relief to a man who possessed a domicile certificate issued under the old Act and with which certificate he was completely identified. Why was there this reluctance? Why should an Indian be called upon to tax his memory as to what happened fifteen years ago? The title-deeds of property once granted cannot be questioned. They are conclusive proof of title. Why should a domicile certificate be treated differently? These certificates were granted after due and exhaustive—and in many cases vexatious—inquiry. By what right are they now questioned? If the Act gives such powers to Immigration Officers, the sooner it is amended the better it will be for both the Government and the people affected by the Act.

What is, however, perhaps more ominous even than the above-mentioned legal proceedings is the severe administration of the Act. It is clear that, had the officers done their duty by the persons who were seeking re-entry—not those who were seeking to immigrate into the Union—the cases need never have arisen. The officials are certainly going mad over their administration of the Act against persons in the Cape and Basutoland who have continually to pass through the Free State on their way to the other Provinces. To expect them each time to take out temporary permits is to put an unwarranted tax upon their purses and is an unnecessary annoyance to the men who have to apply for permits. The old practice of letting Indian passengers go through unchallenged never caused the slightest difficulty to the administration and it ought to be continued.

The case of a boy that has happened in Pretoria is also of the same type. Surely the child, whatever may be the meaning of the Act, is entitled to enter the Transvaal, seeing that he is the son beyond doubt of his father and that his mother is dead. Indeed, the Government have practically bound themselves to recognize at least administratively the right of such children to join their parents who may be in South Africa. But in the Pretoria case, the Appellate Board has interpreted the Act, too, in favour of the Indian applicant. Yet the Government are not satisfied. They must seek to upset the finding of the Appellate Board which is

appointed by them and which has powers given largely to protect the administration rather than the persons coming under its lash. The fact that the Government are challenging the liberal interpretation of the Act shows that they want it to be interpreted as strictly as it is administered. It is against this wretched spirit that we must wage war, if we are to live in this country as men.

*Indian Opinion*, 11-2-1914

## *261. REQUEST TO LEADERS*

We have carefully studied the evidence given by Mr. Anglia and Mr. Dada Osman and it is our considered view that both the leaders have done harm to the community. That the Commissioners pay compliments to them is of no account. Their evidence seems to suggest that our only grievances about licences and immigration are those that they mentioned. By giving the evidence that they did, they set a limit [to what we could demand]. It happens, however, that theirs is not the last word on behalf of the community. Even if their demands are accepted, much will remain and, so long as this is not settled, there will always remain the possibility of the Indian community resuming satyagraha. If they were bent on giving evidence, it was their duty to put it all together and have it formulated by a reliable lawyer before presenting it. It was their primary duty to the community to have accepted the resolution passed by thousands of people to boycott the Commission and to have remained silent. If, however, they wished to give evidence, they should have been more careful. Their evidence has had the unhappy result of provoking the thoroughly hostile evidence of Mr. Wincall against us. If Mr. Wincall were right in his facts, there would have been nothing that we could do. But we know that his evidence is not factually true, and that he has made many statements which are altogether false. Those who claim to be leaders should have a better sense of their duty. If they were keen on tendering evidence, they should have produced a number of witnesses and not behaved with the utmost irresponsibility, as Mr. Sooker did, just when the Commission's sittings were coming to a close. They had known for a month that the Commission would be sitting and should have started preparing well beforehand so that they could give evidence which would be sound. We therefore believe that these two leaders, instead of doing their duty by the community, have done it harm. Having

said this, we also thank them for having refrained from washing the dirty linen of the community before the Commission. Mr. Anglia stated that he could speak with authority on behalf of all the Indians of established standing and reputation. Who are these Indians on whose behalf he was speaking? If Mr. Anglia's claim is right, we pity these well-established Indians and feel sorry for them. We hold that Mr. Anglia has erred in making such a statement and has failed to pay due regard to his position and the responsibility that rests on him.

About Mr. Sooker, we simply refuse to comment. The young man is carried away by pride. As regards Mr. Aiyar, what can we say? He has given evidence without thinking. It was good of him to have made it plain that he spoke not on behalf of anyone, but on his own responsibility and only for himself. He might not have, therefore, done much harm.

[From Gujarati]
*Indian Opinion*, 11-2-1914

## *262. ON MARRIAGES*

We know that the marriage question has now become the most serious one in this country. The Commission is in a fix about it. The question raises the issue of an important amendment in the laws of the country. We hold that the evidence given by Mr. Anglia and others on this subject was misguided. The problem is so complicated that they should not have meddled with it. In any case, they should have done so with full understanding. Let us now consider what the question involves. The correspondence carried on by Mr. Cachalia means that an Indian marriage which is monogamous in fact should be recognized. If a person has more than one wife, the Government, as a matter of grace, should permit the entry of all his wives and his minor children, provided he is an old resident. If anyone marries two women in future, he should be allowed to bring in one of them. Wives of the last two categories will be entitled legally to no other rights. In this, we are not binding ourselves for the future. The Commission, it appears, insists that, where a man with only one wife desires to have his marriage legally recognized, the marriage should be considered monogamous only if he makes a solemn declaration that he will not take another wife during the life-time of the first one. Mr. Gandhi has strongly opposed this line of argument and pointed

out that signing such a declaration amounts to repudiating Hinduism and Islam in the matter of marriage. If the law recognized only the first wife, that would be a different matter. In this case, no Hindu or Muslim would be acting contrary to his religion. Recognition of such marriages would safeguard the rights of hundreds of Indians and these Indians will generally have only one wife. The Government is committed to recognizing the wife in a monogamous marriage. The law here also does that. The Commission, or anyone else for that matter, has no right to tie us down for the future. True, the [exclusive] recognition of monogamous marriages is likely to curb the practice of polygamy. Which husband will like to have one wife legally recognized and another treated as a concubine?

Less than this we cannot accept. More than this it is almost impossible that we can get. In any case, it seems satyagraha will not be justified for securing more. If our demands are met as above, the honour [of our religions] will have been upheld and hundreds of Indian families will have a chance of being happy.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 11-2-1914

## *263. IMPORTANT IMMIGRATION CASES*

There have been two important immigration cases in Natal. As we were busy writing on other matters, we have had so far no time to explain them. We take the opportunity of doing so now. In one case, an unusual one, the judgment was given by Justice Broome. The Indian concerned might have had to leave this country altogether. The position was this : The petitioner, who arrived from India in October last, was not permitted to come in. He did not appeal against this as required by law. He went back to India, but came again in January. Again the officer stopped him. This time the petitioner's lawyer obtained an interdict from the Supreme Court, which prevented the officer from deporting him. Finally, the Attorney-General conducted an inquiry and found that the petitioner had been wrongly sent back and that he was entitled to stay in Natal. His right of residence, thus, was recognized, having been admitted by the Attorney-General. But the Court had yet to decide who should pay the expenses incurred in obtaining the interdict against the officer. Deciding the point, Mr. Justice Broome held that there was no provision in the law

granting the right of applying for an interdict against an [immigration] officer. Under the law, the officer's order can only be set aside in a case involving corruption and bribery. There was no such thing in this case. Nevertheless, the Court felt that the officer had acted hastily and erred in sending the petitioner away. Had an interdict not been granted, legal though this might have been, it would have resulted in injustice to the petitioner and cost him his right. The Court decided that, in the circumstances, the costs should be borne by the parties themselves. This decision cannot be said to be in our favour. If the Court cannot intervene in cases of undue haste on the part of officers, the latter might pass arrogant and arbitrary orders, as caprice takes them. In matters involving rights of persons, there is bound to be injustice if supreme powers are vested exclusively in the Executive. Justice Broome's decision cannot be accepted as correct. If fact, Courts always have powers of granting interdicts and the legal point involved here, we believe, will bear being taken in appeal to Bloemfontein, should a similar situation arise again. Meanwhile, it is necessary at any rate to write to the Government about it.

The second case relates to a decision of Mr. Beans. He has now left the Immigration Appeal Court. The decision about which we wish to write was his last one. True, it does justice, but Mr. Beans was not happy giving it and did not miss having a fling at the community. Mr. Justice Broome did an injustice in his decision, but showed that he was not happy doing so. Thus two persons, both occupying seats of justice, have two different temperaments. The facts of the case decided by Mr. Beans are simple. The petitioner had a certificate of 1896. He had been to and returned from India twice with this certificate. On this third occasion, the officer stopped him on his arrival and so there was an appeal. Mr. Beans remarked rather gratuitously that the petitioner was not stating the facts, but lacked the courage to send him back. How is it possible to send back a man who has been here twice? For this reason and also because the officer acknowledged that he [the petitioner] was the one who had taken out the certificate, Mr. Beans could not give an unfavourable decision. Though giving a favourable decision, he allowed himself to remark that the officer did well in stopping him. He went further, and said that, in such cases, criminal proceedings should be instituted; with that end in view, he has forwarded all the evidence regarding the petitioner to the public prosecutor. Such is the terrible position we are in. A harsh law, administered harshly, and the difficulty of obtaining redress in the lower courts. All the

same, this case, in all likelihood, will have the result of making it difficult for officers to deport those who may enter on their own certificates.

[From Gujarati]
*Indian Opinion*, 11-2-1914

## *264. RIGHTS OF MINORS*

There was recently a very important immigration case in Pretoria. The Immigration Officer refused to admit a Muslim boy. We shall say nothing here about some odd reasons given by him but only examine the legal point involved. The reason for refusing admission was that the boy was born of a marriage celebrated according to the Muslim faith; since the law does not recognize Muslim marriages, the children of such marriages could not be admitted. The applicant went in appeal against this decision. It came up before the new Board appointed at Pretoria. The relevant section of the law provides that the wife and children of a man entitled to be here can come in, and the persons so entitled to come in will include a wife by a monogamous marriage recognized in law, and his children. The Court interpreted this section in favour of the petitioner. Its argument ran as follows : "True, only a wife whose marriage is recognized by law can come in, but there is no rule that only her children can enter. Children can come in, whether the parents are married or not. This will include the children of a legally married couple. Children of couples living together without being legally married are not barred." Following this argument, the Court gave a decision in favour of the petitioner.

We must not jump to conclusions from this argument of the Court. It will not carry conviction. If the Court's argument is correct, then it will also apply to women. In the relevant section of the law, the words "wife" and "child" occur at two places. The Court has given different meanings to the word "child" in the two places, but has given the same interpretation to the word "wife" at both places. The Court's reasons for doing so sound plausible but lack substance. Its decision, therefore, does not remove our misgivings. If, however, its interpretation is correct, we must admit that our protests regarding the position of children in connection with the marriage question will lose some of their force. Because children born out of wedlock have been given the right of entry, it does not follow that we have secured all our rights.

The Immigration Officer has not been happy over the decision of the Court and, therefore, the case will go, at his instance, to the Supreme Court. Let us see what happens there. That the Immigration Officer is likely to take this case to a higher court shows that the Government does not mean well by us. More, it wants to have the laws interpreted strictly and by adopting such methods to root us out altogether. It should be realized that we have resorted to satyagraha against this state of mind. Our sufferings will not end with one campaign of satyagraha; we shall have to use this weapon whenever they become intolerable. If we do so often enough, the Government will see our strength, will know what our real demands are and give up its obduracy.

We can see from this case that with the new Appeal Boards things have improved. We are sure an Appeal Board of the older type would never have given such a decision. The old Appeal Board at Pretoria would have acted in the same manner as its counterpart at Durban in the case of Kulsumbibi.

We hope, in this case, the petitioner will fight in the Supreme Court with the same skill as he has shown so far. When we say that the case is not strong, we do not mean that there are no arguments for it. If the Supreme Court takes up a liberal attitude, it may accept the arguments advanced in favour of the petitioner, in which case, the children of all wives will be able to come in. If the decision goes against us, there will be no need to feel discouraged, for the great fight on the issue of marriage which we have been carrying on will decide this question too. We can very well see from this case how big is our struggle and how many important results it is likely to yield.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 11-2-1914

## *265. OUR HOPES*

A gentleman writes to us :

This is, indeed, a rare time for you, the like of which will not recur. Circumstances will never again favour you with a similar opportunity, what with the support India has been giving you and the strong sympathies that have been aroused. Nothing, therefore, should be left out from the full citizenship rights which are to be achieved, so that our people may not have to endure hardships again. Besides the matters in dispute, there are the questions of the right to own land, the Gold Law, the Township Act, freedom to hold licences in the Transvaal, the franchise, the prohibition on Indians putting up

stores on new stations, while the Jews are free to do so, and reserved compartments in trains being packed with as many as twelve men. There must be many other matters besides these of which you will be aware. There is, of course, no need for me to write. I have only mentioned this in passing. All that I mean is that the present opportunity will not come again and that, therefore, every right should be secured.

It is well that we have received this letter. We believe that what this one gentleman has put in writing is in the minds of many. We have, however, to say with regret that such hopes will lead to disappointment. Like everything else, satyagraha has its limits. To understand how much may be achieved through it is the first step to success in it. It needs to be understood, once and for all, that the path of truth is not meant for ends not consistent with truth. It is our belief that raising our demands will amount to untruthfulness. Many things, moreover, which can be achieved through satyagraha we shall surely fail to achieve if we are not uncompromising enough in our regard for truth. For instance, we should have the right to [own] land in the Transvaal. But that was not one of our demands in this struggle. We cannot, therefore, advance it at this stage. The strength that may be needed to demand the right in future, we do not as yet see in the community. In the present satyagraha, the indentured Indians have shaken the world. Inspired by their strength, India resounded with protests. But we certainly cannot on that strength secure land rights. For the right to vote, we need to have many things in us without which, as we believe, the franchise would prove unavailing, even if granted. We have no doubt in our minds that it will be a long time before we have the vote. For that India herself will have to wake up, independently of everything else. In the matter of the Gold Law, licences, etc, provision is made in Section 5. Not that all our grievances in these matters will disappear by virtue of this Section, but an assurance from the Government that the laws in regard to them will be reasonably administered will enable us to build further and obtain redress without resorting to satyagraha. As regards hardships on railways, we need to have some grit. If there are already six men in a compartment, the seventh must display courage. If he demands another compartment, the conductor is bound to provide it. As long as we are prepared to submit to kicks, there will be men ever ready to deliver them. If a man does not fight for himself in such matters and is trampled over in consequence, nothing that we can do will help him. Letters may be addressed and even assurances that such things will not recur may be received. The conductors, however,

will persist in their autocratic ways. "The opportunity will not come again, we shall not have a fight like this in future." Such things have been said during every campaign. However, the campaign in 1908 turned out to be on a larger scale than that of 1907, and the one in 1913 than that of 1908. More people went to gaol during 1908-11 than during 1907-8. In 1913, the very highest limit was reached. Even so, when the fight comes again, it will go one better. It is up to us to see that it does. Even when we have the best of dishes placed before us, we can eat only according to our capacity. If we eat in excess, we shall get indigestion and may even die. The same is true of opportunities. The opportunity of the future will far excel the present one, but only if, ignoring it, we rest satisfied with our original demands. If we were to raise our demands ever so little, we are sure we would lose the sympathy we have both here and in India. "The community may not have to endure hardships again"—these are words of cowardice. The community will not acquire stamina except through suffering. Every step forward is bound to cost some effort. What we have gone through is not to be looked upon as hardship but as requisite effort. To wish that one may not have to make any such effort is to desire that Nature's law shall cease to function. Never, in the wide world, have we come across, nor have we in history read of, an instance of achievement without effort.

Finally, Indians need to realize in all seriousness that it is the first principle of satyagraha not to enhance our original demands. The second principle is that what is obtained by satyagraha can be retained only by satyagraha. The third principle is that what is attainable by satyagraha cannot but be achieved and that satyagraha knows no such word as "defeat". We are convinced that, if this is understood, no misconceptions will arise in the community and that it will be able to make excellent progress.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 11-2-1914

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## 266. LETTER TO RAOJIBHAI PATEL

[CAPE TOWN,]
*Sunday* [After *February 15, 1914*]

DEAR SHRI RAOJIBHAI,

I must have piled up claims on you in some previous life. Else, how could I deserve so much love from you? Still, the love that you showed me in my misfortune yesterday was beyond description. For this, I pray, may you both grow brighter in your souls. You should pray, likewise, that having experienced this love [of yours], I may grow the stronger in my faith in soul-force. If a trivial pledge, none too important in itself, i.e., the mere undertaking of *tapascharya*, can achieve so much, there can be no measuring, as the simple rule of three will show, how much may be achieved by *tapascharya* actually practised. Quite so. Had I not taken the vow, I would not have tasted pure love as I did; there would have been no speedy discovery of truth and the poor children would not have been proved innocent as they actually were.[1]

Chi. . . . has had to come down from the heights where I had imagined her to be. Still my mind tells me that she is a blessed soul. Her virtues are many. It is our duty to develop them. Her action and her guilt were serious indeed. We should act so as not to remind her of them. Encourage her to become proficient in household work. See that none of the children insults her . . . [2] Continue the readings from holy books in the evenings. I shall hold it to be R's responsibility to wake up the children at five . . .[3] See that I have regular news of Maganbhai's health.

*With due regards*
MOHANDAS

[From Gujarati]
*Mahatma Gandhijina Patro* and *Gandhijini Sadhana*

[1] A Phœnix teacher, had committed a breach of Ashram discipline by eating *pakodas* along with some students. Though she denied this lapse when questioned by Gandhiji, she confessed it the day after he had decided to go on an indefinite fast of atonement.

[2] & [3] Some portions have been omitted here in the sources.

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## 267. ANGLIA'S EVIDENCE

With reference to our criticism, Mr. Anglia writes as follows to Mr. Gandhi :

I have carefully gone through your comments, in *Indian Opinion*, on my evidence. I very much regret that you thought it fit to pass judgment before publishing the full evidence in Gujarati. Was it worthily done? Be that as it may, I believe that the paper exists for the community, and you claim to serve the community. If, therefore, you mean to serve it well, you should print the full text of the evidence in the next issue. You may then make whatever comments you wish to. Until you reproduce the entire evidence, how can the public form their own judgment?

We certainly intend to reproduce the evidence. We took it that everyone must have read it in the local papers. But we have with us a verbatim report. We intend to publish in Gujarati the evidence as it appears in this report so that no injustice is done. We offered our comments after seeing the report of the evidence in the papers. If, after going through the verbatim report, we feel like changing our opinion, we will certainly do so. But we found the evidence as reported in the papers so bad that we did not think it proper to wait till we had read the full text. It was our duty to give a timely warning. If the evidence was not correctly reported in the Press, Mr. Anglia and Mr. Dada Osman should have sent a correction to the Press. In any case, we shall, as we have said, write again after going through the full text of the evidence.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 18-2-1914

## 268. CABLE TO G. K. GOKHALE

CAPE TOWN,
*February 18, 1914*

GOKHALE
SERVINDIA
POONA

LECTURE RABINDRANATH TAGORE BY ANDREWS CITY HALL. MAYOR PRESIDING PUBLICLY EXPRESSED SYMPATHY WITH ANDREWS MISSION. VERY LARGE DISTINGUISHED AUDIENCE INCLUDING PROMINENT MEMBERS PARLIAMENT. LECTURE

SIMILAR VICEREGAL LODGE SIMLA. MERRIMAN LATE PREMIER EMPHASISED NEED BETTER UNDERSTANDING HIGHER INDIAN LIFE. ANDREWS HAD TRULY INTERPRETED THIS. NO GREATER SERVICE TODAY THAN SUCH INTERPRETATION. GOVERNOR-GENERAL EXPRESSED DEEP SATISFACTION HEARING SUCH LECTURE AT PRESENT CRITICAL TIME. THANKED ANDREWS FOR SERVICE RENDERED CAUSE OF PEACE AND SETTLEMENT. TRUSTED SETTLEMENT NEAR AT HAND. HIMSELF WHEN OXFORD SPECIALIZED INDIAN HISTORY ALSO TRAVELLED INDIA. WARMEST APPRECIATION OF HIGHER INDIAN LIFE AND THOUGHT SUCH AS TAGORE REPRESENTED. WISHED MORE STUDY INDIA NOT LAND COOLIES BUT LAND NOBLE IDEALS SUCH AS ANDREWS EXPLAINED. LORD GLADSTONE SPOKE WITH DEEP FEELING. LECTURE PROMINENTLY REVIEWED CREATING GOOD IMPRESSION. EXPAND PUBLISH THIS CABLEGRAM.

GANDHI

From a photostat of the original as delivered: C. W. 4851
Courtesy: Servants of India Society

## *269. CABLE TO G. K. GOKHALE*

CAPE TOWN,
*February 19, 1914*

GOKHALE
SERVINDIA
POONA

"CAPE TIMES" REPRODUCES ANDREWS LECTURE FULLY WITH LEADING ARTICLE. REPORTS GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S CONCLUDING WORDS AS FOLLOWS: PERSONALITY OF TAGORE WAS INTENSE EXPRESSION OF INDIAN IMAGINATIVE NATIONAL LIFE. INDIA HAD DEVELOPED PERHAPS FAR ABOVE OTHER PARTS BRITISH EMPIRE IN CIVILIZATION AND EFFORTS TO ATTAIN HIGHER LIFE. HE BELIEVED ANDREWS LECTURE WOULD DO MUCH SOLVE TROUBLE WHICH HAD ARISEN BETWEEN INDIA AND SOUTH AFRICA. HE THANKED ANDREWS HEARTILY FOR ALL HIS EFFORTS IN SOUTH AFRICA TO BRING ABOUT BETTER UNDERSTANDING.

GANDHI

From a photostat of the original as delivered: C.W. 4852
Courtesy: Servants of India Society

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## 270. LETTER TO RAOJIBHAI PATEL

CAPE TOWN,
*Maha Vad 12* [*February 21, 1914*]

DEAR SHRI RAOJIBHAI,

I have your letter. . . . It is not that I wanted Chi. Manilal to be sent there. He has been removed from the atmosphere of luxury here. . . . Chi. Jamnadas has been sent there for the same reason. . . . I believe that one who wants to observe *brahmacharya* should not dwell in the midst of luxuries. Ba seems to maintain good health. Be particular that the boys there become hard-working and that none of them slackens ever so little in the matter of getting up early. How does Maganbhai keep? Give me a detailed report. See that Imam Saheb's wife does not feel uncomfortable. If any particular article of food is found necessary for her, I think it will be all right to have it specially prepared or allow it to be prepared.

Beyond doubt Mr. Andrews has done great work.

*Blessings from*
MOHANDAS

[From Gujarati]
*Mahatma Gandhijina Patro* and *Jivannu Parodh*

## 271. CABLE TO G. K. GOKHALE

CAPE TOWN,
*February 24, 1914*

REV. MR. ANDREWS, WHO LEFT FOR ENGLAND ON SATURDAY, ADDRESSED PRIVATELY BEFORE LEAVING A MEETING OF CHURCH COUNCIL, AT WHICH I ALSO WAS INVITED TO SPEAK. MR. ANDREWS ALSO DELIVERED AN ADDRESS TO UNIVERSITY STUDENTS ON TAGORE AND HIS MESSAGE, THE VICE-CHANCELLOR PRESIDING. INDIAN COMMUNITY BADE HIM FAREWELL AT A PUBLIC MEETING AT WHICH MANY ENGLISH VISITORS WERE PRESENT. THE GENERAL IMPRESSION CREATED BY HIS MISSION HAS BEEN MOST FAVOURABLE. INDIANS FEEL DEEPLY GRATEFUL FOR DEPUTATION OF MESSRS ANDREWS AND PEARSON. MANY EUROPEANS, INCLUDING MINISTERS,

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HAVE EXPRESSED SINCERE SATISFACTION AT THE RESULTS OF THE VISIT. MR. ANDREWS SPREAD A SPIRIT OF SYMPATHY AND LOVE ALL ROUND AND HAS CONTRIBUTED MUCH TOWARDS SPEEDY SETTLEMENT.

GANDHI

Servants of India Society

## *272. LETTER TO RAOJIBHAI PATEL*

CAPE TOWN,
*Maha Vad 30* [*February 24, 1914*][1]

DEAR FRIEND,

Your letter about J, I have sent on to Doctor and the one about M, I destroyed after reading. Putting that letter in his hand might, I thought, have the wrong effect on him. Now I feel, however, that you should communicate these views to him direct. I have formed a very bad impression about him. It seemed to me that, if he were to read your letter, he would be angry with you and would run into sin, and that would have been a state far worse than you have described. I thought later whether or no I should send it on to him and in the end decided as above.

It is beyond all doubt that, if we keep back anything from one whom we trust or give a false impression about us, we would come to no good. And so J's and . . . 's sins have been regarded as heinous. It is because of their extreme hypocrisy that they could be guilty of such [sins]. If they had no mind to deceive, they would, after they had turned into beasts under the urge of passion, have soon become human beings again and stopped pursuing pleasure. One seems now to be back on the right path and the other caught in the toils of desire and given over to hypocrisy.

[*Blessings from*
MOHANDAS]

[From Gujarati]
*Mahatma Gandhijina Patro*

[1] This appears to have been written in 1914 when Gandhiji was in Cape Town for negotiations with Smuts.

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## 273. IN MEMORIAM

In another column we record the lamented death of yet another martyr to the passive resistance cause. Miss Valliamah Moonsamy, a young lady not yet in her twenties, was one of those devoted Indian women who sought imprisonment in protest against a marriage law that dishonoured her parents' marriage and cast a stigma upon her own birth. Her sudden and unexpected demise, two days after her return home, holds in it all the elements of tragedy. We mourn the loss of a noble daughter of India who did her simple duty without question, and who has set an example of womanly fortitude, pride and virtue that will, we are sure, not be lost upon the Indian community. We tender to her family our most respectful sympathy.

*Indian Opinion*, 25-2-1914

## 274. UNTIMELY DEATH OF A YOUNG PASSIVE RESISTER

It is with extreme regret we announce the death of Miss Valliamah, the eldest daughter of Mr. R. Moonsamy Moodaliar of Johannesburg, on the 22nd instant at Johannesburg, after a prolonged illness in gaol. It appears that she was taken to bed immediately after her conviction, and also after her release was suffering greatly. The late Miss Valliamah was born in Johannesburg in 1898 and attended the Government School. She joined the passive resistance struggle on the 29th October last and proceeded to Newcastle with a party of ladies. She afterwards rendered assistance at Charlestown, Dundee, Ladysmith, Dannhauser, Maritzburg, Tongaat and Durban. She eventually re-crossed the Transvaal border and was convicted, with her mother and others, at Volksrust on the 22nd of December 1913, to three months' imprisonment with hard labour and was discharged on the 11th instant in terms of the Provisional Agreement.

Her father is one of the pioneer Indian settlers of the Transvaal. He was once in gaol as a passive resister and during the last campaign was very ill and only came out of the hospital where he underwent an operation recently. We share the sorrows of the parents and express our deepest sympathy at their irreparable loss.

*Indian Opinion*, 25-2-1914

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## 275. LETTER TO JAMNADAS GANDHI

[CAPE TOWN,]
*Phagan Sud 2, 1970* [*February 26, 1914*]

CHI. JAMNADAS,

I see that you and Manilal have for once failed to understand me. Had I thought that it was for your good to keep you, I would not have sent you away merely to serve my convenience. I could not have fought against the atmosphere here. You have no idea of how subtle its effect can be. . . .[1] I noted Dr. Gool's priceless worth long before any of you did. However, just as I recognize similar worth in you and yet consider you weak and mere children, and would hesitate to place anyone under your charge, much in the same way I would hesitate to place innocent youths like you under Dr. Gool's influence. Dr. Gool himself knows that he is a mere child. He knows his shortcomings too and that is the reason he has kept his own brother away from him. . . .is rash and passionate. I do not want to see such rashness and passion in you. You have not acquired the discrimination of the swan[2]. If you had, there would have been no occasion for me to criticize you so harshly. You have found my excess of love scorching on this occasion. That happens. Calm yourself down, though. I have not acted without thinking. You are wrong in charging me with arguing like a lawyer. Once before also you said this. I find from experience that I possess in an especial degree the gift of analysis and of discriminating right from wrong and, in the result, my nice arguments sound like special pleading to others. All the same, you may unhesitatingly say whatever you wish to in self-defence or with a view to putting me right. That is your duty. I insist on your continuing to write to me. Ba is just the same. The danger is not over.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
*Jivannu Parodh*

[1] Some words are missing here in the source.
[2] Fabled to have the gift of separating milk from water

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## 276. LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI

[CAPE TOWN,
About *February 26, 1914*][1]

. . .[2] You have sinned, without knowing it, in charging me with cruelty. How could I have grown cruel in fifteen days? I have given no such impression to others. Nothing of the sort happened in Phœnix. I have grown very tender to Ba, as she has observed. If I turned cruel to you, what little goodness I claim would be no more than a show and I would think that my life had been wasted.

But I shall no doubt appear cruel to you at present. . . .[3] The veil of ignorance which prevented me from seeing the same veil over you has vanished, leaving only pure love. This love appears cruel to you for the time being, for, like a physician, I must make you swallow bitter draughts. . . .[4] I have grown impatient to help you. . .[5] to become perfect. Impatience is my weakness. To the extent that I am impatient, I am but a fond lover. I have fondness enough in me yet to make me attached to you for being my son. When that has gone, even the cruelty that you think you see in me you will see no more. Meanwhile, please bear with me.

And now for the contradictions in your letter. For three days you did not [as you say] go out to see Cape Town because of my harsh words. And yet, when leaving, you expressed a desire to do so, though I was in a rage. The harsh words had been there, even on Sunday. Believing that I was cruel, how could you hope to learn anything by living with me? You showed yourself very keen on visiting Table Mountain. When I told you then that you would see much more, what did you find in that to take offence?

Well, what has happened has happened. It is your duty not to take notice of my faults. A son should have devotion enough to his father not to notice his shortcomings but to think only of his virtues. I should like to see this trustfulness in you. I don't want to make an ascetic of you. I want to see your character pure, to see in you truthfulness, chastity, straightforwardness, tenderness, self-confidence, humility and goodness. I want to see

[1] This letter, evidently addressed to Manilal Gandhi, appears to have been written about the same time as "Letter to Jamnadas Gandhi", the preceding item.

[2],[3],[4]&[5] Some words are missing here in the source.

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you indifferent to the common pleasures of the world. I doubt, however, if you have these at present. I am not asking you to start doing immediately everything I do. But I want you to understand my deepest feelings and so attain true success in your life.

Send this letter to Chi. Jamnadas.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
*Jivannu Parodh*

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

CAPE TOWN,
*February 27, 1914*

DEAR MR. GOKHALE,

For the time being I am at Cape Town watching the course of events. I do not want to inflict on you any news about the struggle. I shall be as brief as I possibly can.

Mr. Andrews and Mr. Pearson are truly good men, we all like them very much. Sir Benjamin has disappointed us. He has hardly done any good and he may do a great deal of harm. He is weak and by no means sincere. Even now he has hardly grasped the details. And he undoubtedly, consciously or unconsciously, fosters divisions among us. Mr. Andrews will tell you all about him. But I thought that I should give you my impressions of Sir Benjamin.

If there is a settlement in March, I propose to leave for India in April. I shall have with me probably about 20 men, women and children who will live with me. These will include the school children who are likely to come. I do not know whether you still want me to live at the Servants of India quarters in Poona or how. I shall be prepared to do so immediately after I have paid a visit to the members of my family. It is likely that the number living with me may be augmented by some members of my family who may wish to share my life and work. Please do not consider yourself bound to keep me at the Society's quarters. I am entirely in your hands. I want to learn at your feet and gain the necessary experience. No matter whether I am staying somewhere under your guidance or not, I shall scrupulously observe the compact of silence for one year after my arrival in India. The

vow of silence as I have understood it does not include the South African question and may be broken at your wish for furthering any project about which both of us hold the same view.

My present ambition you know. It is to be by your side as your nurse and attendant. I want to have the real discipline of obeying someone whom I love and look up to. I know I made a bad secretary in South Africa. I hope to do better in the Motherland if I am accepted.

May you benefit in health by the change and the calmer atmosphere on the continent.

This letter will be in your hands about the middle of March. If you deem it necessary to say anything to me about my movements, you will of course cable. I assume too that you will not want me to go to Poona before you return. If you did, I should of course go.

If I am enabled to leave for India in April, I propose to use the funds you have sent for our passages which shall be all deck. I have no means of my own and Phœnix can hardly supply funds now. It is drained totally dry.

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

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: G.N. 3774

## *278. CABLE TO G. K. GOKHALE*

[CAPE TOWN,]
*February 28, 1914*

[GOKHALE]
SERVINDIA
POONA

BALANCE HERE NEARLY EIGHTEEN THOUSAND

From a photostat of the original as delivered: C.W. 4854

Courtesy: Servants of India Society

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## 279. LETTER TO JAMNADAS GANDHI

[CAPE TOWN,]
*Phagan Sud 3, 1970* [*February 28, 1914*]

CHI. JAMNADAS,

There is no telegram from you, and no letter either, except one; it looks as if you are angry. Your letter from Kimberley was not well considered. Having seen, however, that your conduct itself, while you were here, was defiant, why should I complain about a letter? The letters from both of you indicate that Cape Town has been no healthy influence on you. . . .[1] Why is it that in Phœnix I did not get exasperated by anyone's conduct? I forget, there was one exception, Miss Schlesin. But she could realize her mistakes in the end. In the beginning she gave me nothing but trouble. You two, on the other hand, started pointing out my faults. I hope you will think the matter over and calm down. I am not writing to Manilal today. Please, therefore, send this on to him.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
*Jivannu Parodh*

## 280. LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI

7, BUITENCINGLE,
[CAPE TOWN,]
*Phagan Sud 3* [*February 28, 1914*][2]

CHI. MANILAL,

I have your letter. I know that you are sorry. You haven't the courage to answer when someone asks you why you went away. It shouldn't be difficult for you to say that you were sent away to live by yourself because father did not like your ways. You should realize that in releasing you from attendance on Ba and asking you to go, without thinking of my personal convenience, I must have

[1] Some words appear to have been omitted here in the source.

[2] From the reference to Andrews in the letter, it appears to have been written in 1914 after his departure from South Africa on February 21.

acted with the purest of love. More than your services, I want good behaviour from you. If you become so good that you will never make a slip, I should ask for no more. I would tell Ba too that it was as well you had left. For the last four days I have been seeing that there is meat on the table thrice a day. I manage to finish my meals earlier since I have changed the hours. It hurt me very much yesterday to have to see all that meat in front of me and I simply did not know what to do. I have now decided that, as far as possible, my meal-hours shall not be the same as theirs. They are not at fault in this matter. They tell me quite frankly [that I can fix my own hours]. Formerly, I was not sensitive about this. It is only now that I am growing so. This sensitiveness on my part is a good sign. At the same time they are not to be blamed for having all these things prepared. But I would certainly not wish you to be placed in such surroundings. But for Ba being with me, I would touch none of the preparations. At present, all sorts of things are being prepared. They have bun and also jam; and even ground-nut is cooked. Of course, this is not the reason for my sending you away. But having regard to this as well, I think it is good you have left. So long as Mr. Andrews was here, he acted as a shield for you, but they would not have desisted from meat-preparations on your account. Your going away can do you nothing but good. If you are keen on serving Ba or me, you will certainly have the opportunity to do so. That will be only when you are earnest in your desire, or when, wanting your services out of our pure selfishness, I spoil you. This can never be, so that your serving [us] depends entirely on the effort you make. Consider the full meaning of this letter and ponder over it. Do not be angry with father.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5650
Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri

## 281. LETTER TO KHUSHALCHAND GANDHI

[CAPE TOWN,]
*Phagan Sud 4* [*March 1, 1914*]

RESPECTED KHUSHALBHAI,

How could I help being happy beyond words that, in deference to my wish, you have sent on Jamnadas also? He has conducted himself in gaol in the same spirit that moved him to come over here. The courage and presence of mind he displayed when going to gaol and while in gaol, few others could have shown in their first experience. I can recall no such instance at the moment. Jamnadas behaved as though he had already gone through the mill. This shows that he had lived in thought through the experience of others and profited by it. Many people learn nothing unless they themselves suffer; but I have observed that Jamnadas has the gift [of learning from the experience of others]. His habit of thinking too much has an unsettling effect on him, but I believe this will disappear in course of time. He keeps well enough.

About the question of his marriage, it would be better, I think, to talk over the matter when we meet instead of my expressing an opinion right now. I have understood your point. After considering all the circumstances, we shall take whatever step we may decide on. I think Chi. Narandas[1] should be able to meet all your special requirements. It should be enough for you to have one son to attend on you, if that is what you want. This too I should like to discuss personally with you when we meet there. Provided a settlement comes off, I hope to start in April. Should the struggle start again, there will be nothing to think about. Jamnadas must, in that case, go through it. I have seen in him a courageous spirit which I should be very happy indeed to bring out. I see that all your sons have it in them to be ornaments to the family, to the community and to the whole world. From among them all, Jamnadas may even prove to be the best, thanks to his *karma*[2]. And naturally too. He is the youngest of the four, and so, when the two of you drew his life into being, your spiritual state had attained full maturity and Jamnadas, too, would have that maturity. He has also the advantage of several

[1] Third son of the addressee
[2] Acts or deeds, here meritorious

other circumstances denied to his three brothers[1]. All these, however, are my conjectures. Our duty in the matter is to encourage and develop whatever good we observe in our children. The rest must depend on the working out of their *prarabdha*[2].

You have two daughters-in-law, at any rate, of the same calibre as your sons. Having known Kashi and Santok, I have always felt that I have been granted such tender-hearted children because of some former good deeds of mine. They have spared no pains to meet my wishes and have made my work here very easy.

As if fortune had not favoured me enough already, respected Kalabhai[3] also wants to entrust his son to me. I am not the one to fight shy of accepting additional responsibilities, and my conscience tells me that I have perfect faith in God.

*With deepest regards from*
MOHANDAS

[PS.]

As Chi. Harilal was with you about a month ago, the letter[4] to him is addressed c/o you.

*With deepest regards from*
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5637
Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

## *282. LETTER TO RAOJIBHAI PATEL*

CAPE TOWN,
*Phagan Sud 4* [*March 1, 1914*]

DEAR RAOJIBHAI,

I have your letter. It has indeed been a deliverance for Nepal[5]. I have known his wife to be a hard-hearted woman. Death should make us think of our duty and fill us with contempt for the body, but inspire no fear. It seems that a man does not suffer excessively even when he is burnt to death. When the pain

[1] Chhaganlal, Maganlal and Narandas
[2] Accumulated merit or demerit of past lives
[3] Lakshmidas, Gandhiji's eldest brother
[4] *Vide* "Letter to Harilal Gandhi", pp. 367-9.
[5] An indentured Indian who had lived near the Phœnix Settlement with his wife, also indentured. Lying ill in bed, he was burnt to death when his hut caught fire. His wife had ill-treated him because he was of a lower caste.

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becomes unbearable, he loses consciousness. Those who cling to the body so very tenaciously only suffer the more. One who knows the truth about the *atman* will have no fear of death. Thousands of men, thousands of creatures, are burnt to death, like Nepal, every moment now. In the universe, Nepal is an infinitely smaller creature than even an ant. How many creatures, relatively bigger than Nepal, do we not burn away, knowingly or otherwise, in making fires or using lights at night?

Imagine a being of immense size like Brahma[1]. To him, we must be smaller than ants. The very size of his eyes must be so large that we would look like fleas. What if Nepal has been burnt to death by a creature like this? He might have even believed that he might burn away a creature like Nepal for the happiness of a great being such as he was. To us, Nepal is a creature of our size, so that we pity him, afraid of what we might suffer in similar circumstances. But the argument we use in our wisdom about creatures like the ant, the bug, the flea and other countless insects invisible to our naked eye, must be the very argument applied to us by the much wiser Brahma. If we can understand this, we may learn the following lessons from the case of Nepal and others of the kind:

1. We should have compassion on ourselves as on all creatures, looking on them as one, and draw back in alarm from destruction of life for any purpose of ours.
2. We should cherish no fond attachment for the body and have no fear whatever of death.
3. We should strive for *moksha* right now, knowing that the body is all too apt to let us down.

It is very easy to utter these three maxims but it is difficult to ponder over them and, after pondering, it is like walking on a sword blade to put them into practice.

It is morning now. My ideas flow in this direction, for Ba is in pain again and I am trying to free her from the fear of death.

*With due regards*
MOHANDAS

[From Gujarati]
*Jivannu Parodh*

[1] The Creator, Supreme Being

## 283. FRAGMENT OF LETTER[1]

[CAPE TOWN,
About *March 1, 1914*][2]

. . . saved the child. She is making herself miserable with grieving, but to what purpose now? If the woman had restrained her anger, had paused to think, had looked round, things would not have come to such a terrible end. We should, accordingly, pause and think when about to do anything and then do it calmly. If we did so, we would not be misled by anyone, would not follow the example of others thoughtlessly and would continue to go forward. You will be able to achieve something worthwhile only when you have such strength of mind in you. Consider, moreover, that it is your duty twice over to strive towards this end.

Nothing can be said about Ba's health. One does not know when she will leave the bed, if at all. Just now, she wants support even when she wants to sit up in the bed. She lives for the most part on *neem* juice, taking grapes or orange juice occasionally. She is at peace, however. Please do not make yourself unhappy that you are denied the opportunity of attending on her. To make up for that. . .

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5654
Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri

## 284. LETTER TO HARILAL GANDHI

[CAPE TOWN,]
*Phagan Sud 5* [*March 2, 1914*][3]

CHI. HARILAL,

I have your letter. You apologize in every letter of yours and put up a defence as well. It all seems to me sheer hypocrisy now. For years, you have been slack in writing letters, and then coming forward with apologies. Will this go on till death, I

[1] Only the second page of the letter is available.

[2] This appears to have been written about the same time as "Letter to Raojibhai Patel", the preceding item, in which Gandhiji has referred to the death of Nepal.

[3] From Gandhiji's reference to his being in Cape Town with Kasturba Gandhi, it appears this letter was written in 1914.

forgiving every time? And what is the point of my forgiving? Forgiving has a meaning only to the extent that the person who has apologized does not err again. My forgiving you all the time means that I should go on doing my duty as father though you may not do yours as son. My duty, of course, I shall continue to do according to my judgment. I don't believe that you are impatient to see us both; equally, this idea that you were to come here sounds insincere to me. Does one who really means to come trumpet it aloud? Now, of course, your coming is pointless, as you say. I see that your ideas and mine differ very much. Your conception of your duty as son differs from mine, but I have no right to enquire what your duty is. If you go on doing your duty as you in all sincerity conceive it to be, I shall be perfectly satisfied. Whether your idea of duty is sincere or not, I and others will be able to judge from your actions. It seems you have also applied your mind to what my duty is, and in this respect, too, our ideas differ. It should be for me to consider what my duty is. You may, nevertheless, continue to tell me what you think.

I did not reply to your letter. I got it after my release from gaol. Your suggestions, however, were carried out; that is, I wrote to Revashankerbhai that he should have a talk with you and give you more [money] as may seem necessary.

You want my advice regarding Chanchi, and also about your studies. You violate all the conditions I had made and you promised to fulfil. You were asked never to go in for studies at the cost of your health. You have failed to take care of it. No wonder that Ramdas and Manilal have outdone you. And Ramdas has put in a fine effort, indeed, and grown in size as well. Manilal, too, has plenty of strength and would have been stronger yet if he had not taken to the evil ways of pleasure. Even their studies I take to be sounder than yours. Your mind is now running after Bombay. You say you have Revashankerbhai's consent for that. What weight can that consent carry with me? I would submit in all humility to Revashankerbhai's judgment of a diamond. How could I listen to him in the matter of studies? You are, so it seems to me, in a state of stupefaction. What, then, am I to say? You can only think of Davar's classes. That simply stuns me. Do you think it will be much of an achievement to pass the matriculation examination? I do not even understand what it is that you want to do. I would only advise you to do nothing. Wait till my return. Meanwhile, read as you like. Do not, however, start a new venture. Later, you may talk things over with me, but only if you want to.

If, indeed, you wish to go ahead with your plan for studies, you should have Chanchi stay with me and should yourself stay away from me. I shall supply your needs. Think of Chanchi when you turn your mind to earning. If you wish to live as I want you to, stay with me and be my right hand. Use your own judgment in all these matters, taking no thought of my personal inclinations. Weighing my advice against that of others, do what you think best. I am a father who is prejudiced against you. I do not approve of your ways at all. I doubt whether you have any love for us. This statement sounds very harsh, but I see extreme insincerity in your letters. If I am mistaken in this, consider that I am in Kurukshetra[1] and so forgive me, showing me the generosity that Shravana[2] did to his parents. Even worldly children show some marks of love for their parents. You have shown none. Nevertheless, I am so proud a father that I attribute perfection to my children. This is an error. It is spiritual darkness. But, apart from this . . .[3] have not fulfilled. . . .[4] Despite your promise, you did not send me the papers at the last year's examination. You have not taken the trouble to remember to send this year's either. I become angry when writing to you and also feel like crying. This is my ignorant state, my lack of enlightenment. I ought not to be so much attached to you. I will free myself from this. Be patient with me till I succeed.

Now I have given you too long a lesson. I will write no more. I shall be satisfied if you treat me as a friend and show me the regard due to a friend. I want you to improve your character and train your inner self.

I will probably go there in April. Just now I am in Cape Town. Ba is with me. She lies hanging between life and death. Till yesterday, she was very bad indeed. There is again a little improvement. She is a mere skeleton. She gives me no trouble, but, not having succeeded yet in disciplining the palate, she suffers and pines. I am by her side the whole day. Between yesterday and today, she must have consumed the juice of two tomatoes and a teaspoonful of oil.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 9543

[1] The great battlefield of the *Mahabharata*, figuratively used for turmoil or conflict.

[2] *Vide* Vol. X, p. 198.

[3&4] A few words are missing here.

## *285. LETTER TO SIR BENJAMIN ROBERTSON*

7, BUITENCINGLE,
CAPE TOWN,
*March 4, 1914*

DEAR SIR BENJAMIN,

It strikes me that, with reference to Mr. Polak's note, I should mention perhaps the manner in which relief can be granted in the several matters.

*Immigration.* Relief can be easily given in the administration of this Act, as there is one Act applicable to all the Provinces and it can be done by altering the regulations in the desired direction. Inter-provincial visiting and travelling permits should be granted for the asking and either without a deposit or with a small deposit and no more than a shilling stamp to cover the bare cost.

Certificates of identity should be of a permanent duration even as the Transvaal certificates are—why should the Transvaal have an advantage over the other Provinces in these matters?

The question of the withdrawal and return of children should be definitely fixed.

Proof required from wives who would be administratively admitted should be definitely stated. Indeed, it is necessary to go through the regulations clause by clause with Mr. Gorges and then discuss them with General Smuts.

*Dealers' Licences.* This is a difficult question. The three Provinces have three different laws and they are not administered directly by the Union Government. The control is partly in the hands of the Provincial Governments and partly in those of the municipalities. Each municipality has its own policy and bye-laws. The utmost that can be done is for the Government to address circulars to the responsible bodies warning them of the danger of following a sweeping policy. This method was successfully adopted by the late Mr. Escombe[1] who was himself the author of the Natal licensing law of 1896. And the local administrations will not fail to note the changed attitude of the Union administration if it ever changes for the better.

[1] Sir Harry Escombe (1838-99); leading advocate, who pleaded for Gandhiji's admission to the Bar of the Natal Supreme Court; was Prime Minister of Natal for a few months in 1897.

*The Transvaal Gold Laws*. In this the Union Government can give definite relief by accepting the meaning that I have ventured to give to the expression 'vested rights' which they have promised in their dispatches to respect. By 'vested rights' I understand the right of the Indian and his successors to live and trade in the township he was living in and trading, no matter how often he shifts his residence or business from place to place in the same township.

*Law of 1885 Transvaal.* The Government can safely and easily administer the Law in a liberal or, rather, just spirit by granting the benefit of a freehold title in Locations or Wards fixed under the Law. In this connection I would state that it would be a most dangerous thing for the Government to de-proclaim old established Locations.

*Education.* The Government have sadly neglected this matter. The wretched schools in Natal and the few at the Cape and the Transvaal serve no useful purpose. The vernaculars are neglected and Indians are becoming dis-Indianised, without becoming Europeanised in the proper sense.

*Future admissions.* The number of future admissions of new men needed for the wants of the community has not yet been fixed save for the Transvaal. I have suggested at least 40 for the Union. This is far below the average of the past five years.

Every one of these points is covered by the 5th clause of the Passive Resistance declaration.[1] They can hardly be tackled by the Commission. But, in my humble opinion, they can be best dealt with by a full discussion between you and General Smuts. The whole weight of the Government of India will have to be used in our behalf if real peace is to be enjoyed by the Indians of South Africa and the Viceroy so far as the S. A. question is concerned.

May I trouble you to send me a copy of this letter? I have no typing assistance here.

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

From a photostat of a copy of the original: S.N. 5945 & 5954

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Secretary for Interior", pp. 183-6.

## *286. LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI*

[CAPE TOWN,]
*Wednesday, Phagan Sud 7* [*March 4, 1914*]

CHI. MANILAL,

I have your letter. You ought not to have hidden from me the fact that you lost the tin of water. Just think how much care I take even in regard to such things and take a lesson from it. But that lesson you will take only if you lay open your heart before me. You will not be able to learn anything so long as you try to hide your mistakes from me, even for a moment. Be sure that hiding or secrecy is a form of untruth, which is like poison in the system. A poison turns other healthy substances also into poison. Even a grain of arsenic is enough to render milk unfit for drinking. Insist on getting up at 4 a.m. always. If it is very cold, sit in the house, cover yourself liberally but do get up early. You may go to bed as early as you like; I do not mind that.

As regards food, you may have three meals a day if you feel the necessity. You need not control yourself in the matter of taking food. It is enough if you observe some rules regarding the articles of food.

Ba is somewhat better today; but still the crisis is not over. She is bed-ridden. Mrs. Gool and her children are a great help.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C. W. 1500
Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri

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## 287. LETTER TO DEVDAS GANDHI

[CAPE TOWN,]
*Phagan Sud 8, 1970* [*March 5, 1914*]

CHI. DEVDAS[1],

Improve your handwriting. Ba's condition has grown very bad of late. She and I both believe that medical treatment has had altogether an adverse effect on her. She herself had asked for such treatment. After she had had two or three doses, her condition became serious. She can eat no food at present. She took a few grapes yesterday, but it seems they did not agree with her. Even if the end is death, we have made up our minds to have no fear of it. You need not worry, therefore. The body is sure to fall, and that, on the appointed day. Remedies occur to us accordingly. The *atman*, besides, is immortal and, though we seem to be concerned only with the body, our real concern should be for the *atman*. For a truth, we don't preserve the body for any length of time after the soul has left it. So thinking, I take the necessary measures for Ba's health and then stop worrying, and I would ask you all to do the same. Realizing, then, the fate of the body, we should cultivate goodness[2] and disinterestedness. Goodness does not mean outward indifference to objects of desire or a wandering life, but purity of character. Disinterestedness does not mean gloominess but aversion to the pleasures of the senses and absence of interest in the things of this world. If you learn this during Ba's illness, that will be evidence, indeed, of your true devotion to her.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
*Jivannu Parodh*

[1] Gandhiji's fourth and youngest son

[2] The Gujarati word is an abstract noun from *sadhu*, which in Sanskrit means "good", but in popular usage has come to mean an "ascetic".

## *288. LETTER TO SIR BENJAMIN ROBERTSON*

CAPE TOWN,
*March 6, 1914*

DEAR SIR BENJAMIN,

You will see from the enclosed that every result feared from the Searle judgment is being brought about by the very action of the Government. The original case is reported in *Indian Opinion.*[1] But I send you the *Pretoria News* cutting. I was waiting for the Supreme Court decision. This was invited, as you will observe, by the Government. Now the Highest Court has reversed the decision of the Lower Court and the children of *de facto* monogamous unions [are] declared illegitimate and, therefore, prohibited immigrants. Now, such children and the children of wives to be administratively allowed to enter the Union are to be protected under the proposed settlement. Will you kindly go into this matter and secure, pending settlement, the non-deportation of the child? As I am writing to you, I am not myself writing to the Government in this matter.

May I ask you please to let me have copies of this and my previous letter?[2]

*I am,*
*Yours truly,*
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of a copy of the original: S.N. 5946 & 5954

[1] The case of *Immigration Officer* v. *Mahomed Hasan* reported in *Indian Opinion*, 11-2-1914 & 11-3-1914, decided that a child of a polygamous marriage celebrated outside the Union was not exempted under Section 5(g) of Act 23, 1913, and, as such, was a prohibited immigrant.

[2] Typewritten copies of these were later sent by Sir Benjamin.

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## 289. LETTER TO RAOJIBHAI PATEL

CAPE TOWN,
*Phagan Sud 10* [*March 7, 1914*]

DEAR SHRI RAOJIBHAI,

I read and re-read your letter. Shankaracharya has a verse which says that more patience and time are required for disciplining the mind, that is, attaining *moksha*, than is needed by a man who, sitting on the shore, would empty the ocean of all its water drop by drop with a blade of grass. You seem to be in too great a hurry.

I have not got rid of the fear of death, despite much thinking. But I feel no impatience. I keep on trying and I am sure I shall get rid of it one day. We should not let go a single occasion when we may try. That is our duty. It is for God to produce or will the result. Why worry then? When feeding her baby, the mother has no thought of the result. The result does follow, though. To get rid of the fear of death and to drive away desire, make the effort and keep cheerful; and they will disappear. Otherwise, it will be the same with you as with the man who, resolving not to think about a monkey, kept on thinking of one.

We are born in sin, and we are enslaved in the body, because of our sinful deeds; how can you hope to cleanse yourself of all the impurity just in a minute?

You may live as you like,
Realize God anyhow.

This is the teaching of Akha Bhagat[1]. Tulsidasji says:

> Whether in adversity or no, repeat over and over again the name of Rama and you will achieve all there is to be achieved.

This is the end we must aim at. Therefore, go on repeating that name. Be clear in your mind who this Rama is. He is unconditioned, formless. Armed with the countless virtues that belong to the godly nature, He destroys Ravana, representing a host of monstrous desires. He practised penance for 12 years to earn this strength. Finally, do not allow your body or mind to remain idle even for a moment. Keep both cheerfully engaged; if you do this, all your troubles are bound to vanish. For the rest, have faith in God;

[1] Mystic poet of the 17th century, famed for his satire; vedantist and rationalist

your depending on me will be in vain. This faith will be to some purpose only after you have done what I have advised.

If the heart is pure, the grosser impulses of the body will have no scope. But what do we mean by the heart? And when may we believe the heart to be pure? The heart is nothing else but the *atman* or the seat of the *atman*. To imagine that it is pure is to imply perfect realization of the *atman* and, in the presence of such realization, the cravings of the senses are inconceivable. But ordinarily we attribute purity to the heart when we are but striving after such purity. Say, I love you. This only means that I try to cultivate such a feeling for you. If I have unceasing love, I should be a perfectly enlightened man, which, indeed, I am not. Anyone for whom I have true love will not misunderstand my intentions or words, nor will such a one bear ill-will to me. It follows from this that, when anyone looks upon us as his enemy, the fault is primarily ours. This is also true of our relations with the whites. Perfect purity of heart, therefore, is the final stage. Before we have reached that stage, as we advance towards greater and greater purity, the cravings of the senses will subside in corresponding measure. These cravings do not originate in the senses.

The mind alone is the cause of man's being bound or free.[1]

The senses are the points at which the impulses in the mind become manifest. Through them we come to recognize the impulses as such.

And so, by destroying the senses, we do not do away with the impulses in the mind. Eunuchs, as we observe, are full of desires. Those who are such by birth are so full of them that they have been known to be guilty of unnatural acts. I am deficient in the sense of smell; even so, I feel the desire to enjoy fragrance, so much so that, when I find anyone talking about the fragrance of the rose or other flowers, the mind, like the donkey, immediately runs after it and is held back with the greatest difficulty.

We have heard of men who, passionate in their convictions, cut off their organs when they found it impossible to control their minds. It may possibly be one's duty to do so in such circumstances. Supposing my mind becomes a prey to desire and I cast an evil eye on my sister, I am burning with lust but have not been totally blinded by it. In such a situation, I think cutting off one's organ would be a sacred duty if there is no other remedy. This will not happen to a man who advances gradually. It may perhaps happen to one who has suddenly lost all desire but whose

[1] In the source this has been quoted in Sanskrit.

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past life was none too good. To want an instantaneously effective method of ensuring freedom from desire and the urgency of the senses is much the same as asking for a son of a barren woman. Such a result can be achieved only with the utmost patience. A mango tree created by magic is only meant for the eye; much the same is true of mental purity brought about with complete suddenness. Yes, it may happen sometimes, that the mind is ready for purification and is merely looking for association with holy men which is a kind of a philosopher's stone. On getting this it becomes instantly aware of its purity and the absence of it earlier becomes a dream. Surely, this [change] is no instantaneous occurrence, but the simple and the shortest and, to that extent, the quickest method is:

Withdrawal into solitude, seeking association with holy men, singing the names of God and telling sacred stories, reading edifying books, unremitting mortification of the body, a spare diet, living on fruits, minimum of sleep, giving up of pleasures; anyone who can practise these things will find control of the mind quite easy as the *amalak* in the hand[1]. Practise these and meditate over the rest. Whenever the mind is disturbed with desire, one should turn to observances such as fasting.

. . .'s work was like Ravana's activities. He practised penance and acquired the nature of a demon. Rama did the same and acquired the nature of a god. Thus, different fruits accrue from similar acts according to the motives behind them.

If the work in the field does not progress well, and if you really find that the fault is yours, shake it off with all your energy. The pattern of life of the youngsters depends on that of you elders.

Remember that God comes to us in the form in which we long to see Him. When Tulsidasji wanted [to see] Ramachandra, Shri Krishna became Shri Rama and Lakshmi became Sita.

Cure Maganbhai's cough. Find out the cause.[2]

*Blessings from*
MOHANDAS

[From Gujarati]
*Mahatma Gandhijina Patro* and *Jivanna Zarana*

[1] A traditional phrase meaning "as easy as a myrobalan in the grip of hand"

[2] The last four paragraphs have been taken from *Jivannu Parodh* where the letter is given in two parts under different dates.

## 290. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

7, BUITENCINGLE,
*Sunday, Phagan Sud 10* [*March 8, 1914*][1]

CHI. MAGANLAL,

I hope you are sending six copies of *Indian Opinion* to Mr. Andrews at 44 City Road, Birmingham. After the next issue, send him the six copies to his address, Santiniketan, Bolpur, Bengal. It would be good to send one copy to Mr. Pearson at the same address.

In my letter to Raojibhai, I have given expression to some of my reflections on Nepal being burnt to death. If you have not read that letter, please take it from him and read it.

Here is a list of persons going with us [to India]. I cannot say whether all those mentioned will go or not. We have still to decide about those whose names have a question mark against them. I have written to Kuppu. You may ask him again to consult his father and decide. Discuss things with Chhaganlal. Other names also may have to be added to the list. I take as certain all the names except those against which I have made a question mark. I know this is all perhaps like building on sand. Perhaps, the settlement may not come off; other things also might happen. Nevertheless, we want to leave as soon as a settlement is reached; it is therefore necessary to make all the preparations. Banana flour is made here. There is ample facility for getting it made and bananas are always available. I believe if we have biscuits made of banana flour with us on our voyage, nothing else would be required and we can carry on even if bananas are not available. We should get carpets made out of gunny bags for all of us. They will be useful in India also. Get these stitched and washed ready for use. It is necessary to hem their borders also. Two carpets for each would be preferable. They can be used one above and one below. It would be still better if these could be given some sort of coating. Do think about this. We should have something like the jug I have brought for [carrying] water. If we can get the empty tins of olive oil lying with us, repaired so that they can be corked, they would perhaps be

[1] This was written after the departure of Andrews from South Africa. *Phagan Sud* 10 was on Saturday. But since Sunday is mentioned, the date given is that which corresponds to the day and not to the *tithi*.

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cheaper. Get them so repaired that they might be useful in India also. Each one will have blankets, to be sure. They must have at least two, at the most three. It is not desirable to carry much luggage with us. I want every child to land in India with Indian-style clothes on. The very young should have a lungi, a shirt and a cap like the round one of velvet we have and the others should have a dhoti, a shirt and a cap. The grown-ups like you should wear a *safa* and a long coat. But you will decide this by yourselves. It is not quite necessary that you should do exactly what I want. I see no need for the boys to have shoes. However, if they have sandals they may keep them. I think new ones should not be made. But I am not particular about this thing. You may consider this also. It would be good if everyone learnt to eat with one hand only (the right one) and that too sitting cross-legged on the floor. It is desirable that they do not have to be taught to do this after they are in India. They should not take the plate on their lap. This applies to all who are to go. I therefore see no harm if all squat on the ground to dine. If you do so you will have to clean the floor with a wet cloth thrice a day. But that I think is desirable. Think of this also. They should also know how to make obeisance to the elders. What we want the youngsters to do, we elders should demonstrate by doing ourselves. This may cause a little inconvenience in the beginning, but it is worth while suffering it. They should learn to distinguish between the pure and the impure. We should make all necessary preparations irrespective of whether we go or not. We had stopped for some days the use of toilet paper in the latrines by the boys but we became slack again. I think we should stop its use again. We should explain patiently to the older boys the whole significance and object of making the changes. It would also be well if they knew the geography of Bombay Presidency. The boys, I think, should start wearing dhotis on the steamer. Consider what foodstuffs and how much should be taken with us, and also how to carry them. Try to take as few enamelled utensils as possible. Drinking glasses or cups and such other things, made of brass, would serve our purpose. As we may have to use lemon, we shall take with us the enamelled cups that are already there. But we want to dispense with them as far as possible. In the manufacture of these vessels many a man is ruined. In comparison to the loss [of life] due to kicks and the lathis or sticks, the workers' health has been affected to a greater extent [in this manufacture]. Consider this aspect and then decide.

I see good improvement today in Ba's health. If she survives, take it for certain that our [nature cure] remedies and faith in God have saved her. She has come to realize that the doctor's medicine was the cause of her breakdown. She was tempted by a desire to take the doctor's treatment and I did not interfere. The punishment she received was severe and so the lesson learnt was equally valuable. Ba showed infinite capacity for patience. She did not trouble me at all. The Gools showed great love. The doctor is a generous man. He does not interfere much with what I do. We wanted very much to satisfy him, but Ba later showed great firmness. I always read the *Ramayana* to her and sing prayer songs. She appears to listen to these attentively. I repeat Ramanama also. The intention behind all this is not that she should survive; it is that, whether she lives or dies, her mind should be pure and tender. I have made all preparations and inquired about everything in case she dies. There is a cremation ground here equipped with the necessary facilities. It is four miles away.

*Blessings from*
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5765
Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri

## *291. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL GANDHI*

CAPE TOWN,
*Phagan Sud 14, 1970* [*March 11, 1914*]

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I have some time to myself just now. Medh writes to say that they are plotting again in Johannesburg to take my life. That would indeed be welcome and a fit end to my work. I would not be frightened by this and stay away from Johannesburg on account of this. In case I die suddenly, be the reason this or any other, I want to set down here certain ideas which I have thought out and which I have not so far placed before you.

"Service of the family should come first." This is quite correct from the point of view of our supreme interest. He alone who can render such service will be able to serve the community or the country. What that service consists in is the only point to consider. I think selfless conduct will show that quite easily.

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The life of service or political work which we have followed so far seems to me of the lowest order. Ours is a notorious family, that is, we are known to belong to a band of robbers. Without disparaging our elders, we may say that they have possibly done service to the people, but only incidentally, while they pursued their selfish interests. Judged by common standards, it would seem that they have acted with a fair measure of justice. That is, they treated people to a smaller measure of oppression. At present, the family has fallen on evil days. Any member who failed to obtain a paid job would be on the streets. The highest our eyes can look up to is Narandas, slaving away in Bombay. Other members of the family just loiter about or, wallowing in the politics of [princely] States, manage to earn just enough for their food from day to day. All of them are busy multiplying, arranging marriages, etc. The utmost limit of a grandmother's or a daughter-in-law's ambition is to get [the grandson or] the son married.

How may we save ourselves from this? If possible, we should take another road. We should become farmers, in the first instance. If, to our misfortune, that should bring unbearable hardships on us, we should labour as weavers, etc., and live in the same state as we do in Phœnix. We must reduce our wants to the minimum. As for diet, we should, as far as possible, adhere to the system which we have thought out. Milk, which is generally considered a pure substance, may be taken, but it should be looked upon rather as the opposite of pure. This is an important change. Its roots go deep; and its consequences will be far-reaching. It is a separate question whether or not the change will prove acceptable to all. But knowing at least that this article is denied to millions, one should avoid it. The idea that it is pure flesh and not in keeping with the way of non-violence will never leave my mind. I do not think I shall ever be able to consume milk, ghee, etc., while I inhabit this body. You should do with the minimum use of fire. Any boys from the family who might wish to join should be allowed to do so and admitted. They should not be permitted to stay on if they failed to follow these ideas. Widows who might not wish to live such a life should be respectfully told that you would pay them each one and a half times as much as would be spent on each if they were to follow that way of life and so clear your debt to them; that, apart from this, you could give them nothing else. Never trouble yourself to get anyone married and provided for. The boy, on growing up, will arrange the business himself if he wants to marry. If it does become necessary to find husbands for daughters, we would offer them to those who are

prepared to marry them with no more than a *tulsi* leaf for dowry. We would not spend a single pie. We would wait till we came across such a candidate and teach the daughter to be patient. We should be prepared for some gossiping in consequence, and to be sneered at. All this, we would bear with love. If we remain upright in our conduct, we would come to no harm. To have offspring is no religious obligation on us. It is none of our duty to multiply numbers in the world. The real secret of life seems to consist in so living in the world as it is, without being attached to it, that *moksha* might become easy of attainment to us and to others. This will include service of self, the family, the community, and the State. We should not stop till we reach that stage.

Whoever joins us in this way of living will be to us as a member of our family. We shall take in Raojibhai, Maganbhai, Pragji and any others who may come forward. Should I meet with an untimely end, it is my desire that you should order your life as indicated here. Be in no hurry to leave Phœnix, but bear these objects in mind and stay on. I am quite hopeful about Maganlal. If Jamnadas gets trained up, he has the necessary spirit. He has determination, too.

After my death, the money needed on account of the widows who have been my special responsibilities should be obtained from Dr. Mehta. If it is not forthcoming, all of you who agree with the aims set out above should make the necessary provision even if you have to put yourselves to extreme difficulty and slave for the purpose. Harilal will have to fend for himself. He may entrust the children to you or anyone else who is in India. Fuli has enough and to spare, so that there is no question of providing for her. And now remain Gokibehn[1], Nandkorbhabhi[2], Gangabhabhi[3] and Gokuldas's[4] wife. If they live together, that will be very good of them, graceful of them. If they do not, separate provision should be made for each. Children may be handed over [to them]. But it would be better if they come over to live with the others. In that case, the total cost of maintaining them is not likely to be [even] as much as Rs. 40. The expenses for Ba also should be estimated on a similar scale. She should, at any rate, understand that the right thing for her would be to live with them. And she, too, should hand over the boys. The sons who are prepared to

[1] Raliyatbehn, Gandhiji's sister

[2] Widow of Lakshmidas Gandhi

[3] Widow of Karsandas

[4] Son of Gandhiji's sister, who died within a fortnight of his marriage in 1908.

assume responsibility for their mothers should, of course, be welcome to do so. The suggestion made above concerns such of them as apply to us for help. If Harilal takes upon himself the burden of maintaining Ba, let him by all means. It would be better still if he maintained Nandkorbhabhi. Then the problem will remain only in regard to Gokibehn and Goka's wife, and Gangabhabhi. It would be as well if Kaku should assume the responsibility for his mother, and Samaldas[1] on account of his. The way suggested above is for those who would be left with no support. No one will be justified in expecting, or will expect, anything above your own standard of living. Since I consider that to be the best way of living, the ideas outlined above do not appear to be harsh. The logic behind this reasoning is based on poverty which, indeed, appears to be the only sound basis.

After my death, you may show this letter to anyone you like. For the time being, it may be read by Maganlal, Raojibhai, Maganbhai, Pragji and Jamnadas. I only want that these persons should not mention it in other company. If you feel that all of them should not be allowed to read it, show it to those only who, you think, should read it.

I think the letter is so comprehensive that it will provide answers to all the questions which may occur to you. If, however, any point seems to have been left out, ask me. If you want to discuss any questions with me, set them down in writing. If you differ from me, have no hesitation in telling me so. You should also tell me if you feel that the responsibility will be too heavy for you. Make all points by way of criticism that may occur to you.

*Blessings from*
MOHANDAS

[PS.]

Manilal is not there, otherwise I would have permitted him as well to read this. For the present, make a copy of this letter. If you approve, send it on to him by registered post, asking him to read and return it to you.

[From Gujarati]
*Gandhijini Sadhana*

[1] Son of Lakshmidas Gandhi, Gandhiji's elder brother

## 292. LETTER TO C. F. ANDREWS

CAPE TOWN,
*March 13, 1914*

MY DEAR CHARLIE,

I had your ocean post message as also cable from London. There was also Reuter's cable giving the gist of your interview with Reuter's agent.[1] I have expanded your ocean letter and sent it to *I*[*ndian*] *O*[*pinion*].[2] I took the liberty of omitting Mrs. Gandhi and Manilal because they are your own. I omitted Kallenbach, Polak, and West because their names did not seem to me to fit in with the others. Perhaps you will make time to write to them individually if you have not done so already. Regarding the omission of the last three, I am not decided in my judgment. In such cases I obey the first instinct.

I do hope you had a nice time with your people. For the last two weeks I have felt like writing a letter to your dear father, but I did not know whether it might not be considered presumptuous—I could still write, of course. I shall abide by your judgment and if I may write, please let me have Mr. Andrews' full name.

Mrs. Gandhi was near death's door last week. I have therefore done hardly anything else save nursing her during the last 10 days. She rallied 2 days ago and the improvement continues. Owing to the illness I have been obliged to remain at home.

I had a chat today with Sir Benjamin. He tells me the report has been shown to him and that it is on the whole good. But as you know we may not accept his verdict.

[1] The interview took place on March 10, after Andrews arrived in London. He was accorded a reception by Indians, led by Sarojini Naidu, the poetess. The report stated that: " . . . Mr. Andrews extolled the chivalrous patriotism of Mr. Gandhi, during the railway strike, in calling off the passive resistance movement so as not to embarrass the Government. He also extolled the heroism and endurance of the Indians, and the generous and fairminded treatment of himself by the Union Government.

"He said he was immensely impressed with General Botha's sterling character and simplicity, and added that General Botha had assured him that he would do whatever he could to act justly by the Indians."

[2] The message, despatched on March 1, conveyed Andrews' thanks to friends in South Africa. It was published in *Indian Opinion*, 18-3-1914.

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Copies of the reprint of your lecture[1] have been sent to most of the men with whom you came in contact. The Bishop has written a charming letter in acknowledging his copy. Mrs. Drew is sailing for London tomorrow. She has sent £5—for the P[assive] R[esistance] fund. She sent me some names for sending the reprint to. The papers have published notices as per enclosed cutting[2]. There is a request daily from a few for copies. An attempt is being made to induce Indians to take up copies for distribution among European friends of theirs. W.P. Schreiner had a complimentary copy. He paid for 6 extra copies for his friends in England. So you see your mission is showing a double success. The great saint and the cause that brought you to S. A. are being advertised to the good of humanity.

I suppose I ought to tell you that I had cable news of the death of my eldest brother in Porbunder.[3] He was like father to me. He it was who sent me to London.[4] He used to be very bitter against me for being in S. A.,[5] but his last letter was, to my great joy, one of complete reconciliation. His one wish was to meet me. And I was longing to hurry back to India. But it was not to be. I have now the responsibility of having to look after 5 widows in my father's family and of course their children. However I am quite at peace with myself. There is a very remarkable manifestation of sympathy for Mrs. Gandhi and myself as the news of the loss is spreading among the community.[6]

I hope that you were able to recover your health in London and that you had a good time among your people.

With love

*Yours,*
MOHAN

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 4099

[1] Andrews had addressed the university students on February 17 on Tagore.

[2] This is not available.

[3] Lakshmidas Gandhi passed away on March 9.

[4] This was for his legal studies, in 1888.

[5] For Gandhiji's reply to Lakshmidas's charges, *vide* Vol. VI, pp. 430-5.

[6] Gandhiji acknowledged the messages of condolence in "Letter to *Indian Opinion*", pp. 390-1.

## 293. LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI

[CAPE TOWN,]
*Phagan Vad 2* [*March 14, 1914*]

CHI. MANILAL,

I have not delayed in the least in writing to you. It seems I write wrong addresses. It happened in the case of Jamnadas. The same thing happened in the case of Schlesin also. I shall hereafter read the addresses again.

Ba is now getting better. You must have seen what I wrote about Bapa in my letter to Kallenbach. Do write a letter to Chi. Samaldas.

You need not be disturbed by the intrigues that are being hatched there. No man can hasten or delay my death even by a minute. The best way of saving oneself from death is to go seeking it. It is no doubt our duty to take care of our life in a general way. More than this we need not do. We should rather welcome death whenever it comes.

It will not matter if you do not try to save time by discontinuing to cook for yourself. Let things go on as at present. I think it will take three hours at least. You can save time only if you make more changes in your diet. It is not necessary to make the changes for the present. I have written to Kallenbach also accordingly.

Send the list of your books again to Phœnix.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C. W. 1499
Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri

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## 294. LETTER TO JAMNADAS GANDHI

[CAPE TOWN,]
*Phagan Vad 6* [*March 17, 1914*]

CHI. JAMNADAS,

You are right in what you say about wheat and dates. Every grain of wheat will yield a plant. That is not the case with a date palm. The part of the date fruit[1] which we eat will not grow if planted. So long, therefore, as we are still on the middle level, eating the date fruit is not very objectionable. Groundnut is certainly open to objection, as I have always been saying. We have not, however, reached a stage when it can be given up. Olive is not open to objection because it contains a separable seed. You have rightly pointed out the objection against the sesame seed. Ultimately, we are to give up sesame oil itself and make do with what oil can be obtained from dry fruit. Of course, the objection I have mentioned will probably apply to every variety of dry fruit; almond, for instance, is but seed. You will see on reflection, however, that there is much difference between consuming wheat and consuming almonds. An almond tree continues to flourish, but the wheat plant, once the grain has been removed, is no better than a weed. It is of no other use. No such violence as is involved in the sowing of wheat and other operations is involved in similar operations relative to almond. It is not possible, however, to go very deep into this kind of argument. I am but ignorant myself. I am telling you of my own conclusions, tentative and immature as they are. The basic principle, undoubtedly, is this: one should make do with the fewest possible articles [of food] and in the smallest possible quantity, no more than what is absolutely necessary to pay the body its hire. It will be best to frame the rules of our diet bearing this principle in mind. A man who cooks a meal of just an ounce of rough-ground wheat and is free in five minutes is far superior to the one who wrings (as I do) the utmost pleasure from a variety of fruits. Another, however, who lives on no more than five bananas will out-distance the first. In other words, one who lives on fruit diet stands a far better chance of rising than the other. Even here, the mental attitude is the primary factor. The motive is the chief thing.

[1] The original has "the date stones".

We cannot deduce any rule that, if we can consume the fruit, we can also consume the leaves, the bark, etc.

The reason why certain green vegetables are permitted on *ekadashi*[1] but wheat is forbidden seems to be an obvious one rather than anything abstract. Since people do not have an entire meal of vegetables or look upon them as food, some vegetables were permitted for gratifying the palate; but wheat, being food, was excluded and in this way the original aim of eating less on *ekadashi* was to some extent maintained.

Gourds, etc., are, like tomatoes, more or less a kind of fruit. The tomatoes are allowed because they can be eaten uncooked. It is doubtful if gourd and the like, if uncooked, can be digested by all. Radish, etc., are but roots of a weed and the consumption of roots is thoroughly objectionable according to Jain principles. When Ba wanted to have ginger, I ate it with her to know its effects. I liked it and continued to take it after *neem* juice. Ba has quite an enthusiasm for it. Both she and I liked it. She collected some tender shoots of ginger. They were nothing but roots. I ate them for a day or two and relished them very much indeed. This morning, I was filled with compassion and despised myself. It was as though I could see the souls in these pieces of ginger. On one knot of it, there are several tender shoots. To eat them amounted to destroying so many embryos. Deeply pained, I gave up ginger today. I had not done so till now, having kept myself free to eat it when necessary. Henceforth, I will treat it as forbidden and avoid eating it as far as possible. Before I am in India, I don't want to place myself under any more restrictions than those I have already accepted. Ginger, however, I will not eat in this country.

Consumption of cooked food involves the destruction of life in an unnatural, and therefore cruel, manner. The destruction of life through eating uncooked food occurs in a natural manner. Moreover, food, when cooked, loses its nourishing element (vitality). Having regard to this, we can practically eat only ripe fruit. To pluck or eat fruit before it is ripe is objectionable. You will see from this that I have not been able to act upon all the results of my thinking. To that extent, my thinking is ahead of my action. But that will remain, of course. The effort is always for eagerly following up thought with action.

[1] Eleventh day of each dark and bright fortnight. Hindus generally fast on this day.

If the desire to eat our food while it is still hot comes back again and again, it is because of the hold of a vicious habit of long standing. The desire must be suppressed with the utmost effort. Improper desires will always occur. By suppressing them every time, we grow firmer in mind and gain in spiritual strength.

Ba's condition is not so good, nor so bad. The oedema is quite heavy today but she moves about with courage. I have asked her to eat whatever she relishes. One cannot say what will happen. She is not bed-ridden at present.

I am likely to be detained here for three weeks more.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5697
Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

## *295. OBSERVATIONS REGARDING COMMISSION'S REPORT*

[CAPE TOWN,
After *March 17, 1914*][1]

Reference to the Tr[ans]vaal Gold Law has been omitted by the Commission. A declaration that vested rights will be respected is necessary. I have already given my meaning of vested rights.

S[outh] A[frica-]born Indians cannot be kept out of the Cape unless the economic clause is applied to them by special instructions to the Immigration Officers. It is suggested that these instructions should be issued to the officers unless a new condition arises, namely, that there is an inordinate influx of illiterate S. A.-born Indians into the C[olony].

There seems to be an obscurity in the Commission's report on this (the marriage) point.

(a) Plural wives of domiciled Indians should, with their minor children, be admitted irrespective of the fact whether they have previously entered S. A. or not. Such cases are very few. And all these cases might, within a specified period, be notified to the Union's officials or the Provincial officials.

(b) Indi[an] m[arriage] off[icers] should not be prohibited from celebrating plural unions though these would not be legalised.

From a photostat of the draft in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 5977

[1] The Solomon Commission Report was laid on the table of the House of Assembly on March 17, 1914. *Vide* Appendix XXIII for the extracts from the Report.

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## 296. LETTER TO "INDIAN OPINION"

THE EDITOR
*INDIAN OPINION*

SIR,

I have been so overwhelmed with wires from different parts of the Union expressing sympathy with my wife and myself regarding the death of my brother in India that it is impossible for me to thank severally the Associations and individual senders. Numerous messages have been received from Durban, Maritzburg, Johannesburg and other places. I thank all most heartily for their sympathy. Whilst doing so I would like to say just a word. To me as a passive resister and as a firm believer in the oneness of the Soul, my brother's loss should occasion no greater pain than the death of Nagappen, Narayanasamy and Hurbatsing, who were just as much my brothers as my blood brother whose loss so many friends are mourning with me. Valliamah Moonsamy's untimely end is, if possible, a greater stab from the hand of Death than my brother's end. Yet I share the common human failing, and the thoughts that arise in the mind from the loss of my brother, who was in the place of father to me and to whom, next to my dead mother, I owe all I am in life, are more vivid than those that arose in me when those three brother passive resisters and the sister passive resister died. The idea that is uppermost in my mind just now is that death should cause no fear in us, if we have lived in the fear of God and have done nothing in violation of the voice of our conscience. Then, indeed, is death but a change for the better and, therefore, a welcome change which need not evoke any sorrow. Such a change, I feel, my brother's death must mean for him. And we in South Africa, especially those who are passive resisters, must learn not only not to fear death but must be prepared to face it and welcome it when it comes to us in the performance of our duty. So have died Narayansamy and his three successors. I wish for no better end and I am sure no other passive resister does.

Finally, may I ask those friends who have overwhelmed me with their sympathy in my bereavement to help me, if the points of passive resistance are satisfactorily settled in the near future, in my desire to return to India to fall at the feet of my brother's

widow and to take charge of the domestic cares of five widows in my father's family, in which the hand of death now leaves me the responsible head, according to the Hindu usage.

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

*Indian Opinion*, 18-3-1914

## *297. LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI*

[CAPE TOWN,]
*Thursday* [*March 19, 1914*][1]

CHI. MANILAL,

I hope it was after careful thought that you made the changes in diet you have done. See that whatever you do is not [done in a hurry] to be given up afterwards, and remembered merely as a dream. Some of it at least must endure for the whole of your life. You have introduced so big a change that you may perhaps find yourself in the same state you were in at the end of *chaturmas*. There is only one way to guard oneself against excessive eating, viz., to serve out the full quantity for oneself in advance and put away the utensils containing the rest before sitting down for the meal. Ba is all right.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

MASTER MANILAL GANDHI
BOX 2493
JOHANNESBURG

From the original postcard in Gujarati in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 104
Courtesy: Sushilabehn Gandhi

[1] The date is derived from the postal stamp cancellation.

## 298. LETTER TO RAOJIBHAI PATEL

CAPE TOWN,
*Phagan Vad 10* [*March 21, 1914*]

DEAR SHRI RAOJIBHAI,

I have your letter. I had heard about your fast. If you had a reason for going on a fast, I have nothing to say. You will certainly enjoy no solitude there. There should be more of physical activity in Phœnix. That is conducive to peace. There the first place is assigned to service.

The breakdown in J's health has given me a fright. I wish she recovers soon.

I feel anxious on account of Maganbhai. I cannot judge why things do not get right [with him]. I also feel that it would be good if he went along with me. Please keep on preparing his mind to that end. We shall see what can be done in India. I have a persistent feeling that the thing is due to mental illness. I am trying to discover why he enjoyed good health in gaol, but this is all that I can think of. While in gaol, the mind had been forced into an equable state and this had an effect on the body, too, so much so that he kept well despite the sort of food that he had to eat. Cannot he attain to that mental poise out of gaol? Be that as it may, the only right course for Maganbhai seems to be that he should go with me to India. Let him also think it over.

I shall cite in passing one instance, my own. Ba wanted to take ginger. Since I was under no vow to avoid it, I started taking it along with her in order to test its properties. Ba's tongue loves dainties. She happened to discover some shoots of ginger. I fell in love with them, so much so that I also used to chew four or five of these tender shoots, of the size of a grain of gram. One day, Ba collected a quantity of these from Mrs. Gool's basket and placed them in [our] room. I was struck with horror to see them. The night passed. I sprang out of bed in a fright, early in the morning. How could one eat ginger? This thing, a single joint of which proliferated into so many shoots, must indeed be full of lives. Moreover, to eat fresh shoots was as good as killing delicate babies. I felt extremely disgusted with myself. I resolved that I would never eat ginger, not in this life. But the real fun comes now. Ba saw that I would not take ginger. She asked me the reason. I told her. She also caught my point. She

carried away the very tender shoots and pressed me to take something from the rest. I declined. The vow holds, but the tongue and the eye are like dogs. The desire to eat ginger comes over me whenever the eye falls on a piece of it. The tongue starts licking. But just as a dog greedily watching food left over will not dare to eat it in the presence of the master, the tongue is prevented from touching the ginger by the watchfulness of *Mr. Atman*. My eye falls on it the whole day because it is lying just where my papers are. It seems more difficult for me to turn away my mind from ginger than it was to give up sugar or salt, such is the state I find myself in.

What, then, should you blame yourself for? It is not for nothing that the mind has been compared to a monkey that has got drunk. What is the point in having high hopes of learning wisdom from me ? We are all sailing in the same battered ship and I, with greater wisdom than the rest by way of experience, point out the direction in which you are welcome to toddling along. We are all in darkness, groping for the same thing. Maybe my steps are firmer and move with greater confidence. To hold me in greater respect than this will amount to arresting your upward progress. When I have conquered all desire, I will instruct you without the least hesitation. For the present, let us pull together in quest of *Narayana*[1] who grants *moksha* and, undeterred even if we lose our way or fall or get knocked about, go on seeking with courage and patience.

*Blessings from*
MOHANDAS

[From Gujarati]
*Gandhijini Sadhana* and *Jivannu Parodh*

[1] Name of God Vishnu

## 299. LETTER TO JAMNADAS GANDHI

[CAPE TOWN,]
*Phagan Vad 11* [*March 22, 1914*]

CHI. JAMNADAS,

I got your two letters today. There is always twice the normal quantity of post on Saturdays. Write to Rustomjee Sheth and Motilal[1] about the *neem* tree. It will be good if Maganlal plants one whenever he finds a sapling. From what Mr. Kallenbach has discovered, macaroni can be eaten but only if obtained from a particular source. There is a big risk, however, in that it is an article prepared by non-vegetarians and one concerning which we have no information. We can do nothing else but take their word. The traditional objection of the Hindus against all ready-made articles of food deserves to be respected, as far as possible. Jaggery is not merely [sugar-cane] juice; *kharo*[2] or salt is added to it. Moreover, sugar-cane juice is boiled and from the whole only the sugar or jaggery is retained. If mangoes were to be processed in the same manner, the product would likewise be unacceptable. As for wind, it will probably be cured if [the sufferer] is given *neem* leaves and pepper or ginger. Do you take plenty of exercise? For the present you need not force yourself to get up early.

Did you read what I have written[3] to Ramdas about fasting? If not, ask for the letter and go through it. I don't want to prevent boys from fasting. Only, it should be done intelligently.

It is uncertain where else, apart from Johannesburg, I shall stop on the way back. The shirts at the Farm are mine. I am afraid I cannot spare any of them for you. You will have to have new ones made. That is easily done. Take my shirt as a model.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C. W. 5699
Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

[1] Motilal M. Diwan, a leading Indian of Natal
[2] Substance containing carbonates of sodium and potassium
[3] This letter is not available.

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## *300. LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI*

[CAPE TOWN,]
*Phagan Vad 11* [*March 22, 1914*]

CHI. MANILAL,

I have been getting your letters. I see that your going over there has been for the best. And it is as well that you are alone. You are too quick in making changes. I wish some of them at least endure. It will be enough if your habits become regular there. Personally, I think it will be best if you come along with me. There will be no difficulty if 20 of us are together on the ship. I certainly don't think Jekibehn will be able to stay with me at any rate for some time after we reach India. It is my desire to see you esteemed in India as a *brahmachari* of a high order, your conduct so naturally well-disciplined that it cannot but produce an impression on others. This will require hard work, study and purity in you. No impression can be made by doing anything with the deliberate object of producing one. If, however, the things which commend themselves to one are best, they will impress. You must, therefore, make your own choice and consider what you want to do. You must then cling to the thing till death.

I am sending Chi. Harilal's letter for you to read. Think over the wretched state he has been reduced to. The fault is not his, but mine. During his childhood, I followed a way of life none too strict in its rule and he is still under its influence. Tear off the letter after reading it.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 103
Courtesy: Sushilabehn Gandhi

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## 301. FRAGMENT OF LETTER

[CAPE TOWN,]
*Sunday* [*March 22, 1914*][1]

Everything is transient, except the *atman*. Not only should we keep reminding ourselves of this but we should work on accordingly. The more I reflect, the more insistently I feel the supreme importance of truth and *brahmacharya*. The latter, together with all other rules of morality, is comprehended in truth. I cannot help thinking, however, that *brahmacharya* is important enough to share the place of honour with truth. It is my unshakable faith that these two can conquer any obstacle whatever. The real obstacles are the evil desires of the mind. If, for our happiness, we depend in no way on our outward relations with others, we would always think of what we ought to do rather than of what people might say.

[From Gujarati]
*Gandhijini Sadhana* and *Jivan Prabhat*

## 302. THE COMMISSION'S REPORT AND RECOMMENDATIONS[2]

The report of the [Indian Inquiry] Commission was released last week. We must admit that the report displays a sense of justice on the part of the Commissioners. It is a unanimous report, signed by all the three members. Messrs Esselen and Wylie deserve congratulations on this. We had felt it our duty to protest against their appointment. But they have not allowed their previously expressed views to affect their judgment. The agitation by the community is responsible, we believe, for this good result.

The Commissioners, as also Lord Hardinge, have criticized the action of Mr. Gandhi, and the general body of the Indians who acted on his advice, in abstaining from giving evidence. This criticism is not at all surprising. They wanted that the largest possible number of Indians should give evidence. We can understand why the Viceroy also criticized this action. He had both to

[1] In the source this letter has been placed in March 1914, but the exact date is not ascertainable. It is, however, likely that the letter was written about the same time as the "Letter to Manilal Gandhi", the preceding item.

[2] This was an editorial note.

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act consistently with the advice which he had previously offered and to support the Commission. We believe, however, that the Indian community acted wisely in abstaining from giving evidence. To speak plainly, an oath once taken can never be broken. If they had tendered evidence, they would have struck at the very root of satyagraha. Moreover, abstention from tendering evidence has, in the event, proved to be an advantage. We had three hundred witnesses at least. Indian Associations throughout South Africa would have led evidence on our grievances. Then, there were the Europeans ready to tender evidence. Thus, the mere recording of our evidence would have taken six months. After that, the Commission would have taken some more time before issuing the report. It would then have been rendered impossible to introduce remedial legislation in the current session of Parliament, as is now likely to be done. What could have been more disastrous for us? Again, if we had tendered evidence, the spirit of conciliation which we find prevailing today would not have been there. It would also not have been possible for Mr. Andrews to do what he did, sowing the seeds of conciliation so silently and with such deep love and humility. The reason is that our giving evidence would have aggravated animosity. We, on our side, would have made bitter statements and the whites would have retaliated. The latter would have led stronger evidence against the evidence tendered by us, and in that case, would not have had the sense of responsibility that they actually showed. In these circumstances we could not have entertained strong hopes for settlement as we do now. Thus, our remaining faithful to an oath taken in the face of advice to the contrary by the Viceroy was sacred in itself and it has yielded gratuitously other good sweet fruit. Such is the magic power of truth and the efficacy of satyagraha. He who has the fear of God in him need not be afraid of any man.[1] The truth of this has been proved over and over again a million times.

A scrutiny of the Commission's report leads us to the same conclusion. Practically no evidence was tendered by us in regard to the £3 tax and the question of Indian marriages. But these two issues were in the forefront of our struggle, and the Commission's recommendations on them could not possibly have been better even if we had tendered voluminous evidence. If we had led evidence in regard to the £3 tax, very probably, as it seems to us, the Commission would not have found it possible to criticize it as strongly as it did. All those Indians who were misled into

[1] An Indian saying

giving evidence rendered a disservice [to the community]. One of them gave evidence about force having been used and his testimony has been summarily dismissed by the Commission. The evidence tendered in regard to the Immigration Act was so flimsy that it undid the effect of the strong note submitted by Mr. Polak to Sir Benjamin; leading such evidence before the Commission could only result in putting us off with mere trinkets. These trivial issues, on which the community could have secured concessions at any time after the settlement or as part of the settlement, provoked the Commission's strictures and proved our petty-mindedness. Let us cite one or two examples. The Commission has recommended that the certificates of identity be issued for three years' duration instead of one year. In fact, we are entitled to permanent certificates [of domicile]. And that was what we demanded before Sir Benjamin. In consequence of the demand for three-year identity certificates submitted to the Commission, our demand for permanent certificates [of domicile] has been set aside. Because of uninformed and scrappy evidence tendered to the Commission on the question of trading licences, the Commission simply dismissed the issue. The issue of the Gold Law was also dismissed by the Commission as it was mixed up with other issues. Thus, in regard to the questions on which evidence was tendered we shall have to be satisfied with much less. Let the community note that all these matters were covered by the fifth point in Mr. Cachalia's letter[1]. It contained a demand for reasonable administration of all existing laws. But for this demand, the evidence that was given could not have been given. If, therefore, our countrymen had not been hasty and given the ill-considered evidence that they did, we could have secured much more and the fifth demand would have met with the same fortunate result as the demands in respect of the £3 tax and other matters. No permanent harm has, therefore, been done by their evidence, for the fifth point [in Mr. Cachalia's letter] represents a demand for a standing assurance. If the Government gives, as it will have to give, such an assurance, the community will be justified in taking up further questions like the administration of the Gold Law, and the various trading licence Acts. Efforts are being made to see that this becomes possible. The Commission's report is not the last word on the Indian question. In so far as it adversely affects our interests, it is not binding on satyagrahis, and the community is not likely to be harmed by the misguided evidence

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Secretary for Interior", pp. 183-6.

given in ignorance by some of its members. The remedy, of course, lies in the community's hands.

The Commission's report establishes that our satyagraha was in a just cause, that the charge of breach of promise levelled by us was correct and that all our demands were reasonable. This result is by no means insignificant. Unquestionably it is, as we believe, a perfect success for satyagraha.

If the Government accepts the Commission's recommendation on the marriage question, the following will be the consequences:

(1) In the case of a person who has more than one living wife, one of the wives and her minor children will have the right of entry.

(2) If a man with only one wife wants his marriage to be legally recognized, he can do so, and get it registered before a Maulvi or Brahmin or other marriage officer nominated for the purpose.

(3) A person with only one wife desiring to have his marriage legally recognized can secure a certificate of legal recognition after the registration of his marriage, and his wife will have the same rights as a European wife.

(4) Arrangements are to be made for appointing Brahmins and Mullahs as marriage officers for the purpose of new marriages.

(5) If a person has more than one wife, all his wives and minor children will be permitted to enter; they will have no other legal rights.

(6) Even in the case of a lawful monogamous marriage, the husband will be free to take a second wife as sanctioned by his religion. But the second wife will not be recognized for legal purposes.

(7) No Indian is bound to take any of these steps and none will, in consequence of not doing so, forfeit the rights of his wife or wives.

More than this we did not demand and, we believe, cannot. To conclude: in addition to undertaking legislation about marriages and the £3 tax, the Government will have to do all it can to meet our demands in the Cape and the Free State and the demand relating to the administration of existing laws, and then alone will this epic struggle of ours, which has been going on for the last eight years, come to an end. For the present, we hope the signs point to its termination. But when one like Rama did not know what the next day was to bring him, who are we that we should claim to know the future?

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 25-3-1914

## 303. SPEECH AT CAPE TOWN RECEPTION[1]

[*March 25, 1914*]

Mr. Gandhi thanked those present at the function, as also Mr. and Mrs. Gool and other members of the family, for their services to Mrs. Gandhi during her illness and to himself, and likewise all those friends who called to inquire after Mrs. Gandhi from time to time and brought fruit. He explained the implications of the Commission's report and argued with special emphasis that it was in the interests of the [Indian] community that Hindus and Muslims live as brothers. It was perfectly possible, he explained, for each community to adhere to its religion and yet live in peace with the other.

[From Gujarati]
*Indian Opinion*, 1-4-1914

## 304. LETTER TO MAHATMA MUNSHIRAM[2]

PHŒNIX,
NATAL,
*March 27, 1914*

DEAR MAHATMAJI,

Mr. Andrews has familiarised your name and your work to me. I feel I am writing to no stranger. I hope therefore that you will pardon me for addressing you by the title which both Mr. Andrews and I have used in discussing you and your work. Mr. Andrews told me also how you, Gurudev and Mr. Rudra[3] had influenced him. He described to me the work your pupils did for the Passive Resisters and gave me such word pictures of the

[1] A meeting of Indians was held under the auspices of the Hindu Sabha to honour Gandhiji, Kasturba and Imam Abdul Kadir Bawazeer. Vartak presided. The Patidar community donated a sum of £7 10s to be used at Gandhiji's discretion. The following report appeared in the English columns of *Indian Opinion*: "Mr. Gandhi wishes us to state that, during his stay at Cape Town, Dr. Gool was most unremitting in his attendance on Mrs. Gandhi during her serious illness, from which, we are sorry to say, she is not yet quite free."

[2] (1856-1926); later known as Swami Shraddhanand; a leader of the Arya Samaj, founder of the Gurukul at Kangri near Hardwar; was killed by a Muslim fanatic.

[3] Susil Kumar Rudra; Indian Christian educationist; Principal, St. Stephen's College, Delhi, 1909-23

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life at the Gurukula that as I am writing this I seem to be transported to the Gurukula. Indeed he has made me impatient to visit the three places described by Mr. Andrews and to pay my respects to the three grand sons of India who are at the head of these institutions.

*I remain,*
*Yours,*
MOHANDAS K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: G.N. 2204

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

PHŒNIX,
NATAL,
*April 1, 1914*

DEAR MR. GOKHALE,

I had your two cables. To the last one I am just now replying.

I doubt whether Mrs. Gandhi will survive the settlement. I am writing this by her bed side. I have to be her doctor, nurse and everything. Then my brother's death leaves the sole charge of five widows and their children in my hands. Dr. Mehta is just now paying the expenses of the others. To this he will, I do not doubt, add the maintenance of my brother's widow. But she and the others are most naturally anxious to have me with them at the earliest possible moment. I would, therefore, grudge having to go to London unless you consider it absolutely necessary. If you do, I shall certainly come if Mrs. Gandhi dies or is better—so well, that is to say, as to permit of my being away from her, I suppose, at least for two months.

As I have already informed you, Indian legislation will not be undertaken before the reopening of the Union Parliament on the 22nd instant.

I do hope that you will materially benefit by the cure at Vichy.

I know it is useless my asking you not to worry about me or my future. Wherever I may be placed in India I shall carry out my compact with you, *viz.*, that I should observe absolute silence except on the S[outh] A[frica] question for one year at least after my landing in India and about everything else I have promised.

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

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: G.N. 3775



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## 306. LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI

[PHŒNIX,
NATAL,]
*Chaitra Sud 8, 1970* [*April 3, 1914*]

CHI. MANILAL,

The changes you have introduced are excellent. If you keep them up, you may do yourself much good. I have heard a great deal about the moral effects of getting up early. Why should you be afraid of April 1? *Chaitra Sud* 5 is looked upon as a sacred *panchami*[1], which means that you have introduced the change on an auspicious day. In the last analysis, we alone can make fools of ourselves. If we have spirit enough in us, no one dare make a fool of us.

The morning hours should be devoted to the most important activities. It will do if you make it a rule to do a large number of sums in arithmetic. I shall be able to tell you more later. I am sending some books for you. Learn Sanskrit also very well.

Ba takes wheat coffee without milk. Except for that, she is on a fast. She is confined to bed. It seems her oedema will go down. I cannot say what the final outcome will be.

What did you do about the letter from Bapa? I wrote something in English about him. What happened to it?

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 95
Courtesy: Sushilabehn Gandhi

## 307. A MARRIAGE PROCLAMATION

The Union *Government Gazette* of the 24th March contains a marriage proclamation which is of some importance, as it bears on the expected legislation on the Indian marriage difficulty. We give elsewhere the proclamation in full. In effect, it requires banns to be published of intended Mahomedan or Hebrew marriages, in terms of the existing Natal legislation. If the proclamation has reference in practice only to Hebrew marriages, we

[1] Fifth day

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can have nothing to say. If it anticipates the Indian marriages legislation and is intended to be a feeler, it is an ill omen. For the essence of the Indian proposal is that Indian marriages *celebrated in accordance with the religious ceremonial prescribed by any of the great Indian faiths should be recognized by the law of South Africa so long as they are monogamous in fact*. Now Indian religions do not require publication of banns. We have our own method (in our opinion, far superior to that of the publication of banns) of widely advertising approaching marriages. No Indian priest worthy of the name can possibly perform a marriage ceremony if there is any objection offered against it in terms of the religious custom or law. And it is the caste or the guild which takes severe notice of any breach of the canonical law. Whilst we do not wish to offend the sentiment of the Europeans of South Africa regarding monogamy, we certainly do not contemplate surrendering our religious principles by a hair's breadth. We think it but right to utter this note of warning whilst the proposed legislation is still unpublished.

*Indian Opinion*, 8-4-1914

## *308. LETTER TO E. M. GORGES*

[PHŒNIX,
NATAL,]
*April 8, 1914*

DEAR MR. GORGES,

I would like to bring the following point to your notice. Mr. Polak sent the temporary certificates that were issued to the educated Indians who were allowed to settle in the Transvaal in terms of the Provisional Settlement of 1911 to be exchanged for permanent certificates in virtue of the Immigrants Regulation Act of 1913, and I understand that Mr. Chamney has written saying that such certificates are not yet to be issued. May I know why permanent certificates are not being issued?[1]

*I am,*
*Yours truly,*

E. M. GORGES
OFFICES OF THE INTERIOR
CAPE TOWN

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S.N. 5958

[1] A reply to this was received to the effect that the matter was under consideration and it would be dealt with after the passage of the Asiatic legislation.

## *309. LETTER TO E. F. C. LANE*

[PHŒNIX,
NATAL,]
*April 8, 1914*

DEAR MR. LANE,

I notice in the Union *Government Gazette* a Marriage Proclamation requiring those who want to have their marriages celebrated by their Mahomedan or Hebrew Marriage Officers to have notices published of their intention so to do. I do not know whether this proclamation is deliberate as showing the future policy of the Government in anticipation, or whether it is a proclamation required for the Hebrews but necessitating reference to the Mahomedans in terms of the Natal Marriage Law referred to therein. If it is the former, I beg to draw General Smuts' attention to the fact that what has been submitted by me on behalf of the Indian community is that past *de facto* monogamous marriages celebrated according to Indian religious customs should be legalised and that, in future, such marriages should be recognized as legal. The Marriage Proclamation in question introduces the practice of the publication of banns, a practice which is totally opposed to both the Hindu and the Mahomedan usage; nor is any such publication necessary, because of the respective religions themselves requiring an elaborate process which renders fraudulent marriages impossible. I feel that, whilst the legislation to give effect to the recommendations of the Commission is being drafted, I should bring this matter to the notice of General Smuts.

I observe, too, from Mr. Burton's reply to Mr. Meyler that the indentured Indians in the employ of the Railways Department have deducted from their wages instalments in part payment of the £3 Tax. I venture to suggest that a continuance of this practice is hardly consistent with the attitude shown by the Commission regarding the Tax. One of the chief points that the Commission had to advise upon was the £3 tax, and it is submitted that this deduction might have been stopped by the Government at least pending the report of the Commission, and now that the Commission has made such strong recommendations for the repeal of the Tax, I do trust that the officials concerned will be advised, if they have not been already, not to insist upon this

deduction, for I assume that, if the Government bring in a Bill for the repeal of the Tax, the arrears will be remitted.

*I am,*
*Yours truly,*

ERNEST F. C. LANE, ESQ.
OFFICES OF THE INTERIOR
CAPE TOWN

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S.N. 5957

## *310. LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI*

[PHŒNIX,
NATAL,
*Sunday, Chaitra Vad 2, April 12, 1914*][1]

CHI. MANILAL,

. . .[2] Whatever Mr. Kallenbach's hour for going to bed, you must follow one rule alone. And the same about eating. Here is the meaning of the sentences which you could not understand: "All acts done in a purely legalistic spirit (in accordance with the literal meaning) are, indeed, cursed. Even so, it is stated that those who do not keep doing the things as indicated by [the letter of] the law are all cursed."[3] The point is that mere bookish souls can never attain *moksha*. The *Gita* has a verse to the same effect, which you may ponder over. "The Vedas keep on the plane of the three *gunas*; be thou, Arjuna, beyond those *gunas*."—This is what Shri Krishna said to Arjuna. This does not mean that one need not do the duties prescribed in the *shastras*. It means rather that doing them is not quite enough, that one must understand their hidden significance, their aim, and go beyond the actions themselves. The man who renounces the prescribed duties and professes himself a barren *Brahmavadin*[4] will have no footing anywhere. He will have lost the support provided by the *shastras* while the foundation of inward illumination has not yet been built, so that he is bound to fall. St. Paul therefore told the Galatians: "Do perform the acts enjoined by the scriptures; but you will remain under a curse, if you have no faith in the teachings of the Lord Jesus and do not follow his teachings." The

[1] The date was supplied by Raojibhai Patel.
[2] Some words appear to have been omitted here.
[3] Probably the reference is to *Galatians*, III, 10.
[4] One who expounds the nature of *Brahman*

same meaning is to be read in "bond maid" and "free woman".[1] Bond means *bandhan*. Scriptures are compared to the mother in flesh who, it is pointed out, has the status of a slave so that her children are also born slaves.

Faith, which means *bhakti*, is described as a divine mother, whose children are angels. Read the sentences which precede and follow in the light of this explanation and tell me whether you follow them properly or not. The 56th verse of Chapter 15 in *I Corinthians* means that sin is the sting of death, that, in other words, that a sinful man alone feels death as a sting. For the virtuous, it is the means of attaining *moksha*. The second line means that mere dry knowledge of the scripture has the power of a curse. We observe this at every step. Hundreds of sins are committed in the name of scripture. The meaning of *Romans* V, 20 is simple enough. Scripture made its appearance again and led to more crimes. As the load of sins increased, however, God's grace also increased in like measure. That is, even in such evil times, men were found who broke themselves free from the chains of dry learning and, teaching the way of *bhakti*, brought out the hidden meaning of scripture; this was God's grace. *St. John*, XV, 3 means this: "Now ye are clean through the word which I have spoken unto you." Here "are" denotes the future and "through" should be taken to mean "by acting according to".

Think twice before introducing changes by way of reform in your life. But I wish that, having once adopted a change, you would cling to it like a leech. Love the virtues of Mr. Kallenbach. Know his weakness when you see it and keep yourself away from it. The latest change you have introduced has not been adopted after due thought. You are not bound to adopt all the changes which Mr. Kallenbach may make. You must learn to think independently for yourself and stick to your judgement. It will not matter if, in doing so, you sometimes go wrong. You are even entitled to oppose my views after you have honestly thought over a matter; in cases in which it seems right to oppose me, opposition becomes your duty. It is my earnest desire that you should understand the idea of *moksha* and aspire for it. This will never come about, however, till you develop a capacity for independent thinking and firmness of mind. At present, you are in the condition of a creeper. It assumes the shape of the tree over which it spreads. That is not what the *atman* does. The *atman* is free and, in its essence, omnipotent.

[1] "Abraham had two sons; the one by a bond maid, the other by a free woman."—*Galatians*, IV, 22.

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"It is desire, anger, born of the quality of *rajas*, all-devouring and sinful; know it to be the enemy."[1] This is the reply that Shri Krishna gave to Arjuna when the latter asked him what it was that drove man to commit sin against his will. It means this: "The cause of sin is desire, anger, which has its origin in the quality of *rajas*; is all-devouring and drives men to sins without number. Know it, for certain, to be the enemy." This is an established truth. Hence you should have remained quiet when Mr. K. lost his temper. When one's elders get angry, one should be gentle and not answer back; if forced to reply, one should say: "I will correct myself; please forgive me this time." There is no admission in this of one's having acted wrongly on purpose. Later, when the person has calmed down, one may politely put one's doubt to him, if one has any. You can ask Mr. K., when he is himself, how it was wrong to serve apples picked from a lot which was getting rotten.

David's Psalm has a meaning which is worth understanding. He desires in it the destruction of the wicked; the significance of this is that he cannot bear evil. The same idea appears in the *Ramayana*. Gods and men both pray for the destruction of *rakshasas*[2]. The prayer *Jaya Rama Rama* is inspired by the same sentiment. The spiritual significance of the Psalm is that David (Arjuna—the godward attributes[3]) desires the destruction of Duryodhana and others [the satanic attributes]. This is the *sattvic*[4] impulse. It comes into play when one is in a state of *bhakti*. When one attains to the state of *jnana*[5], both the impulses subside and all that remains is pure consciousness—Knowledge Absolute. You will not probably find this state described in the Bible. Though David was imperfect, he was a *bhakta*[6]. His sentiments have found expression in the Psalm in simple language and, though a great man, he makes himself humble before God, looking upon himself as a mere blade of grass.

[From Gujarati]

*Gandhijini Sadhana*

[1] *Vide Bhagavad Gita*, III, 37. Here the original verse in Sanskrit has been quoted.

[2] Demons

[3] *Vide Bhagavad Gita*, XVI, 1-3.

[4] Tending to the ethical life, as distinct from the *rajasic*, tending to competitive striving, and the *tamasic*, tending to inertia; *vide Bhagavad Gita*, XVIII, 30-2

[5] Enlightenment

[6] Devotee

## 311. LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI

PHŒNIX,
NATAL,
*Friday, Chaitra Vad 8* [*April 17, 1914*]

CHI. MANILAL,

Received your letters. Ba is, now at any rate, on the way to recovery again.

Even there, I cannot but think, it will prove a rewarding practice to sit down on the floor to eat. You should clean the place where you sit down, so that no one could object. We have made it a practice to sleep on the floor and so we may have our meal as well. It should be enough if you mop the floor where the meal is to be served. One would feel it awkward if one had to start doing this after going to India. There is humility in sitting on the floor for a meal; it will mean, moreover, that we are adopting a practice followed by crores of people. It is few who have their meals at the table.

My diet consists of 18 dates, 9 bananas, three [*sic*] uncooked groundnuts, four *amatungulu* and two lemons, with two spoonfuls of oil added. I take a quantity of cocoanut kernel which I can chew. Tomatoes being dear, they have been ordered only for such as cannot do without them. Not everyone lives on one meal a day. Raojibhai and I alone follow the practice. Ramdas carried on with it for a month. On Mondays and Fridays, everyone goes without salt.

I do not know why people do not fast on the tenth instead of the eleventh day [of each fortnight]; it seems obvious, however, that going without the usual food at least one day in a fortnight purifies body and mind. We want to have the palate under control but, falling short of complete success, we atone for the failure once in a fortnight. Moreover, we commit numerous sins mentally and hence by balancing the account once a fortnight we realize our abject state. To observe the *ekadashi*, it is not enough merely to keep a fast; the day should be spent, rather, in reflecting over matters of faith.

I have already asked two books to be sent to you. The *Gita* transcribed by you will be in addition to these.

"Such passeth from all 'plaining' to blest *nirvana*" is a translation of *sa shantimadhigachchhati*[1]. It means, he attains to

[1] *Bhagavad Gita*, II, 71

peace. He who has given up all desires, who is free from the sense of "I" and "mine", who is unconscious of his identity as a separate being, attains peace. In the word "plaining" occurring in the English [translation] above, 'ex' has been left out, so that the word is "explaining". Such a man escapes from all concerns (objects of desire and pursuit) to the happy state of *nirvana*.

One who rises early should make no exception on Sundays. If we do, we shall anxiously await the coming of a Sunday. If, therefore, you seriously want to form the habit, you must get up at the same time on Sundays as on other days.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

[PS.]

Swami Mangalanandapuri has been here for the last two days. He will leave tomorrow.

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 96
Courtesy: Sushilabehn Gandhi

## *312. TELEGRAM TO MINISTER OF INTERIOR*

[PHŒNIX,
NATAL,]
*April 22, 1914*

TO
THE MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR

I HAVE JUST RECEIVED RECORD OF CONVICTIONS AT VERULAM MAGISTRATE'S COURT ABOUT £3 TAX. THESE CONVICTIONS HAVE TAKEN PLACE DURING THE CURRENT MONTH. I VENTURE SUGGEST LEAST INDIAN COMMUNITY EXPECTS FROM GOVERNMENT IS THAT THESE FORCED COLLECTIONS OF TAX SHOULD BE SUSPENDED, PENDING LEGISLATION. RECORD BEING PUBLISHED. IF I CAN HAVE REASSURING ANSWER IT WILL AVOID MUCH IRRITATION, ILL-FEELING.

GANDHI

*Indian Opinion*, 29-4-1914

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## 313. FRAGMENT OF LETTER

[PHŒNIX,
NATAL,]
*Chaitra Vad 13* [*April 22, 1914*]

. . . Never perhaps have I spent such days of agony as I am doing now.[1] I talk and I smile, I walk and eat and work, all mechanically these days. I can do no writing whatever. The heart seems to have gone dry. The agony I am going through is unspeakable. I have often wanted to take out the knife from my pocket and put it through the stomach. Sometimes I have felt like striking my head against the wall opposite, and, at other times, I have thought of running away from the world. But then again I reflected: "The simple fellow that you are! Foolish one! Why do you go crazy in this fashion? If you do not preserve your balance of mind at this hour, full of agony though it be, what use is the little wisdom you have come by?" And so I pass my days at present. I want just now to inform my well-wishers, "See here, my friends, J. has committed terrible sins."

When I knew all this, I thought I must atone for my own sin in putting my faith in one who did not deserve it. I was about to resolve on a fast for 15 days, but checked myself. I thought of Ba. If I fasted for 15 days, that would mean Ba's death. I gave up the idea for the time being, deterred only by this fear. However, I decided afterwards that J. must leave for. . . .[2] To go and live there was the only right thing . . .[2] could do . . .[2] would come to no good by remaining here. . . .[2] I do not know what evil there is in me. I have a strain of cruelty in me, as others say, such that people force themselves to do things, even to attempt impossible things, in order to please me. Lacking the necessary strength, they put on a false show and deceive me. Even Gokhale used to tell me that I was so harsh that people felt terrified of me and allowed themselves to be dragged against their will out of sheer fear or in the attempt to please me, and that those who found themselves too weak assumed an artificial pose

[1] One of the inmates of Phœnix Settlement for whom Gandhiji had great regard was found to have been guilty of a moral lapse and had obviously deceived Gandhiji. On being warned by him, the person promised not to sin again; but when the offence was repeated, Gandhiji undertook a fast for 14 days.

[2] Some words are omitted here in the source.

in the end. I put [he said] far too heavy a burden on people. He, too, [he added] strained himself to do things beyond his capacity when he was asked by me.

[From Gujarati]
*Gandhijini Sadhana*

## *314. TELEGRAM TO MINISTER OF INTERIOR*

[PHŒNIX,
NATAL,]
*April 24, 1914*

TENDER MY THANKS FOR PROMPT REASSURANCE ABOUT £3 TAX.[1] MAY I SUGGEST THAT THOSE MEN WHO DURING RECENT PROSECUTIONS WERE IMPRISONED BECAUSE THEY COULD NOT OR DID NOT PAY THE INSTALMENTS BE DISCHARGED, WHETHER AT VERULAM OR ELSEWHERE?

GANDHI

*Indian Opinion*, 29-4-1914

## *315. "HIND SWARAJ"*[2]

I wrote *Hind Swaraj* in 1909 on board the ship during the return voyage from England. Copies of the book having been confiscated in the Bombay Presidency, I published a translation in 1910. It is now five years since the ideas in it were expressed in public. And during this period, many persons have had discussions with me on those ideas. Englishmen and Indians, both have written to me about them, several expressing dissent. At the end of it all, however, I find that the convictions I stated in the book have grown stronger. If only I had the time, I could set forth the same ideas more elaborately, with additional arguments and illustrations. I see no reason at all for revising them.

[1] In response to Gandhiji's telegram dated April 22, General Smuts had wired: "Your wire today on subject of prosecution of Indians for failing to take out £3 licence. Representations have been made to the Minister for Justice with view to suspending action re[garding] prosecutions, pending consideration of recommendations of Indian Enquiry Commission by Parliament."

[2] This is the preface to the second Gujarati edition of *Hind Swaraj* which was published in May 1914. For the preface and text of the first edition, *vide* Vol. X, pp. 6-68.

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Numerous requests having been received for a second edition of *Hind Swaraj*, the inmates of Phœnix and the pupils there have found time to print it as a labour of love.

I should like to comment on one thing only. I have gathered an impression that, though *Hind Swaraj* does not advocate the use of physical force at any time and in any circumstances, and advocates always the use of soul-force to gain the desired end, the result of its teaching has been to create hatred for the British and to suggest that they should be expelled through armed fighting or use of violence otherwise. I was unhappy to know this. Such was by no means my object in writing *Hind Swaraj*, and I can only say that those who have drawn from it the foregoing conclusion have totally failed to understand the book. I, for one, bear no ill-will against the British or against any people or individuals. All living creatures are of the same substance as all drops of water in the ocean are the same in substance. I believe that all of us, individual souls, living in this ocean of spirit, are the same with one another with the closest bond among ourselves. A drop that separates soon dries up and any soul that believes itself separate from others is likewise destroyed. For myself, I am an uncompromising enemy of the present-day civilization of Europe. I tried to elaborate my view in *Hind Swaraj* and show that it is not the British that are responsible for the misfortunes of India but we who have succumbed to modern civilization. India can be free this very moment if we turn our back on this modern civilization and go back to our ancient way of life, which embodied the right ethical principles. The key to an understanding of *Hind Swaraj* lies in the idea that worldly pursuits should give way to ethical living. This way of life has no room for violence in any form against any human being, black or white.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 29-4-1914

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## *316. TELEGRAM TO MINISTER OF INTERIOR*

[PHŒNIX,
Before *May 6, 1914*]

TO
THE MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR

I HAVE SEEN TELEGRAM[1] SENT BY THE ANJUMAN ISLAM, DURBAN, REGARDING PHOTOGRAPH[S] REQUIRED FROM INDIAN WIVES SEEKING ENTRANCE INTO THE PROVINCE. UNABLE UNDERSTAND REQUIREMENT IMMIGRATION DEPARTMENT. VENTURE DRAW ATTENTION FACT THAT, WHEN QUESTION AROSE REGARDING EVEN MALES IN TRANSVAAL SOME YEARS AGO, IT GAVE RISE TO SUCH BITTERNESS THAT GOVERNMENT WERE PLEASED WITHDRAW REQUIREMENT. REGARDING WOMEN IT IS A MOST DANGEROUS THING. HOPE MINISTER WILL BE PLEASED INSTRUCT IMMIGRATION OFFICER WAIVE REQUIREMENT AND ACCEPT LOCAL PROOF OFFERED BY THE PARTIES IN QUESTION. UNDERSTAND ALSO THAT IMMIGRATION DEPARTMENT ADOPTING SEVERE METHODS REGARDING INDIAN ENTRANTS GENERALLY. AMONG THESE IS INSISTENCE UPON INDIANS POSSESSING RIGHTS DOMICILE MORE THAN ONE PROVINCE CHOOSING ONE PROVINCE ONLY. SUBMIT REQUIREMENT ARBITRARY, UNCALLED FOR. PRACTICE RECOGNIZING DOUBLE OR TRIPLE DOMICILE NEVER HITHERTO QUESTIONED, AND WHATEVER LEGAL INTERPRETATION IMMIGRATION ACT 1913, HOPE GOVERNMENT DO NOT INTEND DEPART FROM EXISTING PRACTICE.[2]

GANDHI

*Indian Opinion*, 6-5-1914

[1] The Chairman of the Anjuman Islam of Durban had conveyed to the Minister of the Interior the Indian community's concern at and objection, on religious grounds, to the demand for the photographs of Indian wives, and urged that local proofs be accepted for identification.

[2] In reply to this, the Minister of the Interior telegraphed: "Your telegram today. Matter being inquired into."

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

PHŒNIX,
NATAL,
*May 6, 1914*

DEAR MR. GOKHALE,

I have your cable, your own most affectionate letter and Dr. Mehta's letter. How I would like to be by your side during your illness although I may be utterly helpless for any useful service! Your cable is for my comfort and convenience. But Mrs. Gandhi is now much better. If her progress continues, in a month's time she should regain most of her former health. In that case and in any case I could come to London taking her with me. And after consultation with you, we may both proceed to India directly and the rest of the party may leave here after we have left. This will enable me to reach India without any great loss of time. At the outside it can be only three weeks. Please therefore cable if I may still come. In view of your own and Dr. Mehta's letter I should much like to come. It would be a disappointment to me, if you do not let me come. Unless, therefore, you are leaving for India to reach there before me, I do hope that your cable will authorise my coming to you.

The draft bill[1] is not yet out. It may, therefore, take quite to the end of June before I am free to move. And it is just likely that a final settlement may not be reached at all. In that event the struggle must recommence and I dare not go to India. I am fully prepared for either event.

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

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: G.N. 3776

[1] The reference is to he Indians' Relief Bill.

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## *318. TELEGRAM TO MINISTER OF INTERIOR*[1]

[PHŒNIX,
On or after *May 7, 1914*]

REQUEST FAVOURABLE REPLY MY WIRE REGARDING PHOTOGRAPHS INDIAN WIVES. MEMBERS COMMUNITY GETTING AGITATED. IF DELAY DECIDING MATTER PLEASE INSTRUCT OFFICER EXTEND TEMPORARY PASSES.

GANDHI

From a photostat of the handwritten draft: S.N. 5974

## *319. TELEGRAM TO MINISTER OF INTERIOR*

[PHŒNIX,]
*May 19, 1914*

TO
INTERIOR
CAPE TOWN

COULD I KNOW FOR SATISFYING INQUIRERS WHEN INDIAN LEGISLATION LIKELY BE INTRODUCED.[2]

GANDHI

From the handwritten draft: S.N. 5970

## *320. THE LATE MRS. MAYO*

We regret to announce the death of Mrs. Mayo[3], which took place last week. The news was cabled to Mr. Kallenbach, and it soon became common property amongst the many who had come to look upon Mrs. Mayo with regard and veneration. Hers was [a] truly noble soul. It was a most strenuous life that she led up

[1] This appears to be in reference to the "Telegram to Minister of Interior", p. 413, and was evidently sent some time after May 6, 1914.

[2] The Minister in his telegram of May 20 replied: "Is it your desire to come here and discuss draft Bill with Minister, and if so, appointment could be made for a day early next week. Bill would probably be introduced week following."

[3] Mrs. Isabella Fyvie Mayo

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to the very end. She was one of the few true interpreters of Tolstoy's teachings, and she will be best known to the world as such. To the Indians of South Africa her memory will be a cherished treasure for her very warm and loving sympathy during their troubles.

*Indian Opinion*, 20-5-1914

## *321. TELEGRAM TO MINISTER OF INTERIOR*

[PHŒNIX,
NATAL,]
*May 22, 1914*

TO
INTERIOR
CAPE TOWN

AM LEAVING FOR CAPE THIS EVENING REACHING THERE WEDNESDAY MORNING HOPE REPORT MYSELF THEN.

GANDHI

From a photostat of the handwritten original: S. N. 5972

## *322. LETTER TO "THE TRANSVAAL LEADER"*[1]

[JOHANNESBURG,]
*May 23, 1914*

[SIR,]

In your today's issue of the *Leader*, you publish certain remarks made by Mr. Justice Mason, to which you give the headings "Credibility of Evidence", "Judge's Remarks on Indians".

[1] This was signed by A. M. Cachalia and was in reply to the following report in *The Transvaal Leader*: "Some rather strong observations regarding the credibility of Indian witnesses were made by Judge and counsel in the Witwatersrand Local Division yesterday. The case was one in which an Indian applied for the sequestration of a compatriot's estate and the latter resisted an order on the ground that the applicant was not a creditor to the amount of £50 as provided by the Insolvency Law.

"Mr. Justice Mason remarked that the evidence in support of the respondent's case was what one very often found in Indian cases. There generally seemed a number of witnesses for one side fortuitously at hand when the opposite side gave away its whole case. . . .

" . . . In giving judgment, Mr. Justice Mason said that the respondent's case was that, in order to defeat other creditors, the applicant agreed with him

I have no desire in any way to controvert His Lordship's statement which may be justified by the facts brought to his notice from time to time, but it should be well understood by the public that Mr. Justice Mason confined his remarks to a certain class of Indians only, whom my Association has no desire to direct from such criticism. He did not, as Mr. Greenberg appeared to suppose, condemn Indian evidence on national or racial grounds at all. There are also certain classes of non-Indians equally guilty of attempts to mislead the Court, but I do not presume that, in similar circumstances, you would speak of the Judge's remarks on Europeans. It is notorious that lawyers, like doctors, see mainly the seamy side of life, and they will necessarily draw conclusions from what they see. In spite, however, of what might have been to a less just man a strong temptation to exaggerate, Mr. Justice Mason confined his remarks to that section of the community which he believed to be guilty and did not level an indictment against the whole of the Indian community, as one might suppose from the first few lines of your report.

I trust that you will find space for this letter in order to remove any wrong impression that might have been created.

[*I am, etc.*,]

*Indian Opinion*, 3-6-1914

## *323. PRAYER SPEECH*

[JOHANNESBURG,
*May 23, 1914*]

I shall not be pleased just because you recite verses from the *Gita*. I don't care whether or not you read history, do sums in arithmetic or learn Sanskrit. What is necessary is that you should acquire self-control. That is what I want. I may agree to be some one's slave, but not that of my mind. There is no sin as base as

to take over certain goods in reduction of his debt, and that that was done. In support of that, the respondent produced witnesses who conveniently happened to be present when the agreement was made, although the parties making it must have known that the arrangement was one which would be somewhat open to criticism in the eyes of the law. Then there were two more witnesses who happened to come on the scene when the arrangements were being carried out, and who seemed to know all about the collusive agreement. Now, these were coincidences which, if true, were of a remarkable character. Unfortunately, however, these coincidences so often appeared in Indian cases. They had got to face that fact."

being the slave to one's mind. Be wise, therefore, and learn to discipline your mind. So you will be able to live with me. Otherwise I have no need of anyone. Nor am I conceited enough to want to teach you or anyone else. I have a pupil, to train whom is the most difficult task. It is only by training that pupil that I can do some good to you, to India or the world. That pupil is myself, what I call my mind. Only those who thus become their own pupils are fit to stay here. Others who cannot stand such a life had better not stay here. Such a person would do well to leave this place. It is a sin, however, to do anything blindly (without a purpose, mechanically). I want no such thing.

[From Gujarati]
*Gandhijini Sadhana*

## *324. INTERVIEW WITH E. M. GORGES*[1]

PRETORIA,
*May 27, 1914*

Upon Clause 1 Mr. Gandhi indicated that he valued this provision mainly for the sake of appearances. He thought that the appointment of a large number of Indian priests as marriage officers might easily lead to abuses, as some persons representing themselves as priests might not be of the highest character. He contemplated therefore that a somewhat sparing use would be made of the power of appointment, and that only such priests would be selected as were known to be of unimpeachable reputation. He thought that, for practical purposes, the machinery of registration under Clause 2 would and should become the usual method of legalizing Indian marriages, and he therefore deprecated very strongly the limitation of the right to such marriages only as existed at the commencement of the Act.[2]

[1] On May 30, 1914, the Governor-General, Lord Gladstone, addressed a despatch to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, forwarding printed copies of the draft Indians' Relief Bill, and pointing out certain verbal amendments made therein. In the course of the despatch, the Governor-General reported: "Mr. Gandhi has been summoned from Natal, and a copy of the Bill as printed was handed to him by the Secretary for the Interior on Wednesday morning. After perusing it he saw Mr. Gorges again on Wednesday afternoon. I understand that he seemed on the whole to be satisfied, and that the substance of the interview may be summarised as follows." No other report of the interview is available.

[2] The despatch continued: "I may mention that I had previously caused to be conveyed to Mr. Gorges an expression of regret at the introduction of the words 'at the commencement of this Act'. Mr. Gorges said that they had been inserted by General Smuts' direction, but he did not know whether

. . . Another point which was considered at the interview between Mr. Gorges and Mr. Gandhi was the expediency of enabling Magistrates generally, whether appointed as marriage officers or not, to register Indian marriages under Clause 2.[1]

On Clause 3 Mr. Gandhi does not appear to have taken any exception to proviso (b) of sub-clause (2). He urged, however, that the children of deceased women, who would have been eligible for admission under this clause, should not be excluded from its benefits. Mr. Gorges told my Secretary that he would submit to the Minister an amendment to the following effect: after the word "defined" at the end of the clause insert some such phrase as "or the child of the exempted person and a deceased woman who, had she lived, could have been recognized as a wife within the meaning of this section, or whose marriage could have been registered under the provisions of section 2 of this Act". These, so far as I am aware, were the only points raised by Mr. Gandhi upon the Bill.[2]

He, however, made the following representations upon questions of administration. He asked for facilities for the admission and registration of all existing plural wives, whether in or out of South Africa, of Indians lawfully resident in the Union. This, you will observe, is a slight extension of the second recommendation on page 39 of the Commission's Report, where the grant of the privilege is contemplated only in the case of plural wives who had actually lived in the country. Mr. Gorges did not seem to regard the request as unreasonable, but he told my Secretary that he was not aware of the view which General Smuts might take of the proposal. Mr. Gandhi renewed his request for an assurance that, so long as the immigration of Natal-born Indians into the Cape did not exceed its present dimensions, such Indians should be admitted without the imposition of a test, and particularly without the application of the provisions of Section 4(1)(a) of last year's Immigrants Regulation Act. He did not ask for legislation, as presumably he is well aware of the very serious difficulty which the Government would experience if the question of the Cape entry were again to be raised in Parliament even by the introduction of the small amendment recommended by the Commission on page 16 of their Report. I gather that the Commission attached no great importance to this

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the Minister's decision on this point must be regarded as irrevocable. I am therefore not without hope that Mr. Gandhi's representations in regard to this clause will not prove wholly ineffective. He will have an opportunity of discussing the matter with General Smuts in the course of the next few days."

[1] The despatch here added: "Mr. Gorges, I understand, will suggest to General Smuts the insertion of a proviso that, for the purposes of this section, the term 'Marriage Officer' shall include any Magistrate."

[2] In his interview to Gandhiji on May 30, only a reference to which is available in the Governor-General's despatch of June 5, 1914, Smuts agreed to the three legislative points raised by Gandhiji. *Vide* Appendix XXIV.

recommendation and that after the position had been explained to them and they had been apprised of the reason why the words "at the commencement of this Act" had been inserted in Section 4(2)(a) of Act 22 of 1913, they intimated that the recommendation was not one which they would be disposed to press.

Mr. Gandhi renewed his plea for a satisfactory statement in respect of the declaration required under the Free State law from Indians entering that Province. This point should occasion no difficulty as General Smuts and Mr. Gandhi had previously come to an agreement upon it.

Mr. Gandhi then raised two new points.

(1) He asked for some declaration or assurance that vested rights under the Transvaal Gold Law should be recognized and preserved. Mr. Gorges told him that this was really a matter for the Mines Department, and suggested that he should discuss it with General Smuts.

(2) Mr. Gandhi urged that a free pardon should be granted to all *bona fide* passive resisters in respect of convictions for *bona fide* passive resistance offences, excluding all offences of violence which had been committed during the passive resistance campaign. I see no reason why the Minister should adopt a *non possumus* attitude towards this request, but I am not aware of his views.

As regards Clause 4 of the Bill, I understand that the Government think it undesirable to interfere with the special legislation governing the status of indentured Indians under the Natal Acts, except in so far as the repeal of the £3 tax is concerned. For this reason they are disinclined to modify any provisions mentioned in Clause 4. Mr. Gandhi, I believe, made no comment upon the clause.

Colonial Office Records: 551/57

## *325. LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI*

[CAPE TOWN,]
*Thursday* [*May 28, 1914*][1]

CHI. MANILAL,

I have your letter. While you express your regret, you say in the selfsame letter that on that very day you had forgotten to serve so important an item as the vegetable. You say it was left out, without explaining how it happened. Who is to blame? Why did you entrust the task to anyone else? You should have yourself carried the vegetable you had lovingly cooked. You may as well take a lesson from this. There is no need to be sorry for

[1] From its reference to the publication of the Indians' Relief Bill, which took place on Thursday, May 28, it is evident that the letter was written the same day.

what is past and over, but it is important that one should learn something from it. While there, learn to be devoted to your duty and cultivate self-discipline. This cannot be achieved, however, unless one thinks.

Have regard for everyone there, think of the good qualities in others, rather than their weaknesses, and be mindful of your own shortcomings. Instead of gossiping away your time, keep thinking. A single moment wasted is so much [time] lost from one's life and so much stolen from God. Understand this and use every moment well. See that your body becomes tough.

The Bill has been published and is likely to come up next week.[1] One does not know, though. There has been no meeting yet with General Smuts.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 106
Courtesy: Sushilabehn Gandhi

## *326. THE RELIEF BILL*

The long-expected Indian Bill has now been published. We reproduce the full text with the schedule.[2] It is a simple and short measure and seems to carry out the recommendations of the Indian Commission in so far as legislative action is necessary. The Bill removes the marriage difficulty and restores the status as it existed before the Searle judgment. It repeals the £3 tax and remits the unpaid arrears. Lastly, it validates Natal certificates of domicile, if the owner can establish his identity with the certificate by proving that the thumb-impression on it is his own. There is another clause in the Bill with which the community is not concerned. It is the clause which enables the Government to give a free passage to any Indian not otherwise provided for if he renounces for himself and his family all claim to domicile in Natal or any other Province of the Union.

There are certain alterations necessary in the Bill. It will be a proper thing to use for validating future unions the machinery provided in the Bill for validating existing unions. Amendment will also be necessary for protecting the children of deceased wives, where such wives, if alive, could have been recognized under the present Bill.

[1] It was introduced in the House of Assembly on June 2.
[2] *Vide* Appendix XXV.

Assuming that the Bill with the suggested alterations becomes law, there will still remain the other matters recommended by the Commission and the matters covered by Mr. Cachalia's and Mr. Gandhi's letters. These require administrative treatment and include the Free State question, the Cape entry and the administration of existing laws. If satisfactory assurances are issued in connection with them, the struggle that has gone on for years, and that has meant enormous losses and sufferings to the community, may be said to have fitly and honourably closed.

*Indian Opinion*, 3-6-1914

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

[CAPE TOWN,]
*June 5, 1914*

DEAR MR. GOKHALE,

I was thankful to receive your cable. Mrs. Gandhi is much better but still weak. If she comes I shall bring her with me & Mr. Kallenbach may also come so that he may say good-bye to his people and also be with me. If you will not allow me to be with you as your nurse, I would like to go away to India immediately after our consultation.

As I do not know the state of your health I do not want to write a long letter though I feel tempted. I have, however, written[1] to Sorabji & asked him to see you about what I have written to him if you are well. He will then take instructions from you.

The Indian Bill has passed through the first stage. It is quite satisfactory & I am about to have another interview with General Smuts about the other points. There is, therefore, every prospect of the struggle being finally closed. In that event I should leave for London about the middle of July & even earlier if I can.

May I ask you please to cable the state of your health when you receive this?

Mr. Kallenbach who is just now with me wishes to be remembered to you.

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

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: G. N. 2248

[1] This letter is not available.

## 328. FRAGMENT OF LETTER

CAPE TOWN,
*Tuesday, Jyestha Vad 2* [*June 9, 1914*]

We cannot pass any judgment on Mr. Sinha on the basis of what we read in newspapers at this distance. Mr. Norton also acted formerly as a public prosecutor in such cases. Who is a leader and who is not is a matter of opinion. Generally, a satyagrahi will express no opinion. In the kind of situation you mention, if one were to offer satyagraha and be imprisoned in consequence, the purpose of satyagraha would have been served. We need not always speak out in such cases. There is no ready answer to the question when satyagraha should be offered. A satyagrahi does not deliberate in advance when embarking on satyagraha. When he finds anything done that violates his conscience, he should use soul-force against it. Even at the time that I first started satyagraha, I considered it to be but a part of dharma. I have discovered from experience that it is the only religion and the only *chintamani*[1], and it has, therefore, developed in me especially in its aspect as dharma. He is a satyagrahi who has resolved to practise nothing but truth and such a one will know the right way every time. One's entire life should be permeated with truth. This will come about gradually through the observance of *yamas*[2], *niyamas*[3], etc. Just as, in learning secular subjects, one has to work at them for many years, so too must one make efforts to understand the nature of satyagraha. As the veils which cover your *atman* and mine fall off, the *atman* of each will shine the more brightly and be the more resolute satyagrahi in battle.

[From Gujarati]
*Mahatma Gandhijina Patro*

[1] A fabulous gem supposed to yield to its possessor all that he desires; the philosophers' stone

[2] This means any moral duty or religious observance. The *yamas* are usually said to be ten, but their names are given differently by different authorities. They include celibacy, compassion, truth, charity, non-violence, etc.

[3] Any voluntary or self-imposed religious observance, dependent on external conditions.

## 329. INDIAN GRIEVANCES

The Bill as originally circulated, but not gazetted, has already been amended in the sense indicated as being necessary in our leading article[1] last week. It will be remembered that the original draft required Indians applying for the validation of a marriage by virtue of its provisions to satisfy the Marriage Officer "that there existed at the commencement of this Act between them a union then recognized as a marriage under the tenets of an Indian religion which they profess". The Bill as amended, and now gazetted, reads that the officer must be satisfied "that there exists between them a union then recognized as a marriage under the tenets of an Indian religion which they profess". This amendment provides, therefore, for the validation of future marriages celebrated within the Union or elsewhere. Then, again, paragraph 3, sub-section 2, of the Bill is amended to provide that "the child under the age of sixteen" shall include "the child of the exempted person and a deceased woman who, if she had been alive, could have been recognized as the wife (as herein defined) or whose union with the exempted person could have been registered as a marriage under section 2 of this Act". The amendment speaks for itself, and the Bill now seems to satisfy the legislative requirements of Passive Resisters. We hope that it will have a speedy passage through Parliament.

*Indian Opinion*, 10-6-1914

## 330. LETTER TO RAOJIBHAI PATEL

CAPE TOWN,
*Wednesday, Jeth Vad 3* [*June 10, 1914*]

DEAR BROTHER,

When Ramachandra was about to go to the forest, King Dasharatha asked him to ignore his [Dasharatha's] promise to Kaikeyi and not to go, breach of promise though this might mean. Ramachandra disregarded this desire born of the common worldly attachment for the son and went to dwell in the forest, thus showing true reverence for his father, and so made Dasharatha's and his own name immortal. Harishchandra, by

[1] *Vide* "The Relief Bill", pp. 421-2.

selling his wife and showing himself ready even to bring down the sword on Rohit's neck, proved his devotion to his wife and his love for the son. Prahlad, by disobeying his father's order, rendered a service to him and brought about his deliverance. Mirabai[1], by leaving Kumbha Rana, turned the Rana himself into her disciple. Dayanand[2] ran away from his parents, breaking betrothal already solemnized, and even gave the slip to the men who had been sent after him; in this way he showed his devotion to his mother and father. Lord Buddha went away as his young wife lay asleep.

We find many similar examples. Pondering over them, we must, in the difficult situation in which we are placed, do what seems the right thing from the point of view of true ethics. In the case of Shravana, the finer, intangible form of service happened to flow in the same channel as outward, physical service. Not infrequently, therefore, we fail to discover from his example what the right course should be. He who habitually follows the path of truth will know the right way at the crucial moment. If the things such as poems about disinterestedness, which we read are of no help to us when faced with moral dilemmas, we will have read them in vain, parrot-like. We could not have reflected over them. If, despite our having read the *Gita*, it does not come to our help at the last moment, we might as well have not read it. This is the reason why I have always said: "Read little, but reflect over the little that you read, understand its significance and be ready to put it into practice."

It is only when we cease to be selfishly attached to those we love that the heart feels true compassion and renders service to them. To the extent that I have grown free of such attachment for Ba, I am able to serve her better. The Buddha, by leaving his parents, brought deliverance to them as well. Gopichand, by his renunciation, displayed the purest love for his mother. In the same way, you will be serving your parents by strengthening your character and cultivating spotless morality. When your soul has grown pure, it cannot but produce a corresponding effect on all those whom you love.

[*With due regards*,
MOHANDAS]

[From Gujarati]
*Gandhijini Sadhana*

[1] A medieval saint-poetess of Rajasthan
[2] Swami Dayanand Saraswati (1824-83); founder of the Arya Samaj

## 331. JOTTINGS[1]

[CAPE TOWN,
About *June 10, 1914*]

Any marriage whether before or after should be legalised.
Sec. 3: What about the children of other wives, children living here?
The definition of child
The other wives
Their children
The Cape entry
The Free State
The number of entrants
The administration of existing laws—Gold Law, Townships licensing law, Immigration
The other recommendations
Free Pardon
Camay
Ficksburg
Anjuman
Bhayad
Educated Indians who entered before the Act of 1913
Guns for old holders and new ones who may need them
Registration of those who legally enter

From a photostat of the draft in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 5965

## 332. LETTER TO E. M. GORGES

[CAPE TOWN,]
*June 11, 1914*

DEAR MR. GORGES,

The enclosed speaks for itself. I do not understand the *Mercury* reading of the measure.[2] But, as the principle involved

[1] These concerned various matters obviously requiring Gandhiji's attention. The date is assigned on the basis that on June 10 he forwarded to the Secretary for the Interior certain representations on behalf of Ficksburg Indians and the Anjuman Islam.

[2] *The Natal Mercury* in an article had doubted whether Indians would be allowed to remain in the Province. It had contended that, when the £3 tax is

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is so great, I would value an assurance that the meaning given to the Bill by the *Mercury* is not the meaning Government attach to the Bill.[1]

[*I have, etc.*,]
M. K. GANDHI

*Indian Opinion*, 1-7-1914

## *333. LETTER TO RAOJIBHAI PATEL*

CAPE TOWN,
*Saturday* [*June 13, 1914*]

DEAR SHRI RAOJIBHAI,

I got your letter so late today that I am in no position to write to you by today's post or even send a telegram. I shall now send a telegram only on Monday.

Where it is a question of a mother's love or a son's affection, it is something of a moral dilemma for a third party to offer advice. But offer it I must. When you took the decision you did on the strength of your father's letter, we were able to judge your mother's feelings. Her letter does not introduce any new factor. It has given rise, however, to a new concern, and love has naturally gained the first place in your heart. If now you can take a decision, with a mind free from selfish attachment, your love can be transformed into a pure and divine thing. You can give it to the entire world, that is, strive to do so. That is the end to which one must love and serve one's mother. Any other form of love is of an earthly character, such as is common in the world, a

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removed, the privilege of remaining in the country will be taken away from Indians and the only alternative left for them will be either to re-indenture or return to India. It had also pointed out that under the Immigrants Regulation Act the minister had power to declare all Asiatics "prohibited immigrants" on economic grounds and thus to deport ex-indentured Indians.

[1] On June 22, Gorges replied: "General Smuts desires me to say that it is perfectly clear from the report of the Commission that it was never intended that, by the repeal of the provisions of the existing laws dealing with the £3 licence, the position of the ex-indentured immigrant would be prejudicially affected in some other way; and had there been the slightest doubt on the subject, he is sure that the Commission—consisting as it did of three eminent lawyers—would certainly have drawn attention to it. The Minister himself is quite satisfied that the effect of the Bill as it now stands would not be to bring into evidence the position which the *Mercury* and *African Chronicle* would have us believe will be created."

love purely of the physical frame. You recite poems, often enough, which sing of freedom from such love. Recite this one, *Know this world as of little good*, and reflect over its inner meaning. What is the significance of *The Living One's kinship only with that which breathes*? What is distinctive of the Phœnix way of life is that we strive to cultivate in us what we read about. Your going to India will have but momentary effect; ultimately, there needs must be grieving and weeping, be it after five days or fifteen, and certain separation ever afterwards.

Moreover, we aspire after a way of life in which we would not have a single pie of our own. Consider what men of such poverty would do in a situation like this.

That you should always yearn for a sight of your parents is good indeed. It is your duty [however] to repress the longing for the present and free your life more and more from the sway of attachments. You are enduring exile only for the sole purpose of training your character. This is the condition of *vanavasa*[1] for you. Through it alone will you bring credit to your parents. The way of self-indulgence is not for you; if, instead, you raise your *atman* higher day by day and acquire a greater measure of self-control, you will be free, for the present, from the obligation of returning to India.

In reasoning thus, I have not had the slightest regard to the circumstances in the press. In giving the advice I have done, I have only considered what would best conduce to your spiritual progress.

All the same, if you do feel yourself drawn to India by human attachment to your mother and cannot be at peace with yourself while remaining here, by all means go. Treat what I have said only as advice and come to your own independent conclusion, and then act accordingly.

*With due regards*
MOHANDAS

[From Gujarati]
*Mahatma Gandhijina Patro* and *Gandhijini Sadhana*

[1] Literally, a recluse's life in the forest, like Rama's during his 14 years' exile.

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## *334. FRAGMENT OF LETTER TO MANILAL AND JAMNADAS GANDHI*

CAPE TOWN,
*Saturday* [On or after *June 13, 1914*][1]

I should welcome your keeping pace with me, but I don't expect it. I have never wished that you should all follow me in everything I do. But whatever you undertake to do, you must carry out. . . .[2] There is no question of coercion, of course. Having, however, given up the evil of . . .[3] , if you cheat me, you are certainly to blame. . . .[4] it may be conceded that the boys have reached a certain level. They refrain from certain things in Phœnix; while there, they regard them as things to be avoided. How, then, can they go after the very same things when away from Phœnix? No one is obliged to do without salt. Everyone refrains on principle from strong spices, addictions of any kind, sweets, rich feasts, tea, coffee, etc. And likewise, sexual indulgence, stealing, untruthfulness and late rising are shunned by all. How can anyone who finds this too strict a rule stay there? Every institution has certain rules which must be observed both in and outside the place. If anyone does not do so, there is no point in his remaining in the institution.

What you mean is that the boys and others do some of the things because of their regard for me and not voluntarily, and that, therefore, they are cheating me. The blame for this may be mine, but I have only one way of escaping it and that is by not staying with anyone. This does not seem to be my duty at present. If R . . . is driven by his regard for me to make a show of adopting a saltless diet, when I have asked him to do no such thing, and so deceives me, how am I to blame? . . .[5] I don't love you any the less for your not adopting a saltless diet and J . . . any the more for his living exclusively on fruits. There is no special sin or virtue in eating or not eating salt. It is the underlying principle which raises moral issues. Imam Saheb is not the less dear to me because he will never adopt a saltless diet. Miss Schlesin takes an opposite course to mine in all matters, but in some ways I place her character very much

[1] From the reference to Norton in the letter, it appears to have been written after "Fragment of Letter", p. 423.

[2], [3], [4] & [5] Some words are omitted here in the source.

higher than that of you all. In all the changes [we introduce], our aim is to practise and develop self-discipline to the best of our ability. What I said that evening was that anyone who is not ready for this may leave me. I think I was perfectly right . . . .[1] I am not much in love with Norton's action nor do I despise Bengali lawyers. A satyagrahi has no concern with them and his field of duty is quite different from theirs. The point of your question is, [how one may know] whether a person is a true satyagrahi or not. If you cannot know this yet, I will only say that it is a matter of intuition, that others cannot explain it. We are making all these efforts to master the palate, etc., in order to be able to understand this. . . .[2] Do not think that self-discipline means living on a saltless diet. You may live on a dry crust of bread, two days old, and a pinch of salt. That may, of course, be a much higher thing than my enjoying all manner of fruits and nuts. The moral worth of our actions is to be judged from the motive behind your eating dry bread and my living on fruits.

Purity of character is not put to shame, but rather gains further strength, by what others say against us.

If you have done anything unworthy, confess everything to me. Unless you do so, your fasts and the many other penances you may go through will be in vain. I am getting impatient to be there but cannot run away from my duty.

I am not likely to go back on a pledge once taken, even if the sun were to rise in the west.

If those whom I believed to be very pure are really so sinful, I don't wish to nourish this body and keep it alive even for a moment.

It is not easy for a man to stick to his pledges.

This letter will make both of you angry. But it would be a blot on my love of truth, such as it is, if I did not say what was in my mind and I would but ill serve you. It is my duty at the moment to cause you pain.

[From Gujarati]

*Mahatma Gandhijina Patro* and *Jivannu Parodh*

[1] & [2] Some words are omitted here in the source.

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## *335. LETTER TO KUNVARJI MEHTA*

[CAPE TOWN,]
*Jeth Vad 8* [*June 15, 1914*]

DEAR SHRI KUNVARJI[1],

I have your letter. Thanks. I hope to meet the students in Surat when I return to India.

*With due regards*
MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 2660

## *336. A HISTORIC DEBATE*

The second reading of the Indian Bill was carried by a very substantial majority and became the occasion for a weighty pronouncement on the Government's Indian policy.[2] General Smuts' speech was studiously moderate and not at all offensive as some of his speeches on the subject have been in the past. General Botha's speech was worthy of the occasion. We feel grateful for his declaration that the Government proposed to stand or fall by the Bill. The other speeches delivered in favour of the Bill were of the same high order and, if the spirit of justice and conciliation that pervaded the speeches is continued in the administration of the existing laws, there need be no fear whatsoever of any Indian trouble arising in the future. We take the speeches as an earnest of the intention of the Government and the legislature that the resident population is to be treated with justice and fair play. Contrary to past experience, General Smuts made it clear that, this time, not only had the Government considered the feelings of the Imperial Government and the Government of India, but they had considered the Indian sentiment also. We trust that the same policy will be followed in the future.

What could have contributed to this high tone of the debate? Certainly the watchfulness of the Imperial Government; certainly, also, the courageous handling of the question by the

[1] Kunvarji Vithalbhai Mehta, manager of the Patidar Students' Hostel at Surat, in Gujarat

[2] This was on June 8, 1914.

Viceroy. Mr. Andrews' mission of love, too, contributed not a little to the lofty tone of the debate. His spirit seemed to watch and guide the deliberations of the House. And none of these helps would have been at our disposal if we had not helped ourselves. The spirit of Passive Resistance it was which made this trinity of causes possible. Let the community, therefore, understand that its last weapon at a critical moment is Passive Resistance, which has been once more fully vindicated. But we hope and we have reason to believe that the community will not be called upon again to pass through the terrible fire of suffering which it has had to pass through during the last, long years.

*Indian Opinion*, 17-6-1914

## *337. LETTER TO MARSHALL CAMPBELL*[1]

CAPE TOWN,
*June 20, 1914*

DEAR MR. MARSHALL CAMPBELL,

With reference to this morning's conversation between us about the telegram that appears in to-day's issue of the *Cape Times* regarding the Indians' Relief Bill, I beg to repeat what I said to you this morning, viz., that I do not know of any such Indian agitation as is referred to in the wire. I am sure that no responsible Indian has taken exception to the Bill. I do not believe for one moment that the Bill makes the Indians, affected by it, prohibited immigrants—a result never contemplated by the Imperial Government, the Government of India or the Indian community or, I feel sure, by the Union Government.

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

PS. You may make what use you think fit of this letter.

M.K.G.

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy signed by Gandhiji: S. N. 5991

[1] This was published in *Indian Opinion*, 24-6-1914. Reuter quoted this as a telegram from Gandhiji.

## *338. LETTER TO INDENTURED INDIANS*

[CAPE TOWN,
After *June 22, 1914*]

TO
INDIANS COMING WITHIN THE SCOPE OF ACT 17 OF 1895
MY DEAR BRETHREN,

You must have known by now that the £3 tax which you, your wives and grown-up children had to pay every year has been repealed and that the collection of arrears has been suspended. This means that you can live in freedom in this Province without re-indenturing yourselves. The Act of 1891 which applied to those who arrived before 1895 will now apply to you as well. It was in order to bring this about that you, I and hundreds of our brethren put up a struggle and went through suffering. But *The Natal Mercury* has stated that your position has become worse than it was and that now you will be either compelled to re-indenture yourselves or sent back to India. This is not true. The Government has stated categorically in one of its communications that the inference which the *Mercury* has drawn is not correct.[1] The Imperial Government and the Government of India are parties to the settlement. I know how they understand it. They have no doubt that the repeal of the tax means that you can live as free men and that, if you live so in Natal for three years, you will get the same rights of residence as Indians who arrive as free immigrants. And finally I want to tell you that, if, under the new Act, you are treated as prohibited immigrants, as *The Natal Mercury* says you will be, no matter in what part of the world I may be, I shall use all my strength to get so terrible an injustice removed. I am convinced, however, that the Government intends nothing of the kind and also that the Act bears no such meaning. This is the view of Mr. Marshall Campbell, too, who worked so hard to secure the repeal of the tax. You need have, therefore, no apprehensions on this score and I hope that no Indian will henceforth re-indenture himself out of fear of being expelled from this Colony.

[From Gujarati]
*Indian Opinion*, 29-7-1914

[1] *Vide* footnote 1 on p. 427.

## 339. THE LATE SIR DAVID HUNTER

The news reached Durban on Sunday that Sir David Hunter, K.C.M.G., one of Natal's most sincere and broad-minded public men, had passed away, after an operation at a nursing home in Edinburgh. Sir David was well-known as one who stood up for the weak and oppressed. In as out of Parliament his voice could always be heard in favour of justice and fair-play, especially on behalf of those who were unrepresented in the Legislature. The Indian community will feel his loss very keenly. During his twenty-six years' connection with the Natal Government Railways as General Manager he was known as a humane employer. He always spoke well of his Indian employees and they always thought highly of their Chief. We well remember, at the time of Mr. Gokhale's visit, Sir David, speaking at the historic banquet in the Durban Drill Hall, in the capacity of Chairman, saying that, through long and varied experience, he had learned to respect his Indian staff for their faithful and useful service, and he, therefore, had satisfaction in believing that they reciprocated his feelings towards them by loyal trust in him. He also spoke of the innate dignity and courtesy which were characteristic of the Indian race. Sir David, along with many others, maintained that the £3 tax was an unjust imposition, and we had the assurance from his own lips that he intended to support its repeal at the earliest opportunity. Had it not been for the unfortunate illness which took him to Scotland in the hope of relief, we are confident that there would not have been a more faithful supporter of the present Indians' Relief Bill than Sir David Hunter. To the relatives and friends we offer our sincere sympathy and condolence, and we feel sure that the whole Indian community will share our feelings.

*Indian Opinion*, 24-6-1914

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## *340. POINTS FOR DISCUSSION WITH MINISTER OF INTERIOR*[1]

[CAPE TOWN,
Before *June 27, 1914*]

1. Indians born in S[outh] A[frica] to enter the Cape
2. Indentured Indians after 1895
3. The Free State
4. Marriages
5. How many will be admitted & how
6. Assurance that wives would be admitted if they are the only wives in S.A. and that even polygamous marriages will be recognised.
7. Evidence regarding wives
8. This year's entries in the Transvaal, Cape and Natal.

From a photostat of the draft in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 5973

## *341. LETTER TO E. M. GORGES*

CAPE TOWN,
*June 27, 1914*

DEAR MR. GORGES,

I forgot to borrow from you the Mauritian Ordinance[2]. Could you please send it to me at Phœnix? I shall return it to you as soon as I have dealt with it.

I think that you took down in your notes for the proposed letter : "wives and their children". If not, will you please add "children" to "wives" in the paragraph about plural wives?

I trust that your letter will be liberally couched. I have already told you something about the opposition I shall have to face.

[1] Presumably, this was a memorandum for the interview Gandhiji had with Smuts on June 27, the gist of which was communicated to Gandhiji by Gorges on June 30; *vide* Appendix XXV. Gandhiji acknowledged this the same day; *vide* "Letter to E. M. Gorges", pp. 438-9.

[2] This dealt with Indian marriages; *vide* p. 442; also "Marriage Law in Mauritius", p. 453.

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I have been thinking over the Gold Law discussion. Protection of the vested rights (in the sense in which I have used the term) of those trading and residing in Gold areas is of vital importance and I hope that General Smuts will apply to the consideration of this matter the same generous spirit that he has, I am grateful to be able to say, applied to that of the other matters we discussed. I trust that on this point also I shall get a definite reply at an early date so as to enable me to make final arrangements for my departure.

You will kindly send me the letters about Messrs Bhyad and Camay too on Monday.

May I thank you for the great patience and courtesy shown to me by you throughout our somewhat protracted discussions?

*I am,*
*Yours truly,*
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of a handwritten copy: S. N. 5996

## *342. SPEECH AT CONGRATULATORY MEETING*[1]

CAPE TOWN,
*June 27, 1914*

Mr. Gandhi, in replying, referred to the period 21 years ago when he first came to this country, an Agnostic. He had since learned, however, to recognize that there was a Divine purpose in the world, and a Divine hand guiding events conformably thereto. In the long struggle for the removal of Indian disabilities, a struggle which had absorbed the best part of his life, he had had many a hard knock, and many things had been attributed to him that he had neither done nor intended to do. The method on which he had relied, which he thought was now beginning to be better understood, had nothing in it of a lawless or desperate spirit, but he knew always that it made more demands on a man's courage and endurance than methods of violence could do.

Mr. Gandhi said it was a harder form of agitation, which, in the present case, could not have succeeded had his own countrymen not supported him, as

[1] Gandhiji spoke at a gathering of European and Indian friends who had assembled in the evening to congratulate him on the passage of the Indians' Relief Bill. Senator Marshall Campbell and Hugh M. Meyler, M.L.A., expressed pleasure at the removal of £3 tax and other outstanding disabilities of the Indians in South Africa. The report in the indirect form is from a despatch by the Parliamentary Representative of *The Natal Mercury*.

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was their duty. He felt himself to have been but a tool, and one of many tools. His deep thanks were due to the many European friends whose help had most materially contributed to the success now realised. He remembered how, during the month of the trying march into the Transvaal, a large number of Europeans had met the Indian column at various points along the road and encouraged them with sympathy and practical assistance. Potent, however, though passive resistance was as an instrument for winning reforms—perhaps the mightiest instrument on earth—it could not have achieved success had the Indian community not moderated their demands to what was reasonable and practical. This, again, was not possible until some of them were able to see the question of Indian rights from the European standpoint.

Mr. Gandhi went on to say he had made it his aim to see that question with the eyes of those who had seemed to his fellow-countrymen to be doing them an injustice; and he thought that, after long effort, he had fairly well succeeded. As to the Bill, he would say that it was a settlement of present difficulties. He felt that his countrymen in South Africa, after their struggle of eight years, were entitled to a reasonable period of peace. He had been impressed by the spirit of national and Imperial responsibility manifested in the recent speeches on the Bill in the Union Parliament, and, if that spirit continued, he had no doubt the Government here would be able to solve the problems which still remained in regard to their Indian subjects. He did not see that the peace now accomplished needed ever to be disturbed. There would be no more influx of Indians into the country. Indentured labour had been stopped for ever—let them thank heaven for that. The Indians knew perfectly well which was the dominant and governing race. They aspired to no social equality with Europeans. They felt that the path of their development was separate. They did not even aspire to the franchise, or, if the aspiration existed, it was with no idea of its having present effect. Ultimately—in the future—he believed his people would get the franchise if they deserved to get it, but the matter did not belong to practical politics. All he would ask for the Indian community was that, on the basis of the rights now conceded to them, they should be suffered to live with dignity and honour on the soil of South Africa.[1]

[1] What follows is from a "special" despatch dated June 29 and published in the issue of June 30. It was preceded by the following resume of a part of Gandhiji's speech: "It had been his privilege to make life-long companions and friends, almost brothers, in South Africa amongst the Europeans. Where should he go to find such faithful, such noble friends, if he might say so, as Senator Marshall Campbell. Senator Marshall Campbell had shared their miseries and shared their sorrows; even in the thick of the struggle he had come in order to learn, and in order to gain, and he had no doubt that anybody who did join such a struggle did learn and did gain. It had never been a struggle of violence. They had not used passive resistance as a weapon of the weak. To be

We do not aspire to social equality, and I dare say our social evolution lies along different lines. We have stated so repeatedly —that we shall not at present ask for the whole franchise. We understand who is the predominant race here. In the process of time, when we have deserved it, we shall get the franchise also. I dare say, but that is not a question of practical politics. There will be no further influx of Indians from India—thank Heaven! —so that it is only a question of the fair and just treatment of the Indian population that is here, and, if that population is to live in peace, the least it is entitled to is to have the ability and opportunity of living here in absolute peace, and with honour and dignity. If that is not what we are entitled to, I do not know what we are entitled to.[1]

*The Natal Mercury*, 29-6-1914 and 30-6-1914

## *343. LETTER TO E. M. GORGES*

CAPE TOWN,
*June 30, 1914*

DEAR MR. GORGES,

I beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter[2] of even date herewith setting forth the substance of the interview that General Smuts was pleased, notwithstanding many other pressing calls upon his time, to grant me on Saturday last. I feel deeply grateful for the patience and courtesy which the Minister showed during the discussion of the several points submitted by me.

The passing of the Indians' Relief Bill and this correspondence finally closes the passive resistance struggle which commenced in the September of 1906 and which to the Indian community cost much physical suffering and pecuniary loss and to the Government much anxious thought and consideration.

As the Minister is aware, some of my countrymen have wished me to go further. They are dissatisfied that the trade licences

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properly wielded, it required an infinitely stronger weapon than violence. If the spirit which had guided the deliberations of both Houses in the passage of that Bill, and of all their individual friends, was the spirit which would be applied to several other problems, there need be no fear of a recrudescence of passive resistance. After a struggle lasting eight years, the Indians needed a period of peace, and it was for the Europeans not to be sparing of sympathies."

[1] The gathering was then addressed by Kallenbach.

[2] *Vide* Appendix XXVI.

laws of the different provinces, the Transvaal Gold Law, the Transvaal Townships Act[1], the Transvaal Law 3 of 1885 have not been altered, so as to give them full rights of residence, trade and ownership of land. Some of them are dissatisfied that full inter-provincial migration is not permitted, and some are dissatisfied that, on the marriage question, the Relief Bill goes no further than it does. They have asked me that all the above matters might be included in the passive resistance struggle. I have been unable to comply with their wishes. Whilst, therefore, they have not been included in the programme of passive resistance, it will not be denied that some day or other these matters will require further and sympathetic consideration by the Government. Complete satisfaction cannot be expected until full civic rights have been conceded to the resident Indian population. I have told my countrymen that they will have to exercise patience and by all honourable means at their disposal educate public opinion so as to enable the Government of the day to go further than the present correspondence does. I shall hope that, when the Europeans of South Africa fully appreciate the fact that now, as the importation of indentured labour from India is prohibited and as the Immigrants Regulation Act of last year has in practice all but stopped further free Indian immigration and that my countrymen do not aspire to any political ambition, they, the Europeans, will see the justice and, indeed, the necessity of my countrymen being granted the rights I have just referred to.

Meanwhile, if the generous spirit that the Government have applied to the treatment of the problem during the past few months continues to be applied, as promised in your letter, in the administration of the existing laws, I am quite certain that the Indian community throughout the Union will be able to enjoy some measure of peace and never be a source of trouble to the Government.[2]

*I am,*
*Yours faithfully,*
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 5999

[1] The Gold Law and the Townships Act of 1908 prevented Indians from residing or trading except in Locations in all the Gold areas.

[2] The Governor-General, Lord Gladstone, in two despatches, dated July 4 and 10, 1914, reported to the Colonial Office the reaching of the settlement, and analysed in some detail how and to what extent Gandhiji's demands had been met; *vide* Appendix XXVII.

## 344. LETTER TO G. K. GOKHALE

ON THE KIMBERLEY TRAIN,
*July 1, 1914*

DEAR MR. GOKHALE,

I cabled[1] yesterday saying that everything was settled. I am not inflicting copies of the correspondence or any other papers on you.

I am making a desperate effort to leave by the 18th instant. My one desire is now to meet you and see you, take my orders from you and leave at once for India. This will be in your hands after I have left, if I leave on the 18th, but before if I leave on the 25th. I shall cable next week when I am to leave. If, therefore, you have any instructions for me will you kindly cable Cape Town or Madeira as the case may be.

I hope that your health is improving.

Mrs. Gandhi and Mr. Kallenbach accompany me.

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

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: G. N. 3777

## 345. SPEECH AT KIMBERLEY RECEPTION[2]

[*July 2, 1914*]

After giving a brief account of the events from the day of the meeting in the Gaiety Theatre, Johannesburg, in September 1906, up to date, and a moving description of the Indians' sacrifices during the period, Mr. Gandhi said:

As a result of these sufferings, today we see that the hearts of the Europeans in South Africa have melted. In this struggle, I was only a soldier in the army of voluntary sufferers. Real honour should go to those who went through these unbearable sufferings. We also owe thanks to Mr. Kallenbach, Mr. Polak and

[1] This cable is not available.

[2] A meeting was held in the Beaconsfield Town Hall to honour Gandhiji, with Councillor T. Pratley in the chair. The original report of the speech in English is not available.

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all other European friends who have helped us during difficult times.

Speaking on the new Bill, he said:

We could see that the Union Government worked to get the Assembly and the Senate to pass a Bill which would satisfy the Imperial Government, the Government of India and the Indians of South Africa. General Botha, it must be admitted, has done much for us, seeing that, for the sake of a community as docile as the Indians, he threatened to resign if the Bill was not passed. We also thank the Opposition for treating this issue, not as a matter of party-politics, but as an Imperial problem. We are thankful, too, to the Imperial Government and to Lord Hardinge, that noble Viceroy of India, for their help. The help which India gave us under the leadership of Mr. Gokhale and the invaluable help from Mr. Andrews—each of these surpassed the other and it is thanks to them that we have this final and satisfactory settlement today. The spirit which animated the Government in dealing out justice to us will also inspire the administration of the Act and, if so, there will be no occasion again for a struggle like this. But, with their leave, I wish to point out to my countrymen that the remedy for every hardship lies in the first instance with us; after that, we have the weapon of satyagraha. . . . I shall for ever cherish the sacred memory of European friends and the love my countrymen have borne towards me.

[From Gujarati]
*Indian Opinion*, 8-7-1914

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

[*July 5, 1914*]

The inference that the *Mercury* and other papers have drawn about the £3 tax is altogether wrong and misleading. It does not at all follow from the Act. After the *Mercury*'s comments were published, General Smuts was addressed on the matter, and he is also convinced that the Act does not bear the meaning which the *Mercury* has read in it.[2]

[1] The meeting was held at the Football Ground on Gandhiji's return from Cape Town, after the passing of the Indians' Relief Bill.

[2] *Vide* footnote 1 on p. 427.

Speaking on the marriage question, Mr. Gandhi said:

Some Indians have asked for a marriage law similar to the one in Mauritius. I have, however, read that law; it is worse, on the contrary [than the law here]. We shall not find anywhere else a better solution to the marriage problem than the one we have secured.

Proceeding, he said that the issue of the right of entry of South Africa-born Indians into the Cape and the problem of the Orange Free State had also been satisfactorily settled, and added that the Government had given assurances for reasonable and lenient administration of the Act. Concluding, he thanked them for gathering in such large numbers to honour him.

[From Gujarati]
*Indian Opinion*, 8-7-1914

## *347. CABLE TO "THE HINDU"*[1]

JOHANNESBURG,
*July 6, 1914*

THE FINAL SETTLEMENT OF PASSIVE RESISTANCE COMPLETED ENDING EIGHT YEARS' CONTINUOUS STRUGGLE PASSIVE RESISTANCE SUBMISSION ENTIRELY MET BY LEGISLATIVE AND ADMINISTRATIVE MEASURES AS REQUIRED. SPIRIT OF JUSTICE PREVAILED MINISTERS' SPEECHES AND DEBATES IN BOTH HOUSES. FOR THIS HONOURABLE RESULT THOUGH REACHED PRINCIPALLY THROUGH SUFFERINGS OF THOUSANDS OF RESISTERS BY WAY OF QUICKENING SOUTH AFRICAN CONSCIENCE COMMUNITY IS DEEPLY GRATEFUL TO IMPERIAL INDIAN AND UNION GOVERNMENTS AND ALSO INDIAN PEOPLE UNDER GOKHALE'S GUIDANCE AND TO ANDREWS' AND PEARSON'S MISSION. IF ABOVE SPIRIT CONTINUES TO PERVADE ADMINISTRATION EXISTING LAWS NO FEAR REVIVAL OF TROUBLE.

*The Hindu*, 8-7-1914

[1] This was signed by Cachalia, Kallenbach, Polak and Gandhiji.

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## 348. CABLE TO G. K. GOKHALE

[JOHANNESBURG,
*July 6, 1914*][1]

HON'BLE MR. GOKHALE
LONDON

WHOLE INDIAN COMMUNITY TENDERS YOU HEARTFELT THANKS CONGRATULATIONS FOR FINAL SETTLEMENT WHICH WITHOUT YOUR SELF-SACRIFICING SERVICES WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN REACHED SO EARLY. WE ASK YOU AS OUR SPOKESMAN CONVEY BY CABLE LORD HARDINGE OUR HUMBLE THANKS FOR HIS GREAT HELP AND FOR FEARLESS MANNER IN WHICH HE FACILITATED SETTLEMENT.

*Indian Opinion*, 8-7-1914

## 349. LETTER TO E. M. GORGES

PHŒNIX,
NATAL,
*July 7, 1914*

DEAR MR. GORGES,

I have now got a moment to submit my note upon the Gold Law. As you know, after *maturer* consideration, I refrained from pressing for the insertion of a special clause defining "vested rights" in connection with the Gold Law and Townships Amendment Act, because I felt that any definition in the correspondence might result in restricting the future action of my countrymen. However, so far as my interpretation of "vested rights" is concerned, I think that I shall reduce it to writing. General Smuts was good enough to say that he would endeavour to protect vested rights as defined by me. The following is the definition I submitted to Sir Benjamin Robertson, who, I understood, submitted it to General Smuts. My letter[2] containing, among other matters, the definition, is dated the 4th March, 1914. "By 'vested

[1] It appears that this and the "Cable to *The Hindu*", the preceding item, were sent on the same day.

[2] *Vide* "Letter to Sir Benjamin Robertson", p. 371.

rights' I understand the right of an Indian and his successors to live and trade in the townships in which he was living and trading, no matter how often he shifts his residence or business from place to place in the same township." I am fortified in my interpretation by the answer given by Mr. Harcourt in connection with the matter, in the House of Commons, on the 27th June, 1911:

> Complaints against that legislation (the Gold Law and Townships Amendment Act) have been made and are now being investigated by the Government of the Union of South Africa, who have lately stated that there is no intention of interfering with any business or right to carry on business acquired and exercised by Indians prior to the date of the legislation.

I have also now traced the note by Mr. de Villiers which I alluded to in our conversation. It is contained in a White Paper published in London in March, 1912, and has the following:

> No right or privilege which a Coloured person has at the present time is taken away by the new Act (Act 35 of 1908).

And again,

> Section 131, which, before the Bill was introduced into Parliament, formed the subject of questions in the English House of Commons and of despatches from the Secretary of State to the Governor, has been amended in Committee so as to safeguard any rights which a Coloured person may, at the present time, have of occupying land in mining areas.

Certainly, prior to the passing of the Gold Law, no restrictions were, to my knowledge, placed upon the movement or the trade of British Indians in the Gold Areas. There can, therefore, be no justification for any restriction now, especially in regard to those who are already settled in their respective townships.

*I am,*
*Yours truly,*
M. K. GANDHI

E. M. GORGES, ESQ.
PRETORIA

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 6003

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## 350. SPEECH AT FAREWELL MEETING[1]

DURBAN,
*July 8, 1914*

Mr. Gandhi, in returning thanks, first explained why he appeared in the mourning costume which he had been wearing since the time of the strike.[2] He hoped they would forgive him for appearing in that strange costume, which he had adopted on his premature discharge from prison, as a sign of mourning. That mourning had gone, yet he retained the costume, and as the alternative was for him to wear evening dress, he felt that, in the mental attitude which possessed him at that moment, he could not render a greater respect for them than in appearing as he did. (Cheers.) Referring to the addresses which had been presented to him, he said that, while he valued them, he valued more the love and sympathy which the addresses had expressed. He did not know that he would be able to make adequate compensation. He did not deserve all the praise bestowed upon him. Nor did his wife claim to deserve all that had been said of her. Many an Indian woman had done greater service during the struggle than Mrs. Gandhi. He thanked the community on behalf of Mr. Kallenbach, who was another brother to him, for the addresses presented. The community had done well in recognizing Mr. Kallenbach's worth. Mr. Kallenbach would tell them that he came to the struggle to gain. He considered that, by taking up their cause, he gained a great deal in the truest sense. Mr. Kallenbach had done splendid work during the strike at Newcastle and, when the time came, he cheerfully went to prison, again thinking that he was the gainer and not the loser. Proceeding, Mr. Gandhi referred to the time of his arrival in 1897 when his friend Mr. Laughton had stood by him against the mob.[3] He also remembered with gratefulness the action of

[1] A large and enthusiastic meeting of Indians, attended by a number of Europeans, was held in the Town Hall to bid farewell to Gandhiji, Kasturba and Kallenbach on the eve of their departure for England *en route* to India. W. Holmes, the Mayor, presided. Gandhiji and Ba were garlanded and presented with bouquets. Kallenbach could not attend and a telegram from him expressing thanks was read at the meeting. Addresses on behalf of a number of organizations all over South Africa were read. Indian and European admirers of Gandhiji paid him glowing tributes. Gandhiji then addressed the meeting. This report of Gandhiji's speech has been collated with the one appearing in *The Natal Mercury*, 9-7-1914.

[2] *The Natal Mercury* reported: "Mr. Gandhi who appeared in Hindu mourning costume, and was received with prolonged cheering, began with a reference to the object of his appearing in the dress he wore that night."

[3] *Vide* Vol. II, p. 166.

Mrs. Alexander, the wife of the late Superintendent of Police in Durban, who protected him with her umbrella from the missiles thrown by the excited crowd. Referring to passive resistance, he claimed that it was a weapon of the purest type. It was not the weapon of the weak. It needed, in his opinion, far greater courage to be a passive resister than a physical resister. It was the courage of a Jesus, a Daniel, a Cranmer, a Latimer and a Ridley who could go calmly to suffering and death, and the courage of a Tolstoy who dared to defy the Czars of Russia, that stood out as the greatest. Mr. Gandhi said he knew the Mayor had received some telegrams stating that the Indians' Relief Bill was not satisfactory.[1] It would be a singular thing if in this world they would be able to get anything that satisfied everybody, but, in the condition of things in South Africa at the present time, he was certain they could not have had a better measure.

I do not claim the credit for it. It is rather due to the women and children and young people like Nagappen, Narayansamy, and Valliamah who have died for the cause and to those who quickened the conscience of South Africa. Our thanks are due also to the Union Government. I shall never forget that General Botha showed the greatest statesmanship when he said his Government would stand or fall by this measure. I followed the whole of that historic debate—historic to me, historic to my countrymen, and possibly historic to South Africa and the world.

Proceeding, Mr. Gandhi said that it was well known to them how the Government had done justice, and how the Opposition had come to their assistance. They had also received handsome help from both the Imperial and Indian Governments, backed by that generous Viceroy, Lord Hardinge. (Cheers.) The manner in which India, led by their great and distinguished countryman, Mr. Gokhale, had responded to the cry which came from the hearts of thousands of their countrymen in South Africa was one of the results of the passive resistance movement, and left, he hoped, no bitter traces or bitter memories. (Applause.)

This assurance I wish to give. I go away with no ill-will against a single European. I have received many hard knocks in my life, but here I admit that I have received those most precious gifts from Europeans—love and sympathy. (Cheers.)

This settlement, he said, had been achieved after an eight years' struggle. The Indians in South Africa had never aspired to any political ambition, and as regards the social question, that could never arise in connection with the Indians.

[1] *The Natal Mercury* version here has: "Mr. Gandhi defended passive resistance which he described as the cleanest weapon they could use."

I do not hold for one moment that East and West cannot combine. I think the day is coming when East must meet West, or West meet East, but I think the social evolution of the West today lies in one channel, and that of the Indian in another channel. The Indians have no wish today to encroach on the social institutions of the European in South Africa. (Cheers.) Most Indians are natural traders. There are bound to be trade jealousies and those various things that come from competition. I have never been able to find a solution of this most difficult problem, which will require the broad-mindedness and spirit of justice of the Government of South Africa to hold the balance between conflicting interests.

Referring to his stay in South Africa, Mr. Gandhi said that he should retain the most sacred memories of this land. He had been fortunate in forming the happiest and most lasting friendship with both Europeans and Indians. He was now returning to India—a holy land, sanctified by the austerities of the ages. In conclusion, Mr. Gandhi said, he hoped that the same love and sympathy which had been given to him in South Africa might be extended to him, no matter in what part of the world he might be. He hoped that the settlement embodied in the Indians' Relief Bill would be carried out in a spirit of broad-mindedness and justice in the administration of the laws lately passed in connection with the affairs of the Indian community.

Then, I think there will be no fear on the part of my countrymen in their social evolution. That is one of the lessons of the settlement.[1]

*Indian Opinion*, 15-7-1914

## *351. THE END*

A struggle of eight years' duration has at last finally closed. The Indians' Relief Bill and the correspondence[2] between the Government and Mr. Gandhi embody a complete and mutually satisfactory and honourable settlement of the problems that were affected by the passive resistance movement. For this happy ending we have to thank the Imperial, Indian and Union Governments, the Motherland, guided and moved by Mr. Gokhale, and Mr. Andrews' mission. The sufferings of thousands of Passive Resisters, the martyrdom of Valliamah, Narayansamy, Nagappen and Harbatsingh brought these forces into being.

[1] The meeting ended with a vote of thanks to the Mayor and the singing of the National Anthem.

[2] *Vide* pp. 418-9, 426-7, 435-6, 438-9 & 443-4.

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Passive Resistance, as a lawful weapon, has thus once more been vindicated. The lengthy reference made by Lord Gladstone to the settlement shows its importance. We are grateful to His Excellency for clearly placing before the people of South Africa the Imperial aspect.

It now remains for the Union Government to follow up this happy solution of a difficult problem by a sympathetic and just administration of the laws that affect the Indian community and for the latter to show by its action that it is ever worthy of just treatment. If the community is permitted to enjoy rest, it will be possible to find an easy method of dealing with the matters dealt with in Mr. Gandhi's letter and which some day or other will demand attention in order that the resident population may be restored to the ordinary rights of citizenship. For it must not be forgotten that, though there is cause for thankfulness in that the most pressing grievances have been removed, we shall still labour under legal disabilities which intense colour prejudice has brought into being. Administration of trade licence laws, largely on racial lines, the deprivation of the right to own land in the Transvaal, the precarious position under the Transvaal Gold Law, inter-provincial restrictions—these and many other such limitations of our liberty show how true were Lord Gladstone's words when he said that the Indians' Relief Bill did but the barest justice. Indeed, it can only be taken as an instalment and as an earnest of the future. The struggle will, therefore, have done much more than give us the Bill and the administrative measures, if it has also altered the repressive policy of the Government to a progressive one, such that we may look forward to a steady improvement in the future.

*Indian Opinion*, 8-7-1914

## *352. THE END OF THE STRUGGLE*

The struggle that went on for eight years has come to an end, and such an end as, we believe, hardly any other movement in modern times has been crowned with. The foundation of the struggle was laid in Johannesburg in September, 1906. The issue then concerned only the Registration Act. The Government refused to listen to us. Gaol-going was resorted to. While the struggle had not yet ended, the Immigration Act was passed. A conditional settlement followed. The Government failed to honour its commitment. The movement was revived and had to be

extended to cover the effect of the Immigration Act on the Registration Act. A new issue was thus added, that there should be no racial discrimination in the Immigration Act. Naturally, our feelings were aroused still further in consequence. The struggle was prolonged and a second deputation went to England.[1] The Union Government, however, refused in so many words to remove the racial discrimination. While the struggle was thus being prolonged, in 1911 again a provisional settlement came about. This covered a third issue. Since a problem created by a law of the Transvaal had to be solved by the Union Parliament, the satyagrahis took the stand that they could not accept legislation which, though it might meet their requirement, would endanger the rights of others. Accordingly, a condition was included in the provisional settlement of 1911 to the effect that the existing rights of Indians in all the parts of the Union should be left untouched. There was no decision, however, until 1913. In the meantime, there was the visit of Mr. Gokhale. The Government gave him a promise that the £3 tax would be removed. Even so, had the Government granted the satyagrahis' demands in full during the settlement in 1913, the movement would not have been revived and the £3 tax would have had to be taken up as a separate issue.

Meanwhile, the Searle judgment raised the marriage question. This also entailed the loss of existing rights. In 1913, the late Mr. Fischer carried through the Immigration Act in the face of our protests. It conceded much, but also denied a few things. The marriage question was left unsolved and in other ways, too, existing rights were endangered. This led to the resumption of satyagraha a fourth time and our demands naturally increased. Now that the Government has had to concede all the demands, the struggle has ended.

We can see from this, if we will, that every time the Government went back on its word, it was obliged to yield more to us. This it is which makes one say that chicanery never pays. Double-dealing may remain unexposed only where both sides play more or less the same [dirty] game. In satyagraha, one side alone plays this game. The satyagrahi himself cannot conceivably do so.

We can also see that the more the struggle was prolonged the greater became the strength of the people and their capacity to suffer, so that the suffering that the masses endured towards the end of the last year was unparalleled in modern history. And, if the suffering has been great, the relief obtained has also been

[1] This was in 1909; *vide* Vol. IX.

proportionately great. This correlation goes to prove another eternal law of Nature. Man can be happy only in the measure that he suffers. He who merely scrapes the soil on the surface can harvest nothing but grass. He alone can harvest grain who ploughs deeper. In other words, it is vain to hope for happiness without undergoing suffering. Thus it is that the life of austerity, the fakir's self-denial and other such practices have everywhere been held in high esteem and their praises sung.

What the community has bought at the cost of so much suffering it will be able to keep and add to, only so long as it retains the same capacity for suffering. If it loses that capacity, it will lose all it has gained, and more. All this is plain enough, but we often lose sight of it.

## New Act

Let us now have a look at our gains. The new Act covers two things. In the first place, the £3 tax has been abolished. Arrears have also been remitted. In this connection, it has been suggested by *The* [*Natal*] *Mercury* and other papers that in gaining one thing we have lost something else; for, though the Government has repealed the tax, the consequence will be that the indentured labourers, poor creatures, will be obliged to leave this country or continue for ever under indenture. This suggestion is entirely unfounded, as is clear from General Smuts' own letter. The other point is about the marriage question. The manner in which it has been solved gives us more, not less, than what we had been demanding. This Act confirms the position that was believed to obtain before the Searle judgment. Prior to that judgment, we had assumed that the local law recognized monogamous marriages celebrated under any faith, including marriages solemnized under our rites. Mr. Justice Searle, however, ruled otherwise and held that Christian marriages could be recognized but not Hindu and Muslim marriages, even if such marriages were in fact monogamous. This was obviously an affront to the two religions. Mr. Cachalia therefore desired amendment of the law. The demand has now been met. The Act does not involve any other change. The position with regard to divorce, inheritance and polygamy remains what it was. The Act safeguards the interests of children by a deceased wife. Its provisions are permissive. No one is obliged to have his or her marriage registered. As for those coming from India, the question just does not arise. The main object of getting a marriage registered is to ensure that children's interests do not suffer. Now that the danger has been removed, it is not

necessary for any Indian to have his or her marriage registered. We would rather advise them not to do so. The situation required a [new] law. It was necessary to undo the affront to [our] religions. It should be sufficient that we have succeeded in this. The Act has been so drafted as to secure children's interests without requiring registration of the marriages. In view of this, the question whether a marriage is monogamous or polygamous will not arise at all. In any case, one who intends to marry more than one woman, would do well not to have his marriage with any of them registered. It was necessary to have provision made for appointment of our priests as marriage officers. But we would not advise that this right be availed of. We are of the view that such appointments will lead to dishonesty in the community and expose the priests to temptations. As for marriages already solemnized, there is no need for such appointments since these marriages can be registered before any magistrate. It is the same with regard to marriages that may be celebrated in future. In other words, we can have a marriage solemnized by any *Moulvi*[1] or *Gor*[2] and get it registered subsequently before a magistrate whenever we choose. We would, therefore, particularly advise the community, not to take the trouble of getting marriage officers appointed. Before we leave this point, it has to be said that in no other Colony does a [marriage] law go as far as the one passed here does. It has been said that in Mauritius [Indian] marriages are recognized whether polygamous or not, but this is not true and the law there is not as good as the one here, as we show elsewhere in this very issue.

A third point that has been satisfactorily settled in this Act is that, in case of any doubt regarding the domicile certificate of a resident of Natal, the certificate must be accepted as genuine if the thumb-impression on it is identical with the one on the copy in possession of the Immigration Officer. The result will be that people will not be unnecessarily harassed, as at present, with inquiries and sent away for making false claims in spite of the genuineness of the thumb-impression having been established. Those who can prove the thumb-impression to be genuine have their right secured now. This section does not however mean that one who has been away from Natal for a number of years will, just because he has the [domicile] certificate, be safe. Everyone, of course, will have to prove that he had not left Natal for good.

[1] Muslim priest
[2] Hindu priest

## Administrative Relief

The kind of ameliorative measures needed outside the law can be judged from the correspondence between the Government and Mr. Gandhi. These concern issues such as South African Indians, the Free State and the administration of existing laws. Only one of these points calls for comment here. In view of the promise of reasonable administration of the laws in force, with due regard to existing rights, it will be possible for the community to obtain redress in every case of injustice. This clause, we believe, should prove very useful in future. But its usefulness will depend on how the community's leaders exert themselves. If they sleep on, the clause will have been passed in vain. The laws which will most need to be watched are two: the licensing law in each Province and the Gold Law of the Transvaal. Mr. Gandhi has pointed out in his letter that we shall have to agitate in future to secure amendment of these laws. In starting any such agitation, the community will have to be particularly careful in obeying the laws in question; if it does so, it will, for the present at any rate, enjoy peace.

We must admit that on this occasion the Government have displayed a desire for justice and that the leading members of Parliament have also been actuated by the same desire in their speeches. It would also appear from the speeches of the ministers, and especially from that of General Smuts, that he is inclined to deal justly in future. We advise the community to profit by this desire, and this it will be able to do only if it has unity, manly spirit and regard for truth.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 8-7-1914

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## 353. *MARRIAGE LAW IN MAURITIUS*

We had heard that in Mauritius the law recognized polygamous marriages in the case of Indians. Thereupon we made inquiries. We have now received a copy of the Act. This law was the result of agitation by Indians there. It was passed on December 17, 1912. It provides for the appointment of Hindu and Muslim priests as marriage officers. No Indian marriage is to be recognized as valid unless it complies with the provisions of the Act of 1890. That is, the general law which applies to all applies to our people also. It is specifically mentioned in that general law that the provisions of sections 46 to 51 regulating marriages also apply to Indian marriages. If the husband is below 21 years and the wife below 18, the consent of the parents of both is necessary. There are other sections prescribing the duties and functions of marriage officers, the manner of maintaining registers, etc. Violation of any of the provisions or registration of an unlawful marriage is punishable with a fine up to Rs. 500/-. The following are some of the conditions to be observed by priests under this Act:

1. A boy under the age of 18 and a girl under 15 cannot be married except by special permission of the Governor.
2. If one wife is living, marriage with another woman cannot be contracted unless the former is lawfully divorced.
3. In case of divorce for adultery, the divorced party cannot marry the partner in such adultery.
4. A widow or divorced woman cannot remarry until after ten months.
5. No marriages can take place between a man and his niece, a woman and her nephew, and man and his brother's wife, even where the woman is a widow.

Besides these, there are many other provisions which, however, we do not notice here.

What we have given above shows that the general law in Mauritius is applicable to Indians in regard to divorce, polygamous marriages, the minimum age for marriage and such other essential matters. The only change introduced by the new law is that, whereas Indian priests could not register marriages formerly, such priests can be appointed now for that purpose.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 8-7-1914

## 354. SPEECH AT GUJARATI MEETING[1]

DURBAN,
[*July 9, 1914*]

[Gandhiji] said that he would take the opportunity to address a few remarks to the Colonial-born Indians, as he did not know whether he would have another opportunity to speak to them. To them his first words had been when he came to South Africa and to them his last words would be when he left it. It was they who had assisted him with his first piece of political work in South Africa, when a petition signed by some 10,000 Indians had been addressed to Lord Elgin, the then Secretary of State for the Colonies,[2] against the disfranchisement of Indians. That petition had been successful in its object, the Bill being vetoed, though the Government of the day subsequently in another form achieved its purpose. The Colonial-borns had since also borne their share of the communal work, but they could, if they would, do more. It was they who were the permanent Indian settlers of South Africa. To the Colonial-borns South Africa was their birth-place and home, and it was essential to the well-being of all other sections of the community that they should work together with the Colonial-borns. Their responsibility was great. It was they who would have to nurse the settlement, to maintain the happier tone which had now been established between the European and Indian communities and to live down the prejudice which today still existed in South Africa. This they would accomplish in time if they did their duty at all times. He referred to the fact that Nagappen and Valiamma had both been Colonial-borns, as had the ladies who did such noble work at Newcastle. He urged upon them to preserve their national characteristic, to learn their mother-tongue and study the history and traditions of their Motherland, where he would hope to see them some day.

*Indian Opinion*, 9-9-1914

[1] In his English speech thanking the gathering for the reception to Ba and himself, Gandhiji made touching references to the happy relations which existed between Hindus and Muslims.

[2] This petition was addressed in May 1895 to Lord Ripon, the then Secretary of State for the Colonies. A copy of this was sent to Lord Elgin who was, at the time, Viceroy and Governor-General of India. *Vide* Vol. I, pp. 187-212.

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## 355. SPEECH AT GUJARAT SABHA FUNCTION[1]

[DURBAN,
*July 9, 1914*]

I have but limited time and I only want, therefore, to say a few things to Indian youths born in South Africa. In the van of the satyagraha battle were Indians born here and among them, particularly the poor and the simple people rendered great services. The rich were busy getting richer. My brother Nagappen and sister Valliamma were born here, and so was brother Narayansamy. I would urge you all to follow in their footsteps and advise you to go on a pilgrimage to India, be the difficulties what they might.[2]

I am grateful to you all, friends, for the honour and the love that you have given us both. Whenever I am honoured, I feel my *atman* is exposed to danger. Whenever, on the contrary, I am attacked or insulted, I realize my imperfections and a new light dawns upon me. In my present state of mind, however, I am not at all likely to be corrupted by praise of me. I feel extremely sad to have to part from you, but sooner or later that was bound to happen. I am about to leave a *bhoga-bhumi*[3] for a *karma-bhumi*[4]. For me there can be no deliverance from this earthly life except in India. Anyone who seeks such deliverance must go to the sacred soil of India. For me, as for everyone else, the land of India is "the refuge of the afflicted". I am therefore longing to return to the motherland. It is my parting prayer that you should all bear love for one another, regardless of caste or creed.

I have always shown the same respect for Muslims as for Hindus. Hinduism, too, teaches this [regard for other religions], and if anyone says that in this I am not acting like a Hindu, I shall offer satyagraha against him. I make bold to say that certainly no one present here is more of a Hindu than I am, perhaps not even as much. Whenever we have a guest, we show due respect to him. We ought to respect members of other communities in the same manner. If every Indian lived thus in amity with others, there is not the slightest doubt that we shall make great advance in South Africa.

[1] Held at the Hindu Dharmashala in Victoria Street.
[2] Gandhiji next addressed the gathering in Gujarati.
[3] Land of enjoyment
[4] Land of duty

As to the honour that has been done to me on this occasion, I have only this to say, that every time I have been honoured I have felt particularly weak and that when I have received blows I have felt accession of strength and progressed towards greater firmness of mind. Those friends, therefore, who speak ill of me these days are, to judge from results, my well-wishers. I shall have been rightly honoured only when every friend becomes a satyagrahi.

[From Gujarati]
*Indian Opinion*, 15-7-1914

## *356. SPEECH AT SPORTS FUNCTION*[1]

DURBAN,
[*July 9, 1914*]

Mr. Gandhi said that he was deeply grateful to the Farewell Committee for having organised those sports and for having set apart that day for the sake of the Indian children and gathered them together at that short notice, and he must confess that he was not at all equally grateful for the function that they had in the Town Hall.[2] For him that had been insipid, but that function that afternoon would carry with it or would send with him the pleasantest recollections of his stay in South Africa. He knew the community of South Africa, but he scarcely knew the community of India. He felt confident that, if he wanted to give a knowledge to anybody as to how the Indian mind in South Africa would run on a particular occasion, he should be able to state accurately the direction in which it would go, but he had no knowledge at all as to what the Indian mind in India itself could do or would do on a particular occasion. To that extent he knew his countrymen in South Africa, and it gave him very great pleasure that afternoon to see those around him when he was about to say good-bye to South Africa and to say good-bye to his dear countrymen and to all those boys and girls. He then addressed the children. He said they had come there that afternoon to indulge in sports, and sports were good, they were excellent, if they knew the meaning of those sports, but he would leave those alone that afternoon and would like to direct their attention to the real sport in life. They had raced for prizes and, as Mr. Baillie had just reminded him, the prize-giving might have a demoralising effect upon those who had the training of the children in their hands as well as upon the children themselves. He shared that fear, but, if they had raced that afternoon for the sake of racing in order

[1] Gandhiji spoke at a children's sports function held in the Albert Park, Durban. A brief report of the function appeared in *Indian Opinion*, 15-7-1914.
[2] *Vide* "Speech at Farewell Meeting", pp. 445-7.

to show that during the past few years they had been endeavouring to keep the physical portion of their being in a fit and proper state, it showed also the value of the industry, the courage and the time that they had put forth in a disciplined manner in order to gain that particular purpose in life. But in life there was a better race for them and for him to run—did they know what that race was? All the children who went to churches if they were Christians, or all the children who were Hindus if they had any Hindus to teach them what their own religion taught, or if they were Mahomedans and had priests to tell them, he felt sure that they would all tell them that there was that race in life where they had to make themselves good in future and behave themselves if they grew up as men and women. In his opinion, if he might address a few remarks to the teachers also, having played at teaching himself for a number of years, it seemed to him that the real teaching consisted not in giving the children a knowledge of letters merely, but in developing their character, and that, in so far as the boys and girls developed their character whilst they were still tender and whilst they could still be moulded, and, if their teachers told them that character was the first, the middle and the last and that their knowledge of letters was purely and simply an aid to develop that character, then he thought that they were doing well in attending those schools and it was well for their parents also [to allow them] to do that; but, if their parents sent them, if they went to schools, merely to have a knowledge of letters, so that they might earn a few pounds anyhow in future, then he was afraid that their education was not education and he felt that he should say that little word to them that afternoon.

Presently they were going to receive prizes, but they had been told that the Sporting Association of the Natal Province was about to receive a wandering trophy from Mr. Rustomjee, and he understood that it was not a trophy which was intrinsically valueless, but that it had actually cost a sum of over £30. He hoped that the Natal Sporting Association deserved that trophy, but he did not dwell upon the trophy because it was a valuable thing, but he did hope that the Natal Sporting Association would behave in a sportsmanlike spirit, and in that real sport in the world and in that race in life would set a noble example to the children, the boys and girls who had gathered together there that afternoon, by gaining trophies not from one Parsee Rustomjee but from everyone of their countrymen in South Africa by placing themselves at their disposal and by serving them in a sportsmanlike manner. And, even as these schools had run the races and put their whole spirit into the race, so he hoped that the Association would do so, and he thought that they had given him an earnest of what they were doing from the manner in which they had conducted those proceedings, because it was, he thought, on their shoulders that the brunt of the burden had fallen, led as they had been and still were by Mr. Rustomjee. And one word for Mr. Rustomjee. Friend though he was to him, client though he had been to him, trustee though he was of the

Phœnix Settlement, he did wish to commend to them the services of Mr. Rustomjee. He knew that he had worked himself practically to death in connection with that farewell, but he did hope it had not been because a friend of his was going away from South Africa, but in order to show what they had got to do in South Africa, in order to show that South Africa had a reputation, or the Indians in South Africa had, in keeping up the reputation of the Motherland, and he showed also by his energy and by his supporting all such movements what they had got to do. He knew that Mr. Rustomjee was at times hard to please. But if they did please him, he (the speaker) knew also that they had no better, no more constant, leader to work with in South Africa. Mr. Rustomjee knew no distinction of race or religion. He was a Parsee among Parsees, but also a Mahomedan among Mahomedans in that he would do for them, die for them, live for them. He was a Hindu amongst Hindus and would do for them likewise. There were many others whom he (the speaker) might point out in South Africa who could equal Mr. Rustomjee in many respects and surpass him, but none his equal in constancy and courage. And before he left the Port of Durban, he would leave that parting word with them. If there was anything of public work to be done, let them trust Mr. Rustomjee, but let them also obey him. They should bear with Mr. Rustomjee, but also with his faults. There was no human being without faults. Even the sun and moon had spots. God alone was spotless; it was not given to any mortal being to be spotless. Let Mr. Rustomjee's faults take care of themselves, and let them see his merits, and they knew what he had been to them during the gigantic strike. In conclusion, he asked them to pray for him, to give their love to him, and send him nice messages, and, in return, he promised that, in whatever part of the world he might be, he would not forget his countrymen with whom he had mixed in South Africa and how they had loved him, and he prayed that God might give him strength to love them in return. God alone knew him and could see his heart. It may be that he had loved them wisely, it might be that he had loved them ignorantly, and thereby performed a service or disservice to them; then, God was also great enough to forgive him, but they should also forgive him if he had not loved them well enough, served them well enough, but knew that all he had done and endeavoured to do had been done from the bottom of his heart. Mistakes he had committed, for which they should pardon him. But if they had seen traces of love in him, let them pray to the Almighty that that love might grow abundantly and come forth to them also as some poor return of the love and generosity and consideration they had shown to him and Mrs. Gandhi in their darkest hours.

*Indian Opinion*, 2-9-1914

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## 357. SPEECH AT RECEPTION BY DHEDS[1]

[DURBAN,
*July 9, 1914*]

This morning, gentlemen of the Dhed community called on me to extend an invitation, but, not aware of who they were, I expressed my inability to accept it owing to pressure on my time. Had I known their caste, I would have certainly come earlier. I feel proud that I am now meeting [members of] this caste. They are our own brethren, and to regard them with the slightest disrespect not only argues our own unworthiness but is morally wrong, for it is contrary to the teaching of the *Bhagavad Gita*.

Mr. Gandhi then explained how the training of children's character was far more important than literary education. They might learn less, but the education they received would have some meaning only if they understood what they learnt.

[From Gujarati]
*Indian Opinion*, 15-7-1914

## 358. SPEECH AT PRETORIA[2]

*July 10, 1914*

Mr. Gandhi, in replying to the address and speeches, expressed pleasure that Mr. Stent had presided over the gathering. Mr. Stent had consistently advocated their cause, and he (the speaker) felt personally grateful to him. He reciprocated Mr. Chamney's sentiments. He had certainly stood up against Mr. Chamney and the management of his office, but there had been no personal ill-will on the speaker's part, and he always received the utmost courtesy at Mr. Chamney's hands. He appreciated the compliment Mr. Chamney paid him by coming out to arrest him with one man only to assist, when the speaker

[1] Gandhiji addressed members of the Dhed community, traditionally charged with sanitary duties.

[2] Gandhiji attended a farewell meeting at Pretoria, presided over by Vere Stent Chamney, Hajee Habib and Mangalbhai eulogized Gandhiji's work and leadership.

was at the head of 2,000 men and women. It showed the confidence Mr. Chamney had in him as a passive resister. He thanked them for the purse, the contents of which, in common with those of any others received, would not be used for himself, but first for the furtherance of the interests of the Indians of South Africa, and, secondly, for any work he might have to do in India which had commended itself to them in the course of the conversations they had had. He felt that the settlement they had received was a kind of Magna Charta. It was not a final settlement in the sense that they had no wrongs left. They had to exercise patience and cultivate European opinion, in order to get those wrongs redressed. They had to maintain the sympathy which men like Mr. Stent might think fit to extend to them. He paid a glowing tribute to the work done for the Indian cause by Miss Schlesin.

*Indian Opinion*, 29-7-1914

## *359. THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF PASSIVE RESISTANCE*

[Before *July 11, 1914*][1]

I shall be at least far away from Phœnix, if not actually in the Motherland, when this Commemoration Issue is published.[2] I would, however, leave behind me my innermost thoughts upon that which has made this special issue necessary. Without Passive Resistance, there would have been no richly illustrated and important special issue of *Indian Opinion*, which has, for the last eleven years, in an unpretentious and humble manner, endeavoured to serve my countrymen and South Africa, a period covering the most critical stage that they will, perhaps, ever have to pass through. It marks the rise and growth of Passive Resistance, which has attracted world-wide attention. The term does not fit the activity of the Indian community during the past eight years. Its equivalent in the vernacular,[3] rendered into English, means Truth-Force. I think Tolstoy called it also Soul-Force or Love-Force, and so it is. Carried out to its utmost limit, this force is independent of pecuniary or other material assistance; certainly, even in its elementary form, of physical force or violence.

[1] *En route* to India, Gandhiji left Phœnix on July 11.

[2] The "Golden Number" of *Indian Opinion*, dealing with the Indian struggle in South Africa, was released on December 1, 1914.

[3] "Satyagraha", the phrase Gandhiji preferred to use; *vide* Vol. VIII, p. 131.

Indeed, violence is the negation of this great spiritual force, which can only be cultivated or wielded by those who will entirely eschew violence. It is a force that may be used by individuals as well as by communities. It may be used as well in political as in domestic affairs. Its universal applicability is a demonstration of its permanence and invincibility. It can be used alike by men, women, and children. It is totally untrue to say that it is a force to be used only by the weak so long as they are not capable of meeting violence by violence. This superstition arises from the incompleteness of the English expression. It is impossible for those who consider themselves to be weak to apply this force. Only those who realise that there is something in man which is superior to the brute nature in him, and that the latter always yields to it, can effectively be Passive Resisters. This force is to violence and, therefore, to all tyranny, all injustice, what light is to darkness. In politics, its use is based upon the immutable maxim that government of the people is possible only so long as they consent either consciously or unconsciously to be governed. We did not want to be governed by the Asiatic Act of 1907 of the Transvaal, and it had to go before this mighty force. Two courses were open to us—to use violence when we were called upon to submit to the Act, or to suffer the penalties prescribed under the Act, and thus to draw out and exhibit the force of the soul within us for a period long enough to appeal to the sympathetic chord in the governors or the law-makers. We have taken long to achieve what we set about striving for. That was because our Passive Resistance was not of the most complete type. All Passive Resisters do not understand the full value of the force, nor have we men who always from conviction refrain from violence. The use of this force requires the adoption of poverty, in the sense that we must be indifferent whether we have the wherewithal to feed or clothe ourselves. During the past struggle, all Passive Resisters, if any at all, were not prepared to go that length. Some again were only Passive Resisters so-called. They came without any conviction, often with mixed motives, less often with impure motives. Some even, whilst engaged in the struggle, would gladly have resorted to violence but for most vigilant supervision. Thus it was that the struggle became prolonged; for the exercise of the purest soul-force, in its perfect form, brings about instantaneous relief. For this exercise, prolonged training of the individual soul is an absolute necessity, so that a perfect Passive Resister has to be almost, if not entirely, a perfect man. We cannot all suddenly become such men, but, if my proposition is

correct—as I know it to be correct—the greater the spirit of Passive Resistance in us, the better men we will become. Its use, therefore, is, I think, indisputable, and it is a force which, if it became universal, would revolutionise social ideals and do away with despotisms and the ever-growing militarism under which the nations of the West are groaning and are being almost crushed to death, and which fairly promises to overwhelm even the nations of the East. If the past struggle has produced even a few Indians who would dedicate themselves to the task of becoming Passive Resisters as nearly perfect as possible, they would not only have served themselves in the truest sense of the term, they would also have served humanity at large. Thus viewed, Passive Resistance is the noblest and the best education. It should come, not after the ordinary education in letters of children, but it should precede it. It will not be denied that a child, before it begins to write its alphabet and to gain worldly knowledge, should know what the soul is, what truth is, what love is, what powers are latent in the soul. It should be an essential of real education that a child should learn that, in the struggle of life, it can easily conquer hate by love, untruth by truth, violence by self-suffering. It was because I felt the force of this truth, that, during the latter part of the struggle, I endeavoured, as much as I could, to train the children at Tolstoy Farm and then at Phœnix along these lines, and one of the reasons for my departure to India is still further to realise, as I already do in part, my own imperfection as a Passive Resister, and then to try to perfect myself, for I believe that it is in India that the nearest approach to perfection is most possible.

*Golden Number*, *Indian Opinion*, 1914

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## 360. SPEECH AT DURBAN BANQUET[1]

[*July 11, 1914*]

Mr. Gandhi thanked those present for the hearty way they had received the toast. Amid all the kind words that had been spoken of him, there was a danger of developing a swollen head. When much praise was being bestowed, that was the time to beware. Speaking of the Settlement, he said that, whilst it was a settlement of the present difficulties, it was not a complete settlement. It was not a charter of full liberties.[2] There were many questions which would require patience to solve. One of these was the licensing question. He had never been able to find a solution. It would need much tact and a sense of justice on the part of the Government and a desire to meet all the requirements of sanitary and building by-laws on the part of the Indian community. A certain class of Indians were born traders and if these people were to be driven from their means of livelihood, a serious position would arise. The value of the settlement lay in the struggle which preceded it—a struggle which quickened the conscience of South Africa—and the fact that there was a different tone prevailing to-day. (Hear, hear.) It would rest upon themselves to keep up that tone. That which they had gained was but a portion of that which they had to gain. Speaking generally of the opposition with which they were faced, he said that, although there was great prejudice, in his opinion, unreasonable and unjustifiable, there was also a spirit of justice behind that prejudice.[3] He appealed to his fellow-countrymen to exercise patience and try to live down prejudices which were against them. They had not received all they were entitled to, but it depended very largely upon themselves whether they received in the future a full measure of justice. Referring to the Provincial barrier, he said that the Union was no Union for them so long as they were confined within their own Province. They appealed for and should have freedom of movement no matter to what Province they desired to go. In conclusion, Mr. Gandhi spoke of the British Constitution and ideals, and remarked that so

[1] A public dinner in honour of Gandhiji at Durban was attended by the Mayor, other prominent Europeans and about 30 Indians. Addresses were presented to Gandhiji and Miss Schlesin on behalf of the Farewell Committee. The Hon. Robert Jameson, J.P., presided.

[2] The report in *The Natal Mercury*, 13-7-1914, added here: "Many things had been given up, and in return they had received only a portion."

[3] *The Natal Mercury* reported Gandhiji as having said here: "The trading question was a big one, and in order that the community should live in peace, it would be a question that would have to be settled on amicable and just lines."

long as both were retained as they were, and the traditions maintained then it was a good thing, but evil would be the day when the Constitution crumbled, and its ideal was changed. (Applause.) Although he was going home to India which was dear to him, he assured them that he would never forget South Africa, and next to the homeland it would be nearest his thoughts. (Applause.)

Mr. Gandhi again rose, on behalf of Miss Schlesin, to thank the donors of the address and set of books presented to her. He said that Miss Schlesin had played a great part in the passive resistance movement. She had worked night and day and thrown herself heartily into the work. She had not hesitated even to court imprisonment but that was denied her. For many years she had acted as his secretary and rendered valuable assistance to him in his public work, but she was also no less than a sister to him. She had organised the Transvaal Indian Women's Association and had acted, since its inauguration, as honorary secretary.[1]

The Chairman (the Hon. R. Jameson) had recalled an instance which he (the speaker) thought he might have forgotten, and that was when the scene was laid in his office and he had approached him tremblingly, but also in the fullest faith, that he was a friend of the community, that he had guided him, as he well said, as a father would guide his child, in many things which he wanted to do as a humble burgess of that beautiful borough, the garden of South Africa. He had approached him first with that proposal of his in connection with the offer of forming an ambulance corps and he, naturally, as a soldier, had put a damper on his enthusiasm. He had uttered words of caution. The speaker had gone away chastened but he had gone to another friend. He did not know whether he was a soldier, but he knew that he was an Imperialist and also that he had a kindly corner in his heart for him—Mr. Laughton. His eyes beaming with delight, because he had never thought that the Indians could ever make any such offer, he had said, never mind what Jameson said, he should make the offer and he would see that the Government would probably accept it, but even if they did not, his countrymen would rise in the estimation of the Colonists of Natal. That sealed their fate. The offer was made and was rejected. He went over to Dr. Booth who was then in charge of St. Aidan's Mission and asked him whether he would give them ambulance lessons. He formed the class and gave them those lessons for three or four weeks. They continued to have them. Most of those who made the offer were Colonial-born Indians. Just then they all had the fear that the enemy, now the friends of the British Empire, were descending upon Maritzburg and finally might take the Port of Durban also. The offer was

[1] The gathering was then addressed by the Mayor who said Gandhiji had done splendid work for the Indians not only in Durban but also in South Africa. He wished him godspeed on his voyage. The report which follows appeared in *Indian Opinion*, 23-9-1914.

renewed, this time with better hope. Dr. Booth went over to the Bishop of Natal,[1] who intervened—and he would not take no for an answer—till at last the offer was not only accepted, but they were able to form a very decent Stretcher-bearer Corps which, as they all knew, did its humble share. If he had dealt with that matter in some detail, it was in order to render a humble tribute to the European friends and to say that at that time, as on many other occasions, there had been a perfect blending, a perfect harmony and a perfectly friendly tone, that at that time they were not without European sympathy and without European friends. With what a heavy heart, then, would he leave South Africa when he had all those rich memories. If he dwelt upon that incident, he also dwelt upon it in order to show to his countrymen that, if they always clamoured for their rights, if they always wanted to resist any encroachment upon their rights, they had also to recognize their obligations as members of a state. That was an occasion which offered itself for such a recognition on the part of the Indian community, and though they had been only a few thousand, he thought that they had done whatever it was in their power to do, and he wished to remind his countrymen of that occasion and wished them to understand that the settlement also carried with it obligations.[2]

*Indian Opinion*, 22-7-1914 & 23-9-1914

## *361. SPEECH AT VERULAM*[3]

*July 12, 1914*

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

When I agreed to come over to Verulam, I had no idea in my mind that I would receive an address. I came only to pay homage to my indentured brothers and to explain to them the facts under the new law. Moreover, a visit to this place is for me like going on a pilgrimage, for the Indian friends here played

[1] *Vide* Vol. III, pp. 153-4.

[2] Brief reports in *The Transvaal Leader* and *The Star*, both of 13-7-1914, said: "Mr. Gandhi made an important statement to the effect that Indian disabilities were only partially satisfied by the Relief Bill, and added that the question of equal status was bound to come up in the future. He was leaving South Africa for some years, but might return."

[3] Gandhiji addressed a farewell meeting of about 5,000 indentured and other Indians. Some representative Europeans also attended. Addresses and purses were presented to him on behalf of Tamils and other Indians from Verulam and Tongaat. E. H. Langston presided. Gandhiji first spoke in Hindi and then in English. For the speech in English, *vide* the following item.



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a great part in the recent strike; and in what wonderful a manner! When all the so-called leaders were resting in their private rooms or were busy making money, the indentured brethren of this place, the moment they happened to hear that a strike was on in Charlestown and elsewhere about the £3 tax, struck work too. They looked for no leaders. The leaders at Verulam, Tongaat and Isipingo were busy going round collecting money. But spontaneously, the friends here struck work. This proves that poverty is real wealth. The poor are like kings. They will have their way. Be it here or in India or anywhere else, our salvation lies through poverty. The poor are the soul of a great movement like this.

As I accept the addresses that you have presented to me, I remember an injunction in the scriptures: "Man! Flee from a place where you find yourself being praised, or at least plug your ears with cotton-wool." I keep turning over this injunction in my mind whenever I hear myself praised. But, on this occasion, I have not been able to act as enjoined. When one can do neither, the injunction says: "*Jiva*[1], if you cannot act as enjoined here, offer all the praise you receive to Lord Krishna." And this is what I do. Obedience to such religious injunctions and the path of uprightness will ensure success in every undertaking. What I mean to say is that you are not right when you attribute our success to me. It was the strength of our indentured brothers that brought us success. It is they who have done something really great. Even if I and those near me had continued to be in gaol to this day, a settlement would not have come about as quickly as it did.

[Having explained that the tax, including the arrears, would not be collected henceforth, Gandhiji said:]

The prevalent impression that because of the repeal of the tax Indians would have to remain permanently under indenture or be repatriated is entirely mistaken. On the expiry of your contract, you can stay as free citizens. My own advice to you is that you should never re-indenture yourselves. You will, of course, have to complete the term of the present contract; no one can escape that. Those who become free can obtain passes from the Protector at Durban. Free Indians who remain here for three years will be treated as domiciled here. After completing three years, anyone who wants to go to India and return will be able to do so. Such a person should go to India at his own expense,

[1] The individual Self, conscious of its separate identity

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and not approach the Government for the purpose. But those who have made up their minds not to return here will be able to claim from the Government the expenses for the journey to India.

I take this occasion of my visit to Victoria County to offer thanks to Mr. Marshal Campbell for help in securing the repeal of the tax. He worked indefatigably in the Senate to achieve that end, unmindful of his own interests.

Your feeling unhappy, as you say, at my going away binds me all the firmer to you in love. But I am leaving Phœnix behind me. You may approach Mr. West or the other inmates on any matter connected with the law or when you are up against any other difficulty. They will encourage you, advise you and work for you. They will not charge you a single penny and, in case they can be of no help, they will direct you to the right quarters. If ever they start demanding money from you at Phœnix, you should refuse even to turn your eyes in that direction again. I shall, of course, continue to work for you. You are under indenture with one person for five years, but I am under indenture with 300 millions for a life-time. I shall go on with that service and never displace you from my heart. All the money I have received here, I shall use for local purposes and the books for my own study.

It made me very unhappy to know that, during the recent strike, provoked no doubt by excessive cruelty or some other cause, you raised your hand in retaliation. Had I been with you, I would have had my head broken rather than allowed you to do what you did. For the future, however, I wish to put before you one important suggestion. If it should ever happen that the Government is harsh with you or that your employers ill-treat you, you should fearlessly strike work; sit yourselves down at one place, go hungry if they do not give you food, suffer yourselves to be abused and kicked and finally, if such be your lot, submit even to hanging or being shot dead, but do not waver in your faith in God. If you act thus, even the stoniest heart will melt. Such is the power of satyagraha. Have trust in it. This alone is pure satyagraha. It is a weapon which surpasses all weapons, all your clubs and other weapons. Cling to it—therefore; it will never fail you in times of need. Good-bye to you.

[From Gujarati]

*Indian Opinion*, 22-7-1914

## *362. SPEECH AT VERULAM*[1]

*July 12, 1914*

Mr. Gandhi asked the chairman's permission to speak in Hindustani first, and, then, in as brief as possible English, so that it might be interpreted into Tamil, which he did not speak. . . . He would not elaborate his Hindi remarks regarding the presentations and praise to himself. The money would be used for such public purposes as commended themselves to him on reaching India, but preference would be given to South Africa. He then continued:

Please understand, my indentured countrymen, that it is wrong for you to consider that relief has been obtained because I or you have gone to gaol, but because you had the courage to give up your life and sacrifice yourselves, and, in this instance, I have also to tell you that many causes led to this result. I have to specially refer to the valuable assistance rendered by the Hon. Senator Marshall Campbell. I think that your thanks and my thanks are due to him for his work in the Senate while the Bill was passing through it. The relief is of this nature: The £3 tax you will not have to pay, and arrears will be remitted. It does not mean that you are free from your present indentures. You are bound to go through your present indentures faithfully and honestly, but when these finish, you are just as free as any other free Indian under Act 25, 1891, and can receive the same protection as set forth in that Act. You are not bound to re-indenture or return to India. Discharge certificates will be issued to you free of charge. If you want to go to India and return therefrom, you must first spend three years in Natal as free Indians. If you, being poor, want assistance to enable you to go to India, you can get it on application to the Government; but, in that case, you would not be allowed to return. If you want to return fight shy of this assistance, and use your own money or borrow from your friends. If you re-indenture, you come under the same law —namely, 25 of 1891. My advice to you is: Do not re-indenture, but by all means serve your present masters under the common law of the country. Now, in the event of any occasion arising (which I hope it will not do), you will know what is necessary.

[1] The speech was translated into Tamil.

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Victoria County has not been as free from violence as the Newcastle district was. You retaliated. I do not care whether it was under provocation or not, but you retaliated, and have used sticks and stones, and you have burnt sugarcane. That is not passive resistance. If I had been in your midst I would have repudiated you, and allowed rather my own head to be broken than allow a single stick or stone to be used. Passive resistance is a more powerful weapon than all the sticks, stones and gunpowder in the world. If imposed upon, you must suffer even unto death. That is passive resistance. If, therefore, I was an indentured Indian working for the Hon. Mr. Marshall Campbell, Mr. Saunders, or other employer, and if I found my treatment not just, I would not go to the Protector—I would go to my master and ask for justice; and if he would not grant it, I would say that I would remain there without food or drink until it was granted. I am quite sure that the stoniest heart will be melted by passive resistance. Let this sink deeply into yourselves. This is a sovereign and most effective remedy.

If you want any advice or guidance, all I can suggest is that you go to Phœnix to Mr. West [or Mr. Chhaganlal Gandhi][1], if you do not want to pay Mr. Langston, or any of his brothers in law. I have no doubt that if you go to Mr. Langston with a certificate from Mr. West [or Mr. Chhaganlal Gandhi], saying that you are too poor to pay a lawyer's fee, that the lawyer in Mr. Langston will sleep, and the man within him will rise, and he will give you advice free of charge. Do not sign any document unless you first consult Phœnix, and Phœnix advises you to sign it. If Phœnix ever fails you, or wants a penny from you, shun Phœnix.

I shall now say my farewell to Verulam and you all. The scene before me will not fade in my memory, be the distance ever so great. May God help you all in your trouble. May your own conduct be such that God may find it possible to help you.

Mr. Gandhi then lowered his voice to address the Europeans near to him. He asked his European friends to forgive those Indians who during that awful time retaliated. He had no part or parcel in such retaliation but there were times in life when one lost self-control, and the brute in one arose, and one felt that might was right, and worked with the doctrine of "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth". He again asked for their forgiveness. He thought that sometimes the European employer was inclined to be selfish, and he asked them to bear in mind that the indentured Indians were human beings, with the

[1] This addition is found in *Golden Number*, *Indian Opinion*, 1914.

same sentiments as themselves. They were not cattle, but had all the weaknesses of themselves, and all the virtues if they were only brought out. He made a plea for sanitary housing, and asked that the Europeans would look upon their indentured Indians as fellow-beings, and not as Asiatics who had nothing in common with them. The indentured Indian was a moral being.

Do not place him in surroundings in which he cannot rise from hideous immorality. He is not beyond reclaiming, but is capable of responding to every moral pressure and realising the highest moral height.[1]

Let them credit them to the fullest extent with their weaknesses, as also at least with the possibility of all the virtues. Would they not then treat their Indian employees even as brothers? It was not enough that they were well treated as they well treated their cattle. It was not enough that they looked upon them with a kindly eye merely; but it was necessary that employers should have a much broader view of their own position, that they should think of their employees as fellow human beings and not as Asiatics who had nothing in common with them who were Europeans, and they would also respond to every attention that might be given to them. Then they would have an intelligent interest not merely in the material or physical well-being of their men, but in their moral well-being. They would look after their morality, after their children, after their education, after their sanitation, and, if they were herding together in such a manner that they could not but indulge in hideous immorality, that they would themselves recoil with horror from the very imagination that the men who were for the time being under their control should indulge in these things because they had been placed in these surroundings. Let them not consider that, because these men were drawn from the lowest strata of society, they were beyond reclamation. No, they would respond to every moral pressure that might be brought to bear upon them, and they will certainly realise the moral height that is possible for every human being, no matter who he is, no matter what tinge of colour his skin possesses.[2]

*The Natal Mercury*, 14-7-1914 and *Golden Number*, *Indian Opinion*, 1914

[1] What follows is an additional report found in *Golden Number*, *Indian Opinion*, 1914.

[2] S. D. Shroff then proposed a vote of thanks to the Chairman. A number of Indians insisted on prostrating themselves before Gandhiji. A photograph was taken and then Gandhiji and Kasturba left for Durban by the 1 o'clock special train.

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## 363. SPEECH AT DURBAN MEETING[1]

[*July 12, 1914*]

SISTERS AND BROTHERS,

The honour I have received today is the highest ever in my life, for your love has been simply beyond words, and seeing so many of my indentured brothers and sisters makes me happy indeed. You must have heard quite a few things about the Settlement, some of them, perhaps, false. The indentured friends will be able, on the expiry of their contracts, to buy land and settle down as free men. If, however, you are not sufficiently vigilant after my departure or if you weaken, the Government may even exploit the situation to its advantage. In that case, all that you did last year to win relief from your sufferings you must repeat and suffer again. You will not for that purpose need my presence or that of other leaders. If thus, in the hour of your difficulty, you turn to satyagraha instead of looking for leaders, success will assuredly be yours.

I shall now tell you something else. For Indians born here, this is their motherland. They have a better right here than other Indians. Their future is bound up with that of this country. I would ask them to be vigilant. They would do well to turn their attention to land instead of crowding lawyers' or other offices. Besides, whenever as a community you find it necessary to oppose the authorities, you should employ the same weapon as you did during the last eight years to a successful end.

Brothers and sisters under indenture, yours is a very wretched state. I have had information from several sources throwing doubt on the value of the repeal of the £3 tax. The money thus saved [it has been suggested] will go to wine-dealers and goldsmiths. The labourers will be robbed at either place. This is quite true. To goldsmiths, of course, I can say: "Dear friends, give up robbing. It can have no good result. Do not reduce your brethren to a miserable state. Do not rob your poor kith and kin by mixing copper or brass with gold." To the wine-dealers, I can say nothing. But I shall address myself to you. If you resolve that you will have no intoxicating drink, the wine-dealers will close down

[1] Gandhiji addressed a meeting of indentured labourers and other Indians held on the Football Ground, Durban.

their shops. I have often seen numbers of men and women, lost in drink, engaged in street-brawls or going tipsily along public roads. I have been deeply moved by such sights. What a pity, I would say, that my brothers and sisters should be in such a state! Through this wretched habit of drinking, how low have we sunk in this country? Losing all sense, we have fallen into immorality and vice. In order that we may be freed from this condition, the young among us must come forward. They must reason and plead with the obtuse, entreat them and dissuade them from drinking. They must station themselves near wine-shops and turn away Indians who might approach these. If, in doing so, they have to suffer insults or assaults, they must put up with them, too. This course, if adopted, would help destroy the evil habit. You will all become better in the result. The whites here will also look on you with respect. Your pecuniary condition will improve as well, and you will be set on the right path. I, therefore, beg of you to shake off this evil habit.

I will never forget your love for me and it will be my chief duty in India to look after your interests. I am under indenture with you all for the rest of my life, so that I am not likely ever to put you out of my heart. May you, too, not forget me.

[From Gujarati]
*Indian Opinion*, 22-7-1914

## *364. PARTING MESSAGE*[1]

[DURBAN,
*July 12, 1914*]

Whether you are Hindus or Muslims, Parsis or Christians, work unitedly as Indians. Forget religious differences and never allow your heart to shrink. The community will retain the prestige it has gained only if all of you work together. If, during my stay in South Africa, I have harmed anyone, maybe unknowingly, please forgive me.

[From Gujarati]
*Indian Opinion*, 22-7-1914

[1] Gandhiji gave this message at Durban on the eve of his departure for Johannesburg.

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## 365. SPEECH AT JOHANNESBURG[1]

[*July 13, 1914*]

Mr. Gandhi . . . declared that at last a settlement had been reached that was honourable to both sides, and in keeping with the dignity of passive resisters; for the Government had conceded every tittle of what had been asked for by Mr. Cachalia in his last letter[2] before the negotiations were interrupted last year. To have asked the Government to go further would, Mr. Gandhi declared, have been a breach of faith on the part of passive resisters, to which he could be no party.

*The Transvaal Leader*, 14-7-1914

## 366. SPEECH AT FAREWELL BANQUET[3]

JOHANNESBURG,
*July 14, 1914*

Mr. Gandhi said that they or circumstances had placed him that evening in a most embarrassing position. Hitherto those who had known him in Johannesburg had known him in the capacity of one of many hosts at gatherings of that kind, but that evening they had placed him in the unfortunate position of being a guest, and he did not know how he would be able to discharge that duty. For the other he thought long experience had fitted him, if he might say so with due humility, most admirably; but the present position was entirely new to him and Mrs. Gandhi, and he was exceedingly diffident as to how he was going to discharge the new duty that had been imposed upon him. So much had been said about Mrs. Gandhi and himself, their so-called devotion, their so-called self-sacrifice, and many other things. There was one injunction of his religion,

[1] On their arrival at Park Station, Gandhiji and Kasturba were greeted by a large crowd of Indians. They were seated in a cab drawn by enthusiastic admirers and taken in procession. Later Gandhiji addressed a meeting.

[2] *Vide* "Letter to Secretary for Interior", pp. 183-6.

[3] A farewell banquet was given in the Masonic Hall, Jeppe Street, in honour of Gandhiji, Kasturba and Kallenbach. They were presented with addresses on behalf of the British Indian Association, the Chinese Association, the Tamil Benefit Society, the Transvaal Indian Women's Association and the Gujarati, the Mahomedan and the Parsee communities. Offering his four sons to Gandhiji, C. K. T. Naidoo said: "On behalf of myself and my wife, I have the honour to present these four boys to be servants of India."

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and he thought it was true of all religions, and that was that, when one's praises were sung, one should fly from those praises, and, if one could not do that, one should stop one's ears, and if one could not do either of these things, one should dedicate everything that was said in connection with one to the Almighty, the Divine Essence, which pervaded everyone and everything in the Universe, and he hoped that Mrs. Gandhi and he would have the strength to dedicate all that had been said that evening to that Divine Essence.

Of all the precious gifts that had been given to them, those four boys were the most precious, and probably Mr. Chamney could tell them something of the law of adoption in India and what Mr. and Mrs. Naidoo, both of them old gaol-birds, had done. They had gone through the ceremony of adoption, and they had surrendered their right to their four children and given them (Mr. and Mrs. Gandhi) the charge. He did not know that they were worthy to take charge of those children. He could only assure them that they would try to do their best. The four boys had been his pupils when he had been conducting a school for Passive Resisters at Tolstoy Farm and later on at Phœnix. Then when Mrs. Naidoo had sought imprisonment, the boys had been taken over to Johannesburg, and he thought that he had lost those four pearls, but the pearls had returned to him. He only hoped that Mrs. Gandhi and he would be able to take charge of the precious gift.

Johannesburg was not a new place to him. He saw many friendly faces there, many who had worked with him in many struggles in Johannesburg. He had gone through much in life. A great deal of depression and sorrow had been his lot, but he had also learnt during all those years to love Johannesburg even though it was a Mining Camp. It was in Johannesburg that he had found his most precious friends. It was in Johannesburg that the foundation for the great struggle of Passive Resistance was laid in the September of 1906. It was in Johannesburg that he had found a friend, a guide, and a biographer in the late Mr. Doke. It was in Johannesburg that he had found in Mrs. Doke a loving sister, who had nursed him back to life when he had been assaulted by a countryman who had misunderstood his mission and who misunderstood what he had done. It was in Johannesburg that he had found a Kallenbach, a Polak, a Miss Schlesin, and many another who had always helped him, and had always cheered him and his countrymen. Johannesburg, therefore, had the holiest associations of all the holy associations that Mrs. Gandhi and he would carry back to India, and, as he had already said on many another platform, South Africa, next to India, would be the holiest land to him and to Mrs. Gandhi and to his children, for, in spite of all the bitternesses, it had given them those life-long companions. It was in Johannesburg again that the European Committee had been formed, when Indians were going through the darkest stage in their history, presided over then, as it still was, by Mr. Hosken. It was last, but not least, Johannesburg that had given Valiamma, that young girl, whose picture rose before him even as he spoke, who had died in the

cause of truth. Simple-minded in faith—she had not the knowledge that he had, she did not know what Passive Resistance was, she did not know what it was the community would gain, but she was simply taken up with unbounded enthusiasm for her people—she went to gaol, came out of it a wreck, and within a few days died. It was Johannesburg again that produced a Nagappen and Narayansamy, two lovely youths hardly out of their teens, who also died. But both Mrs. Gandhi and he stood living before them. He and Mrs. Gandhi had worked in the lime-light; those others had worked behind the scenes, not knowing where they were going, except this, that what they were doing was right and proper, and, if any praise was due anywhere at all, it was due to those three who died. They had had the name of Hurbatsingh given to them. He (the speaker) had had the privilege of serving imprisonment with him. Hurbatsingh was 75 years old. He was an ex-indentured Indian, and when he (the speaker) asked him why he had come there, that he had gone there to seek his grave, the brave man replied, "What does it matter? I know what you are fighting for. You have not to pay the £3 tax, but my fellow ex-indentured Indians have to pay that tax and what more glorious death could I meet?" He had met that death in the gaol at Durban. No wonder if Passive Resistance had fired and quickened the conscience of South Africa! And, therefore, whenever he had spoken, he had said that, if the Indian community had gained anything through this settlement, it was certainly due to Passive Resistance; but it was certainly not due to Passive Resistance alone. He thought that the cablegram that had been read that evening showed that they had to thank that noble Viceroy, Lord Hardinge, for his great effort. He thought, too, that they had to thank the Imperial Government, who, during the past few years, in season and out of season, had been sending despatches after despatches to General Botha, and asking him to consider their standpoint—the Imperial standpoint. They had to thank also the Union Government for the spirit of justice they had adopted at that time. They had, too, to thank the noble members of both Houses of the Legislature who had made those historic speeches and brought about the settlement; and, lastly, they had to thank the Opposition also for their co-operation with the Government in bringing about the passage of the Bill, in spite of the jarring note produced by the Natal Members. When one considered all these things, the service that he and Mrs. Gandhi might have rendered could be only very little. They were but two out of many instruments that had gone to make this settlement. And what was that settlement? In his humble opinion, the value of the settlement, if they were to examine it, would consist not in the intrinsic things they had received, but in the sufferings and the sorrows long-drawn-out that were necessary in order to achieve those things. If an outsider were to come there and find that there was a banquet given to two humble individuals for the humble part they played in a settlement which freed indentured Indians from a tax which they should never have been called upon to pay, and if he were told also that some redress

were given in connection with their marriages, and that their wives who were lawfully married to them according to their own religions had not hitherto been recognized as their wives, but by this settlement those wives were recognized as valid wives according to the law of South Africa, that outsider would laugh, and consider that those Indians, or those Europeans who had joined them in having a banquet, and giving all those praises and so on, must be a parcel of fools. What was there to gloat over in having an intolerable burden removed which might have been removed years ago? What was there in a lawful wife's being recognized in a place like South Africa? But, proceeded Mr. Gandhi, he concurred with Mr. Duncan in an article he wrote some years ago, when he truly analysed the struggle, and said that behind that struggle for concrete rights lay the great spirit which asked for an abstract principle, and the fight which was undertaken in 1906, although it was a fight against a particular law, was a fight undertaken in order to combat the spirit that was seen about to overshadow the whole of South Africa, and to undermine the glorious British Constitution, of which the Chairman had spoken so loftily that evening, and about which he (the speaker) shared his views. It was his knowledge, right or wrong, of the British Constitution which bound him to the Empire. Tear that Constitution to shreds and his loyalty also would be torn to shreds. Keep that Constitution intact, and they held him bound a slave to that Constitution. He had felt that the choice lay for himself and his fellow-countrymen between two courses, when this spirit was brooding over South Africa, either to sunder themselves from the British Constitution, or to fight in order that the ideals of that Constitution might be preserved—but only the ideals. Lord Ampthill had said, in a preface[1] to Mr. Doke's book, that the theory of the British Constitution must be preserved at any cost if the British Empire was to be saved from the mistakes that all the previous Empires had made. Practice might bend to the temporary aberration through which local circumstances might compel them to pass, it might bend before unreasoning or unreasonable prejudice, but theory once recognized could never be departed from, and this principle must be maintained at any cost. And it was that spirit which had been acknowledged now by the Union Government, and acknowledged how nobly and loftily. The words that General Smuts so often emphasised still rang in his ears. He had said, "Gandhi, this time we want no misunderstanding, we want no mental or other reservations, let all the cards be on the table, and I want you to tell me wherever you think that a particular passage or word does not read in accordance with your own reading," and it was so. That was the spirit in which he approached the negotiations. When he remembered General Smuts of a few years ago, when he told Lord Crewe that South Africa would not depart from its policy of racial distinction, that it was bound to retain that distinction, and that, therefore, the sting that lay in this Immigration Law would

[1] *Vide* Vol. IX, Appendix XVIII.

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not be removed, many a friend, including Lord Ampthill, asked whether they could not for the time being suspend their activity. He had said "No." If they did that, it would undermine his loyalty, and even though he might be the only person, he would still fight on. Lord Ampthill had congratulated him, and that great nobleman had never deserted the cause even when it was at its lowest ebb, and they saw the result that day. They had not by any means to congratulate themselves on a victory gained. There was no question of a victory gained, but the question of the establishment of the principle that, so far as the Union of South Africa at least was concerned, its legislation would never contain the racial taint, would never contain the colour disability. The practice would certainly be different. There was the Immigration Law—it recognized no racial distinctions, but in practice they had arranged, they had given a promise, that there should be no undue influx from India as to immigration. That was a concession to present prejudice. Whether it was right or wrong was not for him to discuss then. But it was the establishment of that principle which had made the struggle so important in the British Empire, and the establishment of that principle which had made those sufferings perfectly justifiable and perfectly honourable, and he thought that, when they considered the struggle from that standpoint, it was a perfectly dignified thing for any gathering to congratulate itself upon such a vindication of the principles of the British Constitution. One word of caution he wished to utter regarding the Settlement. The Settlement was honourable to both parties. He did not think there was any room left for misunderstanding, but whilst it was final in the sense that it closed the great struggle, it was not final in the sense that it gave to Indians all that they were entitled to. There was still the Gold Law which had many a sting in it. There was still the Licensing Law throughout the Union, which also contained many a sting. There was still a matter which the Colonial-born Indians especially could not understand or appreciate, namely, the water-tight compartments in which they had to live; whilst there was absolutely free inter-communication and inter-migration between the Provinces for Europeans, Indians had to be cooped up in their respective Provinces. Then there was undue restraint on their trading activity. There was the prohibition as to holding landed property in the Transvaal, which was degrading, and all these things took Indians into all kinds of undesirable channels. These restrictions would have to be removed. But for that, he thought, sufficient patience would have to be exercised. Time was now at their disposal, and how wonderfully the tone had been changed! And here he had been told in Cape Town, and he believed it implicitly, the spirit of Mr. Andrews had pervaded all those statesmen and leading men whom he saw. He came and went away after a brief period, but he certainly fired those whom he saw with a sense of their duty to the Empire of which they were members. But, in any case, to whatever circumstances that healthy tone was due, it had not escaped him. He had seen it amongst European friends whom he met at Cape Town; he had seen it more fully in Durban,

and this time it had been his privilege to meet many Europeans who were perfect strangers even on board the train, who had come smilingly forward to congratulate him on what they had called a great victory. Everywhere he had noticed that healthy tone. He asked European friends to continue that activity, either through the European Committee or through other channels, and to give his fellow-countrymen their help and extend that fellow-feeling to them also, so that they might be able to work out their own salvation.

To his countrymen he would say that they should wait and nurse the Settlement, which he considered was all that they could possibly and reasonably have expected, and that they would now live to see, with the co-operation of their European friends, that what was promised was fulfilled, that the administration of the existing laws was just, and that vested rights were respected in the administration; that after they had nursed these things, if they cultivated European public opinion, making it possible for the Government of the day to grant a restoration of the other rights of which they had been deprived, he did not think that there need be any fear about the future. He thought that, with mutual co-operation, with mutual goodwill, with due response on the part of either party, the Indian community need never be a source of weakness to that Government or to any Government. On the contrary, he had full faith in his countrymen that, if they were well treated, they would always rise to the occasion and help the Government of the day. If they had insisted on their rights on many an occasion, he hoped that the European friends who were there would remember that they had also discharged the responsibilities which had faced them.

And now it was time for him to close his remarks and say a few words of farewell only. He did not know how he could express those words. The best years of his life had been passed in South Africa. India, as his distinguished countryman, Mr. Gokhale, had reminded him, had become a strange land to him. South Africa he knew, but not India. He did not know what impelled him to go to India, but he did know that the parting from them all, the parting from the European friends who had helped him through thick and thin, was a heavy blow, and one he was least able to bear; yet he knew he had to part from them. He could only say farewell and ask them to give him their blessing, to pray for them that their heads might not be turned by the praise they had received, that they might still know how to do their duty to the best of their ability, that they might still learn that first, second, and last should be the approbation of their own conscience, and that, then, whatever might be due to them would follow in its own time.[1]

*Golden Number*, *Indian Opinion*, 1914

[1] Kallenbach then thanked the gathering. Miss Schlesin was given an address. The proceedings concluded with a speech by Dr. Krause.

## 367. INTERVIEW TO "THE TRANSVAAL LEADER"

[JOHANNESBURG,
*July 14, 1914*]

I am going to India for good. I am going with the intention of never returning, and if ever I have to return to South Africa or leave India, it will be owing to circumstances beyond my control, and at present beyond my conception.

The Settlement I consider to be entirely honourable to both parties. I believe both General Botha and General Smuts have acted most justly. There has been no mental reservation whatever. The one desire on the part of General Smuts was that there should be no misunderstanding left, and he endeavoured to appreciate the Indian standpoint at every stage of the interviews that he gladly gave me, even when he was pressed with work.

And I do feel that nothing could have been finer than the co-operation that the Opposition gave whole-heartedly.

In fact, the whole spirit of the debate, both in the Senate and the Assembly, in spite of a jarring note from Natal, was of a highly Imperial order. And it will be a thousand pities if either my own countrymen, by excessive agitation, or Europeans spoil that tone and destroy the good effect produced by the Settlement. It respects all the reasonable demands of the Europeans with reference to immigration and such other matters, and it concedes to the Indians entirely what they have been fighting for and suffering for during the last eight years. Throughout my travelling I have noticed a very exemplary attitude on the part of European friends, many of whom have been really strangers to the question, and certainly strangers to me personally.

[REPORTER:] Is the struggle really at an end—will Indians here not fight, constitutionally no doubt, for political equality?

We have never asked for political equality. We do not hope to get that.

You want the vote?

No; my view on that would be to leave the question of the political vote severely alone, and my firm conviction is that passive resistance is infinitely superior to the vote. I have never asked for the vote. What I always have insisted on was the removal of racial distinctions, not for equality.

Mr. Gandhi then went on to recall some of the more remarkable incidents in his career, particularly the march of the Indian strikers into the Transvaal in November last year which he described as his most wonderful experience in South Africa.

Through that march, I learned to love human nature more, and to appreciate that no matter whether the human spirit flourished under European or Indian, under the Western or the Eastern sky, it could respond in an equal measure to the same chord.

In recounting his experiences on the march, Mr. Gandhi did not dwell on the hardships; these he seemed to have forgotten. But he recalled the little acts of kindness that were done by obscure individuals. There was the station master who brought him a glass of milk and a couple of boiled eggs, and many other delicacies to tempt a starving man.

It seemed rank ingratitude to refuse them, but I kept to my vow, and I explained to the station master that I seldom ate eggs, and could not taste the milk and the other nice things he had brought, because I had to accept the same treatment as the rank and file. He seemed hurt, and I was sorry, but I was not ungrateful, and I hope the kind soul understood.

At another place the proprietor of an hotel said to me: "You are shivering. Come to my hotel, and I will put you up." I thanked him, but declined, and, pointing to my companions, I said: "They too feel the cold, and are shivering." "Oh! It is not a case of putting you on the verandah," he said, "I will give you a room." His kind offer I was obliged to decline.

At another place we reached, a woman who ran a small store placed everything she had at our disposal. I remonstrated, but she would have her way. She said: "Though you are all Indians, you are suffering and I hope I have enough of the old British sense of sympathy left in me to help you." At Charlestown and Newcastle the whole community helped us, and we helped them. There was no pilfering, no drunkenness.

I explained to the men before they started that they would win, not by putting their sticks over the shoulders of others, but over their own. It took them some time to see it, but that was the condition on which I allowed them to come with me. So our army kept on its way. We rose before the sun in the morning and did the best of our day's march before food passed our lips. Then we halted for a small ration of bread and sugar. It was, you will admit, a wonderful thing for two thousand men to have marched so far without violating the law, without stealing or rioting.

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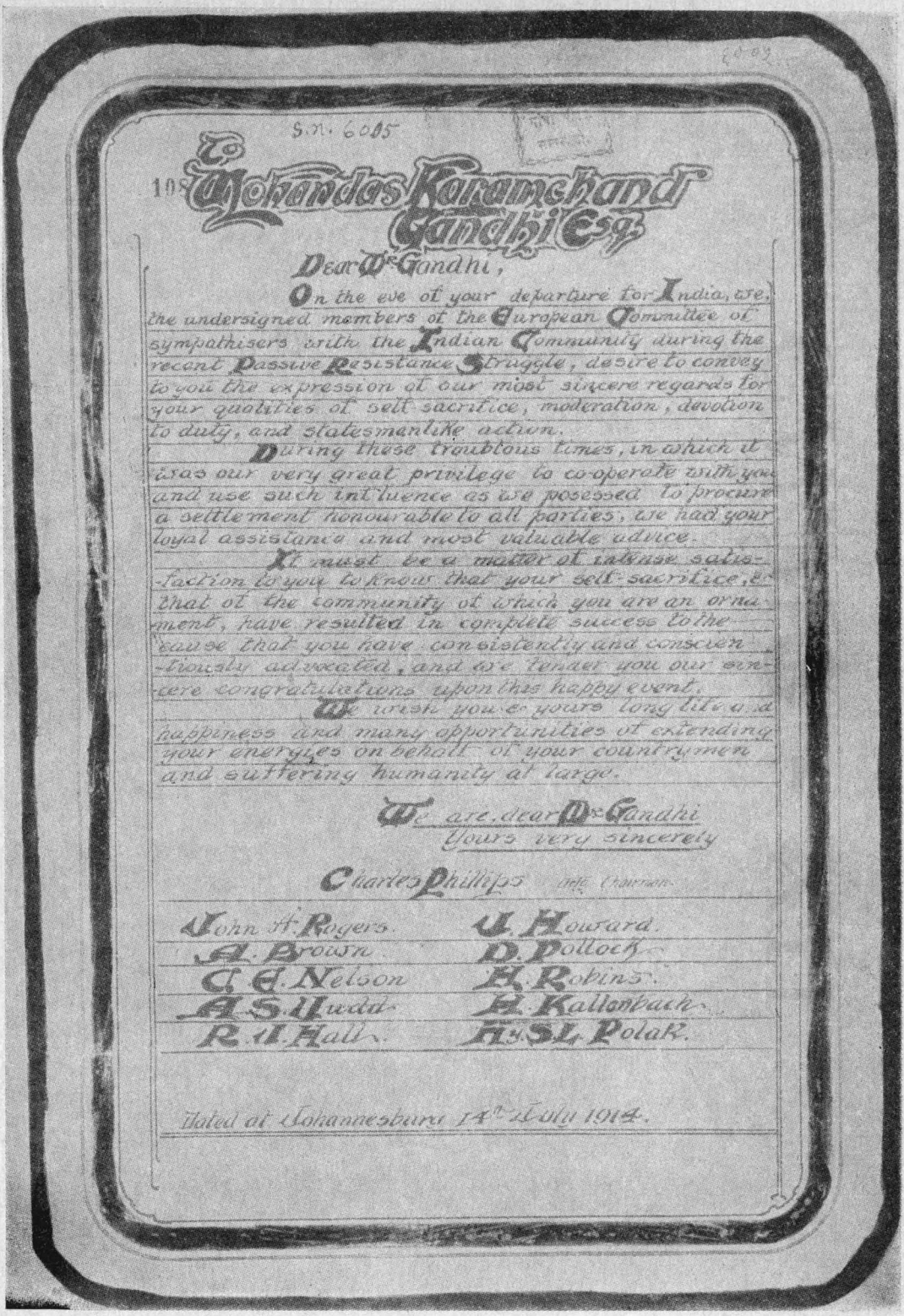


S.N. 6005

To
Mohandas Karamchand
Gandhi Esq

Dear Mr Gandhi,

On the eve of your departure for India, we, the undersigned members of the European Committee of sympathisers with the Indian Community during the recent Passive Resistance Struggle, desire to convey to you the expression of our most sincere regards for your qualities of self sacrifice, moderation, devotion to duty, and statesmanlike action.

During these troublous times, in which it was our very great privilege to co-operate with you and use such influence as we possessed to procure a settlement honourable to all parties, we had your loyal assistance and most valuable advice.

It must be a matter of intense satisfaction to you to know that your self sacrifice, & that of the community of which you are an ornament, have resulted in complete success to the cause that you have consistently and conscientiously advocated, and we tender you our sincere congratulations upon this happy event.

We wish you & yours long life & happiness and many opportunities of extending your energies on behalf of your countrymen and suffering humanity at large.

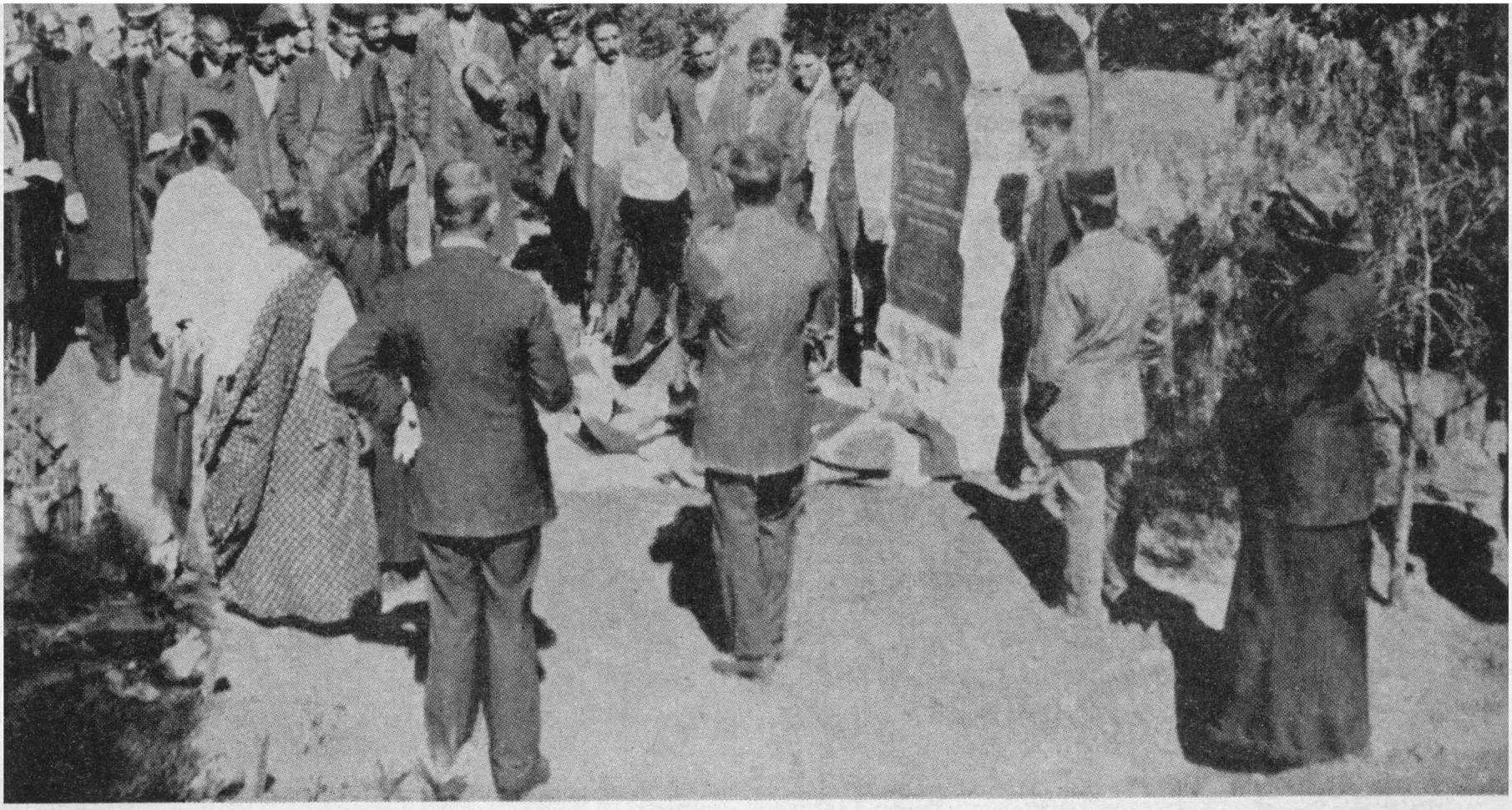
We are, dear Mr Gandhi
Yours very sincerely

Charles Phillips Hon. Chairman

John H. Rogers
A. Brown
C. E. Nelson
A. S. Hudd
R. H. Hall
J. Howard
D. Pollock
H. Robins
H. Kallenbach
H. S. L. Polak

Dated at Johannesburg 14th day of July 1914.

ADDRESS BY THE EUROPEAN COMMITTEE



UNVEILING OF THE MARTYRS' MEMORIAL

As to the treatment of himself personally, and of his family during those troubled times, Mr. Gandhi could not find words to express his appreciation.[1]

*The Transvaal Leader*, 15-7-1914

## *368. LETTER TO INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA*

[JOHANNESBURG,
Before *July 15, 1914*]

DEAR BROTHER OR SISTER,

On the eve of my departure from South Africa, I should like to leave a brief message in writing.

There has been no limit to the love I have received from the Indians in this country. I am sure those who have given such love will always prosper. I hear it said that our community is ungrateful. My heart tells me that this is said in ignorance and impatience. Were the Indian people really so, I would have felt no pride in being called a son of India, nor could I recite with utter sincerity the sublime poem, *India, a refuge of all those that suffer*.

Though I have had more than human love from Indians, I also know that there are some of them who believe themselves, and are taken by others, to be my enemies. For me, however, they are no enemies. Those who speak ill of us sometimes prove to be our true friends. I do not consider at the moment whether this is so in my case or not. I only want to show that I am not free from responsibility for their speaking ill of me. If I had perfect love for them, they would never have bitter things to say against me. Such love, however, is hardly possible for man.

[1] In the course of his report, the representative of *The Transvaal Leader* summed up thus his own estimate of Gandhiji: "So it is humanly certain that the most arresting figure in the Indian community in South Africa today is to say good-bye to a country in which he has spent many years, crowded with experience and exertion, his work on behalf of his countrymen at last crowned with success. When a man has been imprisoned so often that were his offences not merely political he would have qualified as an 'habitual', when he has times without number endured fatigue, and fasted with a smile, when he has moved steadily on over obstacles that might daunt the bravest, to the goal on which his eye has been fixed, you might picture him physically as an Apollo, and imagine his heart made of the fibre that belongs to martyrs. In the qualities of the heart and of the soul you may believe the best of Gandhi, but you would wonder, did you see him, that so frail a figure could house so vigorous a character."

Whilst I lack it, I shall bear their hostility; I shall not regard them as my enemies.

There are easy and effective measures which will enable Indians to live in peace in this country. All religious antagonism, as that one is a Hindu or a Muslim, a Christian or a Parsi, should be forgotten. Let there be no provincial distinctions such as Bengalis, Madrasis, Gujaratis, Punjabis, etc. All ideas of high and low which divide men into Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Shudras should be abandoned. Indians are all subject to the same laws; if so, how can we fight them disunited?

We needs must observe truth. I know it is futile to expect, in this land, that everyone will be perfectly truthful; it should, however, be possible for us to adhere to truth, by and large. Otherwise, Indians cannot live on here as Indians, or human beings.

Whenever there are hardships, they will have to be fought courageously. Should Indians refuse to fight them, blinded by self-interest or because of weakness, they will assuredly be overwhelmed by disaster.

If the leaders are selfish, greedy, lazy, given to lying and licentious, the common people will make no progress. And so, should the latter remain backward, the responsibility will be that of the leaders and theirs, too, will be the guilt.

Indians from Bombay are often rude to those hailing from Calcutta and Madras and indifferent to their feelings. The term *colcha*[1] has still not gone out of use in our language. Such ways are fraught with danger and, if not abandoned, will assuredly bring the community to grief. The people from Bombay know very well that their compatriots from Calcutta and Madras are far more numerous than they. Even from the point of view of self-interest, therefore, it is necessary that we show them due regard.

Even good Indians show contempt for Colonial-born Indians. I have believed, and still believe, that they are wrong in doing so. Colonial-born Indians do have some defects; but, then, who has not? They have also many fine qualities. It is worth noting that, if the satyagraha campaign has been a glorious performance, it was because of the sacrifices of Indians born in this country. Large numbers of such Indians, and many women too, have gone to gaol. To help forward any Colonial-born Indians, either educated or uneducated, will be an act of piety on the part

[1] Probably, a corrupt form of "coolie"

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of the community meriting a reward, and I am sure it will be duly rewarded, for such has been my experience.

We are very dirty and some of us behave so abjectly, because of greed, that the whites feel disgusted, as they well might. If the leaders exert themselves, they can end all the filthiness that we notice around us. That there should be too many people sleeping in small rooms, that these should hold stores of foodgrains, fruit, etc., and never be washed, that lavatories should be kept unclean, that bedsteads should never be aired in the sun, that the windows should never be opened, that the place should never be dusted, that sleeping, cooking, bathing, relaxing, should all be done in one and the same room—this is pathetic indeed. This way we turn ourselves into denizens of hell in this very world. This state of affairs must change.

Gold-smuggling by members of the community is on the increase. Some Indians want to get rich quick. They will get into trouble and disgrace the name of the community as a whole. I wish they would rein themselves in.

As some Tamils and Calcuttamen have become slaves to the wicked habit of drink, so have some Gujaratis too. The Indian who weans them from this will be a man of noble soul indeed. Indian businessmen can exercise a good influence, if they mean to, over these helpless brethren whose state is so pitiable.

As I understand it, the Settlement which has taken place is a charter of our freedom. We could not have accepted less than what it gives. More it is not possible to secure at present. It is my emphatic advice, therefore, that every effort should be made to preserve what has been obtained and to resist the Government if it seeks to take away anything from it. If it places upon the terms of the Settlement a construction different from ours, or mine, or if a court does so and the Government then refuses to make any modifications, there will be cause for friction and the Government will again invite the charge of breach of promise.

The main difficulty for the present will be regarding the Dealers' Licenses Act. Even in this matter, however, redress will be easier wherever things are under the jurisdiction of the Union Government. Where, on the other hand, licences are granted by the municipalities, things will be very difficult. The remedy for this is to put up a fight whenever licences are taken away, apply to courts and petition the Government, hold meetings and pass resolutions. If, at the end of all this, there should be no redress, there will be nothing for it but to resort to satyagraha. This is easy to offer in the matter of licences. If only the hawkers show courage,

the struggle for licences could be won. It is possible that traders will have to suffer for some time. I hope they will not fail to do their duty at the critical moment. We must demand complete freedom to trade, and ought to get it. Everything depends on the traders.

The Gold Law in the Transvaal is a very oppressive measure. The settlement secures to all the right to carry on business wherever they are doing so at present. People can shift their business from one place to another in the same town, but they cannot go over to another town. So much can be taken as included in the clause on "existing rights". If the Government permits less than this, that will be a breach of the terms of the Settlement. To secure more than this, independent efforts will be necessary, and I don't think these can be made at present. Great care will have to be exercised to see that they do not keep us in the dark and pass complicated laws on these and related subjects. In regard to the Gold Law also, it should be easy to offer satyagraha against it, if it is administered with excessive severity.

As regards the Transvaal Law of 1885[1], I don't see any possibility of our being able to touch it at present.

On the issue of marriages, it is not possible to secure anything more for the present. To waste efforts on that will interfere with other important tasks. There is no better law elsewhere than the one which has been enacted.

We need not fight for votes or for freedom of entry for fresh immigrants from India. I think we shall have to rest content at present with the removal of the taint [of racial discrimination] from the law.

However, if the Indian community is strong and itself enterprising, if it maintains unity, truthfulness and courage, the following expectations may be realized in 15 years:

1. Complete freedom of trade.
2. Full rights of ownership of land in all Provinces and
3. Freedom of movement from one Province to another.

In order to bring all this about, it will be necessary to have the Licensing Acts, the Gold Laws, the Township Act, Law 3 of 1885 and the Immigration Act amended, for which purpose public opinion will have to be cultivated among the whites of South Africa. This is not difficult to do.

The community need not be anxious on account of the indentured labourers. There is nothing in the new law which can be interpreted to mean that the Government may send them away.

[1] *Vide* Vol. I, p. 383.

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I appeal to all Indians to help Mr. Polak and seek his help. No one is as well informed about our question as he. He has regard for the community, is honest, has ability and is full of enthusiasm. It is my earnest request to Indians in all Provinces that they utilize Mr. Polak's services and follow his advice. Others will not be able to draft petitions as well as he can. He will not accept money for any public work, which means that he will remain in South Africa only if he can pay his way by his professional work; otherwise, he will leave for England. I know that he still does not earn enough to meet his needs and, therefore, I earnestly appeal to the Transvaal Indians to entrust their legal affairs to Mr. Polak.

*Indian Opinion* is run only for the service of the community. So is Phœnix. Those who have settled there have not done so with the intention of making money. They draw only as much as they need for a simple and plain life. It will be so much of a loss to the community if it does not utilize the services of those who are working in this spirit. Mr. Omar Hajee Jhaveri and Parsee Rustomjee are now the owners of the Phœnix lands and its managing trustees in South Africa. The community can get all information about Phœnix through them or even directly. I request every Indian to understand the objects of Phœnix. I cannot help saying that it is a great field for anyone aspiring to serve India. This, some may indeed feel, is rather improper of me to say in view of my close association with Phœnix; it is, however, my sincere belief.

Though I am leaving for the motherland, I am not likely to forget South Africa. I should like friends who may have occasion to go to India to come and see me there. I do intend, of course, to work in India in regard to the disabilities here. And I shall be able to work better if the people in South Africa ask for my services. I think the expenses to be incurred in India on this work by way of stationery, postage, printing, etc., should be met from here. The money I have been given I propose to use only for this purpose.

Above all, I wish to say that it is up to the community to win its freedom and that its ultimate weapon, an irresistible one, is satyagraha.

If I have harmed any Indian, knowingly or unknowingly, if I have been the cause of pain to anyone, I crave God's forgiveness and theirs.

I am, of course, a satyagrahi and I hope always to remain one, but in December last I fell more under the spell of indenture.

Since the term *girmitio* ("indentured labourer") is already in use about me in Gujarati.

*I am,*
*As ever,*
*The community's indentured labourer,*
MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 6020

## *369. TRIBUTE TO PASSIVE RESISTANCE MARTYRS*[1]

BRAAMFONTEIN,
*July 15, 1914*

Mr. Gandhi said he thought that, in Johannesburg, among their intimate European friends, Mrs. Phillips was the oldest, and therefore, if they considered her to be the mother of the family, they only gave her her due. Mrs. Phillips had set the seal upon that that morning by unveiling those two monuments. He knew that he was uttering a truism when he said that Mrs. Phillips had taken the trouble, but it was not the physical trouble. What he wished to refer to was that Mrs. Phillips had come there with a heart just as sore as any Indian's and he hoped that the noble words that she had uttered would go down into the hearts of every one of them. He personally had never felt tired of repeating his sentiments again and again in connection with that dear sister—a daughter to her, to him a sister—and that dear brother Nagappen, and whenever he had thought of those two and the neglected grave of Narayansamy, whose bones were now resting at Lourenco Marques, he had felt the littleness of the service rendered by all of them. Mrs. Polak had just reminded him how lightly they had treated the sickness of the girl whose body lay under that cold stone. He recalled also a scene when he left Durban, and when he had paid a hurried visit, with Mr. Polak to see Valliamma—that was a most affecting scene. She was just coming out. Her mother was there. Her mother, most loving and attentive, thought that she must hurry forward Valliamma. He felt guilty that there was any hurry at the time, but she was brought out. She was almost in a swoon. They three carried her in the best manner they could. There was no feather mattress, no stretcher, in the room where she lay, simply the wooden floor; not that they were cruel to her, but their discipline was so rigorous and exacting that those who were in immediate charge, as

[1] Gandhiji attended at 11.30 a.m. the ceremonial unveiling of memorial tablets erected in honour of Nagappen and Valliamma in Braamfontein cemetery. Kasturba, Miss Schlesin and Mrs. Polak were among those present. Gandhiji spoke after Mrs. Phillips, wife of Rev. Charles Phillips, the Acting Chairman of the European Committee, had unveiled the memorials.

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Thambi Naidoo, would not think of having any other things or taking any other things. That was her lot inside and outside prison, that was her spirit, that was the spirit also, he well remembered, of the young lady by her side in the same condition, who had just been delivered of a child. He did not know whether they should not now consider themselves criminally guilty. At the same time he did not know because, as Passive Resisters, they held the soul immortal, and the body merely subject to the spirit, and if the body might be lost for the perfection of the soul, they held it was the right thing. Valliamma herself, he fancied, if he knew anything of that soul, would have spurned the idea of being treated differently from her other sisters. Those scenes would never be effaced from his memory. Nagappen's face he could not recall so vividly as Valliamma's, but he knew full well how that brave lad had suffered in that horrible camp prison, exposed to the most severe weather, and how unnecessary it had been to send him there. But the desire then had been not to do something for Passive Resisters but to bend their spirit. But today they recognized the steel of which Nagappen's heart was made. He came out of prison a wreck, but he said: What did it matter? He had to die but once, and he was ready to go to gaol again if it was necessary for him to do so, and so that undaunted spirit died. But yet they were not dead, for they would live, and live for ever in the memory of every Indian. It was a matter for mourning that they were no longer with them to set them a noble example, but when he thought of it a little more deeply, it was a matter for rejoicing that they had amongst them such three noble souls who had usefully lived out their lives for the sake of truth—he would not say for their country. Little they knew of their country. He believed they were perfect strangers to it—they were Colonial-born. They had no idea of their Motherland; to them South Africa was their Motherland; but this they knew, that it was a sacred fight, a religious fight, a fight for truth. They lived for the truth, and for it they died, and therefore he felt that they had every cause for rejoicing and instead of appreciating them by stones, they should erect in their own hearts, every one of them, imperishable memorials, and, whenever they felt like succumbing to temptation, remind themselves of the imperishable names of these three. Then, indeed, would they have done honour to their graves in the true spirit and then only would it have been worth Mrs. Phillips' while to have come there all the way to perform that ceremony.

*Indian Opinion*, 29-7-1914

## 370. SPEECH AT TRANSVAAL INDIAN WOMEN'S ASSOCIATION[1]

JOHANNESBURG,
*July 15, 1914*

Mr. Gandhi said that they had spoken of him that day as a Protector and a Guru but he felt that he was undeserving of either title, but if they would accept him as their devoted brother, it was the highest honour that he could claim from them, and he knew that it would be a precious privilege to him to think of them, wherever he might be, as his sisters. And as their co-worker and fellow-Passive Resister, but with greater experience than they possessed, he could only tell them to continue the work they had commenced, and that the work they had done was noble. They should hold together as one woman, and, if the call to duty came again, they should not fail to respond and should not fail to do even as Valliamma had done. They should not forget Mrs. Vogl[2]. She had done much selfless work. They could still receive her assistance in taking sewing classes and much other work. Her companionship too was worth catering for. She was a true woman who felt for them. She would do more if she could, and she would never fail to do all she could. They owed her a great deal, but the best honour that they could pay Mrs. Vogl was not to pile gifts upon her, but to follow her advice and receive her assistance, which she was most anxious to give in connection with classes and such other matters. In India sisters gave their blessings to their departing brothers, whether younger or older than they. He hoped that his sisters there would give him their blessing, no matter in what part of the world he might be placed.

*Indian Opinion*, 5-8-1914

[1] The meeting of the Transvaal Indian Women's Association was held in the Ebenezer Church Hall to bid Gandhiji farewell. Mrs. Rama Moodaley, President of the Association, was in the chair.

[2] She conducted classes for Indian women and took keen interest in the Indian cause.

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## 371. SPEECH AT MUSLIM MEETING[1]

[VREDEDORP,
*July 15, 1914*]

Before answering the questions, Mr. Gandhi, who was applauded by a section, assured them that he appreciated it as a high honour that they had invited him, because he knew that some of them were opposed to the Settlement and had moved heaven and earth that the settlement should not become final. He had not despaired of pleasing even these countrymen of his. The first question was on whose authority he had accepted or arranged this settlement with the Government. It was on the authority of the general body of the Indians throughout South Africa, because when the final letter of Mr. Cachalia was sent, it was sent in the name of the British Indian community.[2] He was the secretary and carried on the negotiations, and when he found that there was nothing he had to abandon but that he could get all, he did not consider it necessary to come to them again[3]. It was not possible for any public man to do otherwise. If he had done less he would have been an unworthy servant. He did his duty when he carried out the full terms of that letter. Of course,

[1] Gandhiji addressed a crowded Muslim meeting at the Hamidia Islamic Society Hall, convened for the purpose of expressing Muslims' dissatisfaction over the Settlement. Essop Ismail Mia presided. Gandhiji's speech largely comprised statements made in reply to various questions put to him by the Chairman of the meeting and by other speakers. *Rand Daily Mail*, 16-7-1914, reported Mia's observations as follows: "The Chairman whose remarks were interpreted—sometimes with the aid of Mr. Gandhi himself—asked on whose authority the compromise was made with the Government. He next referred to the funds of the plague hospital, and wished Mr. Gandhi to say what had become of the funds. Ever since the commencement the Indian Association had subscribed, and he wished the accounts to come before the public, and that Mr. Gandhi should explain the position. Four points had been put forward, and Mr. Gandhi, according to his view, had gained only one and a half. In the marriage problem a question had cropped up which required explanation, affecting the Mahommedans. He would explain to his merchant friends what they had gained during their eight years' struggle. Mr. Gandhi had said in Durban that no man could satisfy everybody. He wished to say that Mr. Gandhi had left them with the battle to be fought all over again. As regards the marriage question, not only the Mahommedans, but the Hindus also had said that they had gained nothing."

[2] *The Transvaal Leader* report of the same date has here the words: ". . . without a word of protest. It was supported by all throughout."

[3] *The Transvaal Leader* report has: " . . . he did not think there was any need to hesitate as to whether he should keep it open or conclude the agreement. He had abandoned nothing, but gained everything."

General Smuts wanted this Settlement accepted by the community in general —he did not want to leave any loophole. In the series of meetings so far there had been as much unanimity as possible. The next question was what had they gained out of the Settlement? He suggested that they had gained everything they had asked for. They had gained to the fullest extent and in the most liberal manner.

The next question was what had he done with the hospital moneys? There had been some misunderstanding about this. The origin of this fund was as follows: The stands in the old location had been expropriated, and he acted on behalf of certain claimants against the Town Council.[1] He did not charge the full legal fees, which, taxed, would have amounted to £40 or £50. He agreed to charge so much a stand, and told them that he did not want it all for himself. £5 he would use for his own purposes, and set the balance aside as the nucleus of a hospital fund. He had ideas at the time of going to England, [of] qualifying as a doctor,[2] and coming out again to minister to their needs; but those were castles in the air. There were no public funds—no charity.[3] The whole of that fund had been used up in the course of the passive resistance movement for public purposes and South African public purposes; but he was unable to hold himself responsible to the public in connection with those funds; but even a child could come and look at his public dealings.

With regard to the accounts of the British Indian Association, he had also to inform them that, every time they had held a committee meeting, he had submitted accounts of disbursements. Later on he had several funds—the anti-Indian law fund, the passive resistance fund, and the funds from Bombay. All these he had accounted for, some in the columns of the Press. He was not taking the books away, and at any time they could ask Mr. Polak as to the disposal of the funds. So long as they were not unreasonable, they could certainly inspect what had been done.

The next question was how many points had been gained. The points in Mr. Cachalia's letter were the marriage question, the £3 tax, the Orange Free State and the Cape entry question, and the administration of the existing legislation with due regard to the Indians' feelings. They had got these five points, and a little more. Now what had the merchants gained? The merchants had gained everything that the community had gained, and had gained probably most of all. The Indian community had raised its status in the estimation of Europeans throughout South Africa. They could no longer be classed as coolies by General Botha and others. The term had been removed as a term of

[1] *The Transvaal Leader* report here adds the words: " . . . 75 out of the 99 entrusting their claims to him. He received part of the costs from the Town Council and was authorised to charge attorney and client fees . . ."

[2] *Vide* Vol. IX, p. 395.

[3] *The Transvaal Leader* report adds: " . . . but simply his fees and those funds were not used for a hospital . . ."

reproach, silently but effectively. If they had not fought for the past eight years, no trace would have been left here of Indians as a self-respecting community. They might have been able to live in the Locations and eke out the miserable existence of coolies and dogs. If they had asked for more they would not have got it, and would have been hounded out of court and been regarded as a community not to be trusted. He explained what they had gained by the Settlement in regard to marriage,[1] and concluded by stating that he would continue to serve the community. That was his religion.[2]

[1] *The Transvaal Leader* report here furnishes details of Gandhiji's reply on this point: "He had not yet heard a Hindoo say he was not satisfied with the marriage question. That was where they had gained a little more than they asked. Before the Port Elizabeth case, they thought one Indian wife would be recognized, no matter what her religion. That was overturned; and they came to the conclusion that they should ask the Government to legalise one-wife marriage throughout South Africa. Polygamy had been a question in this country for 50 years, but the only question which arose concerning the Settlement was that of monogamous marriages. What they asked in this respect was granted, and a little more also, for Magistrates were allowed to legalise marriages. Polygamy they could practise, but it was not legalised. Natives could only have one wife. Sir William Solomon wanted to go as far as that with the Indians, but he (Mr. Gandhi) said, 'No; if you do, we will fight.' All he expected the South African Government to do was to become tolerant of polygamy, but not to legalise it."

[2] Here H. O. Ally, who had in 1909 accompanied Gandhiji on a deputation to England, raised a number of points, as reported by *Rand Daily Mail*: "It was only fair that Mr. Gandhi should call a mass meeting and explain the Settlement. They had heard one thing from his speeches in Cape Town and another thing from his speeches in Durban. In his speech at the Masonic Hall again, Mr. Gandhi had admitted that the Colonial-born question was not settled. Many things were not settled, and yet with what right or face could any Indian organisations apply to General Smuts in the future, and say there were certain disabilities and grievances that were killing their people—in the face of Mr. Gandhi's expressions here of the 'final honourable settlement'?

"Cables and congratulations had passed between Gokhale, the Imperial Government and India. Where could they ask for more redress? What they wanted him to explain to them was how they were going to live in future. They had trusted Mr. Gandhi. He (the speaker) was one of his admirers. He (Mr. Gandhi) knew that it was his elder brother that was talking to him. It was not one who was jealous of him. Mr. Gandhi had been a staunch patriot, and he had said so to his detractors. But he (the speaker) never knew that Mr. Gokhale cabled to Mr. Gandhi that it was a mistake not to submit to the Commission the real grievances of the Indians throughout the Transvaal. He now understood that Mr. Gandhi had received such a cable and had spent about £200 on sending a lengthy cable to Bombay about the oath to continue passive resistance until the four points were settled. Now about this settlements. No sensible man expected the Union Government to legalise polygamous marriages. But Mr. Gandhi ought to know very well, because a message

Mr. Gandhi, in reply, said that there was no compulsory registration of children who were South Africa-born. Up to the age of sixteen they were entirely free. If all passive resisters had fallen and he was the only one left, he would have died in that cause. As for the future, he had said that the Settlement was final in the sense that passive resistance was closed. His own letter[1] to General Smuts had left the door open. The Settlement was that of the passive resistance on the questions that were on the board for which they had fought and bled and suffered. It did not close anything else. It did not prevent them from holding mass meetings, passing resolutions and taking up new passive resistance. The inter-provincial immigration was an open question yet. That was not in the terms of the Settlement, and it was a fair matter for agitation on the part of the Indian community.

The Settlement did not bind himself or the Indian community not to restart passive resistance if they came to the conclusion that they had grievances which would justify it. Take the Free State question, the licensing laws, the gold laws, and the township laws. He had warned his countrymen, however, that they must educate Europeans on these matters. On the marriage question the Settlement did not violate one iota of the Holy *Koran*. He had admitted that they did not expect a Christian community to legalise polygamy, so that there was no point at issue. Day and night his programme was so full that he was not allowed time for meals. He was addressing meetings all the time—some twenty mass meetings in the last few days.[2]

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was sent to him from that Hall, that it was impossible for Mussulmans to break one syllable out of their holy *Koran*. He was told that, whatever he did with regard to the marriage question, not to bind the Mussulmans with regard to one man one wife, because they would be transgressing the law of God. And the *Koran* said that 'Whosoever transgresses the statutes of God will be cast into hell fire for ever.' Therefore they could not accept the law and would remain in the country as unmarried. Not a single Mussulman had accepted the Cape law of 1860. In fairness it was his duty to call a public meeting before talking of an honourable final Settlement. He challenged Mr. Gandhi to call a mass meeting and produce the minute books of the British Indian Association. At the time of the 1909 passive resistance movement Mr. Gandhi had said that he would continue to resist until all children were free, even if he were the only person left."

[1] *Vide* "Letter to E. M. Gorges", pp. 438-9.

[2] At this stage, there were further questions put to Gandhiji. According to *The Transvaal Leader* report: "Mr. Stent asked how Mr. Gandhi could say he represented Indian opinion, when the Hamidia Islamic Society and the Hamdad Society passed a resolution on March 31 saying that he and his friends had no authority to act for them? He had been deliberately repudiated by the two societies. Mr. Gandhi received certain funds for the passive resistance movement, and it was up to him to give an account of them. Habib Motan asked if Mr. Gandhi did not take £1,200 for the Phœnix newspaper."

After a number of speeches in Hindustani, Gujarati and Tamil, Mr. Gandhi replied. He did not think the letter he had received was representative of Mahomedan opinion. It was their duty if they wanted a meeting at that time to call it and invite him. With regard to the £1,200, he pointed out that *Indian Opinion* was a public Indian property—it was only nominally registered in his name. The money was expended on behalf of the public, and he had rendered the accounts and had published them. Still he told them again that they could go to Mr. Polak and see what had been done with the money. He eulogised Mr. Polak for his work and self-sacrifice for the Indian cause. He (Mr. Polak) would be secretary of the British Indian Association. Mr. Polak had certainly been receiving his living out of the passive resistance fund but he had contributed his all to that fund.

*Rand Daily Mail*, 16-7-1914

## *372. SPEECH AT TAMIL MEETING*[1]

JOHANNESBURG,
*July 15, 1914*

Mr. Gandhi said that he felt, in coming to meet the Tamil brothers and sisters, as if he came to meet blood relations. That was a sentiment which he had cherished now for many years, and the reason was quite simple. Of all the different sections of the Indian community, he thought that the Tamils had borne the brunt of the struggle. The largest number of deaths that passive resistance had taken had been from the Tamil community. They had that morning gone to the cemetery to perform the unveiling ceremony[2] in connection with the two memorials to a dear sister and brother. Both of these had been Tamils. There was Narayansamy whose bones lay at Delagoa Bay. He had been a Tamil. The deportees had been Tamils. The last to fight and come out of gaol had been Tamils. Those who were ruined hawkers were all Tamils. The majority of the passive resisters at Tolstoy Farm had been Tamils. On every side, Tamils had shown themselves to be most typical of the best traditions of India, and by saying that he was not exaggerating in the slightest degree. The faith, the abundant faith in God, in Truth, that the Tamils had shown had been one of the most sustaining forces throughout those long-drawn years. The majority of women to go to gaol were Tamils. The sisters who defied the authorities to arrest them and had gone from door to door, from barracks to barracks at Newcastle, to ask the men to lay down

[1] Gandhiji spoke at a meeting of the Tamil community which, among others, was attended by Kasturba, Miss Schlesin and a number of ladies, Indians and Europeans. Thambi Naidoo presided.

[2] *Vide* "Tribute to Passive Resistance Martyrs", pp. 486-7.

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their tools and strike work—who were they? Again, Tamil sisters. Who marched among the women ? Tamils, of course. Who lived on a pound loaf of bread and an ounce of sugar? The majority were Tamils; though there he must give their due also to those of their countrymen who were called Calcutta men. In that last struggle they also had responded nobly, but he was not able to say quite so nobly as the Tamils; but they had certainly come out almost as well as the Tamils had, but the Tamils had sustained the struggle for the last eight years and had shown of what stuff they were made from the very beginning. Here in Johannesburg they were a handful, and yet, even numerically, they would show, he thought the largest number who had gone to gaol again and again; also, if they wanted imprisonment wholesale, it came from the Tamils. So that he felt when he came to a Tamil meeting that he came to blood-relations. The Tamils had shown so much pluck, so much faith, so much devotion to duty and such noble simplicity, and yet had been so self-effacing. He did not even speak their language, much as he should like to be able to do so, and yet they had simply fought on. It had been a glorious, a rich experience, which he would treasure to the end of his life. How should he explain the settlement to them ? They did not even want it. But if he must he could only tell them all that they and theirs had fought for had been obtained and obtained largely through the force of character that they had shown; and yet they did not want, they had not wanted to reap the reward except the reward that their own consciences would offer them. They had fought for the Cape entry right for Colonial-borns. That they had got. They had fought for the just administration of the laws. That they had got. They had fought for the removal of the racial taint in the law with reference to the Free State. That they had got. The £3 tax was now a matter of the past. And, with reference to the marriage question, all those dear sisters who had gone to gaol could now be called the wives of their husbands, whilst but yesterday they might have been called so out of courtesy by a friend, but were not so in the eye of the law. That was one of the things they had fought for and had got. Truth was what they had been fighting for, and Truth had conquered—not he or they. They might fight to-morrow for an unrighteous thing, and as sure as fate they would be beaten and well-beaten. Truth was unconquerable, and whenever the call to duty came, he hoped they would respond. There was one thing more. They had sometimes, as every other section of the community had, jealousies amongst themselves. They had petty jealousies not in connection with the struggle, but in matters which had nothing to do with the struggle. All those petty jealousies and differences he hoped would go, and they would rise higher still in the estimation of themselves and of those who at all grew to know them and the depth of character which they had. They had also, as all sections of the Indian community had, not only those jealousies but sometimes many bickerings also, and petty quarrels. He felt these also should be removed especially from their midst, because they had shown themselves so

fit to give themselves to the Motherland. And here, of course, it was a Tamil who had given his four sons to be trained as servants of India.[1] He hoped Mr. and Mrs. Naidoo knew exactly what they had done. They had surrendered all right to those children for life, and they could not possibly do anything to advance their material well-being, but had always to remain servants of India. It was no joke, and yet Mr. and Mrs. Naidoo had certainly done that. He could not appeal to them too strongly that they of all sections should rid themselves of all those bickerings, petty jealousies and quarrels amongst themselves. He would also ask them whenever they chose a President or a Chairman to obey him, to follow him, and not always listen to the views of this or that man. If they did that, their usefulness would be curtailed. And then, too, they should not worry if others and not they might reap the reward. Their reward would be all the greater if it was not of this earth; they were not fighting for material reward, and a true passive resister never thought of material reward. They should not worry about material prosperity, but always have higher things before them. Then, indeed, they would be like the leaven working in the community which could raise the community as one to look up to. The privilege was certainly theirs and time also was at their disposal, and if they make good use of that time it would be a splendid thing for the whole of South Africa, and would certainly be a splendid thing for them; and if he heard in India that all those little things to which he had drawn attention had also been got rid of by the Indian community, he would, indeed, be rejoiced. One thing more. He had known something of Madras, and how sharp caste distinctions were there. He felt they would have come to South Africa in vain if they were to carry those caste prejudices with them. The caste system had its uses, but that was an abuse. If they carried caste distinctions to that fatuous extent and drew those distinctions, and called one another high and low and so on, those things would be their ruin. They should remember that they were not high caste or low caste, but all Indians, all Tamils. He said Tamils, but that was also applicable to the whole Indian community, but most to them because most was certainly expected of them.[2]

*Indian Opinion*, 5-8-1914

[1] *Vide* "Speech at Farewell Banquet", pp. 473-4.

[2] The gathering was then addressed by Kallenbach, Polak, P. K. Naidoo and Thambi Naidoo.

## 373. SPEECH AT PRETORIA[1]

*July 16, 1914*

Mr. Gandhi, in replying, said that he was very pleased that Mr. Stent had consented to preside. Nothing could have been more fitting, on account of the way in which Mr. Stent had advocated their cause. When the speaker first came to Pretoria he found comments in the *Pretoria News* advocating their cause. He inquired, and was told that Mr. Stent was a negrophilist and took up many an unpopular cause at great personal risk to himself. Mr. Stent had consistently advocated their cause, and the speaker felt personally grateful to him. He reciprocated Mr. Chamney's sentiments. He had certainly stood up against Mr. Chamney and the management of his office, but there had been no personal ill will on the speaker's part, and he always received the utmost courtesy at Mr. Chamney's hands. He appreciated the compliment Mr. Chamney paid him by coming out to arrest him with one man only to assist, while the speaker was at the head of 2,000 men and women. It showed the confidence Mr. Chamney had in him as a passive resister. He thanked them for the purse, the contents of which, in common with those of any others received, would not be used for himself, but first for the furtherance of the interests of the Indians in South Africa, and secondly for any work he might have to do in India which had commended itself to them in the course of the conversations they had had. He spoke feelingly of the many European friends he was leaving behind, and said that on their memorable march he had had much sympathy and encouragement from Europeans; it was for this reason that that march had made him love South Africa more than ever before. It was during that period he had realised that, although South Africa was a land largely ruled by materialism, there was no need to despair. He felt that the settlement they had received was a kind of Magna Charta. It was not a final settlement in the sense that they had no wrongs left. They had to exercise patience and cultivate European opinion in order to get those wrongs redressed. They had to maintain the sympathy, which men like Mr. Stent might think fit to extend to them. He spoke of the tremendous force of passive resistance, which he hoped they would not need to use again, and said Indians could not separate politics from religion; with them the two things were as

[1] Gandhiji arrived at Pretoria by road at 8 a.m. An address was presented to him in the Indian Location. Chamney, Vere Stent, Hajee Habib and several others paid tributes to Gandhiji.

one. He paid a glowing tribute to the work done for the Indian cause by Miss Schlesin.[1]

*Rand Daily Mail*, 17-7-1914

## *374. SPEECH AT MEETING OF GUJARATIS*[2]

JOHANNESBURG,
*July 16, 1914*

My Gujarati brethren have done a great deal for me and Mrs. Gandhi but they did not, I must say, render as much service in the cause of the struggle as the Tamil community did. I wish the Gujaratis to learn a lesson from the Tamils. Though I do not know their language, they have given me the greatest help in the fight. On the other hand, though I can explain my aims best to Gujaratis because I know Gujarati, they have failed in their duty. They cared [more] for money. It makes me very unhappy to hear that some members of the community have fallen a prey to drink. They must be pitied. Those who know better have a duty to help such persons break free from the vicious habit. Some are engaged in smuggling gold. They believe that thereby they are helping India economically. Ill-gotten money, however, is never secure. I have not yet attained a state in which I would not seek monetary help. Even so, I would on no account accept help offered from such ill-gotten money. You will perhaps feel that, every time I speak to you, I use fairly harsh language. My bitter words will, however, prove wholesome to you in the end. I am going far away from you, to the motherland, but I can never forget your affection.

[From Gujarati]
*Indian Opinion*, 5-8-1914

[1] Gandhiji then spoke in Hindi and, after a meeting with the leaders of the community, left for Johannesburg.

[2] The Gujaratis had gathered to bid farewell to Gandhiji and Kasturba.

## 375. THE LEGAL POSITION

[Before *July 18, 1914*][1]

As the removal of the £3 tax has given rise to the fear that it makes the Indians affected by it prohibited immigrants and that, therefore, their position becomes worse than before, it may be worth while examining the true legal position. For, if it is a fact that the removal makes them prohibited immigrants, the first clause of Paragraph 2 of the letter[2] from the Secretary for the Interior addressed to Mr. Gandhi, providing for the issue of discharge certificates to such Indians, does not, as *The Natal Mercury* says, take them out of the category. That clause was inserted, not for the purpose, as the *Mercury* would have us believe, of securing these poor men's right of domicile. It was inserted simply to enable the men to move about the Province without vexatious inquiries from the Police and to free them from liability of arrest for being without passes. Now the contention that has been made by the *Mercury* is that, if the men do not pay the tax, they have to perform one of the other two conditions of their contract, namely, to re-indenture or to repatriate themselves to India, and, if they do not do either—so it is argued—they can be declared prohibited immigrants in virtue of Section 30 of the Immigrants' Regulation Act of last year, which defines the term "domicile", declaring those who may have entered the Union under terms of conditional residence prohibited immigrants. If the above contention were correct, those Indians who have not paid the tax for years could all have been declared prohibited immigrants and driven out of the Province immediately after the passing of the Immigrants' Regulation Act. But no such thing was done. The contracts containing the conditions as to re-indenture or re-patriation are made with the Immigration Trust Board, a private body. It is a well-known maxim of law, that contracts which are opposed to public morals or are in restraint of personal liberty, are invalid. Therefore, the clause as to repatriation, being against public morals and in restraint of personal liberty, is invalid, and a special statute would be necessary to make them valid and effective in law. This is what the late Natal Government tried and failed to

[1] Evidently, this item was written before July 18 when Gandhiji left for England *en route* to India.

[2] *Vide* Appendix XXVI.

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obtain from the Government of India, and the only thing—though it was a wrong and shameful thing—that the then Government of India consented to do, was to make the men, who did not repatriate themselves, liable to pay the tax. Therefore, the tax being removed, the clause as to repatriation or re-indenture becomes ineffective and valueless. Another maxim of law is that any Statute which does not provide a sanction, that is, a penalty, for a breach of any of the obligations which it may impose upon the subject is powerless to compel the subject to perform that obligation. This was clearly laid down by the Supreme Court of the Transvaal in a case that arose out of Law 3 of 1885, which requires Indians to reside in Locations. If they do not so reside, no penalty is provided in that Law, and the Supreme Court has, therefore, held that Indians cannot be compelled to live in Locations, and that position remains unchanged, and, in spite of the Section referred to, Indians reside where they like in the Transvaal. It is, therefore, absolutely clear, so far as the legal aspect is concerned, that the Indians affected by the repeal of the tax are exactly in the same position as those who came under Law 25 of 1891. Adding to this the fact that the Commission themselves, composed of three distinguished lawyers, recommended the repeal of Section 6 of the Act of 1895 in question, and considered the repeal to be sufficient to put the men who came under it in the same position as those who came under Law 25 of 1891, that the Government of India and the Imperial Government, too, hold the same opinion as the Commission, and understood clearly that the men, after the repeal of the tax, would be free to settle in the Province after completing their present indenture and that the Union Government themselves have declared that such is also their reading of the law, we fail to see the slightest cause for alarm. The *Mercury* further has suggested that, whilst the assurance of the Union Government may be enough, should the legal interpretation placed upon it be found to be true, that assurance will not be of any value if General Hertzog were to become the Premier. We cannot share this fear, no matter what policy General Hertzog may have on the Indian question. In a constitution[al] State such as the Union of South Africa is, General Hertzog would be bound by the promise made by his predecessor to third parties. He can change policy, he can alter laws, but he cannot, he dare not, alter or commit a breach of promise made by predecessors in office to third parties. If he could, it is easy to see that there would be an end to government, and that people could not with any assurance have dealings with governments where there is Responsible

Ministry [*sic*]. Lastly, our countrymen need have no fear as to the future. Many things are possible; they are highly improbable. It is possible that the Supreme Court may interpret the law as the *Mercury* has. It is possible, though highly improbable, that any future Government or even the present Government would commit a breach of the promise deliberately made. Surely, in those circumstances, with the clearest conscience and with the fullest justification before the world, Indians can make use of the same irresistible weapon of Passive Resistance, as they have hitherto done.

*Indian Opinion*, 22-7-1914

## *376. FAREWELL LETTER*[1]

[CAPE TOWN,
*July 18, 1914*]

I would like, on the eve of my departure for India, to say a few words to my countrymen in South Africa, and also to the European community. The kindness with which both European and Indian friends have overwhelmed me sends me to India a debtor to them. It is a debt I shall endeavour to repay by rendering in India what services I am capable of rendering there; and if, in speaking about the South African Indian question, I am obliged to refer to the injustices which my countrymen have received and may hereafter receive, I promise that I shall never wilfully exaggerate, and shall state the truth and nothing but the truth.

A word about the Settlement, and what it means. In my humble opinion, it is the Magna Charta of our liberty in this land. I give it the historic name, not because it gives us rights which we have never enjoyed and which are in themselves new or striking, but because it has come to us after eight years' strenuous suffering, that has involved the loss of material possessions and of precious lives. I call it our Magna Charta because it marks a change in the policy of the Government towards us and establishes our right not only to be consulted in matters affecting us, but to have our reasonable wishes respected. It moreover confirms the theory of the British Constitution that there should be no legal racial inequality between different subjects of the Crown, no matter how much practice may vary according to local circumstance. Above all, the Settlement may well be called our Magna Charta, because

[1] Gandhiji released this to Reuter's Agent at Cape Town. Addressed to Indians and Europeans in South Africa, it was also published in *Rand Daily Mail*, 20-7-1914, and *The Transvaal Leader*, 24-7-1914.

it has vindicated passive resistance as a lawful, clean weapon, and has given in passive resistance a new strength to the community; and I consider it an infinitely superior force to that of the vote, which history shows has often been turned against the voters themselves.

The Settlement finally disposes of all the points that were the subject-matter of passive resistance, and in doing so it breathes the spirit of justice and fair play. If the same spirit guides the administration of the existing laws, my countrymen will have comparative peace, and South Africa will hear little of the Indian problem in an acute form.

Some of my countrymen have protested against it. The number of these protestants is numerically very small, and in influence not of great importance. They do not object to what has been granted, but they object that it is not enough. It is impossible, therefore, to withhold sympathy from them. I have had an opportunity of speaking to them, and I have endeavoured to show to them that, if we had asked for anything more, it would have been a breach of submission made on behalf of the British Indians in a letter addressed to the Government by Mr. Cachalia during the latter part of last year and we should have laid ourselves open to the charge of making new demands.

But I have also assured them that the present settlement does not preclude them from agitation (as has been made clear in my letter to the Secretary of the Interior of the 16th ultimo) for the removal of other disabilities which the community will still suffer from under the Gold Law, the Townships Act, the Law 3 of 1885 of the Transvaal and the Trade Licences Laws of Natal and the Cape. The promise made by General Smuts to administer the existing law justly and with due regard to vested rights gives the community breathing time, but these laws are in themselves defective, and can be, as they have been, turned into engines of oppression and instruments by indirect means to drive the resident Indian population from South Africa. The concession to popular prejudice in that we have reconciled ourselves to almost the total prohibition by administrative methods of a fresh influx of Indian immigrants, and to the deprivation of all political power, is, in my opinion, the utmost that could be reasonably expected from us. These two things being assured, I venture to submit that we are entitled to full rights of trade, inter-Provincial migration, and ownership of landed property being restored in the not distant future. I leave South Africa in the hope that the healthy tone that pervades the European community in South Africa today will continue,

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and that it will enable Europeans to recognize the inherent justice of our submission. To my countrymen I have, at various meetings that I have addressed during the past fortnight, attended in several cases by thousands, said, " Nurse the Settlement; see to it that the promises made are being carried out. Attend to development and progress from within. Zealously remove all causes which we may have given for the rise and growth of anti-Indian prejudice or agitation, and patiently cultivate and inform European opinion so as to enable the Government of the day and Legislature to restore to us our rights. " It is by mutual co-operation and goodwill that the solution of the balance of the pressing disabilities which were not made points for passive resistance may be obtained in the natural course, and without trouble or agitation in an acute form.

The presence of a large indentured and ex-indentured Indian population in Natal is a grave problem. Compulsory repatriation is a physical and political impossibility, voluntary repatriation by way of granting free passages and similar inducements will not—as my experience teaches me—be availed of to any appreciable extent. The only real and effective remedy for this great State to adopt is to face responsibility fairly and squarely, to do away with the remnant of the system of indenture, and to level up this part of the population and make use of it for the general welfare of the Union. Men and women who can effectively strike in large bodies, who can for a common purpose suffer untold hardships, who can, undisciplined though they are, be martyrs for days without police supervision and yet avoid doing any damage to property or person, and who can in times of need serve their King faithfully and capably, as the ambulance corps raised at the time of the late war (and which had among other classes of Indians nearly 1,500 indentured Indians) bore witness, are surely people who will, if given ordinary opportunities in life, form an honourable part of any nation.

If any class of persons have special claim to be considered, it is these indentured Indians and their children, to whom South Africa has become either a land of adoption or of birth. They did not enter the Union as ordinary free immigrants, but they came upon invitation and, indeed, even after much coaxing by agents of South African employers of this class of labour. In this letter I have endeavoured as accurately and as fairly as is in my power to set forth the Indian situation, and the extraordinary courtesy, kindness and sympathy that have been shown to me during the past month by so many European friends. The frankness and generosity with which General Smuts, in interviews that he was pleased

to grant me, approached the questions at issue, and the importance that so many distinguished members of both Houses of Parliament attached to the Imperial aspect of the problem, give me ample reason for believing that my countrymen who have made South Africa their home will receive a fairly full measure of justice and will be enabled to remain in the Union with self-respect and dignity.

Finally, in bidding good-bye to South Africa, I would like to apologise to so many friends on whom I have not been able, through extreme pressure of work, to call personally. I once more state that, though I have received many a hard knock in my long stay in this country, it has been my good fortune to receive much personal kindness and consideration from hundreds of European friends, well-wishers and sympathisers. I have formed the closest friendships, which will last for ever, for this reason and for many similar reasons, which I would love to reduce to writing but for fear of trespassing unduly upon the courtesy of the Press. This sub-continent has become to me a sacred and dear land, next only to my motherland. I leave the shores of South Africa with a heavy heart, and the distance that will now separate me from South Africa will but draw me closer to it, and its welfare will always be a matter of great concern, and the love bestowed upon me by my countrymen and the generous forbearance and kindness extended to me by the Europeans will ever remain a most cherished treasure in my memory.

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

*Indian Opinion*, 29-7-1914

## *377. FAREWELL SPEECH AT CAPE TOWN*[1]

*July 18, 1914*

Mr. Gandhi, who was received with cheers, said he thanked them most heartily and sincerely for the honour they had done his wife and himself on this day of their departure from the land of their adoption. He thanked those who

[1] Accompanied by Kasturba, Kallenbach, Mr. & Mrs. Polak and Miss Schlesin, Gandhiji arrived at Monument Station by the Imperial Mail. The party was received by a large number of European and Indian friends and was taken in procession to the Docks. Here Gandhiji was presented with gifts, an address by the Madras Indian Association, and another telegraphed by Port Elizabeth Indians. After Dr. J. H. Gool and Dr. Abdurrahman, Cape Town leaders, had eulogized his services, Gandhiji addressed the gathering.

had framed this beautiful address for the sentiments that had been expressed. He wished he could believe with them that he deserved even one tenth of what they, in their generosity, had been good enough to say about the little service that he might have rendered to his countrymen in South Africa. The speeches which had been made by Mr. Gool and Dr. Abdurrahman had also been tuned similarly, but if he had done anything for his countrymen in South Africa, that in itself was sufficient reward for him.

You have presented me with costly gifts. If you have at all followed my life, you would know how inconsistent these gifts are with the life I have endeavoured to lead, in however small a manner, during the past few years, the life which I have sketched out for myself in India. However I take these rich gifts as an indication of your love, of your sympathy, and your support. May God grant that I should so behave in India as to retain this love of yours. May God grant that this love, although distance may separate us, will extend as the ages go by.

Continuing, Mr. Gandhi said that they had done well in referring to the loss Lord Hardinge had sustained,[1] "that noble Viceroy and faithful friend of ours", and he would endeavour to convey their sincere sorrow, in which he heartily joined, to His Lordship.

It was very hard for him, he said, to part from them, but though he was apart from them in body, he was sure that in spirit they would be knitted together. It was 21 years ago that he landed on the shores of Natal, when he came as a stranger in their midst. He did not know any of his countrymen; they did not know him. He knew not a single European.[2] He had only a vague knowledge of the geography of the country. He found that he was leaving a country with great resources, with beautiful scenery, and with a beneficent climate, and certainly, in spite of the hard knocks he had received, with a people who had the great spiritual view, and one need not fear or despair of a land which had produced an Olive Schreiner—(cheers.)—W. P. Schreiner, and a John X. Merriman. (Cheers.) These noble men and women would live when they had gone, and a land which had produced these noble men and women was a land that had a great future.

Continuing, he said he would carry away with him happy recollections of many European friendships that would last when he had gone from South Africa.

Turning and placing his hand on the shoulder of Mr. Kallenbach, he said:

[1] The reference is to the death of Lady Hardinge.

[2] *Indian Opinion*, 29-7-1914, reporting the speech says: "Since then he had made many friends, some of them his staunchest and most faithful being amongst Europeans. He had learned to love the country, its beautiful scenery and splendid climate. . . "

Why, I carry away with me not my blood brother, but my European brother. Is not that sufficient earnest of what South Africa has given to me, and is it possible for me to forget South Africa for a single moment? (Cheers.)

Our difficulties, your difficulties are by no means over, but I do hope [and trust][1] you will treat this generous settlement that has been given to us in the spirit in which it has been given, backed as it is by those long-drawn-out sufferings extending over a period of eight years, backed as it is by those historic debates in both Houses of Parliament, and backed as it is by the Imperial and Indian Governments — a settlement so well meant, so well conceived should be fruitful of a great future. But the future is entirely in your own hands. Let me hope that we shall deserve by our conduct whatever may be in store for us.

[I] would like to make a final appeal to our European friends who take an interest in the British Indian question in South Africa. Let me appeal to them to take a humanitarian view of the question, the imperial view of the question. Rightly or wrongly, for good or for evil, Englishmen and Indians have been knit together, and it behoves both races so to mould themselves as to leave a splendid legacy to the generations yet to be born, and to show that though Empires have gone and fallen, this Empire perhaps may be an exception and that this is an Empire not founded on material but on spiritual foundations.

That has been my source of solace all through. I have always believed there is something subtle, something fine in the ideals of the British Constitution. Tear away those ideals and you tear away my loyalty to that Constitution; keep those ideals and I am ever a bondman. (Cheers.) Both races should see that those ideals of the British Constitution always remained a sacred treasure.

I say good-bye, farewell. I shall never forget you. So much love, so much sympathy has overwhelmed me in spite of my trials and tribulations in South Africa, and that love and that sympathy which I have received, not only from my fellow countrymen, but from my European friends, will never be forgotten, but will always remain a sacred memory. (Cheers.)

*Cape Times*, 20-7-1914

[1] These words are reported in the introductory paragraph of the speech.

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## 378. INTERVIEW TO "THE CAPE ARGUS"[1]

CAPE TOWN,
*July 18, 1914*

Well, let me say that I shall carry away with me the happiest recollections, and that I hope it will be my pleasure while away to find that my countrymen are being treated with justice in South Africa.

*Indian Opinion*, 29-7-1914

## 379. MESSAGE OF THANKS[2]

CAPE TOWN,
*July 18, 1914*

May I convey, on behalf of Mrs. Gandhi, Mr. Kallenbach and self, our deepest thanks to hundreds of senders of telegrams from all parts of South Africa which awaited us upon our arrival on board. These telegrams, containing messages of love and sympathy, will be an additional reminder to us of what South Africa has meant to us. We trust that the goodwill shown to us personally by so many European friends will be transferred to those to whose cause our lives in South Africa were dedicated.

*The Natal Mercury*, 20-7-1914

[1] Just before s.s. *Kinfauns Castle*, by which Gandhiji was sailing, weighed anchor, a *Cape Argus* representative approached him for "any final remarks he would like to make". Of his departure from South Africa Gandhiji later wrote in the following terms: "I sailed for England, to meet Gokhale, on my way back to India, with mixed feelings of pleasure and regret,—pleasure because I was returning home after many years and eagerly looked forward to serving the country under Gokhale's guidance, regret because it was a great wrench for me to leave South Africa, where I had passed twenty-one years of my life sharing to the full in the sweets and bitters of human experience, and where I had realized my vocation in life." "Conclusion": *Satyagraha in South Africa.*

[2] Gandhiji sent this by wireless to Reuter's Agency soon after he sailed for England *en route* to India.

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## 380. THE LAST SATYAGRAHA CAMPAIGN : PREFACE

[s. s. *KINFAUNS CASTLE*,
*July 23, 1914*]

I have left South Africa, but not my connection with that land. I said in many of my speeches during the final days that I would not give up that connection. My writings in *Indian Opinion* will furnish some proof of my keeping the promise. In them, I shall express my thoughts from time to time, hoping that readers will like them and find them useful as well.

I am commencing this article on board the *Kinfauns Castle*. Five days have passed since we left the Cape. We are travelling third class, Mr. Kallenbach, my wife and I. This is my first experience of a voyage to England in this class. Of first class I have had experience on several occasions. I must say that we are happier in third class than we could have been in first. There are no attendants here keeping constant watch on us. We feel no pricking of conscience that we are living in special style, segregated from the poor. One does not have here the feeling of closeness one has in first class, nor has one to submit oneself to meaningless conventions. There are no inconveniences in particular. The usual ones which attend on poverty prove wholesome in the end. I do not mean by these comments of mine that every Indian should travel third class. I have always felt that those who are rich and wish to live among the rich must, of course, travel first class, as a matter of duty at least; otherwise, we are likely to invite the charge of miserliness. It is certain, however, that travelling in first class for the sake of better comforts is sinful. Men like me, moreover, who travel at public expense and whose mode of travelling has no bearing on the prestige of their community must necessarily travel third class, or in a still lower class, if there be any.

All three of us live almost entirely on fruit, though we cook fruit which may not have ripened, or boil things like groundnuts. The labour is generally Mr. Kallenbach's. He has at present accepted manual work as a kind of religion and takes joy in it. For Mr. Kallenbach and my wife, this is the first occasion when they have had no sea-sickness. I believe it is their simple habits and their fruit diet which have made the difference. We are getting more convinced by experience every day that a fruit diet

is the best. We hardly ever come into contact with other passengers. We have divided up our time and do everything at the appointed hour, so that the days pass easily.

The love of our Indian brethren in their thousands and the honour they accorded us are constantly in our minds. That love reminds me of the wonderful power of the soul and its extraordinary properties. The functions at Durban, Verulam, Johannesburg, Kimberley and Pretoria are, we find, impossible to forget. The Cape Town friends, moreover, placed us under a crushing burden of gratitude by taking out a procession. Where so many showed such immeasurable love, whom shall we thank by name? The white people, too, made an excellent demonstration of their affection. During the final days, we drank the cup of their love also full to the brim. Occasions such as these prove that there is no bar or permanent division as between the whites and Coloureds and that, if both the sides make the required effort, the evil in South Africa can be overcome. If one side at least were to practise satyagraha on every occasion and in every manner, it is my firm faith, borne out by experience, that even such effort, one-sided as it would be, would suffice to remove the evil of colour-bar. So much by way of preface.[1]

[From Gujarati]
*Indian Opinion*, 26-8-1914

## *381. THE LAST SATYAGRAHA CAMPAIGN: MY EXPERIENCE*[2]

[After *July 23, 1914*]

During the last campaign, the very highest limit was reached. I have had simply no time to write of the experience. I had meant to share it with the readers of *Indian Opinion*. They will

[1] An editorial note at the end of the article stated that this was followed by a long account of the latest satyagraha campaign, which had been held back for publication in the Golden Number of *Indian Opinion*. *Vide* the following item.

[2] Gandhiji started writing this article on board the ship after he had prepared the prefatory one, *vide* the preceding item. It seems to have been sent to Chhaganlal Gandhi in two or more instalments. It could not apparently be completed owing to Gandhiji's illness and his preoccupation in connection with Indian Ambulance Corps work in London. Chhaganlal Gandhi collected the different parts of the article for publication in the Golden Number of *Indian Opinion*. This special issue also carried a comprehensive survey of the entire Indian struggle in South Africa and its implications by the Editor of *Indian Opinion*; *vide* Appendix XXVIII.

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remember that the last struggle was, as it were, the third chapter in the story of satyagraha. When the first chapter came to a close, we, at any rate I, had thought that it was definitely the last. When the time came for the second chapter to open, many friends said to me : "Now who will fight? The community cannot be expected to put forth so much strength every time." I laughed when I heard this. My faith in truth was unshakable and I replied, "The people, having tasted once the joy of struggle, will fight now with even greater zeal." And that was precisely what happened. On the first occasion, a hundred or two hundred Indians went to gaol. The second time, not only did hundreds court imprisonment, but the whole of Natal woke up and leaders came from there to join the struggle. The fight dragged on, but the morale never went down and we advanced. When it came to launching the last fight, I heard only talk of defeat. "Every time the Government deceives you," they said, "and you allow yourself to be imposed upon and the people's interests suffer. This will never do." I had to listen to bitter words like these. I knew only too well that neither I nor anyone else had any remedy against the Government's foul play. If, after we have accepted a promissory note, the signatory refuses to honour it or confesses his inability to do so, how are we to blame? To me it was clear that, if the Government broke its promise, though we would have to put in greater efforts, it would have to yield all the more. The longer the time taken to repay a debt, the heavier the burden becomes. This unalterable law applies to both material and moral obligations. My reply at that time was, "Satyagraha is a kind of struggle in which there can be no defeat and no cause for regret. A man can only become stronger through the struggle. He suffers no exhaustion and at every stage he gains fresh strength. If truth be on our side, the Indian community will work harder this time and earn an even more glorious name." When I made this reply, I never dreamt that 20,000 poor Indians would arise and make their own and their country's name immortal. General Botha observed in the course of a speech that the whites had not been able to start and conduct the kind of strike that the Indians had done this time. This fight was joined by women and by many young boys of sixteen, so that the campaign became much more of a moral struggle. South African Indians became the talk of the world. In India, rich and poor, young and old, men and women, kings and labourers, Hindus, Muslims, Parsis, Christians, citizens of Bombay, Madras, Calcutta and Lahore—all were roused, became familiar with our history and

came to our assistance. The Government was taken aback. The Viceroy, gauging the mood of the people, took their side. All this is public knowledge. I am stating these facts here in order to show the importance of this struggle. My main purpose in writing this article is to reveal certain details with which I am particularly familiar, which are not known in India and even to Indian friends in South Africa.

The training imparted in Tolstoy Farm proved to be of great use in this last fight. The mode of life accepted by the satyagrahis on the Farm became an invaluable asset in the struggle. It was copied and improved upon in Phœnix. When Tolstoy Farm was closed, the pupils who wished to, came over to Phœnix. The discipline was severe and there was an understanding with each pupil and his parents that those of the pupils who chose to live in Phœnix should, provided they were of a suitable age, join the struggle, if it was launched again. To tell the truth, the education in Phœnix was for the most part a preparation for satyagraha. The rules applied also to the families living in Phœnix. Only one of them kept aloof. The result was that, leaving aside those engaged in running Phœnix, all were fully prepared when the agitation started. Thus the third struggle began with the residents of Phœnix. I shall never forget the scene when those men, women and children marched out. Each had but one thought—that this was a holy war and that all were setting out on a pilgrimage. They set out singing hymns, one of which was the famous "Let not thy mind be affected by joy or sorrow". The strains of music that issued from the throats of those men, women and children still echo in my ears. The great Parsee Rustomjee was among this band. Many had thought that Mr. Rustomjee had suffered so much in the previous struggle that he would not join this one. Those who said so did not know his true greatness. That women and children should go forth and he stay behind was unthinkable to him. Two other incidents of this period stand out in my memory. There was an argument between Mr. Rustomjee and his lion-hearted son, Sorabji, who insisted that he would accompany his father. "Father, let me go in your place," he said, "or take me along with you."

The second incident was the meeting between the late Hoosen Mian and Rustomjee. When Mr. Rustomjee went to see him, tears streamed from his eyes and he said, "Kakaji[1], if I had been well, I would have accompanied you to gaol." Bhai Hoosen loved

[1] Uncle

his country dearly; though bed-ridden, he gave full support to the struggle and spoke constantly of it to all who visited him.

Among those who remained behind in Phœnix were boys under sixteen. Although they and the others who managed the affairs of Phœnix stayed out of prison, they did better work than those who went to gaol. Day and night were one to them. They placed themselves under the strictest vows till such time as their companions and elders should be released, lived on saltless diet and fearlessly took upon themselves even the most onerous tasks. When the strike began in Victoria County, hundreds of indentured labourers took shelter in Phœnix. To have looked after them was in itself a very great achievement. It was equally an achievement to have gone on doing their work in complete fearlessness in spite of the danger of raids by their masters. When the police came and arrested Mr. West, they prepared themselves for the possibility that others also might be taken. But not a single person moved out of Phœnix. As I have said already, only one family remained an exception. The Indian community can never truly measure the services that the Phœnix workers rendered to it at that time. This secret history has yet to be written, that is why I am recording a part of it here in the hope that some lover of truth might collect further information and might appreciate the services of the Phœnix workers at their true worth. I am very much tempted to write more, but I drop Phœnix here.

When the Phœnix batch went to prison, Johannesburg could not remain behind. The women there became restive. They were fired with the desire to be in gaol. The entire family of Mr. Thambi Naidoo got ready. His wife, sister-in-law, mother-in-law, Mr. Moorgan's relatives, Mrs. P. K. Naidoo, Valiamma, who made herself immortal, and other women came forward. They marched forth with children in their arms. Mr. Kallenbach took them to Vereeniging. The idea was that, when they crossed the Free State border and returned, they would be arrested. Their expectations were not fulfilled. They somehow managed to spend a few days in Vereeniging, where they tried to get arrested by going round with baskets, hawking, but they were left free.

This frustration held within itself a glorious future[1]. If the women had been arrested in Vereeniging itself, the strike might not have taken place; at any rate it would never have reached the proportions it finally did. But the community was in the [protective] hand of God. He is ever the protector of truth. When the women

[1] Literally, "immortal hope"

were not arrested, it was decided that they cross the Natal border. If they were not arrested even there, they were to fix, along with Mr. Thambi Naidoo, their headquarters at Newcastle. Accordingly, they proceeded to Natal. At the border, the police did not arrest them. They made their home in Newcastle. There Mr. D. Lazarus handed over his own house to the women; his wife and sister-in-law, Miss Thomas, took it upon themselves to look to the comforts of the women satyagrahis.

The plan was that in Newcastle the women should meet the indentured labourers and their wives, give them a true idea of their conditions and persuade them to go on strike on the issue of the £3 tax. The strike was to commence on my arrival at Newcastle. But the mere presence of these women was like a lighted match-stick to dry fuel. Women who had never before slept except on soft beds and had seldom so much as opened their mouths, now delivered public speeches among the indentured labourers. The latter were roused and, even before I arrived, were all for commencing the strike. The project was full of risk. I got a wire from Mr. Naidoo. Mr. Kallenbach went to Newcastle and the strike began. By the time I reached there, Indians in two coal mines had already stopped work.

I was sent for by the Committee of European Sympathizers presided over by Mr. Hosken. I met them. They approved of the strike and decided to support it. I stopped for a day at Johannesburg and proceeded to Newcastle and stayed on there. I saw that the people's enthusiasm was tremendous. The Government could not tolerate the presence of the women and finally they were sent to gaol as "vagabonds". The house of Mr. Lazarus now became a dharmsala for satyagrahis. Food had to be cooked there for hundreds of indentured labourers. Mr. Lazarus was not to be daunted. The Indians in Newcastle appointed a committee. Mr. Sidaat was elected chairman, and the work proceeded apace. Indians in other mines downed tools.

Thus, as the strike by the Indian workers in the mines was spreading, a meeting of the Mine-Owners' Association was held. I was invited to attend.[1] A great deal of discussion ensued but no solution was found. Their proposal was that, if we called off the strike, they would undertake to write to the Government about the £3 tax. This, the satyagrahis could not agree to. We had no quarrel with the mine-owners. The object of the strike

[1] *Vide* "Statement at Chamber of Commerce", p. 252.

was not to hurt them but rather to invite suffering on ourselves. And so the suggestion of the owners was unacceptable. I returned to Newcastle. When I reported the result of this meeting, enthusiasm mounted still higher. Work stopped in more mines.

Till then the workers had always resided at the mines where they worked. The Council of Action in Newcastle felt that, as long as the labourers continued to live on their masters' estates, the strike would not have its full effect. There was the risk that they might be either tempted or coerced to resume work. Then again, to live in the master's house or eat his bread while refusing to work for him would be immoral. The workers' continued stay on the mines was morally wrong. This last taint, it was felt, would sully the purity of the satyagraha movement. On the other hand, to house and feed thousands of Indians was a stupendous problem. Mr. Lazarus' house was now too small. The two poor ladies laboured night and day but found it impossible to cope with the work. It was decided, even in the face of this, to adopt only the right course, whatever the cost. Messages were sent to miners to stop work and proceed to Newcastle. The moment these messages were received, an exodus from the mines began. Indians from the Belangi mine were the first to arrive. It appeared as though bands of pilgrims were daily streaming into Newcastle. Men young and old, women—some by themselves, others with children in their arms —all arrived with bundles on their heads. The men, one saw, were carrying trunks. Some arrived by day, others by night and food had to be provided for them. How can I describe the contentment of these poor people? They were pleased with what they got, no matter how little. Rarely did one come across anyone with a downcast look. A smile played on every face. To me they appeared to have come from among the 33 crores of gods. The women were like goddesses. From where could shelter be provided for all? For bedding, straw was spread on the earth and the sky was their roof. God was their protector. Someone asked for a *bidi*[1]. I explained that they had come out, not as indentured labourers, but as servants of India. They were taking part in a religious war and at such a time they must abandon addictions such as drinking and smoking. Those who were unable to give them up should not expect their requirements to be paid for from the common coffers. The good men accepted this advice. I was never again asked for money to buy a *bidi*. The exodus from the mines continued. One pregnant woman had a miscarriage on the way. In

[1] Tobacco rolled by hand in a dry leaf and smoked like a cigarette

spite of numberless hardships of this kind, no one gave up the struggle or turned back.

There was a tremendous increase in the Indian population of Newcastle. The houses of Indians were over-filled. The number made available was enough to accommodate women and old people. I must state here that the white people of Newcastle showed us great courtesy, even sympathy. No Indian was harassed by them. One good lady even gave her house free for our use; other assistance of a minor nature was also received from a number of whites all the time.

It was, however, not possible to keep thousands of Indians permanently in Newcastle. The Mayor became apprehensive. The normal population of Newcastle is about three thousand. An additional ten thousand could not be accommodated in such a town. Labourers stopped work in other mines too. And so the question arose : what should be done? The intention behind the strike was to court imprisonment. The Government could have arrested the workers if it had so wished, but there were not enough prisons to house those thousands. Hence, they had not so far touched the strikers. The one simple way left to us now was to cross the Transvaal border and get arrested. We thought that the congestion in Newcastle would thereby be relieved and the strikers could also be put to the test. In Newcastle, the agents of the mine-owners were trying to lure away the workers. Not a single person had yielded; even so, it was the duty of the Council of Action to keep them away from all temptation. It seemed desirable, therefore, that they should march from Newcastle to Charlestown. The distance is about 35 miles. To provide railway fare for thousands was out of the question. It was therefore arranged that all able-bodied men and women should do the journey on foot. The women who could not walk were to be taken by train. There was a possibility of arrests on the way. Moreover, this was the first experience of its kind for them. It was therefore decided that I should myself take the first batch. It consisted of about 500 persons of whom 60 were women, with their children. I shall never forget that scene. The company walked along raising cries of "Victory to Dwarkanath", "Victory to Ramachandra" and "Vande Mataram". Each person was given enough cooked rice and dal to last for two days. Everyone carried his or her things in a bundle. The following conditions were read out to them :

1. It was probable that I would be arrested. Even if this happened, they were to march on until arrested themselves. Though every effort would be made to provide them with

meals, etc., on the way, they should not mind, if by chance, food was not available on some day.

2. For the duration of the struggle, they should abstain from drinks.
3. They must not retreat even in the face of death.
4. They should expect no shelter for night halts during the march, but should sleep on the grass.
5. No trees or plants on the way should be harmed in the least nor should any article belonging to others be touched.
6. If the Government's police came to arrest anyone, the latter should willingly surrender.
7. No resistance should be offered to the police or any others; on the contrary, beating should be patiently borne and no attempt should be made to protect oneself by offering violence in return.
8. They should cheerfully bear the hardships in gaol and live there as if the gaol were a palace.

There were persons of every caste and community in this pilgrim-band. There were Hindus, Muslims, Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Sudras. There were men from Calcutta and there were Tamils. Several Pathans and Sindhis from the North found it difficult to accept the conditions requiring them to refrain from defending themselves in case they were beaten; not only did they accept it, however, but, when the testing time came, they actually made no move to defend themselves.

And so, the first batch started on its march. On the very first night, we had the experience of sleeping out on the grass. On the way, warrants were received for the arrest of about 150 persons and they surrendered themselves readily. A single police officer had come to make the arrests. He had no assistant; how the arrested men were to be taken away became a problem. We were only 6 miles from Charlestown. So I suggested to the officer that these persons could proceed along with me and that he should take them into custody at Charlestown, or do whatever he thought fit after obtaining instructions from his superiors. The officer agreed and left us. We arrived at Charlestown. This is a very small township, with a population of barely 1,000. There is only one main road and the Indian population is negligible. The whites were amazed, therefore, at the sight of our party. At no time had so many Indians appeared in Charlestown. There was no train ready to convey the prisoners to Newcastle. Where could the police keep them? There was not enough room for all these arrested persons at the Charlestown police station. And so, the

police handed them over to me and agreed to pay for their food. This is no small tribute to satyagraha. In the ordinary course of things, how could people arrested from among us be placed in our charge? If some of them had escaped, the responsibility would not have been ours. But everyone knew that it was the job of the satyagrahis to court arrest and they had, therefore, full confidence in us. The arrested men thus stayed with us for four days more. When the police were ready to take charge of them, they went away willingly.

More and more people were being recruited to our party. On some days 400 would join, on others even more. Many arrived on foot, while women came mostly by train. These were put up wherever there was space in the houses of Indian merchants of Charlestown. The local Corporation also offered us houses. The whites did not give us the slightest trouble. On the contrary, they went out of their way to help us. One Dr. Briscoe took it upon himself to give us free medical aid and, when we proceeded beyond Charlestown, he gave us *gratis* some expensive medicines and useful instruments. Our food was cooked in the mosque premises. The fire had to remain lit all the twenty-four hours. The cooks came from among the strikers. During the final days, four to five thousand persons were being fed. Yet these workers never lost heart. In the morning, the meal consisted of mealie pap with sugar and some bread. In the evening they had rice, dal and vegetables. Most people in South Africa eat thrice a day. The indentured labourers always have three meals, but during the struggle they remained content with only two. They like to have small delicacies with their meals, but these, too, they gave up at this time.

What to do with these huge crowds of people became a problem. If they were kept somehow in Charlestown, there was the likelihood of an epidemic breaking out. Moreover, it was not desirable that so many thousands accustomed to hard work should be kept in a state of idleness. It needs to be mentioned here that, although so many poor people had come together in Charlestown, not one of them committed a theft. The police had never to be called and they had no extra work on our account. However, it seemed best not to keep waiting in Charlestown. It was therefore decided to proceed to the Transvaal and, if not arrested, to go on ultimately to Tolstoy Farm. Before commencing the march, the Government was informed that we were proceeding to the Transvaal to court arrest, that we had no desire to stay there or to claim any rights, but that, as long as the Government did not arrest us, we would continue our march and finally stay on Tolstoy Farm.

If, however, the Government promised to withdraw the £3 tax, we were willing to return. But the Government was in no mood to consider this notice. It was misled by its informants who assured it that the strikers would soon be exhausted. The Government had a notice printed in all languages and distributed among the strikers.

At last the time came for us to proceed beyond Charlestown. On November 6, a party of 3,000 left at day-break. The procession was more than a mile long. Mr. Kallenbach and I were at the rear. The procession reached the border where a police party stood in readiness. When the two of us reached the spot, we had a talk with the police. They refused to arrest us and the procession went on in a disciplined and peaceful manner through Volksrust. On reaching Standerton Road outside the town, we halted and had some refreshments. It had been arranged that women should not join in this march, but later it became impossible to check the tide of enthusiasm and a few women managed to accompany the procession. However, some women and children still remained behind in Charlestown. After crossing the border at Volksrust, Mr. Kallenbach was sent back to look after them.

On the following day, the police arrested me near Palmford. I was charged with having brought unauthorized persons into the Transvaal. There was no warrant for the arrest of anyone else. Therefore, on reaching Volksrust, I sent the following telegram[1] to the Government.

The procession went ahead. I was produced before the magistrate at Volksrust. I did not, of course, wish to defend myself. But as some arrangements had yet to be made regarding those who had gone beyond Palmford and those left behind at Charlestown, I asked for time. The Government pleader objected, but the magistrate pointed out that bail could be refused only in a case of murder. He then asked me to furnish a bail of £50 and gave me time for a week. The amount was immediately paid by a merchant in Volksrust. As soon as I was released, I went straight to the marchers. Their enthusiasm was doubled. Meanwhile, a wire came from Pretoria to say that the Government had no intention of arresting the Indians who were with me. Only the leaders were to be arrested. This did not mean that all the rest would be allowed to go free. But the Government had no desire to make

[1] This is not reproduced here. For the text, *vide* "Telegram to Minister of Interior", p. 260.

our work easy by arresting all of us or to provoke agitation in India on this account.

Mr. Kallenbach followed with another large batch. Our party of over 2,000 was nearing Standerton. There, I was again arrested and the hearing was fixed for the 21st. We, however, proceeded on our way. But now the Government could stand this no longer and it took the step of separating me from the rest. At this time, preparations were afoot to send Mr. Polak to India with a deputation. He came to see me before leaving. But "our undertakings remain unfinished, and the will of God prevails". This is what happened. On Sunday I was arrested, for the third time, near Greylingstad. The warrant this time was issued from Dundee and the charge was that of instigating the workers to stop work. I was removed from there to Dundee in utmost secrecy. I have mentioned above that Mr. Polak was in the march with us. He now took charge. My case came up for hearing in Dundee on Tuesday. All three charges against me were read out and I pleaded guilty to all of them. I then made, with the Court's permission, the following statement.[1]

I made myself quite comfortable in gaol. Afterwards, proceedings were taken against me in Volksrust and I was given another three months of gaol, besides the nine months I got at Dundee.

About this time, I learnt that Mr. Polak had been arrested and that instead of going to India he found himself in gaol. I, for one, was delighted, because this, to my mind, was a far more weighty deputation than the other one. Soon after this, Mr. Kallenbach was arrested and he also, like Mr. Polak, found himself lodged in gaol for three months. The Government was sadly mistaken when it imagined that, once the leaders were arrested, the people would surrender. All the strikers were put into four special trains and taken to mines in Dundee and Newcastle. They were subjected to much cruelty and they suffered terribly. But they had come forward to suffer. They were their own leaders. They had to demonstrate their strength, left as they were without any leaders, so called; and they did so. How well they did is known to all the world.

Rightly indeed has Dayaram[2] sung :

> Who without utmost suffering has attained to a vision of Krishna ?
> Find any, if you can, among the saints of the four ages;

[1] This is not reproduced here. For the text, *vide* "Trial at Dundee", pp. 263-5.

[2] (1777-1853); Vaishnav poet; author of numerous lyrical compositions popular all over Gujarat

Rare are the men who have much love for a *Vaishnava*;
Persecutors all and enemies to *bhakti*.

Dhruva and Prahlad, Bhishma, Bali and Vibhishana,
Vidur and Kunti, with her princes, were all ill-used.
Vasumati, Devki, Nandji and Yashomati,
Unhappy Vraj-lovers all, happy in their love.

Nala, Damayanti, Harishchandra and Tara,
Rukmangada and Ambarish, and many others, full of misery their lives;
Narasinh Mehta and Jayadev, and Mira as well—
Suffering first for them and only then showers of bliss.

Vyas knew suffering of body and mind, and so did Tulsi and Madhav,
For the *Kapalis*[1] secret lore Shiva is blamed by all mankind.
Past endurance the suffering of Janaki, Mother of the world,
She suffered, though sinless—she whom all adore.

With no store of past actions working out as Fate,
Even such a one suffers the threefold pain;
Inscrutable are the ways of God and their causes,
Irresistible His will.

Sin and virtue are but words,
The world dances as Nandkumar makes it dance;
Not a leaf stirs but by the wish of Daya's lover
Though in the unripe mind the delusion never clears.

[From Gujarati]
*Golden Number*, *Indian Opinion*, 1914

[1] Sect of Shiva-worshippers, reputed to follow occult practices of worship

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## *382. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL GANDHI*

[On Board Ship,]
*Shravan Sud 6* [*July 28, 1914*][1]

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

Go on writing to Nayak about the money due from him. Take Motilal's help as well. I am writing to Nayak.

It is only today that I write this letter. The note above was set down lest I should forget the thing. All three of us[2] are keeping excellent health. Ba behaves wonderfully. She gives no trouble about food. She has reduced the intake of wheat to a minimum. She lives for the most part on raw banana, boiled groundnut and milk. After the wheat *bati* brought from there has run out, she is inclined to give up even wheat for the present. For one hour I teach Gujarati to Kallenbach and for one hour, at seven in the evening, I explain the *Gita* to Ba and read the *Ramayana* to her. She attends to both with great interest. I do not feel any of the inconveniences usual in the third class, but see many advantages. We do not come into contact with other passengers and that saves us plenty of time. We have framed time-tables and the fixed routine is never upset. The Company has stocked all fruit so that we get bananas, oranges, etc., in plenty. It also supplies almonds, etc. If any cooking has to be done, it is attended to by Mr. Kallenbach.

The party[3] who were to leave for India must have done so and, therefore, I address nothing to them.

The separation this time was a very painful experience. I received much love in Phœnix. "The creeper of love I have planted and watered with tears."[4] I can utter this from my own experience and rich has been the harvest I have reaped.

I am sending plenty of material and you will see that I have not finished. I shall send more after leaving Madeira, that is, post it from Southampton. I hope I shall not let you run short of matter.

[1] The letter, with the exception of the first paragraph, was written on July 28.

[2] Gandhiji, Kasturba and Kallenbach.

[3] A batch of some twenty-five Phœnix students, a few teachers and Maganlal Gandhi left for India in the first week of August 1914, to join Tagore's Santiniketan.

[4] This is from a lyric by Mirabai.

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I have kept you with me from your childhood as though it was through divine inspiration that my eyes rested on you. So far, I have not been disappointed in you. I pray God to give you strength so that I may never be. Strive to observe the five *yamas* all your life.

Win everyone's love in Phœnix. That is the way of *daya* (charity). Think over the deep implications of *daya.* I have just finished reading *Yogadipaka.* I read in it that the *atman* advances through action that is natural to it and falls back through action that is contrary to its nature. I found this definition of *swadharma*[1] more convincing [than the usual one][2]. I would very much like to go on writing, but my time-table will not permit my doing so. You will, however, be able to develop these ideas further.

This letter is for all three of you to read. I shall be content, therefore, with much shorter letters to Raojibhai[3] and Pragji.[4]

*Blessings from*
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 6048

## *383. LETTER TO RAOJIBHAI PATEL*

[LONDON,]
*Shravan Sud 7, 1970* [*July 29, 1914*]

[DEAR SHRI RAOJIBHAI,]

I cannot forget your love. I think it has been a wonderful achievement for you to have won over Ba. I notice here that she has changed much.

Remain firm in the vows you have taken. Cling to them like a fanatic. You will then be able to win over M[anibhai],conquer the world and become master of yourself; you will also achieve India's freedom. In other words, one single key ensures victory of every kind, such is the path that we follow. This ancient path is indescribably easy and also difficult.

Increase still further the simplicity we have adopted. You were free so long as I was there. Consider yourself in prison now. Do not let the palate run away with you. Do not tell yourself, ' I

[1] One's own duty determined by one's nature and station. According to the *Gita*, death in pursuit of *swadharma* is preferable to duty foreign to one's nature, however attractive in itself.

[2] Which interprets *swadharma* as the duty traditionally assigned to one's caste

[3] *Vide* the following item.

[4] The letter addressed to him is not available.

may have this, and this too'; keep thinking, rather, 'I have got rid of this slavery, and now I will of this too,' and so be victorious.

Keep me fully informed how you live. Live with Shri Pragji as with a blood brother. Give your whole-hearted attention to agriculture, spread your fragrance all over Phœnix and see that the place grows into a centre of pilgrimage. Keep silent, as far as possible.

Do not give up Tamil. Get into the habit of speaking with Muthu and others.

[*Blessings from*
MOHANDAS]

[From Gujarati]
*Gandhijini Sadhana*

## *384. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL GANDHI*

60, TALBOT ROAD,
BAYSWATER, W.,
[LONDON,]
*August 7, 1914*

MY DEAR CHHAGANLAL,

I am just now laid up in bed with the old pain in my left leg, and shall not, therefore, be able to write you in Gujarati. Miss Polak is taking down this letter for me. Herewith copy of my letter[1] to Polak which will tell you all about the circumstances here. I am not sending you the balance of the Gujarati writing[2], as I am afraid it might be lost. I shall see how things go next week.

Please remember me to all at Phœnix and from the copy herewith you will see why I am not writing my letters this week. There is nothing to worry about as to the pain in my leg; it is due to overstraining yesterday. I have not yet got rid of the effect of the long fast.

*Blessings from*
MOHANDAS

CHHAGANLAL GANDHI
PHŒNIX
(NATAL)
S. A.

From a photostat of the typewritten original signed by Gandhiji in Gujarati: S. N. 6040

[1] This is not available.
[2] For the article under reference, *vide* pp. 507-19.

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## *385. SPEECH AT LONDON RECEPTION*[1]

*August 8, 1914*

To you, Mr. Basu, and to Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, I can only say that you have both overwhelmed me; I do not even know that I can struggle through what I have to say. I would make the briefest reference to the tremendous crisis[2] which has overwhelmed the Empire. Since we reached England and heard the news, I have been reading and thinking about it. I think of husbands and sons who have gone to fight, of mothers, wives, and sisters left weeping behind. I ask : 'What is my duty? I am an exile of 21 years from my Motherland, so cannot speak as the representative of the imaginary India which my friends tell me I have pictured.' If I were in South Africa, I should certainly speak as the representative of my people. I have not yet come to any conclusion, but trust we can do something in concrete shape. I hope those of you who are as young as I am, those who are fellow-students of mine—I am still a student—will think what can be done, consult with our elders and follow their advice if it commends itself to our consciences.

It is impossible to express in adequate terms the sense of gratitude which Mrs. Gandhi and I feel to you all. We come among you almost as barbarians. We have lived isolated on a little farm, cut off from the cities. That is why I said we were "barbarians". We have worked in the limelight, and you have seen what we have done in exaggerated form. If we merit any approbation, how much more those behind us, who went into the battle with simple faith, with no thought of appreciation.

What will you say to Hurbatsingh, an ex-indentured Indian, 75 years of age, who was with me at Volksrust Gaol? He was 6 feet tall and of noble carriage. "Why have you come?" I asked. "How could I help it?" was his reply. "In the evening of my days

[1] After his arrival in England on August 4, Gandhiji, Kasturba and Kallenbach were given a reception at Hotel Cecil by British and Indian friends. Among those present were Sarojini Naidu, Satchidanand Sinha, Lala Lajpat Rai, M. A. Jinnah, Mrs. Wybergh and Albert Cartwright. The Hon. Bhupendranath Basu presided. Sarojini Naidu paid a tribute to Gandhiji and garlanded the chief guests.

[2] The outbreak of World War I

I am content to pass the rest of my life in prison to deliver my countrymen." He remained in gaol and died there.

What do you think of the young lad, Narayansamy, whose parents came from what is falsely called the Benighted Presidency, Madras? He had never seen India except as a deportee; he starved for some days when he returned. He died.

And what of Nagappen, another lad from Madras who suffered imprisonment. He worked as a prisoner on the African veldt in the bitter cold of winter, in the early morning when there was no sun. You know what the cold of a London winter is like, but few of you know the biting cold of the early mornings of winter on the veldt. Unfit for work, he still held on, but at last he died.

Then there is Sister Valliamma, a girl of 18. She went to prison and was only discharged when she was very ill. I remember well when Mr. Polak and I went to see her; how we lifted her with greatest care on to her carpet, and tended her to the best of our powers. She died, leaving thousands of Indians in South Africa to mourn the loss.

There were 20,000 strikers who left their tools and work because there was something in the air. People said that they did not know why they had struck. There was a half-truth in that saying; they went out in faith. Violence was entirely eschewed. These men and women are the salt of India; on them will be built the Indian nation that is to be. We are poor mortals before these heroes and heroines.

But victory is due not only to their work. They quickened the conscience of the Empire and of South Africa. Success was due also to the help given by the Motherland in the hour of trial of her sons and daughters, led by that saintly politician, Gopal Krishna Gokhale; to the stand made by India; and to the action of that great Viceroy, Lord Hardinge. Success would, however, have been impossible had not the conscience of South Africa been quickened, had not the people realised the moral force which Indians could bring to bear against brute-force.

Marching over the veldt last November, Europeans came to our aid. I have spoken elsewhere of unreasonable and unreasoning prejudice; but the masses stood aside; they never worried us; and during the march they helped us and showed us practical sympathy.

The Botha Government, too, "played the game". Mr. Smuts said to me: "We do not want any misunderstanding; we want all the cards on the table. Take these documents; read them; come

to me again and again if you are not satisfied; we will make changes." And he did.

You see many things conspired to enable the Settlement to be made. But I must mention one more: Mr. Andrews. You have no notion what he did; how he worked in selfless zeal, preaching love for India through his Master—the poet-saint at Bolpur whom I have come to know through Mr. Andrews—Rabindranath Tagore.

I have called the Settlement the Magna Charta of the British Indians of South Africa; after due deliberation I repeat my statement. It is the Magna Charta of British Indians, not only because of its substance, which is great enough, but for its spirit, which indicates a change of attitude on the part of South Africa and the South African Government. The sufferings of our countrymen sealed the Settlement. The discovery was made that the ancient force could be applied in South Africa; conviction came after the sufferings of eight long-drawn-out years. They saw that Indians, when in earnest, were irresistible; that they would not take a bit less than the minimum they demanded.

Mr. Cartwright is here; he has been our staunch friend throughout and I honour him for his help. But I tell him here that he almost tried to weaken us. I remember, and he will remember how he came to me in Johannesburg Gaol, and said : "Will not this letter do?" "No, Mr. Cartwright," was my reply; "not until this alteration is made." "But everything is achieved by compromise," he urged. "There can be no compromise on principles," I answered. There never was any compromise on principles from 1906 to 1914.

The Settlement is final on all the points of our passive resistance, but not of all our grievances. Grievances remain which will have to be redressed in no distant future. But I hope it will not be by way of passive resistance. They are capable of settlement by pressure of Indian public opinion, by pressure from Downing Street, and from Delhi or Calcutta. The attitude of South Africa has changed; that is our greatest asset. On our behaviour depends the future settlement in South Africa.

I thank again, on behalf of Mrs. Gandhi and myself, Mr. Basu and Mrs. Naidu for all their kind words. But you have only seen the bright side; you do not know our weaknesses. Indians are altogether too generous; they overlook faults and magnify virtues; this had led us to incarnating our heroes. I think of what is written in our scriptures—that it is our duty to fly away from praises, we must lay them all at the feet of the Almighty. I hope we have enough courage, and courage to lay them at His feet, in whose

name and in the name of Mother India we have endeavoured to do our duty, but nothing but our duty.

*Indian Opinion*, 30-9-1914

## *386. LETTER TO UNDER SECRETARY FOR COLONIES*

[LONDON,]
*August 10, 1914*

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE
COLONIAL OFFICE, S.W.

SIR,

Mr. Hermann Kallenbach is a German by birth, his parents having migrated from Russia and settled in Germany at the border town of Russ, East Prussia. He is a Jew by religion, an architect by profession. He has settled in South Africa for the last 18 years. He is owner of Tolstoy Farm in the Transvaal and considerable other landed property in the same Province.

He has been connected with my activity in South Africa for the last 10 years and has come with me, both of us being on our way to India.

Mr. Kallenbach never formally became a British subject, but as he was coming with me to India, both of us came to the conclusion that it would be better for him to become naturalised. Before, therefore, we left South Africa, that is before the 18th July, he filed his application for naturalisation with the Secretary for the Interior at Pretoria. He was to have taken the oath of allegiance in India, where his papers were to follow him. Owing to the crisis, both Mr. Kallenbach and I are now stranded here and both of us hope shortly to be able to offer our services as non-combatants during the crisis that has overtaken the Empire.

I write this, however, to ascertain whether, as Mr. Kallenbach does not yet hold the certificate of naturalisation, he is to take any steps in connection with the notices published requiring Germans to register themselves.

In any event, Mr. Kallenbach wishes to place himself entirely at the disposal of the authorities.

*I have the honour to remain,*
*Sir,*
*Your most obedient servant,*
M. K. GANDHI

Colonial Office Records: 551/68

## *387. A CONFIDENTIAL CIRCULAR*[1]

[LONDON,
*August 13, 1914*]

We, the undersigned have, after mature deliberation, decided for the sake of the Motherland and the Empire to place our services unconditionally, during this crisis, at the disposal of the Authorities. We advisedly use the word 'unconditionally' as we believe that, at a moment like this, no service that can be assigned to us can be considered to be beneath our dignity or inconsistent with our self-respect.

*Indian Opinion*, 16-9-1914

## *388. LETTER TO UNDER SECRETARY FOR INDIA*

[LONDON,]
*August 14, 1914*

TO
THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA
[SIR,]

It was thought desirable by many of us that, during the crisis that has overtaken the Empire and whilst many Englishmen, leaving their ordinary vocation in life, are responding to the Imperial call, those Indians who are residing in the United Kingdom and who can at all do so, should place themselves unconditionally at the disposal of the Authorities.

With a view of ascertaining the feeling of the resident Indian population, the undersigned sent out a circular letter to as many Indians in the United Kingdom as could be approached during the 30 hours that the organisers gave themselves. The response has been generous and prompt and, in the opinion of the undersigned, representative of His Majesty's subjects from the Indian Empire at present residing in the different parts of the United Kingdom.

[1] This was sent round in connection with and preceded the Indian offer to assist the British Government during the War, *vide* the following item. It was signed by Gandhiji, Kasturba, Sarojini Naidu and fifty others.

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On behalf of ourselves and those whose names appear on the list appended hereto, we beg to offer our services to the Authorities. We venture to trust that the Right Hon'ble the Marquess of Crewe will approve of our offer and secure its acceptance by the proper authority. We would respectfully emphasise the fact that the one dominant idea guiding us is that of rendering such humble assistance as we may be considered capable of performing, as an earnest of our desire to share the responsibilities of membership of this great Empire, if we would share its privileges.

It may be added that some of those whose names are sent herewith are already doing work in connection with some of the organisations that are already rendering assistance, and we have no doubt that, if our humble offer is accepted, as the news permeates the Indian community, many more volunteers will come forward.[1]

M. K. GANDHI
and others

*Indian Opinion*, 16-9-1914

## *389. LETTER TO C. ROBERTS*

[LONDON,]
*August 24, 1914*

DEAR MR. ROBERTS,

You have no doubt heard of Mr. Hermann Kallenbach who has been associated with the Indian movement in South Africa for the last 10 years. His parents originally came from Russia and settled in Germany at Russ, East Prussia. Mr. Kallenbach was born there and has been a German subject. He has settled in South Africa for the last 18 years and has carried on the profession of an architect. He is owner of considerable landed property in the Transvaal. Not having exercised the duties required of German citizens in the Transvaal, Mr. Kallenbach forfeited, according to German law, the rights of German nationality.

As he was accompanying me to India, before we left South Africa both of us came to the conclusion that he should become naturalised. He, therefore, completed his application for naturalisation on the 15th July last at Johannesburg. And instructions were left with his solicitor to forward the certificate to his Indian

[1] The Under Secretary of State for India, Charles Roberts, replied to this communication, indicating Government's qualified acceptance of the offer. *Vide* Appendix XXIX.

address, as we did not expect to stay in London for any length of time. He was to have taken the oath of allegiance in India.

As I do not know what Mr. Kallenbach's legal status exactly is, for his protection, I have placed the above facts before the Colonial Office and am now awaiting their answer.

Mr. Kallenbach is desirous of joining the Indian Volunteer Corps and taking First Aid instruction in the class that is being formed under Dr. Cantlie. But he does not wish to take any such steps without the knowledge and approval of the India Office. Will you kindly consider the matter and, if this letter reaches you in time, favour me with your reply before Wednesday morning; the class, as you know, commences at 10 a.m. that day.

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

CHARLES ROBERTS, ESQ., M.P.
INDIA OFFICE

Colonial Office Records: 551/68

## *390. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI*

84-85, PALACE CHAMBERS,
WESTMINSTER,
LONDON,
*Bhadarva Sud 5* [*August 26, 1914*][1]

CHI. MAGANLAL,

As my affairs are in a mess, I do not know what to write. I am attending these days one of the training classes[2] recently started for nursing the wounded. All told, we are 59 Indians in this class, which will run for three weeks. After that, I may have some idea when I shall be there [in India]. There may be some difficulty, perhaps, about Mr. Kallenbach's going.[3] In that case, my departure is likely to be delayed. I have been coming up against one obstacle after another to my going to India.

You may commence writing to me. All of you are on your trial there. Use money with the utmost care. Let everyone be

[1] From the reference to the First Aid Class it appears this letter was written from England in 1914.

[2] These were conducted by Dr. James Cantlie, an authority on Red Cross work, at the Regent Street Polytechnic.

[3] Kallenbach, being a German, was denied a passport to India.



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scrupulous in observing the various restrictions on food. That will keep you collected both in body and mind and bring credit to Phœnix. I am not writing this time to everyone. Next week, I may possibly get more time. Send me a list of the persons in your party.[1]

I read in *Indian Opinion* that all of you were honoured in Durban. Let everyone of you be absorbed in studies there. I hope Maganbhai[2] is keeping well. If you need anything, see Mr. Deodhar[3] of the Servants of India Society. I think you are put up with Revashankerbhai[4]. I had a letter from him in which he said that you would stay with him.

*Blessings from*
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 5656
Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri

## *391. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI*

[LONDON,]
*Bhadarva Sud 14* [*September 3, 1914*]

CHI. MAGANLAL,

I wrote a letter to you last week.[5] I hope you get all my letters. Here I am quite engrossed in work. It seems that one who wants to do his duty should expect no leisure.

Today we had an examination in first aid. I too had to read a lot. The questions were as follows : "What is the cure for opium poisoning?" "What is the treatment for a broken collar-bone?" "What should be done to stop bleeding from a wound in the palm?" We are 70 Indians in the class. From tomorrow begins the next session. And, besides, I must see all these volunteers who keep turning up. There is no knowing what the outcome of the War will be, or whether we shall have to go on special duty. Things are thus in an uncertain state. Ba keeps excellent health. My weakness has not disappeared yet, thanks

[1] The reference is to the party of Phœnix inmates bound for India.

[2] Maganbhai Patel

[3] Gopal Krishna Deodhar (1869-1935); a social worker who worked for the Servants of India Society and Sevasadan, an institution for women's uplift, in Poona

[4] Revashanker Jagjivan Jhaveri, brother of Dr. Mehta and a life-long friend of Gandhiji

[5] *Vide* the preceding item.

to fasting. Mr. Kallenbach is learning Gujarati. I am yearning for letters from you all.

This letter is for all of you to read. I see that you will be tried much more severely than we thought. For the present, I do not write separately to Maganbhai, Manilal, Jamnadas, and others. I shall see next week. Keep writing to me. I am anxious to hear about the health of Maganbhai and Santok.

*Blessings from*
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: G. N. 2763

## *392. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI*

[LONDON,]
*Bhadarva Vad 13* [*September 18, 1914*]

CHI. MAGANLAL,

I had no time last week to write to you. Most of the time is spent in the training class for first aid to the injured and the rest with Mr. Gokhale. He is keeping good health at present. They will give us training for two more months and then send us to the front. This means that my going to India in the immediate future is out of the question, unless the War suddenly comes to an end.

All of you may want to know why I have undertaken even the nursing of the wounded. Recently, I used to say, in South Africa, that, as satyagrahis we cannot help in this way either, for such help also amounted to supporting a war. One who would not help a slaughter-house should not help in cleaning the butcher's house either. But I found that, living in England, I was in a way participating in the War. London owes the food it gets in war time to the protection of the Navy. Thus to take this food was also a wrong thing. There was only one right course left, which was to go away to live in some mountain or cave in England itself and subsist there on whatever food or shelter Nature might provide, without seeking assistance from any human being. I do not yet possess the spiritual strength necessary for this. It seemed to me a base thing, therefore, to accept food tainted by war without working for it. When thousands have come forward to lay down their lives only because they thought it their duty to do so, how could I sit still? A rifle this hand will never fire. And so there only remained nursing the wounded and I took it up. This is how I communed to myself. I cannot say for certain that

the step I have taken is the right one. I have thought much about the matter though, but so far I have discovered no alternative.

My guess is that we shall be here for at least four months more. The War should not go on longer than that. Ba is keeping good health. She can even walk long distances. Here she has given up wheat as well. She takes only milk in addition to what I do. Mr. Kallenbach, too, enjoys excellent health. He keeps up his study of Gujarati. Mr. Sorabji sees me every day. He has joined the War along with me. We are 70 in the class. He has passed the first examination, that is, the entrance examination [for the Bar]. He will take three more years to be called to the bar. I am growing more convinced with experience that coming here for degrees serves no useful purpose whatsoever. The students' plight is pitiable. Maybe they do get some education, but they learn nothing. Their character is ruined. Perhaps the coming over of a very small number may be useful (only at a mature age, though).

All of you should read this letter. Make a copy and send the original to Dr. Mehta. Send the copy to Harilal. Write to me regularly at this address: 84-85, Palace Chambers, Westminster, London. I do not write separately to the others. This may be taken, therefore, as meant for all.

You must be finding yourselves in a trying situation indeed, all of you. I pray to God to be your help and to give you the firmness of mind to do your duty. Send a copy of this letter to Samaldas[1] also. He should join us. Who knows when I shall be able to bow down my head before the sisters-in-law. I am eager to know if Maganbhai has been to his people. See if you can arrange for [teaching] Tamil to Fakiri[2] and Kuppu[3]. You may see Mr. Natarajan[4]. He will guide you. Ask everyone to write to me. Tell me how things are with Kalyandas[5].

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati original: C. W. 5766; also S. N. 6052
Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri

[1] Son of Lakshmidas Gandhi, Gandhiji's elder brother
[2] & [3] Boys who accompanied Maganlal Gandhi to India
[4] Kamakshi Natarajan, editor of *Indian Social Reformer*, Bombay
[5] Kalyandas Jagmohandas Mehta; *vide* Vol. VI, p. 461.

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## *393. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL GANDHI*

[LONDON,]
*Bhadarva Vad 14* [*September 19, 1914*]

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I still hesitate to send you what I have written, so afraid I am about the post. There have been no letters from you so far by the latest mail. To me this country seems like poison. My soul is in India. I am, however, staying on because I think I must. I want to write more about this but I have neither the time for it just now, nor the mood. Do go on writing to me here. Give my salaams to Imam Saheb. I wish to write again to him. I do not know, though, when I shall be able to do so. Ask Raojibhai and Pragji to write.

I have given £190 to Sorabji for admission to the Bar. Debit that to Dr. Mehta's account and send me a draft for the amount by registered post. If I am not here, the letter will follow me to India.

*Blessings from*
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 6051

## *394. CIRCULAR REGARDING TRAINING CORPS*[1]

*September 22, 1914*

In response to a desire widely expressed by Indian students resident in the United Kingdom to take some active part in the defence of the country and in service abroad, it has been decided to organise a Field Ambulance Training Corps in connection with the Red Cross Society, and to give members of this Corps, when adequately trained, an opportunity of serving with the Indian Army in Europe. The nucleus of such a Corps has already been formed in London, and drilled and trained for some weeks under Dr. James Cantlie, and steps are now being taken, with the co-operation of the War Office and the authorities of the London University

[1] The original entitled "Indian Field Ambulance Training Corps" was drafted by Gandhiji and Mr. Mallet; *vide* "Letter to C. Roberts", p. 543.

Officers' Training Corps, to expand and develop this nucleus into a highly organised corps. The Government of India has given its sanction, and Lieutenant-Colonel Baker of the Indian Medical Service (retired) has consented to act as Commander of the Corps.

Indian gentlemen desirous of joining it should send in their names without delay to the Indian Volunteers Committee, 60, Talbot Road, Bayswater, London.

The Corps is intended mainly for residents in London, but Indian students from other centres will be admitted if they desire to join. Men with medical training will be able to undertake special duties, but all men willing to train and serve will be of use. Applicants will be asked to enrol themselves in the Indian Field Ambulance Training Corps, and will require to be passed by a Medical Board as physically fit. They will then be drilled almost every day by trained instructors in London, at an hour which will not interfere unduly with their ordinary studies or occupations; and at each week-end they will be expected to go into camp for further training from Friday night to Monday morning. A camping ground within easy reach of London will be placed at the disposal of the Corps, and uniforms and equipment will be procured. After some weeks of training—which will involve hard and steady work—they will, when efficient, be entitled to volunteer to serve for six months as a Detachment under the Red Cross Society in connexion with the Indian troops abroad. The terms and conditions of such service will be announced later. But it is hoped that the Red Cross Society will be able, in the first instance, to find places in the Detachment sent abroad for 10 Medical Officers and for 50 other recruits who would serve as Nursing Orderlies, Dressers, Compounders, Bearers, &c. The rates of pay on active service will probably be 20s. per day for Medical Officers and 4s. per day, with free rations, for the rest. Preference in the filling of these places would be given to recruits who, in the opinion of the Commanding Officer, were the most efficiently trained.

From a printed leaflet: S. N. 6053

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## *395. LETTER TO DR. ABDURRAHMAN*

[LONDON,
*October 1, 1914*]

DEAR DR. ABDURRAHMAN

I think you should inform the Minister that you represent not only the Malay community but the other Mahomedans also who are not Malays. At the same time, a statement of your case should certainly be submitted to him. You will read in this week's *Indian Opinion* counsel's opinion which would show you that the resident Mahomedans are also affected by the judgement. What you desire is that (you will tell him) non-Christian marriages celebrated according to the rites of the respective religions of the parties should be recognised and that if a deputation was received a way out of the difficulty might be found and further that the Minister will then notice the intensity of the feeling roused. I hope that you will be satisfied with nothing less than an alteration of the Law—no assurances can be accepted as sufficient.

*Yours sincerely,*
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 5758

## *396. SPEECH TO INDIAN FIELD AMBULANCE CORPS*[1]

[LONDON,
*October 1, 1914*]

Mr. Gandhi spoke of Dr. Cantlie's splendid spirit in all the work that had been done, but added that, if he had one weakness, it was his keen desire "to make us wear kilts in order to keep ourselves thoroughly warm!" The one who

[1] At a public meeting held at the Polytechnic Institution, Regent Street, the Indian Voluntary Aid Corps, which was trained by Dr. James Cantlie in First Aid, Sanitation and Hygiene, received recognition from the War Office as the Indian Field Ambulance Corps. Col. R. J. Baker, an ex-member of the Indian Medical Corps, took over charge of further instruction. Gandhiji presided over the meeting which was addressed by the Aga Khan and attended, among others, by Kasturba, Sarojini Naidu, Ameer Ali and Kallenbach. Earlier, Gandhiji presented Dr. Cantlie with a set of Tagore's works in appreciation of his services to the Corps.

laughed longest and loudest was Dr. Cantlie himself. To the Directors of the Polytechnic Institution Mr. Gandhi also paid a fine and deserved tribute; it has made a home for the Indian Corps, given them the use of its splendid equipment, of its rooms and halls, of its many facilities, for practically nothing because dominated by the spirit of patriotism and service.

When speaking of H. H. the Aga Khan—to "introduce" him, said Mr. Gandhi, would be an impertinence, especially by one who had been for more than twenty years an exile from his Motherland—Mr. Gandhi, as might be expected, fastened upon the offer of His Highness to serve as a private in the British ranks in this time of crisis. It was a noble example set by one to whom every avenue in the army might be open; it would comfort, encourage and cheer the Indian Corps, who would gladly serve His Highness. A word was added about the unfailing encouragement and substantial financial help which His Highness had always given to the struggle in South Africa, of his help to Mr. Gokhale in his strenuous work on behalf of the Indians in South Africa, and of the thrill of joy which touched not only the hearts of the Aga Khan's followers, of whom there were some in the midst of the struggle, but of all Indians, irrespective of creed.[1]

Mr. Gandhi afterwards expressed on behalf of Hindus complete sympathy with Mussulmans in their resentment of Mr. Lloyd George's words, and made the suggestion that they should raise a farthing subscription and present to the Chancellor of the Exchequer an authentic narrative which would prove that the Prophet of Islam was not the monster he thought him to be.

*Indian Opinion*, 4-11-1914

## *397. LETTER TO COL. R. J. BAKER*

LONDON,
*October 13, 1914*

DEAR COLONEL BAKER,

I thank you for your note of today's date, supplemented by the message sent by you, verbally, through Mr. Venkatraman who was good enough to take [my] note to you.

I am aware that strict military discipline requires that all complaints by members of a Corps should be sent to the commanding officer through section leaders. I am also aware of the fact that, in the military sense, I am no more than any other private, but I have been under the belief that in the interests of the Corps, and unofficially, I would be allowed to act as a humble

[1] The gathering was then addressed by the Aga Khan.

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channel of communication between you and the members of the Corps, so as to avoid any friction or stiffness, especially in the initial stages, when the members who have never undergone military discipline are likely to misunderstand experiences which may be quite new to them. I also thought that you would not mind recognising my representative capacity as Chairman of the Volunteer Corps, and would not resent my approaching you in the matters affecting the Corps, and it was in that belief that, being entirely a cripple, I took the liberty of inviting you to my room so that we could have a mutual discussion, which I have always known to be far more satisfactory than letter-writing, and if you think it worth while, I would still ask you to favour me with a call.

Meanwhile, and in any case, here are the complaints so far as they have been brought to my notice.

First, grievous dissatisfaction has been caused by the appointment of section leaders without reference to the feeling of the members of the Corps. They are disappointed, and I share their disappointment, that they were not in any way consulted as to the appointment. The leaders appointed may or may not be desirable persons, and I hardly know any of them, but I think that the efficient and smooth working of the Corps demands the appointments of officers who are likely to be popular with its members. I, therefore, venture to suggest that the appointments already made may be recalled, and that the members of the Corps may be invited to elect section leaders and other officers whose appointment would depend entirely upon you, and in the event of your not approving of the choice made by the members, that they should elect others in the place of those rejected by you.

The other complaints are of minor importance. The blankets supplied are not considered enough, nor of sufficient length. The quantity, as also the kind of rations, requires revision. There are still some other matters with which I will not burden this note, which is, I fear, too long as it is.

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

From the typewritten office copy signed by Gandhiji: S. N. 6069B

## *398. RESOLUTION*[1]

[LONDON,
*October 13, 1914*]

This meeting of the Indian Volunteers of the Indian Field Ambulance Training Corps hereby places on record its deep sense of regret in connection with the appointment of corporals without reference to the wishes of the members of the Corps and expresses further regret that the Commanding Officer has not seen his way to comply with the reasonable request of the Chairman of the Corps suggesting that the appointments already made may be recalled and that members may be given an opportunity of electing during the training period Corporals and other officers subject to confirmation by the Commanding Officer, and respectfully resolves that, unless the appointments above mentioned are recalled and some means adopted of ascertaining definitely the wishes of the members of the Corps in making fresh appointments, the members will be reluctantly obliged to abstain from further drilling and week-end camping.

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 6069B

## *399. LETTER TO COL. R. J. BAKER*

[LONDON,]
*October 14, 1914*

DEAR COLONEL BAKER,

I have to say with the greatest regret that your letter in reply to mine of yesterday's date was a severe disappointment to me. I had come to look upon you as a good-natured and soulful Commander who, being free from red tape and stiffness, would carry everything before him and that in the sweetest manner possible. But your letter disillusions me. I made a most reasonable suggestion well knowing the feeling of the Corps. My special vocation in life has been to smooth over difficulties between officials and my countrymen, and I may tell you, although I occupied no official rank in the late South African Indian Ambulance Corps consisting

[1] This was passed at a meeting of the Corps held on October 13 and was sent to Col. Baker; *vide* the following item.

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of 1200 men, there never was a hitch between Colonel Gallwey and the Corps.[1] And though officially there were even several Europeans who occupied ranks, Colonel Gallwey and Major Baptey, who was under him, were good enough not to take any steps without reference to me with a view to ascertaining the wishes of the Corps. And you may know that we were attached to a column of 30,000, were under strictest military discipline, and the Corps was called upon to work at the most critical period of the Boer War and when, in the initial stages, British arms had suffered reverses. I assure that nothing can be further from my thought than to undermine your proper authority or to do anything subversive of military discipline, but if you desire to train us for that discipline, in my opinion, there is no other way than the one I have ventured to suggest. It will enable you to know your Corps better, and may I say that, by accepting my humble advice, you will add to your popularity and prestige.

We had an enthusiastic meeting of the Corps last night. There were 53 members present. I attended though I was in agony and in defiance of medical instructions. The subjoined resolution was carried by 49 votes against 2 dissentients. I have asked the members present to attend at the drilling time this afternoon. If you could possibly see your way, in the interest of the Corps, to alter your decision, the drilling will go on. If you could not do so, those of us who voted for the resolution and the others who may fall in with it will be informed of your unfavourable decision and will therefore respectfully withdraw.

I hope that you will reconsider your decision and avoid what would undoubtedly be a catastrophe. I assure you that I am most anxious to please you as our Commanding Officer, but I am equally anxious to serve my countrymen many of whom have joined this movement upon my advice.

Mr. Gandevia who has kindly offered to take this letter to you will await your reply.

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

From the typewritten office copy signed by Gandhiji: S. N. 6069B

[1] *Vide* Vol. III, pp. 256 & 260-6.

## *400. LETTER TO C. ROBERTS*

[LONDON,]
*October 16, 1914*

DEAR MR. ROBERTS,

An unfortunate situation has arisen in connection with the Indian Field Ambulance Training Corps which may disrupt it if it is not handled in the right spirit.

Last week, Colonel Baker appointed section commanders without reference to the wishes of the members of the Corps. There was grave dissatisfaction and, when it was brought to my notice, I shared it. On Tuesday morning I appealed to Colonel Baker to recall the appointment, and appoint those whom the members of the Corps may choose, subject to further election by them, in the event of the choice not being accepted by Col. Baker. He, however, much to my surprise, took up what to my mind was an untenable attitude. He thought that any complaints that the members might have to make could only be brought before him through the section commanders and that recall of the appointments would be subversive of all discipline. My committee at once called a meeting of the members of the Corps and a resolution was adopted on Wednesday night requesting Col. Baker to recall the appointments and to allow us to submit names for his approval. He not only did not accede to our request but considered it a grave breach of military discipline to have convened the meeting.

I submit that Col. Baker has grievously misunderstood his position and that of the Corps.

I venture to think:

1. That up to the present we are only probationers undergoing training in ambulance work.
2. That we have yet to sign contracts which would bind us in the military sense.
3. That the internal administration of the Corps should rest in the hands of the Volunteer Committee.
4. That our services have been accepted only as a voluntary aid detachment and that, therefore, the full military code can never apply to us.

I may be permitted to draw your attention to two precedents within my knowledge. At the time of the Boer War the Indian Ambulance Corps was 1200 strong. There was also a European

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Ambulance Corps, I think much larger. We were all under Col. Gallwey's command. But Col. Gallwey never claimed to interfere with the internal administration of the Corps, although we were under military discipline. And we were not then, as the Corps is now, merely a training body. We were in action at the most critical period of the war. Col. Gallwey did not appoint section commanders. We appointed our own leaders and others. As it so happened, all orders ultimately passed through my hands. Similarly, at the time of the Zulu rebellion in Natal, we were under Col. Sparks' command.[1] Col. Sparks never appointed officers of our Corps. We appointed from among ourselves our officers and the sole responsibility for carrying out orders as to military duty rested upon one of us. You may be aware that both Corps found honourable mention in dispatches. There may be precedents to the contrary[2]. I do not know the military code. If a grave and punishable breach of discipline has been committed in the calling of the meeting alluded to above, or in any other manner, I alone must be held responsible and I shall cheerfully bear the penalty. But if the Corps is to be held together, I cannot help feeling that the appointments of the corporals should be recalled, the status of the Corps exactly defined and the position of Col. Baker and my Committee determined.

I need hardly assure you that I have addressed this communication to you in no irresponsible manner. I know that this is not the time for squabbles or quibbles but for solid work. I fear however that Col. Baker's uncompromising attitude has made it impossible for many of us to work through him unless he can alter his attitude. I venture to trust that you will be able to suggest a way out of the difficulty.

*I am,*
*Yours truly,*
M. K. GANDHI

CHARLES ROBERTS, ESQ., M.P., ETC.
INDIA OFFICE

From the typewritten office copy signed by Gandhiji: S. N. 6069B

[1] *Vide* Vol. V, pp. 368-73.
[2] The original has "country".

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## 401. EXTRACT FROM LETTER TO J. E. ANDREWS[1]

[LONDON,]
*October 20, 1914*

Charlie has been writing to me. . . . You are likely to be grieved over his having given up the clerical robe. I hope however that such is not the case. His action is no change; it is, I feel convinced, expansion. He preaches through his life as very few do, and he preaches the purest love. . . . Charlie has evidently a mission (of) whose extent even those who are nearest him have no conception. May I plead for your blessings to Charlie in all his work? It will be such a comfort to him to know that nothing he has done has grieved you.

*Charles Freer Andrews*

## 402. LETTER TO C. ROBERTS

16, TREBOVIR ROAD, S. W.,
[LONDON,]
*October 22, 1914*

DEAR MR. ROBERTS,

I thank you for your letter received this morning.

I am unaware of the regulations governing Red Cross contingents, and though I think that the Indian Corps can be isolated from the Red Cross Detachments in that it is a unique corps and is being treated as a Red Cross Detachment only because it is the Viceroy's wish (no doubt for the better safety of the Corps). I shall be prepared to advise the Committee to accept the position stated in your letter and resume duties which have been unhappily suspended. But before I advise the Committee, I would like an assurance that the principle of consultation which Col. Baker will recognize is not to be merely personal to me but that it would apply to my Committee and that its status and existence

[1] In early August 1914, Andrews had taken a critical decision to leave the Order, on conscientious grounds. His father and some of his friends were disturbed over this. Andrews relied on non-Christians among them to speak for him, and Gandhiji wrote to Andrews' father. The full text of the letter, however, is not available.

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will be recognized by Col. Baker and that the principle of consultation is to be applied to all matters affecting the internal administration of the Corps. I presume, too, that the circulars, which have been issued presumably by Col. Baker inviting Indians individually to offer their services, will no longer be issued if my Committee resumes co-operation with him. I am sure His Lordship will consider that the recognition I am asking for the Committee is solely for the sake of ensuring success and efficiency.

As I am calling a meeting of the members of the Corps for tomorrow, may I ask for a reply perhaps by express delivery. I shall thank you if you will kindly lend me your copy of Army Regulations referred to in your letter.

*Yours sincerely,*
M. K. GANDHI

From the typewritten office copy signed by Gandhiji: S. N. 6069B

## *403. LETTER TO C. ROBERTS*

16, TREBOVIR ROAD,
LONDON, S. W.,
*October 25, 1914*

DEAR MR. ROBERTS,

I have to thank you for your prompt reply of the 23rd instant. The correspondence between us was read to the meeting referred to in my letter of the 22nd instant and with but two dissentients, the meeting passed a resolution expressing deep regret over your letter under reply and authorising me to negotiate for a settlement on the lines of my last letter.

I fear very much that there seems to be a complete misunderstanding between the India Office and my Committee as to its functions and the relative positions of Col. Baker and the Committee. The issue of the circular[1] which was drafted by Mr. Mallet and myself, and of which I enclose copy herewith, was simultaneous with the appointment of Col. Baker as the Commanding Officer. That circular expressly contemplates exclusive recruiting by my Committee. And up to the time of the unfortunate rupture, recruiting has been exclusively done by it with the knowledge of Col. Baker. It is, therefore, hardly fair to suggest that I am now even challenging Col. Baker's *right* to recruit—a right which never

[1] *Vide* "Circular regarding Training Corps", pp. 533-4.

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belonged to him. Indeed, if I may say so, we have a right to complain that, whilst we were trying our best to heal the breach, circulars inviting recruits were issued by Col. Baker and even the Students' Department intervened and more or less formally wrote to those who were likely to respond to Col. Baker's efforts. These attempts suggest that there is no intention on his part to retain my Committee's co-operation. It would certainly have been more becoming, if he had waited for the result of the negotiations carried on by me for a settlement. If, therefore, in spite of resumption of duties by the Corps, Col. Baker were to continue recruiting, the Corps would lose its national and voluntary character and his action would be contrary to the circular referred to by me and the practice based upon it. It would moreover be contrary to the spirit of your letter of the 18th August wherein the signatories to the offer were invited to form a committee. The least that is, in my opinion, due to the Committee, is, in the event of a settlement, to be allowed to retain its exclusive right to recruit.

Your letter further suggests that it would be impracticable for Col. Baker to accept the principle of consultation with my Committee in matters affecting the internal administration of the Corps. It has not, I feel sure, been Col. Baker's experience hitherto. He has not, for instance, found it impracticable to seek and value the co-operation and advice of the Committee rendered through me as to the method of managing the Commissariat, the way of dealing with the difficult question of different sections wanting different foods as also of dealing with the equally difficult question of uniforms. It is not suggested by me that upon matters of rendering service and doing work my Committee might be consulted. I am well aware of the fact that, in the forms of contract voluntarily signed by us, we have undertaken to obey all lawful commands of our commanding officer. But we have not undertaken to subscribe to the exercise by that officer of functions that we have all along understood do not belong to him. I may be allowed to state that I have before now known how to obey and I hope that, if it becomes my good fortune to serve during this crisis in any capacity whatsoever for which I may be fitted, I shall not be wanting. And I think I may say the same of my fellow-workers. Throughout this unfortunate affair, their one desire has been to fulfil the letter as also the spirit of the contract forms signed by them.

I have already written at much greater length than I had desired to. My Committee and I are very anxious to see a settlement. And as I know that nothing conduces to a mutual under-

standing so much as personal conversation, may I avail myself of your offer to visit me again when necessary. I am under strict medical orders not to leave my bed at least for a fortnight. I shall, therefore, be deeply grateful, if you could find time to come over.

Any time and day will suit me.

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

From the typewritten office copy signed by Gandhiji: S. N. 6069B

## *404. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI*

LONDON,
*Kartak Sud 7, 1971* [*October 25, 1914*]

CHI. MAGANLAL,

I have not been able to write to you lately.

Being better today, I have sat down to write. I am still confined to bed and shall be so, it seems, for another ten days at least. This time the pain was extreme and the reason for it, in my opinion, was that I listened to doctor friends. Pressed by everyone, I agreed to take things against which I had not taken an inviolable pledge. I ate dal, rice, and vegetables for four days. The pain went on increasing all these days, instead of subsiding as expected. On the fifth day, I took salt. The pain on that day was unbearable. On the sixth day, I gave up the doctors and went back to my own remedies. The pain vanished entirely and the piles also disappeared. The pain returned, however, thanks to my own foolishness. On the day I ate salt there was blood in my cough, for the first time in my life. I still get it. And so Mr. Kallenbach brought a white doctor, a vegetarian, whom I know. He said that there was no need for salt, but pointed to the need for roots and tubers. He suggested, moreover, that the body having grown extremely weak through fasting, I should not take oil, nuts, etc., for the present. Hence I live at present on barley water, eight ounces of fresh fruit, and eight ounces of soup of turnip, carrot, potato and cabbage mixed. The body is extremely emaciated. I do not have full faith even in this treatment. Since, however, I have not myself hit upon the key to my health, I am trying out this experiment. The pain has stopped. Blood continues to come up while coughing. I have lost all taste for food and



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hence this is an excellent opportunity for mastering the palate. The doctor has stopped lemon as well, so that, in the absence of oil, the soup of turnip, carrot and cabbage is not very inviting, but I take it with relish. In the beginning, barley water did not taste nice. But now I think I can stand it. I write all this in detail to you, but there is no need to worry. I hope I will be all right, and that too, I still feel, with fruits. It is yet to be seen whether this is borne out by experience. Friends insist that I should take milk, but I have flatly refused to do so. I have told them that I have vowed not to consume it and would not therefore have it even if I should die without it.

Ba's stamina is wonderful. She is coming to have more faith in my remedies.

I have had to start a satyagraha here against the India Office, details of which I will give in my next letter.[1]

Follow all the ideals of Phœnix even at the cost of extreme suffering. Tell me in detail how everybody is keeping and what has been the effect of the environment on the minds of the children after going there.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
*Gandhijini Sadhana*

## *405. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI*

[LONDON,
About end of *October 1914*][2]

. . . [3] I shall let you know its details in my next letter.

Mr. Gokhale left by the last mail [steamer]. Do meet him. He has promised to give monetary assistance if needed. He is of the opinion that we cannot use for our expenditure there the funds lying with us; nor can the expenses on account of the voyage of all of us be met from these funds. He has, however, told me that he would make the necessary arrangements after my arrival there. We can use the purse-amounts. Remain faithful to all the aims, even at the cost of extreme suffering.

[1] Some portion appears to have been omitted here in the source.

[2] Gokhale arrived in Bombay on November 13. He was likely to have sailed for home about three weeks earlier, soon after which this letter was written.

[3] Some portion of the letter is missing in the source.

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You have three sources for help: Dr. Mehta, Mr. Gokhale and Mr. Andrews. Draw upon any of them as you may find convenient. So long as Dr. Mehta is ready to meet the expenses, I think you should not seek anybody else's assistance. Please write to me in detail what your expenses are, what food you eat, how all of you keep and what effect the atmosphere has on the inner life of the boys, etc.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C. W. 5775
Courtesy : Radhabehn Choudhri

## *406. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL GANDHI*

[LONDON,]
*Kartak Sud 13* [*October 31, 1914*]

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I am in no condition to write a long letter to you. I am still confined to bed and I fear I will have to stay there. There is no danger, however.

There is nothing else to do but to let Mr. Polak draw whatever he wants. You can discuss the matter with him. I can think of no advice to give you from here on this matter. I have already written[1] about Lakshmi. I cannot say how long I shall have to stay.

The satyagraha here is over. We got what we wanted.

Tell Pragji and Raojibhai that I will write to them later.

*Blessings from*
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 6060

[1] This letter is not available.

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## 407. LETTER TO "INDIA"

[LONDON],
*November 4, 1914*

TO
THE EDITOR
*INDIA*
[LONDON]

SIR,

There were at the Netley Hospital last Sunday nearly 470 Indian wounded soldiers. Many more are expected to arrive shortly, if they are not there already. The need for Indian volunteer orderlies is greater than ever. Nearly 70 members of the local Indian corps are already serving as nurses there. Leaving aside the medical members of the corps, there are now very few left to answer the further call when it comes.

May I, therefore, trespass upon the hospitality of your columns to appeal to the Indian young men residing in the United Kingdom to enlist without delay? In my humble opinion, it ought to be our proud privilege to nurse the Indian soldiers back to health. Colonel Baker's cry is for more orderlies. And in order to make up the requisite number, as also to encourage our young men, several elderly Indians occupying a high position have gone or are going to Netley as orderlies. Among them are Mr. M. A. Turkhad, a former vice-president of the Rajkumar College in Kathiawar; Mr. J. M. Parikh, barrister-at-law; and Lieutenant-Colonel Kanta Prasad, of the Indian Medical Service (retired), who has served in five campaigns.

I hope that the example set by these gentlemen will inspire others with alike zeal, and that many Indians who can at all afford to do so will be equal to the emergency that has arisen. Those who desire to enlist can do so at the Indian Volunteers Committee's rooms at 16, Trebovir Road, near Earl's Court, at any time during working hours.

[*I am, etc.*,]
M. K. GANDHI
CHAIRMAN,
INDIAN VOLUNTEERS' COMMITTEE

*India*, 6-11-1914

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## 408. A CIRCULAR LETTER[1]

[LONDON,]
*November 4, 1914*

There were at the Netley Hospital last Sunday nearly 470 Indian wounded soldiers. Many more are expected to arrive shortly, if they are not there already. Nearly all the available members of the Indian Volunteers Corps are working either as nurses or as orderlies at Netley. The cry is for more orderlies.

The Committee thinks that it should be considered a proud privilege by us to be able to nurse our own wounded countrymen. At least two hundred more recruits will be required in order to cope with the work that lies before us. The service will be required for no more than three months. Students, therefore, will not be called upon to sacrifice more than three months of their time after being enlisted.

Several of our elderly countrymen have gone to Netley as orderlies. Mr. M. A. Turkhad, ex-Vice-President, Rajkumar College, Kathiawar, Mr. J. M. Parikh, Barrister-at-Law, and Lieut. Col. Kanta Prasad, I.M.S., (retired), who has served in five different campaigns before, are now working as orderlies at Netley.

*Indian Opinion*, 9-12-1914

## 409. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL GANDHI

[LONDON,]
*Kartak Vad 2* [*November 5, 1914*]

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I have your letter.

It does not seem proper that I should write to Mr. Polak from here. Mr. West and you may do what seems best. However, if you insist on my writing, I will. Send me the accounts subsequent to the point where Maganlal left off, so that, in due course, I may publish them in Bombay. Mr. Gokhale has been able to do nothing about the accounts. He has told me not to publish them till I have met the Committee.

[1] This was signed by Gandhiji and Gandevia.

I shall have to stay here for at least three months more — how much longer, is yet to be seen. I have sent another offer[1], a copy of which will be sent to you by Mr. Polak. You will see from it that I wish to include South Africa and our group[2] in India.

I am not quite well yet, but not confined to bed either. I take short walks. Let us see what effects that will have. Today is the third day since I started.

It does not seem likely that I shall go to France. I may have probably to go where our wounded soldiers are. Perhaps Ba and Mr. Kallenbach may also be able to join me. The latter has been staying with me and will remain with me for the time being. He has had to take out a pass. He suffers no inconvenience, though.

I am sending Chi. Maganlal's letters with this. I have already sent some matter [for *Indian Opinion*] to you. I have been able to do nothing after that. I hope to be able to write if I keep well. Miss Smith[3] told me again yesterday that she continues to send contributions regularly.

Ba keeps excellent health. Here she is exercising the utmost control over the palate. Now, we go out for a short walk.

*Blessings from*
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 6061

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

[LONDON,]
*November 6, 1914*

DEAR MR. GOKHALE,

I saw your letter to Mr. Kallenbach. I have been out of bed for the last five days and am slowly regaining my strength. Please do not worry about me.

You will be pleased to learn that the quarrel with Col. Baker has been adjusted. He has conceded the two points for which we were fighting.

[1] This is not available.
[2] The reference is to the Phœnix party.
[3] She used to write a newsletter from London for *Indian Opinion*.

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I do hope that you benefited by the voyage and that you are keeping well.

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

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: G. N. 2249

## *411. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI*

[LONDON,]
*Kartak Vad 3,* [*November 6, 1914*]

CHI. MAGANLAL,

This is no time to write long letters. My health is improving. If I am better next week, I will give you more details. Do not worry about me. I expect to improve. I have been out of bed these three days.

I have had a letter from Mr. Maganbhai I have sent a reply[1]. Read it and act upon it. . . .[2] Send for money from Phœnix, if necessary.

Mr. Sorabji has gone to the Hospital which has some of our wounded troops. Seventy more from among us have gone to him. I could not go on account of my ill-health. I hope to be able to send some papers along with this.

The satyagraha started here has succeeded. Mysterious are the ways of Providence.

Ba keeps good health. Mr. Kallenbach is staying with me.

I am trying to bring you all here, in case I have to stay here for long. I hope to send a copy of the letter[3] I have written to Mr. Roberts. No one should be upset over that letter, nor build any hopes on it. If you do not receive a cable[4] from me before this letter, you may understand that nothing has come of my offer.

Tell all of them that I am unable to write a separate letter to each of them.

There has been no letter at all from Jamnadas. Let them not think that because I do not write to them, they too need not write to me.

Please let me know what your food expenses come to there. If you do not have to come here, I believe, so far as I can see today,

[1] This is not available.
[2] Some portion is found to have been omitted here.
[3] This is not available.
[4] There is no evidence that this was sent.

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I shall be free from here within about three months. But nothing is certain. Nothing can be said definitely before I leave this and actually reach there.

If any of the sons of revered Kalabhai or revered Karsandas comes, take him with you. Write to Nandkorbhabhi that I will make all the arrangements after I reach there.

*Blessings from*
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C. W. 5776
Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri

## *412. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI*

LONDON,
*Kartak Vad 10/11* [*November 13/14, 1914*]

CHI. MAGANLAL,

I did get the letters which Manilal and you wrote from Delhi. The mails have been very irregular, so that letters arrive on no fixed days.

You are all getting plenty of experience. Stay in Santiniketan so as to be helpful and give them no cause to be displeased. Perhaps, you may find it more convenient to get from elsewhere any articles of food you cannot do without. From here I can make no suggestions. After due consideration, do whatever is necessary. Be quick in teaching Hindi to the Tamil children, otherwise they will be ill at ease. Pick up a little Bengali, as you are staying there. It will not take much time to learn it. Find out a Tamilian, if available. It would be good if Dr. Mehta spares Mr. Rajangam. Many unforeseen responsibilities have devolved on you. I should like you to come out successful.

Mr. Sorabji and others have already gone down to nurse the wounded. I could not go on account of my ill-health. I am trying hard now, but difficulties crop up.

Make yourself useful to the Poet[1], Mr. Andrews and Mr. Pearson. See that everyone shows respect to the elders. You should all rise earlier than the residents there.

Write to me regularly. Please let me know how much expenditure was incurred per head on account of food in Bombay.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

[1] Rabindranath Tagore

[PS.]

Treat this letter as meant for all of you. I am unable to send you all the papers I wanted to. Read the accompanying carefully and ponder over them. Show them to Jamnadas as well and preserve them. Show to Andrews if he wants to see them. Tell him about them. The other papers, I shall send later.

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C. W. 5777
Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri

## *413. LETTER TO JAMNADAS GANDHI*

[LONDON,]
*Kartak Vad 10/11* [*November 13/14, 1914*]

CHI. JAMNADAS,

Had a letter from you after a long time. Here we always remember you.

You must be married now. May your life be pure. I pray that all the hopes you have cherished be fulfilled. Remain firm and be always devoted to what you think is your duty. Given patience and faith, everything will come off all right. Keep writing to me at length. Do not look for long letters from me at present. I keep good health. It is improving now, though there is considerable weakness. It is with my own treatment that I am recovering. At home, we have kept up the Indian style in everything. We take meals sitting on the floor and likewise make our beds too on the floor. Whatever cooking is necessary, we do ourselves. Mr. Kallenbach is with us. I keep on our own dress when I see anyone. When going out, I have to put on the English dress.

I see that I shall be detained here for at least three months more. Sorabji and others have gone to attend to the wounded and are already busy. There is a possibility of my going next week.

Give my humblest greetings to the respected Khushalbhai and Devbhabhi, as also to Raliatbehn and Gangabhabhi, and tell them that I am getting impatient to see them. Give me all the news.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C. W. 5688
Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

## 414. LETTER TO PRAGJI DESAI

LONDON,
*Kartak Vad 12* [*November 15, 1914*][1]

DEAR PRAGJI,

I have your letter. I can well understand that you have doubts. I think I have sent[2] to someone the replies to your questions. All the same, I shall try to answer them again. A satyagrahi cannot support war directly or indirectly. There are no two opinions about that. I am not such a perfect satyagrahi. I am trying to be one. Meanwhile, one should go as far as one can. Soon after I landed here, the War started. I spent some days thinking out my duty. It seemed to me that to go on living in England, keeping my thoughts to myself, also amounted to taking part in the War. It was obvious to me that, if this island were not protected by the Navy, the people would starve and they would all fall into the hands of Germans. I am being protected, therefore, by that Navy, which means that I was indirectly supporting the War. As a satyagrahi, it was my duty to go away to a spot where I would not need such protection and could do without the food so procured. Such a place would be the mountains here. There, one is not under any protection. If the Germans took me away, I should not mind. I must subsist on whatever fruit or grass or leaves grew on the mountains. This food is not protected by the Navy. I am not, however, ready for this manner of living. I could not summon the necessary courage. It is for cultivating such courage that I am going to India, where the circumstances are favourable. They are not so here, and to create them here one must have an *atman* a hundred thousand times stronger than mine. What is my next duty, then? Brothers, husbands and sons have gone, rightly or wrongly, to get themselves killed, leaving behind weeping sisters, wives and mothers. Thousands have already been killed. And am I, doing nothing, to continue enjoying myself, eating my food ? The *Gita* says that he who eats without performing *yajna*[3] is a thief. In the present situation here sacrifice meant, and means,

[1] In the original, Gandhiji has given *Kartak Vad 3*, November 6, at the top, but he says at the end of the letter that he resumed writing on November 14 and finished it on November 15.

[2] *Vide* "Letter to Maganlal Gandhi", pp. 531-2.

[3] Sacrifice

self-sacrifice. I saw, therefore, that I too must perform *yajna*. I myself could not shoot, but could nurse the wounded. I might even get Germans to nurse. I could nurse them without any partisan spirit. There would be no violation of the spirit of compassion then. And so I decided to offer my services. Now, I am not a private individual, but a public figure. I must also talk to others. These others are out for fighting and are not opposed to war. I must address them an unconditional letter, which I did.[1] But you must have seen in it a sentence to the effect that we would unconditionally undertake any work for which we were qualified. Everyone knows that I am not fit for active service. I could not, therefore, be asked to fight. This is the explanation for using the expression "unconditional". The main point, however, is whether I could even undertake to nurse the wounded. I have explained it, therefore, at greater length. It is possible you may even then remain unconvinced. If so, write to me again. I shall keep writing to you in reply whenever I have time. Gradually, you will come to see the point. It is after much deliberation that I have taken this step. Whenever I was questioned there, I used to reply that I could not even join in ambulance work now. You have seen that my position is still the same. It is on a level with the idea that I must not kill a snake. But so long as, in my cowardice, I fear a snake, I would certainly remove it to a distance, if not kill it outright. This also is a form of violence. If, while I am removing one, it struggles hard, I should hold it so tight between the sticks that it might bleed, and even be crushed to death. Even so, my statement that I ought not to kill a snake would and must hold true. So long as I have not developed absolute fearlessness, I cannot be a perfect satyagrahi. I am striving incessantly to achieve it, and will continue to do so. Till I have succeeded, do all of you save me [from doing anything wrong] and put up with my cowardice. You should all keep struggling to make yourselves fearless.

Let everyone there read this letter and then send it to Medh. Afterwards, send it on, or a copy of it, to Chi. Maganlal, so that he, too, may have some points explained.

I have written this letter in three instalments. I am so busy even here. I commenced it last week, resumed it yesterday and finished it today, the [*Kartak vad*] 12th[2].

[1] *Vide* "A Confidential Circular", p. 527.

[2] November 15, 1914

Further news you will get from the other letters. Sorabji is busy nursing the wounded.

*Vandemataram from*
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C. W. 5657; also from a photostat: G. N. 2659

Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri

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

LONDON, S.W.,
*November 20, 1914*

MY DEAR WEST,

I have your welcome letter after months. You all say that you had not heard from me at all. That's strange. Certainly, not a mail has been missed by me—either I wrote myself or Sorabji for me, at least to someone or other in Phœnix. It is evident, therefore, that my letters have all, or some of them, miscarried.

I wish that your surmise was true and that I was working among our wounded soldiers. Most of the members of the Corps are certainly doing so, at Netley. When the last batch went I was bedridden. In any case, my presence was necessary here, in order to get together the required number of men. I was to have followed, however; but now unheard of difficulties are being put in my way and am prevented from going to Netley, or to any of the other hospitals where our wounded soldiers are being received. It seems to me that I am being prevented, because the officials immediately in charge fear that I might make mischief. The ostensible reason given to prevent my going is ill health. I may be quite wrong in my surmise, however. At any rate, I have placed the whole facts before Mr. Roberts, the Under Secretary for India —and I should know before long probably.

So you will see that I have not yet been separated either from Mrs. Gandhi or Mr. Kallenbach. We are all now living under Mr. Gandevia's roof. He, as you know, is the Secretary of the Corps. He is the proprietor of a boarding house for Indian students. He has placed one of his best rooms at our disposal.

I envy you your gardening work. Just now my own health seems to have been completely shattered. I feel that I hopelessly mismanaged my constitution in the fast. I was in a hurry to regain my lost energy. I, therefore, overfed the system and overstrained

the body in compelling myself to take long strenuous walks. I was too impatient and am paying the penalty : I can now scarcely walk with any strenuousness without the original pain starting. The ribs seem to have become shattered—they will not stand any strain, nor the groins. I, therefore, am obliged largely to keep indoors and remain in bed. Of food I can take very little—the slightest excess would upset me. In spite of all this, I am able to attend to my work. Nor does all this imply that I am only skin and bones. By carefulness I am able to undo the mischief done. The mental and moral atmosphere is also a great drawback. Everything appears so artificial, so materialistic and immoral that one's soul almost becomes atrophied.

I am longing to go to India and so is Mrs. Gandhi; but a sense of duty and—I am not sure that, on this occasion, it is a right sense of duty that compels me to remain here.

I share your views about the War. If I had the moral strength, however, I would certainly be the passive resister that you have pictured in your letter.

I am glad that you all are getting on well there and that your little ones are doing so well and add to the joys of your life. I hope that everything there is going on peacefully.

Please remember us to all. I may not be writing any other letter this week so that I would like you to show this to everybody.

This letter is being taken down, you will be glad to know, by an Indian friend. After James, he is the first Indian friend I have found capable of taking shorthand notes. He is just now staying in the same house with me awaiting instructions to proceed to one of the hospitals where our Indian troops are. His name is Manic Lal Chandra, and has been in England for about four years. Mr. Chandra, from what I understand, is a much-travelled man.

I shall try and write to Polak, but you may pass this letter on to him lest I fail to do so.

*Yours sincerely*,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the handwritten original signed by Gandhiji: C. W. 4416
Courtesy: A. H. West

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## 416. LETTER TO G. K. GOKHALE

[LONDON,]
*November 26, 1914*

DEAR MR. GOKHALE,

I have your cable to which I have replied.[1] I cannot bring my malady under control. Nor can the doctors. They would say that they could if I followed them implicitly. This I am unable to do. I do not want to live on any terms. Dr. Allinson, the Vegetarian doctor, considers my own treatment to be perfect in the circumstances. Dr. Mehta has been most attentive. I listen to him wherever it is possible. I had a serious relapse last week. I am still in bed but much better and seemingly progressing. Pray do not be anxious about me. If I cannot recover, I shall try to leave for India.

We all wish that in your cable you had said something about your own health. I hope that it is much better. Anyhow you have now surroundings you were longing for.

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

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: G. N. 2250

## 417. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

*Magshar Vad 2* [*December 4, 1914*]

CHI. MAGANLAL,

I am still confined to bed. I have sat up to write a long letter to you. I do not know when I shall finish it. Have no anxiety on my account. I have a very sweet letter from Mr. Andrews. He says that Gurudev also, on his part, will be very happy to have you all in Santiniketan. He adds that your presence there will help to remove whatever unhealthy caste distinctions still remain and that, on the whole, your visit will certainly benefit Santiniketan. It is up to you all to see that it does. If all our Phœnix ideals are kept up, Gurudev's expectations are sure to be

[1] This cable is not available.

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fulfilled. Let everyone of you give some service rather than ask for any. Do not forget agriculture. You must not think that you will not be there to enjoy the benefit of the trees you plant. Rise earlier than the others do. Do your own cooking, of course, but also undertake cooking for the whole establishment, if you can. Out of respect for Gurudev and by way of inducement to you all, I have started study of Bengali in my bed. I have completed Mrs. Murat's grammar and the Bengali primer. This is the fifth day. I started the study on Monday. Today is Friday. I see that it is easy for a Gujarati to learn Bengali. Everyone of you should pick it up. The alphabet, too, is simple. Study of Gujarati and Tamil should also continue. Sanskrit, of course, you must be doing.

Your boarding expenses are to be borne by Gurudev. Approach Rajangam through the Doctor for his help in Tamil. The latter says that his sons are there. You must be in correspondence with him. Send for Maganbhai's son. More later. This letter is meant for all. Ba is pining to see you all. Her nursing is incomparable.

*Blessings from*
BAPU

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C. W. 5655
Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri

## *418. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI*

[LONDON,]
*Magshar Vad 8* [*December 10, 1914*]

CHI. MAGANLAL,

I got the letters from all of you. In my present helpless condition, I do not write to everyone. Hence, take this letter as meant for all and, on your part, all of you continue to write to me.

You say you would ask me for permission for whey after I return. But I give it straight from here. After observing the conditions there, make any exceptions that you find necessary. Do not wait to consult me. Only, in all that you do, remember the need for self-discipline.

You are right in concluding that agriculture is the only real prayer and service. It is not only fitting but it is actually one's duty to keep repeating God's name, whether we are busy in the fields or having our meal, whether playing or wandering aimlessly, during a bath or at any other hour. One who wants to lose himself in Rama, who is striving to do so, requires no particular hour;

all the same, it is necessary to have some kind of a rule for the young. And so the time not meant for work in the fields should be specially appointed for prayers, that is, just before daybreak, when it is still dark. The *shastras* lay down that *sandhya*[1], etc., should be performed before dawn. The evening hour that we have set apart is the right one.

Intensify your interest in agriculture. Plant fruit-trees.

Send for wheat from Bombay. Use the indigenous grinding stones. Make copra or ground-nut oil at home. You will get both milk and ghee by crushing fresh cocoanut kernel to a fine paste and straining it through a piece of cloth. It seems this is very beneficial. Since it is certain that you will be there for quite some time, there is nothing wrong in stocking the necessary articles. Wheat must be available in Calcutta. It seems they do not use tamarind there.

I have written a letter[2] to Mr. Pearson, which I think he will show you. It will be an excellent thing if the elders among you undertake to do some service for every teacher.

As for the expenditure on all of you, that on Kuppu's and Naidoo's sons and for Maganbhai will be met from the Satyagraha Fund. For you, Manilal and others, I shall make some arrangement. The money for Sivapujan, Shanti and Navin is to be provided by the respective parents. The expenses for Chhotam are to be met from the Satyagraha Fund.

From what Mr. Andrews wrote, it appeared that Gurudev would bear the expenses. But you need not discuss the question. Let him, if he does; if not, it should not matter.

Make everything you can with your own hands. Get used to doing without the things which you cannot make.

If only we learn to maintain ourselves by agriculture and manual labour, there will be nothing more for us to earn or learn. That is what I too must learn. I may, however, pass away without doing so. Let that not happen to you.

If Gurudev is likely to be put to inconvenience and if there is not enough room there, ask him to let you live in a tent or make some other arrangements.

Personally, I have always felt, and it now appears that there is no institution today in the world to excel Phœnix in its ideals or its way of life. If there is any, the civilized world has not heard of it. I am happy that all of you have the same impression.

[1] Prayer to Sun-god, usually in the morning and evening

[2] This is not available.

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While I am yet to recover, Ba has had an acute attack of menorrhagia since yesterday. I do not know what God has willed. Ba is confined to bed and so I have forced myself to get up. Let none of you be anxious, however.

Since my diet was deficient in organic salts, Dr. Allinson[1] has advised me to take roots and tubers and leafy vegetables. And so, even in this dangerous condition, I am making experiments. My diet is as follows : In the morning, I have soup with two or three tea-spoonfuls of dry banana brought from there[2] and ground-nut, with tomatoes and a spoonful of oil added. At noon, I take a small carrot and one half of a small raw turnip, with eight biscuits, made of wheat or banana flour, boiled. Sometimes, in place of carrot and turnip, I take two leaves of cabbage, crushed. In the evening, two spoonfuls of rice, boiled, with vegetables as above or dry figs, soaked in water, with a small piece of bread made of banana flour or wheat. This is the routine at present. The intention is to replace cooked items with uncooked articles and wheat by nuts. I take two apples in the morning. I have been taking raw vegetables for nearly a month now. I have observed no harm from this at any rate. You used to say that vegetables could be eaten raw, but I would not believe it. I find many persons here eating vegetables raw. The practice has many implications. I cannot write about them, however. Later, I may. I have taken a final vow here not to have milk and ghee. Doctors were very insistent, and I feared I might give in if I did not take a solemn vow. Hereafter, I will never consume these things in this present life. I will take other vows when I am there, though I cannot be sure that I will not take some here meanwhile, occasion arising.

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 6097; also *Gandhijini Sadhana*

[1] Dr. T. R. Allinson, author of books on health and hygiene which Gandhiji found helpful; a member of the London Vegetarian Society till he was censured for his unorthodox views on birth control

[2] South Africa

## 419. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL GANDHI[1]

[LONDON,
About *December 10, 1914*][2]

[CHI. CHHAGANLAL,]

I have established very good relations with Mr. Charles Roberts. Also with his wife. He took great care of me during my illness.

Write a letter of condolence on the death of Miss Smith's mother, on your behalf as well as on behalf of the press. When writing for the press, consult Mr. West. That lady has been giving us excellent help. Perhaps Mr. Sorabji will ask that his wife be sent to England. If so, pay her up to £100 for the fare. She will ask for it.

Send me immediately the bank balance, the Satyagraha [Fund] balance and the accounts of whatever remained after the withdrawal by Maganlal. It will not be possible now to publish the accounts in India. We are not to blame for the delay.

If I keep well, I will start writing for *Indian Opinion*. It is necessary to ask the parents of Shanti, Sivapujan and Navin for money to meet their needs. If Sivapujan's parents cannot pay for him, let me know, so that the amount may be debited to the Satyagraha Fund. There are also outstanding dues on account of Shanti. Remind Chi. Jayashanker about this. Let me know the total amount I received by way of purses and the names. Indicate also which of the amounts belong to the Emergency Fund. I have not yet told you that the funds of the Transvaal [British] Indian Association have been handed over to me. The transfer deed is with me. Credit the amount to my account and debit it to the Association's. Include this amount too under "purse". I think the purse amounts will have to be used to run the institution in India. The expenses for persons other than the satyagrahi boys cannot be met from the Satyagraha Fund.

[1] From the contents this appears to have been addressed to Chhaganlal Gandhi. The first three pages of this letter are not available.

[2] From the reference to the expenses regarding Shanti, Sivpujan and Navin the letter appears to have been written about the same time as "Letter to Maganlal Gandhi"; *vide* the preceding item.

I shall, however, be in a better position to judge after I reach India.

*Blessings from*
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 6047

## *420. ACCOUNTS OF INDIAN AMBULANCE CORPS*

[LONDON,
*December 18, 1914*]

| RECEIPTS | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| His Highness the Aga Khan . . . | 200 | 0 | 0 |
| His Highness the Gaekwar of Baroda . . | 50 | 0 | 0 |
| Mr. Ratan J. Tata . . . . | 50 | 0 | 0 |
| Mr. Karimbhoy Adamji Peerbhoy . . | 15 | 0 | 0 |
| Contributions from members of the Corps for ambulance class fees, etc. . . . . | 3 | 6 | 6 |
| Total . | 318 | 6 | 6 |

| EXPENDITURE | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Stationery and printing . . . . | 16 | 6 | 0 |
| Stamps, telegrams, telephone, etc. . . | 13 | 17 | 7 |
| Members' travelling expenses . . . | 18 | 12 | 0 |
| Ambulance class fees, etc. . . . | 29 | 17 | 8 |
| Balance . . . . | 239 | 13 | 3 |
| | £318 | 6 | 6 |

*India*, 25-12-1914

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## 421. INTERVIEW TO REUTER[1]

LONDON,
*December 18, 1914*

In the course of an interview with Reuter, the Indian leader emphasised that the settlement made in South Africa was a most happy thing for the Indians, who were rallying to the Government in the time of the great crisis. He had, he said, the most pleasant recollections of his last interviews with General Botha and General Smuts.

Mr. Gandhi paid a tribute to the Union Government for taking into account Indian feelings, even in small matters, and he was glad to be able to announce this in India. . . .

*Indian Opinion*, 23-12-1914

## 422. SPEECH AT LONDON FAREWELL[2]

[*December 18, 1914*]

Mr. Gandhi, who was received with cheers, said that his wife and himself were returning to the motherland with their work unaccomplished and with broken health, but he wished, nevertheless, to use the language of hope. He declared, too, that despite the dictum of two doctors, he felt that if he had been allowed to take his part even now, the work itself would have cured his weakness! When the Ambulance Corps was formed, it had been a matter of great joy to him that so many students and others came forward and willingly offered their services. Men such as Colonel Kanta Prasad, and Mr. Turkhad, and Mr. Parikh were none of them expected to do the work of hospital orderlies at Netley, but nevertheless they had cheerfully done it. Indians had shown themselves thereby capable of doing their duty, if they received recognition of their rights and privileges. (Cheers.) The whole idea of the Corps arose

[1] This is an extract from a Reuter's dispatch covering also a farewell reception to Gandhiji and Kasturba held later in the day; *vide* the following item.

[2] Gandhiji and Kasturba were given a farewell dinner at Westminster Palace Hotel, attended among others by Charles Roberts, Sir Henry Cotton, Mr. and Mrs. J. H. Polak and Miss F. Winterbottom. J. M. Parikh presided. After Sir Henry Cotton, J. M. Parikh, C. Roberts and Mrs. Olive Schreiner had spoken, Gandhiji replied. The report has been collated with a despatch from the London correspondent of *Amrit Bazar Patrika* published in *Indian Opinion*, 27-1-1915.

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because he felt that there should be some outlet for the anxiety of Indians to help in the crisis which had come upon the Empire. (Hear, hear.) He thanked Mr. Roberts for his appreciation of the services that are being rendered. It was, he said, after prayerful consideration as to how Indians would help in the crisis that the Corps had come into being; his joy was mixed with pain because he could not do his part; he had himself pleaded hard with Mr. Roberts that some place should be found for him but his health had not permitted, and the doctor had been obdurate. He had not resigned from the Corps. If in his own motherland he should be restored to strength, and hostilities were still continuing, he intended to come back, directly the summons reached him. (Cheers.)[1] As for his work in South Africa, that had been purely a matter of duty, and carried no merit with it, and his only aspiration on his return to his motherland was to do his duty as he found it day by day. He had been practically an exile for 25 years, and his friend and master, Mr. Gokhale, had warned him not to speak on Indian questions, as India was a foreign land to him. (Laughter.) But the India of his imagination was an India unrivalled in the world, and an India where the most spiritual treasures were to be found, and it was his dream and hope that the connection between India and England might be a source of spiritual comfort and uplifting to the whole world.[2] He could not conclude without expressing his warmest appreciation of the great kindness which Lady Cecilia Roberts had shown to his wife and himself in the illness. They had landed in England as strangers, but they had speedily fallen among friends. There must be something good in the connection between India and England, if it produced such unsolicited and generous kindness from English men and women to Indians.[3]

We are blest with many friends, who have helped and cheered us, and we hope and pray that we may so discharge ourselves as to deserve the kind things that have been said and the tribute of this gathering as well as that arranged on our arrival from South Africa. We hope this is not a final good-bye to so many good friends.

*India*, 25-12-1914 and *Indian Opinion*, 27-1-1915

[1] The *Amrit Bazar Patrika* report quoted Gandhiji as saying here: "My hope is to come back and if the War should last till then, I shall be ready to do my share of service as a nursing orderly."

[2] The *Amrit Bazar Patrika* version has: "India, he felt, was the country where the greatest spiritual treasures were to be found for the comforting and uplifting of the whole world and all could work towards strengthening the tie between India and Great Britain by each giving of its best to the other."

[3] What follows is from the *Amrit Bazar Patrika* report.

## 423. LETTER TO A. H. WEST

P. & O. S. N. Co. S. S.,
*December 23, 1914*

MY DEAR WEST,

I am thoroughly done up now but on the approach of Xmas eve I cannot help sending you loving thoughts. Our departure was sudden & early. We are keeping well considering the stormy weather. My health improving I hope to resume writing for *I.O.* Please send to Miss Smith a message of condolence on her mother's death.

I have been so often prevented from reaching India that it seems hardly real that I am sitting in a ship bound for India. And having reached that what shall I do with myself? However, 'Lead Kindly Light, amid the encircling gloom, lead Thou me on.' That thought is my solace & may it be yours in the darkest moments.

With love to you all from both of us.

*Yours sincerely,*
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: C. W. 4417
Courtesy: A. H. West

## 424. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL GANDHI

ON S. S. *ARABIA*,
*Wednesday, Posh Sud 7* [*December 23, 1914*]

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

Wonderful is the sport of God! I have been able to leave London unexpectedly early and in an unexpected manner. It remains to be seen whether I reach home safe. I cannot feel that I am in India till I have landed in Bombay. I have been disappointed many times. We are both keeping good health, now at any rate. We are very careful. Let us see whether I regain my former strength. We live on the food we have brought from England. Mixing two parts banana flour and one part wheat flour, we have made biscuits and *rotis*. We eat these and dry fruit, soaked in water. Ripe fruit we obtain from the ship. Ripe bananas are over, so they put half-ripe bananas into the oven

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for ripening before giving them to us. We have brought our own stock of groundnuts, dates, etc. We have our meals both times only in the cabin. We have second-class tickets. There is no third-class or deck accommodation on this ship. It is very crowded. There is no room for moving about on the deck. I think we should reach Bombay on January 11th or 12th.

I study Bengali on the ship. I have not been able to read much on account of the cold.

Every effort is being made for Mr. Kallenbach. He will come as soon as he gets permission.

*Blessings from*
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 6098

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# *APPENDICES*

## APPENDIX I

### *TEXT OF THE SEARLE JUDGMENT*[1]

Mr. Justice Searle, in giving judgment, said: I should have been glad to have had a little more time in regard to giving judgment in this matter so as to have been able to go into it somewhat more fully, but on account of the departure of a steamer it is of urgency and thus requires to be disposed of at once. The facts are not in dispute. The applicant, an Indian who has been living at Port Elizabeth since 1902, obtained a permit last year to go to India, where he contracted a "marriage" by Mahommedan rites with one Bai Mariam, who now seeks admission to this country with him, as an immigrant under Act 30, 1906. It is admitted that she is unable to satisfy the qualifications of Section 3(a) of Act 30, 1906, and that unless she is to be regarded as the wife of applicant under Section 4 (e) of that Act, she cannot claim admission. What appeared at first to me to be a difficulty in the way of the respondent was that a certificate from a magistrate in India was annexed to the petition in which it was stated that she was the wife of the applicant; but I understand that that document is only admitted as evidence subject to the admission made by the applicant that this so-called marriage was what is commonly known as a polygamous one, in other words, that the applicant was free to enter any unions of a similar nature during the subsistence of the marriage with Bai Mariam. As a fact, however, he has not done so, and the question for discussion, it is agreed between the parties, is simply narrowed down to this "What is the meaning of the word 'wife' in Section 4(e) of the Act?" Does it mean a wife by a marriage recognised as legal by the laws of this country, or must the term be extended to embrace a so-called wife by a custom which recognises polygamy? The courts of this country have always set their faces against recognition of these so-called Mahommedan marriages as legal unions; although by Act 16 of 1860 of Cape Colony, provision was made whereby marriage officers could solemnise such and thus give them validity, until so solemnised they remain out of the pale of legal marriages. It is clear, however, that such solemnisation has not taken place in this case, and there is no statement even of any intention to effect this if Bai Mariam is permitted to land. It was in consequence of the existence of that statute that Magistrate's case and the others quoted on the same lines were decided. The object of allowing the wife of an immigrant to land with him was no doubt because of the intimate legal relations

[1] The judgment was delivered on March 14, 1913, in the Cape Supreme Court. Hassan Esop, husband of Bai Mariam, had applied for an order restraining the Minister of the Interior from deporting her.

existing between husband and wife, whereby they are partners in legal contemplation for many purposes and the husband is bound to maintain the wife until they are legally separated by the Court. If, however, persons are admitted as "wives" who might legally be repudiated the next day after the arrival by the husband entering into a lawful union in this country with someone else, or even without his doing so, it seems to me the object of the exemption in favour of the wife would not be carried into effect. The statute is in general term; it is not framed merely for Asiatics or, indeed, principally for them, though the word Asiatic is incidentally mentioned in the Act; not all Asiatics, however, contract unions of a polygamous character. It is said that at all events one "wife" should be admitted of a Mahommedan union, and I do not know whether it is to be the first that comes, or the first that is married; but it is said that otherwise there will be great hardships imposed and immorality presumably encouraged; these are matters for the legislature to consider, though I am not satisfied that such consequences would necessarily ensue by the interpretation of the Act contended for by the respondent. The matter has never been judicially decided in this Province, but in the Transvaal a recent decision disclosed a difference of opinion on the Bench. The Transvaal Statute is in similar terms to Act 30 of 1906, and I agree with the decision of the majority of the Court. This is not a case where merely ceremonial forms of the marriage celebration in the foreign country by parties domiciled there are different from those required in this country; in such cases it may well be that the marriage could not be impeached here, but this is a case where the very elements and essentials of a legal union of marriage are, by admission, wanting. As pointed out for respondent, when the legislature of this Colony did intend to put a wider interpretation on the word "wife" so as to include a reputed wife as in Act 15, 1865, the Act clearly said so; the onus here lies on the applicant and I am not satisfied that he has discharged it. The application must be refused. It was suggested that the Court should intimate that Bai Mariam might be allowed to land if applicant agreed to legalise his marriage under Act 16 of 1860, but that is not a matter for the Court to interfere with, though I can see no objection to such a course of the procedure if the Minister should direct it. I don't even know if machinery for such legalisation at present exists. As costs are not pressed for, there will be no order as to costs.

*Indian Opinion*, 21-6-1913

## APPENDIX II

*RESOLUTIONS AT VREDEDORP MASS MEETING*

JOHANNESBURG,
*March 30, 1913*

RESOLUTION I

This Mass Meeting of British Indians, held under the auspices of the British Indian Association, expresses deep distress and disappointment at the decision of the Cape Provincial Division of the Supreme Court, whereby non-Christian Indian marriages, celebrated according to the tenets of the great faiths prevailing in India, and which marriages are recognised by law in India, are invalidated and the great religions of India insulted; and respectfully and earnestly requests the Government to introduce a remedial legislation recognising the validity of such marriages throughout the Union.

RESOLUTION II

This meeting is of opinion that the decision referred to in the foregoing resolution is calculated, if logically acted upon, to disturb Indian domestic relations, to break up established homes, to put husband and wife asunder, to deprive lawful children of their inheritances or of the advantages, in some parts of the Union, of the law of inheritance as to succession and transfer duty, and to prevent the entry into South Africa of the lawful wives and children of Indians entitled to reside within the Union.

RESOLUTION III

This meeting is further of opinion that the questions arising out of the decision are of such vital importance to the British Indian population of South Africa that, unless the relief requested is granted, it will become the bounden duty of the community, for the protection of its womanhood and its honour, to adopt passive resistance.

RESOLUTION IV

This meeting of British Indians authorises the Chairman to forward copies of the foregoing resolutions to the Union Government, the Imperial Government and the Indian Government.

CERTIFIED CORRECT

A. M. CACHALIA
CHAIRMAN

Colonial Office Records: 551/39

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## APPENDIX III

### *TELEGRAM FROM MINISTER OF INTERIOR*

[CAPE TOWN,]
*April 15, 1913*

YOUR FIRST TELEGRAM NINTH. MINISTER DESIRES ME TO REPLY TO YOUR POINTS AS FOLLOWS. AS TO SECTION THREE, BOARDS OF APPEAL TAKE THE PLACE OF COURTS EXCEPT IN QUESTION OF DOMICILE. THERE ARE WELL ESTABLISHED PRECEDENTS FOR THIS. AS TO CLAUSE (A) SUB-SECTION 1, SECTION 4, FIRST POINT YOU RAISE APPEARS IS COVERED BY SECTION 5(F). PROHIBITION OF ENTRY INTO FREE STATE IS NO NEW PROPOSAL AND WAS CONTEMPLATED IN PREVIOUS BILL. SUB-SECTION 3, SECTION 4, AS TO RESTRICTION TO ONE PORT, THIS PROVISION IS NECESSARY FOR ADMINISTRATIVE PURPOSES BASED ON EXPERIENCE AND IS INTENDED TO PREVENT UNAUTHORIZED ENTRY VIA PORTS WHERE GOVERNMENT HAS NO SATISFACTORY CONTROL OVER THE MOVEMENTS OF PROHIBITED IMMIGRANTS. SUB-SECTION (F) SECTION 5, ANY ALTERATION IN THE DIRECTION INDICATED BY YOU WOULD SEEM TO CONFER A RIGHT WHICH HAS NOT HITHERTO EXISTED. AS TO PROVISO TO THE SECTION, MINISTER CANNOT FIND IN THE CASE OF NATAL THAT RESIDENTIAL CERTIFICATE CONFERRED ANY RIGHTS. IN THE CASE OF TRANSVAAL, SECTION II OF ACT 36 OF 1908 GIVES RIGHTS WHICH WILL, OF COURSE, BE RESPECTED, BUT CANNOT SEE THAT SUCH RIGHTS CAN BE GREATER IN THE CASE OF AN INDIAN THAN IN THE CASE OF A EUROPEAN WHO, BY LONG ABSENCE, MAY LOSE HIS DOMICILE IN SOUTH AFRICA. REGARDING QUESTION OF INTER-MIGRATION TO THE CAPE AND NATAL OF EDUCATED INDIANS WHO COULD PASS EDUCATION TEST AT PRESENT IMPOSED, POSITION WAS CLEARLY STATED LAST YEAR BY THE MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR IN HIS SPEECH ON THE SECOND READING OF THE BILL, THAT RESTRICTIONS ON INTER-PROVINCIAL MOVEMENT OF ASIATICS IN SOUTH AFRICA WOULD NOT BE MADE GREATER THAN THEY ARE AT PRESENT AND THERE IS NO INTENTION OF DEPARTING FROM THAT POLICY WHICH WILL BE CARRIED OUT EITHER BY GRANTING EXEMPTION OR BY OTHER ADMINISTRATIVE ACTION. WITH REFERENCE SEARLE'S JUDGMENT, GOVERNMENT HAS ALREADY INTIMATED THAT IT HAS NO INTENTION OF DEPARTING FROM THE PRESENT PRACTICE IN REGARD TO WIVES AND MINOR CHILDREN. WITH REFERENCE TO YOUR SECOND TELEGRAM, THE WIFE AND MINOR CHILDREN OF SELECTED EDUCATED ENTRANT EITHER COME WITH HIM AND ARE ADMITTED WITH HIM OR THEY ARRIVE AFTER HE HAD ACQUIRED A DOMICILE AND THUS FALL UNDER THE EXEMPTION. REGARDING DECLARATION, AS POINTED OUT TO

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YOU LAST YEAR, THE SWORN DECLARATION IS NOT AN IMMIGRATION PROVISION, AND CANNOT THEREFORE UNDERSTAND THAT ANY DIFFICULTY IS LIKELY TO ARISE. THERE IS NO SETTLED ASIATIC COMMUNITY IN FREE STATE AND IT CANNOT BE CONCEIVED THAT ANY OF THE EDUCATED ENTRANTS WHO ARE TO BE ADMITTED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE INDIAN COMMUNITY AS A WHOLE WILL EVER SEEK TO SETTLE IN THAT PROVINCE. CASUAL VISITS ARE PROVIDED FOR WITHOUT FORMALITY. REGARDING LAST POINT, WORDS WERE ADDED AS LAST YEAR'S DRAFT WAS DEFECTIVE. IN CONCLUSION, MINISTER STRONGLY DEPRECATES REFERENCES IN YOUR TELEGRAM AND OTHER COMMUNICATIONS TO PASSIVE RESISTANCE. THE THREATS THEREIN CONTAINED MIGHT VERY POSSIBLY, IN VIEW OF FEELING THROUGHOUT THE UNION ON MATTER UNDER CONSIDERATION, LEAD TO RESULTS FAR DIFFERENT FROM THOSE ANTICIPATED BY THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE INDIAN COMMUNITY WHEN MAKING THEM.

*Indian Opinion*, 7-6-1913

## APPENDIX IV

### *SPEECH BY A. M. CACHALIA*

JOHANNESBURG,
*April 27, 1913*

It has become necessary again to convene a mass meeting in order that you may consider the long-expected Immigration Bill, which has been just published. A respectful protest has already been wired to the Government on behalf of the Association, embodying our objections to the Bill, and a reply has been received saying that the objections are receiving the careful consideration of the Government. We may reasonably hope, therefore, that the Bill will be amended in accordance with our objections. It was, however, considered advisable, regard being had to the very great importance of the occasion, to obtain the opinion of the whole Indian community in the Transvaal, as also to consider what steps we should take in the event of the Government declining or being unable to meet us.

The Bill, if it becomes law in its present form, will make our position worse than it was before the struggle was commenced in 1906, a position which we, as a self-respecting community, can never endorse. You will notice, moreover, that it seriously affects the rights hitherto enjoyed not only by grown-up men but by women and children also. It affects equally the rich and the poor. It takes away the rights of those who are domiciled in South Africa, notwithstanding the declarations made by General Botha that it is not the intention of the Government to molest the resident Indian community. A Bill which cuts at the very root of existence must be resisted by those affected by it at any cost.

We, who are unrepresented in Parliament although we contribute to the expense of keeping it, have only one effective mode of securing redress, and that is Passive Resistance. Having had considerable experience of passive resistance, we are in a position to measure our strength as well as our weakness, and to measure also the value of passive resistance as a remedy. It will not be denied that, during the first campaign, our sufferings were little compared with the sufferings that the community had to undergo during the second campaign; but we found, too, that, during that long period of four years over which the second campaign spread, in the last stages of it, the number of those who could stand what then appeared to be almost endless imprisonment was undoubtedly small in comparison, but it was a band mostly of earnest and indomitable spirits, and it was due to their sufferings alone that we were able to reach what is known as the provisional settlement. It was called "provisional" because, whilst it conceded all that we had been fighting for, it had not the force of law. The present Bill is supposed to embody that settlement, but, as you have seen from the objection drawn up by your Committee, it has done nothing of the kind. We are now pleading with the Government, and we shall continue to do so so long as there is hope, but, in the last resort, it is perfectly clear that the same means that brought about the provisional settlement must be adopted now to secure legislative sanction for the promises contained in the settlement.

If, in spite of all our efforts to the contrary, the community has to engage in a third campaign, it must necessarily be bitter and painful and involve much greater sufferings than before. It is evident that thousands will not be ready to engage in such a strenuous fight, but all who, having understood the spirit of the Bill, are opposed to it, can endorse the action of those who have the will and the ability to go through the hardships entailed by imprisonment or any other and further penalty that the Government may devise. Because they cannot come to gaol, they need not stand out. They can look after those who may be left behind by the sufferers. They can inform the Government that they are at one with them in making the demand for redress, and that they are heart and soul with the movement. I take it that this meeting is composed of two such classes and that it is actuated by only one impulse, as everyone of its members is affected equally by the Bill under consideration. I am hoping that the Government will give heed to the telegram I have referred to in my opening remarks, but, if unfortunately it cannot see its way to do so, I hope that this meeting will unanimously pass the only resolution that will be submitted to it.

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## APPENDIX V

### (*1*) *TELEGRAM FROM MINISTER OF INTERIOR*

[Cape Town,]
*May 29, 1913*

YOUR TELEGRAM OF THE 27TH INSTANT. ALL POINTS RAISED BY YOU WERE FULLY CONSIDERED BY GOVERNMENT AND PARLIAMENT. IN REGARD TO MARRIAGE QUESTION, HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY WAS NOT PREPARED TO GO ANY FURTHER THAN IT HAS IN THE AMENDMENT RECENTLY ADOPTED AND, IF IT IS NOT SATISFACTORY TO THE INDIAN COMMUNITY, MINISTER MUST SERIOUSLY CONSIDER ADVISABILITY OF ASKING SENATE TO DELETE THE PROVISION IN QUESTION AND ALLOW THE MATTER TO REMAIN ONE FOR ADMINISTRATIVE TREATMENT IN FUTURE ON THE LINES WHICH THE MINISTER HAS ALREADY STATED HE IS PREPARED TO ADOPT AND IS, AS A MATTER OF FACT, NOW ADOPTING. MINISTER WENT OUT OF HIS WAY TO CONSIDER THE AMENDMENT PROPOSED BY MR. ALEXANDER AND ONLY ACCEPTED IT ON THE ASSURANCE THAT IT WOULD REMOVE THE GRIEVANCES OF THE INDIANS. THE CONTENTION YOU ARE NOW SETTING UP WITH REGARD TO THE RIGHTS OF SOUTH AFRICA-BORN INDIANS TO ENTER AND RESIDE IN THE CAPE PROVINCE IS ONE THAT PARLIAMENT WILL NOT AGREE TO. NONE OF THE QUESTIONS WHICH LED UP TO THE SETTLEMENT WERE CONNECTED WITH THE POSITION OF INDIANS IN THE CAPE AND THE CAPE PARLIAMENT HAD THE UNDOUBTED RIGHT TO ALTER IN ANY RESPECT IT CHOSE THE PROVISIONS OF THE IMMIGRATION LAW IT CREATED AND IT IS ENTIRELY IN DEFERENCE TO PUBLIC OPINION IN CAPE PROVINCE THAT PARLIAMENT WAS NOT ABLE TO MEET YOU IN THE POINTS YOU RAISE. YOU MUST SURELY ADMIT THE ENTIRE REASONABLENESS OF THE ATTITUDE OF THE CAPE PUBLIC. THE GOVERNMENT HAS KEPT THE DOOR OPEN FOR THE EDUCATED INDIAN WHO CAN COMPLY WITH THE EXISTING EUROPEAN LANGUAGE TEST AND IN DOING SO MET WHAT HE THOUGHT WAS YOUR GREAT POINT ABOUT THE INTERMIGRATION OF THE EDUCATED PERSON, BUT PARLIAMENT AFTER FULL DISCUSSION REFUSED TO AGREE TO ALLOW EVERY INDIAN BORN IN NATAL THE RIGHT TO ENTER THE CAPE. AS ALREADY INTIMATED, THE MATTER OF DECLARATIONS UNDER CHAPTER XXXIII OF THE FREE STATE LAWS CAN AND WILL BE DEALT WITH ADMINISTRATIVELY. ANY SUGGESTION

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SPECIFICALLY TO ALTER THE TERMS OF THE LAW WOULD MEAN STRENUOUS OPPOSITION ON THE PART OF THE ORANGE FREE STATE AND THE POSSIBLE WITHDRAWAL OF THE BILL, WHICH IS A CONTINGENCY THAT THE GOVERNMENT IS NOT AT THIS HOUR PREPARED TO FACE. MINISTER MUCH APPRECIATES YOUR OFFER TO COME TO CAPE TOWN BUT DOES NOT THINK IT NECESSARY AS HE IS FULLY AWARE OF THE ATTITUDE OF ALL MEMBERS OF THE LEGISLATURE ON THE POINTS YOU RAISE AND CAN HOLD OUT NO HOPE THAT PARLIAMENT WILL ALTER THE BILL ON ANY OF THE POINTS UNDER REFERENCE.

*Indian Opinion*, 7-6-1913

## (2) *GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S CABLE TO COLONIAL OFFICE*

SECRET

*May 29, 1913*

IT IS POSSIBLE THAT FOR REASONS OF THEIR OWN AGITATORS HERE MAY CONTINUE AGITATION AMONG INDIAN COMMUNITY IN SPITE OF CONCESSIONS MADE ON IMMIGRATION BILL. IF THIS SHOULD LEAD TO RENEWAL OF PASSIVE RESISTANCE EFFECT ON PUBLIC OPINION IN SOUTH AFRICA WOULD BE VERY SERIOUS AND INDIANS WOULD PROBABLY BE REGARDED AS HAVING FORFEITED ANY CLAIM TO CONSIDERATE TREATMENT. I HOPE YOU WILL REPRESENT THIS TO INDIAN GOVERNMENT AND ASK THEM TO USE SUCH INFLUENCE AS THEY MAY POSSESS WITH GANDHI AND OTHERS. I GATHER FROM FISCHER THAT WOMEN AND CHILDREN WILL ALMOST ALL CERTAINLY BE EXEMPTED FROM NATAL £3 TAX. I AM DOING MY BEST TO SECURE TOTAL ABOLITION OF TAX. MATTER IS STILL UNDER CONSIDERATION.

GLADSTONE

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## APPENDIX VI

*DRAFT IMMIGRATION REGULATION BILL AND THE ACT*

THE BILL AS INTRODUCED

3. No court of law in the Union shall, except upon a question of domicile in the Union or any Province, have any jurisdiction to review, quash, reverse, interdict or otherwise interfere with any proceeding, act, order, or warrant of the Minister, a board, an immigration officer or a master, if such proceeding, act, order, or warrant purports to be had, done, or issued, under this Act and relates to the detention, or to the removal from the Union or any Province, of a person who is being dealt with as a prohibited immigrant.

THE ACT AS GAZETTED

3. (1) No court of law in the Union shall, except upon a question of law reserved by a board as in this section provided, have any jurisdiction to review, quash, reverse, interdict or otherwise interfere with any proceeding, act, order, or warrant of the Minister, a board, an immigration officer or a master, had, done or issued under this Act, and relating to the restriction or detention, or to the removal from the Union or any Province, of a person who is being dealt with as a prohibited immigrant.

(2) A board may, of its own motion, and shall, at the request of the appellant or of an immigration officer, reserve for the decision of a superior court having jurisdiction, any question of law which arises upon an appeal heard before such board under the last preceding section, and shall state such question in the form of a special case for the opinion of such court by transmitting such special case to the registrar thereof. The question so stated may be argued before such court which may call for further information to be supplied by the board if the court shall deem such information necessary and may give such answer on such case, supplemented by such information, if any, and may make such order as to the costs of the proceedings, as it may think right.

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(3) For the purposes of this section—

"a question of law" shall, among other questions, include a question of domicile; and "a superior court having jurisdiction" shall mean the provincial division of the Supreme Court which has jurisdiction where the board was sitting, or any judge of such division, or the Eastern Districts Local Division having such jurisdiction or any judge thereof, and "appellant" shall not include an alien.

(4) If the special case aforesaid is stated at the request of the appellant he shall, if he is a person seeking to enter the Union for the first time lodge with the said registrar security, to such amount, as the registrar may determine, for any costs that the Court may order the appellant to pay.

4. (1) Any such person as is described in any paragraph of this sub-section who enters or is found within the Union, or who, though lawfully resident in the Province, enters or is found in another Province in which he is not lawfully resident, shall be a prohibited immigrant in respect of the Union or of that other Province (as the case may be), that is to say—

(a) any person or class of persons deemed by the Minister on economic grounds or on account of standard or habits of life to be unsuited to the requirements of the Union or any particular Province thereof;

(b) any person who is unable, by reason of deficient education,

4. (1) Any such person as is described in any paragraph of this subsection who enters or is found within the Union, or who, though lawfully resident in one Province, enters or is found in another Province in which he is not lawfully resident, shall be a prohibited immigrant in respect of the Union or of that other Province (as the case may be), that is to say—

(a) any person or class of persons deemed by the Minister on economic grounds or on account of standard or habits of life to be unsuited to the requirements of the Union or any particular Province thereof;

(b) any person who is unable, by reason of deficient education, to read and write any European

to read and write any European language to the satisfaction of an immigration officer; and for the purpose of this paragraph Yiddish shall be regarded as an European language;

(c) 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;

(d) 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;

[Paragraphs (e) to (h) omitted.] Subject to the provisions of section *two* and *three*, an immigration officer shall cause a prohibited immigrant so entering or found within the Union or within any Province into which his entry, or in which his presence, is unlawful, to be removed therefrom.

(2) A list of all persons who have been declared under this Act to be prohibited immigrants in respect of the Union or any Province, and who have been removed therefrom or whose entry into the Union or any Province has been restricted, shall be laid by the Minister upon the tables of both Houses of Parliament within fourteen days after the commencement of each session thereof. Such list shall be framed in respect of a period ending one month

language to the satisfaction of an immigration officer or, in case of an appeal, to the satisfaction of the board; and for the purpose of this paragraph Yiddish shall be regarded as an European language;

[Paragraphs (c) to (h) omitted.] Whenever the Minister exercises any power conferred upon him by this sub-section, he shall transmit written notice of that fact to the immigration officer concerned and to every board. Subject to the provisions of sections *two* and *three* an immigration officer shall cause a prohibited immigrant so entering or found within the Union or within any Province into which his entry, or in which his presence, is unlawful, to be removed therefrom.

(2) Nothing in sub-section (1) (a) contained shall be constructed—

(a) as enabling a person to be deemed a prohibited immigrant in the Cape of Good Hope or Natal if, being at the commencement of this Act lawfully entitled to reside in any Province, he shows or has shown that he is able to comply with the requirements described in section *three* (a) of Act No. 30 of 1906 of the Cape of Good Hope, or of section *five* (a) of Act No. 30 of 1903 of Natal; or

(b) as abrogating or affecting any right conferred by Act No. 36 of 1908 of the Transvaal upon the lawful holder of a certificate of registration defined in that Act.

(3) A list of all persons who have been declared under this Act to be prohibited immigrants in respect of

before the session commences, and shall contain the name, sex, and nationality of each such person and the reason for his removal or restriction.

(3) The Minister may from time to time by notice in the *Gazette* declare that persons described in paragraph (a) of sub-section (1) of this section when permitted under this Act to enter or return to the Union or any Province, shall enter or return at a port or ports specified in the notice and not at any other port, and thereupon it shall be unlawful for any such person to enter or return at any other port.

5. The following person or classes of persons shall not be prohibited immigrants for the purposes of this Act, namely—

[Paragraphs (a), (b), (c) and (d) omitted.]

(e) any person born in any part of South Africa included in the Union;

the Union or any province, and who have been removed therefrom or whose entry into the Union or any Province has been restricted, shall be laid by the Minister upon the tables of both Houses of Parliament within fourteen days after the commencement of each session thereof. Such list shall be framed in respect of a period ending one month before the session commences, and shall contain the name, sex, and nationality of each such person and the reason for his removal or restriction.

(4) The Minister may from time to time, by notice in the *Gazette*, declare that persons belonging to classes described in paragraph (a) of sub-section (1) of this section when permitted under this Act to enter or return to the Union or any Province, shall enter or return at a port or ports specified in the notice and not at any other port and thereupon it shall be unlawful for any such person to enter or return at any other port.

5. The following persons or classes of persons shall not be prohibited immigrants for the purposes of this Act, namely—

[Paragraphs (a) to (d) omitted]

(e) any person born before the commencement of this Act in any part of South Africa included in the Union whose parents were lawfully resident therein and were not at that time restricted to temporary or conditional residence by any law then in force, and any person born in any place after the commencement of this Act whose parents were at the time of his

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|---|---|
| | birth domiciled in any part of South Africa included in the Union; |
| (f) any person domiciled in any Province; | (f) any person domiciled in any Province who is not such a person as is described in paragraph (e) or (f) of sub-section (1) of the preceding section, or who has not been removed under section *twenty-two* of this Act; |
| (g) any person who is proved to the satisfaction of an immigration officer to be the wife, or the child under the age of sixteen years, of any person described in paragraph (f) of this section, provided that the wife or the child (as the case may be) is not such a person as is described in sub-section (1) (d), (e), (f), (g) or (h) of the last preceding section; | (g) any person who is proved to the satisfaction of an immigration officer or in case of an appeal, to the satisfaction of the board, to be the wife, or the child under the age of sixteen years, of any person exempted by paragraph (f) of this section, including the wife or child of a lawful and monogamous marriage duly celebrated according to the rites of any religious faith outside the Union, provided that the wife or the child (as the case may be) is not such a person as is described in sub-section (1) (d), (e), (f), (g) or (h) of the last preceding section; |
| [Paragraph (h) omitted.] | [Paragraph (h) omitted] |
| Provided that nothing in this section contained shall be construed as entitling a person to whom the provisions of sub-section (1)(a) or the last preceding section apply, to enter and reside in a Province in which he has not previously been lawfully resident: provided further that if any person, having been absent for a period of three years continuously from a Province in which he was previously lawfully resident of, for a longer period than the duration of a permit issued under the authority of any law hereby repealed, claims to enter, enters or is found in that Province, he shall not be deemed to fall within the exemptions contained in this section. | Provided that nothing in this section contained shall be construed as entitling a person to whom the provisions of sub-section (1)(a) of the last preceding section apply, to enter and reside in a Province in which he has not previously been lawfully resident. |
| 7. Any such person as is described in Chapter XXXIII of the Orange | 7. Any such person as is described in Chapter XXXIII of the Orange |

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Free State Law Book shall, notwithstanding that he is lawfully resident in a particular Province or that he has been permitted to enter the Union, continue to be subject in all respects to the provisions of sections *seven* and *eight* of the said Chapter XXXIII, and if he acts in contravention of those provisions, he may be dealt with under this Act as a prohibited immigrant in respect of the Orange Free State.

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, or in any other immovable property.

(2) Any such licence (if obtained by a prohibited immigrant) or any contract, deed or other document by which any such interest is acquired in contravention of this section, shall, as from the date that the holder of the licence or interest is dealt with as a prohibited immigrant under this Act, be null and void.

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 dealt with in accordance with this Act.

(2) Any magistrate may, if information on oath be laid before him

Free State Law Book shall, notwithstanding that he is lawfully resident in a particular Province or that he has been permitted to enter the Union, continue to be subject in all respects to the provisions of sections *seven* and *eight* of the said Chapter XXXIII, and if he acts in contravention of those provisions, he may be dealt with under this Act as a prohibited immigrant in respect of the Orange Free State.

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, or in any other immovable property.

(2) Any such licence (if obtained by a prohibited immigrant) or any contract, deed or other document by which any such interest is acquired in contravention of this section, shall, as from the date that the holder of the licence or interest is dealt with as a prohibited immigrant under this Act, be null and void.

9. (1) Every person who is suspected on reasonable grounds of being a prohibited immigrant may, if there is reason to believe that the delay occasioned by obtaining a warrant would enable such person to evade the provisions of this Act, be arrested without warrant by an immigration officer or police officer, and shall be dealt with in accordance with this Act.

(2) Any magistrate may, if information on oath be laid before him

that there is upon any premises a 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 such person and arrest him.

25. (1) Anything to the contrary notwithstanding in this Act contained, the Minister may in his discretion exempt any person from the provisions of section *four* or, subject to the provisions of section *seven*, may authorize the issue of a temporary permit to any prohibited immigrant to enter and reside in the Union or any particular Province upon such conditions as to the period of residence or the calling or occupation which he may follow therein or otherwise, as may in the permit be specified.

(2) The Minister may also in his discretion authorize the issue of a certificate of identity to any person who is lawfully resident in the Union or in 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.

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.

25. (1) Anything to the contrary notwithstanding in this Act contained the Minister may, in his discretion, exempt any person from the Provisions of paragraphs (a), (b), (c), (d) of sub-section (1) of section *four* or, subject to the provisions of section *seven*, may authorize the issue of a temporary permit to any prohibited immigrant to enter and reside in the Union or any particular Province upon such conditions as may be lawfully imposed by regulation.

(2) The Minister may also in his discretion authorize the issue of a certificate of identity to any person who is lawfully resident in the Union 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.

(3) The Minister may authorize persons outside the Union to issue to any intending immigrant a certificate that he is exempt from the provisions of sub-section (1) (a) of section *four*, but no such certificate shall be recognized in the Union unless the holder thereof furnish to the immigration officer such proof as is prescribed by regulation of his identity with the immigrant to whom

28. Anything to the contrary notwithstanding in Act No. 36 of 1908 of the Transvaal, a person who has been exempted from the provisions of section *four* of this Act or, on the authority of a temporary permit issued under sub-section (1) of section *twenty-five* of this Act, has been permitted to enter and reside in any part of the Union, shall not be deemed to be subject to registration under the provisions of the said Act of the Transvaal.

the certificate was originally issued.

28. Anything to the contrary notwithstanding in Act No. 36 of 1908 of the Transvaal, a person who has been exempted from the provisions of paragraphs (a), (b), (c), (d) of sub-section (1) of section *four* of this Act or, on the authority of a temporary permit issued under sub-section (1) of section *twenty-five* of this Act, has been permitted to enter and reside in any part of the Union, shall not be deemed to be subject to registration under the provisions of the said Act of the Transvaal.

30. In this Act, and in the regulations made thereunder, unless inconsistent with the context,—

"domicile" shall mean the place in which a person has his present home or in which he resides or to which he returns as his place of present permanent abode and not for a mere special or temporary purpose; and a person shall not be deemed to have a domicile within the Union or any Province (as the case may be) for the purposes of this Act unless he has resided therein for at least three years, otherwise than under terms of conditional or temporary residence permitted by this Act or any other law or as a person under detention in a prison, gaol, reformatory or lunatic asylum; and a person shall be deemed for the purposes of this Act to have lost his domicile within the Union or any Province (as the case may be) if he voluntarily go and reside outside the Union or that Province (except for a special or tem-

porary purpose) with the intention of making his home outside the Union or that Province (as the case may be.)

[This is a new definition.]

*Indian Opinion*, 28-6-1913

## APPENDIX VII

### *IMMIGRATION ACT REGULATIONS*

Regulations under the Immigrants Regulation Act were gazetted on the 15th instant. They are divided into 31 Sections.

Of these, Sections 1 to 6 deal with the examination and control of vessels.

Sections 7 to 15 deal with the examination of passengers.

Section 7 provides that all passengers for ports of the Union shall ordinarily be examined at the ship's first port of call in the Union.

Section 8 provides that the examination of passengers shall be conducted by the Immigration Officer on board a ship or at such other place as may be convenient. Every person, before being permitted to land, shall be required to complete a declaration in the form set out in the second annexure.

Section 9 empowers the officer to require the passenger to write out the declaration himself as also to call in the aid of an interpreter.

Section 10 requires the officer to give notice to the master of the ship of those who have been found to be prohibited immigrants and thereafter the master is responsible for their safe custody.

Section 11 provides that all examinations shall be reduced to writing.

Section 12 authorises the officer to postpone examination in case of doubt.

Section 13 enables the officer to accept evidence that a passenger, on landing, can be supported by friends as sufficient proof that he will not become a public charge.

Section 14 reads as follows:—

"The immigration officer may require for the purpose of an application made in respect of a wife or child, under paragraph (g) of section *five* of the Act, a properly authenticated copy of the certificate of the marriage, or of the birth as the case may be; or, if no copy of such marriage certificate or birth certificate can be produced, the immigration officer may require the production of an official certificate under the hand of

(a) an officer competent to give the same stating that in his personal knowledge the parties were married on a date under the circumstances stated; or (as the case may be) that the child was born on a date and at a place set out and of parents named in such certificates; or

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(b) the production of a certificate under the hand of an officer competent to give the same stating that he has taken sworn testimony or other evidence as to the circumstances and date of the marriage, or the date of birth and the parentage of the child, and that such testimony and such evidence is attached to such certificate together with such officer's finding thereon.

"The immigration officer may require any certificate mentioned in this regulation to be supplemented by satisfactory evidence as to the identity of the persons referred to in the certificate, and the immigration officer may, in any case of doubt, require such further evidence as may be necessary to satisfy him that any wife or child referred to in the certificate is such a wife or child as, under paragraph (g) of section *five* of the Act, is exempted from being considered a prohibited immigrant."

Section 15 authorises the officer to obtain a warrant for the arrest of a person who may be suspected of being a prohibited immigrant.

Section 16 to 18 deal with diseases and medical examination.

Section 19 is a long one, dealing with the procedure on appeal. It gives the form of notice of appeal. Pending appeal, the appellant may be received at a detention depot.

Sub-section (3) of Section 19, being rather important, we give in full as under:

"If there be no board which ordinarily sits or is sitting or about to sit at his station the immigration officer shall also communicate with the immigration officer in charge by telegraph, and shall inform the appellant that if he desires to be present at the hearing of his appeal he will be required himself to pay for his passage by sea, or for this transport by land subject to such conditions as may be imposed and under escort approved by the immigration officer, and paid for by the appellant to and, if necessary, from the place at which the board having jurisdiction is to sit. On arrival at such place the appellant shall be dealt with as provided in sub-section (2) of this regulation.

Sub-section (4) authorises the officer to issue a temporary permit to the appellant. The Board of Appeal may summon witnesses; the appellant may give and call evidence; he may be represented by Counsel, and the officer may also examine witnesses and be otherwise represented.

Sections 20 to 24 deal with permits and temporary permits. Temporary permits are to carry a fee of £1 and a deposit of from £10 to £100 for due fulfilment of conditions.

Sub-section (3) of Section 20 says:—

"It shall be deemed to be a condition of every permit that the holder shall report himself to the officers and at the periods and places specified in such permit; and if the holder gives any false or misleading address, he shall be liable to forfeiture of his permit and deposit, and to be dealt with as a prohibited immigrant."

No permit may be issued for over a year without the sanction of the Minister. The holder of a permit must give one day's notice of his intention to leave.

Sub-section (1) Section 21 says:—

"The certificate of identity which may be issued, in terms of sub-section (2) of section *twenty-five* of the Act, to persons lawfully resident in the Union or in any Province shall be in the form and subject to the conditions set out in the Fifth Annexure to these regulations. There shall be paid in respect of every such certificate, a fee of one pound, and every certificate shall contain such particulars and marks as may be deemed necessary for purposes of identification."

Duplicates of lost permits carry a fee of £2.

The Officer may cancel permits if the holder commits a breach of its conditions or has obtained it by fraud.

Sections 25 to 30 deal with the detention of prohibited immigrants.

Section 31 provides that the penalty for a breach of the regulations is £50 fine or three months' imprisonment, with or without hard labour.

## SECOND ANNEXURE

### Declaration by Passenger or Other Persons

(The information required hereunder must be given in English or Dutch)

Name in full

Port of Embarkation

Port of intended Debarkation

Age

(If over 21 years state "Full")

Sex

Race

(European, Asiatic, or African)

Nationality

(British, French, German, etc.)

If accompanied by wife, state her name

If accompanied by children (or wards) under 16 years, state name and age of each.

(If unaccompanied by wife or children, state "Travelling unaccompanied" in reply to question 8 and 9.)

Address at destination in full

Period (if any) of previous residence in South Africa. (If none, state "None.")

Occupation

What means can you produce, your own *bona fide* property? (If more than £20, state £20. If £20 or less, state full amount, and explain what documentary evidence you have of definite employment, or support, promised to you; and what references you can give to persons in South Africa?)

What European language can you write ?

Have you ever been prohibited from entering the Province or expelled from it?

Have you been convicted of any crime in any country ?

I hereby declare that I understand the above questions, and have answered them truly.

Signature or Mark of Passenger:

Declared before me at . . . . . .
this . . . . . day of . . . . . .

IMMIGRATION OFFICER

## FIFTH ANNEXURE

### CERTIFICATE OF IDENTITY : FEE, ONE POUND

It is certified that . . . . . having appeared before . . . . . for the purpose of supplying the means of identification which are now specified herein, and having intimated that he/she is about to absent himself/herself from the Province of . . . . . for a period of . . . . . on a visit to. . . . . this document is issued to the said. . . . . and, subject to the conditions enumerated below and to the verification of the marks of identification, will be accepted by the examining immigration officer without further evidence as proof of the identity of the said . . . . . on his/her return.

IMMIGRATION OFFICER IN CHARGE

Date
Place

### CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH THIS CERTIFICATE IS ISSUED

1. That on the return of the person referred to herein to the Province of . . . . . this certificate shall be surrendered to the examining immigration officer.

2. That if the person referred to herein seeks to re-enter the Province of . . . . . after a period of one year has elapsed from the date hereof, the protection afforded by this certificate shall be deemed to have lapsed, and he/she shall be required to satisfy the requirements of the Act.

3. This certificate may be held to be invalidated if the person named herein is shown to the immigration officer to have made a false declaration in a material point when applying for a certificate.

Identification Marks:

. . . . . .
. . . . . .

*Indian Opinion*, 26-7-1913

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## APPENDIX VIII

*LETTER FROM E. M. GORGES*

PRETORIA,
*August 19, 1913*

DEAR MR. GANDHI,

Referring to our previous correspondence on the subject of the Immigrants Regulation Act, 1913, I beg to say that the points you raised have been fully considered by the Minister, and at General Smuts' request I will now indicate what view he takes of them.

1. Your first point was that the descendants of indentured Indians would not in future be able to enter the Cape Province by reason of the proviso to Section 5 of the Act. General Smuts requests me to submit that this is an entirely new point and one not raised by you when all the matters at issue between the Indians and the Government were dealt with by you in your correspondence with him in January and February, 1912. Your letter of 29th January to the Private Secretary and your telegram of 1st February referred to the right of educated Indians to enter the Cape and Natal Provinces from other parts of the Union on passing the education test provided in the Immigration Laws of those Provinces, while your letter of 15th February, 1912, contained a specific statement that passive resisters could have nothing to complain of—"if the present legal position namely the ability of educated Asiatics to enter Natal or the Cape from the Transvaal (and presumably from Natal to Cape and *vice versa* ?) by passing the education tests provided by the respective laws of the Provinces is retained."

I have only to refer you to paragraph 7 and 8 of Minister's Minute, 902 A. of 20th December, 1910, printed as enclosure No. 8 to the White Book (Cd. 5579) to make it clear that the Union Government have all along regarded it as impossible to allow Indians born in Natal to migrate freely to the Cape, and until you raised the matter for the first time in your telegram of April 9th of this year to me the Minister was not aware that your community had any views on the subject at all.

The rights of the educated Indian inhabitants of any Province to enter the Cape and Natal by passing the education test prescribed in the recently repealed immigration laws of those two Provinces are fully secured by sub-section (2) of Section 4 of our new law and, as you yourself pointed out in your last letter (2nd July) to me, most of the Colonial-born Indians in Natal have passed through the Government Indian Schools and possess sufficient knowledge to undergo the Cape test. You also stated that it was a well-known fact that, throughout the time the Cape Act was in force, hardly any South Africa-born

Indian, not belonging to the Cape, has endeavoured to migrate to that Province as there is no scope for them there. In view of all these facts the Government cannot conceive that the Indian community now wishes to make a grievance of the fact that provincial boundaries have been maintained in the new law, and General Smuts trusts that the position created by that law will be accepted. You will be aware also that the point was fully discussed in Parliament last Session and the very strongest exception was taken by members representing constituencies in the Cape Province to any proposals for allowing non-educated Natal-born Indians to enter the Cape.

2. Secondly, in regard to the position of the ex-indentured Indians under the definition of "Domicile" in the new Act, the Government takes the view that the provisions of paragraph (f) of Section 5 of the Act would apply to any such Indian who has resided under annual licence or pass in Natal for three years or more after his indentures expire and who leaves the Province with the intention of returning thereto, and that this view is not affected by the definition of domicile in Section 30 of the Act.

3. Thirdly, with regard to the question of the declaration required under Chapter XXXIII of the Orange Free State Law Book General Smuts has no difficulty and rather sees an advantage in notifying all educated Indians admitted into South Africa of the disabilities that Indians are under in the Orange Free State. Steps will be taken to have these disabilities specified on the form of declaration which is required under Section 19 of the Act.

4. Fourthly, General Smuts is quite prepared when some suitable occasion presents itself for dealing with the consolidation of the Marriage Laws of the Union to make provision for the appointment of special Marriage Officers for denominations other than Mahomedan, upon its being shewn that there is a demand by the members of such denominations for such appointments and that there are suitable persons in the different communities on whom the appointments could be conferred. The present practice of admitting one wife of an Indian now entitled to reside in any Province or who may in future be permitted to enter the Union, irrespective of the fact that his marriage to such wife may have been solemnized according to tenets which recognize polygamy or that she is one of several wives married abroad, will be continued so long as she is his only wife in South Africa; but General Smuts regrets that it will not be possible to go further and admit plural wives of Indians who are already resident in South Africa.

*Believe me,*
*Yours very truly,*
E. M. GORGES

M. K. GANDHI, ESQ.,
PHŒNIX
NATAL

From a photostat of the typewritten original : S. N. 5835

## APPENDIX IX

*EXTRACT FROM GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S DESPATCH TO COLONIAL OFFICE*

PRETORIA,
*October 23, 1913*

A new phase of the campaign was inaugurated by Mr. Gandhi on the 17th instant, when he visited the Natal coalfields and induced a number of indentured Indians employed in local mines and hotels to strike work until the Government should promise to repeal the £3 tax during the next session of Parliament. The adoption of this policy was foreshadowed in Mr. Gandhi's letter of the 28th ultimo to Mr. Gorges, a copy of which will be found in the correspondence accompanying my Despatch, Secret (2) of yesterday. I have not yet been able to obtain full particulars as to the development of the strike movement, which, so far as I can judge, does not appear to be causing the Government much anxiety. Some little light is thrown on the subject by the attached extracts from the *Rand Daily Mail* and *The Transvaal Leader* of today. It will be seen that Mr. Gandhi estimates the number of strikers at 2,000 and says that six collieries are affected, whereas nine collieries are mentioned by the Durban correspondent of *The Transvaal Leader*. Mr. Gorges told my Secretary this morning that the latest official report received by the Department of Justice estimated the number of strikers at 1,500. He was not sure, however, whether that estimate applied to the whole area of the strike, and he thought that possibly Mr. Gandhi's figure of 2,000 might be correct, although no precise information on the point was available. The Secretary for Justice, he added, had at the same time been advised that the movement showed some signs of weakening, as a number of the strikers were beginning to return to work. An attempt appears also to have been made to "pull out" the Indians working on the Railways in Natal, but the absence of further information on this point may perhaps be taken as indicating that hitherto the attempt has not been attended with any appreciable success.

Colonial Office Records: 551/45

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## APPENDIX X

### *EXTRACT FROM GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S DESPATCH TO COLONIAL OFFICE*

PRETORIA,
*November 6, 1913*

You will observe that Mr. Gandhi appears to be disconcerted by the inaction of the Government, and to have made representations to the effect that it was their duty to arrest the demonstrators and to provide them with board and lodging.

On Monday last General Smuts explained his policy to my Secretary. He said that his refusal to interfere with many of the Passive Resisters in the Transvaal had led to a collapse, for the time being at any rate, of the movement, and he thought that a similar policy of laissez-faire might produce similar results in the case of the Natal strikers. Mr. Gandhi appears to be in a position of much difficulty. Like Frankenstein he found his monster an uncomfortable creation, and he would be glad to be relieved of further responsibility for its support. The Department had been anxious to arrest him, but this course had not commended itself to the Ministerial mind. If Mr. Gandhi were arrested, he would be able to disclaim further responsibility for the maintenance of his army of strikers. So long as he remained at liberty, the Indians would look to him to provide for their necessities. General Smuts therefore proposed to adhere to his policy of non-interference, and he would place no obstacles in the way of strikers entering the Transvaal. They did not belong to the trading classes and could do little harm. Moreover, there would be no difficulty in returning most, if not all, of them to Natal later on. At present they were quite peaceable, and if later on, under the stress of hunger or hardship, they became lawless, they could easily be dealt with. It was not unlikely that in the end, when the supply of provisions began to fail, they would ask to be sent back to their work in Natal, and he would then be prepared to provide transport for their return. He doubted whether Mr. Gandhi would agitate among the workers on the sugar estates unless the strike on the coal mines proved successful.

The number of strikers now on the march is estimated at 4,000. Mr. Gorges told my Secretary today, that this morning a body of about 2,400, including approximately 130 women and 40 children, had crossed into the Transvaal. They would be allowed to proceed, in the hope that when they were well inside the Province, Mr. Kallenbach and Mr. Polak might be tempted by the supineness of the Authorities to lead further bodies of men across the frontier. Those two gentlemen, whom the Department were particularly anxious to secure, would

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then be arrested on a charge of aiding and abetting the entry of prohibited immigrants into the Province. The rank and file would, so far as possible, be left undisturbed. The detention of Mr. Polak was particularly desirable, as he had been designated to proceed to India for the collection of funds.

Colonial Office Records: 551/45

## APPENDIX XI

### *THE GREAT MARCH*

[VOLKSRUST,
*November 8, 1913*]

He [Gandhiji] left almost at once by motor to rejoin the marchers. Thus, if there was an effort on Government's part to put an end to the demonstration by depriving the men of their leader in the hope that they would become discouraged and abandon the attempt to reach the Rand, this effort has been completely stultified. I shared the motor in which Messrs Kallenbach and Gandhi overtook the main body of marchers about 33 miles from Volksrust. They were well on their way to Kromdraai Station, near Standerton, which is their halt for the day. The narrow ribbon of road which leads to the Rand passes through beautiful grassy country, and, as the weather was pleasant, the strikers were walking easily and showed little fatigue. They were a little beyond General Botha's farm when the car overtook them, and there was extraordinary enthusiasm as Mr. Gandhi alighted among them. The car had halted at Paardekraal, where Mr. Gandhi spoke some encouraging words to the women. Old and infirm men halted there, and Mr. Gandhi left some medicines which a doctor in Newcastle had supplied. All along the road the car passed stragglers, who lined up and saluted Mr. Gandhi, calling him "Bapoo", or father.

#### THE RATIONS

Although the rations served out consist only of a pound-and-a-half loaf of bread and an ounce of sugar per man, the marchers are cheerful and patient to an extraordinary degree. They have the utmost confidence in Mr. Gandhi, and obey him implicitly, although as a class indentured coal-miners and the like—they are totally unused to discipline unaccompanied by force. As lieutenants, Mr. Gandhi has several young Johannesburg Indians who were prominent during the former passive resistance movement, and the mounted constables accompanying the marchers told me they had orders to arrest some of these at Kromdraai and take them in to Standerton.

Mr. Gandhi informs me that the passive resistance movement is diminishing his resources by £250 a day, and that more than the present contribution of £3,000 per month will have to be sent from India if the success of the

movement is to be assured. He has, however, no doubt at all about the response from India. Apart from the women at Charlestown, there are communities of strikers in every affected area to be supported, and the cost of the march to the Rand is estimated at one shilling per day per man. Volksrust bakers have received a contract for the supply of bread, which is sent on each day by rail to an appointed station. The sugar is served out for its sustaining properties, and amounts to about five packets a day in the aggregate. The Indians make a hole in their loaves, into which they put their handfuls of sugar. Each man carries a pannikin, which he fills with water as often as is possible. The marchers had an unexpected treat at Paardekop, where last night tea was served to the full 2,000 odd of them at the expense of a local Indian storekeeper. Mr. Gandhi impressed upon them the fact that tea was not on the regular menu. Leaving Mr. Gandhi with the passive resisters, whose leadership to the promised land he resumed, Mr. Kallenbach and I returned to Volksrust, and passed about 13 miles from the town a further band of 100 coolies, who crossed the border this morning with as little trouble as their predecessors. Some of those who march to Johannesburg, I learn, are men who were charged at Newcastle with breaking their indentures, and were released on their own recognisances through lack of prison accommodation. They offered to await trial if food and shelter were provided, but this the local Magistrate refused, and so they departed to join in the march on Johannesburg.

*Indian Opinion*, 19-11-1913

## APPENDIX XII

### *EXTRACT FROM GENERAL BOTHA'S SPEECH*[1]

[NYLSTROOM,
*November 1, 1913*]

General Botha said he was sure there was only one road to be followed in dealing with the Asiatic question and that was the right road. He hoped people not living in South Africa would realise that their attitude in regard to the Asiatic was not prompted by a desire to get rid of Asiatics, but was prompted by principle. In this country they had Coloured races to deal with and they did not want to have the position complicated any further. Their sole aim was to keep the position pure and clean. Today he understood the Asiatics would undertake a great march from Newcastle to Volksrust. He hoped these people would accept better advice than they were doing today. General Smuts had recently made a statement as to what had taken place when Mr. Gokhale was

[1] This has been extracted from Governor-General's despatch dated November 6, 1913, to the Colonial Office.

here. Mr. Gokhale had replied and made a different explanation of what occurred. He (General Botha) wished to state that he was present at the interview with Mr. Gokhale. It took place in his (General Botha's) office, and the others present were General Smuts, Mr. Fischer, and Mr. Gokhale. He only wished to say that he agreed with and endorsed every word spoken by General Smuts in regard to that interview, and in regard to what took place. "At any rate," General Botha concluded, "we shall do nothing by which your rights will suffer."

It will be observed that General Botha confirms the denial given by General Smuts to the statement that the repeal of the £3 tax was definitely promised to Mr. Gokhale.

Colonial Office Records: 551/45

## APPENDIX XIII

### *POLAK'S LETTER TO LORD AMPTHILL*[1]

VOLKSRUST GAOL,
*November 12, 1913*

DEAR LORD AMPTHILL,

My present address will not surprise you after the cables that will have doubtless been sent home. The circumstances of my arrest you will see from *Indian Opinion*. The whole affair, whilst partially accidental, is really taking advantage of me on the part of the Government. I had joined Mr. Gandhi near Greylingstad, in order to discuss a number of matters with him prior to my prospective departure for India on Friday next. He was then marching at the head of 1500 of the £3 tax passive resisters who had entered the Transvaal to court arrest, as the Government had refused otherwise to deal with them and had left the heavy burden of feeding and otherwise maintaining them upon us. I had received a warning from him that if I came to the Transvaal from Natal, I might be arrested. In view of the fact that I, as an outsider, had so often counselled Indian passive resisters to challenge arrest, I felt that it would be highly dishonourable for me—an Englishman—to draw back before

[1] A copy of this was forwarded by Lord Ampthill to the Colonial Office on December 5, along with a covering letter in which he observed, "I venture to think that the Union Government of South Africa would have done better to invite the leaders of the Indian community to confer with them instead of putting them in gaol as there can be little doubt that under Mr. Gandhi's leadership the struggle would have been managed without disorder and with none of the injury which has since been caused. I trust, however, that His Majesty's Government have already suggested to the authorities in South Africa that negotiation with Mr. Gandhi affords the most likely means of arriving at a speedy solution of the difficulty."

such a risk, and I did not hesitate to join him. We had hardly been conversing half an hour before we were met by a police sub-inspector and the Chief Immigration Officer, who arrested Mr. Gandhi on a warrant from Dundee, charging him with removing indentured Indians from Natal. He was driven away at once, and as these hundreds of people were leaderless, did not know where their camping ground was for the night, or where they were to get their rations next day, the authorities having refused the responsibility of taking charge of them and providing for them, I had no option but to accept the responsibility of leading the people to Greylingstad, where we camped on the open veld for the night, and the next day to Balfour, about 13 miles beyond. Here the police officer and the Chief Immigration Officer asked me to discuss the situation with them. They informed me that they were instructed to order the arrest of all the people as prohibited immigrants in the Transvaal and to deport them to Charlestown, in Natal, where they would be arrested on local charges by the Natal authorities. They asked me to co-operate with them in entraining the men so as to avoid disturbance and the intervention of the squad of police that had arrived. I told them that, in the circumstances, I would co-operate with them cordially, as they now assumed the responsibility of feeding and sheltering the people, but that, had they not given me that assurance, I was prepared to continue to march with the men until either they were arrested or I, and I offered to place myself at their disposal for arrest then if they desired to hold me. They replied that they had no desire whatever to do so and thanked me for my offer of service. Later, when the people were arrested, some of the more defiant spirits, who did not know me refused to entrain until they received the instruction from Mr. Gandhi, and carrying the mass with them, they proceeded to resume the march. I at once stood in front of them and urged them to remember their status as passive resisters. Eventually I prevailed upon them to follow me to the station where they all entrained peacefully. I am sure it would have been impossible to entrain them had I not been present, and the men would probably have been goaded into violent reprisals by police tactlessness and military brutality. I was specially thanked by the police officials in charge and also, subsequently, by the magistrate here. As I did not know exactly what might happen at Charlestown, and in order to assist the authorities to keep order in case of need, I travelled down with the first train. Shortly afterwards I was arrested and brought to Volksrust. Yesterday both Mr. Kallenbach (whose name is no doubt well-known to Your Lordship—he is the owner of Tolstoy Farm, where the passive resisters were maintained in the last struggle, a German by nationality, a Jew, like myself, by religion, and an architect by profession) and I were charged before the magistrate with aiding and abetting in the introduction of prohibited immigrants into the Transvaal. A remand until tomorrow was asked for by the prosecution. We were refused bail as we declined to give an assurance that meanwhile we would take no further part

in the movement. We are now in prison awaiting trial, and expect to be convicted tomorrow. We shall probably get about 3 months, but whether with or without hard labour I cannot say. We shall, of course, refuse to pay the alternative fines.

I at once wired the circumstances to the Minister of the Interior, explaining that I had intended to leave for India on Friday at Mr. Gokhale's request, thus leaving it to him to decide whether or not to proceed with the prosecution. He has replied that the case should go on. I shall not, therefore, be going to India. May I suggest that a representation on the subject may be made to the Imperial Government, pointing out that, with the facts before them, the Union Government have prevented my joining Mr. Gokhale at his request in order to assist him in placing the South African Indian question fully before the Government of India.

I am sure that Your Lordship will agree that, in the circumstances in which I suddenly found myself, I could not have adopted honourably any other course of action than I did. In any other case, such influence as I have with the Indian community would have at once disappeared.

I may add that the spread of the strike along the Coast, on the plantations, is wholly spontaneous, and indeed, strongly against our advice as we did not wish it to get beyond manageable proportions. But the Government must now bear the responsibility.

Both Mr. Kallenbach and I are looking forward to an enviable period of repose and irresponsibility. The strain of the last few weeks upon Mr. Gandhi especially and ourselves has been tremendous and this withdrawal from public activity for the time being will be a matter of real relief to us. Mr. Gandhi was sentenced at Dundee yesterday to nine months hard labour, on three separate charges under the indenture law. I am afraid that, meanwhile, until my release, Your Lordship must derive your news of the movement from *Indian Opinion*.

With kind regards,

*Yours very truly,*
HY. S. L. POLAK

Colonial Office Records: 551/52

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## APPENDIX XIV

### (1) *GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S CABLE TO COLONIAL OFFICE*

*December 1, 1913*

SECRET

CACHALIA, WHO PRESIDED AT A MEETING OF INDIANS AT JOHANNESBURG YESTERDAY SAID THAT £3 TAX WAS ONLY ONE OF SURFACE SORES INDICATING PRESENCE OF DEEP SPREAD ROOTED EVIL; NOTHING LESS THAN THE SWEEPING AWAY OF THE WHOLE SYSTEM OF INDENTURED LABOUR WOULD SATISFY BRITISH INDIANS. THE INDIANS HAVE THEREFORE AS YOU WILL SEE AGAIN CHANGED THEIR GROUND. I HAVE SEEN J. C. SMUTS THIS MORNING ON HIS RETURN FROM DURBAN. LOCAL AUTHORITIES BELIEVE THAT STRIKE WILL VIRTUALLY TERMINATE THIS WEEK. INDIANS WORKING COAL MINES AND ON SOUTH COAST. ABOUT 2500 STILL OUT ON THE NORTH COAST. J. C. SMUTS SAYS THAT STRIKE HAS HARDENED NATAL FEELING. REPEAL OF THE £3 TAX OPPOSED AND MUCH TALK OF REPATRIATION BUT THERE IS OF COURSE NO EXISTING POWER TO REPATRIATE. HE IS QUITE SATISFIED THAT THERE HAS BEEN NO VIOLENCE IN PRISON COMPOUNDS BUT THE POLICE HAD AT TIMES TO USE STICKS FREELY AGAINST RIOTERS AND NO DOUBT MANY SHOW MARKS. INDIAN ASSOCIATION DECLINE TO GIVE ASSISTANCE TO MARDALL THE GOVERNMENT INSPECTOR OF THE PRISONS, WHO WAS SENT TO REPORT ON ARRANGEMENTS IN THE NEWCASTLE DUNDEE DISTRICTS. J. C. SMUTS SAID THAT OF COURSE A JUDICIAL ENQUIRY MUST BE HELD AND PROPOSED DOVE WILSON NATAL JUDGE, PRESIDENT. I SAID THAT I THOUGHT THAT WOULD BE WORSE THAN USELESS. IF COMMISSION WERE APPOINTED IT SHOULD BE A STRONG ONE OF NOT LESS THAN THREE. I PRESSED FOR SOLOMON AS PRESIDENT WITH DOVE WILSON AND A GOOD TRANSVAAL REPRESENTATIVE, POINTING OUT THAT ENQUIRY WOULD BE OF FAR GREATER IMPORTANCE THAN THE RAND RIOTS ENQUIRY. J. C. SMUTS APPEARED QUITE FAVOURABLE. I WARNED HIM THAT IF MINISTERS APPEARED TO FAVOUR REPATRIATION WITHOUT EXPRESS AGREEMENT WITH GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, INDIANS HERE WOULD PROBABLY SAY THAT MINISTERS HAVING REFUSED TO REMOVE GENUINE GRIEVANCES WERE SEEKING TO DEPORT BRITISH SUBJECTS FROM HOMES AND OCCUPATIONS. J. C. SMUTS AGREED THAT PROPOSAL IN ANY

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CASE COULD NOT BE ENTERTAINED EXCEPT BY ARRANGEMENT WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

GLADSTONE

Colonial Office Records: 551/46

## (2) *GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S CABLE TO COLONIAL OFFICE*

*December 19, 1913*

CONFIDENTIAL

MY TELEGRAM OF YESTERDAY CONFIDENTIAL 2. I AM TOLD BY J. C. SMUTS THAT SOLOMON DID NOT SUCCEED IN REMOVING HIS DIFFICULTIES BUT THAT LITTLE REMAINS TO BE DONE AFTER FORMAL ANNOUNCEMENT. BEST COURSE WOULD HE THINKS BE FOR INDIANS HERE TO RETAIN CAPABLE SOUTH AFRICAN ADVOCATE, SUCH AS SCHREINER. THIS WOULD SERVE THE PURPOSE OF INDIA GOVERNMENT. IF HOWEVER INDIAN GOVERNMENT DECIDE TO NOMINATE COUNSEL IT WOULD BE FAR BETTER FROM POINT OF VIEW OF MINISTERS FOR THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT TO RETAIN SCHREINER OR SOME OTHER CAPABLE SOUTH AFRICAN ADVOCATE. SOLOMON HIMSELF URGES THIS COURSE STRONGLY AS LONG DELAY IN SENDING COUNSEL FROM INDIA WOULD BE VERY INCONVENIENT FOR THE COMMISSION WHICH ADJOURNED YESTERDAY AND PROPOSES TO RESUME PROCEEDINGS AT DURBAN ON JANUARY 12TH. GANDHI INTIMATES THAT THE INDIANS HERE HAVE NOT DECIDED WHETHER THEY WILL ACCEPT COMMISSION. SHOULD THEY REFUSE TO GIVE EVIDENCE THE COMMISSION WILL IN ALL PROBABILITY BE DISSOLVED. IF PASSIVE RESISTANCE AND STRIKES ARE SUBSEQUENTLY AGAIN RESORTED TO THE FEELING HERE WILL BE EXASPERATED AND A VERY DANGEROUS POSITION WILL PROBABLY BE CREATED. MY MINISTERS AND THE COMMISSION HAVE DONE THEIR UTMOST TO MEET VIEWS OF THE INDIAN AND IMPERIAL GOVERNMENTS. I TRUST THAT YOU WILL IMPRESS THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT THROUGH THE INDIA OFFICE WITH THE EXTREME IMPORTANCE OF SECURING THE ACCEPTANCE OF THE COMMISSION AND ABSTINENCE FROM ALL PROVOCATIVE ACTION BY THE BRITISH INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

GLADSTONE

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## APPENDIX XV

### (*1*) *LETTER FROM MINISTER OF INTERIOR*

PRETORIA,
*December 24, 1913*

GENTLEMEN,

Your letter, which was dated 21st instant and immediately communicated by you to the Press, has only today reached the Department of the Interior and been seen by the Minister.

I am instructed to reply at once that the Minister is unable to accept the conditions on which you propose to give evidence before the Commission appointed by the Government and to suspend passive resistance pending the Commission's finding, particularly the condition which involves the appointment of additional members to the Commission in the interests of the Indian community. The Commission was intended to be impartial and judicial in character, and in constituting it the Government consulted neither the Indian community nor the Coal-owners and Sugar Planters' Association of Natal, nor could the Government for a moment, by following the course you propose, give colour to the unwarranted reflections you make on two of the Commissioners appointed.

The course you propose to pursue is noted and deeply regretted, not least so in the interests of the Indian community, which cannot but be profoundly affected by the lawless character of your procedure, the gratuitous infliction of grave sufferings on the innocent, both white and Indian, and the consequent exasperation of public opinion throughout the Union.

*I have, etc.*,
H. B. SHAWE
ACTING SECRETARY FOR THE INTERIOR

MESSRS M. K. GANDHI
KALLENBACH, AND
H. S. L. POLAK
110, FIELD STREET
DURBAN

Colonial Office Records: 551/46

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## (2) *GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S CABLE TO COLONIAL OFFICE*

PRETORIA,
*December 22, 1913*

CONFIDENTIAL

MY TELEGRAM OF 19TH DECEMBER CONFIDENTIAL. AT MASS MEETING OF INDIANS AT DURBAN YESTERDAY GANDHI IS REPORTED AS SAYING THAT INDIANS COULD NOT ACCEPT CONSTITUTION OF COMMISSION THERE BEING GRAVE OBJECTIONS TO IT FROM INDIAN STANDPOINT. HIS ADVICE WAS THAT THEY SHOULD NOT ACCEPT COMMISSION IN ITS PRESENT FORMATION AS INDIANS HAVE HAD NO VOICE IN IT. THEY WERE FIGHTING FOR REDRESS OF SEVERAL GRIEVANCES THE UNDERLYING SPIRIT OF THE STRUGGLE BEING TO OBTAIN A FIRM RECOGNITION ON THE PART OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE RIGHT OF CONSULTATION IN ANYTHING APPERTAINING TO INDIAN INTERESTS. UNLESS GOVERNMENT WERE PREPARED TO CONDESCEND TO THAT EXTENT AND TO ASCERTAIN AND RESPECT INDIAN SENTIMENTS IT WAS IMPOSSIBLE FOR INDIANS AS LOYAL BUT MANLY CITIZENS OF EMPIRE TO RENDER OBEDIENCE TO COMMANDS OF LAWS PASSED OVER THEIR HEADS. OTHER OBJECTION TO COMMISSION WAS THAT IT WAS PARTISAN AND THEREFORE INDIANS WANTED THEIR OWN PARTISANS. THIS THEY MIGHT NOT GET BUT THEY WANTED AN IMPARTIAL COMMISSION. UNLESS MEN HOLDING NON-ANTI-ASIATIC VIEWS WERE NOMINATED INDIANS COULD NOT ASSIST GOVERNMENT TO BRING CRISIS TO AN END WITHOUT FURTHER SUFFERING. IF GOVERNMENT DECLINED THIS REQUEST HE PROPOSED THAT THEY SHOULD ALL ON NEW YEAR'S DAY BE READY AGAIN TO SUFFER BATTLE AND AGAIN SUFFER IMPRISONMENT AND MARCH OUT. THAT WAS HIS ADVICE TO FREE AND INDENTURED INDIANS. IF THEY ACCEPTED A QUIET LIFE THEY WOULD INCUR THE DISGRACE OF ALL THEIR COUNTRYMEN IN THEIR MOTHERLAND AND THE WHOLE OF BRITISH EMPIRE. THEY SHOULD OBEY THE ORDERS OF CONSCIENCE AND GO FORWARD WITHOUT THINKING. WHEN THEY HAD MADE UP THEIR MINDS THEY SHOULD STICK TO IT EVEN UNTO DEATH. KALLENBACH POLAK AND RITCH ALSO SPOKE RESOLUTIONS WERE PASSED (1) THE COMMUNITY MAY NOT IN HONOUR GIVE EVIDENCE BEFORE COMMISSION BECAUSE IT HAD NOT BEEN CONSULTED AS TO CHOICE OF MEMBERS AND BECAUSE NONE WERE INCLUDED SPECIALLY REPRESENTING COMMUNITY'S INTERESTS. (2) URGING ADDITION TO COMMISSION OF SCHREINER AND ROSE INNES OR OTHER EMINENT SOUTH AFRICANS OF EUROPEAN RACE WHOSE NOMINATION WILL BE ACCEPTABLE TO INDIAN COMMU-

NITY. (3) REQUESTING THAT IN THE EVENT OF GOVERNMENT GRANTING ADDITION TO PERSONNEL TO SECURE ADEQUATE REPRESENTATION OF ALL INTERESTS INVOLVED ALL PASSIVE RESISTANCE PRISONERS SHOULD IMMEDIATELY BE DISCHARGED. INDIAN COMMUNITY WOULD THEN UNDERTAKE TO SUSPEND PASSIVE RESISTANCE UNTIL PUBLICATION OF COMMISSION'S REPORT BUT IF GOVERNMENT REFUSED COMPLIANCE WITH THESE REQUESTS COMMUNITY WOULD BE OBLIGED AT ONCE TO PROSECUTE STRUGGLE WITH RENEWED VIGOUR AND DETERMINATION. I SEE NO PROSPECT OF GOVERNMENT BEING ABLE TO COMPLY WITH THESE DEMANDS.

GLADSTONE

Colonial Office Records: 551/46

### (3) *GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S CABLE TO COLONIAL OFFICE*

PRETORIA,
*December 23, 1913*

PRIVATE AND PERSONAL

MY CONFIDENTIAL TELEGRAM 22ND DECEMBER. IF INDIANS FOLLOW GANDHI'S ADVICE THE POSITION IS SERIOUS, GOVERNMENT WILL PRESS THE COMMISSION TO MAKE ENQUIRY AS FAR AS POSSIBLE. BUT CONCURRENTLY THERE MAY BE RECRUDESCENCE OF MARCHES INTO TRANSVAAL STRIKES AND VIOLENCE. IF SO QUESTION OF TAKING LEGISLATIVE POWERS TO REPATRIATE INDENTURED INDIANS WHO REFUSE TO WORK AND LAW BREAKERS WILL AT ONCE ARISE. VICEROY OF INDIA AMPTHILL AND GOKHALE HAVE I BELIEVE ALREADY MENTIONED GENERAL REPATRIATION BUT APPARENTLY AS A MENACE. IF INDIAN GOVERNMENT PROPOSED THIS J. C. SMUTS TELLS ME THAT IT WOULD BE WELCOMED BY MINISTERS. FURTHER HE SAYS THAT NATAL PLANTERS AND COLLIERY OWNERS ARE BEGINNING TO REALISE THAT THIS MAY BE THE ONLY SOLUTION. BUT THIS IS THE LAST THING WISHED BY THE INDIANS HERE. IF THEY REALISED THAT THE LAW BREAKERS WOULD BE REPATRIATED IT WOULD PROBABLY PUT AN END TO LAW BREAKING. AT PRESENT GANDHI AND HIS ASSOCIATES HERE AND IN INDIA BELIEVE THAT COOLIES ARE ESSENTIAL TO NATAL AND PRESS IMPOSSIBLE DEMANDS ON THAT SUPPOSITION. THESE DEMANDS ARE IMPOSSIBLE. REPRESSION OF DISORDER IS COMPARATIVELY EASY BUT IT IS NO REMEDY AND WILL EMBITTER FEELING IN INDIA.

MINISTERS THINK THAT THEY WILL HAVE TO GO TO THE ROOT OF THE TROUBLE. DO YOU THINK REPATRIATION OF THE LAW BREAKERS AND INDENTURED INDIANS IN WHOLE OR

IN PART COULD RECEIVE CO-OPERATION OF THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT?

FAILING THAT WHAT ARE YOUR VIEWS ON LEGISLATIVE ACTION HERE TO THAT END? COMPENSATION WOULD BE PAID IN RESPECT OF PROPERTY.

GLADSTONE

Colonial Office Records: 551/46

## APPENDIX XVI

### *LORD HARDINGE'S SPEECH*[1]

A message from Madras states that the Viceroy (Lord Hardinge), in a speech in reply to Indian addresses, said the position of Indians in South Africa for some years past had received the most anxious consideration of the Raj, which was doing all in its power to ensure fair treatment.

He added: "The Union Act of which you complain has in practice the effect of putting an end to Asiatic emigration to South Africa, though it does not discriminate in so many words against Asiatics. We, however, have succeeded in securing the privilege of entry for a limited number of educated Indians annually, and have also specially endeavoured to secure as favourable terms as possible for the Indians already resident in the Union. Our efforts have resulted in the inclusion of provisions for the right of appeal to the Court on points of law and definition of domicile in accordance with which the position of un-indentured Indians is satisfactorily laid down.

"We are at present in communication with Lord Crewe regarding other restrictions in the Act to which you take exception and we trust our representations will not be resultless. You urged retaliatory measures by the Raj, but it is not stated what particular measures are adoptable. We forbade the emigration of indentured Indians to Natal in 1911, and the Natal planters sent a delegate to India to beg for a reconsideration of that decision. That shows how hardly the planters were hit by the stoppage of that emigration, but I am afraid that it had little effect on South Africa as a whole, and unfortunately it is not easy to find means whereby India can make its indignation felt by those holding the reins of Government in South Africa.

"Recently your compatriots in South Africa have taken matters into their own hands, organising passive resistance to laws which they consider invidious and unjust, an opinion which we, who are watching their struggles from afar, cannot but share. They violated those laws with a full knowledge of the penalties involved, and are ready with all courage and patience to endure the penalties. In all this they have the deep and burning sympathy of India and

[1] This was delivered on November 24, 1913.

also of those who, like myself, without being Indians, sympathise with the people of this country, but the most recent developments have taken a most serious turn. We have seen the widest publicity given to allegations that passive resistance is dealt with by measures which would not be tolerated for a moment in any country claiming to be civilised. These allegations were met by a categorical denial by the responsible Government of South Africa, though even the denial contains admissions which do not seem to me to indicate that the Government exercised a very wise discretion in some of the steps it adopted. That is the position for the moment. I feel that if the South African Government desires to justify itself in the eyes of India and the world, the only course open is to appoint a strong impartial committee, whereon Indian interests will be represented, to conduct the most searching inquiry, and you may rest assured that the Raj will not cease to urge these considerations on the Imperial Government."

*Indian Opinion*, 3-12-1913

## APPENDIX XVII

### *VICEROY'S TELEGRAM TO G. K. GOKHALE*

*December 28, 1913*

THE HON'BLE MR. GOKHALE
SERVINDIA
POONA

IN VIEW OF PROMISE GIVEN BY GANDHI AND MY GREAT DESIRE TO SECURE A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT SIR BENJAMIN ROBERTSON WILL LEAVE BOMBAY ON JANUARY 1ST AND SHOULD ARRIVE IN DURBAN ON 11TH OR 12TH STOP I HAVE ASKED THE SECRETARY OF STATE TO ENDEAVOUR TO ARRANGE WITH THE UNION GOVERNMENT A SHORT POSTPONEMENT OF THE MEETING OF THE COMMISSION STOP I AM NOT VERY HOPEFUL OF THE RESULT OF ROBERTSON'S MISSION BUT AM ANXIOUS TO LOSE NO OPPORTUNITY OF SECURING PEACE STOP I THINK IT IS DESIRABLE THAT YOU SHOULD INFORM GANDHI THAT IF HE AND THE INDIANS COMMENCE PASSIVE RESISTANCE OR HAVE RESORT TO VIOLENCE ROBERTSON WILL IMMEDIATELY DISSOCIATE HIMSELF FROM THEM STOP I TRUST THAT GANDHI WILL COMMUNICATE FREELY WITH ROBERTSON ON HIS ARRIVAL.

VICEROY

National Archives of India, File No. 45
Courtesy: Servants of India Society, Poona

## APPENDIX XVIII

### (*1*) *TELEGRAM FROM MINISTER OF INTERIOR*

PRETORIA,
*January 5, 1914*

TO
GANDHI
110, FIELD STREET
DURBAN

32366 DELAY IN REPLYING TO YOUR TELEGRAM 29 DECEMBER REGRETTED BUT WAS DUE TO CONTRADICTORY INFORMATION WHICH ARRIVED FROM DURBAN AS TO REVIVAL OF PASSIVE RESISTANCE AND THE COMMENCEMENT OF A NEW MARCH TO THE TRANSVAAL. LATER INFORMATION HOWEVER HAS SHOWN THAT THE MOVEMENT OF CERTAIN BODIES OF INDIANS IN NATAL ON THE FIRST JANUARY WAS MISUNDERSTOOD.[1] WITH REGARD TO THE PROPOSALS CONTAINED IN YOUR TELEGRAM THE MINISTER REGRETS THAT THE REQUEST FOR ADDITIONS TO OR A REDUCTION IN THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE COMMISSION CANNOT BE ACCEDED TO FOR THE REASONS ALREADY MENTIONED IN MY LETTER OF THE 24TH DECEMBER. IN VIEW OF THE ATTITUDE YOU HAVE TAKEN UP IN REGARD TO THE CONSTITUTION OF THE COMMISSION THE MINISTER HAS NOT DEEMED IT NECESSARY FOR THE GOVERNMENT TO CONSIDER WHAT ADVICE SHOULD BE TENDERED TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL AS TO THE REMISSION OF SENTENCES OF PASSIVE RESISTERS AND THE GOVERNMENT HAVE CONFINED THEIR ACTION TO THE RECOMMENDATION MADE BY THE COMMISSION IN RESPECT OF THE LEADERS. THE COURSE ADOPTED BY THE LEADERS IMMEDIATELY ON THEIR RELEASE HAS NOT BEEN SUCH AS TO IMPRESS THE GOVERNMENT AS TO THE BENEFICIAL RESULTS LIKELY TO FOLLOW FROM THE RELEASE OF THE BALANCE OF THE PASSIVE RESISTERS. IF YOU ARE STILL DESIROUS OF SEEING THE MINISTER HE WILL BE PREPARED TO GRANT YOU AN INTERVIEW DURING THIS WEEK.

Colonial Office Records: 551/53

[1] This referred to an erroneous report about the movement of a group of Indians collected at Pinetown, near Durban, on January 1, the date originally announced by Gandhiji for the resumption of the march into the Transvaal. It later transpired that the group acted in ignorance of Gandhiji's declaration that Passive Resistance would not be resumed on New Year Day.

CWMG - XII

## (2) *EXTRACT FROM GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S DESPATCH*[1]

PRETORIA,
*December 31, 1913*

You will observe that Mr. Gandhi's present attitude is less unreasonable than that which he adopted in his public utterances immediately after his liberation. General Smuts is still considering his reply to Mr. Gandhi's latest proposals, and I think it not improbable that he will agree to grant a personal interview as requested. I doubt, however, whether Mr. Gandhi's suggestions with regard to the constitution of the Commission will be found acceptable. The addition of two members, nominated respectively by the Indian community and by the employers of Indian labour, would destroy the judicial character of the Commission, and this would probably entail the resignation of Sir William Solomon. The alternative proposal that the Commission should be converted into a single-member Commission, consisting only of Sir William Solomon, is not open to the same objection, and neither Mr. Esselen nor Colonel Wylie would probably show any disinclination to resign their membership. It would not, however, be easy for the Government so to reconstitute its own Commission at Mr. Gandhi's bidding without seeming to admit that the two members whose elimination is asked for were in fact not wholly impartial. Possibly if General Smuts and Mr. Gandhi meet, their combined ingenuity may succeed in discovering some way out of the difficulty.

On Monday last General Smuts told my Secretary in confidence that he had received a private letter from Sir William Solomon expressing regret at the bad use which Mr. Gandhi, Mr. Polak and Mr. Kallenbach had made of their liberty, and intimating that if the Commission were to be boycotted by the Indians, in whose interests it had been appointed, it was unlikely that the enquiry could prove anything but one-sided. Sir William went on to say that he had accepted appointment, much against his own personal inclinations, only from a sense of duty because it had been represented to him that by acting as Chairman he would have an opportunity of rendering a public service. As it now seemed likely that the Commission would be unable to do any useful work, he was inclined to doubt whether there was any reason why he should continue to serve. General Smuts said that he proposed in his reply to point out the distinction between abstention by the Indians from giving evidence and a renewal of passive resistance, strikes and lawlessness. If recourse were again had to disorder, the question whether the enquiry should be proceeded with might arise. If, however, the Indians confined themselves simply to a policy of abstention from giving evidence, the Commission would still be able to hear official and other European witnesses upon the

[1] This formed part of a despatch forwarding to the Colonial Office copies of correspondence between Gandhiji and the Minister of the Interior, and clippings from various newspapers.

incidents of the strike and the allegations of ill-treatment, and to consider the general question of grievances from the documentary material which could be laid before it by the Government. It was desirable, moreover, that the official witness who was being sent by the Government of India should be afforded an opportunity of being heard. General Smuts seemed to hope that these arguments would induce Sir William Solomon to continue to serve. He was evidently apprehensive lest Mr. Gandhi should be enabled to enhance his prestige by the personal triumph of breaking up a Government Commission of whose constitution he happened to disapprove.

Colonial Office Records: 551/46

## APPENDIX XIX

### *STATEMENT ISSUED BY G. K. GOKHALE*

[*December 31, 1913*]

In view of the anxiety prevailing in the country as to the position of matters in South Africa and the inquiries that are being addressed to me on the subject, I think it necessary to publish the following statement:

On 18th December, I received at Calcutta a cablegram from the Natal Indian Association stating that there was a strong feeling among Indians in South Africa not to accept the Commission of inquiry appointed on account of two members out of three being known to be hostile to the community and asking for my advice as to what should be done. Mr. Gandhi and other passive resistance leaders were then in jail and there was at that time no indication of the lines on which the Commission proposed to work. It was impossible for me in the circumstances to offer any definite advice and after hurriedly consulting two distinguished friends in Calcutta, who were within easy reach, I cabled back to say that the course to be adopted should depend on the strength of feeling of the community and the advice of friendly Europeans in South Africa; and I asked the Association to weigh carefully which course would do greater harm to the cause, viz., abstention from offering evidence or participation in the proceedings under protest, adding that I would cable again from Bombay after consulting Sir Pherozeshah Mehta. I left Calcutta that same day and arrived in Bombay on the 20th, when I read in the papers a summary of Sir William Solomon's opening statement, as also news about the release of Mr. Gandhi and other passive resistance leaders. As Reuter had stated that the released leaders had proceeded to Pretoria to see the Ministers, I naturally concluded that the Union Government was desirous of arriving at some understanding with the community and that Mr. Gandhi's reported visit to Pretoria was in connection with some negotiations that had already been started. I immediately put myself into telegraphic

communication with Mr. Gandhi and during the last ten days numerous cables have passed between us. It is not possible to publish all these cables, but I think I may state that in the course of these communications every effort was made to press on Mr. Gandhi the view which clearly is now gaining ground in this country, viz., that after Sir William Solomon's speech, the release of the leaders and the recognition given to the Commission by the Government of India by the deputation of Sir Benjamin Robertson, it would be a tactical mistake to boycott the Commission as forgoing an important opportunity secured after great difficulty to state the Indian case before the whole world and likely to alienate from the cause influential support both in this country and in England. Mr. Gandhi, however, finds himself unable to act on this view unless the Union Government modify in some manner the constitution of the Commission and release all passive resisters at present in jail, as he and the Indian community stand bound by a solemn oath not to accept the Commission except on these terms. This is the situation at present. Meanwhile Sir Benjamin Robertson starts for South Africa on 1st January. As it is necessary that the country should clearly understand Mr. Gandhi's position, I asked him to cable to me for publication a full statement of that position. This statement into which are incorporated some of his previous cables is as follows:

Mr. Gandhi says: We were discharged unconditionally on 18th instant on the recommendation of the Commission. We were not told at the time of our release why we were being released. It is not true that after release we went to Pretoria to see the Ministers. Knowing what we do of the feelings of Mr. Esselen and Col. Wylie towards Indians, it is impossible for us not to feel strongly that the Commission has not been appointed to give us fair play, but it is a packed body intended to hoodwink the Government and the public both in England and in India. The Chairman's integrity and impartiality is undoubted, but Mr. Esselen and Col. Wylie are well-known and admitted generally to be amongst the strongest and most violent opponents of Indians in South Africa. Mr. Esselen has emphatically declared from public platforms on many occasions extreme anti-Asiatic views, and he is so intimately related politically to Union Ministers that he is regarded here practically as a non-official member of the Ministry. Only recently he expressed himself privately most offensively about the Indians to a member of the Union Parliament, named Mr. Meyler, who has publicly protested against his appointment. Col. Wylie has been our bitterest opponent in Natal for more than twenty years. So far back as 1896 he led a mob to demonstrate against the landing of Indians who had arrived at Durban in two vessels, advocated at a public meeting the sinking of the ships with all Indians on board and commending a remark made by another speaker that he would willingly put down one month's pay for one shot at the Indians, asked how many were prepared to put down similarly a month's pay on those terms. And he has consistently been

our enemy all these years. Moreover he is colonel of the defence force whose acts are the subject of inquiry and he is also legal adviser of many estate owners and during present agitation he has openly said that the £3 tax ought not to be repealed. Commission is not merely judicial but also political, investigating not only facts as to ill-treatment, but also recommending policy for the future, and it is impossible that the Chairman will control the views of his colleagues in matters of policy. To appoint Messrs Esselen and Wylie to investigate our grievances and to stigmatize our protests against their appointment as an unwarranted reflection on their impartiality is to add insult to injury. Almost entire South African Press admits reasonableness of our suggestions as to additional members, and several influential ministers of religion and other European friends are working to remove present deadlock and secure us fair play. We would be prepared to lead evidence before Sir William Solomon alone if it was a question merely of inquiring into charges of flogging, acts of military and other ill-treatment, but this inquiry includes an examination of grievances also. Before our release public meetings had been held at all Indian centres throughout South Africa protesting strongly against the personnel of the Commission and urging the appointment of Mr. Schreiner and Judge Rose-Innes to counterbalance Messrs Esselen and Wylie. Immediately on our release as soon as we took the situation in, we addressed a letter to the Ministry asking for these additions to the Commission. Objection has been taken to the form in which this request was put forward by us, but we are confronted with a terrible crisis and it is not easy always to weigh carefully niceties of form at such a juncture. Indian position always has been to insist on the community being consulted at least informally regarding matters vitally affecting it since it is voteless. In constituting present Commission Indian sentiment not only was not consulted but was contemptuously trampled on. During recent deadlock in connection with European railwaymen's grievances the men were permitted to choose their nominee by a referendum. We merely ask for informal consultation. When we were released, we found that the indignation of our countrymen was at white heat owing to floggings which they had seen with their own eyes, shooting which they believed to be unjustified, and other acts of ill-treatment; and this indignation was further intensified by the harrowing accounts of prison treatment which passive resisters, including ladies, who were released at this time on the expiry of their sentences, gave to the community. In all our experience of prison treatment in this country, never have we been treated before with such unparalleled cruelty. Insults by warders, frequent assaults by Zulu warders, withholding of blankets and other necessary articles, food badly cooked by Zulus, all these necessitated a hunger-strike causing immense suffering. You have to know these things, to understand the frame of mind in which the community met in public meeting on Sunday 21st December to consider the position and resolve on future action. There was but one feeling at the meeting and that was that if we had any self-respect we

must not accept the Commission unless it was modified in some manner in favour of the Indians, and we must also ask for the release of all real passive resister-prisoners, in which term we do not include persons rightly convicted of actual violence. And we all took a solemn oath in God's name that unless these conditions were complied with, we would resume our passive resistance. Now this oath we mean to keep whatever happens. In this struggle we are fighting with spiritual weapons, and it is not open to us to go back on our solemn declarations. Moreover, in this matter it is not as though it is the leaders that are egging the community on. On the contrary, so determined is the community to keep the vow which it has solemnly taken that if any leaders ventured to advise the acceptance of the Commission without any modification on the lines asked for, they would beyond all doubt be killed, and I must add justly so. I believe we are gaining ground. Several influential Europeans, including some ministers of religion, recognizing the justice of our stand, are working to help us and we have not yet given up the hope that some way may be found out of the difficulty. In all this crisis, I wish to say before concluding, two things have greatly sustained and comforted us. One is the splendid courage and staunch advocacy of our cause by His Excellency the Viceroy and the other is the hearty support which India has sent us. We shall do nothing now till Sir Benjamin Robertson arrives and we shall receive him with all honour and trust, both because you tell us we shall find in him a strong friend and also because he has been appointed by the Viceroy to whom we feel so profoundly grateful. But unless the Commission is made in some way more acceptable to us, I do not see how renewal of passive resistance can be avoided. We know it will entail enormous suffering. I assure you we do not desire it, but neither shall we shrink from it, if it must be borne.

*The Times of India*, 1-1-1914

## APPENDIX XX

### *EXTRACT FROM GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S DESPATCH*

PRETORIA,
*January 22, 1914*

Subsequently in the course of confidential conversation General Smuts intimated to me that practically no difficulty would be presented by Mr. Gandhi's two administrative points, and very little by the point on the marriage question, if the sense of Mr. Gandhi's proposal thereon had been correctly apprehended. The abolition of the £3 tax would be a much more formidable task, but he was disposed to think that it would in the end be found inevitable. In substance therefore Mr. Gandhi could probably be met; on the question of form, however, he did not see his way clear to compliance with Mr. Gandhi's

wishes. If in regard to policy he were to ignore the Commission appointed by the Government and to make a compact with Mr. Gandhi after all that had occurred recently, he and his colleagues would be placed in a most undignified and, he feared, even impossible position. At the same time, if a settlement which would be accepted by all parties as final was attainable, he would like to effect it without unnecessary delay by carrying the requisite legislation during the forthcoming Session. He doubted whether he would be able to carry such legislation unless he were fortified by a recommendation of the Commission, and equally whether a recommendation would be obtainable in time if evidence were to be led on every Indian grievance which could conceivably be brought forward. From this point of view matters would not be advanced by the acceptance of Mr. Gandhi's second alternative, viz., the addition of Sir James Rose-Innes or Mr. Schreiner to the Commission, even if there were no serious objections to such a course on other grounds. He was in favour of limiting the enquiry of the Commission on questions of policy to the four points specified by Mr. Gandhi, if this could be done without making an overt bargain with him.

After further consideration and consultation of the Cabinet, General Smuts signified his decision to Sir Benjamin Robertson for communication to Mr. Gandhi. Its purport was that the Government could not see their way to alter either the composition or the terms of reference of the Commission, nor could they authorize him to make a compact with Mr. Gandhi by giving in advance of the Commission's report the assurances for which he had asked. The Commission must go on as previously arranged, but it would be asked to submit its recommendations in regard to policy at a sufficiently early date to enable legislation to be introduced during the forthcoming Session. If Mr. Gandhi felt himself precluded by his vow from giving evidence under these conditions, he was quite at liberty to abstain from participation in its proceedings; he need, however, feel no serious apprehensions as to the probable nature of the Commission's recommendations on his four points and as to the Government's intentions, but he should promise not to revive passive resistance until the Commission had reported and the Government had been given an opportunity of taking action on the report. The Minister repeated that while he had no knowledge whatever of Colonel Wylie's views he had some little time ago sounded both the Chairman and Mr. Esselen and felt sure that their recommendations would be satisfactory to Mr. Gandhi.

In the result of the ensuing interviews and negotiations an understanding which is embodied in the enclosed correspondence of yesterday's date, was finally reached by the Minister and Mr. Gandhi. You will observe that, while Mr. Gandhi receives no assurances, the Government expressed their desire for an early settlement. Mr. Gandhi and his friends will not appear before the Commission, but in recognition of the opportunities of consultation which General Smuts had afforded by consenting to receive Mr. Gandhi, they offer to

assist Sir Benjamin Robertson in the preparation of his evidence. Passive resistance is to be suspended pending the report of the Commission and the introduction of legislation. The release of *bona fide* passive resisters now serving sentence is asked for, and the Minister explains that this had already been done by the Government. At his own suggestion, Mr. Gandhi and his friends will take no further action with regard to the allegations of ill-treatment during the Indian strike. The Government while repudiating the allegations as emphatically as ever will also refrain from leading evidence upon them, but reserve their right to ask the Commission to investigate the shooting affrays at Esperanza and Mount Edgecombe. It will be noted that Mr. Gandhi has added to his previous four points a fifth, asking for an assurance of just administration of the law and of due regard to vested rights. This appears to be innocuously vague and should not cause any difficulty. He has also slightly modified his stipulation respecting the licence under Natal Act 17 of 1895. He formerly asked that a standing licence should be substituted for the annual licence, but he now apparently contemplates that after an ex-indentured Indian has acquired domiciliary rights, in terms of the judgment in the Subrayen case, by three years continuous residence after the expiration of his indentures, the licence should be dropped altogether. This is a point of detail on which the Commission's recommendation will doubtless carry weight with the Government. I may mention that yesterday afternoon, when Mr. Gandhi received Mr. Gorges' letter, he was much perturbed by the omission of any explicit recognition of the motive which restrained him from pursuing the allegations of ill-treatment. In order to meet his difficulty, General Smuts caused the words which now form the third sentence of the letter to be inserted. They were suggested by Mr. Gandhi himself, and he is understood to be satisfied[1] and to be leaving for Natal today.

Colonial Office Record: 551/54

[1] This has reference to the resolution of the deadlock in the final negotiations described by Andrews; *vide* footnote 2 to "Interview with General Smuts", pp. 326-7.

## APPENDIX XXI

*LETTER FROM MINISTER OF INTERIOR*

PRETORIA,
*January 21, 1914*

SIR,

With reference to your letter of even date I am instructed by the Minister of the Interior to reply that you are correct in your statement that it is not proposed to make any alteration either in the personnel of, or the reference to, the Commission appointed to enquire into the recent Indian Strike in Natal. The Minister regrets but of course understands that you are so far committed by your previous public declarations in regard to the Commission that you are precluded from appearing before it. He also recognizes the motive which makes you unwilling to revive old sores by courting libel proceedings before another tribunal.

The Government repudiates as strongly and emphatically as heretofore the charges of harsh or improper action against the Indian passive resisters and strikers. But as you and your friends have decided not to appear before the Commission and lead evidence in support of those allegations, it seems likely that there will be no charges for the Commission to investigate. The Government would regret the consequent absence of an opportunity to lead rebutting evidence in vindication of the conduct of its officers, but it feels that, unless it has a definite case to answer, any attempt to deal with the allegations before the Commission could only result in an unprofitable waste of time. The Government is anxious that any recommendations which the Commission may make on the larger issue of Indian grievances should be received at a sufficiently early date to enable proposals to be submitted to Parliament during the forthcoming Session. It is hoped that those proposals, if accepted by Parliament, would ensure a satisfactory and permanent settlement. The Government considers that such a settlement of longstanding disputes is too important to justify any risk of endangering its achievement by delaying the proceedings of the Commission—already delayed through unforeseen circumstances—by an enquiry, which would now be necessarily one-sided, into points of minor and secondary moment relatively to the wider issues at stake. If, therefore, the Indians decline to submit to the Commission any specific charges in connection with the treatment of passive resisters and strikers during the recent troubles, the Government will not think it necessary to take any further action in refutation of the allegations against it and its officers, but it reserves its right to ask the Commission to investigate the occurrences which resulted in loss of life at Esperanza and Mount Edgecombe.

With reference to your prayer for the release of *bona fide* passive resistance strikers from ordinary or compound gaols, the Department of Justice had already previous to the arrival of your letter taken steps for the release of the small balance of these prisoners kept in the gaols.

In regard to the grievances which you have summarised at the end of your letter, the Government will, as already stated, await the recommendations of the Commission before taking any action.

*I have the honour to be,*
*Sir,*
*Your obedient servant,*
E. M. GORGES
SECRETARY FOR THE INTERIOR

M. K. GANDHI ESQ.
PRETORIA

From a photostat of the typewritten original: S. N. 5926

## APPENDIX XXII

### *ANDREWS' INTERVIEW WITH GOVERNOR-GENERAL*[1]

[PRETORIA,
*January 13, 1914*]

I saw Mr. Andrews quite privately on Tuesday and had a long talk with him. He impressed me favourably and appeared to have an exceptionally intimate acquaintance with the working of Mr. Gandhi's mind. He said that Mr. Gandhi makes two crucial demands (1) the recognition of one wife as having a legal status, (2) the repeal of the £3 tax. Importance was also attached but to a lesser degree to some agreement being arrived at which restored the right of unrestricted admission into the Cape Province enjoyed by South Africa-born Indians under the Cape Immigration Act. Mr. Andrews assured me that Mr. Gandhi would make no claim whatever to equal franchise rights, and fully accepted the policy of exclusion of Asiatics from South Africa. According to Mr. Andrews, Mr. Gandhi is prepared to accept the Commission in so far as enquiry into disturbances is concerned. If his political conditions are accepted, it would be a solution of the position and there would be no necessity for any further work by the Commission. If they were not accepted, a very difficult question would arise for Mr. Gandhi had, with several compatriots, taken a vow not to recognize the Commission unless he was met on his basic points. I said that personally I saw little difficulty in conceding what Mr. Andrews stated Mr. Gandhi required. But Ministers might not feel able

[1] This is an extract from Governor-General's despatch dated January 14, 1914 to the Colonial Office.

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to give unconditional promises because the political situation might prevent giving absolute guarantees that the remedial Act could be passed. Mr. Andrews said that he feared Mr. Gandhi's vow would prove an insuperable obstacle. I suggested that Mr. Gandhi could give evidence as regards the disturbances as he expresses readiness to do this. He could then by leave address the Court, state his conditions, giving arguments and say that while fully accepting the capacity and authority of the Commission to decide on questions of fact, he reserved to himself and his colleagues absolute discretion to take their own courses on matters of political principle, and concerning his own conscience. He hoped that the Commission would arrive at a right judgment but that neither he nor his colleagues could give further evidence. Mr. Andrews said that this gave a ray of light. Nothing could shake Mr. Gandhi on matters of conscience. The vow might still create great difficulty. Mr. Gandhi's life, on a former occasion, had been attempted in Johannesburg by two Pathans because, after taking a vow, he had come to an agreement. But he would do his best to induce Mr. Gandhi to take this course if the Government assurances were not satisfactory. He said further that, while Sir Benjamin Robertson was an excellent official, he would not understand the subtle and sensitive working of Mr. Gandhi's mind. I have given this information to General Smuts. How far Mr. Andrews correctly interprets Mr. Gandhi's views I cannot say, but if he speaks with accurate knowledge, the situation looks more hopeful. The Government, moreover, are in a better position to take a generous view than at any previous time. Their firm and courageous action in dealing with the strike firmly establishes their authority and reputation which various events had shaken. Mr. Gandhi's action in holding his hand while the Government were in difficulties has been much appreciated. If concessions are now made to the British Indians, no one can allege that they are made under coercion. I sincerely trust therefore that the outcome may be satisfactory.

Colonial Office Records: 551/53

## APPENDIX XXIII

### *EXTRACTS FROM SOLOMON COMMISSION REPORT*

As the Bill based upon the recommendations of the Commission may be published very soon, we do not propose to give many extracts from the Report. Moreover, the full report is available at 9d. per copy in Cape Town. We give, however, some of the salient points from it. We have not found it possible to condense the exhaustive sketch of the marriage and the £3 questions. We have, therefore, been obliged to content ourselves with merely giving the text of the recommendations on these two points. The curious must search the Report itself. The document occupies 38 foolscap pages from which we take the following:

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### On the Community's Abstention

Unfortunately the main object which the Commission had in view in recommending the release of Messrs Gandhi, Polak and Kallenbach was, to a great extent, frustrated by the attitude taken up by these persons.

So far from assisting the Commission by placing before it the case for the Indian community for the redress of alleged grievances and by collecting evidence in support of the serious allegations of acts of violence committed upon persons sentenced to imprisonment in connection with the strike, the leaders decided, on various grounds which it is unnecessary to mention, entirely to ignore the Commission. The result was that not only was the Indian community not represented by counsel, but that, acting upon the advice given by Mr. Gandhi, no witnesses appeared to substantiate the charges of violence.

Fortunately, during the latter end of our sitting, a few Indians, chiefly from the Mahomedan section of that community, who represented the Natal Indian Congress, did appear before us and gave evidence of considerable value and importance. At a later stage of the enquiry, when the Commission sat in Cape Town from the 23rd to the 27th February, several other Indians presented themselves who claimed to represent various societies, three of them having travelled from the Transvaal for that purpose. These persons were, we think, well advised to refuse to follow the advice given by Mr. Gandhi to his fellow-countrymen to ignore the Commission. By appearing and giving evidence they were able to give us important information on certain subjects and, by doing so, they, in our opinion, rendered considerable service to the Indian community.

### On the Causes of the Strike

The documentary evidence as contained in the various Blue Books which have been placed at our disposal makes it clear that the strike was immediately due to dissatisfaction on the part of the leaders of the Indian community with the provisions of the Immigrants Regulation Act, 1913.

Being unable to obtain from the Minister what he considered to be satisfactory assurances on these points, Mr. Gandhi deliberately decided to take the grave steps which immediately led to the strike and to the subsequent disturbances which are the subject of this enquiry. In his letter of the 28th September, which closed the correspondence between the Minister and himself, he informs the former that the step which he proposes to take "consists in actively, persistently and continually asking those who are liable to pay the £3 tax to decline to do so and to suffer the penalties for non-payment, and, what is more important, in asking those who are now serving under indentures and who will, therefore, be liable to pay the £3 tax on completion of the indentures, to strike work until the tax is withdrawn."

This is the first occasion on which, in the course of the correspondence already referred to, mention was made of the £3 tax. It was a matter, however,

on which there can be no doubt that many of the Indians felt very strongly, and it had been one of the chief subjects of discussion between the Union Government and Mr. Gokhale when he visited South Africa in 1912. The feeling of the Indians on this subject had been much aggravated by the statements made to them that the Union Government had promised Mr. Gokhale that a Bill would be introduced in the next session of Parliament to repeal the tax.

When, therefore, no such Bill was introduced and when, in addition, the Government repudiated having made any promise to that effect, the result was that there was grave disappointment, on the part of the Indian community, especially in Natal. It is impossible for us in this enquiry to enter into the controversy which has arisen on the subject of the promise alleged to have been made to Mr. Gokhale; it is sufficient for our purpose to state that the Indians had been led to believe that such a promise had been made, and that, on failure to introduce the expected legislation, there was considerable feeling on their part against the Government.

There were other matters affecting Indians which we were invited by certain witnesses to investigate, but which, in our opinion, did not fall within the scope of our reference. Our enquiry into alleged grievances is limited to those which in any way contributed to the strike. We have no authority to investigate and to make recommendations upon the general position of Indians in the Union, and the disabilities under which they suffer.

There was one other subject, however, upon which, though we at first felt some doubt as to whether it was within the terms of our reference, we ultimately decided to hear evidence. Complaints were made that the laws of the Union, more especially the Immigration and Licensing Acts, were being administered against Indians in a harsh and unsympathetic manner. That was one of the subjects specially referred to in a letter from Mr. Cachalia, the Chairman of the British Indian Association, to the Secretary of the Interior, dated 12th August, 1913, and published in Blue Book C.D. 7111, page 26, in which he formally notifies the Government that the Indian Community proposes again to have recourse to passive resistance, and in which he states that the struggle will be continued so long as, amongst other things, "a spirit of generosity and justice does not pervade the administration of the existing laws referred to herein."

The same subject is referred to in other communications that took place between the Indian leaders and the Government, and in his letter of the 21st January, 1914, in which Gandhi intimates to the Minister his intention not to take part in the proceedings before the Commission, he sums up the points on which relief is sought, as follows:

(1) The Orange Free State question
(2) The Cape Colony question
(3) The Marriage question
(4) Repeal of the £3 tax

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(5) An assurance that existing laws, especially affecting Indians, will be administered justly and with due regard to vested rights.

In view of these circumstances, we came to the conclusion that we were justified in extending the scope of our enquiry so as to include an investigation into the subject of the administration of the Immigration and Licensing Laws.

We feel bound, however, in view of the terms of reference, to limit our investigation to the five subjects specified above, and to eliminate from our enquiry such questions as the following, which we were invited by various witnesses to consider:

(a) That the Transvaal Laws prohibiting Asiatics from becoming the owners of fixed property and from acquiring rights under the Gold Law should be repealed.

(b) That it should be illegal for the Government to insert in grants and leases of land in townships in the Transvaal a clause prohibiting the transfer or sub-letting of the land to Asiatics;

(c) Such general questions as the alleged want of proper educational facilities for the children of Asiatics; their inability to carry firearms, to ride in trams in the Transvaal, etc.

None of these matters in our opinion had any effect in bringing about the strike, and most of them could only be dealt with by legislation and not by administrative action, so that we do not consider that they fall within the scope of our enquiry.

That being so, we now proceed to discuss the five subjects set forth by Mr. Gandhi in his final letter of the 21st January, 1914.

### The Orange Free State Question

This has already been referred to, and, in view of the assurance given by the Minister on the subject, it is somewhat difficult to understand why it has been resuscitated. The only point that can be made regarding it is, that, inasmuch as under Section 7 of the Act of 1913 educated Indians entering the Free State become subject to Section 8 of Chapter 33 of the Free State Law Book, which amongst other things requires that a declaration shall be made before a Resident Magistrate, and inasmuch as it has been agreed by the Minister that no such declaration shall in future be required, it might be advisable to amend Section 7 of the Act so as to make this perfectly clear.

### The Cape Entry Question

It is clear that, if the provisional settlement of 1911 did in fact safeguard the existing rights of Indians, then in strict law there has been a breach of that agreement. Unfortunately the terms of this settlement are not set forth specifically in any formal document, but are to be gathered from two letters which passed between the Private Secretary to the Minister and Mr. Gandhi on the 23rd April, 1911.

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It has been pointed out that in the letter of the Private Secretary of the 22nd April, there was no direct assurance that existing rights would be maintained, but there is no doubt that Mr. Gandhi and the Indian community generally understood that this was one of the terms of the settlement. This appears from many letters subsequently written by Mr. Gandhi to the Minister and specially from certain correspondence which took place between them in January and February, 1912, and subsequently in July and August, 1913. For example, in Mr. Gandhi's letter of the 24th August, 1913, he states specifically that "the correspondence setting forth the provisional settlement of 1911 protected all existing rights of the British Indians". Statements to the same effect are made in other letters, and never on any occasion was this claim repudiated by the Minister. In fact, a perusal of the correspondence leaves the impression that this was common cause between the parties, and was never the subject of controversy.

Then, if that be so, it follows that by restricting the entry of Indians born in South Africa into the Cape Colony to those who can satisfy the educational requirement of Act 30 of 1906, there has been a departure from the provisional settlement of 1911. At the same time, it is clear from Mr. Gandhi's own letters to the Minister that there is very little substance in this alleged grievance.

Looking at the whole subject from a practical point of view, we have come to the conclusion that no good purpose could be gained by recommending that this shadowy grievance should be remedied by amending the Act of 1913, so as to restore the right of South Africa-born Indians to enter the Cape without undergoing the educational test therein provided.

Before leaving the subject we might refer to a point to which our attention was directed by Sir Benjamin Robertson. Section 4, (2) (a) of the Act of 1913 which deals with the educational requirements of the Cape and Natal Provinces, makes provision for those who were, *at the commencement of the Act*, lawfully entitled to reside in any Province. It was pointed out that the right conferred by that section would not strictly avail any person who became lawfully entitled to reside in any Province *after* the Act came into force, as for example, a child born, after the commencement of the Act, of Indians domiciled in South Africa.

It is indeed difficult to see what good purpose is served by the inclusion in the Section of the words "at the commencement of the Act," and they might very well be deleted.

### Administration of Existing Laws

We have now reached the fifth and last of the alleged grievances which have been formulated by Mr. Gandhi in his letter to the Minister of the 21st January, 1914, in which he requires "an assurance that the existing laws especially affecting Indians will be administered justly and with due regard to vested rights." The representations which have been made to us on this subject deal

mainly with the Immigration and Licensing Acts, and, as already stated, we propose to confine ourselves to these subjects.

### The Immigration Act

The complaints against the administrative methods of the Immigration Department were fairly numerous, chiefly in the Cape Colony. In respect of some of them we were not satisfied that they have been established and we do not propose to make any reference to such. There are others, however, in regard to which we are of opinion that grievances do exist and we propose to deal with these as shortly as possible.

### The Licensing Acts

Representations were made to the Commission regarding the administration of the Acts with reference to the grant of licences to carry on trade or business in the Cape Colony and in Natal.

We do not, however, see our way to making any recommendations on this subject which are likely to be of any use.

No evidence was laid before us as to the administration of the licensing laws in other towns of the Cape Colony or in the country districts, and we have, therefore, no observations to make on that subject.

As regards Natal, the system is somewhat different from that which obtains in the Cape Colony.

The evidence before us is to the effect that the Act is not so strictly administered against Indians in the Natal boroughs as it is in Cape Town, but that it is becoming more and more difficult for Indians to obtain new licences except in those quarters of the town which are inhabited almost exclusively by them, and which may be regarded as Asiatic reserves. In some other parts of the towns it is almost impossible now for Indians to obtain new licences.

As regards the rest of Natal outside of the boroughs and townships, there is one licensing officer who is a Government official, and from whose decision an appeal lies to the licensing board. His policy towards Indians is far more liberal than that of the licensing officers in the boroughs. In fact, he informs us that he makes no distinctions between Europeans and Indians.

A fact of some interest which was elicited from this witness is that, where applications for new licences are made by Indians, more than 50 per cent. of the objections come from other Indians.

We had no complaint regarding the grant of new licences from this licensing officer, the complaints being directed entirely against the administration of the Act in the boroughs and townships. We do not see our way, however, to make any recommendations on this subject. Nothing can be done which would be of any effect except by legislation, and, for the reasons already given when dealing with the grant of licences in Cape Town, we are unable to suggest any amendment of the laws.

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We have now dealt with all the grievances formulated by Mr. Gandhi in his letter to the Minister of the Interior, but before closing, we think that it is desirable to summarise the various recommendations that appear in different parts of the report.

Some of these recommendations will require legislation to give effect to them whilst others can be sufficiently dealt with by administrative action.

They are as follows:

(1) Section 5 (g) of the Immigration Regulation Act of 1913 should be amended so as to bring the law into conformity with the practice of the Immigration Department, which is: "To admit one wife and minor children by her of an Indian now entitled to reside in any Province, or who may in the future be permitted to enter the Union, irrespective of the fact that his marriage to such wife may have been solemnised according to tenets that recognise polygamy, or that she is one of several wives married abroad so long as she is his only wife in South Africa."

(2) Instructions should be given to the Immigration Officer to open registers in each Province for the registration by Indians of, say, three or more years' residence in South Africa, who have at present, or have had in the past, more than one wife living with them in South Africa, of the names of such wives, who are to be free to travel to and from India with the minor children so long as the husband continues to reside in this country.

(3) There should be legislation on the lines of Act 16 of 1860 of the Cape Colony making provision for the appointment of marriage officers from among the Indian priests of different denominations for the purpose of solemnising marriages in accordance with the respective religions of the parties.

(4) There should be legislation for the validation by registration of existing de facto monogamous marriages, by which is understood the marriage of one man with one woman, under a system which recognizes the right of the husband to marry one or more other wives.

(5) Section 6 of Act 17 of 1895 of Natal which requires certain Indians to take out year by year a pass or licence to remain in the Colony and which provides for the payment of £3 a year for such licence should be repealed.

(6) Conditions under which identification certificates under the Immigrants Regulation Act of 1913 are issued should be amended so as to provide that such certificates shall remain in force for a period of three years instead of one year.

(7) An Interpreter should be attached to the office of the Immigration Department in Cape Town who should be a whole-time officer.

(8) Application forms for permits, certificates, etc., from the Immigration Department should be filled in by the clerk in the office upon information supplied to him by the applicant, if the latter so desires.

(9) The practice at present existing in the Cape Town office of this Department of taking in certain cases prints of all the fingers of both hands, instead of the thumbs only, should be discontinued.

(10) The Resident Magistrate of a district in which there is no immigration officer should have authority to issue temporary permits to Indians residing in his district who desire to travel from the Province in which they are living to another Province of the Union.

(11) The present fee of £1 for an identification certificate or temporary permit should be materially reduced, and no charge should be made for any extension.

(12) The present practice of the immigration officer of one Province of communicating by telegraph with the immigration officer of another Province, when an application is made by an Indian for a permit to travel from one Province to the other, should be discontinued.

(13) Domicile certificates which have been issued to Indians in Natal by the immigration officer of that Province, and which bear the thumb impression of the holder of the permit should be recognized as conclusive evidence of the right of the holder to enter the Union as soon as his identity has been established.

(14) An arrangement should, if possible, be made with the Government of India for the holding of official inquiries by the magistrate or other Government official in the case of women and children proceeding from India to join their husbands and fathers in South Africa. If, on inquiry, the official is satisfied that the woman and children are the wife and children of the man in South Africa whom they claim as husband or father, a certificate should be given by him to that effect, and such certificate should be treated by the immigration officer as conclusive evidence of the facts stated in it.

*Indian Opinion*, 25-3-1914

## APPENDIX XXIV

### *EXTRACT FROM GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S DESPATCH*

CAPE TOWN,
*June 5, 1914*

In my despatch Secret of the 30th ultimo I had the honour to report that Mr. Gandhi was about to have an interview with General Smuts for the purpose of discussing the points which he had raised upon the draft Indians' Relief Bill, and upon certain administrative questions. The interview took place on Saturday last. I understand that General Smuts suggested to Mr. Gandhi that, in view of the more immediate urgency of the Bill, the points connected with it should be taken first, and the administrative questions allowed to stand over for a short time until the Minister should have a little more leisure for their consideration. To this suggestion Mr. Gandhi appears to have agreed. The result of the interview was that General Smuts accepted

Mr. Gandhi's representations upon the three legislative points specified in the third paragraph of my above-mentioned despatch, and gave instructions for the necessary amendments to be made in the text of the Bill prior to its introduction in the House of Assembly.

2. You will have learnt from my telegram of the 3rd instant that the Bill was introduced and read a first time on Tuesday last, and was set down for second reading on Monday the 8th instant. The variations from the original text have also been communicated to you by cablegram. Copies of the Bill as introduced accompany my despatch No. 362 of the 5th instant.

3. Mr. Gandhi's wishes have been met by the elimination from Clause 2(1)(a) of the words "at the commencement of this Act", and the substitution of the word "exists" for the word "existed". The word "then" has been retained before the word "recognized", but I am not aware whether this retention is deliberate or due to an oversight. I am enquiring into the point, but in any case it does not seem to be one to which importance need be attached. The paragraph in its present form restores the privileges in regard to the registration of Indian marriages which were provided in the last type-written draft, as enclosed with my despatch Secret No. 4 of the 16th ultimo. By a further amendment of Clause 2(1), the words "Magistrate or" have been inserted on page 2, line 25 of the new print. Thereby all Magistrates will be enabled to register Indian marriages under Clause 2, irrespective of the circumstance whether or not they also hold appointment as marriage officers. This meets Mr. Gandhi's second point. His third (relating to the admission of the children of a deceased woman who, had she lived, would have been eligible under Clause 3 for exemption from restriction) is met by the introduction of the words following the word "defined" on page 4, line 33 of the new print.

4. I have reason to believe that General Smuts is anxious to complete the second reading stage as soon as possible. It is to be hoped, therefore, that the Bill will not be crowded out by financial business on Monday. Considerable opposition from Natal members on both sides of the House is anticipated. Sir Thomas Smartt and other prominent Unionist members may be expected to give the Bill a helping hand. There are no indications at present as to the attitude which the Hertzogites and the Labour party are likely to adopt.

Colonial Office Records: 55/58

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## APPENDIX XXV

### *THE INDIANS' RELIEF ACT, 1914*

ACT NO. 22 OF 1914

TO MAKE PROVISION FOR THE REDRESS OF CERTAIN GRIEVANCES AND THE REMOVAL OF CERTAIN DISABILITIES OF HIS MAJESTY'S INDIAN SUBJECTS IN THE UNION AND OTHER MATTERS INCIDENTAL THERETO

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 :

APPOINTMENT OF MARRIAGE OFFICER TO SOLEMNIZE MARRIAGES ACCORDING TO THE RITES OF AN INDIAN RELIGION

1. (1) The Minister of the Interior (hereinafter referred to as Minister) may from time to time appoint priests of any Indian religion to be marriage officers with authority to solemnize the marriages of Indians in accordance with the rites and formularies of such religion.

(2) A marriage between two Indians solemnized in accordance with such rites and formularies by a marriage officer so appointed shall be a valid and binding marriage, and all the incidents shall follow therefrom which follow from any other union recognized in law as a valid and binding marriage.

(3) A marriage officer appointed under this section shall be under the same obligations of keeping registers and entering therein particulars of marriages solemnized by him as are imposed upon marriage officers appointed under any other law in force in the Province in which those marriages are solemnized and the provisions of any such law as to the custody and inspection of registers, the obtaining of copies thereof, the evidence of certified copies thereof, the loss, the destruction or falsification of or injury to such registers or such certified copies shall be deemed to be incorporated in this section.

VALIDATION BY REGISTRATION OF MARRIAGES WHICH IN FACT ARE MONOGAMOUS

2. (1) If any Indian male and Indian female upon a joint application to any magistrate or marriage officer (whether appointed under this Act or under any other law) satisfy such officer :

(a) That there exists between them a union recognised as a marriage under the tenets of an Indian religion which they profess; and

(b) That there does not exist between either of them and any other person a union so recognised as a marriage or any union recognized in law as a marriage; and

(c) That each of them is desirous that the union should be regarded as a valid and binding marriage in law,

such officer shall, upon being furnished with particulars as to the full name, residence, place of birth, and age of each party and such further particulars as are

prescribed by regulations made under this section, register such union in manner so prescribed, as a marriage between those parties. Notwithstanding that by the tenets of the religion which the parties profess polygamous unions are approved or recognised, the said union shall, by the fact of registration, become, as from the date when it was contracted, a valid and binding marriage between the parties, and all the incidents shall follow therefrom which follow from any other union recognised in law as a valid and binding marriage, and the marriage shall be deemed to have taken place at the place where the union was, prior to the registration, contracted.

(2) The Minister may make regulations as to the manner in which applications shall be made under this section, the keeping of registers for the purposes thereof, and the particulars to be entered in those registers. The provisions of the marriage laws in force in the Province in which such unions are registered as marriages, so far as those laws relate to the custody and inspection of registers, the obtaining of copies thereof or extracts therefrom, the evidence of certified copies thereof, the loss, destruction or falsification of or injury to those registers certified copies or extracts shall *mutatis mutandis* apply to registers kept under this section.

AMENDMENT AND INTERPRETATION OF SECTION FIVE (G.) OF ACT NO. 22 OF 1913

3. (1) From paragraph (g) of Section *five* of the Immigrants Regulation Act, 1913, (Act No. 22 of 1913), the following words shall be deleted, that is to say, the words —

> "Including the wife or child of a lawful and monogamous marriage duly celebrated according to the rites of any religious faith outside the Union—"

(2) In the interpretation of that paragraph, as hereby amended—

"The wife" shall include any one woman between whom and the exempted person mentioned therein there exists a union recognized as a marriage under the tenets of an Indian religion, notwithstanding that by those tenets the union of that exempted person with other women at the same time would also be recognized as a marriage: Provided that no woman shall be deemed to be the wife of such exempted person—

(a) If such a union exists between him and any other woman who resides in any Province; or

(b) If such exempted person has in any Province offspring by any other woman who is still living;

"The child under the age of sixteen" shall mean a child who is the offspring of the exempted person and the wife as herein defined, or the child of the exempted person and a deceased woman who, if she had been alive, could have been recognized as the wife (as herein defined) or whose union with the exempted person could have been registered as a marriage under Section *two* of this Act.

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SAVING OF EXISTING PROVISIONS OF INDIAN IMMIGRATION LAWS OF NATAL AS TO MARRIAGES

4. Nothing in the preceding sections in this Act shall be construed as repealing or in any manner modifying the provisions of Sections *sixty-five* to *eighty-nine* inclusive of the Indian Immigration Law, 1891, of Natal (Law No. 25 of 1891) or Act No. 2 of 1907 of Natal.

AMENDMENT OF SECTION THREE OF ACT 17 OF 1895 (NATAL)

5. Section *three* of the Indian Immigration Amendment Act, 1895 (Natal) is hereby amended by addition to the end of that section of the words "if he applies therefor within twelve months after such expiry".

POWERS TO GRANT FREE PASSAGE TO INDIA AT REQUEST OF INDIANS

6. The Minister may in his discretion cause to be provided out of moneys appropriated by Parliament for the purpose a free passage from any port in the Union to any port in India (with or without free conveyance by rail to such first-mentioned port) for any Indian (other than an Indian who is or may become entitled under Law No. 25 of 1891—Natal—or any amendment thereof to such free passage) who makes a written request for such free passage and—

(a) Signs as a condition of the grant of such request a statement that he abandons on behalf of himself and his wife and all minor children (if any) all rights possessed by him or them to enter or reside in any part of the Union together with all rights incidental to his or their domicile therein; and

(b) Furnishes to an officer designated by the Minister such means of identification of such Indian and his wife and minor children (if any) as the Minister may prescribe.

A condition so signed shall be conclusive evidence that such Indian and his wife and minor children (if any) have abandoned his or their rights to enter and reside in the Union and any rights incidental to his or their domicile therein.

EVIDENCE OF FORMER RESIDENCE OR DOMICILE IN NATAL OF INDIANS

7. If in the administration of any law any question arises as to whether an Indian who produces a certificate of former residence or domicile in Natal is identical with the Indian who was lawfully entitled to obtain that certificate, then if the thumb impressions placed on that certificate when it was issued by the immigration officer are identical with the thumb impression of the Indian who produces it, the certificates shall be conclusive evidence of such Indian's former residence or domicile in Natal.

REPEAL OF PROVISIONS OF LAWS RELATING TO YEARLY PASSES OR LICENCES OF EX-INDENTURED INDIANS

8. The laws specified in the Schedule to this Act are hereby repealed to the extent set out in the fourth column of that Schedule, and those provisions of those laws which are hereby repealed shall, in so far as they have been extended to Zululand, cease to be in force therein.

No proceedings shall be taken to recover any moneys which may have become due from any Indian prior to the commencement of this Act under the provisions so repealed.

SHORT TITLE

9. This Act may be cited for all purposes as the Indians' Relief Act, 1914.

Colonial Office Records : Cd. 7644/14

## APPENDIX XXVI

*LETTER FROM E. M. GORGES*

CAPE TOWN,
*June 30, 1914*

DEAR MR. GANDHI,

Adverting to the discussions you have lately had with General Smuts on the subject of the position of the Indian community in the Union, at the first of which you expressed yourself as satisfied with the provisions of the Indians' Relief Bill and accepted it as a definite settlement of the points, which required legislative action, at issue between that community and the Government; and at the second of which you submitted for the consideration of the Government a list of other matters requiring administrative action, over and above those specifically dealt with in that Bill; I am desired by General Smuts to state with reference to those matters that:

(1) He sees no difficulty in arranging that the Protector of Indian Immigrants in Natal will in future issue to every Indian, who is subject to the provisions of Natal Act 17 of 1895, on completion of his period of indenture, or re-indenture, a certificate of discharge, free of charge, similar in form to that issued under the provisions of Section 106 of Natal Law No. 25 of 1891.

(2) On the question of allowing existing plural wives and the children of such wives to join their husbands (or fathers) in South Africa, no difficulty will be raised by the Government if, on enquiry, it is found, as you stated, that the number is a very limited one.

(3) In administering the provisions of Section (4) (1) (a) of the Union Immigrants' Regulation Act, No. 22 of 1913, the practice hitherto existing at the Cape will be continued in respect of South Africa-born Indians who seek to enter the Cape Province, so long as the movement of such persons to that Province assumes no greater dimensions than has been the case in the past; the Government, however, reserve the right, as soon as the number of such entrants sensibly increase, to apply the provisions of the Immigration Act.

(4) In the case of the "specially exempted educated entrants into the Union" (i.e., the limited number who will be allowed by the Government to enter the Union each year for some purpose connected with the general welfare of the Indian community), the declarations to be made by such persons will not be required at Provincial borders, as the general declarations which are made in terms of Section 19 of the Immigrants' Regulation Act at the port of entry are sufficient.

(5) Those Indians who have been admitted within the last three years, either to the Cape province or Natal, after passing the education tests imposed by the Immigration Laws which were in force therein prior to the coming into effect of Act 22 of 1913, but who, by reason of the wording of Section 20 thereof, are not yet regarded as being "domiciled" in the sense in which that term is defined in the Section in question, shall, in the event of their absenting themselves temporarily from the Province in which they are lawfully resident, be treated, on their return, as if the term "domicile" as so defined did apply to them.

(6) He will submit to the Minister of Justice the cases of those persons who have in the past been convicted of "*bona fide* passive resistance offences" (a term which is mutually understood) and that he anticipates no objection on Mr. De Wet's part to the suggestion that convictions for such offences will not be used by the Government against such persons in the future.

(7) A document will be issued to every "specially exempted educated entrant" who is passed by the Immigration Officers under the instructions of the Minister issued under Section 25 of Act No. 22 of 1913.

(8) All the recommendations of the Indian Grievances Commission enumerated at the conclusion of their Report, which remain over and above the points dealt with in the Indians' Relief Bill, will be adopted by the Government;

and subject to the stipulation contained in the last paragraph of this letter the necessary further action in regard to those matters will be issued without delay.

With regard to the administration of existing laws, the Minister desires me to say that it always has been and will continue to be the desire of the Government to see that they are administered in a just manner and with due regard to vested rights.

In conclusion, General Smuts desires me to say that it is, of course, understood, and he wishes no doubts on the subject to remain, that the placing of the Indians' Relief Bill on the Statute Book of the Union, coupled with the fulfilment of the assurances he is giving in this letter in regard to the other matters referred to herein, touched upon at the recent interviews, will constitute a complete and final settlement of the controversy which has un-

fortunately existed for so long, and will be unreservedly accepted as such by the Indian community.

*I am, etc.*,
E. M. GORGES

M. K. GANDHI, ESQ.
CAPE TOWN

Colonial Office Records: 551/58

## APPENDIX XXVII

### (*1*) *GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S DESPATCH TO COLONIAL OFFICE*

CAPE TOWN,
*July 4, 1914*

SIR,

The agreement reached between General Smuts and Mr. Gandhi upon outstanding administrative points, as reported to you by telegraph on the 1st instant, is a welcome sequel to the enactment of the Indians' Relief Bill, and presages, I trust, a respite from those Indians' troubles which have formed the subject of constant correspondence during practically the whole of my residence in this country.

2. I enclose herewith copies of the two letters[1] which were summarised in my telegram. The concessions promised by the Minister display a spirit of generosity and statesmanship. All Mr. Gandhi's stipulations which were recorded in my Secret Despatch of the 30th May have been met, although in regard to the preservation of vested rights in the administration of existing laws and particularly of the Transvaal Gold Law, the general assurance given towards the end of Mr. Gorges' letter is less precise and categorical than Mr. Gandhi desired. This point, I believe, was found the most difficult of adjustment. On Sunday last General Smuts said that on the previous day he had received Mr. Gandhi in an interview lasting a couple of hours, and that, apart from the question of the administration of the Gold Law, an agreement was in sight. Upon the Gold Law, however, Mr. Gandhi's demands involved an extension rather than a confirmation of vested rights as understood by the Minister, and he did not think it would be possible to give the specific assurance for which he was asked. Being anxious for a settlement, he was still considering what could be done, but he doubted that he would be able to go as far as Mr. Gandhi wished. The further negotiations were conducted by Mr. Gorges, and in the end Mr. Gandhi, either in a mood of sweet reasonableness or from reluctance

[1] The reference is to E. M. Gorges' letter to Gandhiji of June 30, 1914, the preceding appendix, and Gandhiji's reply thereto of the same date (pp. 438-9).

to jeopardize what he had obtained for the sake of the unobtainable, signified his willingness to accept the formula which was offered and to close the bargain. Letters were exchanged and on the following morning, the 1st instant, Mr. Gandhi left Cape Town for Durban. My Secretary, who happened to meet him before his departure, did not observe any marked change in his appearance as the result of his recent fast. In the course of a brief conversation he spoke with great modesty of his own share in the settlement and with generosity of the help which had been given by others.

3. Mr. Gandhi presumably will publish the attached correspondence shortly after the end of the session. It is not likely to enhance the popularity of the Government in Nationalist circles, and even in some other quarters, especially in Natal, it may be expected to have a dubious reception. In these circumstances publicity before Parliament has risen might prove very inconvenient. I need not lay stress on the courage with which General Smuts has disregarded the prejudices of a large section of his party.

4. The assurance given on the first point specified in Mr. Gorges' letter should go far to allay the apprehensions which have been aroused in Natal as to the effect of the removal of the £3 licence. These misconceptions are responsible for the foolish telegrams from Durban, which have been communicated to you under cover of my Despatches No. 467 and No. 468 of the 2nd instant, asking that the Bill should be "vetoed". The sender of one of them, Mr. K. K. Pillay, who describes himself as "Chairman of the £3 tax Committee", is said to be a person of no importance. I am also told that it is very doubtful whether Mr. M. C. Coovadia, from whom the other emanates, has any considerable following even among the members of the Natal Indian Congress. Information has reached me that at a recent so-called "mass meeting" which he summoned the attendance only numbered some thirty Indians. For the accuracy of this statement I cannot, however, vouch. There is some force in his criticism of Section 7 of the Act as redrafted. The point had not been overlooked. I saw the new clause for the first time when it appeared among the amendments on the Order paper. I at once caused enquiry to be made why the Commission's recommendation had been varied so that proof might be required not only of the identity of the Indian producing a certificate of domicile, but also of the grantee's lawful title to its issue. I was advised that in some cases such certificates had been obtained by fraud and that the Government did not think it right that these should be protected. I should have preferred the original clause, but as the contention of the Government was not in itself unreasonable, and as Mr. Gandhi took no exception to the amendment, I did not feel called upon to cause embarrassment by insisting on so relatively trivial a detail. In other respects Mr. Coovadia's telegram is futile. It is conceivable, though there is no evidence, that this agitation may have been encouraged by a few Europeans in Natal who were perhaps not averse from allowing Indian suspicion and credulity to be stimulated into a belief that, in the absence of a £3 licence,

reindenture was the only safeguard against compulsory repatriation. Mr. Gandhi's influence may, upon his return to Natal, be expected to supply the necessary corrective.

5. On the second point in Mr. Gorges' letter, the concession is more generous even than the Commission's recommendation in so far as the requirement that the plural wives affected shall previously at some time have lived in South Africa has been omitted. That the privilege was only to be granted if the number of potential beneficiaries was found to be small has been common ground throughout.

6. On the third point Mr. Gandhi receives the desired administrative assurance in regard to the question of the "Cape entry". On the fourth point his difficulty about the Orange Free State declaration is met. The matter dealt with in the fifth point had not hitherto, so far as I am aware, been raised. It is disposed of in an eminently fair and reasonable manner. On the sixth point a conciliatory and favourable answer is given to Mr. Gandhi's plea that past convictions for "*bona fide* passive resistance offences" should not in future be brought up against the persons so convicted. The seventh point regulates satisfactorily a detail of procedure in connection with the admission of "specially exempted entrants". In the eighth point the pledge given by General Smuts in the House of Assembly as to the adoption of all the administrative recommendations summarised at the end of the Commission's report is explicitly reiterated. No surprise can be felt at the addition of a stipulation that the fulfilment of all these assurances in conjunction with the legislative action which has been taken is subject to the understanding that the settlement will be accepted as complete and final by the Indian community.

7. Mr. Gandhi in his reply says unequivocally that the passage of the Bill and this correspondence bring the passive resistance struggle to a final close and at the end of his letter he expresses his conviction that, if the generous spirit recently displayed by the Government continues to be applied, as promised, in the administration of existing laws, the Indian community in the Union will be able to enjoy some measure of peace and will never be a source of trouble to the Government. Further than this Mr. Gandhi could hardly be expected to go, and General Smuts would probably have been glad if the letter had been confined to these two statements. The indication that other points stand over for adjustment at some future date is, however, tactfully worded, and Mr. Gandhi may have felt its inclusion to be necessary both in justice to himself and as a means of preventing any immediate clamour for further concessions. General Smuts, when the letter was submitted to him, is understood to have described it as a remarkable feat of diplomacy and ingenuity; he does not appear to have regarded it as a serious departure from the terms of settlement, but I have not yet had an opportunity of sounding him personally on the point.

8. I enclose two newspaper extracts. The first reports the proceedings at a congratulatory function held in Mr. Gandhi's honour on Saturday last. The speeches delivered by Senator Marshall Campbell, Mr. Meyler, and Mr. Gandhi will be read with interest. The second records a grumble by a Muhammadan Society at Johannesburg. Their grievance presumably is that the Act fails to give recognition to polygamy, and that grievance, I fear, will, for the present at any rate, have to remain unredressed. The legislation of Mauritius, to which a Muhammadan deputation invited the attention of General Smuts, is considered by the Department of the Interior, with whose view I agree, to be rather less liberal, in this respect than the marriage provisions of the Indians Relief Act as passed by the Union Parliament.

*I have, etc.,*
GOVERNOR-GENERAL

Colonial Office Records: 551/58

(2) *GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S DESPATCH TO COLONIAL OFFICE*

CAPE TOWN,
*July 10, 1914*

SIR,

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith a copy of correspondence, as published in the Press, between the Department of the Interior and Mr. Gandhi upon certain administrative questions which had stood over for adjustment pending the enactment of the Indians' Relief Bill. The Act which has now been placed on the Statute Book gives effect to those recommendations of the Indian Enquiry Commission which necessitated legislation. The remaining recommendations were such as could be dealt with departmentally. In regard to them the necessary action is promised in the enclosed correspondence and this promise is supplemented by assurances acceptable to Mr. Gandhi upon the other points which he had specified as essential to the attainment of a satisfactory settlement.

2. Mr. Gandhi's statement that this correspondence, coupled with the passage of the Bill, finally closes the passive resistance struggle which began nearly eight years ago will be noted with much gratification. I am glad indeed in relinquishing my office here to know that the Indian troubles of South Africa which have occasioned so much anxiety not only to the Government and people of this country but also to His Majesty's Government and the Government of India may now be expected to subside. In my judgment the Ministers and Parliament of the Union as well as Sir William Solomon and his fellow Commissioners have performed a great Imperial service by their several contributions to the present settlement.

3. It will be observed that while Mr. Gandhi accepts the agreement so far as he personally is concerned, he mentions in his letter a few other points which,

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in his opinion, remain to be dealt with at some future date. He does not, however, foreshadow a revival of agitation, and I cannot believe that any considerable portion of the Indian community will be so ill-advised as to make the concessions which have been afforded to them a new starting point for further demands. Some apprehensions in this respect seem to have been felt by the writer of a leading article in the *Cape Argus*, of which I attach a copy, but it is to be hoped that the Indians, after obtaining so much, will not commit the folly of displaying impatience because they have not obtained even more.

4. The further Press extracts which are enclosed will be read with interest.

The first reproduces the text of two telegrams despatched from Johannesburg to Mr. Gokhale in England and to some addressee at Bombay, respectively. The former is signed by Mr. Cachalia, whose ultimatum to the Government, it will be remembered, formed the prelude of the Natal Strike and its concomitant movements towards the end of last year; the latter is signed by Messrs Cachalia, Gandhi, Kallenbach, and Polak. In both the words "final settlement" are used, and both are conceived in a spirit and couched in language to which the most querulous critic could take no exception.

The second extract reports Mr. Gandhi's arrival at Durban and the adoption of a Resolution by the Natal Indian Association approving of his action.

The third summarises a farewell speech delivered by Mr. Gandhi at a reception given in the Town Hall of Durban under the presidency of the Mayor, on the 8th instant. You will observe that he expresses gratitude to the Union Government, acknowledges the help received from other quarters, and in speaking of the settlement appears to attach no qualifications to them.

The circumstance that he proposes to leave South Africa next week may perhaps be taken as implying that he regards his labours in this country as having been brought to an honourable conclusion.

*I have, etc.*,
GOVERNOR-GENERAL

Colonial Office Records: 551/58

## APPENDIX XXVIII

### *THE STRUGGLE AND WHAT IT HAS MEANT*

(BY THE EDITOR)

> How oft by God's will, hath a small host vanquished a large host, and God is with the patiently persevering.—*Quran*
> Think ye to enter Paradise, when no such things have come upon you, as on those who flourished before you?—Ills and troubles tried them.—*Quran*

To survey, within a limited space, the origins and incidents of a movement that has occupied eight years of the history of South African Indians is a

task impossible of satisfactory fulfilment. The present sketch will, therefore, be but a hasty outline, with here and there an indicator emphasising a noteworthy occurrence or a fundamental outline.

The origins of the Passive Resistance Struggle are to be sought, not in the agitation of 1906, but in that which commenced, in one of its phases, in the Transvaal, in 1885, and, in another, in Natal, in 1894. The old Republican Law 3 of 1885, whilst imposing various burdens upon Asiatics residing in the country, required that such of them as entered for purposes of trade should be registered at a fixed fee, and that, "for sanitary purposes", they should reside in Locations specially set apart for them. To a large extent, both requirements proved a dead letter, but a great deal of friction with the British Government was engendered, resulting in Imperial intervention at the time of the War, when resident Indians, as British subjects, were promised complete redress of their grievances.

In Natal, a British Colony, the position had been complicated by the grave prejudice aroused by the presence of large numbers of Indian labourers brought at the instance of the European Colonists under indenture, and an agitation had arisen for the exclusion of free Asiatic immigration and the disfranchisement of all Asiatics. It became a question whether this was to be accomplished by specifically racial legislation or by general enactment differentially administered. The conflict of views represented by these two methods raged for some time, but at last, thanks to the statesmanship of Mr. Chamberlain, in 1897, the second method was adopted, and the famous "Natal Act" passed, imposing an educational and not a racial test. From then onwards, in Natal, racial legislation was a thing of the past, and hence the first signs of renewed trouble arose in the Transvaal, where the principle of statutory equality had not been accepted, owing to a different political conception of the status of Coloured people.

In the re-settlement that took place after the War, it was hoped that the burdens would be removed from the shoulders of the British Indian community, but Indians were dismayed to find the Imperial authorities endeavouring vigorously to enforce the obnoxious legislation against which they had strongly protested in pre-War days, a policy that was later weakly defended by Lord Selborne. Immigration of Indians was severely restricted by the Peace Preservation Ordinance. Registration of practically all adult male Indians, under Law 3 of 1885, was urged by Lord Milner, and was subsequently agreed to by the Indian leaders as a purely voluntary act, on Lord Milner's definite promise[1] that this registration would be regarded as complete and final, and that the certificates issued would constitute a permanent right of residence to the holders and a right to come and go at will.

[1] *Vide* Vol. III, p. 368.

Meanwhile, Law 3 of 1885 was being enforced so as to compel all Indians to reside and trade in Locations, and the pre-War controversy was revived, resulting in an appeal to the Supreme Court, which reversed the old Republican High Court's decision, and held that Indians were free to trade anywhere they pleased, and that non-residence in a Location was not punishable at law. This decision was a severe rebuff to the anti-Indian element in the European population that had its representatives even in the Government, which endeavoured to legislate to overcome the effect of the Supreme Court decision—without result, however, owing to the intervention of the then Secretary of State for the Colonies, the late Mr. Lyttelton. But the general public, by ingeniously manipulated statistics, were led to believe in a huge influx of unauthorised Asiatics into the Transvaal, to which some colour was lent by the dispersal of the Indian residents of the Johannesburg Indian Location throughout the Colony, after it was burnt down at the time of the plague outbreak in 1904, and meetings all over the Transvaal were held with the object of closing the door against all Asiatic immigration, and compelling Indians to trade and reside exclusively in Locations. In an atmosphere of prejudice and terror thus created, it was impossible effectively to protest one's innocence, and the request of the Indian community for an open and impartial inquiry, whether by Royal Commission or otherwise, fell on deaf ears; so that when a draft ordinance was published in 1906 to "amend" Law 3 of 1885, requiring compulsory re-registration of the entire Indian community, men, women, and children, it was vociferously welcomed by the whole European population, whilst it fell amongst the Indian victims-to-be like a bombshell. The basic assumption, on the part of the authorities, for its necessity lay in the unquenchable belief in wholesale Indian immigration of an unlawful character, to which, in their opinion, resident Indians could not but be a party. So far as the general public was concerned, the measure was hailed as the first instalment of a scheme designed to drive Indians out of the Colony altogether, and Europeans in the neighbouring Colonies and territories eagerly looked on, as they had looked on, in 1903, at Lord Milner's abortive effort to compel Indian trade and residence in Locations, so that they might take advantage of the results of the new policy to relieve themselves of their own Asiatic "incubus".

Appalled by the magnitude of the disaster that threatened the community, the Indian leaders hastened to take steps to avoid it, if possible. They sought an interview with the responsible member of the Government, but succeeded only in getting women excluded from the operation of the measure, and, as a last resort, an Indian mass meeting[1] was held at the moment that the legislative Council was debating the clauses of the draft ordinance. Whilst the Council's debate was perfunctory and prearranged performance, the whole business being concluded in less than a couple of hours, the crowded Empire

[1] *Vide* Vol. V, pp. 419-26 & 439-43.

Theatre rang with impassioned denunciations of the Government's policy, which belied the solemn undertaking of Lord Milner in every important respect, assumed the guilt of the Indian community unheard and without proof, and adumbrated their virtual expulsion from the Colony, and, eventually, from South Africa. So fierce was the indignation aroused that, when the famous Fourth Resolution[1] was put, committing all present, and those they represented, to go to gaol, if the measure should become law, until such time as it should be repealed or disallowed, the whole vast audience of three thousand persons rose as one man, and shouted a solemn "Amen," when the oath of Passive Resistance was administered. Simultaneously, however, and as a last effort to avoid a terrible conflict, a deputation to England was arranged for.[2] The delegates proceeded there to interview the Imperial authorities and arouse public opinion, and their efforts resulted in the suspension of the Royal Assent to the measure owing to the imminence of the inauguration of self-government in the Transvaal, and in the formation of the famous South Africa British Indian Committee, with Sir Mancherji Bhownaggree as its Executive Chairman, Mr. L. W. Ritch as its Secretary, and, subsequently, Lord Ampthill as its President.

The disallowance of the measure was, however, merely a temporary respite, for, taking umbrage at what was thought to be an impertinent intrusion on the part of the Imperial Government in the affairs of a practically self-governing British Colony, the European section of the population angrily demanded the immediate re-enactment of the ordinance, and almost the first action of the new Parliament was to rush it through all its stages in a single session of a unanimous House,[3] entirely ignoring Indian opinion and Indian protests, for, as Indians were not directly represented in Parliament, nobody appeared to consider it necessary to take their feelings into consideration.

Still anxious to avoid a struggle that had appeared to be inevitable, the Indian leaders had urged the Government and Parliament not to proceed with the Bill, but to accept a voluntary effort of re-registration in a manner that might be mutually agreed upon, in which they proffered all possible assistance. But they were distrusted and ignored, and all the tragic possibilities of a prolonged conflict were forced upon the Indian community. In July 1907, the new Act came into force, and registration under it officially commenced, in compartments, the registration officers travelling from town to town throughout the Colony. Their efforts to induce registration were wholly unsuccessful, and an extension of the advertised time for registration was given by the Government, as a last opportunity to comply with the law. But 95 per cent of the Indian community remained true to its oath. Meanwhile, a further effort had been made to avoid an extension of the trouble, and a petition[4], signed by

[1] *Vide* Vol. V, p. 423.
[2] This was in October-December, 1906; *vide* Vol. VI.
[3] *Vide* Vol. VI, p. 408.
[4] *Vide* Vol. VII, pp. 320-1.

some 3,000 Indians, had been addressed to the Government, imploring them to realise the depth of suffering into which it was threatened to plunge the Indian community, who once more offered voluntary re-registration if the Act was suspended. The petition was rejected contemptuously, and, at the end of the year, several of the leaders were arrested, ordered to leave the Colony, and, upon their refusal to do so, imprisoned for various periods. This process was repeated, until some hundreds of all classes were lodged in gaol, and the Government, realising that their efforts to crush the community had failed, opened up negotiations through the agency of Mr. Albert Cartwright, then Editor of *The Transvaal Leader*, with the result that, almost at the moment that H. H. the Aga Khan was presiding over a huge public meeting of protest in Bombay, a compromise was signed, whereby it was agreed to suspend passive resistance, to proceed with voluntary re-registration for a period of three months, during which the operation of the law was to be suspended, and, as the Indian signatories clearly understood, to repeal the hated Act if the re-registration was satisfactorily completed. In the meantime, the situation had been complicated by the passing of an Immigration Act that, operating jointly with the Asiatic Law Amendment Act, absolutely prohibited all Asiatic immigration, no matter how cultured the immigrant might be. Thus, at a stroke, the policy of non-racial legislation, that had been so strongly advocated by Mr. Chamberlain, was destroyed. The community, however, realised that, with the repeal of the Asiatic Act, the racial taint would disappear, and all efforts were, accordingly, concentrated upon that. The commencement of voluntary re-registration was signalised by a murderous attack upon Mr. Gandhi[1] by a misguided countryman, and, for the moment, everything was in confusion. But a special appeal to the community was made and, with confidence restored and the promise of repeal, re-registration was duly completed by the middle of May, and Lord Selborne himself bore testimony to its satisfactoriness. Then the Government were called upon to perform their part of the compromise, but the promise of repeal was repudiated, and immediately the Indian community was thrown into a turmoil. The Government offered to repeal the Act provided that certain classes of Indians were treated as prohibited immigrants, and the racial bar remained in the Immigration Law. Naturally, these terms were indignantly rejected, and the community prepared for a revival of Passive Resistance. Mr. Sorabji Shapurji, an educated Parsee from Natal, was imprisoned as a protest against the racial bar. The Natal Indian leaders entered the Transvaal, in order to cooperate with their brethren there, and were arrested as prohibited immigrants and ordered to leave the Colony. But at a mass meeting[2] held in Johannesburg, at which they were present, hundreds of certificates of voluntary registration were publicly burnt, and a challenge of wholesale imprisonment

[1] *Vide* Vol. VIII, pp. 93-4.
[2] *Vide* Vol. VIII, pp. 456-60 & 473-6.

was thrown out to the Government, who took alarm at the situation, and a conference of leading members of the Government and Opposition, and of representatives of the Indian and Chinese communities, together with Mr. Albert Cartwright, as mediator, was held at Pretoria. The conference proved abortive, however, for though they were prepared to waive the other points upon which they had previously insisted, the Government proved adamant on the two main issues. They definitely refused either to repeal the Asiatic Act or to remove the racial bar of the Immigration Law. An amending Bill was passed through both Houses of Parliament, validating voluntary registration, and improving the Indian position in certain respects, but it being, in the main, unsatisfactory for the reasons given above, it was not recognized by the Passive Resisters, who resumed the struggle with energy. The new measure, however, strengthened the hands of the Government by giving them powers of deportation, which, however, were at first neutralised by their deporting Passive Resisters across the Natal border, whence they returned as fast as they were deported.

Into the many details and ramifications of the struggle at this stage it is unnecessary now to enter; suffice it to recall the Delagoa Bay incidents, when the Portuguese Government acted as the catspaw of the Transvaal, in preventing the entry into the Transvaal of returning Indians lawfully resident there, the various test-cases brought in the Supreme Court against the Government, some of which were lost and some won, the voluntary insolvency of Mr. A. M. Cachalia, the Chairman of the British Indian Association, who preferred to keep his oath and preserve his honour to the sordid joy of money-making, the imprisonment of Indians of all classes by hundreds, the appeals to India, where protest meetings were held in different parts of the country, the financial help of Natal, the arousing of enthusiasm amongst Indians all over the country, the activity of Lord Ampthill's Committee in London, and of the British Press, the bitter controversies that raged in the Transvaal papers, the latent sympathy of not a few Transvaal Europeans, culminating in the formation of Mr. Hosken's Committee that rendered such splendid and patriotic service in a number of ways, the public letter to *The Times*, the refusal of the Royal Assent to anti-Indian measures passed by the Legislatures of Natal and Southern Rhodesia, the Indian mass meetings in Johannesburg and all over South Africa, the weakening of some sections of the Indian community and the strengthening of others, the amazing revelation of Tamil strength and fortitude, the energetic labours of the Indian women, the ruin and desolation of businesses and homes, the cruel gaol hardships whose purpose was to crush the spirit of the Passive Resisters, the magnificent courage of those who sought imprisonment again and again, the glorious religious spirit that was developed as the struggle moved on from phase to phase, the hopes and fears, the firm faith of the leaders in ultimate success—all these constitute a pageant of incidents and emotions that gave greatness to the Passive Resistance movement, and that bestowed upon it its most distinguishing characteristics.

New life was given to the movement in the middle of 1909, when two deputations[1] were authorised to proceed to England and India respectively, to cultivate public opinion there and to seek assistance. As the delegates were on the point of leaving, the majority of them were arrested and imprisoned as passive resisters, doubtless with the intention of preventing the departure of the remainder. But the community insisted that the deputations should go. In England, interest in the question was strongly revived, and, as Transvaal Ministers were there at the time in connection with the Draft Act of Union, the Imperial authorities strove to effect a settlement; but General Smuts proved obdurate, and flatly declined to remove the statutory racial bar and substitute for it general legislation, though it was clear that the Asiatic Act was doomed. The deputation, which had been led by Mr. Gandhi, therefore returned to South Africa, having accomplished only a part of what it had hoped to achieve, but having arranged for a body of volunteers who undertook to collect funds and keep the subject before the public.

The deputation to India, heralded by the tragic death of Nagappen shortly after his release from prison, was of a different character. Mr. Polak, who was the sole remaining delegate, placed himself unreservedly in the hands of the Hon. Mr. Gokhale, whose Servants of India Society arranged for meetings to be held in every part of the country, from Bombay to Rangoon, from Madras to Lahore. Tremendous enthusiasm was aroused, Indian patriotic pride in the sufferers in South Africa was awakened, and funds were energetically collected following the example of Mr. Ratan J. Tata, some £10,000 being contributed for the maintenance of the struggle, ruling princes sending generous subscriptions. All sections of the people united in demanding the intervention of the Imperial Government, and at the historic session of the Imperial Council at Calcutta, the Government of India announced its acceptance of Mr. Gokhale's resolution, unanimously supported, to take powers to prohibit the further recruitment of indentured labour in India for Natal. After a thirteen months' campaign, India had been educated on the South African Indian question to a degree that aroused the attention and anxiety of the Home authorities, and when angry protests came from every part of the country against the Transvaal Government's action in deporting to India large numbers of Passive Resisters (many of them born in South Africa), with the object of breaking up the movement, the Imperial Government, upon the urgent representations of the Government of India, successfully implored the Transvaal—and, subsequently, the Union—Administration to cease to deport. The deportees subsequently returned to South Africa, but with the loss of Narayansamy, who died at Delagoa Bay after having been unlawfully denied a landing anywhere in British territory.

[1] *Vide* Vol. IX.

Meanwhile, the four South African Colonies had become Provinces of the Union of South Africa, and the Imperial Government, convinced at last of the justice of the Indian cause, and taking advantage of the possibilities of the new situation, addressed to the Union Government the memorable despatch of October 7, 1910, in which they powerfully recommended the repeal of Act 2 of 1907, the removal of the racial bar, and the substitution for the latter of the Indian suggestion of non-racial legislation modified by administrative differentiation, effectively limiting future Indian immigration to a minimum number annually of highly educated men, whose services would be required for the higher needs of the Indian community. To this despatch was appended the condition that nothing that was done to settle the Transvaal controversy at the expense of the Indians residing in the Coast Provinces would be satisfactory to the Imperial Government. The Union Ministers responded in a friendly manner, the struggle became less acute, and ultimately, in 1911, a Union Immigration Bill was published, purporting to settle the controversy that had been raging for so long. The new measure, however, obviously did not serve its purpose, for, whilst repealing the Asiatic Act of 1907, saving the rights of minors that had been declared by the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court in the Chotabhai case, the Bill did not remove the racial bar, but rather extended it throughout the Union, by reason of the Orange Free State entry question, and it took away other rights not only from Transvaal Indians, but from those resident in the Coast Provinces. A unanimous outcry arose from them, negotiations were re-opened, and the suggestion was thrown out by the Passive Resistance leaders that the Bill should be replaced by one limited to the Transvaal alone, which, however, was not adopted. Eventually it was found impossible to pass the Bill, and a provisional settlement was arranged, whereby the Indians undertook to suspend Passive Resistance, whilst the Government promised to introduce satisfactory legislation in the 1912 session of Parliament, meanwhile administering the law as though it had already been altered, and specially exempting, in terms of an earlier understanding, a limited number of educated entrants into the Transvaal.

Taking advantage of the full, and of the better feeling aroused at the time of the King's Coronation in India, a further mission was sent there, in order to maintain public interest and to place before the Government the points upon which the Indian community insisted. The measure of 1912, however, met with no better fate than its predecessor, and the provisional agreement was extended for another year. It was then that preparations were made throughout South Africa to welcome the Hon. Mr. Gokhale, whose tour in the subcontinent is still fresh in the minds of all. He succeeded, as no one else had yet done, in raising the discussion of the Indian problem to the Imperial plane, and won the admiration even of his opponents for his moderation and statesmanship. It was during this visit that Indians later alleged, on his authority, that a promise of repeal of the iniquitous £3 tax was made by the Government,

in view of the fact that, for over a year, further indentured immigration from India had been prohibited by the Indian Government.

When the 1913 Bill, however, was introduced into Parliament, and the Indian leaders observed the spirit in which the Indian question was dealt with by the Union Ministers, grave fears were aroused that a situation, which had already become still further complicated by the position created by the Searle judgment, invalidating practically every Indian marriage, would once more develop into a catastrophe. The Government were warned that the marriage question must be settled if peace were desired, and that the racial bar must be finally removed from the measure. Amendments were introduced and accepted by the Government, purporting to settle the marriage controversy on the basis of the recognition of *de facto* monogamous marriages, but, even as passed, the Bill failed to satisfy the demands of the Passive Resisters, whilst the £3 tax remained unrepealed. A final attempt was made by the Indian leaders to avoid a revival of the struggle, and negotiations were once more opened with the Government, so as to obtain a promise of remedial legislation in the next session of Parliament. They were, however, interrupted by the European strike, during the heat of which Mr. Gandhi, as spokesman of the Passive Resisters, undertook to refrain from pressing the Indian case for the moment. Meanwhile, a mission had proceeded to England to co-operate with the Hon. Mr. Gokhale, at his urgent invitation, in order to bring home to the Imperial Government and the British public the extreme gravity of the situation, and the certainty of the extension of the demands of Passive Resisters unless a settlement of the points in dispute were promptly arrived at. All these representations, however, failed to conciliate the Union Government, which proved obdurate, and a final warning was sent to them stating that unless assurances of the introduction of legislative and administrative measures, in the following session, were given to recognize in law the validity of *de facto* monogamous marriages to remove the racial bar, as regards the Free State, to restore the right of entry into the Cape Colony to South Africa-born Indians, to repeal the £3 tax, and to administer justly and with due regard to vested interests existing legislation operating harshly against Indians, Passive Resistance would be immediately revived. The warning was ignored, and the struggle was resumed in all its bitterness and on a much wider scale than before. Its incidents are too fresh in the public mind to need more than a brief mention—the campaign of the Indian women whose marriages had been dishonoured by a fresh decision of the Supreme Court, at the instigation of the Government, the awakening of the free and indentured labourers all over Natal, the tremendous strikes, the wonderful and historic strikers' march of protest into the Transvaal, the horrible scenes enacted later in the effort to crush the strikers and compel them to resume work, the arrest and imprisonment of the principal leaders and of hundreds —almost thousands—of the rank and file, the enormous Indian mass meetings held in Durban, Johannesburg, and other parts of the Union, the fierce and

passionate indignation aroused in India, the large sums of money poured into South Africa from all parts of the Motherland, Lord Hardinge's famous speech at Madras, in which he placed himself at the head of Indian public opinion, and his demand for a Commission of Inquiry, the energetic efforts of Lord Amphill's Committee, the hurried intervention of the Imperial authorities, the appointment over the heads of the Indian community of a Commission whose personnel could not satisfy the Indians, the discharge of the leaders whose advice to ignore the Commission was almost entirely accepted, the arrival of Messrs Andrews and Pearson and their wonderful work of reconciliation, the deaths of Hurbatsingh and Valliamma, the strained position relieved only by the interruption of the second European strike, when Mr. Gandhi once more undertook not to hamper the Government whilst they had their hands full with the fresh difficulty, and, when it had been dealt with, the entirely new spirit of friendliness, trust, and co-operation that was found to have been created by the moderation of the great Indian leader and the loving influence spread around him by Mr. Andrews as he proceeded with his great Imperial mission.

All these things are of recent history, as are the favourable recommendations of the Commission on practically every point referred to it and out of which Passive Resistance had arisen, the adoption of the Commission's Report in its entirety by the Government, the introduction and passing into law of the Indians' Relief Act, after lengthy and remarkable debates in both Houses of the Legislature, the correspondence between Mr. Gandhi and General Smuts, in which the latter undertook, on behalf of the Government, to carry through the administrative reforms that were not covered by the new Act, and the Indian protagonist of Passive Resistance formally announced the conclusion of the struggle and set forth the points upon which Indians would sooner or later have to be satisfied before they could acquire complete equality of civil status—and the final scenes of departure, enacted throughout the country, wherein the deaths and sufferings of the Indian martyrs, Nagappen, Narayansamy, Hurbatsingh, and Valliamma, were justified and sanctified to the world.

It is significant that, as Passive Resistance became stronger and purer, it succeeded more and more in bringing together the best representatives of the European and Indian sections of the population. With each new phase came new triumphs and new friends. Whilst every material gain has been but the restoration of that which was taken away, each gain of principle has been the concession of that which had been denied. The struggle commenced with a protest against the universal distrust and contempt for the Indian community. That distrust and contempt have been exchanged for trust and respect. It commenced with the complete ignoring of Indian sentiment. Gradually that policy, too, was altered, save that it revived acutely when the Commission was appointed over the heads of those mainly interested in its findings. To-day, however, the leaders are consulted in matters vitally affecting the welfare of the Indian community, and Passive Resistance has given for these disfranchised

ones far more than the vote could have won, and in a shorter time. The movement commenced with a demand for the repeal of the Transvaal Act 2 of 1907. The Act was repealed and its threatened extension to other parts of South Africa was completely prevented. At the beginning, racial legislation against Indians was threatened, so as to drive them from the Colony. The Settlement has removed the possibility of racial legislation against Indians throughout the Empire. The system of indentured immigration from India, that had been regarded almost as a permanent feature of South African economics, has been ended. The hated £3 tax has been repealed and its attendant misery and insult destroyed. Vested rights, that were tending everywhere to disappear, are to be maintained and protected. The bulk of Indian marriages, that had never previously received the sanction of South African law, are henceforth to be fully recognized in law. But above and beyond all this is the new spirit of conciliation that has resulted from the hardships, the sufferings, the sacrifices of the Passive Resisters. The flag of legal racial equality has been kept flying, and it is now recognized that Indians have rights and aspirations and ideals that cannot be ignored. The struggle has more than proved the immense superiority of right over might, of soul-force over brute-force, of love and reason over hate and passion. India has been raised in the scale of nations, her children in South Africa have been ennobled, and the way is now open to them to develop their capacities in peace and concord, and thus contribute their quota to the building up of this great new nation that is arising in the South African sub-continent.

*Golden Number*, *Indian Opinion*, 1914

## APPENDIX XXIX

### *LETTER FROM C. ROBERTS*

[After *August 14, 1914*]

DEAR MR. GANDHI,

Lord Crewe desires me to thank you for your letter of the 14th, and to express his warm recognition of your loyal offer of services.

His Lordship desires to accept the offer in the spirit in which it has been made, and he has given his earnest consideration to the manner in which the services of the Indian community can be utilised to the best interest of the Empire.

He is disposed to think that it would not be advisable for Indian students to volunteer for military duties. If they enlist in the force which Lord Kitchener is now raising, they may not be able to leave it for three years' time. His Lordship is very averse to encouraging them without the sanction of their parents to take a step which would so seriously interrupt the purpose

for which they came to this country, and which might prejudice their whole future. Neither is it possible to advise them to join the Territorial Force, as the establishment is now complete, and a long waiting list is already in existence, so that at the present it is impossible to secure enrolment in that force.

There is, however, another sphere of public duty not less important for which in this country we are in the habit of depending very largely upon voluntary assistance, and this consists in rendering aid to the sick and wounded. The number of these in the present war may, unhappily, be large, and if that should prove to be the case, the military hospitals and military staff may have difficulty in coping with the demands made upon them. It will, therefore, be necessary to create temporary and voluntary organisations to meet this emergency. This duty is already being undertaken by a very large number of Englishmen and women in the voluntary aid detachments of the British Red Cross Society, and it is to work of this kind that Lord Crewe would direct your attention.

His Lordship suggests that a committee should be formed among the Indian residents and visitors in London, and that they should undertake to get up an Indian voluntary aid contingent. It is understood that Mr. James Cantlie, who has taken an active part in the organisation of the voluntary aid detachments of the Red Cross Society, has offered to train and drill an Indian voluntary aid contingent if a sufficient number of persons are prepared to undergo a course of instruction. Lord Crewe notices that several of the signatories to your letter are qualified medical men, and if they will co-operate with Mr. Cantlie, there is reason to hope that the Indian voluntary aid contingent would become one of the most efficient detachments in the kingdom.

It is, of course, quite impossible at the present moment to guarantee that the services of the Indian voluntary aid contingent will be utilised in any given direction. If the number of sick and wounded should, fortunately, not be large, the ordinary military and charitable hospitals will be able to deal with them. But the prevalent feeling in this country, which, as your letter shows, is shared by Indians, is that we ought all to prepare ourselves to render efficient service to the empire should the necessity arise.

*Yours truly,*
CHARLES ROBERTS

*Indian Opinion*, 16-9-1914

## *SOURCES*


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*Cape Time*: Daily newspaper of Cape Town.

*Charles Freer Andrews*: Benarasidas Chaturvedi and Marjorie Sykes, George Allen and Unwin, London, 1949.

COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS: Housed in the Library of the Colonial Office, London; *vide* Vol. I, p. 349.

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*Gandhijini Sadhana* (Gujarati): Raojibhai Patel, Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, 1939.

*Golden Number*, *Indian Opinion*: Published in December, 1914, as a Souvenir of Passive Resistance Movement in South Africa, 1906-14.

*The Hindu*: Newspaper issued from Madras; started as a weekly in 1878, became a tri-weekly in 1883, and a daily since 1889.

*India* (1890-1921): weekly issued every Friday by the British Committee of the Indian National Congress in London; *vide* Vol. II, p. 369.

*Indian Opinion* (1903-61): weekly issued on Saturday till September 20, 1913; but, thereafter, on Wednesday, beginning with September 24; founded in Durban and later shifted to Phœnix; had English and Gujarati—and also initially, Hindi and Tamil—sections.

*Jivan Prabhat* (Hindi): Prabhudas C. Gandhi, Sasta Sahitya Mandal, New Delhi, 1954.

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*The Natal Mercury* (1852- ): Daily newspaper of Durban.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA: Documents preserved in the National Archives of India, New Delhi.


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*Pretoria News*: Daily newspaper of Pretoria.

*Rand Daily Mail*: Daily published from Johannesburg.

SABARMATI SANGRAHALAYA : Library and records containing documents relating to Gandhiji's South African period and Indian period upto 1933; *vide* Vol. I, p. 349.

SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY, POONA: Founded on June 12, 1905 by G. K. Gokhale.

*The Star*: Evening daily of Johannesburg.

*The Times of India*: Daily newspaper issued from Bombay since 1838 and, later, simultaneously from Bombay and Delhi.

*The Transvaal Leader*: Daily newspaper of Johannesburg.

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## *CHRONOLOGY*

(*April 1913 – December 1914*)

*April 1 :* Financial Relations Act, No. 10 of 1913, came into operation.

*April 3 :* Text of new Immigration Bill published in Union *Gazette Extraordinary*.

*April 9 :* Gandhiji telegraphed Minister of Interior Bill was open to serious objections from Indian standpoint as it disturbed several existing rights.

Wrote to E. F. C. Lane that Searle judgment on Indian marriages had shaken foundation of Indian society in South Africa.

After *April 9 :* In wire to BIA[1] expressed disapproval of Immigration Bill.

*April 10 :* Forwarded to Minister of Interior copies of resolutions passed at mass meeting of March 30.

*April 12 :* Gandhiji detailed in *Indian Opinion* new Bill's failure to fulfil terms of Provisional Settlement of 1911, reminded British Indians of lesson of "finding pleasure in pain" if Government failed to grant relief.

*April 14 :* Immigration Restriction Bill read for first time in House of Assembly.

*April 15 :* In telegram to Minister of Interior, Gandhiji asked for retention of Natal Immigration Act and protection to wives and minor children of educated Indians; regretted interpretation of reference to passive resistance as threat.

Wrote to Secretary for Interior for amending Union marriage laws to legalize non-Christian marriages.

*April 16 :* Governor-General Gladstone wrote to Government hoping that "ministers are considering whether some small practical concessions can be made without taking legislative action".

Before *April 19 :* Kasturba Gandhi decided to join struggle and court arrest.

*April 19 :* Gandhiji informed Gokhale of Kasturba's decision.

Gokhale sailed for England.

[1] British Indian Association

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*April 26 :* Immigration Restriction Bill read for second time in Assembly.

*April 27 :* Gandhiji arrived in Johannesburg from Phœnix, addressed Vrededorp mass meeting, which adopted resolution against Immigration Bill.

After *April 27 :* Cabled Chaplin, Merriman, Smartt, Alexander, Schreiner and Ampthill reiterating objections to Immigration Bill, and revival of passive resistance if Government failed to grant relief.

Before *April 28 :* At Johannesburg consulted European Committee about Immigration Bill; was interviewed by *The Star*.

*April 30 :* Minister of Interior defended in Assembly legislation to control Asiatic influx.

*May 3 :* Gandhiji wrote in *Indian Opinion*: "If struggle is revived, the impending third campaign will be the purest, the last and the most brilliant of all."

*May 4 :* Sonja Schlesin, Secretary, TIWA[1], wired Minister of Interior its decision to offer satyagraha on issue of Indian marriages.

*May 8 :* Gandhiji opened Hindu temple at Verulam.
SSC[2] cabled Governor-General urging that immediate enactment of legislation to remove Indians' legal disabilities was matter of Imperial importance.

*May 11 :* Cape British Indian Union meeting protested against Immigration Bill and Searle judgment.

*May 14 :* Gandhiji in letter to Chaplin, feared Imperial Government was not informed of full text of Bill.

*May 16 :* Colonial-born Indians held mass meeting in Johannesburg protesting against Bill.

*May 17 :* Gandhiji, writing in *Indian Opinion*, asked for total acceptance of British Indians' demands.

*May 19 :* In letter to Ministry of Interior, declared passive resistance a certainty if Government failed to carry out promise of relief; BIA clarified in letter its demand for lawful recognition of monogamous Indian marriages.

*May 24 :* Gandhiji wired Chaplin and others stating that official amendments to Bill were inadequate.

[1] Transvaal Indian Women's Association
[2] Secretary of State for Colonies

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*May 26 :* Bill read for third time in Assembly and passed on to Senate for concurrence.
Chaplin wired Gandhiji Government's acceptance of amendment as putting marriage question right.

*May 27 :* Gandhiji, in cable to Duncan, Schreiner and others, held amendment insufficient as it required registration of marriages, Bill ran counter to spirit of Settlement. Telegraphed Minister of Interior drawing attention to unfulfilled terms of Settlement.

*May 28 :* Chaplin cabled Gandhiji conveying Smuts' willingness to do all he could for Indians. Immigrants' Restriction Bill, renamed Immigration Regulation Bill, read for first time in Senate.

*May 29 :* Gandhiji wired Schreiner and Alexander that registration of Indian marriages was superfluous, in absence of any case of undesirable women entering South Africa. Minister of Interior denied prospect of any legislation validating Indian marriages, or having given undertaking that Indians could bring in wives of polygamous marriages. Governor-General Gladstone cabled SSC urging that latter influence Indian Government to dissuade Gandhiji from resuming passive resistance; assured he was doing his best for abolishing £3 tax.

*May 30 :* Gandhiji telegraphed Minister of Interior, stating that marriage certificates were not in vogue in India, that marriage law should be consistent with Provisional Settlement terms. Minister of Interior moved second reading of Bill in Senate.

*June 2 :* Gandhiji released statement from Durban that Immigration Bill violated two principal conditions of 1911 Settlement and hoped Senate would retrieve measure.
Indian women in Winberg took pledges not to carry passes.

*June 5 :* Natal Immigration Law Amendment Bill regarding £3 tax introduced in Assembly.
Immigration Regulation Bill passed second reading in Senate.

After *June 5 :* In telegram to Minister of Interior and members of Parliament, Gandhiji urged exemption of men, in addition to women, from payment of £3 tax.

*June 7 :* In letter to Gokhale indicated date of his return to India indefinite, if satyagraha was resumed.
Writing in *Indian Opinion*, declared inevitability of passive resistance if grievances were not redressed.

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*June 9 :* Immigration Regulation Bill read third time in Senate.

Before *June 11 :* Gandhiji issued statement from Durban that proposal to exempt women alone from £3 tax betrayed assurance of repeal given to Gokhale.

*June 11 :* Immigration Regulation Bill passed.

*June 12 :* Colonial-born Indian Association, Durban, adopted resolution protesting against Immigration Bill, decided to advise Indians not to pay tax.

*June 13 :* Immigration Regulation Bill finally discussed in Assembly.

Gandhiji criticized SSC's statement in Commons on June 11, charged Union Government with deceiving Imperial Government about Immigration Bill.

*June 14 :* Called upon Indians, through *Indian Opinion*, to resist implementation of Immigration Act.

*June 16 :* BIA telegraphed Governor-General to withhold sanction to Bill on ground that it deprived Indians of rights hitherto enjoyed.

*June 18 :* Lord Ampthill, in letter to London *Times*, deplored passage of Immigration Bill, hoped British Parliament would have chance to discuss Bill before Royal assent.

*June 19 :* William Wedderburn wrote to Gandhiji about serious condition of Gokhale's health, expressed anxiety at latter's decision to return to India for resuming public work.

*June 20 :* Gandhiji, in letter to Gokhale explained implications of Bill, expressed preparedness to drop satyagraha if Fischer promised redress of grievances; and wrote of his anxiety to meet Gokhale in India, to sit at his feet and to work under and learn from him.

*June 21 :* Cabled Gokhale from Durban, *en route* to Transvaal, expressing misgiving about success of mission to Minister of Interior.

*June 22 :* Gandhiji's second brother, Karsandas Gandhi, died at Rajkot.

*June 28 :* Gandhiji wrote to Ministry of Interior expressing readiness for negotiations to avoid passive resistance.

*July 1 :* Obtained expert legal opinion regarding Act 22 of 1913 with reference to immigration and Indian marriages.

*July 2 :* Had interview with Gorges, Secretary for Interior.

*July 5 :* Orange Free State women decided to resist Pass laws.

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*July 10 :* Polak left for London to assist Gokhale represent South African Indians' case.

*July 12 :* Gandhiji, writing to Gokhale, reported Smuts' preoccupation with other problems and working readiness for prolonged struggle; offered him Polak's services in event of settlement.

*July 15 :* Regulations under Immigration Regulation Act gazetted.

Before *July 17 :* Smuts wrote to Gandhiji to defer discussions till Railway strike resolved.

*July 19 :* Gandhiji returned from Rand in view of Smuts' inability to hold talks because of strike situation.

*July 21 :* Wrote, in letter to J. B. Petit, that voluntary contributions would be accepted; acknowledged receipt of £8720.

*July 26 :* *Indian Opinion* reported that Gandhiji, "in accordance with Smuts' wish, refrained from taking any action because of the unexpected troubles of the Government".

*July 29 :* Gandhiji cabled Gokhale from Durban that industrial crisis hampered progress of negotiations about settlement. Reached Johannesburg.

*July 30 :* Lord Ampthill said in Lords that Immigration Regulation Bill was not in accordance with Provisional Settlement and requested Imperial Government to ask Union Government that Bill be withheld until amended.

*August 1 :* Immigration Regulation Act came into force.

Before *August 2 :* 34 women in Bloemfontein jailed for not carrying passes.

*August 7 :* In London, Gokhale met Fischer and discussed questions of £3 tax and Indian marriages. Gandhiji wrote to Jamnadas Gandhi that Kallenbach and Manilal would go with him to India and the press would continue to function.

*August 11 :* J. B. Petit telegraphically remitted Gandhiji £400 as India's contribution to Passive Resistance Fund.

*August 12 :* SABIC[1] represented to Under-Secretary of State for India against provisions of Financial Relations Act, 1913, as oppressive to Indian traders.

*August 15 :* Rev. Joseph J. Doke passed away at Umtali.

Before *August 16 :* Motilal Nehru, President, United Provinces Congress Committee, telegraphed Viceroy that Imperial

[1] South Africa British Indian Committee

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Government be urged to withhold Royal assent to Immigration Bill.

*August 23 :* Gandhiji wrote in *Indian Opinion* on Doke.

*August 24 :* Wrote from Johannesburg to Private Secretary to Minister of Interior that official interpretation of new Act threatened "existing and acquired rights" of Indians. Spoke at Doke memorial service in Baptist Church, Johannesburg.

*August 29 :* Maganlal Gandhi served with summons for employing Sarjoo, an Indian ex-indentured labourer convicted for failure to pay arrears of £3 tax. Polak left England for South Africa.

*September 4 :* Gandhiji left Johannesburg for Phœnix.
Maganlal Gandhi cautioned and discharged in Sarjoo's case.

*September 10 :* Gandhiji telegraphed Private Secretary to Minister of Interior on question of polygamous marriages; considered resumption of passive resistance imperative, if amendment of law not effected.

*September 11 :* Zoroastrian Anjuman, Durban, wrote to Secretary for Interior objecting to regulations under Immigration Act.

*September 12 :* Cachalia informed Government of Indians' decision to resume passive resistance.

*September 13 :* Gandhiji announced in *Indian Opinion* that the negotiations had "proved abortive".

*September 15 :* Passive resistance revived; pioneer party of passive resisters, twelve men and four women, including Kasturba Gandhi, left Durban for Volksrust by train to cross border. Prominent Transvaal Indian merchants resolved to fight against Gold Law and Townships Act.

*September 16 :* Parsee Rustomjee and other passive resisters charged at Volksrust as prohibited immigrants under new Act.
Gandhiji wrote to Harilal Gandhi in India to return to South Africa with his wife, ready for imprisonment as passive resister.
Kasturba, along with other passive resisters, arrested.

*September 20 :* Advised Indians to court arrest by hawking or trading without licences or by declining to produce them when demanded.

*September 21 :* Clarified Indian stand, resort to passive resistance, in *The Natal Mercury*.

*September 22 :* Passive resisters deported to Natal border, but, on re-crossing border, were re-arrested and taken to Volksrust.

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*September 23 :* Kasturba Gandhi sentenced to three months' imprisonment with hard labour, other passive resisters to one to three months.

*September 24 :* Gandhiji asserted, in *Indian Opinion*, that £3 tax was crux of the struggle.

*September 25 :* Left Durban for Johannesburg. At Maritzburg and Ladysmith, received from Indians assurances of support to struggle. At latter place, refused to leave compartment reserved for Europeans as ordered by conductor.
Budrea and three other passive resisters, who accompanied Gandhiji, arrested at Volksrust.

*September 27 :* Gandhiji reached Johannesburg.

*September 28 :* Wrote to Ministry of Interior about gravity of struggle and appealed for reconsideration.
BIA mass meeting at Vrededorp addressed by Gandhiji, Kallenbach and Ritch, resolved to continue struggle till Government redressed grievances.

*September 29 :* In interview to *The Transvaal Leader*, Gandhiji indicated that struggle would be confined to about a hundred resisters. More instances of passive resistance by crossing the Border and hawking without permits.

*September 30 :* Gandhiji refuted *The Transvaal Leader* report that influential Indian merchants were opposed to passive resistance. Budree and his companions deported; re-arrested on re-crossing Border, sentenced to three months' hard labour.
S. B. Medh, Pragji Desai and Manilal Gandhi arrested for hawking, sentenced to seven days' labour. Johannesburg Indian merchants in letter to *The Transvaal Leader*, denied its allegation.

Before *October 1 :* Zoroastrian Anjuman telegraphed Minister of Interior associating itself with passive resistance movement.

*October 1 :* Indian mass meeting held under Anjuman Islam, Durban, adopted resolutions supporting movement.

*October 2 :* Kallenbach and twelve women left Johannesburg for Maritzburg to court arrest.

*October 3 :* Anjuman Islam held meeting at Grey Street Mosque, Durban; passed resolution protesting against marriage laws.
Polak arrived at Johannesburg; interviewed by *Rand Daily Mail*.

Before *October 5 :* Parsee Rustomjee and other prisoners in Maritzburg Gaol resolved to fast until gaol authorities returned

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sacred thread and gave up compulsory vaccination.

*October 5 :* Gandhiji addressed, in Johannesburg, meeting of Patidar Association which adopted resolution supporting passive resistance; similar meetings held at Germiston and Pietermaritzburg.

*October 6 :* Two Mahomedan women from Durban crossed Border at Volksrust, got arrested.

*October 7 :* S. B. Medh, Pragji Desai and Manilal Gandhi, on completing sentences, hawked in Johannesburg; taken to court in handcuffs, they were charged with non-production of certificates and released on their own recognizances.

*October 8 :* Bai Fatima Mehtab, her mother, son and attendant left Durban for Volksrust to court arrest.

*October 9 :* Gandhiji attended Johannesburg Hindus' meeting, which pledged to support passive resistance. Medh, Pragji Desai and Manilal Gandhi sentenced to 10 days' imprisonment with hard labour.

*October 10 :* Seven passive resisters, on way to Charlestown, detained at Volksrust, but not arrested.

*October 13 :* P. K. Naidoo, Jiwan Premji and nine others went out hawking in Johannesburg to court arrest.

*October 14 :* Mrs. Mehtab and party sentenced at Volksrust to three months' imprisonment with hard labour. Naidoo, Bhawani Dayal and Ramnarayan charged with inciting Railway workers to create disturbance, sent to gaol.

Before *October 15 :* Drummond Chaplin at meeting in Durban, criticised £3 tax and Government policy of appointing Immigration Officers on Appeal Board.

*October 15 :* Gandhiji released statement reiterating Indian demands, need for fresh legislation on question of marriages and £3 tax. Hosken, Chairman, European Committee, wrote to Minister of Interior supporting Indians' demand, offering mediation.

*October 16 :* Colonial-born Indians at Newcastle passed resolution approving Gandhiji's policy.

Charges against Medh, Pragji Desai, Manilal Gandhi, Veerasamy Francis and seven others under Asiatic Act were withdrawn on instructions from Pretoria.

*October 17 :* Gandhiji visited Natal Coalfields near Newcastle, urged indentured Indians to strike until Government promised repeal of £3 tax. Campaign entered new phase. 78

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workers struck work, four arrested and sentenced to two weeks with hard labour. Over 3,000 indentured Indian miners decided to strike.

Hindustani Association, Durban, held meeting in support of passive resistance, declared confidence in Gandhiji's leadership.

Interviewed by Reuter's Agency in London, Fischer considered *modus vivendi* possible if Indians abandoned theoretical questions, adopted practical stand.

*October 18 :* Fifteen passive resisters proceeded from Newcastle to Volksrust to court arrest.

Polak assured Newcastle Magistrate and mine managers that Indians would not use force.

*October 19 :* At Durban Gandhiji attended meeting of Indians which criticized his policy and passed vote of no confidence in him.

Left Durban for Newcastle. Hamidia Islamie Society meeting at Vrededorp protested against Smuts' reported contemptuous reference to Muslim divorce law.

*October 20 :* Twenty-two Railway workers at Dannhauser struck work. About 3,000 Indians from Newcastle, Cambrian and Durban Navigation Collieries struck work.

*October 21 :* Gandhiji left Newcastle for Johannesburg to attend meeting of European Committee.

Had private and informal interview with Lord Emmott.

Eleven Indian women arrested at Newcastle, who admitted having peacefully advised miners to suspend work, sentenced to three months' hard labour under Vagrancy Act.

Before *October 22 :* At Dannhauser meeting, over 1,000 Indians decided to strike.

Committee formed in Durban with Dawad Mahomed as Chairman to collect funds and provisions for strikers.

*October 22 :* Gandhiji wired Gokhale from Johannesburg that strikers would resume work if Government promised to repeal £3 tax.

Told *Rand Daily Mail* representative six collieries affected, 2,000 miners idle; reprimanded paper for attempt through biased reports to create schism among Indians.

Returned to Newcastle, on tour of Hatting Spruit, Elandslaagte, in strike area. 1,500 strikers at Dannhauser decided to walk to Border, court arrest.

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Before *October 23 :* Gandhiji, from Newcastle, wired Botha that strike, in protest against £3 tax, would be ended if Government promised repeal.

In telegram to Press, said that he was advising miners to court arrest, leaving mines.

Manilal Gandhi and four others arrested at Volksrust for hawking.

*October 23 :* Gandhiji informed Press that movement of strikers leaving mines to court arrest or march to Volksrust was imminent.

*The Natal Mercury* reported 9 coal mines closed down due to strike.

*October 24 :* Gandhiji wrote to Maganlal Gandhi that he proposed to lead 2,000 men into Transvaal.

Six Indians accompanying him to Johannesburg deported; and, on re-entering, re-arrested and sentenced to 3 months' hard labour. Sixteen Newcastle colliery strikers sentenced to two months' hard labour.

Before *October 25 :* Gandhiji cabled G. A. Natesan denying *The Times of India* report of October 21 about split among Indians concerning passive resistance.

*October 25 :* Addressed employers of Indian labour at Durban Chamber of Commerce, and in interview to *The Natal Mercury* attributed coal mine strike to Government's failure to repeal £3 tax.

*October 26 :* Gandhiji addressed Indian miners at Hindu Temple, Dundee.[1] Eight hundred more miners joined strike. Germiston Indian Association resolved on passive resistance against Municipality for erecting double fence between Asiatic Bazaar and Native Location.

Ladysmith Indians supported strike, formed committee to help families of passive resisters.

*October 27 :* NIC[2] held meeting, cabled Gokhale supporting movement. Six passive resisters arrested at Volksrust, four sentenced to 3 months' imprisonment. Five Colonial-born Indians including Albert Christopher and Ruben Joseph left Durban for strike area. "Army" of passive resisters informed of march commencing following day.

[1] The text of the speech is not available.

[2] Natal Indian Congress

*October 28 :* Gandhiji telegraphed Minister of Interior, stressing basic issues, appealing for reconsideration of tax question upon merits. The march from Newcastle began.

General Smuts denied at South African Party meeting, he had promised Gokhale repeal of £3 tax.

After *October 28 :* NIC cabled Gokhale regarding Government's denial of promise to repeal £3 tax; Gokhale confirmed definite promise given.

*October 29 :* Gandhiji with Ballengeich Indian miners left Ingogo in morning for Volksrust. Informed Gokhale that he was marching with strikers to court arrest; requested assistance to get Polak settled in London.

Indian strikers refused to accept Government's directive through mine-owners to resume work. NIC charged Government with bad faith in repudiating promise to repeal tax.

Pragji Desai sentenced to three months on charge of trespassing on Newcastle mine property.

*October 30 :* Gandhiji reached Charlestown with 200 men; telegraphed Minister of Interior to enquire into forcible vaccination of women prisoners; wired[1] *Indian Opinion* that about 5,000 Indians affected in the strike area, 4,000 were being led and supported, including 300 women and 600 children; 300 passive resisters were in gaol. 300 marchers led by Thambi Naidoo and 200 by Albert Christopher left Newcastle; some 150 Indians of Ballengeich Colliery arrested.

*October 31 :* Gandhiji informed Secretary of Justice that if Indians, who had surrendered themselves, were not arrested, they would march into Transvaal. About 200 men and women led by A. D. Pillay left Newcastle on march to Volksrust, another 500 by train.

*November 2 :* Gandhiji had, under his charge, 1,500 passive resisters stationed at Charlestown.

*November 3 :* Informed Reuter that he contemplated moving 1,500 men into Transvaal for courting arrest; if not arrested, would proceed to Tolstoy Farm.

*The Natal Advertiser* reported over 2,000 Indians camping there with 500 arrived from Ladysmith.

Before *November 4 :* Gandhiji cabled Gokhale reporting situation regarding march.

[1] The text of this telegram is not available.

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*November 4 :* 1,700 passive resisters started march from Newcastle.

Before *November 5 :* Ladysmith railwaymen joined strike. 175 Ballengeich strikers, remanded till November 10, discharged because of Government's inability to accommodate them.

*November 5 :* Gandhiji telephoned General Smuts asking for assurance of repeal of £3 tax, for "march" to be stopped; Smuts refused.

Gandhiji reaffirmed to *The Natal Mercury* determination to lead march. 700 Indian passive resisters left Newcastle.

London Indians' meeting declared that Indians denied citizenship rights in the Colonies could not share Imperial obligations; expressed admiration for heroism of Mrs. Gandhi, others.

At Dundee, several Indians sentenced to fine, imprisonment for refusing to work till £3 tax repealed.

Before *November 6 :* Gandhiji cabled Gokhale reporting strike situation; he would lead "great march" on November 6.

*November 6 :* Led at 6.30 a.m., "great march" consisting of 2,037 men, 127 women and 57 children, from Charlestown; addressed marchers halfway between Charlestown and Volksrust.

At Volksrust border, Police Superintendent and Immigration Officer interviewed Gandhiji and Kallenbach. Marchers broke through Police cordon, crossed border.

Gandhiji arrested at 8.30 p.m. at Palmford railway station; marchers continued their journey.

*November 7 :* Gandhiji appeared in Volksrust court; was released on £50 bail; case remanded till November 14; motored 33 miles, rejoined marchers; at Paardekraal *en route* supplied medicines to old and infirm among passive resisters there.

Telegraphed Minister of Interior for permission to continue march with other strikers, else Government should take over responsibility for looking after marchers.

Indians of Umhloti Valley Sugar Company struck work.

*November 8 :* Gandhiji arrived at Standerton; arrested and released on recognizances of £50; case remanded till November 21. Column continued march.

Interviewed by Reuter, Gandhiji felt sure Government would repeal £3 tax.

*November 9 :* Arrested at about 3 p.m. at Teakworth near Greylingstaad on Dundee warrant, charged with inducing strike; not allowed to speak to satyagrahis, taken secretly to Balfour for the night.

Marchers led by Polak proceeded to Greylingstaad.

*November 10 :* Gandhiji's request for remand, permission to take marchers to Tolstoy Farm rejected by magistrate, forwarded to Government. Gandhiji took pledge to take one meal a day "till a repeal of the tax was promised".

Column continued march, reached Balfour; 2,000 marchers declared prohibited immigrants, arrested and deported to Natal by special train. Polak, Kallenbach arrested at Charlestown for aiding and abetting prohibited immigrants enter Transvaal; cases remanded till November 13. Passive resisters in Maritzburg Gaol went on three-day fast.

Before *November 11 :* Gandhiji, in a message, praising marchers' courage and sacrifice, appealed to those not courting arrest to forgo a meal a day to provide food for strikers.

*November 11 :* Gandhiji sentenced by Dundee Magistrate to £60 fine or to nine months' imprisonment with hard labour; preferred latter; exhorted strikers, in message, to continue strike till £3 tax was repealed.

Writing to Maganlal Gandhi from Dundee Gaol, gave instructions regarding financial arrangements; was allowed fruit diet. Polak and Kallenbach remanded.

*November 12 :* 1,500 strikers cleared off Verulam; thousands of indentured Indians struck on plantations from Tongaat to Umgeni.

*November 13 :* Gandhiji removed to Volksrust Gaol where Kallenbach and Polak were lodged.

*November 14 :* Made statement before Volksrust Court; convicted on evidence furnished by himself, sentenced to further 3 months.

*November 15 :* Appeared as witness for Crown against Kallenbach, who was sentenced to 3 months.

Passive resisters locked up in barracks on Mount Edgecombe denied food; NIA secured telegraphic permission to feed strikers.

*November 16 :* In Durban, all Indian labour on railways, sugar refineries, dock and corporation struck work; clash between strikers and police; 16 Indians injured, one succumbed.

*November 17 :* Gandhiji appeared as witness in case in which Polak was sentenced to 3 months.

*November 18 :* Gandhiji transferred to Maritzburg Gaol, Kallenbach to Krugersdorp and Polak to Boksburg. 7,000 to

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8,000 reported on strike in Durban. SSI expressed to SSC grave concern at India's resentment of harsh treatment to Natal Indians, called for authoritative statement.

*November 19 :* Jamnadas Gandhi, four others, crossed Transvaal border from Kimberley.

*November 20 :* 264 strikers from Harbour, 5 leaders sentenced to 7 days' imprisonment with hard labour. Bombay women, meeting in Servants of India Society Hall, resolved to mobilize sympathy, funds for South Africa Indians.

*November 21 :* Sorabji Rustomjee, Christopher arrested.
Strike in Maritzburg; Thambi Naidoo arrested.

*November 24 :* In Madras, Lord Hardinge made sympathetic pronouncement regarding South Africa Indians.

*November 25 :* West, acting Editor of *Indian Opinion*, arrested at Phœnix, charged with "harbouring indentured people".
Two Indians shot dead by police on Beneva Estate.
Strikers arrested at Verulam, other places, sentenced to 7 days' imprisonment.

*November 26 :* West appeared before Court, remanded for a week.
94 strikers from Platt's sugar estates sentenced to 7 days' imprisonment.

*November 27 :* NIC cabled Gokhale of violent official repression of passive resisters; urged intervention with Indian, Imperial Governments, also telegraphed Minister of Justice, Pretoria, for facilities to inquire into cases of police assault on Indians.
Skirmish between strikers and police at Mount Edgecombe resulted in death of 6 Indians.

*November 28 :* Gokhale speaking in Delhi referred to South Africa Indians' desperate plight.

*November 30 :* Mass meetings at Durban, Johannesburg, Maritzburg, Newcastle, other towns expressed loyalty to leaders, supported Gokhale's demand for impartial inquiry.

*December 1 :* All-India and South Africa League deputation waited on SSI regarding South Africa Indians' grievances.

*December 2 :* 25 men crossed Transvaal border from Charlestown, sentenced to 3 months with hard labour. BIA Chairman forwarded to Governor-General resolutions of Indian mass meeting.

*December 3 :* 50 to 60 passive resisters transferred from Maritzburg Gaol to Durban Gaol on hunger strike since November 30, NIA informed.

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Surendranath Banerjea, A. C. Mazumdar addressed public meeting at Calcutta in support of South Africa Indians.

*December 4 :* Durban Gaol superintendent, interviewed by West, denied hunger strike; Chief Magistrate enquiring into matter.

*December 6 :* Schlesin, West refused permission to see hunger strikers.

*December 10 :* Public meeting in Bombay passed resolutions condemning treatment of Indians in South Africa; Sir Pherozeshah Mehta spoke.

*December 11 :* Government appointed Commission with Sir William Solomon as Chairman, Ewald Esselen, J. S. Wylie as members, to inquire into disturbances.

*December 14 :* Gandhiji wrote from Bloemfontein Gaol to Miss West at Phœnix.

*December 15 :* Public meetings at Johannesburg, Cape Town, Durban, Maritzburg, Kimberley and Potchefstroom protested against composition of Commission.

*December 16 :* Lord Willingdon, Governor of Bombay, referred to South Africa question as "in its very essence a highly Imperrial question".

Before *December 17 :* Gokhale cabled Gandhiji that Rev. C. F. Andrews and W. W. Pearson would visit South Africa to inquire into conditions of Indians. Inquiry into Indian deaths at Hillhead barracks and on Mount Edgecombe estates on November 27 commenced at Verulam.

*December 18 :* Gandhiji, Polak and Kallenbach released at Pretoria on Solomon Commission's recommendation. Gandhiji reached Johannesburg in the evening; addressed mass meeting; resolutions not to give evidence before Commission adopted; later, interviewed by *The Natal Mercury*.

Commission of inquiry started session at Pretoria.

31 passive resisters, including five women, sentenced to 3 months for crossing Border.

*December 19 :* Gandhiji, Polak and Kallenbach left for Durban.

*December 20 :* Taken in procession to NIA office, Gandhiji announced mass meeting next day for deciding about tendering evidence to Commission.

In interview to *The Natal Mercury* stated that Indian community would boycott Commission unless Government appointed Europeans free from anti-Asiatic bias. Transvaal women passive resisters released from Durban Gaol.

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*December 21 :* Gandhiji appeared at Durban Indians' mass meeting dressed as indentured Indian; announced decision to eat once a day—as mark of "inward mourning" for Indians shot dead during strike.

Meeting resolved not to give evidenced before Commission but to renew struggle; recommended inclusion of W. P. Schreiner and Sir James Rose-Innes in Commission, urged release of all passive resisters.

Gandhiji later wrote to Minister of Interior forwarding resolutions passed at mass meeting.

Received Gokhale's cable not to boycott Commission.

*December 22 :* Parsee Rustomjee, Chhaganlal Gandhi, Ramdas Gandhi released from Durban Gaol; Kasturba Gandhi, Kashi Gandhi, Santok Gandhi, Solomon Royeppen and others from Maritzburg Gaol.

Gandhiji spoke at reception to released passive resisters; later, at Maritzburg mass meeting, exhorted Indians to give up luxuries as mark of mourning.

Cabled Gokhale about stand in regard to reconstitution of Commission, mass enthusiasm for passive resistance.

After *December 22 :* Wrote to *The Natal Advertiser* about ill-treatment of passive resisters in gaol.

*December 23 :* Gandhiji cabled Gokhale, citing instances of anti-Asiatic attitude of Esselen and Wylie, and official repression against passive resistance prisoners.

Gokhale cabled Gandhiji to send Polak to England.

Gandhiji and colleagues cabled Ampthill Indian community's resentment against Solomon Commission.

In letter to *The Natal Mercury*, rated the cause higher than South African sympathy.

*December 24 :* Smuts wrote to Gandhiji declining to appoint more members on Commission.

Gandhiji cabled Gokhale inability to withdraw struggle; conveyed to Gokhale, Ampthill, assurance of support to it by religious leaders, Press, European Committee.

*December 25 :* Wired Minister of Interior denying joint letter was ultimatum, and promising to safeguard interests of employers of Indian labour, sought interview.

*December 26 :* Appealed to Gokhale to urge Viceroy's intervention with Imperial Government for appointing additional member to Commission on behalf of Indians and planters.

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Gandhiji wrote to Senator Campbell thanking him for his effort to secure repeal of £3 tax. Informed Gokhale that passive resisters' oath did not set January 1 as date for revival of struggle. In another cable, advised Gokhale to hold up remittance of funds as movement was likely to be postponed. Indian National Congress at Karachi denounced ill-treatment of South Africa Indians; eulogized Gandhiji's heroic leadership, demanded ban on indenture system and decided to send deputation to England.

Before *December 27 :* Gandhiji emphasized, in interview to Reuter, Indian loyalty to Union and Imperial Governments, and anxiety to avoid resumption of passive resistance.

*December 27 :* Assured Gokhale, in cable, postponement of march till Robertson's arrival in South Africa. Hoped Viceroy or SSI would not impair European sympathy.

Informed Maritzburg Indian mass meeting of negotiations, but alerted it for struggle.

*December 28 :* Gokhale wired Viceroy Gandhiji's promise not to revive march till Robertson's arrival.

Viceroy advised Gokhale Robertson leaving on January 1.

Gokhale cabled Gandhiji for details of ill-treatment, objections levelled against Commission personnel.

*December 29 :* Gandhiji cabled Gokhale long statement.

Minister of Interior replying to Gandhiji's telegram of December 25, appreciated conciliatory tone of Indian leaders, asked Gandhiji to send in writing points for discussion.

Gandhiji pressed Minister of Interior to nominate two additional members on Commission; expressed readiness to advise acceptance of one-man Commission under Solomon with enlarged terms of reference; pleaded for release of prisoners, interview for settlement.

Clarified to the *Natal Mercury* that march would not be resumed on January 1, 1914.

Governor-General cabled Colonial Office regarding conciliation move.

*December 30 :* Gandhiji assured Gokhale that Indians would certainly wait a week or even more till Robertson had chance to look into situation.

Criticising the *Natal Mercury* editorial, reiterated Indian community united in determination to preserve honour through passive resistance.

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*December 31 :* Informed Gokhale of inability to send Polak to England in view of situation.
Gokhale released to Press Gandhiji's statement on Solomon Commission and related matters.

*1914*

*January 1 :* Gandhiji wrote to Senator Campbell defending movement, denying passive resistance was connected with violence. Sir Benjamin Robertson left Bombay *en route* for South Africa.

*January 2 :* C. F. Andrews and W. W. Pearson arrived in Durban. Gandhiji spoke at reception.
Cabled Gokhale about Andrews' arrival, effort for nominating impartial European on Commission.

*January 3 :* In cable to Gokhale, asked for Harilal's return to join passive resistance.

*January 4 :* Addressed Indian Hawkers' Association reception in honour of Andrews and Pearson.
Gave interview to Reuter.

*January 5 :* Hurbatsingh, 70-year-old satyagrahi serving 3 months' sentence died of pneumonia in Volksrust Gaol.

*January 7 :* Gandhiji, Andrews, left for Pretoria for interview with Smuts.

Before *January 8 :* Several Indians killed in police firing at Blackburn Estates.

*January 8 :* Gandhiji sought interview with Smuts.

*January 9 :* Gandhiji, Andrews arrived in Pretoria; in interview to *Pretoria News*, assured that passive resisters would not embarass Government till railway strike was settled.

*January 11 :* Benjamin Robertson arrived in Durban.

*January 12 :* Mrs. Sheikh Mehtab and her mother, Hanifa Bibi, released from Maritzburg Gaol.

*January 13 :* Gandhiji had brief interview with Smuts, who asked him to await Robertson's arrival in Pretoria; Andrews met Governor-General Gladstone.

*January 16 :* Gandhiji had interview with Smuts; presented proposals.

*January 20 :* Several women satyagrahis released from Durban Central Gaol.

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Before *January 21 :* Gandhiji received written statement from Pretoria Muslims and Hindus repudiating allegation of split on issue of passive resistance.

*January 21 :* Gandhiji met Benjamin Robertson; wrote to Ministry of Interior that passive resistance would not be revived or the Commission's work otherwise hampered.

*January 22 :* Andrews saw Smuts provisional settlement between Gandhiji and Smuts arrived at, Government accepting principle of consultation with Indians. Gandhiji left Pretoria for Phœnix; passive resistance suspended.

*January 23 :* Arrived in Johannesburg; interviewed by *Rand Daily Mail*; cabled Gokhale reporting provisional settlement; set up office at 15, Anderson Street, Johannesburg; several passive resisters released from Durban Gaol.

*January 25 :* Gandhiji explained implications of settlement at Durban mass meeting which endorsed it.
Attended reception to Andrews by Indian goldsmiths in Durban.

*January 26 :* Indian Inquiry Commission held first sitting in Durban.

*January 28 :* Reuter reported NIC meeting decision to tender evidence before Inquiry Commission.
Several Indian Associations cabled Gokhale approval of 'Provisional Settlement'.

*January 29 :* Benjamin Robertson testified before Commission.

*January 30 :* Gandhiji, Andrews jointly cabled Gokhale that NIC meeting of January 28 had been engineered and was of no significance.
Andrews, Manilal Gandhi arrived at Pietermaritzburg.

*January 31 :* Indian mass meeting at Maritzburg honoured Andrews, endorsed Gandhi-Smuts agreement.

*February 4 :* Robertson visited Phœnix settlement.

*February 6 :* Gandhiji was informed of Government's decision to release Natal and Transvaal passive resistance prisoners.

*February 7 :* Indian Women's Sabha inaugurated in Durban; Kasturba, Mrs. Polak elected patrons.
Inquiry Commission concluded sitting in Natal.

*February 8 :* Indian meeting in Stanger supported Gandhi-Smuts agreement.

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*February 9 :* HIS[1] conveyed to Robertson resolution demanding settlement of marriage question according to Mahomedan religion.

*February 12 :* Andrews addressed public meeting on Tagore at City Hall, Cape Town.

*February 17 :* Gokhale left for England.

*February 20 :* Andrews addressed University students at Cape Town.

*February 21 :* Gandhiji spoke at farewell to Andrews, who later sailed for England.

*February 22 :* Miss Valliamma Moonsamy Moodaliar, a passive resister, died of illness contracted in Maritzburg Gaol.

*February 24 :* Madras League resolved to depute Gokhale, Srinivasa Sastri and others to present South Africa Indians' case in England.

*February 26 :* Smuts requested Gandhiji to postpone meeting him till Inquiry Commission's report was out.

*February 27 :* Gandhiji wrote to Gokhale from Cape Town expressing desire to return to India in case of settlement, observe compact of silence for a year and learn at Gokhale's feet.

*March 2 :* In letter to Harilal, Gandhiji spoke of ailing Kasturba as "hanging between life and death".

*March 4 :* Wrote to Robertson about relief to Indians in regard to specific grievances.

*March 7 :* Solomon Commission's report submitted to Government.

*March 9 :* Lakshmidas Gandhi passed away at Porbundar.

*March 11 :* Gandhiji wrote to Chhaganlal Gandhi how to handle family matters in case of his death. Speaking in the Senate, Smuts observed that Gandhiji was allowed to function in South Africa as he did, "because he never advocated methods of violence to overthrow the State".

*March 13 :* In letter to Andrews, Gandhiji wrote: "Mrs. Gandhi was near death's door last week. I have therefore done hardly anything else save nursing her during the last 10 days."

[1] Hamidia Islamic Society, Johannesburg

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*March 16 :* Bombay Committee for South Africa cabled Gandhiji for views on Reuter's forecast about Commission's recommendations, requested him not to commit himself before consulting Committee.

*March 17 :* Commission's report presented to Parliament. Robertson left Cape Town for Delagoa Bay *en route* to India. Viceroy addressed Imperial Legislative Council on subject of Inquiry Commission.

*March 19 :* Bombay Committee for South Africa expressed satisfaction over Commission's recommendations, hoped passive resistance would not be revived.

*March 22 :* Transvaal Muslim meeting condemned Solomon Commission's recommendations on question of Muslim marriages; HIS cabled SSI, others, recommendations violated religion.

*March 23 :* Smuts announced in Assembly that Government was considering Commission's report and introducing necessary legislation that session.

*March 24 :* Union *Government Gazette* published Proclamation requiring publication of banns for Mahommedan and Hebrew marriages.

*March 25 :* Cape Indians held reception for Kasturba Gandhi, Imam Abdul Kadir Bawazeer, at Hindu Sabha; Gandhiji was presented with set of Cape Town Statutes, also contributions to passive resistance fund. Gandhiji analysed in *Indian Opinion* recommendations of the Commission's report.

*March 26 :* Accompanied by Kasturba and Imam Bawazeer, left Cape Town for Phœnix.

*March 30 :* Arrived at Phœnix. Mr. and Mrs. Polak given farewell by Durban Indian Women's Association.

*April 1 :* In letter to Gokhale, Gandhiji expressed doubt about Kasturba's survival. Andrews left England for Marseilles *en route* to India.

*April 8 :* Gandhiji urged Ministry of Interior to stop deductions for £3 tax from indentured labourers' wages, in view of Commission's recommendations.

*April 22 :* Telegraphed Ministry to order suspension of forcible tax collections. Smuts replied stating that suspension of prosecutions for tax recommended to Minister of Justice.

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Before *May 6 :* Urged Ministry not to demand photos from Indian women seeking entry to the Transvaal, but accept local proof.

*May 6 :* Wrote to Gokhale asking whether he and Kasturba should meet him in London *en route* to India, in case of final settlement.

*May 16 :* Gladstone forwarded SSC text of Indians' Relief Bill.

*May 19 :* Gandhiji inquired of Ministry date of introduction of Bill.

*May 20 :* Ministry informed Gandhiji interview with Smuts possible for discussing Bill.

*May 22 :* Gandhiji left Phœnix for Cape Town to meet Smuts.

*May 23 :* Interviewed by *The Transvaal Leader* at Johannesburg.

*May 27 :* Met Secretary of Interior, received copy of draft Bill.

*May 28 :* Indians' Relief Bill published; Polak, interviewed by Reuter at Johannesburg, mentioned Gandhiji's cable that Bill appeared satisfactory.

*May 29 :* Polak wrote to *The Star* anticipating end of struggle if administrative measures taken to implement Bill.

*June 1 :* Smuts notified Assembly of introduction of Bill next day.

*June 2 :* Ficksburg Indian community wired Gandhiji demanding access to Free State.

*June 5 :* Gandhiji wrote to Gokhale that he would leave for India by mid-July in event of satisfactory settlement and termination of struggle.

*June 8 :* Bill read second time. Anjuman Islam wired Gandhiji to press for acceptance of thumb-prints for identification.

*June 9 :* Gandhiji raised with Gorges question of examination by immigration authorities of applicants seeking entry into Natal.

*June 11 :* Randeree wired Gandhiji that Bill vested in Government authority to declare 74,000 indentured Indians prohibited immigrants. Gandhiji sought from Gorges reassurance as to interpretation of Bill.

*June 15 :* Rustomjee wired Gandhiji for clarification of position of indentured Indians under Bill.

*June 17 :* Bill read third time, referred to Senate. In India, Lokamanya Tilak released after 6 years' exile in Burma.

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*June 18 :* First reading of Bill in Senate.

*June 19 :* Second reading of Bill in Senate.

*June 20 :* Gandhiji wrote to Campbell denying Indian opposition to Bill, refused to believe Bill had effect of making Indians prohibited immigrants. Rustomjee drew Gandhiji's attention to *Mercury*'s interpretation of Bill as adverse to indentured Indians.

*June 21 :* Sir David Hunter passed away at Edinburgh.

*June 22 :* Gorges informed Gandhiji that Government had no intention to apply Bill adversely to indentured Indians.

After *June 22 :* Gandhiji, in open letter, asserted he would fight any injustice from Bill.

*June 24 :* Gorges invited Gandhiji for discussions.

*June 26 :* Relief Bill read third time in Senate.

*June 27 :* Gandhiji had 2-hour interview with Smuts at Cape Town. Addressed European meeting held to felicitate him on passage of Bill.

*June 30 :* Wrote to Gorges that "passing of Indians' Relief Bill . . . finally closed the passive resistance struggle which commenced in September of 1906".

*July 1 :* Accompanied by Kallenbach and Kasturba, left Cape for Phœnix; broke journey at Kimberley. Relief Act received Governor-General's assent; latter cabled Colonial Office that agreement had been reached on "outstanding administrative points".

New Zealand introduced Bill imposing language test to obstruct Asiatic entry.

*July 5 :* Gandhiji spoke at Durban reception; stated at farewell banquet that Relief Act was act of justice, urgently needed in Imperial interest.

*July 8 :* Was presented with addresses at farewell meeting in Town Hall, Durban.

*July 9 :* Gandhiji, Kasturba honoured by Gujaratis, Dheds; addressed sports' meet.

*July 10 :* Gandhiji Addressed farewell gathering at Asiatic Location, Pretoria.

*July 11 :* Took leave of Phœnix Settlement.

*July 12 :* Addressed farewell meeting at Verulam; left for Johannesburg.

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*July 13 :* Arrived at Johannesburg in evening; taken in procession, addressed mass meeting at Gaiety Theatre.

*July 14 :* Given farewell banquet at Masonic Hall, Johannesburg; C. K. T. Naidoo presented him four sons for national service. Gandhiji met European Committee, discussed Provisional Settlement. Interviewed by *The Transvaal Leader*. Section of NIC, HIS protested to *Mercury* that "Gandhi's actions not satisfactory. Relief Bill no settlement".

Before *July 15 :* Gandhiji addressed valedictory letter to South Africa Indians.

*July 15 :* Paid tributes to Valliamma, Nagappen, passive resisters at memorial unveiling ceremony at Bloemfontein Cemetery.
Addressed meetings of TIWA, of Tamils and Muslims.

*July 16 :* Arrived at Pretoria at 8 a.m.; spoke at Indian Location; left for Cape Town.

*July 17 :* Reached Vereeniging.

*July 18 :* Arrived at Cape Town; taken in procession from Monument to Docks, received addresses, made farewell speech; interviewed by the *Cape Argus*. Released valedictory letter to South African Indians; left for England on board s.s. *Kinfauns Castle*.

*July 20 :* Gandhiji's farewell letter published in the Press.

*July 22 :* *Indian Opinion* announced plan to issue 'Golden Number' to commemorate struggle.

*July 24 :* *Gazette* published regulations regarding registration of marriages under Indians' Relief Act.

*July 28 :* Further regulations under Immigration Act gazetted.

*August 2 :* Germany violated Belgian neutrality.

*August 3 :* Phœnix Party for India led by Maganlal Gandhi given send-off at Durban.

*August 4 :* World War I broke out; Gandhiji received news in English channel; reached London.

*August 5 :* In India, Viceroy issued war proclamation.

*August 7 :* In letter to Chhaganlal Gandhi, Gandhiji complained of being ill with 'old leg pain'.

*August 8 :* Gandhiji given reception at Hotel Cecil, London, by English and Indian friends; Jinnah, Lala Lajpat Rai, Sarojini Naidu were among those present.

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*August 10 :* NIC, Anjuman Islam protested against Government's demand for photographs for identification.

*August 13 :* Circular signed by Gandhiji, Kasturba, Sarojini Naidu affirming resolve to tender unconditional service to Empire, issued for signature by supporters.

*August 14 :* Gandhiji offered to raise Indian Volunteer Corps for ambulance work.

After *August 14 :* Indian Volunteer Committee set up with Gandhiji as chairman.

*August 24 :* Gandhiji inquired of India Office if Kallenbach could join Corps.

Before *August 26 :* Started attending classes for nursing wounded soldiers.

*September 3 :* Appeared for First-Aid examination.

*September 18 :* Met Gokhale in London.

*September 22 :* Issued general circular appealing for volunteers.

*October 1 :* Presided over Voluntary Aid Corps meeting, attended among others by the Aga Khan, Kasturba, Sarojini Naidu and Ameer Ali.

*October 3 :* Indian Ambulance Corps camped at Eastcote. Gandhiji served members " . . . most remarkable lunch consisting of assorted fruits of superfine quality and nuts of different kinds".

*October 6 :* Gokhale returned to London after rest-cure at Vichy.

*October 13 :* In letter to Col. Baker, Gandhiji regretted appointment of Corporals without consulting Indian Committee; had motion on like lines passed at meeting.

*October 14 :* Forwarded resolution to Col. Baker.

*October 23 :* Meeting of Ambulance Corps held.

*October 25 :* Gandhiji wrote to Maganlal Gandhi: "I have had to start a satyagraha against India Office." Ill in bed, advised rest.

*October 31 :* Col. Baker conceded principle of consultation with Indian Committee. Gandhiji wrote: "The satyagraha is over; we got what we wanted."

*November 3 :* Got up first time after illness; started short walks.

*November 4 :* Appealed through Press for volunteers for ambulance work.

Phœnix Party arrived at Santiniketan from Kangri Gurukul.

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*November 9 :* Gandhiji's associate and passive resister, Gabriel Isaac, passed away.

Before *November 11 :* Gandhiji spent, along with Corps, week-end in camp at Eastcote.

*Indian Opinion* reported Gandhiji's name included among nominees to presidentship of Indian National Congress.

*November 12 :* Gandhiji received letter from W. W. Pearson regarding Phœnix Party at Santiniketan.

*November 13 :* Gokhale arrived in Bombay. Ambulance Corps reported doing nursing work at Metlay Hospital near Southampton.

*November 26 :* Gandhiji took ill again; wrote to Gokhale: "I do not want to live on any terms. . . ."

*December 1 :* Golden Number of *Indian Opinion* published.

*December 4 :* Gandhiji still ill, in bed.

*December 18 :* Gave interview to Reuter; given farewell party at Westminster Palace Hotel on eve of departure for India.

*December 19 :* Sailed for India, with Kasturba; started learning Bengali on board ship.

*December 28-30 :* Indian National Congress in session at Madras.

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NOTE. *Names of persons have all been indexed under the last name. The following abbreviations have been used :* IGC = *Indian Grievances Commission;* IRA = *Indians' Relief Act;* IRB = *Indians' Relief Bill;* OFS = *Orange Free State;* TVL = *Transvaal;* UIRA = *Union Immigration Regulation Act;* UIRB = *Union Immigration Regulation Bill. The Union of South Africa is referred to as* Union *or* SA.


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ERRATUM

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| 120 | *para 2 line 4 | Act of 1885 | *Act of 1895* |

* Due correction made.

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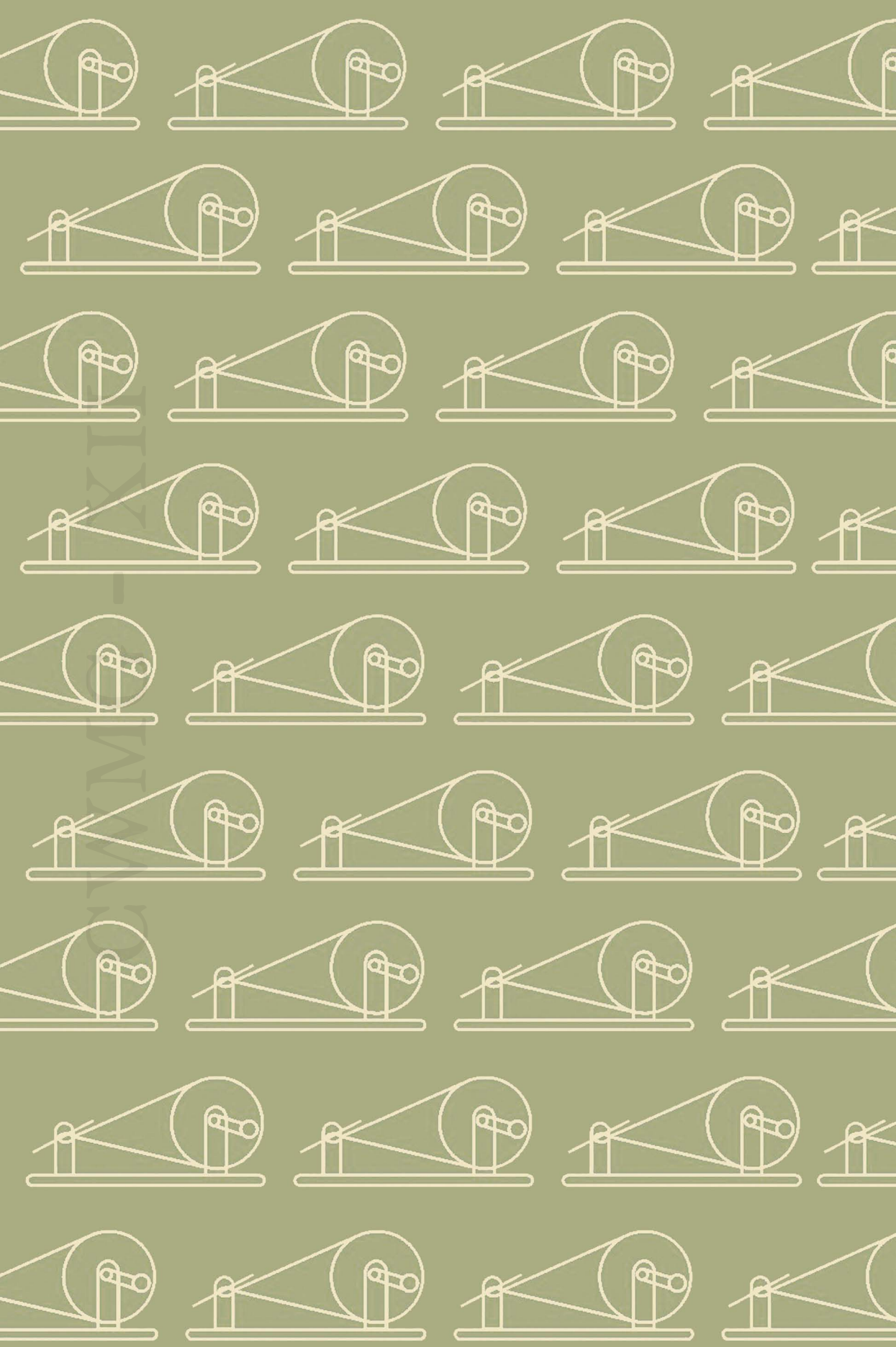

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