THE COLLECTED WORKS OF MAHATMA GANDHI

IX

(1908-1909)

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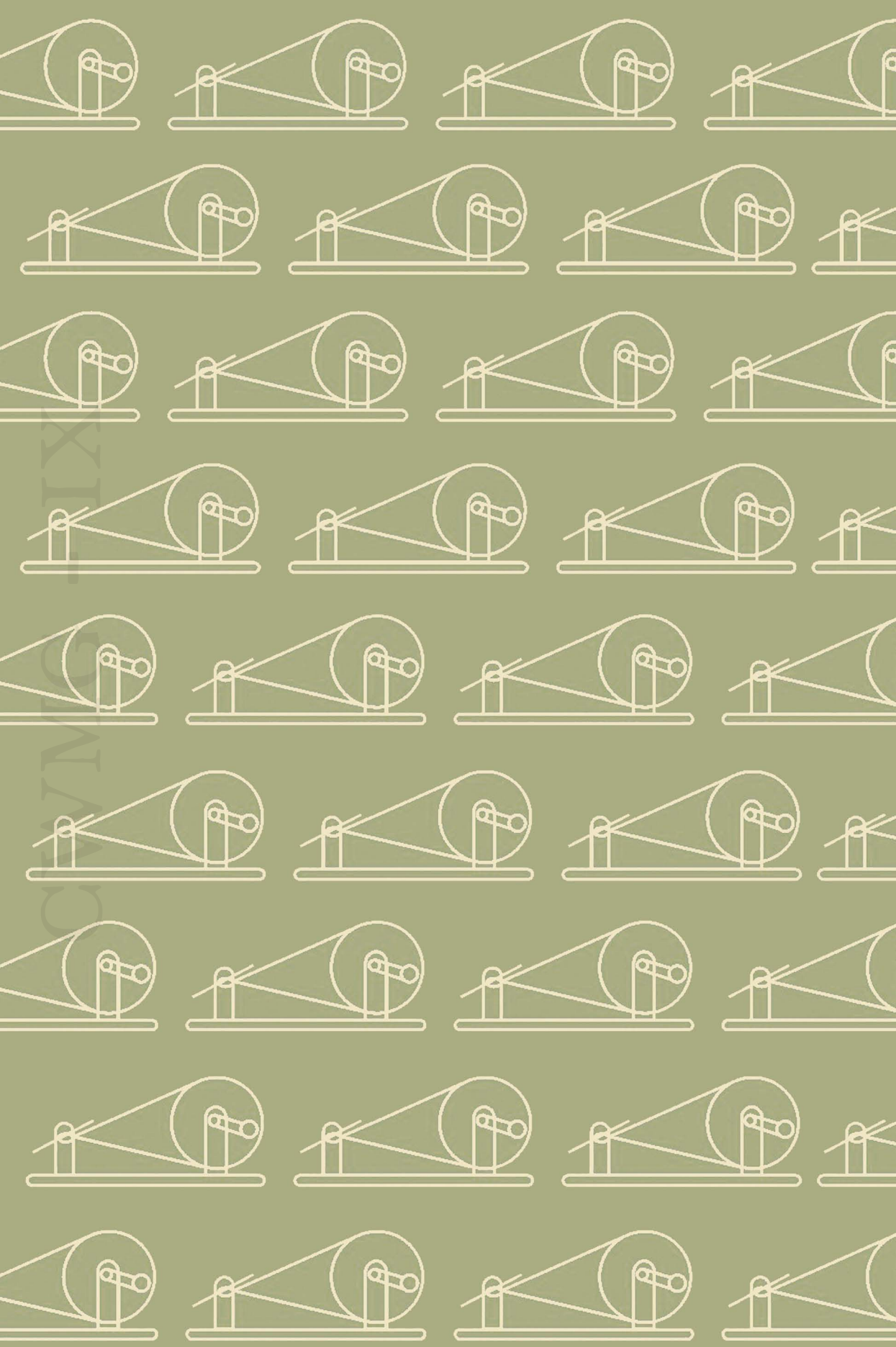

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IX

(September 1908 - November 1909)

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IN LONDON 1909 (PORTRAIT OF GANDHIJI)

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IX

(September 1908 - November 1909)

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THE PUBLICATIONS DIVISION
MINISTRY OF INFORMATION AND BROADCASTING
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PREFACE

The period covered by this volume, September 1908-November 1909, begins with the intensification of passive resistance in the Transvaal, and ends with Gandhiji's departure from London after four months of persistent but unavailing efforts there to solve the Transvaal problem by negotiation. This alternating of struggle with conciliation was of the very essence of Gandhiji's philosophy of satyagraha as applied to the solution of political conflicts. Always at the back of his public activities, there was a definite ethical approach to life, which, along with his concept of satyagraha, we find crystallizing during this period.

The mass burning of registration certificates in the second half of August 1908 had provided a dramatic setting for the resumption of satyagraha. The Asiatic Registration Amendment Act, gazetted on September 2, sought to validate voluntary registration, but without repealing the offensive Act 2 of 1907, which, Gandhiji held, Smuts had promised to do. Gandhiji saw no alternative to revival of satyagraha for securing the repeal of the Act and the theoretical right of educated Indians to enter the Colony. Before he resumed the struggle, however, further attempts were made to seek redress through other means. On September 9, the British Indian Association submitted a representation to the Secretary of State for the Colonies. Sections of the Indian community such as the Pathans, the Punjabis and ex-soldiers did likewise. At about the same time, Gandhiji and his co-workers met Hosken and gave him their minimum terms for a settlement. But all these moves failed.

Satyagraha had entered on its second phase with Sorabji, an eminent Parsi of Durban, crossing over from Natal to the Transvaal to assert his right of entry as an educated Indian. Arrests of passive resisters were this time followed by sentences of hard labour. Gandhiji was himself imprisoned twice for crossing into the Transvaal and failing to produce his registration certificate, which, of course, he had consigned to the flames. On October 14, 1908, he was sentenced to two months, and again, on February 25, 1909, to three months, both times with hard labour. While in jail, Gandhiji said later, he was "the happiest man in the Transvaal". He preferred life in prison to life outside with its humiliating denial of elementary rights. Describing his experiences for readers of *Indian Opinion*, he referred to the many hardships he had endured in common with other Indian prisoners. For instance, diet was inadequate and inappropriate. He protested and petitioned for its reform, but he would have no exclusive treatment. "Hard labour" meant

at one time road-making; at other times, cleaning municipal waterworks, tending soldiers' graves or polishing the doors and floor of the prison. He readily accepted these. Once he was made to walk, from Johannesburg railway station to the Fort, in convict's clothes, carrying his prison kit. On another occasion, he was marched in handcuffs, felon-like, from Pretoria Gaol to court to tender evidence. He spoke of these experiences with no bitterness in his heart, but with dignity, and often, with humour. Their only effect on him had been to deepen his philosophical serenity. But news of this ill-treatment leaked out through H. S. L. Polak and created a stir in the South African Press, leading to questions in the British Parliament. The authorities explained that Gandhiji could claim no special treatment. Of course, Gandhiji did not want any discrimination in his favour. During Kasturba's serious illness in November 1908, when he should have been, and himself wished to be, by her bed-side, he refused to obtain release by paying the fine.

The mass struggle continued in all its aspects: picketing, trading and hawking without licences, refusal to produce registration certificates or to give thumb-impressions and crossing the Natal border into forbidden Transvaal. A new and significant feature was the fact of Indian women emerging from their traditional seclusion, setting up associations to support passive resistance. All this was met with an official policy of arrests; sentences involving hard labour and fine; and deportation—first across the border, and later, in collusion with the Portuguese authorities, across Delagoa Bay to India. By June 1909, the number of prison sentences had risen to 2,500. In the final phase, passive resistance assumed a novel form: several leading Indian merchants surrendered their stock-in-trade and other assets to their European creditors, rather than submit to the humiliation of producing registration certificates in order to obtain trading licences. This led to much hardship and, in some cases, even to insolvency. But the passive resisters were ready to brave all consequences in a righteous struggle.

A section of European opinion, led by Hosken's Committee, supported a liberal approach to the Indian problem. The Committee made representations at home and wrote letters in the British Press. Its efforts proved fruitless in so far as concrete results were concerned. By and by, however, there was a mild thaw in a section of the South African Press. In May 1909, when Gandhiji came out of jail, the *Pretoria News* pleaded that the Transvaal Government should find better use than persistent imprisonment with hard labour for a man like Gandhiji who was suffering for conscience' sake, and recognized that his motives were "of the highest and his methods beyond impeachment". In June 1909, a section of the Indian community which had kept aloof from passive resistance set up a Conciliation Committee. Gandhiji

looked upon its labours with tolerant scepticism, and was not surprised when Smuts turned down its demands.

Left to himself, Gandhiji would have preferred to continue satyagraha, but in consideration of the views of co-workers, he agreed in June 1909 to make one more 'experiment' in negotiation while keeping in reserve the unfailing weapon of satyagraha. Circumstances, too, appeared to favour such a move. Final shape was being given to the proposal to establish a Union of the South African Colonies. Indians in South Africa viewed this move with misgivings. Gandhiji, too, saw that Indians might be worse off under the Union and face harsher legislation unless the Imperial Government was prevailed upon to insist on some constitutional safeguards. South African statesmen were proceeding to England for discussions on the Draft Union Bill which would soon be before Parliament. The occasion, it was generally felt, offered a possible opportunity for an amicable settlement through the good offices of the Imperial Government. Gandhiji agreed that the situation justified, if it did not demand, a deputation to England. On June 13, it was decided to send two deputations, one to England and the other to India, for educating the public about the significance of the Transvaal movement and persuading the Imperial Government to intervene. The Transvaal Government, in a surprise counter-move, arrested most of the delegates-elect. Gandhiji's efforts to get them released on parole failed. Thus, only a two-man deputation—Gandhiji and Hajee Habib—left for England on June 23, and a one-man deputation—Polak—left for India on June 26.

On the outward voyage, Gandhiji had talks with South African statesmen like Sir Richard Solomon, Mr. Merriman, Mr. Schreiner and Mr. Sauer, and won from them varying degrees of sympathy for the Indian cause. He also occupied himself with drafting a "Concise Statement of the Transvaal Indian Case". Reaching London on July 10, he made it clear in interviews to the Press that the deputation would be guided by the South Africa British Indian Committee. He met its chairman, Lord Ampthill, and discussed with him the line of action in England. On his advice, Gandhiji held up publication of his "Concise Statement" and postponed the idea of public activity till the outcome of the private negotiations had become clear. Gandhiji had implicit trust in Lord Ampthill and, as his correspondence with the latter reveals, readily accepted his advice for the whole strategy of negotiation.

Once Lord Ampthill had satisfied himself that neither Gandhiji nor his satyagrahi followers had anything to do with the extremists in India, he strove hard behind the scenes to bring about a solution of the Transvaal problem, convinced that a settlement was imperative in Imperial interests and in view of mounting unrest in India. He found

Gandhiji ready to compromise on smaller issues which involved no principle. He met Generals Botha and Smuts, who were in England at the time in connection with the Draft Union Bill. Having secured from Gandhiji an undertaking that Indians would not resort to further agitation if the Black Act were repealed and the theoretical equality of Indians in respect of immigration rights recognized, he pleaded with Smuts to "take the wind out of their sails" by conceding these demands on the eve of the Union.

The prime mover in the negotiations was, of course, Gandhiji. While he acted in constant consultation with Lord Ampthill, he also met Indian leaders like Sir Muncherjee Bhownaggree and Justice Ameer Ali, influential South African and British statesmen like Sir Richard Solomon, Sir William Lee-Warner and Theodore Morison, and friends like Miss Florence Winterbottom and the Rev. F. B. Meyer.

On the official level, Gandhiji concentrated on approaches to Lord Crewe in the Colonial Office and Lord Morley in the India Office. The former was frankly pessimistic of a settlement. A Colonial Office minute of August 18, 1909, considered Indian objections to Act 2 of 1907 "either disingenuous or absurdly sentimental". There was little difficulty, however, about the repeal of the Registration Act. But Gandhiji's insistence on the recognition of the legal "right" of Indians to enter the Transvaal as citizens of the Empire, subject, of course, to administrative limitation in respect of number, was met by Smuts' obdurate refusal to concede anything more than certificates of permanent residence to a limited number of Indian immigrants. The Colonial Office, on its part, confessed itself constitutionally unable to secure from the South African statesmen any such recognition. Lord Ampthill strove in vain to persuade the Colonial Office to bring Smuts round to accept Gandhiji's amendment to the immigration law.

On November 3, it became unmistakably clear that the negotiations had failed: the Colonial Office informed Gandhiji of its inability "to hold out any hopes of obtaining recognition of theoretical equality as to immigration". On November 5, launching a campaign of public education, Gandhiji issued to the British Press the "Statement" of July 16, held back so long in deference to Lord Ampthill's wishes. He addressed meetings at the Emerson Club and Indian Union Society, explaining the nature of the Transvaal struggle and seeking public support for it. He drafted a memorandum addressed to Transvaal Passive Resisters by British sympathisers, and enrolled Indian and British volunteers to obtain signatures thereon and to collect donations. In a last letter to the Colonial Office on the subject of the Transvaal immigration law, he hoped that Lord Crewe's influence would continue to work for the removal of the taint of Colour.

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On November 10, Gandhiji told *The Daily Express* that passive resistance would continue with unabated vigour. The following day he appealed to the British Press to support the Transvaal struggle. At the farewell meeting of November 12, he pleaded for a liberal understanding of the Transvaal movement from British leaders.

All this time he was revolving the concept of satyagraha in his mind. His writings, speeches and letters are full of it. The term "passive resistance", he argued in an address at Germiston, was a misnomer; the idea could be more completely and better expressed by the term "soul-force", a force "as old as the human race", and represented in its purest form by Jesus Christ, Daniel and Socrates. This soul-force did "not consist in outward ritual like temple-going.... Cultivation of truth and fearlessness is the first lesson for it" (p. 393). Suffering was implicit in it. "A satyagrahi will shine the brighter and grow the more courageous the more he is crushed" (p. 447).

The technique of satyagraha Gandhiji held to be a "sovereign remedy for most of the ills of life" (p. 363). It was "the only straightforward and simple method of fighting patent injustice, the one that will ensure the quickest redress" (p. 447). He believed that passive resistance in South Africa had not altogether failed. In June 1909, he listed its successes in regard to discriminatory legislation. Even Lord Crewe's "striving so hard" on behalf of the Transvaal Indians was due to "their voluntary submission to suffering". The sympathy which the deputation had secured in enlightened circles was reflected in the Rev. F. B. Meyer's "endorsement of a struggle of a singularly pure character and unselfish methods" (p. 540).

In spite of his many preoccupations and heavy work-schedule in London, Gandhiji kept in close touch with Polak in India. His long letters to him, dictated often in the early hours of the morning following a hard day's work, reveal a clear perception of overall policy, capacity for attending to minute detail and concern for the human element in all matters.

Gandhiji had the clearest grasp of the larger implications of the Transvaal struggle. India's tardy realization of the wider significance of the movement Gandhiji ascribed partly to lack of knowledge of soul-force. He was convinced that "the effort in the Transvaal and the corresponding activity in India must in their very nature bring India nearer her goal, and that, by means of the purest type" (p. 463). In a letter to Polak, he asks Indian leaders: "Will they not see that, in fighting the battle, we are presenting the Indian Motherland with a disciplined army of the future; an army that will be able to give a good account of itself against any amount of brute force that may be matched against it?" (p. 464). The achievement of Indian freedom through violence Gandhiji held to be both impossible and undesirable. He told

the extremists through Polak that "the freedom they want, or they think they want, is not to be obtained by killing people or doing violence" (p. 380).

The period is significant also for the contact which Gandhiji made with the Russian thinker, Count Leo Tolstoy, "the best and brightest exponent of the doctrine" of satyagraha. Writing to him of the passive resistance movement, Gandhiji observed: "In my opinion, this struggle of the Indians in the Transvaal is the greatest of modern times. . . . If it succeeds, it will be not only a triumph of religion, love and truth over irreligion, hatred and falsehood, but it is highly likely to serve as an example to the millions in India and to people in other parts of the world, who may be down-trodden. . ." (p. 529). Tolstoy wished his "dear brothers and co-workers in the Transvaal" the help of Providence and spoke of similar struggles in Russia, "of the tender against the harsh, of meekness and love against pride and violence . . ." (p. 483).

Besides Gandhiji's strategy of negotiations and his deepening rapport with fellow-satyagrahis, we also witness, in this volume, the formulation of his views on modern civilization. He touched on the subject in his letters to Manilal Gandhi and dispatches to *Indian Opinion*. But it was in his letter of October 14 to Polak that he gave categorical expression to those "definite conclusions" to which "the true spirit of passive resistance" had brought him and which were to be elaborated, soon after, in his seminal work, *Hind Swaraj*, written during the return voyage to South Africa.

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NOTE TO THE READER

The petitions 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 set up in small type.

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

The date of an item has been indicated at the top right-hand corner; if the original is undated, the inferred date is supplied within square brackets, with reasons where necessary. 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 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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CWMG - IX

1. JOHANNESBURG LETTER[1]

Monday [*August 31, 1908*]

How to Wage Campaign?

Things will become clearer to the reader if we answer this question before reporting the news. Considering all the circumstances, we feel that the coming struggle may be a bitter and extended one. The Government will adopt sterner measures. It does not appear probable that the Indians will make a concerted effort. We have not received an adequate number of certificates for being burnt. All told, 2,300 certificates have been burnt. The number is not insignificant. But it is too small if we look forward to an early end of the movement.

We also learn that people have been visiting the Registration Office to apply for certificates. In Johannesburg 25 Indians went there on Friday last. The Government will now be justified in concluding that a large number of Indians will submit to the Act.

There can be no question now of obeying the obnoxious Act[2], but the success of this last phase of the struggle depends on our refusal to submit to the new law[3]. The new Bill has not yet become law. It has not yet received Royal assent. But it is necessary to disobey it even if it receives it.

We may assume that those who have not handed over their registers to be burnt will not join the movement, so that it is only on the 2,300 Indians that it must depend. We may take it that some of these will back out. We can also assume that those who have not got their certificates will join the movement. We can therefore assume that 2,000 Indians will continue to fight. The Tamil-speaking people alone make up a fourth of this number. They have been most commendable. We need not be depressed by these figures. In fact, 2,000 Indians can achieve momentous results. But I cannot believe that all the two thousand of them will turn out to be true fighters. Burning a certificate really means that the Indian who throws it into the flames does not care to keep it. He is willing to forgo the benefits which a certificate

[1] Literally, the title reads: "News-letter". These despatches were published weekly in *Indian Opinion* as "From Our Johannesburg Representative". The first despatch appeared on March 3, 1906; *vide* Vol. V, pp. 206-7.

[2] The Asiatic Law Amendment Act, also known as the Transvaal Asiatic Registration Act; *vide* Vol. VII, pp. 20-6, 75-9, 402-8 and Appendix I.

[3] The Transvaal Asiatic Registration Amendment Act (1908); for the text, *vide* Appendix I.

confers. He will not produce his licence or take out one. He will not respect the Government's law in any way and will, on the contrary, do his best to get himself imprisoned.

Now, I know that these 2,000 Indians are not all such brave men. Some of them have already taken out licences, which they have been using. They produce them whenever demanded by an official. I think these men might as well not have burnt their certificates. I consider it necessary therefore further to reduce the 2,000 by a thousand. Let us now consider what the remaining thousand can do. The answer is that they can frighten the Government into doing justice. Their campaign will ensure the repeal of the obnoxious Act. The doors will remain open for the well-educated. The rights of those who are already in the Transvaal but possess no certificates will be preserved, provided their claims are genuine. But will the one thousand hold out till the last even after the others have yielded ? I believe they will. Those who fight to the bitter end are always a few in number. They are not influenced by what others do. They fight on, staking their all, without taking thought as to what others do, because they believe their cause to be just and therefore think it their duty to fight.

These thousand persons will have to be prepared for much suffering indeed. What does it matter if there is loss of money, if people are imprisoned or deported, or even if they are assaulted? They may lose everything, but not their honour. They may be forsaken by everyone, but will not be forsaken by God.

The annoying practice of auctioning the goods of those who refuse to pay the fine is becoming common. It was adopted in Pretoria, in Heidelberg, and also in Vereeniging. If all the storekeepers did without licences, there would have been no difficulty, no need for concern about the auctioning of goods. But Indians have not yet developed the strength to face losses as isolated individuals. Admittedly this strength cannot be acquired all at once. Many Indians hold licences for the whole year. We have therefore only to consider a few cases. The best course for these persons is to sell their shops nominally —but through a proper legal transaction—to whites and carry on trade in the name of these whites. Mr. Gabriel Isaac is prepared for this.[1] The auctioning of goods can be prevented in this manner. It may be argued that there will then be hardly any fighting left to be done by Indian traders. They will escape the privations and it will be the poor hawkers who will be ruined. In order to forestall this charge, those storekeepers who trade in the name of whites should go out hawking and thus court imprisonment. Those who hold licences in their own names should prepare a servant or a relative to go to gaol. It is only

[1] That is, to hold the shops in his name

right that the storekeepers should do this. But it would, however, be improper for hawkers to argue in this fashion. For it should not be supposed that a person who goes to gaol is like one dead. On the contrary he is very much alive. He should think himself fortunate that he is in gaol. Indeed, one who cannot go to gaol is an unfortunate person. Moreover, a storekeeper can help the movement through contributions. Our object is to tire out the Government. This is to be achieved by going to gaol, which can be done in two ways. The first is for the hawkers to get arrested by going on their rounds without a licence. Since there can be no question of a hawker's goods being auctioned, he will only be fined. The second is to court arrest and imprisonment by refusing to give thumb-impressions or finger-prints or signatures at the border. No one should go about with a lot of money in his pocket. One should not even carry jewellery on one's person. They [the authorities] have started prosecutions against those who refuse to give thumb-impressions. It is easy therefore to get arrested. Only those who hold genuine permits may, however, enter the Transvaal now. Holders of Dutch passes, etc., must not come in for the present. Educated persons may not come in either—not just yet.

If we carry on the fight in this manner, the climax may be reached in October. The end may come even earlier if we pull with all our strength. If not, it may come in October. By then, the hawking licences of many Indians will have expired. We may expect that a large number of Indians will refuse to apply for the renewal of their licences. The Government will then have no option but to arrest them. Those persons whose certificates have been burnt will not get licences at all. I hope that these Indians accordingly will choose to go without licences.

Natal Businessmen

Mr. Dawad Mahomed, Mr. Parsee Rustomjee and Mr. Anglia have been extremely active. They were not arrested in Johannesburg on Thursday[1] the 26th [August], so they proceeded to Pretoria by the 12 o'clock train after sending a wire. They were accompanied by Mr. Randeria. They were in the Anjuman-e-Islam Hall discussing arrangements for collecting certificates when Superintendent Betts served a warrant on them and arrested all the four.[2] They were refused bail. News was received later that a warrant had been issued for their deportation. Mr. Gandhi went to Pretoria by the last train. Through Advocate Blake the police were served with a notice to the effect that the Government had no authority thus to issue a warrant for their deportation.[3]

[1] This should be Wednesday.
[2] *Vide* Vol. VIII, p. 485.
[3] For the order of deportation, *vide* Appendix II.

The intention in serving this notice was not to take the case to the Supreme Court, but only to expose the high-handedness of the Government. The notice, by the morning however, appeared to have had no effect. The men were taken to Natal train. Nothing was kept secret. Anyone who wished to see them was allowed to do so. Many Indians were present at the station to see them off.

A meeting was held in the Anjuman-e-Islam Hall at midnight when the question of collecting the certificates was discussed. Mr. Hajee Cassim said that whether or not the Memons were willing to hand over their certificates would be announced on Sunday after due consideration. The others resolved to hand them over immediately.

Mass Meeting

A mass meeting was held in Pretoria on Friday. Mr. Bagas was in the chair. The meeting was very well attended and great enthusiasm was evinced. Though a large number of certificates were burnt, I must say that the number received was not so large as it should have been. In Pretoria, only 60 certificates were received—this number is exclusive of those from the Madrasis—and this is not nearly enough. A report of the meeting will appear elsewhere and so I do not give it here.

Meeting of Madrasis

A separate meeting of Tamil Indians was held on Sunday, to which Mr. Gandhi was invited. Madrasis have surpassed all expectations. We find that nearly a fourth of them have been to gaol. They were extremely enthusiastic and declared that, whatever the others did, they would carry on the fight. They also resolved to collect funds.

Two Konkanis Released

Both the Konkani butchers who were gaoled last week have been released. From their reports it would appear that the gaol warders do not harass prisoners any longer. They say Mulji Patel and Harilal Gandhi[1] are in good health.

Zaver Randeri

Mr. Zaver Randeri Soni, who, though his temporary permit has expired, did not leave the Transvaal, has been awarded a month's imprisonment. He deposed that he had intended on the expiry of his term to leave the Colony and re-enter afterwards as an educated person, but that, meanwhile, he had been arrested. "This is my good fortune," Mr. Randeri said in his evidence.

[1] Gandhiji's eldest son. *Vide* also Vol. VIII, pp. 405-6, 436 and 442.

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Deportation of Twelve Men

Mr. Shelat, Mr. Joshi, Mr. Killawala, Mr. Medh, Mr. Ibrahim Hussein and others have been arrested and ordered to be deported. All of them will re-enter. They do not get any food [in gaol] from members of the community or friends. They themselves asked to be given gaol food. They get bread, potatoes, etc. They will be taken to Volksrust tonight.

Ebrahim Osman

People here are glad that Mr. Ebrahim Osman has gone to gaol. He can be regarded as one of the leaders of the Memon community. His courageous act does that community great credit. He had plainly refused to give his thumb-impression on the train as also at the Charge Office. The policeman admitted while giving evidence that he knew Ebrahim. Mr. Polak gave evidence that it was through him that Ebrahim had obtained a permit. Ebrahim's identity therefore was not in question. The only offence was his refusal to give his thumb-impression. This is no ordinary tyranny. But I hope that, in view of cases like these, no Indian will give his thumb-impression till a settlement is reached.

Nadirsha Cama

Mr. Nadirsha Cama has been dismissed by the Government. On reflection, we shall see that this is no common occurrence. Mr. Cama felt so strongly on the subject that he attended the last mass meeting. The Government then asked him for an explanation. Since it was a fact that Mr. Cama had taken part in the proceedings, he was dismissed. And he has welcomed his dismissal. He acted as he did mainly for the sake of the campaign for the rights of the educated. Mr. Cama having been sacrificed in this manner, the educated should feel inspired tenfold. The community as a whole has been a party to Mr. Cama's dismissal, and it cannot therefore back out. Let me congratulate Mr. Cama. He sets little store by the pittance he was earning by slaving for the Government. This is an example worthy of emulation.

Message from Natal

Mr. Dawad Mahomed and his companions, on reaching Charlestown after their deportation, sent the following telegram to various towns:

> Spent last night in prisoners' cell Pretoria with full trust in God. Sooner or later we shall be in gaol-palace in Transvaal thus doing our duty to motherland in some measure.[1] Hope every Indian will

[1] That is, their intention was to re-enter the Colony in defiance of the deportation order and thus court imprisonment.

do his duty at all costs. We send this message to our brethren before we go to gaol.

We hope every Indian will remember this advice.

Memorable Telegram

When Mr. Dawad Mahomed and other Natal leaders reached Volksrust, Mr. Osman Ahmed sent them the following telegram:[1]

> Congratulate you all. Trust in God. Pray to Him. Obey Him who saved Noah from deluge, Moosa from Pharaohs, Abraham from fire, Joseph from the well, Ayoob from sickness, Enoos inside a whale, and our Prophet when he was in the cave. He is with us and He is ever just.

This is a very inspiring telegram. I urge Mr. Osman Ahmed himself to have the same heroic courage which he wants the businessmen to be infused with. Examples similar to the above will be found in all the scriptures. This is an age in which we treat the teachings of the scriptures as mere platitudes which do not have to be acted upon. We only pay lip service to such examples. We feel God to be so far away from us that we hardly allow these teachings to influence our conduct. This is an occasion for Indians to act rather than talk. If all the Indians were to fight with sincere faith in God, freedom would be won within 24 hours.

Prisoners on Front

I have not so far been able to give the names of the Madrasis who went to gaol on August 14 for the sake of their country. I give them below:

Messrs Kangasami Pillay, Saveri Pillay, R. Packrey Moodaley, Rajoo Naidoo, Subrayaloo Naidoo, S. Pavaday Naidoo, Muthramoothoo Pather, M. Nadason, Candasami, Moonsami Naidoo, V. Vurthen, S. Rangasami Naidoo, Venkatsami Appoodoo, Ranga Padiachy, R. Jameson, S. Vallu Padiachy, S. Moothramoothoo Pillay, V. Govindsami Padiachy, C. Canda Moodaley, Narasoomulloo, Ranga Padiachy, Nayana Naidoo, Rama, Nagappan Naidoo.

Most of these persons held licences, yet they went out hawking without using them.

Some of them were treated cruelly by the gaolers, who worked them so hard that they had inflammation on their backs. Regardless of this, they are ready to go to gaol again. Six affidavits in this connection have been forwarded to the Chief Gaoler. Probably the gaolers will not behave in the same way again. Even if they do, what does it matter? The more we suffer, the earlier we shall be free.

[1] The English text reproduced here is from *Indian Opinion*, 5-9-1908.

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In Christiana

Mr. Ismail Essop Belim was sentenced to a fine of £15 for trading without a licence or, in default of payment, to a month's imprisonment. Mr. Belim chose to go to gaol. As if this was not enough, they have now arrested Mr. Ibrahim Adamji Limda, his servant. It does not appear likely that he will be convicted, for it has been ruled by the Court that a servant cannot be prosecuted on a charge of trading without a licence.

E. M. Patel

His goods were auctioned in Vereeniging. He was fined £1.7.6, to recover which they sold goods worth £20, and awarded £6.5.6 to the messenger[1] as his expenses. Here is an instance of a crone not worth a pice whose head it costs two pice to shave.[2] I congratulate Mr. Patel. We shall be free only when people everywhere accept such losses. Who can now assert that General Smuts is not the leader of a band of robbers?[3]

Tuesday [*September 1, 1908*]

Eleven more from Natal

Further reports have been received about the gentlemen from Natal. Those eleven persons who were to set out last night were taken away by Mr. Vernon. They were seen off at the Park Station by a few persons. Others went to Jeppe. These persons would not accept any food from outside. They only took gaol food. All of them had left Charlestown early in the morning and walked to the Charge Office at Volksrust, where they were arrested. Traders and educated persons have now joined hands again. All of them have resolved to stay on in gaol. Even in the matter of food, they eat what is given to them in gaol. My advice is that they should ask for the gaol uniform also. It has not yet been decided when they will be tried. The Government has yet to consider what they should be charged with. True fighters will not offer bail money, will not ask for food from outside and will submit to any harassment by the Government. I would also advise my brethren not to ask for anything to be brought to them surreptitiously. If they are addicted to smoking, they must give up the habit. Freedom from such addiction will benefit the body as well as the mind. Even if we do not take that into account, it is only proper to give up these addictions for the sake of one's country.

[1] Bailiff

[2] A Gujarati saying

[3] Gandhiji had described the Court's attachment of the goods of Vereeniging Indian traders as "legalized robbery"; *vide* Vol. VIII, pp. 438, 447 and 453-4.

Meeting of Hamidia Islamic Society

His Majesty the Sultan [of Turkey] completed 32 years of his reign on August 31, and on the same day the Al Madina[1] Hejaz Railway was inaugurated. The [Hamidia] Islamic Society held a mass meeting to celebrate the event. A large number of Muslims were present. Invitations had been sent out to some whites. Among those present were Mr. Wolfgang, the Turkish Consul, and his friend, Mr. P. F. Crown, who has served in Turkey and was awarded the Order of Turkey, Class II. Mr. Kallenbach and Mr. Isaac were also present. Among the others present were Mr. Godfrey, Mr. Vyas, Mr. Cama, Mr. Naidoo and Mr. Gandhi.

The proceedings were conducted with the utmost efficiency amidst great enthusiasm. Six resolutions were passed. A fund for the Hejaz Railway was started on the spot. Mr. Hajee Habib put his name down for £10. The barbers collected more than £9 from amongst themselves. Mr. Nawab Khan paid one pound on the spot, and a cabman paid, amid applause, his earnings for the day—five shillings. Telegrams were received from many towns. Everywhere Muslim shops were closed [for the day]. Among these telegrams Mr. Nagadi's deserves mention. It reported that sweets and gifts were distributed among white and Zulu children. This was an excellent idea; it shows the nobility of the Indian people, rather, of all Eastern peoples. The action of Warmbaths Indians in distributing sweets to white children, though the whites always behave like enemies, is noteworthy and ought to be emulated. In this town, Osman Ahmed led a procession. There were children's sports at which prizes were awarded. In the evening, there were fireworks. Everyone felt that the Hamidia Society's hall was rather small. I hope the Muslims will add more storeys and build a hall so big and fine that it will be both pleasing and useful.

Wednesday [*September 2, 1908*]

God's Will Be Done

Mr. Dawad Mahomed and other gentlemen were deported but, as ordained, they have re-entered. Further, Mr. Dawad Mahomed, Mr. Parsee Rustomjee and Mr. Anglia have reached Johannesburg and started work again. Other friends are enjoying the fine air of the Volksrust gaol, which only means that they need not come to Johannesburg. They were all to be tried on Tuesday. But the Government itself fixed Tuesday next, the 7th, for their trial. Taking advantage of this opportunity, the three businessmen have come down to Johannesburg. Everyone is doing his duty. The businessmen's presence is needed in Johannesburg. Others are doing their duty by staying in gaol.

[1] The original has "Hamidia".

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What About Sorabji?

It is being asked why Sorabji, who was due to return, has not yet done so. I must point out that he himself is anxious to re-enter. But his duty consists in staying on in Charlestown for the present. This way he renders greater service. It is the Association which has restrained him. There has been no reply from the Government to the Association's resolution about him. This is one reason, among others, why he is not being called back. He will also enter when his time comes. Everyone cannot have the same duty to perform. Everyone[, however,] must attend to his or her duty. Sorabji's duty consists in restraining his enthusiasm and waiting.

Moosa Essop Adia

Mr. Moosa Essop Adia was fined £1 in Pretoria. While attaching his goods, the messenger also closed down his store. This is illegal. He had no authority to do this. The Association has therefore advised Mr. Adia to reopen the store and serve a notice on the messenger.

Dildar Khan

Mr. Dildar Khan who was employed as a servant by a white has been dismissed for taking part in the movement against the law. Yesterday, moreover, he had asked for leave to attend the Hejaz Railway [celebrations]. I congratulate Mr. Dildar Khan on his courage.

Collections

Mr. Dawad Mahomed, Mr. Rustomjee and Mr. Anglia have been active from the moment they arrived. They went round soliciting contributions. I hope to give next week the names of those who have promised to pay.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 5-9-1908

2. *IMPERIAL GOVERNMENT'S VIEWS*

Among the speeches in the Imperial Parliament reported in our English section, the one by Colonel Seely, Deputy Secretary of State for the Colonies, is particularly worth reading. He says that negotiations are in progress with the Transvaal Government. The speech also indicates that those who have a right to be in the Colonies should be accorded equal rights with the whites, and must be accepted as full-fledged citizens. We can argue from this that, in the interests of those already in the Colony, educated Indians must be allowed to enter. We can also see from Colonel Seely's speech that, if we exert ourselves

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enough, the Imperial Government may help us. The key [to the situation] is with us. Satyagraha is all that is required of us.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 5-9-1908

3. *RITCH'S CONDITION*

We continue to receive letters from Mr. Ritch[1] which make us very sad. There is much else the community does, but nothing to show its appreciation [of Ritch's work]. Few whites or Indians can do what Mr. Ritch has been doing. He does not care for the salary. It is a shame to keep such a person always in want.

There was a proposal earlier to send £300 to Mr. Ritch, of which only £100 have so far been sent. Now, even the money for his household expenses is not being remitted, let alone the balance of £200. What is more, it is becoming difficult for him even to meet the office expenses. In postponing things, as we are inclined to do, we are not being thoughtful about the difficulties of others. It is impossible for the Committee to continue its work under these conditions. It is therefore the duty of every Indian to do the most he can. Those who imagine that a great struggle like ours can be carried on without money are mistaken. We hope the community will make the necessary provision for Mr. Ritch. Else the Committee will collapse before long and we shall have reason to regret our helplessness afterwards.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 5-9-1908

4. *THE G. O. M.'S BIRTHDAY*[2]

It is again our privilege to join with our brethren throughout India and the Colonies on the occasion of the birthday of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, the greatest living Indian. Yesterday[3] he entered upon his eighty-fourth year. His life has been a strenuous one, devoted to his people and his beloved country. Now the aged patriot is living in quiet retirement in India, enjoying the rest which he has so nobly earned. Indians in South Africa, and especially those in the Transvaal, may take courage

[1] L. W. Ritch, Secretary, South Africa British Indian Committee, London, founded in 1906 "to secure fair and just treatment to British Indian settlers in South Africa"; *vide* Vol. VI, pp. 228-9. Also *vide* Vol. VII, pp. 277-9, 413-4 and Vol. VIII, pp. 63 and 106.

[2] *Vide* also the succeeding item.

[3] September 4

for the fight by remembering that Mr. Dadabhai has spent practically the whole of his life fighting for the rights and freedom of his fellow-countrymen. Therefore, the greatest honour we in South Africa can do him is to follow his example, never flinching from the struggle until we have gained for ourselves, and for the generations to follow, that complete freedom which is the right of every subject of the King-Emperor.

Indian Opinion, 5-9-1908

5. *DADABHAI'S BIRTHDAY*

Yesterday was the birthday of the Grand Old Man of India, Dadabhai Naoroji. He has entered on his eighty-fourth year. In India, his birthday is an occasion of public celebrations all over the country Enthusiastic meetings are held by the public bodies in the country and messages are sent wishing him a long life. The messages sent to him by associations in South Africa have been given elsewhere in this issue. They have done their duty in sending these. We wish him a long life and pray to our Maker to grant us, and others associated with this journal, hearts as pure as his. We urge our readers to emulate the spirit of patriotism of this Dada[1]—he is indeed a veritable grandfather —which is the right way of cherishing his name. The Transvaal Indians must see to it that they honour their pledge as the immortal Dadabhai has honoured his for our sake. Our present campaign in South Africa is such that it would not be enough even if hundreds of heroes like Dadabhai were to come forward to join it. And so long as they do not come forward, we can make no progress in our political life or in any other field of activity.

As announced last year,[2] we give in this issue a photograph of the Grand Old Man.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 5-9-1908

[1] "Dada" in Gujarati means a grandfather.

[2] *Vide* Vol. VII, p. 199.

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6. *JOHANNESBURG LETTER*

Monday [*September 7, 1908*]

Duncan's Speech

Mr. Duncan, former Colonial Secretary[1], expressed the view in the course of a speech that in the long run there was no option but to allow the Coloured races a share in the Government. If this was not done, both the whites and the Coloured races would suffer. That such views are expressed by whites who have held high posts points to the coming of far-reaching changes in South Africa in a few years.

Stallard's Views

Mr. Stallard is reputed to be a very able lawyer. Though he has no particular regard for us, he said that every time General Smuts had entered into a controversy with the Indian community, he had lost. And that is, in fact, what has happened. He is bound to lose again in this last phase of the struggle if we exert ourselves to our utmost.

Bhana Ramji

Mr. Bhana Ramji was arrested on Saturday for not complying with the notice to leave the Colony. No one had any news about his case. He therefore conducted his own defence. He simply refused to leave the Colony and accepted the sentence of a month's hard labour which the Magistrate awarded him. He is now installed in gaol. It is our good fortune that Indians have learnt to go to gaol with such ease.

Goshalia's Telegram

Mr. Goshalia, who is imprisoned in Volksrust along with other Indians, has sent a telegram to say that Indian prisoners there have been going without breakfast, since they find mealie pap disagreeable. That Mr. Goshalia, as also others, should nonetheless not think of leaving the gaol but stay on where they are is some indication of their patriotism. The question of diet is still the subject of correspondence with the Government. Those who cannot bear these privations should call to mind Mr. Tilak's case.[2] How will he spend six years on a plain fare? He is old. Had he been a European, he would now be occupying a position of authority. I say this without any ill-will towards the whites. Rather than perpetrate evil as they have done in order to hold political power,

[1] Patrick Duncan held this office from 1903 to 1906. For the text of his speech, *vide* Appendix III.

[2] The reference is to Bal Gangadhar Tilak, *vide* Vol. VIII, pp. 418-9.

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it is far better that the Indians should make do with a crust of bread. Anyway, the point is, what we are going through is nothing when compared to the great Mr. Tilak's sufferings.

Tuesday [*September 8, 1908*]

NATAL BUSINESSMEN'S ACTIVITIES

Mr. Dawad Mahomed, Mr. Parsee Rustomjee and Mr. Anglia have not been idle since their return from Volksrust. They started collecting contributions in Johannesburg, and raised more than £200. They went round to all the places and were everywhere given contributions by everyone. They were accompanied by Imam Saheb Abdool Kadir Bawazeer, Mr. Cachalia, Mr. Vyas, Mr. Cama and others. On Friday after *namaz*, they went to Krugersdorp, and Mr. Cama was with them. Within three hours, they obtained promises of contributions to the value of £64 and collected another £60 in cash. They returned from Krugersdorp at night.

On Saturday, they left for Heidelberg by the morning train. There Mr. Bhayat gave a bold lead by [contributing] £16, with the result that a sum of £45 was soon raised. They left Heidelberg the same night by train for Standerton. The party included Mr. Cachalia and Mr. Bhayat. Mr. Cama also joined them on the same train. Though the train arrived at Standerton at two in the morning, a large number of citizens were present to receive them. My referring to Indians as citizens should not cause surprise. Indians are no longer slaves, but citizens. We have a right to be treated as partners [in the governance of the Colony], and have been fighting for that right.[1] A sum of about £53 was raised in Standerton.

Having done all this, these men had a right to rest before the trial began. However, they decided to take the plunge in Pretoria. They left for Pretoria on Sunday by the night train. Having arrived there they lost no time and started collecting contributions on Monday morning. They were looked after by Mr. A. M. Suleman. After breakfast, they went to the city from the Location, and started the collections among the Memons first. Mr. Hajee Cassim gave £5. Mr. Gandhi went to Pretoria at 2 p.m. and the work of collection continued till evening. Mr. Hajee Cassim and others also joined the party.

At four, there was a meeting in the Location with Mr. Bagas in the chair. His welcome address was followed by a suitable reply from

[1] Indians were not citizens since they had no right of franchise. Their representation, such as it was, in the Transvaal legislature was in the nature of "trusteeship". Gandhiji had earlier been at pains to emphasize that the Transvaal Indians did not want political rights; *vide* Vol. VI, p. 212. He did, however, demand what he called civil rights by which he meant the right to property, locomotion and trade; *vide* Vol. VI, p. 251.

the businessmen. There was no time [left] for collections in the Location. But local Indians have promised to take up the work. More than £26 were collected in Pretoria.

Considering Pretoria's resources, this is too small a sum. But the fact that Memon gentlemen contributed funds and extended their co-operation shows that to that extent they, too, are with the community in its opposition to the law. Their help is bound to produce some effect on the Government as well. It will realize that a mass of water cannot be cloven asunder by the stroke of a stick, and that Indians are like a mass of water—they are of the same blood.

The businessmen took the evening train for Durban from the Location. Imam Saheb, Mr. Coovadia, Mr. Fancy, Jivanji, Mr. Omarji Sale, Mr. Vyas and others were present to receive them at Germiston, and to see them off as well. There is a halt of nearly 45 minutes at Germiston. Advantage was taken of this to entertain them at a party arranged in the restaurant. The restaurant-keeper was a good man, and made no trouble. The blinds in the room were lowered so that others outside might not notice the proceedings. The Volksrust train started amid shouts of "hurrah", and the businessmen left to embrace imprisonment. Is it conceivable that a community, the leaders of which evince such courage, patriotism and enthusiasm, can ever be defeated ?

Story of Krugersdorp

Among the Krugersdorp Indians there appears to be a trivial rift, which the authorities intend to exploit. Local newspapers have reported that Indian traders in Krugersdorp used violence to compel the hawkers to surrender their certificates. The victims have lodged complaints and the offending traders will now be prosecuted.

This incident is said to have occurred when the Natal businessmen visited Krugersdorp before their deportation. The businessmen, when asked about it, said that no Indian had been harassed or treated violently. An altercation was all that took place and that—on one occasion. If that is so, why do Indians show themselves to be so short-sighted as to become a tool in the hands of the Government to be used against themselves ? Since the case is without any basis, the Government will lose.

But such rumours may serve to prolong the sufferings of the Indians somewhat. Let every Indian imprint it on his mind that this campaign does not depend on the use of force. There should be neither violence nor threats of violence. Force may be used neither against the Government nor against one's own fellows.

This campaign is based on spiritual force. Hence it has a divine sanction. We know that intellectual force is superior to physical force,

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and spiritual force superior to intellectual force. That is the highest force. We accept this view but do not act upon it. Only to the extent that we are unaware of the soul can there be misery and suffering for us.

STANDERTON LICENCES

The Licensing Officer asked the Indian traders at Standerton why they had refused to give their thumb-impressions. In reply, the Committee has said that

(i) since thumb-impressions are demanded under the obnoxious Act, the Indians will not give them;

(ii) the Act is obnoxious because it offends religious susceptibilities and is a symbol of the Indians' inferior status;

(iii) even if thumb-impressions were demanded—for licensing purposes—outside the Act, they would be refused by those who could sign their names. For, giving one's thumb-impression when one can easily sign one's name will amount to a stigma on oneself for the colour of one's skin. There is a difference between a thumb-impression given in lieu of a signature and that given when the person can sign his name.

AT 3 P.M.

We have just received a telegram to say that the three businessmen and Mr. Randeria have been awarded three months' hard labour each. The remaining eleven received a sentence of six weeks' imprisonment each with hard labour. I am glad over this report, yet it brings tears to my eyes. I am glad because the greater the suffering inflicted on Indians, the happier they will be in the end and the sooner will come the day of deliverance. I shed tears because they are elderly Indians who are thus made to suffer.

MORE PRISONERS

Suleman Hassan, a Krugersdorp hawker, has been sentenced to a fine of 5s or a day's imprisonment for hawking without a licence. He has elected to go to gaol.

Mr. Ali Essopji has been arrested for being found in the Colony without a permit. His case will be heard on the 11th.

In Christiana, Mr. Ibrahim Limda[1] has been sentenced to a fine of £15 or six weeks' imprisonment for carrying on trade [without a licence], and Mr. Cassim to a fine of £3 or six weeks' imprisonment for hawking [without a licence]. Both these brave men have chosen gaol. They have both been sentenced to simple imprisonment.

[1] The original has "Limbado".

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Meeting of British Indian Association Committee

A special meeting of the Committee was held on Monday. Mr. Essop Mia being absent, Mr. Coovadia took the chair. Mr. Fancy, Imam Saheb, Mr. Chettiar, Mr. Naidoo, Mr. Godfrey, Mr. Vyas, Mr. Omarji Sale, Mr. Adam Moosaji, Mr. Kunake and others were present. It was resolved to go round soliciting contributions from people and many names were put down on the list. A resolution was passed that £100 should be remitted to Mr. Ritch. Since Mr. Gandhi has suspended his practice for the time being, he asked for provision to be made for the payment of rent for the Association's office, for permission to defray Mr. Polak's expenses and to spend £10 per month, for the duration of the crisis, to meet the deficit on *Indian Opinion* resulting from the heavy increase in the quantity of printed matter. No decision was reached on Monday on this item and its consideration was postponed.

On receipt of information about the imprisonment of the Natal businessmen, another meeting of the Committee was held on Tuesday which was attended by Mr. Essop Mia. Most of those who had attended the previous meeting were present. It was resolved to hold a mass meeting on the following Thursday and to close shops and suspend business on that day out of regard for the Natal leaders. It was also decided to send cables to England, India, Zanzibar, Aden, etc.

Mr. Essop Mia has announced his intention to resign [from the chairmanship of the British Indian Association] as he wishes to go on a pilgrimage to Mecca. He will take the chair at the mass meeting for the last time—for the present at any rate.

The meeting has resolved to entrust the chairmanship to Mr. Adam Mahomed Cachalia in succession to Mr. Essop Mia.

There is no time now to speak at length about this. Mr. Essop Mia's services to the community have been massive. We owe so much to his courage. The community cannot honour him enough. It is hoped that the community will do its duty [by him] before he boards the ship and leaves on his pilgrimage on the 6th.

The position that has been offered to Cachalia is a very important one. He has of course done his utmost for the community. He is popular. Also, he has been to gaol. He is thus very well qualified. He was at first extremely reluctant to accept the chairmanship, but accepted the office under great pressure. Mr. Ibrahim Coovadia's name was also suggested, but he expressed his preference for Mr. Cachalia, who, he thought, could serve better.

Mr. Cachalia's responsibilities are great. It is not an easy thing to take on the captaincy of a ship in mid-ocean. But Mr. Cachalia is sure to do full justice to the office he has accepted if he always acts with faith in God.

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I hope to write at greater length next week of Mr. Essop Mia and Mr. Cachalia.

VOLUNTEERS

Since Mr. Gandhi has practically suspended his legal practice and Mr. Mahomed Khan has joined business, Mr. James Dorasamy has started attending the Association office to do honorary work. I hope others, too, following Mr. Dorasamy's example, will come forward to offer their services and thus help the Association's work. If the community is determined to secure the early release of the Natal heroes, there will be work for as many volunteers as may be forthcoming.

NYLSTROOM

Mr. Moti Ragha Patel of Nylstroom has been sentenced to four days' hard labour for hawking without a licence. A summons is about to be served on Mr. Nagadi.

ARRESTS IN KRUGERSDORP

In Krugersdorp warrants have been issued against Mr. Ismail Kazi, Mr. Pandor, Mr. Vaja, Mr. Vania, Mr. Khurshedji Desai, Mr. Dadlani, Mr. Mahomed Mamuji Dadoo and Mr. Parsee Rustomjee on the aforementioned charges.[1] All of them, except Mr. Rustomjee, have been released on bail. Since Mr. Rustomjee is already installed in the gaol-palace, it remains to be seen what happens to him.

Wednesday [*September 9, 1908*]

SORABJI

He [Mr. Sorabji] entered the Transvaal yesterday (Tuesday) evening. His case will come up on the 15th. Mr. Sorabji has already left for Johannesburg in the company of Mr. Cama.

ABDOOL GANI

A telegram has been received saying that Mr. Abdool Gani gave his thumb-impression on his return to Volksrust. If true, that is extremely regrettable.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 12-9-1908

[1] *Vide* p. 14.

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7. PETITION TO SECRETARY OF STATE FOR COLONIES[1]

JOHANNESBURG,
September 9, 1908

TO
THE RT. HON'BLE THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES
LONDON

THE PETITION OF THE BRITISH INDIAN
ASSOCIATION OF THE TRANSVAAL

HUMBLY SHEWETH THAT

PRELIMINARY

1. The British Indian Association approach His Majesty's Government in connection with the British Indian struggle that has now gone on for the past two years in the Transvaal, more particularly in connection with the Asiatic Registration Amendment Act, gazetted in the Transvaal *Gazette*, dated the 2nd instant.

2. The Association represent the British Indian community residing in the Transvaal.

3. As His Majesty's Government are well aware, the Asiatic Law Amendment Act passed last year by the Transvaal legislature has caused much misery to the British Indians in the Transvaal, and has involved loss of money and the incarceration of over 350 Indians, who have suffered imprisonment for conscience' sake.

HASTY LEGISLATION

4. The Act that has now been gazetted was, in the form of a Bill, read a first time on the 20th August, and it passed all the stages through both the Legislative Assembly and the Legislative Council on the 21st August. The Bill was never published in the *Gazette* and it was only after it was gazetted as an Act that it was available to the community represented by the petitioning Association. By the courtesy of a member of the Legislative Assembly, a few Indians were able to see the Bill after it had passed through all the stages and the other members of the community had, up to the 2nd instant, to remain satisfied with a summary published in the Transvaal Press.

[1] This was published in *Indian Opinion*, 19-9-1908, under the titles "Transvaal Indians' Petition: To The Imperial Government: The Full Text".

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The Act Generally Acceptable

5. The petitioning Association are free to admit that the Act under discussion is a very great advance upon the Asiatic Law Amendment Act No. 2 of 1907, though it is defective, in that it requires proof of pre-war residence for 3 years from those Asiatics who are in the Transvaal but who have not yet received registration certificates. Most of these men have entered the country in *bona fide* manner, and have acquired vested rights. There are instances of Asiatics having already received registration certificates, although their residence in the Transvaal before the war did not go beyond even one year. It is respectfully contended that the Asiatics who have not yet received registration certificates but who are in the Transvaal should not be treated according to the arbitrary and inflexible limit of three years' pre-war residence, which is applicable to Asiatics who are still outside the Transvaal.

6. The clause as to the granting of licences will depend for smooth working only on a liberal administration as to thumb-print requirements.

Finger-prints

7. In moving the second reading of the Bill, the Colonial Secretary was pleased to say that finger-impressions or thumb-impressions were not a matter of objection. In the humble opinion of the petitioning Association, in making this statement, the Hon'ble Minister was less than fair to the Indian community; for he knew well that a very violent agitation was raised against finger-prints by many Asiatics, after the compromise of last January. Whilst it is true that finger-prints were never treated as a fundamental objection by the leading members of the Indian community, they undoubtedly formed, as they even now do, an insuperable objection to many Asiatics, especially the Pathans, of whom there are probably over 150 residing in the Colony. Finger-impressions or thumb-impressions were given voluntarily under the compromise, only in order to enable the Government to have a scientific classification, and to show the *bona fides* of the community, as also its willingness to help the Government. This voluntary act has cost the community very dear. Both the Chairman and the Secretary had to suffer grievous bodily harm at the hands of their fellow-countrymen,[1] by reason of the above help given to the Government. After considerable experience, the petitioning Association assure His Majesty's Government that the compulsory taking of finger-impressions on any large scale from Asiatics only is bound to give rise to such trouble. Nor are they to any extent necessary, the majority of British Indians having once given them to the authorities. In any case, a very great amount of latitude will be

[1] Gandhiji was assaulted on February 10, 1908; *vide* Vol. VIII, pp. 75 and 93-4.

necessary for the smooth working of that part of the administrative machinery.

On Repeal of Act 2 of 1907

8. However acceptable the measure may be in comparison with the Asiatic Act of 1907, as has already been submitted to the local Government, the community represented by the petitioning Association is unable to accept the benefits of the measure until Act 2 of 1907 is removed from the Statute-book, and the status of educated Asiatics properly and equitably defined. In the humble opinion of the petitioning Association, repeal of the Act is necessary, if only for the honour of the Government.

Promise of Repeal

9. It is respectfully contended that the Hon'ble the Colonial Secretary had definitely promised repeal on condition that the Asiatic part of the compromise was carried out by the Asiatic communities. It is admitted that the Asiatics have more than fulfilled their obligation under the compromise.

10. But it has been argued that Justice Solomon, in the course of his judgement[1] on the application for the return of a voluntary registration application, stated that promise of repeal was not proved, and that, therefore, it was not given. The petitioning Association venture to draw the attention of His Majesty's Government to the fact that the question of repeal was not before the Court and the decision did not turn upon that question at all. It was definitely stated before the Court that all the evidence in the possession of the applicant with reference to the repeal was not brought before the Court. Sufficient was stated on that subject in the affidavits[2] supporting the application, in order to provide a moral basis, the applicant intending to show that his desire to withdraw his application for voluntary registration was not based on caprice but on what he believed to be a breach of faith by the local Government.

11. That repeal of the Act was the goal of the signatories to the letter[3] addressed to the Colonial Secretary, and dated the 29th January, can be inferred from the letter itself, [a] portion of which reads as follows :

> Under these circumstances, we would once more respectfully suggest to the Government that all Asiatics over the age of 16 should be allowed within a certain limited period, say three months, to register themselves, and that to all who so register *the Act be not applied.*

[1] *Vide* Vol. VIII, pp. 347-8, footnote 4.
[2] ibid., pp. 313-6.
[3] ibid., pp. 40-2.

The original draft placed before the signatories had the expression "the penalties of" before the words "the Act". This was struck out, the idea being that, if the Act did not apply to all who voluntarily registered, and if all Asiatics voluntarily registered, there would be no occasion to retain the Act on the Statute-book, the necessary provision for separating authorized Asiatic residents from unauthorized residents being taken over in any legalizing Bill that might be passed.

12. This, however, was not all. The second signatory hereto, who was also one of the signatories to the letter in question, was summoned to Pretoria, and had an interview with the Hon'ble the Colonial Secretary and at that interview he was given to understand that, if the Asiatics honourably fulfilled their obligation, the Act would be repealed.[1] This was on the 30th January. On discussion with the Registrar of Asiatics which took place after the interview with the Colonial Secretary, the second signatory's suspicion was aroused as to the Asiatic Act being repealed. He, therefore, addressed to the Colonial Secretary, on the 1st February last, a letter showing his suspicion.[2]

On the 3rd February, upon receipt of a telegraphic message asking him to wait on the Colonial Secretary, he did so, and, in the presence of the Registrar of Asiatics, as he has already stated in his affidavit before the Supreme Court, the Colonial Secretary made the promise of repeal; and, within the knowledge of the first signatory to this petition, this promise was brought to the notice of vast audiences of British Indians, at several meetings just after the interviews hereinbefore referred to.

13. On the 5th day of February last, the Colonial Secretary spoke as follows at a meeting at Richmond: "He had told them that the law could not be repealed so long as there was an Asiatic in the country who had not registered." And again, "Until every Indian in the country had registered, the law would not be repealed." The above extract has been taken from *The Star* of the 6th February last. The same remark was also reported in *The Transvaal Leader* of the same date.

14. On his way to the Registration Office, on the 10th day of February last, the second signatory hereto was very severely assaulted, because he was going to give his digit-impressions. For the time being, registration came practically to a standstill. The Asiatics were frightened; they were suspicious as to the intentions of the Government, and their suspicions were strengthened by reason of receipts for the few applications that were made having been given on old forms, which had reference to the Asiatic Law Amendment Act, No. 2 of 1907. In order to allay such suspicions, the Registrar declared to several prominent

[1] *Vide* Vol. VIII, pp. 44 and 46-7.
[2] ibid., pp. 49-51.

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Asiatics, as also to the Assistant Hon. Secretary[1] of the British Indian Association, who is also an Attorney of the Supreme Court of the Transvaal, that, voluntary registration being completed, the Act would be repealed. In order further to popularize voluntary registration, the Registrar of Asiatics was willing to publish a notice in the *Gazette* that, Asiatics undergoing voluntary registration, the Act would be repealed. This notice was brought before the second signatory hereto by the Registrar, whilst he was still in bed, and, after some amendments, it was agreed between the Registrar and him that the notice should be published in the *Gazette*. In the meanwhile, the verbal assurances given by the Registrar had their desired effect, and registration was going on smoothly. The Registrar, therefore, on again visiting the second signatory hereto inquired whether it was still necessary to publish the notice, and the second signatory, on learning that registration was going on smoothly, replied in the negative.

15. On the 22nd day of February, the second signatory hereto submitted, for the Colonial Secretary's approval, and with his permission, a draft Bill[2], amending the Immigrants' Restriction Act and repealing the Asiatic Act. This letter was duly acknowledged, but there was no repudiation of the reference to repeal of that Act.

16. Lastly, whilst the Colonial Secretary has stated, in his affidavit[3] before the Supreme Court, that he never promised repeal of the Act, and whilst the Registrar of Asiatics had supported that affidavit[4], the Colonial Secretary does not, as will appear from his speech on the second reading of the Bill, seriously repudiate the promise, and, at any rate, admits having freely discussed with the second signatory hereto the question of repeal.

17. Several statements made by British Indians, to whom the assurance as to repeal was given by the Registrar of Asiatics, are attached hereto.[5]

18. Moreover, the petitioning Association draw the attention of His Majesty's Government to the fact that a repealing Bill was actually drawn [up] and ordered to be printed for private circulation by the Colonial Secretary, and was shown to the second signatory, and was only withdrawn, because the second signatory hereto requested that certain amendments should be made therein, all of which, with some modifications, have now been embodied in the Act under discussion, with the exception of that affecting the status of educated Asiatics.

[1] H. S. L. Polak
[2] *Vide* Vol. VIII, pp. 103-4.
[3] & [4] ibid., Appendix VII.
[5] *Vide* Appendix IV.

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Retention of Act Unnecessary

19. Apart, however, from the promise made by the Colonial Secretary, the retention of two parallel enactments dealing with the same matter cannot but lead to harassing and unfortunate results. It has been stated that the intention of the Government is to treat Act 2 of 1907 as a dead letter. But it is impossible for the community represented by the petitioning Association to remain in a state of uncertainty after a prolonged and bitter struggle. The powers given by the two measures may, in the hands of ignorant, incapable, or prejudiced officials, be used against British Indians with deadly results.

20. The petitioning Association may be permitted to remark that the later measure in no way neutralizes the effect of Act 2 of 1907. Either may, at the option of the Government, be used against the Asiatic communities. Similarly, it is open to Asiatics to take advantage, if there be any, of either enactment.

21. For instance, whilst, under the new measure, Turkish Mahomedans are free from the irksome process of registration, a Turkish Mahomedan entering the Transvaal may be dealt with under Act 2 of 1907. One of the main objections, therefore, of the British Indian community still remains without redress. The remarks made by the Colonial Secretary that

> they (the Asiatics) put the difficulties in this way—that, under Act 2 of 1907, the definition given of *Asiatic* in the old Volksraad Act No. 3, 1885, was maintained, and in that definition Turkish Mahomedans, subjects of the Turkish Empire, were excluded from this country. It was urged that that was not a provision intended to keep Turks out of the country, but was simply casting a slur and a stigma on the Mahomedan religion, which no white person or the Government has the slightest intention of doing. The number of Turks here has always been small, and I am told that there are none now, and in any case there is no danger of any influx from Turkey to this country. The only kind of Turkish subjects who do come here are Christians, and they are Syrians and other Levantines, against whom certain hon. members have strong objection. But they are Christians, and Mahomedan subjects of the Turkish Empire have never threatened, and are never likely to threaten, to invade this country. That objection, which was based on sentimental grounds, and which there was no difficulty on material grounds in meeting, we have met, and hon. members will see that the Bill now before the House strikes out that restriction which was placed against the immigration of a man simply because he was a Mahomedan subject of the Turkish Empire

are wide of the mark.

22. Again, whilst the Act under discussion frees minors from personal registration, Act 2 of 1907 can conceivably be used against such minors, and can give rise to endless trouble.

23. The offensive liquor clause finds no place in the new measure, but it is open to an Asiatic to apply for a permit of exemption under the old Act. It will, perhaps, be said that this is manifestly an advantage. But, in the humble opinion of the petitioning Association, the implied insult still disfigures the Statute-book of the Colony.[1]

24. It would be open to the Government to deal with an unregistered Asiatic under either Act, and thus subject such an Asiatic to pinpricks at every turn.

25. The retention of the old Act opens the way for frauds by unscrupulous Asiatics. Whilst the new Act provides for application for registration being made from a place in South Africa outside the Colony, there is nothing to prevent an Asiatic from entering the Colony and claiming to remain in it for seven days, under the Act, and, during that time, merging into the community beyond recognition.

26. Illustrations like the foregoing can be multiplied. But the above, it is trusted, will sufficiently show how precarious the position of British Indians will be rendered, if the old enactment be allowed to remain on the Statute-book of the Colony.

27. Even whilst the new Act is under consideration by His Majesty's Government, the local Government have commenced prosecutions against those who are covered and protected by it. Thus, a British Indian[2] possessing good educational qualifications and, therefore, easily recognizable, and moreover, possessing a Peace Preservation Ordinance permit and a certificate voluntarily taken out under Lord Milner's advice,[3] was arrested, after the passing of the new measure, and tried under the old Act, for being an unregistered Asiatic. The Magistrate, although he expressed surprise, had no option but to give him notice to quit the Colony within seven days. Thus, it is possible to denude the Colony of many lawfully resident Asiatics by prosecuting them under the old Act, although they are protected by the new Act.

28. Another Indian, well known to the authorities, a merchant of Piet Retief, holding residential certificates, has just been tried under the old Act, and sentenced to pay a fine or go to gaol for 14 days without hard labour, not because he is not entitled to reside in the Colony, but because he has refused to give his thumb-impression. During his trial, the principal witness for the Crown admitted that he knew the merchant to be a resident of the Transvaal, and the solicitor who had accompanied him when he obtained his permit also gave evidence to identify him. Mr. Ebrahim Osman (that is the merchant's

[1] *Vide* Vol. VI, p. 118.
[2] This was Muljibhai G. Patel; *vide* Vol. VIII, pp. 421-2.
[3] *Vide* Vol. III, pp. 367-8.

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name), rather than pay a fine which he deemed to be an extortion, has elected to suffer imprisonment, and is now serving his term at His Majesty's gaol at Volksrust.[1] Mr. Ebrahim Osman can read and write English and can give a well-formed signature in the Roman character[s].

29. Under the circumstances, the petitioning Association trust that His Majesty's Government will secure repeal of the old Act before sanctioning the new Act.

Status of Educated Indians

30. If the old Act were removed from the Statute-book, it would seem that there would be no hindrance to educated Asiatics being placed on the same footing as His Majesty's other subjects, so far as immigration is concerned.

31. The Immigrants' Restriction Act 15 of 1907 imposes a general education test, and, under it, any Asiatic who can pass the education test is not otherwise prohibited and may enter the Colony. He then becomes subject to registration under the Asiatic Act, and, if he fails to comply with it, he becomes an unregistered Asiatic, though not yet a prohibited immigrant. Thus, Mr. Sorabji Shapurji entered the Colony under the Immigrants' Restriction Act. He was allowed to pass through unchallenged. After seven days' residence in the Colony, he was prosecuted for being unregistered under Act 2 of 1907.[2] Mr. Sorabji had applied for voluntary registration. That was refused. He was not prepared to submit to Act 2 of 1907. He held excellent testimonials from the Town Clerk of Charlestown and other prominent officials of that town. The Magistrate at Volksrust had recommended his application. He is educated up to the seventh standard of the Surat High School, and has often acted as Interpreter at the Court at Charlestown. On being tried under the Asiatic Act, he received notice to quit the Colony.[3] This notice he, as a British subject, declined to comply with. He was thereupon prosecuted, and sentenced to imprisonment with hard labour for one month, without the option of a fine.[4] Mr. Sorabji served his term, and, on the last day of his imprisonment, was secretly deported.

32. The petitioning Association venture respectfully to submit that such method of dealing with inoffensive British subjects in a British Colony is without precedent.

33. Mr. Sorabji's case shows that the Immigrants' Restriction Act does not create a colour bar. The above view seems to be borne

[1] *Vide* "Johannesburg Letter", p. 5.
[2] *Vide* Vol. VIII, pp. 345-7.
[3] ibid., pp. 354-8.
[4] ibid., pp. 376-7.

out by the case of *Rex* v. *Lalloo* heard in the Supreme Court of the Transvaal on the 22nd July last.[1]

34. It is the Asiatic Act, which is ostensibly only intended to identify those who could not otherwise be easily identified, that stands in the way of educated Indians.

35. The petitioning Association respectfully claim that as in the other Colonies, educated Asiatics should have the right of free entry, subject only to a general education test applicable to all. It would be unreasonable and highly insulting and degrading to expect such Asiatics to undergo processes of identification and carry certificates for which there can never be the slightest necessity.

36. The petitioning Association invite the attention of His Majesty's Government to the fact that foreigners, if they are Europeans, and the natives of South Africa, provided they pass the education test, can enter the Transvaal. Educated British Indians are, therefore, placed lower than either of the two classes above named.

37. It is right that the Malays, who are inhabitants of South Africa, should be free to enter the Transvaal, but the petitioning Association fail to see why Indians born in South Africa should not be placed in the same category. There are many Indian youths to whom South Africa is their only home, and India a foreign land.

38. It has been stated that the keeping of the door open for the entry of educated Indians would flood the Colony with "half-educated Indian lads", who would compete with the general body of the Europeans in the Colony. The petitioning Association have never raised any such contention. The severity of the education test will not be questioned. It is the class and colour distinction in the laws even with regard to educated Indians that is respectfully resented. Natal admits very few Indians per year under the education test.

39. What the petitioning Association desire is that educated Indians of high culture, professional men, men with University degrees, should be able to enter the Colony as of right. Such men are naturally required for the wants of the resident community.

40. Further, it has been suggested that relief for educated Indians is obtainable under Section 16 of the new Act, as it is under the old Act. But such is not the case. That section contemplates only a temporary permit and does not enable the holder to follow any independent calling. That section, the petitioning Association understand, is intended to provide for the temporary sojourn in the Colony of Asiatics, whether they are educated or not, and contemplated the giving of facility to merchants to import, under temporary permits, clerks and other employees for their wants.

[1] *Vide* Vol. VIII, pp. 396-7.

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41. The relief sought by the petitioning Association is different in kind. Educated Indians who can pass a test, no matter how severe, should come under the general immigration law, and should not be subjected to registration, etc.

42. If the educated Indians who are already in the Colony have submitted to registration, they have done so only to set an example and assist the Government, and to free those few who may be allowed to enter the Colony from galling and needless restrictions on their personal freedom.

43. It may be remarked that the immigration of Asiatics was free before the war. After the conclusion of peace, it was generally controlled under the Peace Preservation Ordinance. The Asiatic Act of 1907 did not regulate immigration of Asiatics but it provided for the registration of Asiatics already domiciled in the Colony. It was still open to Asiatics to receive permits the same as Europeans under the Peace Preservation Ordinance, and, as a matter of fact, several did receive such permits. Then followed the Immigrants' Restriction Act[1], which replaced the Peace Preservation Ordinance, and laid down a general education test for newcomers. Thus, but for the Asiatic Act, there never has been a legal interruption of the entry of educated Asiatics into the Colony. It is, therefore, not true, as has been locally stated, that British Indians are raising any new contention. The question was first raised by the Hon'ble the Colonial Secretary when, in his repealing Bill, hereinbefore referred to, he wished so to amend the Immigrants' Restriction Act as to prohibit the immigration of all educated Asiatics.

Passive Resistance

44. The petitioning Association feel aggrieved that His Majesty's Government were pleased not to listen to the prayer of the Association and the Deputation that was sent to London in 1906[2] and that Act 2 of 1907 was sanctioned.

45. The petitioning Association draw the attention of His Majesty's Government to the fact that the Deputation placed before them the fourth Resolution of the Mass Meeting of British Indians held at the Empire Theatre in the September of 1906.[3] The resolution runs as follows :

> In the event of the Legislative Council, the local Government, and the Imperial authorities rejecting the humble prayer of the British Indian community of the Transvaal in connection with the Draft Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance, this Mass Meeting of British Indians here assembled solemnly and regretfully

[1] For text of the Act, *vide* Vol. VII, Appendix III.
[2] *Vide* Vol. VI, pp. 113-26.
[3] *Vide* Vol. V, p. 423.

> resolves that, rather than submit to the galling, tyrannous, and un-British requirements laid down in the above Draft Ordinance, every British Indian in the Transvaal shall submit himself to imprisonment and shall continue so to do until it shall please His Most Gracious Majesty the King-Emperor to grant relief.

46. The Resolution evidently carried very little weight with His Majesty's Government. But what has happened since has demonstrated the earnestness of the meeting.

47. The following passage occurs in a general petition[1] presented to the local Government in 1907:

> Nothing short of total repeal of the Act can meet the difficult situation that has arisen. In our humble opinion, the Act is degrading to our self-respect, offensive to our religions, and in its incidence it is such as can be thought of only in connection with dangerous criminals. Moreover, the solemn declaration made by us renders it imperative for us, as honest citizens of the Empire and God-fearing men, not to submit to the provisions of the Act, irrespective of any consequences which we may have to suffer, and which we understand to be imprisonment, banishment, and/or loss or confiscation of our property.

48. In order to secure the object, over 350 Indians have suffered imprisonment. Several have allowed their goods to be sold. Some have accepted dismissal from Government or private employ, rather than stifle the voice of conscience. And almost all have suffered much pecuniary loss, some having been actually reduced to poverty.

49. The petitioning Association have chosen this method of drawing attention to the grievous wrong suffered by them as being the method most consistent with their status as British subjects, and with their self-respect as men.

50. The movement has been described as passive resistance for want of a better term. But it amounts to respectful protest against legislation which British Indians resent, and in framing which they had no voice.

51. It is respectfully submitted that there can be no notion of resistance, as the word is ordinarily understood, in a body of men undergoing personal suffering.

52. The petitioning Association have learnt from experience that, within the British Empire, at any rate, subjects of the King-Emperor get real redress of grievances only when they show that they are ready and willing to suffer for the sake of obtaining relief.

53. British Indians have been taught from their childhood that, in the eye of the law, under the British Constitution, all subjects are equal. When, however, they dare to claim such equality in the Colony, they are jeered at or considered impudent.

[1] *Vide* Vol. VII, p. 235.

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54. British Indians have no franchise and, in the present state of public feeling, they desire none. The only remedy left to them, therefore, is to petition the rulers and, as a measure of their earnestness, be prepared to suffer for their opinions.

55. So far as the petitioning Association have been able to ascertain the Indian feeling, the determination of the great majority of them is humbly to continue to suffer and refuse to accept the benefits under the new Act, until elementary justice requested by the Indians has been granted.

Conclusion

56. In conclusion, the petitioning Association respectfully submit and pray that, if His Majesty's Government cannot secure justice for British Indians residing in the Colony by securing repeal of Act 2 of 1907 and by having the status of educated Indians established, in consonance with the principles of the British Constitution, the terms of the gracious Proclamation of 1858[1] may be withdrawn, and they may be told that, for them, the expression "British subject" is to bear a meaning different to what it possesses for Europeans. And for this act, etc., etc.

Essop Ismail Mia
Chairman,
British Indian Association
M. K. Gandhi
Secretary,
British Indian Association

Colonial Office Records: 291/128

8. CABLE TO S. A. B. I. COMMITTEE[2]

Johannesburg,
September 9, 1908

FIFTEEN DEPORTED BRITISH INDIANS ON RE-ENTERING WERE HEAVILY SENTENCED. DAWAD, RUSTOMJEE, ANGLIA, RANDERIA, THREE MONTHS HARD LABOUR, ALTERNATIVELY £50. OTHERS SIX WEEKS HARD LABOUR OR £25. ALL CLAIM RIGHT TO ENTER TRANSVAAL AS EITHER PRE-WAR RESIDENTS OR EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATIONS. PRISONERS INCLUDE THREE SERGEANTS RECENT ZULU CAMPAIGN, SEVEN MAHOMEDANS, TWO PARSEES, SIX HINDUS. PROFOUND

[1] The original has "1857".

[2] Copies of this cable and another of the same date from the Gujarat Indian Association, Kimberley, were forwarded by L. W. Ritch to the Secretary of State for the Colonies on September 10.

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SENSATION. SINCE RENEWAL OF STRUGGLE 175 IMPRISONED ALL CLASSES FROM ALL PARTS. SUCH EXTREME SUFFERING ALL ON ACCOUNT OF RETAINING ON THE STATUTE-BOOK A LAW WHICH THE GOVERNMENT DECLARED DEAD LETTER AND PROHIBITION AGAINST RE-ENTRY OF FEW HIGHLY EDUCATED INDIANS TOTALLY NEEDLESS AND UN-BRITISH. HOPE THAT LORD AMPTHILL AND OTHERS WILL DO UTMOST TO SECURE RELIEF. INDIANS SHOULD NOT BE ALLOWED TO DESPAIR OF SIMPLE JUSTICE.

[M. K. GANDHI]

Colonial Office Records: 291/132

9. *INTERVIEW TO "THE STAR"*

[JOHANNESBURG,]
September 9, 1908

The sentence of three months' hard labour passed by the Volksrust Magistrate yesterday on the Indians who were deported and who re-entered the Colony has, according to the Indian method of reasoning, considerably helped their cause, and it is apparent that they hope that such incidents in the campaign will force the Imperial Government to intervene on their behalf. There was quite a feeling of optimism pervading Mr. Gandhi's office today when a reporter of *The Star* called on him. The leader of the passive resistance movement said:

While it is true that we Indians have got what we asked for, it does not reflect any credit on the Government, which makes it almost imperative on the courts to impose such heavy sentences on men who, after all, are political opponents. I consider this to be a wicked abuse of power placed in the hands of the Government over an unrepresented class. I think that these sentences mean the end of the deportation farce, but if the farce is to be continued, and if I know the temper of my countrymen correctly, they will certainly continue to re-enter and demand their rights as British subjects. When I talk of equality of treatment in the eye of the law the idea is jeered at, but I am in good company, as Col. Seely himself has advanced the same plea.[1] To my mind, it is the only thing that binds the Empire together. Immediately the idea of legal inequality is introduced, you sap the foundation of the Empire. By this idea I do not mean that the Colonies should not have the right

[1] Col. John Edward Bernard Seely, Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, had spoken in the House of Commons on July 31 to the effect that: (i) if persons were admitted, they must be given civil rights; (ii) if anyone was admitted under the British flag, he must be a potential citizen and must, sooner or later, be given equal rights with all other men; (iii) those we have with us we must treat well, generously and fairly. *Vide India*, 7-8-1908.

to restrict immigration. The late Sir Henry Parke's remarks cannot be questioned, but once you admit people into the Colony, they must enjoy equality of treatment before the law. Otherwise, as Mr. Duncan has only recently stated, you create a state of slavery, the result being that the slave-owners, that is the governing class, must in the end be much worse off than the slaves.[1] History does not show an instance of people having become a free nation and yet remaining slave-owners. If we are not to be treated as slaves, then we want men whose presence would conduce to our free growth. These men are undoubtedly those who have culture and education, and it is for an infinitesimal number of this class that we are pleading for free ingress.

Asked if the principle were conceded, would the Indians be prepared to submit to a severe education test, Mr. Gandhi said:

If the test in the present Immigrants' Restriction Law does not admit of a proper stiff test being laid down, which I deny, it can be amended, even as it has been in Australia. Under the Immigrants' Restriction Act there will then be legal equality, but in administering that Act it will be open to the officials to alter the severity of the test as circumstances may require. For instance, in Natal today Europeans are almost passed unchallenged, while Indians are subjected to a rigorous test. That administrative difference must continue so long as the prejudice continues.

On it being pointed out that Mr. Gandhi's statement did not advance the situation, he replied that he took his stand on Lord Milner's Kimberley speech[2],

Let there be no more pinpricks for the Uitlander,

and, added Mr. Gandhi:

We are now the Uitlanders, strangers in our own home.

The Star, 9-9-1908

10. SPEECH AT MASS MEETING[3]

[JOHANNESBURG,
September 10, 1908]

Mr. Gandhi in the course of a brief address referred to a telegram from the Volksrust Indians in support of the meeting. The information in this telegram was

[1] Patrick Duncan, speaking at the Rosebank Branch of the League of Women, said: "It was a very difficult matter in a country where there was supposed to be political freedom to have the largest section of the population entirely deprived of political rights—it was practically a condition of slavery. . . . It was bad for the superior race just as much as for the inferior."

[2] *Vide* Vol. IV, p. 381.

[3] The meeting attended by several hundred Indians was held under the auspices of the British Indian Association to express sympathy with the Indian satyagrahis. Essop Ismail Mia presided.

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that their leaders were breaking stones in the public streets and refusing to eat the raw meat supplied to them as prison food. He (Mr. Gandhi) considered that what seemed degrading work was really an honour. (Applause.) The reason for their suffering made him proud of his countrymen. It was a disgrace, however, that their Government should act thus—it reflected no credit on the local or the British or the Indian Government which found no power to protect the people that had left its borders. Further, a telegram from Boksburg announced that a pedlar had been sentenced to six weeks' hard labour for trading without a licence. Six weeks would be the minimum sentence in future. Mr. Sorabjee had said that he was willing to suffer twelve months' hard labour, but it depended on the firm attitude of those who remained outside how long the time would be for those inside. (Applause.)

Indian Opinion, 19-9-1908

11. *RESOLUTIONS AT MASS MEETING*[1]

[JOHANNESBURG,
September 10, 1908]

[RESOLUTION III:][2] This Meeting of British Indians places on record its deep sense of the valuable services rendered by Mr. Essop Mia, who has held the position of Chairman of the British Indian Association at a time of the greatest crisis among British Indians residing in this Colony, and who has now resigned his position by reason of his projected pilgrimage to the Holy City of Mecca; and prays to the Almighty that the proposed pilgrimage may be successfully accomplished, and that he may return to work among and for his countrymen, as early as possible.

[RESOLUTION IV:][3] This Meeting endorses the action of the Committee of the Association in appointing Mr. Ahmed Mahomed Cachalia to be President of the British Indian Association; and congratulates Mr. Cachalia on the unique honour conferred upon him and the confidence reposed in his ability to steer the community through the storm which is raging around it.

Indian Opinion, 19-9-1908

[1] Of the five resolutions moved at the Mass Meeting of September 10, resolutions 3 and 4 were seconded by Gandhiji, and were presumably drafted by him. For the first, second and fifth resolutions, *vide* Appendix V.

[2] This was proposed by M.P. Fancy, seconded by G.P. Vyas, and supported by Amod Moosajee, A.E. Aswat and Gandhiji.

[3] This was proposed by Ebrahim Coovadia, seconded by Imam Abdul Kadir Bawazeer, and supported by N.V. Shah and Gandhiji.

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12. TRIAL OF RANDAREE[1]

[JOHANNESBURG,
Before *September 12, 1908*]

In B Court today before Mr. H.H. Jordan, an Indian named Randaree was charged with remaining in the Colony after the expiry of his temporary permit to stay, and after being warned to leave by the authorities.

He pleaded not guilty, and was defended by Mr. Gandhi.

Superintendent J.G. Vernon said that on August 15 he called upon the accused to produce his authority for remaining in the Transvaal after being warned by the Registrar of Asiatics to quit. He replied that he had no authority, but had made a further application to remain. On instructions, witness arrested accused.

James Cody, in the office of the Registrar of Asiatics, Pretoria, said a temporary permit to reside in the Transvaal was granted by the Registrar of Asiatics on the 10th March last for three months. Accused applied for an extension on the 9th of June, and this was refused on the 24th July by letter.

THE MAGISTRATE: You allowed him to stay until then?

WITNESS: He gave certain reasons for wishing to stay. We investigated these reasons, and decided that the permit should be refused.

MR. GANDHI: Are you aware that the accused's father is in Johannesburg?

WITNESS: I cannot say for certain.

Randaree went into the box.

[GANDHIJI:] I understand that you intended to leave after the expiry of your permit and re-enter the Transvaal under the Immigration Restriction Act?

[ACCUSED:] Yes, but fortunately I happened to be arrested here.

The accused asked leave to make a short statement, but the Magistrate pointed out that he had a very able solicitor defending him.

[GANDHIJI:] It does not matter.

And the accused went back to the prisoner's box.

The Prosecutor said the position with regard to the accused was as if the Court had ordered him to leave the Colony within seven days and he had refused to do so.

The Magistrate sentenced the accused to one month's hard labour.

Indian Opinion, 12-9-1908

[1] This is based on a report in *Indian Opinion* reproduced from *The Star*.

13. *NATAL MEETINGS*

Mass meetings are being held in Natal. Also, resolutions are passed at these meetings. Petitions will be sent to the Government. This is all very well. It was necessary to adopt these measures. But Natal Indians must realize that petitions are useless unless backed by sanction. This is what one learns from experience everywhere.

And satyagraha is our sanction. For Natal, satyagraha means that every Indian should make up his mind to carry on trade without a licence. We know of course that the new Bills[1] will not go through. But it is necessary to have the old law[2]—the Act of 1897—repealed. If it is true that the Indian community has grown in strength, it must petition the Government to the following effect: "We propose to carry on trade without licences as long as the Act of 1897 does not provide for appeal [to the Supreme Court], as long as old licences are not protected and as long as the £3 poll-tax[3] on indentured labourers is not repealed."

This will serve two interests: one's own as well as those of others. One's own because there will be an end to the harassment over licences. Others' interests in that the poll-tax on the long-suffering indentured labourers will disappear, and they will be sincerely grateful. A pledge by the Indian community that it will not sit back until the hardships of the indentured labourers are ended, that it will suffer with them, will have a profound import. If the Indian community takes this pledge sincerely, it is as good as a kingdom won. It will mean *swarajya.*

Everyone will see that there is no alternative. But it may be asked whether concerted action will ever be possible, whether we can ever hope to win. It will be folly to ask this question. In any great venture, the number of those that take the lead is invariably small. At first the Prophet strove aided only by a handful; Jesus had a very small band of followers to begin with. Hampden[4] was alone in refusing to pay the ship-money. It did not even occur to him to consider whether or not others would follow him. The late Mr. Bradlaugh[5] awed an entire House of Commons into submission. The Grand Old Man of India—Dadabhai—was a lone figure fifty years ago. During the early years, he fought on with inexhaustible energy. Very few

[1] The Natal Licensing Bills; *vide* Vol. VIII, pp. 236-8.

[2] Dealers' Licenses Act, *vide* Vol. II, pp. 343-5.

[3] This was imposed on indentured Indians when they became free men.

[4] Gandhiji has often referred to Hampden as a model civil resister; *vide* Vol. V, p. 476.

[5] *Vide* Vol. VIII, p. 88, footnote 1.

joined him in showing up the defects of British rule in India. Today the people of India enjoy the fruit of his labours. Now others want to go even farther than he did.[1]

Natal Indians should call these examples to mind, and not cling meekly to the illusion that something can be achieved only if all of them act in unison. Rather, all traders and hawkers who can act with courage should take the pledge.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 12-9-1908

14. SMILES OR TEARS?

Mr. Dawad Mahomed, Mr. Parsee Rustomjee and Mr. Anglia—these three are serving a sentence of three months' hard labour for the sake of their motherland. There are also other Indians with them—all of them educated persons. What does this signify? If this had come to pass before January last, it would have raised a storm of indignation in the Indian community. It could just not have happened then. Times have changed since, and the thing has happened. Even so, the incident causes a painful wound.

It will make every Indian weep to think of the wives, children and relatives of these brave ones, or of their sufferings. It will make every Indian miserable. We send our sympathies to their families.

However, these fifteen heroes have gone to gaol for the country, for the sake of its honour. They went to gaol with a smile. This should make every Indian's face shine with joy. These men, their families as well as the Indian people, deserve congratulations on this heroism of theirs.

Let us not assume that the matter will end with tears and laughter. The duty of Indians who remain outside is becoming more difficult. It lies in our hands to bring about their early release. If people refuse to take out a licence, or to give a thumb-impression or any other mark of identification, if everyone remains courageous, they will be released very shortly, and no wonder. If that is not done, the Indian people will stand discredited. They will lose face. We hope that they will follow the example of these brave heroes and prepare for a determined effort.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 12-9-1908

[1] The reference appears to be to Tilak; *vide* Vol. VIII, pp. 418-9.

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15. SALUTE THE COURT

Sir Henry Bale has made some sharp remarks on saluting. He got the impression that a certain Indian who entered his court did not salute him as he came in. He therefore remarked that Indians, who were known to be a civilized people, should respect the dignity of the court. He added that Indians should show respect to the court by taking off their turbans or their shoes or by salaaming on entering the court-room. Those who failed to do any of these three things would invite punishment. Sir Henry addressed these remarks to all the Indians present and had them translated for their benefit. Every Indian must heed this warning. It will be a good practice anywhere to salute the court on entering it. Many Indians fail to do this through sheer carelessness. It is our duty to observe correct etiquette.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 12-9-1908

16. OUR HABIT OF SPEAKING UNTRUTH[1]

Sir Henry Bale's remarks in the Indian murder case deserve not to be brushed aside lightly. He observed that some Indians make many false statements in support of their plea.[2] This sometimes spoils a good case. This is often true. It will not be right for one to defend Indians by asking whether whites do not act similarly in support of their case. Of course, they do make false statements. But that is no reason why we should follow suit. Instead of worrying about winning or losing the case, we should resolve that we would speak nothing but the truth. The best way is not to have to knock at the doors of lawyers or courts. Why can we not ensure that civil or criminal cases involving Indians are not taken to court? All this should be possible through the satyagraha that we have adopted.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 12-9-1908

[1] *Vide* also Vol. IV, pp. 392-4.
[2] On the subject of tendering false evidence by Indians, *vide* Vol. VII, p. 11.

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17. PETITION TO SECRETARY OF STATE FOR COLONIES[1]

JOHANNESBURG,
September 14, 1908

[THE RIGHT HON'BLE THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES
LONDON]

THE PETITION OF THE UNDERSIGNED, REPRESENTING THE PATHANS AND THE PUNJABIS RESIDENT IN THE TRANSVAAL

HUMBLY SHEWETH THAT

1. The Petitioners respectfully approach His Majesty's Government with reference to the Asiatic Law Amendment Act, and the reply given to the Petitioners on the 26th day of March, 1908 in connection with their humble representation, as follows:

> I have the honour, by direction, to inform you that the Petition enclosed in your letter of the 13th January respecting the position of yourself and others under the Asiatic Registration Act has been received by the Secretary of State for the Colonies. Lord Elgin has requested His Excellency Lord Selborne to inform you that he has perused the Petition with attention but that, especially in view of the recent settlement of the difficulties in connection with registration under the Act, it does not now appear to him to be necessary to take any action with regard to it.

2. In the Petition, to which the above reply was sent, the Petitioners [had] prayed as follows:

> His Majesty's Indian soldiers cannot, consistent with the dignity of a soldier, degrade themselves by being compelled to register in such a manner, and, should His Majesty's Government be unable to obtain just treatment for the King-Emperor's Indian soldiers in the Transvaal, then they ask as men and British Indian soldiers, who are proud to have risked their lives in the cause of the Empire and have braved the privations of war, to be spared the degradation of imprisonment or deportation, and further wish that the King-Emperor will command that they be shot by Generals Botha and Smuts on one of the battle-fields of South Africa, where they have been under fire whilst serving their King-Emperor and the British Empire.

3. As recent events have shown, the settlement to which the reply has reference has fallen through, and the whole of the Indian community is now making representations to His Majesty's Government for repeal of the Act, which repeal all Indians were given to understand was part of the compromise.

[1] This was published under the caption "The Soldiers' Petition" and was presumably drafted by Gandhiji. *Vide* also Vol. VII, pp. 385-6.

4. It was because the whole of the Indian community represented by your Petitioners distrusted the compromise, and felt greatly agitated as to the uncertainty as to the repeal, and because the principle of registration by finger-prints was accepted by the leaders of the Indian community, that some of the members of the section represented by your Petitioners showed their resentment of the action by resorting to physical violence. Whilst such method of showing resentment cannot be approved by your Petitioners, the suspicion entertained by them was evidently well grounded.

5. The position of your Petitioners is briefly as follows:

(a) Your Petitioners consider the whole spirit of the Asiatic Law Amendment Act No. 2 of 1907 to be degrading to anybody coming under it, much more so for soldiers who have been privileged to wear His Majesty's uniform, and who have bled for their Sovereign.

(b) Your Petitioners are bound by a solemn oath:

(i) not to accept the above-mentioned Act, and to secure its repeal;

(ii) never to give their digit-impressions in connection with their identification, irrespective of what other members of the Indian community may choose to do.

6. Your Petitioners, in obedience to the advice given by the then Commissioner of Police and other high officials, and on being told that the Act was to be repealed, underwent voluntary registration merely for the sake of peace. Further than this your Petitioners are unable to go. They consider that, by showing an unmanly attitude and by accepting degradation in order that they might be able to live in the Colony, they would be extremely unsoldier-like.

7. Your Petitioners venture to submit that their uniform and their discharges should be a sufficient passport in any part of the British Empire, and should constitute their complete identification.

8. Your Petitioners do not understand legal subtleties and legal quibbles. They have not studied the Asiatic Act. They are helpless, except when they are called upon to fight for their Sovereign. They do not understand English, but what little they have been able to gather about the Asiatic Act is sufficient to make them condemn the measure.

9. Your Petitioners, therefore, humbly pray that, in consonance with the assurance given, the Asiatic Act be repealed, and that they be not called upon to submit to any degradation in the way of registration or otherwise. But, should His Majesty's Government be unable to secure such relief, they would repeat their prayer that they be shot by Generals Botha and Smuts on one of the battle-fields of South Africa, where they have been under fire, whilst serving their King-

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Emperor and the British Empire. And your Petitioners will ever pray, etc., etc.

JAMADAR NAWAB KHAN
NAKAB GOOL
MAHOMED SHAH
MIR ALLAM KHAN
NOORD ALI

Indian Opinion, 19-9-1908

18. TRIAL OF V. M. BAGAS AND OTHERS

[PRETORIA,
September 15, 1908]

Messrs Vally Mahomed Bagas, Ismail Juma, L. Vallabhdas, and Ismail Essopjee Adia appeared before Major Dixon at Pretoria, on the 15th instant, charged with a contravention of the Borough bye-laws in that they traded without a grocer's licence. Mr. Weavind prosecuted on behalf of the Municipality of Pretoria, and Messrs Gandhi and Lichtenstein defended.

Mr. Ismail Juma's case was first called. Mr. Gandhi took exception to the summons before pleading, that it disclosed no offence under Ordinance 58 of 1903, and that the Ordinance did not provide for the framing of a bye-law in regard to a general grocer's licence. The Magistrate overruled the objection. The plea was "not guilty". Mr. Thomas, the Licensing Officer, gave formal evidence as to the accused having carried on the business of a grocer. Mr. Gandhi did not call any evidence on behalf of the defence, stating that he rested his case on the legal objection raised. The accused was found guilty and fined 5s or three days' imprisonment with hard labour. Mr. Ismail Juma elected to go to gaol.

Mr. Vally Mahomed Bagas, who is Chairman of the Pretoria branch of the British Indian Association, was next tried. Mr. Bagas pleaded "not guilty". After evidence was given by Mr. Thomas, the Licensing Officer, Mr. Bagas gave evidence to the effect that he held a general dealer's licence for the whole year and that he had even tendered the fee for a grocer's licence, but it had been refused, as he had declined to give his thumb-impression. The Magistrate awarded the same penalty. There were two charges against Mr. Bagas in respect of two stores, the penalty in each case being the same. He, too, cheerfully went to gaol.

Messrs Ismail Adia and L. Vallabhdas were also similarly tried, punished, and went to gaol.

A Chinese trader was called, but he did not appear, and, as he was bailed out, his bail was estreated to the extent of £1.

Indian Opinion, 19-9-1908

19. *JOHANNESBURG LETTER*[1]

Essop Mia

Mr. Essop Mia has resigned, and a vote of thanks for his services was passed at the mass meeting.[2] The appreciation of his services will grow with time. He assumed the captainship of the Indians' ship at a critical juncture. It was to help in the implementation of the gaol resolution[3] that he accepted the chairmanship. No one then was in a position to say what the Indian community would do. Much appeared then to depend on the Chairman's courage. Mr. Essop Mia evinced the requisite courage for conducting the affairs. He curtailed his business last year in order to join battle against the Government. This year he suffered an assault.[4] He kept himself ever in readiness for gaol. He took to hawking, with two baskets hanging from his shoulders like a gold neck-wear or a garland of flowers. It is difficult adequately to realize how his action aroused the community's enthusiasm. Through his courage, Mr. Essop Mia has enabled the community to arrive at a stage where the fulfilment of its pledge has become certain. What now remains to be done is very important—something that the Indian community cannot afford to ignore and which calls for massive resistance.

But one cannot blame Mr. Essop Mia for leaving the ship at this critical moment. Thrice he put off his plans for a pilgrimage in order to attend to three great tasks—the mosque, the madrasah and the campaign against the Government. He has now the right to leave. If other Indian chairmen can do as much as Mr. Essop Mia, the community's success is assured.

Ahmed Mahomed Cachalia

Everyone hopes that Mr. Cachalia will prove Mr. Essop Mia's equal. He was not at all disposed to accept the chairmanship. The office has been thrust upon him, so to say. To me at least it appeared that everyone was agreed that no one but Mr. Cachalia should succeed Mr. Essop Mia.

Mr. Cachalia had been to gaol. I still seem to hear his words of July 31, 1907: "I will go to gaol," he had said, "Should they cut my throat for it, I will still not submit to the obnoxious law." He has been as good

[1] This despatch was begun on September 14 and completed on September 16.
[2] *Vide* "Resolutions at Mass Meeting", p. 32.
[3] Of September 1906; *vide* Vol. V, p. 423.
[4] On May 17; *vide* Vol. VIII, pp. 250, 256, 269 and 314.

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as his word. He has already been to gaol. He has always showed himself willing for work. He is extremely popular. He has unhesitatingly accepted financial ruin for himself. Mr. Cachalia is therefore assuming the chairmanship in propitious circumstances.

But the Indian ship is caught in a storm still at its fiercest. Nearer the coast, the storm poses a greater danger to the ship than in mid-ocean. Even if the voyage ahead is only a short one, the task is onerous. Maybe the sailors are tired. Columbus's mariners mutinied as he was about to reach America. But his courage rallied them, and he succeeded in discovering America. Similar is the case with the Indian ship. Though we are approaching our destination, the number of reefs is increasing. It requires a strong captain to steer the ship clear of these. I believe Mr. Cachalia will prove strong enough.

The chairman ought to be the best member of the community. For the community will be judged by his worth. Moreover, as chairman, he has to lead the satyagraha campaign and he must therefore remain truthful, repose trust in God and have courage till his dying moment. He must be prepared to sacrifice money, property and life in the service of the community and he must be entirely honest, fearless, pure, courteous and modest; these are the qualities which the chairman of the Indian community must have. Then alone can satyagraha blossom forth into perfect beauty and achieve success that will evoke the admiration of all the world.

I for one pray to *Khuda-Ishwar* to endow Mr. Cachalia with all these virtues, and I advise all Indians to offer the same prayer.

Same Old News

There has been news which I could not report earlier owing to heavy pressure of work. I mention here whatever I have been able to discover on looking into my papers.

Mr. Ismail Moosa Gin and Mr. Essop Amod of Kanam were fined in Heidelberg; if the fines were not paid, their goods were to be auctioned. Mr. Gin has paid the fine, Mr. Essop Amod has not. He has informed the Government that it may sell his goods if it so desires. His goods have not, however, been auctioned yet.

In Vereeniging, Mr. Ibrahim Ismail's goods as also those of Mr. Patel have been auctioned. Here again, a large quantity of goods was auctioned. Such is the confusion that prevails. At one place no one bothers much,[1] and at another goods are auctioned. It all sounds like the story of the crazy king and the city which he ruled so capriciously.[2]

[1] About implementing court orders

[2] The story goes that in the city of lawlessness, under an unwise king, everything had the same price, there being no discrimination in values.

KRUGERSDORP INDIANS

The Krugersdorp affair[1] is over. The trial took place on Friday. After the cases of Mr. Kazi and Mr. Pandor, the Public Prosecutor did not have the courage to proceed with the rest and therefore withdrew them. The cases of Mr. Kazi and Mr. Pandor took two hours. After hearing their depositions, the Magistrate remarked that the charge was without substance and accordingly found them "not guilty". Mr. Kazi deposed in English. The cases over, a meeting was held at Mr. Chhotabhai's, where Mr. Gandhi explained[2] the position regarding the campaign. An understanding has now been reached among all Indians. Mr. Dadlani entertained Mr. Gandhi at a luncheon. Twenty-five Indians were invited on the occasion.

KONKAN AND KANAM

On Thursday, as the mass meeting was drawing to a close, it was learnt that a skirmish was in progress outside, at which Mr. Polak rushed to the spot. Mr. Abdool Gani also left with him. They saw a fight going on with much cudgel-play and pelting of stones. Thanks to intervention by Mr. Polak, Mr. Gani and others, there were fewer injuries. Mr. Polak was about to be beaten up in the confusion that ensued. But two Parsee gentlemen, Mr. Sorabji and Mr. Nogama, interposed themselves so that they took the blows. Sorabji narrowly escaped being hurt in the eye, but was severely injured on the forehead. Two Konkanis were also seriously injured and two Kanamias sustained injuries. Mr. Polak received a slight injury on the wrist. It was a mere altercation among youth over a trifling matter which led to all this.

RECONCILIATION

A meeting of the leaders of the two communities was held at Hajee Habib's on Sunday with a view to reconciliation. Mr. Gandhi was asked to take the chair. Mr. Hajee Habib, the Moulvi Saheb, Mr. Cachalia, Mr. Abdool Gani, Mr. Bhaijee, Mr. Shahabuddin and others spoke on the occasion and the leaders of both the communities signed the following agreement.

DOCUMENT[3]

We, the leaders of the Konkani and Kanamia communities, express our regret in writing, with God as witness, at the quarrel that took place among some young men of the two communities, and tender

[1] *Vide* "Johannesburg Letter", pp. 14 and 17.

[2] No report of this speech is available.

[3] This document was signed by 12 persons and witnessed by eight others including Gandhiji.

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our apologies to, and seek to be forgiven by, one another. We bind ourselves to restrain the young men of our respective communities and hold ourselves responsible for them. We suggest that the young men report the matter to us if any of them is insulted rather than fight among themselves.

I attach great importance to this document. Since the leaders know their responsibilities, some good is bound to accrue to someone in the end. It behoves the young men to see that they do not bicker among themselves and thus honour their leaders' pledge. If the Pathans, Konkanis and Kanamias think themselves to be brave soldiers, their duty is to defend the Indian community and use their strength for that purpose. The leaders must remember that this document was signed with God as witness, so that they bear a heavy responsibility. The young must always remember not to enter into quarrels. I hope that when a Kanamia and a Konkani meet next, each will want to be the first to salute the other. When the meeting was over, Mr. Hajee Habib treated all of them to tea and biscuits and Mr. Osman Ahmed sang a few songs about the reconciliation.

Mass Meeting

A detailed report of the mass meeting is available elsewhere, but I shall only report the Abdool Gani episode[1] here. It has been proved that he did give the thumb-impression. He manifested his repentance by apologizing at the meeting. He said that he had not at all wanted to give his thumb-impression, but being in a hurry to get away, he had given it out of sheer nervousness. He promised not to repeat his mistake and to remain firm in his resistance while urging others to do likewise. In view of Mr. Abdool Gani's action, no one will now have anything more to say about the matter. I hope he will now take a leading part in carrying the campaign forward and thus serve the community.

Ali Essop

[He] was tried today. He was charged with being found without a register. Mr. Polak appeared in this case. Mr. Essop has received notice to leave the country within seven days.

Muljibhai Patel

As Mr. Patel was to be released on Friday, a number of men had gone to the gaol to receive him. But it soon became known that Mr. Patel was to be deported. He was taken from Jeppe station, and brought to Charlestown on Saturday. Many Indians were present at Germiston to see him. Mr. Patel is doing well and is full of

[1] *Vide* "Johannesburg Letter", p. 17.

courage. He will re-enter shortly. He is prepared for further privations that may be in store for him. The police treated him well.

Sorabji Shapurji

Acting with great courage, Mr. Sorabji Shapurji left Johannesburg today by the morning train for Volksrust to undergo the sentence of imprisonment. Even at the mass meeting he had declared that he was prepared for imprisonment, however long it might be. His only regret was that the Association had not permitted him to court arrest earlier than the Natal businessmen, though he should have been allowed to do this as of right. Mr. Cachalia, Mr. Aswat, Mr. Vyas, Mr. Polak, Mr. Jivanji, Mr. Naidoo, Mr. Gandhi and others were present to see him off.

Mr. Ebrahim Osman arrived here on Saturday. Mr. Cachalia and others went to receive him. He will be Mr. Cachalia's guest.

Natal Businessmen as Prisoners

Mr. Dawad Mahomed and the other leaders in gaol have surpassed all expectations. The Government wants to test them to the utmost. They are made to do hard work. They are brought out on the roads and made to break stones; they do this with zest. They say in a message that, until a settlement is reached, they will remain in gaol and put up with any suffering. I am not at all sorry that they have been given hard work to do. It is only when we suffer that we develop real worth. It is a soldier's duty to accept hardships. In any case that is the only lesson the soldier of satyagraha has to learn. He must constantly remind himself of it. If one is sincerely devoted to one's cause, one can enjoy even stone-breaking.

Rustomjee's Letter

After he was sentenced, Mr. Rustomjee sent the following letter :

> Four of us have been sentenced today to three months. We are glad of this. Please ask everyone to have courage. Let no one have fear. Please declare in the open meeting that, if our brethren want to show their appreciation of our sense of duty, they should endeavour to raise a large fund.

How to Ensure Early Release of [Natal] Businessmen

This question is on everyone's mind. The answer is easy.

(1) No one should utilize the licence [that he may already possess] to carry on trade.
(2) No one should take out a licence.
(3) Everyone should go to gaol when an opportunity presents itself.
(4) Those Natal Indians who, according to our belief, have the right [to settle in the Colony] should cross over.

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(5) Incoming Indians should in no case give their thumb-impressions.
(6) One should disregard the auctioning of one's goods.

Question of Prestige

I have noticed that some of those who enter the Transvaal to join the campaign are sensitive about how they are received. This is not the time to think much of one's status. Every Indian should put away his self-importance and come in as a servant of India. There is no time to arrange elaborate receptions. Those who are busy [with the cause] have no time to spare. When Sorabji [re-]entered the Colony, he certainly deserved to be shown every regard. But no one had the time for all that. Gaol-going has now become commonplace among us. If we are all servants [in the same cause], who is to honour whom? Such is our predicament today and well may it remain so for ever.

The homage we do to sincere and good men is in fact somewhat humiliating to the community as a whole—it only goes to show that there are so few of them that we shower honours on the ones that we have. Always a higher price is charged for a scarce commodity. If a time should come when the entire community is composed of good men, it would certainly be respected by the world at large, though it might not fete any of them in public. The British go crazy over a person who is strong. This may mean either of two things: they are either losing their true strength, or they admire sheer physical strength.

Duty, then, requires every Indian to be a good, truthful, patient and patriotic servant of his motherland. If this happens, there will be no cause for anyone to take offence. It will not even occur to anyone that he has not been treated with respect. One's worth consists entirely in one's spending one's days in doing good, content with whatever one may get at any given moment and whatever it pleases the Creator to bestow on one.

Tuesday [*September 15, 1908*]

Misunderstanding

Mr. Mahomed Khan's leaving Mr. Gandhi's office has been construed by some to mean that he has grown tired of honorary public work. This is not true. Mr. Mahomed Khan did offer his services free, and he need not have. An opportunity for earning a decent livelihood came his way, and he left on Mr. Gandhi's advice.[1] Mr. Dorasamy's offer of free work was accepted, for in any case he was not doing anything else. It is of course necessary for Indians to have an honest means of livelihood and make some money. Not everyone can give up his job

[1] *Vide* "Johannesburg Letter", p. 17.

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and become a volunteer. Mr. Dorasamy has other sources from which to meet his daily needs, and that is how he is in a position to help the Association.

Committee Meeting

A meeting of the Committee of the British Indian Association was held on Wednesday the 9th, when, in the absence of Mr. Essop Mia, Mr. Ibrahim Coovadia took the chair. Mr. Imam Abdool Kadir, Mr. Fancy, Mr. Karodia, Mr. Omarji, Mr. Latchhiram, Mr. V. G. Maharaj and others were present. Since Mr. Gandhi has all but closed down his office and Mr. Polak is engaged wholly in public work, it has been resolved that the Association should bear his [Polak's] expenses and pay the rent for the office from August onwards.[1] This will, for the time being, involve a further expenditure of £35 monthly which is exclusive of the expenditure on the typist, etc. Mr. Gandhi's own expenses are paid by Mr. Kallenbach. Mr. Gandhi also stays with him.

Ahmed Essop Dawad

Mr. Ahmed Essop Dawad was charged some months ago with hawking without a licence. He had left the Court [for a while] when his name was called out, with the result that the Magistrate cancelled his bail. Mr. Ahmed turned up later. But the Magistrate did not revise his order about the bail since he had no authority to do so. A petition was therefore submitted to the Attorney-General. It was ordered that the bail money be returned, and the case proceeded with. It was heard on Saturday (the 12th). But Mr. Cross dismissed the case on the ground that Mr. Ahmed had been hawking without having taken out a licence, whereas the charge against him was that he had failed to produce his licence on demand. The charge could not therefore be sustained. There is nothing remarkable about this case. The only fact to be noted is that Mr. Ahmed Dawad was anxious to be imprisoned. He tried, as we have shown above, to go to gaol, but did not succeed.

Pretoria Cases

The municipality has launched prosecutions against Mr. Vally Mahomed Bagas, Mr. Ismail Adia, Mr. Ismail Juma, Mr. Lalshah Vallabhdas *alias* Mangalbhai Patel and a Chinese for trading as grocers without licences. Their cases[2] are to be heard today. Mr. Gandhi has gone to Pretoria in connection with these cases. Many of them hold a general dealer's licence valid for the whole year. But the municipality insists on their taking out the grocer's licences in addition. Most

[1] Discussion on this was postponed at the previous meeting; *vide* "Johannesburg Letter", p. 16.

[2] *Vide* also the preceding item.

of them did have these licences for the preceding six-month period, but they did not renew them as they did not want to give their thumb-impressions. An objection will be raised in this case to the effect that the municipality has no right at all to insist on a grocer's licence; but it has the right to insist on a licence of a different kind. There is, however, no provision for this as yet in its bye-laws. If this argument is correct, the case must fail. Mr. Valli Mahomed has received two summonses as he owns two stores.

Wednesday [*September 16, 1908*]

The Pretoria Indians' case was heard in Major Dixon's Court. Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Lichtenstein were present [as defence counsel]. The above-mentioned argument was put forward. That set the Magistrate thinking, but he eventually ruled that the municipality did have the right to insist on a grocer's licence. Mr. Ismail Juma's case was then the first to be heard. The objection had softened the Magistrate's attitude. Also, the municipal advocate was not very competent. The Indians were not therefore called in for evidence. As a result, the Magistrate imposed a fine of 5s, or three days' hard labour. Mr. Ismail Juma readily accepted the sentence and went to gaol. Then the Court took up the two cases against Valli Mahomed. The judgement in these cases was the same as in the first. Then it was Mr. Adia's turn, and he was followed by Mr. Lalshah Vallabhdas *alias* Mangalbhai Patel. All of them were awarded the same sentence, and went to gaol smiling. They were in fact sentenced to only a day's imprisonment. They went [to gaol] on Tuesday at 4 p.m., so that that day need not be counted. They will be in gaol all Wednesday and will be released on Thursday morning.

Though these persons have welcomed gaol, it is being considered whether an appeal should not be preferred on the basis of the objection [raised by the defence counsel]. For something may come out of it. If it is held that grocer's licences have to be taken out, people can avoid taking them out for some time. If that is done, two purposes will have been served. People will have the advantage of going to gaol, and at the same time a technical excuse will have been provided by the law which can be exploited for a time. Mr. Valli Mahomed is the chairman in Pretoria. Though his term of imprisonment is a negligible one, a chairman going to gaol is no small matter. I congratulate Mr. Valli Mahomed and others in Pretoria on this.

The reader must have noted that it is for the second time that Mr. Ismail Juma has gone to gaol. And it was only recently that Mr. Adia was fined £1 and his goods were auctioned.

The only regret is that, while these persons went to gaol, there were other Indians who lost their nerve when the summonses were

served on them.[1] They were afraid that their goods might be auctioned and therefore hastened to take out licences by giving thumb-impressions. It is said that there were 20 such persons. It is incidents of this kind that prolong the struggle. If all the Indians were courageous, it would be possible for us to secure the release of the Natal businessmen within a few days. When, again, shops were closed in Pretoria [as a mark of respect] for them, there were a few who did not join. This is tantamount to selfishness and most reprehensible. When persons who are regarded as the pillars of the Indian community went to gaol, why is it that some Indians could not close their shops for a day? I must say that we have a great many things to learn yet.

In Krugersdorp, two Madrasi washermen, Mr. Sangaran and Mr. Aicut, were arrested for carrying on their occupation without licences. They were tried, and the Magistrate imposed a fine of £1 each or three days' imprisonment. They preferred gaol. No one appeared in their defence. They went to gaol on their own.

Ebrahim Osman

[He] has gone to Piet Retief where he owns a store, and expressed his readiness for arrest.

Natal Prisoners' Message

Mr. Polak met Mr. Dawad Mahomed and others [in gaol] on Tuesday. They are all doing well. Since they did not have gaol uniforms which would fit Mr. Dawad Mahomed and Mr. Rustomjee, new uniforms are being specially made for them. The rest are assigned work. All of them are in high spirits and full of courage. They have expressed the hope that all of us outside would strive hard.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 19-9-1908

20. INTERVIEW TO REUTER

Johannesburg,
September 16, 1908

Mr. Gandhi, interviewed by Reuter's representative today, said that the Indians were prepared to accept an immigration law which should provide for an education test in a European language, and they were prepared to leave the severity of the test to the discretion of General Smuts. But once an Indian entered the Colony, he must

[1] It is not clear from the original against whom these were issued.

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enjoy legal equality. This implies the repeal of 1907 Act. Mr. Gandhi said that the Indians denied that they were raising any fresh point in connection with education.

India, 25-9-1908

21. LETTER TO DIRECTOR OF PRISONS[1]

[JOHANNESBURG,]
September 17, 1908

THE DIRECTOR OF PRISONS
PRETORIA

SIR,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 667 of the 16th instant. My Association deeply regrets the fact that the point raised by it is still being missed.

My Association is aware, and admits, that, medically, mealie pap is a perfectly healthy diet, but the point raised by my Association is that it is not a diet suited to the habits of even poor-class Indians. Mealie pap is not the national diet of Indians. I have no doubt you are aware that, although it is medically suitable, bread is always added to mealie pap issued to European prisoners. Bread is certainly, from a medical standpoint, not more necessary for Europeans than for Indians. You are also aware that mealies are given to the Native prisoners for the midday meal. They are also, medically, a proper diet, and yet, with the knowledge that the Committee must have had at its disposal, mealies were replaced by rice for Indian prisoners in respect of the midday meal. The reason that actuated the Committee that framed the diet scale in prescribing rice instead of mealies for the midday meal for Indian prisoners is also the reason why my Association asks for a substitute for mealie pap for the morning meal.

If, hitherto, there has been no complaint made against the diet scale for Indian prisoners, the reason is that there have been very few Indian prisoners; but, on the present occasion, a complaint is justified, not only because the Transvaal prisons are crowded with Indians, but also because these Indians are not, strictly speaking, criminals, and belong, in the opinion of my Association, to the highest class among the Indian community in South Africa.

[1] This and two other letters dated September 18 and 25 addressed to the Director of Prisons along with two letters to the Colonial Secretary dated September 21 and 28 were published in *Indian Opinion* under the caption: "Should Indians be Starved into Submission? The Prison Dietary Again".

If the repeated representations of my Association have remained unheeded, the only conclusion the Indian community can come to is that the reasonable request of my Association is refused out of political considerations, and with a view to starve the Indian community into submission to an Act which is resented by it.

I venture to hope, therefore, that you will be pleased to remove any such suspicion by granting the relief requested.

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

Indian Opinion, 3-10-1908

22. *LETTER TO "THE STAR"*[1]

[JOHANNESBURG,]
September 17, 1908

TO
THE EDITOR
THE STAR

SIR,

You will perhaps allow me to state that your persistent misrepresentation of the Indian standpoint appears now to be wilful rather than unconscious. You state that I am "willing to accept any education test, however severe, provided it is applied impartially to Europeans and Asiatics". This is the exact reverse of what I have stated all along. My contention is that there should be a general education test in law, but that, in practice, it may be administered not impartially but differentially. The law gives the Minister full discretion, to be used by him as he chooses. If he does not possess the discretion, Indians

[1] This appeared in *Indian Opinion*, 26-9-1908, under the title "Mr. Gandhi's Reply". *The Star* had commented editorially as follows: "...we commend...this morning's *Times*....It finds that the weight of the evidence is on the side of the Colonial Secretary and that the root of the present trouble lies in the endeavour of Mr. Gandhi...to secure concessions...not contemplated by Mr. Smuts when he entered into the compact of last January....[Mr. Gandhi] is willing to accept any educational test, however severe, provided it is applied impartially to Europeans and Asiatics. But he insists that those admitted under the present or a new Immigration Restriction Act must be treated with absolute 'equality'. If we make the educational test very severe, we run the risk of excluding many Europeans...if we maintain the present standard and repeal the Asiatic Act of 1907, we throw open the portals to countless Asiatics...There is no room for compromise, especially [since] Mr. Gandhi scouts all idea of discriminatory legislation."

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are quite willing that the discretion be given.[1] This statement I have made before the public and to your representatives not once but very often. Nor, as you have stated in a previous leaderette, is there any question of a subterfuge. Administrative inequality must always exist so long as people who are not of the same grade live under the same flag. All I claim is that the law should be no respecter of persons, especially with regard to educated Indians. You cite the authority of *The Times*, but, if you will pardon me saying so, *The Times* merely trumpets what has been passed on to it by or on behalf of General Smuts. *The Times* is not, at present, in possession of the full facts of the case.

I emphatically deny that a new question is now being raised by my countrymen. The following briefly are the facts: Before the war, the immigration of Indians was free. After the conclusion of peace, immigration generally was regulated under the Peace Preservation Ordinance, under which new educated Asiatics were allowed to enter the country. The Asiatic Act of 1907 simply provided for registration of those who were entitled to reside in the country, but, according to the admission made by General Smuts, did not regulate immigration. The Immigrants' Restriction Act replaced the Peace Preservation Ordinance, and laid down a general education test. The Asiatic [Registration] Act was then dishonestly, without even mentioning it, brought in to defraud Indians of their just rights, under sub-section 4 of section 2; but, as Indians have never accepted the Asiatic Act and have always steadily, persistently, and amid untold suffering, demanded its repeal, how can they be charged with having brought in a new point?

It was General Smuts who, in complete breach of his promise when the time came for him to repeal the Act, offered repeal on four conditions[2], three of which he has, yielding to the force of passive resistance, and finding his administration of the law paralyzed, withdrawn. The fourth[3] he does not withdraw, and, until that is granted, in the estimation of British Indians and other Asiatics, he must stand guilty of the charge of dishonesty.

You and, I am sorry to say, the Progressive leaders, who profess to have Imperial interests at heart, and who profess to lead the party

[1] *The Star*, replying to this later, wrote: "We emphatically repudiate the charge that we have wilfully misrepresented either Mr. Gandhi or his compatriots. . . .Our reply to the foregoing is that no regulation or ministerial decree can override the express terms of an Act of Parliament. Laws are made to be enforced. If the Government....failed to enforce the provisions in this case,... it would be lending itself to a species of dishonesty unworthy of statesmen." To this Gandhiji sent a rejoinder; *vide* "Letter to *The Star*", pp. 54-5.

[2] *Vide* Vol. VIII, pp. 306-7 & 316-7.

[3] About the entry of educated Indians

of progress, are allied on the side of dishonesty. May I draw a parallel? With reference to the Vereeniging Treaty, General Botha interpreted the word "native" to include Asiatics. Lord Milner and Sir Richard Solomon repudiated it, but they accepted the interpretation that General Botha put upon it, and Asiatics are today debarred from the municipal franchise because of such interpretation.[1] General Botha, again, said that his people were promised immediate self-government by Lord Kitchener. In order that British honour might remain unstained, in this instance also his understanding of the promise was accepted by the Imperial Government. Is British honour or Colonial honour to be measured differently in connection with the repeal of the Asiatic Act and British Indians?

I am, etc.,
M. K. GANDHI

The Star, 17-9-1908

23. INTERVIEW TO "THE STAR"

[JOHANNESBURG,
September 17, 1908]

In the course of an interview, Mr. Gandhi told a representative of *The Star* that in deporting his son[2] [the authorities] had been harsh with him. He had been anxious to see his son the previous day. When he approached the official concerned for information about him, he told Mr. Gandhi that he had heard nothing till then, and promised to inform him the following morning as to what the authorities proposed to do [with his son]. When Mr. Gandhi presented himself at the gaol [the next day], he was informed that Mr. Harilal had been taken away [under escort] at seven o'clock.

Mr. Gandhi said that, if the Government had wanted him [Harilal Gandhi] to promise that there would be no demonstration, he would have done so as he had, indeed, several times in the past. Mr. Gandhi junior was in the train at Jeppe Station, but the carriage windows were shut. They were also kept shut at Germiston. People repeatedly remarked on this—which malicious onlookers found greatly interesting. Mr. Gandhi has telegraphed to his son to re-enter the Colony immediately.[3] He will receive the telegram at the border.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 19-9-1908

[1] *Vide* Vol. III, pp. 399-400.
[2] Harilal Gandhi was deported on September 17.
[3] He re-entered the Colony on September 19 and was remanded till September 21, when the case against him was withdrawn.

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24. LETTER TO DIRECTOR OF PRISONS

[JOHANNESBURG,]
September 18, 1908

THE DIRECTOR OF PRISONS
PRETORIA

SIR,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your telegram No. 456 in connection with the diet scale for Indian prisoners. My Association will be obliged if you will kindly let me have a copy of the authorized scale for short and long sentence Indian and other prisoners.

Further, I beg to draw your attention to the fact that I was myself in the Pretoria gaol in connection with the movement, and ghee was then allowed without any special request of the prisoners. I noticed, too, that ghee was allowed to Indian prisoners whom we found at the Pretoria gaol. The Johannesburg prisoners also state that they were allowed ghee from the very commencement, and that Indian prisoners who were already at the Johannesburg gaol when prosecutions under the Asiatic Act commenced were all allowed ghee. One of the prisoners states that he actually read the printed scale, which mentioned 4 oz. of rice and 1 oz. of ghee in place of crushed mealies and fat. My Association also states that [the] diet scale that was printed was so rigorously adhered to by the Gaol authorities at Johannesburg that the Chinese prisoners were given crushed mealies and fat, because they were not included in the rice scale that was fixed for Indian prisoners.[1] My Association will, therefore, be obliged if you will kindly inquire and authorize the necessary relief.

I once more draw your attention to the fact that no greater offence can be offered to a Mahomedan or a vegetarian Hindu than to introduce animal fat into his food. I beg, further, to add that even the prisoners who were discharged lately from the Johannesburg gaol informed my Association that they received 1 oz. of ghee with their ration of rice.

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

Indian Opinion, 3-10-1908

[1] *Vide* Vol. VIII, p. 154.

25. LETTER TO "THE STAR"[1]

JOHANNESBURG,
September 18, 1908

TO
THE EDITOR
THE STAR

SIR,

I am delighted that you emphatically repudiate my suggestion that you may have wilfully misrepresented me. Your repudiation fills me with hope that I may yet convince you of the justice of the Indian demand. I assume now that you would not mind an open door for highly educated Indians. If so, the question is not of "whether", but of "how".

You reject my solution to be "a species of dishonesty unworthy of statesmen". And yet it has been resorted to by statesmen all over the world. The Peace Preservation Ordinance gave absolute discretion to the Governor as to the issue of permits. White British subjects received them for the asking; other Europeans with little difficulty, but not with the same facility; British Indians after the greatest difficulty. The Governor went so far as to establish a separate department[2] for administering the same Ordinance for Indians. This was unfair, but not dishonest, because it was openly done. The Governor had the discretion and he chose to use it in this very partial manner, as he said, in the interests of the predominant race. Indians would not have cavilled at the differential administration, if the Department at one time had not been tainted with corruption and always most niggardly regarding the claims of *bona fide* refugees.

You have charged General Smuts with having used his discretion unfairly as to filling the vacancies in the Civil Service with Boers, but whether it is statesmanlike or not will depend upon results.

In Natal, the Immigration Officer has a discretion as to the education test. I will take my oath that Europeans as a rule are not even examined. Indians, as a rule, are examined and that, too, severely. A Mr. Abdulla Browne[3], an Irishman, was subjected to the test some years ago in Natal, because he wore the fez, whilst his other white fellow-passengers were not touched. Subsequently, the late Mr. Escombe and Mr. Browne

[1] This appeared in *Indian Opinion*, 26-9-1908, under the title "A Solution Possible".

[2] The Asiatic Office; this was closed down in 1903; *vide* Vol. IV, p. 15.

[3] Elected for third time as Mayor of Durban and Chief Magistrate of Borough in August 1904; *vide* Vol. IV, p. 238; originator of the idea of the Bazaar Notice which sought to confine Asiatic trade in Natal to Locations.

had a hearty laugh over it. Mr. Browne felt the ludicrous position, but did not consider the examination to be dishonest.

The same thing is, today, done at the Cape.

The fact is that legal inequality would be an insult to the race. Administrative difference would be a concession to prejudice, and Indian acceptance of it would be a graceful and, shall I say, statesmanlike recognition of such prejudice, as also of the fact that, if we want to live in this country, we must submit to the predominance of the European races.

In any case, if you agree that a handful of educated Asiatics may safely be allowed to enter without molestation, surely the combined wisdom of the Government and the Progressive Party cannot fail to find a solution that will be acceptable to both Europeans and Indians and end a situation which cannot be viewed with unconcern by any lover of the Empire.

I am, etc.,
M. K. GANDHI

The Star, 18-9-1908

26. MR. ESSOP MIA AND HIS SUCCESSOR

The mass meeting of the 10th instant held at Johannesburg was notable for the resignation of Mr. Essop Mia as Chairman of the British Indian Association.[1] Mr. Essop Mia took up the helm at a most critical time. A weak chairman would have meant utter ruination and disaster to the Indian community. Mr. Essop Mia proved strong and unshakable. He practically wound up his business last year to fight the powers of darkness represented by the local Government. He postponed for the third time his pilgrimage to Mecca. He lost his wife; but he would not withdraw his hand from the helm. The whole world knows that he suffered grievous bodily harm at the hands of a countryman for the cause of truth.[2] And, by the compromise of January last and by the introduction of the new Registration Act, he has shown what pluck and firm faith in one's cause can do. Mr. Essop Mia deserves the thanks of the Indians not only of the Transvaal but of South Africa. His mantle has fallen on worthy shoulders. Mr. Cachalia is a seasoned soldier in Indian ranks. He has suffered imprisonment for the cause. He has worked wholeheartedly and was always an able lieutenant to Mr. Essop Mia. By universal acknowledgement, he is the best man to succeed Mr. Mia. Let us hope that he will fulfil the expectations

[1] *Vide* "Resolutions at Mass Meeting", p. 32.
[2] *Vide* Vol. VIII, pp. 250 & 256.

of the community. His is a very difficult task. The Indian ship is still in troubled waters. And he will require all the energy, patience and calmness that may be in him, and all the support from the rank and file that he can command.

Indian Opinion, 19-9-1908

27. SITUATION IN NATAL

Natal Indians should act with due deliberation. Petitions and meetings will avail nothing. They must be backed up by sanctions.

The Newcastle licence case is noteworthy. As it served to show, municipalities are authorized to grant [only] certain kinds of licences.[1] Other [categories of] licences can be granted under the Act [18] of 1897.[2] But one can argue that this Act does not extend the powers of the municipalities. That is to say, they are limited. If this is true, there are certain advantages that we can derive from it.

Since this is the state of affairs, the Natal Government has drafted a new Bill which will, in consequence, nullify [the advantages] resulting from the Newcastle case. It is necessary staunchly to oppose this. The Natal Parliament will of course throw [any] petition [which we send] into the waste-paper basket. The Imperial Government will also not take any notice of it, which means that the time has arrived when, even if we win on the legal front, Parliament may neutralize our victory.[3]

There is only one way out of this: we must rely on our own strength and fight. That strength is the strength of satyagraha. Natal traders should trade without licences.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 19-9-1908

[1] Under Ordinance 3 of 1850
[2] Dealers' Licenses Act
[3] By enacting new laws

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28. LETTER TO THE PRESS[1]

JOHANNESBURG,
September 19, 1908

TO
THE EDITOR

SIR,

I beg to send you herewith, for publication, a communication addressed by me to the Director of Prisons. The British Indian Association has voluntarily undertaken to suffer, and to advise British Indians to suffer; but I do not know whether treatment such as is described in the letter herewith enclosed square with the humanity of the Colonists. We do not ask to be treated as favoured prisoners, but we do ask that British Indian prisoners be treated with some degree of humanity in this enlightened country.

I am, etc.,
A. M. CACHALIA
CHAIRMAN,
BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION

Rand Daily Mail, 21-9-1908

29. LETTER TO DIRECTOR OF PRISONS

[JOHANNESBURG,]
September 19, 1908

THE DIRECTOR OF PRISONS
PRETORIA

SIR,

My Association has received a letter in Gujarati from a British Indian named Syed Ali, who has just undergone imprisonment at Boksburg. I give below a free translation of the material portion of the letter. It is dated the 17th instant, and is written from Springs:

> I write the following, God between us. On the 19th day of August, 1908, I was sentenced by the Magistrate to pay a fine of

[1] This was released to the Press with the "Letter to Director of Prisons", *vide* the following item. *Rand Daily Mail*, 21-9-1908, published them under the headings "Life In Prison: An Indian's Complaints: Treated Worse Than Kaffirs". The correspondence was also published in *Indian Opinion*, 26-9-1908.

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10[s] or suffer imprisonment for seven days with hard labour for trading without a licence. I accepted gaol. When I was admitted, a Kaffir came to me and asked me to strip myself naked. I did so. I was then made to walk, in that condition, barefoot, some distance. I was then kept, together with Kaffirs, in cold water, for twentyfive minutes. I was then taken out and taken to an office. I was then given some clothes to wear, but I did not get any sandals. I, therefore, asked the gaoler for some. At first, he said 'no', and then he gave me torn sandals. I asked for socks, and he used abusive language (untranslatable). I asked again, and he said 'Look here, I will sjambok[1] you.' I was then frightened and, had I spoken again, he would certainly have struck me.

On the 20th August, the work given to me was that of carrying and emptying closet buckets. I complained to the gaoler about this work, and I received a kick and slaps. I still persisted in my complaint, and told him that I would be glad to break stones but would like to be relieved from the work of carrying and emptying these buckets. I was then kicked again. I became helpless and I had to carry those buckets.

On the 22nd August, Saturday, I was again kept in cold water for nearly half an hour. It was extremely cold. I was shivering. God knows how cold it was. I then became feverish. My chest became bad. On the 25th, I was discharged. The gaoler, on discharging, said 'You may come again, if you wish to die' and I retorted, 'All right, you may kill me if you can.' I then returned to Springs by the 11 o'clock train. And ever since I have been ill, and I have been discharging blood from the chest, and am under medical advice....

I was treated worse than Kaffir prisoners. Happily, I was the only Indian. I thank God that I was spared. All my book-debts have become bad, but I do not care. I hope the community will be able to preserve its self-respect.

My Association does not know how far the above statement is true, but, on the face of it, in my humble opinion, it calls for a thorough investigation, which I have no doubt you will make. In the meanwhile, I venture to inform the Government through you that, assuming the truth of the above statement, the advice given by my Association is, despite all difficulties, to continue to suffer for what it believes to be a principle.

I may add that the correspondent, as his name implies, is a direct descendant of the Prophet, and I need hardly comment upon the resentment that would be bitterly felt by Mahomedans, when they

[1] Meaning "to flog with a whip of rhinoceros hide"

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understand that such a person has been called upon to perform the dirtiest work at the Boksburg gaol.

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

Rand Daily Mail, 21-9-1908

30. LETTER TO W. HOSKEN

JOHANNESBURG,
September 19, 1908

WILLIAM HOSKEN, ESQ., M.L.A.[1]
JOHANNESBURG

DEAR SIR,

We, the undersigned, are deeply grateful to you for the kindly interest you, as a lover of the Empire and a Christian gentleman, take in the present bitter struggle that Asiatics are engaged in.

You have told us, at the meeting called by you at your office to-day, and attended by Mr. Cartwright, Mr. Pollock, and ourselves, that General Smuts genuinely regrets the persecution which the Asiatic communities, the majority of whom are British subjects, are undergoing. We appreciate this sentiment. You also said that General Smuts thinks that there would be no insuperable difficulty in meeting our request. We, therefore, beg to state as follows:

A promise should be given by General Smuts and the leader of the Progressive Opposition[2] that the Asiatic Act will be repealed during the next session of Parliament, and that the status of highly educated Indians will be safeguarded in terms of the request made by the British Indian Association.

As to the latter question, in order to show our *bona fides*, we would be quite satisfied with the entry, per year, of, say, six such Indians. The great point, therefore, is that they should be able to enter under the general education test. There should be no legal distinction. We do not mind an administration of the law such that only the above number can enter. Precedent for such administration is not wanting. The Cape and Natal are doing so at present. In our opinion, such discretion is given under the Immigrants' Restriction Act, but if General

[1] Ex-President of the Association of Chambers of Commerce of South Africa. He was sympathetic to the cause of British Indians; *vide* Vol. VII, pp. 108 and 476 and Vol. VIII, p. 27.

[2] Party in the Transvaal Parliament

Smuts holds otherwise, we have no objection to the Act being so amended as to give the widest discretion to him.

These are the two chief questions outstanding. As a matter of fact, the two are even one, because, if Act 2 of 1907 were repealed, the Immigrants' Restriction Act would not come in the way of highly educated Indians entering the Colony. We separate the question, because we wish to show that we have no desire to take any undue advantage of the facility provided under the Immigrants' Restriction Act, but that we are quite sincere in our declaration that we have no desire to have unrestricted Asiatic immigration into the Colony. All we say is that, if the resident Asiatics are to be treated justly and if the whole Asiatic nations are not to be insulted, educated Asiatics should be treated under the general immigration law, and should not be called upon to submit to any registration Act.

The other questions, namely, those of restoring registration certificates to those who have burned them, and the reinstatement of Mr. Sorabjee are, in our opinion, administrative details, and can be easily arranged when the main points are solved.

We would mention that, whilst the new Act[1], which has just received the Royal sanction, is very reasonable, there are one or two flaws—for instance, in connection with the claims of those who are already in the Colony and who have entered *bona fide*, they cannot be called upon to submit to a three years' residence test, because some who have not given such proof have already been granted registration certificates. It is also felt that, unless the widest latitude is given in the regulations with reference to the giving of thumb-impressions on application for licences, that particular section would cause the greatest irritation.

We assume that all those who are now suffering imprisonment will be discharged simultaneously with a settlement going through, if such a fortunate result is attained.

In conclusion, we beg to mention that we have no desire to defy the Government, and we wish to remain in the country with peace and honour and in obedience to the general laws of the Colony. We have been obliged, most reluctantly and in obedience to a higher call, to oppose most strenuously the Asiatic Act. We need not, at this stage, go into the reasons for it, but we ask that our opposition to that Act may not be interpreted to mean defiance.

[1] Asiatics Registration Amendment Act (1908). Speaking on the Bill in the Transvaal Parliament, Hosken had said that, while he thought "the Bill provided for all points raised" and hoped that the Indian people would accept it, he differed on one point: the education test. He thought that not to give "residential permits either to teachers of religion or to any other qualified person" was such a narrow interpretation that he could not agree to it. He was, however, one of the members who supported the Bill.

We beg to add that the leaders who are at present at the Volksrust gaol, and who represent the flower of the Indian community in South Africa, as soon as they were sentenced, sent us the message that they were prepared to suffer to the utmost, but that we should not mind their sufferings but continue the struggle until what we think we are justly entitled to is granted.

In accordance with your desire, we would treat this communication to be strictly confidential, and any message that you may convey to us will also be so regarded.

With our renewed thanks for your kindly interest and for the assurance conveyed by General Smuts.

We remain, etc.,
A. M. CACHALIA
ESSOP ISMAIL MIA
IMAM A. K. BAWAZIR
LEUNG QUINN
C. K. T. NAIDOO
FOO KIMSON
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the typewritten original: S.N. 4879

31. LETTER TO COLONIAL SECRETARY

[JOHANNESBURG,]
September 21, 1908

THE HON'BLE THE COLONIAL SECRETARY
PRETORIA

SIR,

I have the honour to forward herewith a copy of a letter[1] addressed by me to the Director of Prisons, and copy of his reply. My Association will be obliged if you will kindly grant the request made in the letter addressed to the Director.

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

Indian Opinion, 3-10-1908

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Director of Prisons", pp. 57-9.

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32. *JOHANNESBURG LETTER*[1]

Hardships in Gaol

It is becoming more certain each day that we shall be made to drain the cup of misery to its dregs. Mr. Syed Ali, who has just returned from gaol after seven days' imprisonment at Boksburg, had no end of suffering to put up with. He had been sentenced to hard labour. He was made to carry closet buckets. He was made to stay in cold water for a long spell. He was kicked. How can one bear this? Mr. Cachalia has addressed a letter[2] to the Director of Prisons about Mr. Syed Ali. It will perhaps get a hearing, but whether or not it has any effect, we will carry buckets and suffer kicks. We will regard this as an expression of our nobility. Our bonds will be loosened [only] when we [learn to] enjoy carrying buckets. Only then may we claim that we understand the meaning of satyagraha. Satyagraha consists in not forsaking what we know to be truth, in enduring any suffering for its sake, no matter even if we die in the process. We should do no harm to anyone, for by harming others we violate truth. True victory will consist in cultivating the ability to bear with all this. Once we comprehend this basic principle, we shall surmount any obstacles the Government may set for us. I hope therefore that Indians will not be unnerved by [the report of] Mr. Syed Ali's suffering but will be ever ready for gaol should the occasion require it.

Natal Prisoners

The Natal prisoners are no longer being brought out on the roads to break stones. I for one feel disappointed at this. If they had to submit to the indignity of breaking stones, that would bring freedom nearer. They keep sending messages that no one need be anxious on their account. They are prepared for, and will indeed be happy with, [further] gaol terms of any duration. We must not [they insist] work for a hurried settlement because of them. For them it is the proper thing to say. And it will be right for us to ensure that they do not spend a minute longer in gaol than necessary; that others go to gaol without delay in order to secure their early release.

[1] This dispatch was commenced on September 20 and completed on September 23.

[2] *Vide* "Letter to Director of Prisons", pp. 57-9.

OCTOBER: TRYING PERIOD

Those who wish to secure the release of the brave leaders have a simple duty. October will test the mettle of many an Indian. By the end of September the licences of several hawkers will have expired. What will they do after that? It is their duty to refuse to take out licences, even if these are offered to them on their own terms—without their having to give thumb-impressions—as long as our demand is not accepted, and baldly to keep going their rounds without licences. The Government cannot afford this. Hence it is bound to throw the hawkers into prison. And if they show pluck, we shall be free soon. I would even make bold to say that should this happen, we would be rid of all this worry after the middle of October and succeed by then in securing the release of those who have gone to gaol for our sake.

HAWKERS' MOVEMENT

This is really a movement on behalf of the traders—especially the hawkers. The latter can also ensure its early success. By putting up a fight like this in this Colony, we can demonstrate that there is nothing undignified about hawking. True, hawkers are poor. [But] there is nobility in poverty. Viewing things in this light, hawkers should hold their heads high, educate themselves, live well and not quarrel among themselves. I want them to be truly educated men. It is within their power to become that. They have yet many things to do in South Africa. I want to convince them and the Indian community at large that this is a campaign from which they can gain regal dignity.

NEED FOR PICKETS

Hawkers acted very courageously in January. They have done the same this time. Yet we remain cowards. We need to be watched. This is not surprising. Pickets should therefore be appointed in every town. They must mount guard outside the Licensing Office and see that no one goes there to take out a licence. To ensure this, the leaders of every community should set themselves up as watchmen. If that is done, hardly anyone would go there to take out a licence.

PICKETS' DUTY

Pickets must remember not to employ violence against, nor attempt to intimidate, anyone. They must leave their *lathis* behind at home. Our power comes from our tongue, which, too, should be used gently and inoffensively. With every Indian they must use gentle persuasion to point out his duty. The Krugersdorp case[1] must be borne in mind

[1] *Vide* "Johannesburg Letter", pp. 14-5.

all the time. We must so behave as to make it impossible for anyone to accuse us, however unjustifiably, of intimidation.

Those who hold licences which are valid for the whole year ought not to use them but should surrender them to the Association.

Those who cannot risk going to gaol had better give up hawking for a few days instead of taking out licences.

MADRASIS AGAIN

Mr. Chokalingam was arrested for trading without a licence. Having refused to pay the fine, he went to gaol on Saturday to serve seven days' imprisonment. Mr. Godfrey appeared for the defence.

Mr. Essop Kanamia was charged with failure to take out the new register. He was served with seven days' notice [to leave the Colony]. His case was heard on Saturday, Mr. Godfrey attending.

PRISONERS' FOOD

Correspondence on the subject of prisoners' food is still going on. While the dispute about mealie pap has yet to be settled, we have information from the Director of Prisons that ghee was allowed in January only as a special concession and that there was in fact no provision for it in the rules. In Johannesburg, ghee is still served. But it is not in Volksrust, and that is how the question arose. Mr. Cachalia has written a strong letter[1] about this, and cables have also been sent to England. Let us see what happens now. Whether or not we are allowed good food makes no difference to us. If the Government inflicts this further cruelty on us, we should be determined enough to bear that too.

ISA HAJEE SUMAR

Mr. Isa Hajee Sumar, a Standerton trader of long standing, has returned from a trip to England. I hope that he will join the campaign and help whole-heartedly.

NEW BILL

The new Bill[2] has received Royal assent. The law has some advantages for us. Just as we would not submit to the humiliation of the obnoxious Act, so do we not want to take advantage of this new Act, as long as two issues[3] remain unsettled. [Furthermore,] we cannot

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Director of Prisons", p. 53.

[2] Asiatics' Registration Amendment Bill

[3] (a) Non-repeal of the Asiatic Registration Act known also as Act 2 of 1907 and (b) provision for the continued immigration of "highly educated Asiatics"

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accept any advantage accruing from the new Act as long as those whom we have sent to gaol are not released.

KING-EMPEROR'S GUESTS

Mr. Magan Jivan, Mr. Gurunathan and Mr. Chetty Parag—these Indians entered Johannesburg Gaol today to serve a sentence of seven days' imprisonment. They were found trading without licences. All of them were defended by Mr. George Godfrey. A telegram has been received from the committee at Roodepoort to the effect that Mr. Dahya Ragha was also sentenced to seven days' imprisonment for hawking without a licence.

REGRET

I have to report with regret that the Government has withdrawn the case against Mr. Muljibhai Patel and Mr. Harilal Gandhi.[1] Unfortunately for them, these two young men have been denied the opportunity to do homage to the brave Natal prisoners.

FURTHER REGRET

I have heard that Mr. Hassan Mia[2] gave his thumb-impression at Volksrust while returning from Durban.

ADAM MAHOMED GOOL

The President of the British Indian League [of the Cape] is here on a visit. He has handed over his certificate to be burnt. The police did not ask him for his thumb-impression at Volksrust when he arrived there. Even if they had, he would have refused.

BELIM

Mr. Belim was released in Christiana on the 19th after he had served a sentence of a month's hard labour. He has received congratulatory telegrams. The reader will recall that Mr. Belim's partner was also sentenced to a month's imprisonment. So he transferred [the ownership of his shop] nominally to a white and thus, instead of closing it down, kept it going.

MOVING LETTER

An Indian, who signs himself "A Poor Indian Harassed by the Law", writes as follows:

> Please do something about solving the [problem of this] law, so that we can somehow return to India safely [after the end of our stay here]. Otherwise we shall be as good as finished. In the existing situation, it is the middle classes that suffer most. The

[1] *Vide* "Interview to *The Star*", p. 52; also Vol. VIII, pp. 405-6 and 436.
[2] Essop Mia's son

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big businessmen who have a large capital are not refused credit. Whites who used to order goods on our behalf ranging in value from £200 to £500 now refuse credit even up to 5 s. They say that they will suspend dealings [with us] until a settlement is reached as regards the law. If something is done to effect a settlement which will safeguard the interests of us poor folk, we can breathe a sigh of relief. Please see to it that we do not have to suffer longer.

We cannot help sympathizing with the person who wrote this. I must say, all the same, that he is mistaken in what he says. It is a mistake to assume, as he has done, that the people who have the capital stand to lose nothing. The rich have had to suffer heavier losses, the poor, smaller. Every Indian soldier [in this campaign] has suffered thus. The whites may refuse to supply us goods on credit, but it is not as though they were the [only] hallowed men[1] [that we may not go to others]. We must of course be prepared for harassment by the whites. Financial loss suffered for the country's sake should not cause us distress. Having said this, I do admit that this letter expresses the views of a number of Indians. It is in accordance with these that the campaign is being waged. The leaders have ensured that the community carries only those burdens which it can bear. In view of this, not a single Indian should lose heart.

Krugersdorp

Adverting to the newspaper report about Krugersdorp hawkers not making their rounds, Mr. Khurshedji Desai writes that the charge is entirely false and [adds] that the Indian hawkers in that town are carrying on trade without licences.

About New Act

The new Act comes into force from today. A notice for taking out registers will not be issued under it. It is said that the notice period will extend up to November 30. Indians resident in the Transvaal have to take out permits within that period. As for those who are outside the Colony and do not hold the yellow permits, they have to apply within a year. There is nothing, let it be remembered, that either of these [categories of persons] need do yet. There is no need to hurry. Until a settlement is reached, it would not be meet to take advantage of this law. It will therefore be necessary to post pickets at the Permit Office. If this is done, and no licences are taken out, a settlement will soon be reached.

[1] Literally, those bearing a *tilak* on their forehead

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CONFUSION

A number of queries have been received following *The Transvaal Leader* report that the community would be content to have only six educated Indians admitted into the Colony every year.[1] Some say that this is a fight only for securing the admission of six men, others that this is a new issue altogether. There is some misunderstanding here. Our demand is that, in law, all educated persons should have equal rights. We have already agreed that once there is a single law [for all immigrants], the test can be as severe as [the authorities] wish, so that hardly a single Indian may actually qualify for entry. That is to say, those who pass the education test prescribed by law will be entitled to enter. We cannot then protest if they do not subject the whites to any test, or only to a very simple one, but give the Indians a severe test. If this is done, we will not object. The question has been asked as to how we stand to gain by this. To this we can reply that we do not want the humiliation of a legal bar, even with the provision for the entry of a limited number of Indians. It follows from this line of reasoning that not a single Indian may be admitted, instead of which the entry of six is being ensured [in the suggested compromise]. Our campaign is directed only against the closing of the door [to Asiatics] by law. If the door is closed by law, it will be difficult to re-open it. If it is closed in practice because the official who holds the test does not allow [the would-be immigrants] to pass, remedial measures can be found. Natal and the Cape have a law of this kind. The whites do not have to pass a test. The test for Indians grows more severe every year. A [similar] law is still in force in Australia; yet whites have been entering in their hundreds. The test for Indians is so severe that not a single Indian has been able to get in so far. However, when the prejudice among the Australian people dies down, or when the official in charge is considerate, Indians may be allowed to enter after a reasonable test. It is therefore to respect the Colonists' feelings and demonstrate the Indian community's reasonableness that a suggestion has been made for limiting the number to six. The law should be the same [for all], but it may be administered differentially; that is all that the demand means. There is thus no difference between this demand and the one that was put forward

[1] *Transvaal Weekly Illustrated* of September 12 had said: ". . . Mr. Gandhi has offered to bind himself and his community to rest content on this part of the case if the Government will permit the entry of not more than six educated Indians per year. . . . Even if the full number of six came every year, we doubt if that formidable invasion would ruin the Transvaal. This principle of limitation is almost the rule with other members of the Empire as to Asiatic immigration." *Vide* also "Letter to W. Hosken", pp. 59-61.

at the mass meeting and which was described by General Smuts as an ultimatum[1] (that is, a demand that implied the threat of war).

Chinese Help

On behalf of the Chinese Association, Mr. Quinn has offered £60 for being sent to the [S.A.B.I.] Committee in London. The reader will recall that on a previous occasion also an equal amount was presented to Mr. Ritch by the Chinese Association. It also contributed towards the expenditure incurred on the case in the Supreme Court filed in the name of Mr. Aswat.[2]

Help from Congress

A telegram has been received from the [Natal Indian] Congress saying that a sum of £ 100 has been cabled to the London Committee. This should have been done earlier. However, even now it has not been too late.

Wednesday [*September 23, 1908*]

Volksrust Prisoners

Mr. Harilal Gandhi has arrived here after his release from Volksrust. He spent three nights [in gaol] with the Natal businessmen. He reports that the prisoners are keeping good health. They cheerfully carry out their allotted tasks. Now they are not brought out [to break stones on the roads] but are made to sweep the garden and do similar chores inside the gaol. Mr. Dawad Mahomed is happy as a bird with the song constantly on his lips: "Rustom[3], the only one who became a benefactor equal to Vikram[4]".

Regulations under New Act

Regulations under the new Act have been published. I shall comment on them next week. At the moment I shall only observe that these regulations are far better than the earlier ones. They, however, present some difficulties which call for attention; these can be resolved when a settlement is arrived at. But I hope every Indian will show patience. No one need apply in a hurry.

Tamils' Efforts

The Madrasis are doing excellent work. They keep going to gaol. Also, they are never found to be slack in collecting funds. They have given the Association a cheque for £82.1.0. We thus see that those

[1] *Vide* Vol. VIII, pp. 462-5.

[2] About the return of voluntary registration papers

[3] Parsee Rustomjee

[4] Vikramaditya, a legendary king of Central India famous for his just and benevolent rule

who go to gaol are also generous in contributing money. Those who exert themselves in one sphere can do well in others also.

Essop Ismail Belim[1]

[He] writes from Christiana to say that during the first week in gaol he was asked to cook. The following week he was given assorted chores and during the last week he was made to work outdoors on the roads. The food was much the same as elsewhere. The only thing which he minded was being asked to take his cap off during meals. He adds that in suffering privations for the sake of his country, he has done no more than his duty and that he would be ready to do so again if there was need.

Settlement ?

A proposal for a settlement was made by Mr. Hosken. Mr. Smuts had had a talk with him. Consequent upon this, Mr. Hosken invited Mr. Cachalia, Mr. Imam Abdool Kadir Bawazeer, Mr. Quinn, Mr. Kimson, Mr. Naidoo and Mr. Gandhi [for a discussion]. He also invited Mr. Cartwright and Mr. David Pollock. In the end, a letter[2] was despatched to Mr. Hosken reiterating the demand made earlier at the mass meeting. Mr. Hosken forwarded the letter to Mr. Smuts. A reply has been received from the latter today, in which he says that the demand is the same as that made previously, and that it cannot be conceded. There is no reason to be disheartened by this. Mr. Smuts has a right to ascertain whether or not we will submit to the new Act. A solution will be found only when we pass that test [set by him] and are found prepared to renounce everything.

British Newspapers

Newspapers in Britain have been suggesting that we give in at this stage. They want us to submit to the new Act without raising [further] objections. This is fine advice indeed! It cannot be accepted. It need not be. It is the same old story. For us there is only one duty. Our demand is just. We must therefore continue to fight till it is conceded. We must fill the gaols, and refuse to take advantage of the new Act.

Vally Mahomed

Mr. Vally Mahomed, who came out of Pretoria gaol after five days inside and was received with great enthusiasm, says that no one took the mealie pap served in gaol, because it was suspected to contain lard. Mr. Ismail Juma [he adds] was given kicks because he would not line up along with the other prisoners. When an opportunity for

[1] He was released on September 19; *vide* p. 65.
[2] *Vide* "Letter to W. Hosken", pp. 59-61.

complaint to the Governor about this presented itself, the chief warder would not allow it. The prisoners were made to mop hospital floors, carry buckets full of garbage and wash clothes. Such privations notwithstanding, every Indian must keep himself ready to go to gaol. I congratulate the Indian prisoners in Pretoria on their having gone to gaol and suffered privations for their country's sake.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 26-9-1908

33. LETTER TO DIRECTOR OF PRISONS[1]

[JOHANNESBURG,]
September 24, 1908

THE DIRECTOR OF PRISONS
PRETORIA

SIR,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 1077/08/835 of the 23rd instant in reply to my letter of the 21st instant, and beg to thank you for the inquiry made as to the complaint.

I now have the honour to enclose herewith the complainant's affidavit.[2] As you will notice, he adheres to the statements made by him. It is undoubtedly most difficult for him to bring forward witnesses, but the fact that he has been, ever since his discharge, suffering from pneumonia shows that he must have contracted it during incarceration. It is within my experience and the experience of many British Indians who have recently suffered imprisonment that it is not an easy matter to complain to the Governor—firstly, because the prisoners are too frightened, and, secondly, because they do not know English or do not know it sufficiently. If an official or public inquiry is held, the complainant states that he is quite willing to appear and give evidence.

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

Indian Opinion, 3-10-1908

[1] This was published in *Indian Opinion*, 3-10-1908, under the title "Shocking Allegations: Need for Inquiry".

[2] Syed Ali's affidavit which is not reproduced here; *vide* also "Letter to Director of Prisons", pp. 57-9.

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34. LETTER TO DIRECTOR OF PRISONS

[JOHANNESBURG,]
September 25, 1908

THE DIRECTOR OF PRISONS
PRETORIA

SIR,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 24th instant in regard to the question of the scale of diet in force for Indian prisoners in the Transvaal prisons.

I learn for the first time that, instead of there being, as my Association supposed, one scale of diet throughout the Transvaal, there are a number of diet scales in force which vary according to the different prisons. My Association is of opinion that this principle of differentiation tends to impose great hardship upon those who are differentiated against, and will be glad to learn whether it is the intention of the Government to appoint a fixed scale of diet for Indian prisoners throughout the Transvaal; and this apart altogether from the question of the meagreness of the diet as exemplified in Johannesburg, to which my Association has already drawn repeated attention.

I would once more demur to the suggestion that the giving of ghee is an act of grace and not a matter of dietary regulation, as I know it to be a fact that ghee, in January last, figured on the printed diet-scale at the Johannesburg Gaol. My Association will be glad to learn whether it is finally the intention of the authorities to substitute, in regard to Indian prisoners, ghee wherever fat is prescribed in the Regulations, in view of the religious objection existing to the eating of fat by Indians.

My Association regrets to find from your letter under reply that its suspicions are confirmed that it is the intention of the Government to starve Indians into submission by compelling them to accept a diet totally unsuited to their habits of life.

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

Indian Opinion, 3-10-1908

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35. *HOW NATAL CAN HELP*

Natal greatly helped in the Transvaal campaign last year.[1] This time it has surpassed all expectations. The leading figures and the educated Indians in that Colony have gone to gaol of their own accord.

But this has involved Natal deeper in the campaign. It has now to bear the same burden as the Transvaal. It has become the duty of the Transvaal as much as it is of Natal to ensure the early release of the Natal prisoners[2]. What needs to be done by the Transvaal has been indicated in our Johannesburg Letter[3]. Let us therefore think of Natal [for the present].

One of Natal's duties is to remit money regularly in order to maintain the [S.A.B.I.] Committee in London. For that purpose, collections should be speeded up. It is a matter for satisfaction that steps are being taken towards this.[4]

Its second duty is that those of its remaining leaders, who were formerly residents of the Transvaal, and well-educated Indians, such as barristers and physicians, should enter the Transvaal and follow Mr. Dawad Mahomed. Also, those holding £3 registers or permits should be sent to the Transvaal. None of them should give his thumb-impression at the border, and they should thus fill the Transvaal gaols in order to secure the legitimate rights [of Indians]. If that is done, the agitation is bound soon to come to a successful conclusion, and many Indians will have had the opportunity to test their newly-acquired power.

In any case, there can be no doubt that steps such as these will benefit Natal greatly. It has many more battles to fight yet. It has to fight for the repeal of the law about trade, for the ending of the indentured labourers' disabilities and for the cancellation of the oppressive £3 poll-tax. If a large number of leaders put their new power to test, the experience will stand them in good stead when they attempt to achieve all these things. When the whites realize that we have acquired this power, they will think twice before they decide to harass us.

A steamer from Bombay is due to call very shortly at a Natal port. Many of the Indians on board are bound for the Transvaal. It is the

[1] *Vide* Vol. VII, pp. 143 and 207-8.

[2] Dawad Mahomed, Parsee Rustomjee and Anglia

[3] *Vide* pp. 62-3.

[4] Natal Indian Congress had sent £100 to the S. A. B. I. Committee; *vide* "Johannesburg Letter", p. 16.

Natal Indians' duty to reason with them, to explain the situation to them and to ensure that they do not give their thumb-impressions under any circumstances while entering the Transvaal. It is essential to depute volunteers immediately for this purpose. We invite the attention of every Indian to these suggestions.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 26-9-1908

36. LETTER TO COLONIAL SECRETARY

[JOHANNESBURG,]
September 28, 1908

THE HON'BLE THE COLONIAL SECRETARY
PRETORIA

SIR,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 9/E/4467 of the 24th instant, informing my Association that you are unable to interfere with the administration of the regulations governing the diet scale for prisoners in the Transvaal gaols.

Since my Association's letter[1] of the 21st instant, I have received a further letter from the Director of Prisons, informing my Association that "there are a number of diet-scales in force which vary according to the different prisons". In view of that statement, I shall be much obliged if you will kindly inform my Association as to the particular diet-scale to which reference is made in your letter under reply.

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

Indian Opinion, 3-10-1908

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Colonial Secretary", p. 61.

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37. LETTER TO DIRECTOR OF PRISONS[1]

[JOHANNESBURG,]
September 30, 1908

THE DIRECTOR OF PRISONS
PRETORIA

SIR,

I am informed by Mr. Vassan Ranchhod that he has just been released from the Germiston Gaol, where he was imprisoned for three days with hard labour. He informs my Association that the food supplied to him during that time was mealie pap for breakfast, mealies cooked in or mixed with fat for dinner, and mealie pap for supper. There was no alternative diet.

Should these allegations be found correct, my Association would be glad of an immediate assurance from you that ghee will be substituted for fat, wherever used. I need not remind you that to an orthodox Mahomedan or Hindu, food cooked with fat is religiously unclean. A Mahomedan may only eat fat from an animal ritually killed, a Hindu may not eat fat at all.

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

Indian Opinion, 10-10-1908

[1] This was published in *Indian Opinion*, 10-10-1908, under the title "Should Indians be Starved into Submission? Further Correspondence".

38. LETTER TO "INDIAN OPINION"[1]

JOHANNESBURG,
September 30, 1908

THE EDITOR
INDIAN OPINION

SIR,

My Association has received the following further communications from the Director of Prisons:

> With reference to your letter[2] of the 24th instant forwarding an affidavit by Syed Ali in respect of his treatment at the Boksburg Gaol, I have the honour to state that the matter has been investigated by the Governor of the East Rand Prisons, and I have obtained reports from him.
>
> I am satisfied that Syed Ali was treated in accordance with the Gaol Regulations, and I do not propose to hold any further inquiry under present circumstances.
>
> With reference to your further letter[3] of the 25th instant on the subject of the diet scales in force in the Transvaal for British Indians detained in Transvaal Prisons and Gaols, I have the honour to inform you that as at present advised I am not prepared to make any representation with a view to an alteration of the existing scales.

Apparently, Mr. Syed Ali's request[4] for an open judicial inquiry into his complaints is to be denied him. In regard to the subject of diet scales in force in the Transvaal Gaols for Indian prisoners, my Association must now be satisfied that it is the set policy of the Transvaal Government to starve Indian prisoners into submission, and, in this way, endeavour to coerce the British Indian community.

I am, etc.,
A. M. CACHALIA
CHAIRMAN,
BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION

Indian Opinion, 3-10-1908

[1] This was published under the heading "Shocking Allegations: Need for Inquiry".
[2] & [3] *Vide* letters to Director of Prisons, pp. 70-1.
[4] *Vide* "Letter to Director of Prisons", pp. 57-9.

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39. CABLE TO S. A. B. I. COMMITTEE

JOHANNESBURG,
September 30, 1908

YESTERDAY INDIAN SENTENCED MONTH'S LABOUR FAILING LEAVE COLONY; ANOTHER ORDERED LEAVE COLONY SEVEN DAYS; BOTH UNDER ASIATIC ACT NOTWITHSTANDING NEW VALIDATION ACT PROMULGATED TWENTYFIRST SEPTEMBER GIVING RIGHT TO APPLY FOR REGISTRATION DURING OCTOBER WITH RIGHT TO APPEAL AGAINST REGISTRAR'S DECISION. TODAY EDUCATED INDIAN WHO JUST COMPLETED MONTH'S IMPRISONMENT UNDER ASIATIC ACT RELEASED; RE-ARRESTED PRISON GATES UNDER ASIATIC ACT; COMMUNITY ASTOUNDED; UNDERSTOOD OLD ACT DEAD LETTER FOR ADMINISTRATIVE PURPOSES, VALIDATION ACT TO APPLY IN FUTURE. COMMUNITY INSIST REPEAL OLD ACT.

[M. K. GANDHI]

Colonial Office Records: 291/132

40. INTERVIEW TO "THE NATAL MERCURY"

[DURBAN,
September 30, 1908]

Mr. M.K. Gandhi, the doughty champion of the Indians' cause in the Transvaal, is at present on a visit to Durban, and was interviewed yesterday by a representative of this journal.

Asked what his object was in coming to Durban at the present time, he said he was here in connection with the question of those Indians who had a right to return to the Transvaal owing to their having been pre-war residents; and, particularly, to see those Indians who were expected by the German steamer *Gouverneur*, which was bringing a fair number of Indian passengers for the Transvaal.

In reply to a query as to the present position of Indians in the Transvaal, Mr. Gandhi said the fight resolved itself into this, that those who were entitled to be in the Transvaal shall be allowed to enter the Colony, but not give the Government any help with reference to identification, until the two outstanding questions were settled.

"How is this attitude reconciled with the law-abiding nature of British Indians?" queried the interviewer, and Mr. Gandhi replied that he held there was nothing defiant in the Indians' attitude. It should be remembered that British Indians were not represented in the Transvaal Parliament, and the only effective manner in which

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they could make themselves heard was to refuse submission to laws in the passing of which they had no hand, and which violated their conscience or their self-respect. The Indians, he said, held that General Smuts was in honour bound to repeal the Asiatic Act, but he said he would treat it as a "dead letter". The Indians said that [that] was not enough, and he (Mr. Gandhi) noticed that even now the old Act was by no means a dead letter. Under the circumstances, British Indians asked General Smuts to fulfil his promise by repealing the Act, and, until this was done, they had been advised not to accept the benefits accruing from the new Act. This, to Mr. Gandhi's mind, was an act of renunciation by the Indian community which should be appreciated by the Colonists throughout South Africa.

"But what as to the educational question?" was the next query, to which Mr. Gandhi replied that the answer was very simple. If the Act were repealed, the immigration law of the Transvaal would be almost the same as that of Natal. British Indians stated that the Transvaal should not be allowed by the Imperial Government, and by those who love the Empire, to lay down a new policy of exclusion based purely on race and colour. The present immigration law of the Transvaal, with the assistance of the old Asiatic Act, brought about such a constitution. Indians, therefore, contended that such should not be the case.

The people of the Transvaal, he said, were frightened with the bogey of an invasion of half-educated youths from Natal, but this was due only to ignorance. Indians were not fighting for the rights of half-educated fellow-countrymen. They were fighting for the honour of India, and for a principle—the same principle that was laid down by Mr. Chamberlain before the Conference of Colonial Premiers, viz., that restriction should be based on sensible grounds, and not on grounds of colour or race.[1] Once, said Mr. Gandhi, the status of educated Indians was established on a footing of equality in the eye of the law, he personally had no quarrel about the severity of the education test. The essential difference seemed to him to be this: The people in the Transvaal, as indeed in South Africa, tolerated British Indians as an evil; Indians, on the other hand, claimed that those who were domiciled in South Africa should form part of the future nation that was coming into being, and that they should be encouraged in every way to make progress towards refinement and culture. In making this statement, he was simply paraphrasing what Mr. Patrick Duncan said the other day—that was to say, that, in a free and self-governed South Africa, it would not be possible to contemplate a body of human beings living in a state of servility, or studied and legal inferiority.

In taking this stand against any such degradation, Mr. Gandhi claimed that his countrymen should receive the sympathy and assistance of all who loved South Africa as their home, and who wished well to it. He wanted to make one thing perfectly clear, which was that Indians had no desire to have further unrestricted immigration of Asiatics into any part of South Africa, nor did they wish that there should be no [*sic*] regulations on unenlightened lines of trade licences in general, but, after these two propositions were established, there should certainly be no differential legislation,

[1] *Vide* Vol. II, pp. 354-6.

otherwise he could only repeat what he had said so often, that in South Africa would be sown the seeds of disruption of the Empire. They could not have India as the brightest jewel in the British Crown, and yet use that jewel as a target from every point.

Mr. Gandhi next made the following statement, in reply to a question as to what he thought would be the effect of unification upon Indians in general: This was a question he had answered before a meeting of the Closer Union Society that had been formed in Johannesburg.[1] He there stated that a United South Africa meant for British Indians greater restriction of their liberty, unless a unified South Africa meant unification not only of the white races, but of all British subjects, whether Coloured or white, who had chosen South Africa as their permanent home. Under such unification, one would expect liberal principles guiding Indian legislation, but one heard often talk of disfranchisement at the Cape, and further disabilities in Natal. The goal of unification seemed to be the nearest approached by the Orange River Colony, so far as Asiatic legislation was concerned. In that Colony, Asiatics had absolutely no footing, except as domestic servants. It must be plain to anybody that Indians who had vested rights, who had children to educate, and families to rear, would not be satisfied with such a status, and that they would carry on a bitter struggle before they accepted a position such as he had described. He could not conceive how the Imperial Government could possibly look with approval upon a scheme of unification which would mean the reduction of Asiatics and Natives to a state practically of slavery.

The next point touched upon was embraced in the following query: "What is the feeling of British Indians with reference to the local leaders who have been imprisoned in the Transvaal?"

Mr. Gandhi replied that, from what he could see, the feeling was very bitter. His countrymen failed to understand why, in a British Colony, British Indians should have to suffer imprisonment because they dared to enter the Transvaal. The situation would appear much more painful when he said that the three leaders were pre-war residents of the Transvaal. Three educated Indians were also suffering imprisonment with them who were stretcher-bearers, and held the rank of sergeants at the time of the Zulu rebellion.[2] It would be remembered that their services were so much valued that Sir Henry McCallum specially recognized them, and, of course, these ex-sergeants were entitled to their medals, and would receive them on being released. It must appear strange to anybody that such men should be imprisoned, with hard labour, for merely daring to enter the Transvaal. One of the leaders imprisoned was known to every prominent Durbanite—Mr. Dawad Mahomed, the chairman of the Natal Indian Congress; the other, Mr. Parsee Rustomjee, was equally well known and the the third, Mr. M.C. Anglia, besides being a prominent merchant, and secretary of the Congress, had received a very good education in English and French. The Indians of Durban, therefore, felt that they had to suffer in order that these leaders might be released before their time. They were, therefore, considering the advisability of sending up more Indians, who had a right to enter the Transvaal, to share the same fate as

[1] *Vide* Vol. VIII, pp. 465-8.
[2] *Vide* Vol. V, p. 368.

the leaders. It was quite evident that General Smuts had rendered an indirect service to British Indians throughout South Africa. They had been brought together as never before, and they had also begun to understand their own position, and to realize that they must work shoulder to shoulder, and undergo much suffering, if they were to be recognized as self-respecting men in South Africa.

The reports received from these leaders, through prisoners who had been discharged, were to the effect, said Mr. Gandhi, that they were perfectly cheerful, although the Government was simply starving them in regard to their diet, by reason of providing food which was not suited to Indian habits. The leaders stated that they would continue to be in gaol until the struggle was over, and the just rights of British Indians in the Transvaal were recognized. Most of them had already been sent out in the public roads to break stones. Most of the leaders, Mr. Gandhi added, were very delicate, and Mr. Dawad Mahomed was old, and could hardly lift a weight, but such was his love for his country, he understood, that he performed the allotted task with the utmost cheerfulness.

"Do you think the trouble here produces any effect in India?" further queried the interviewer. Mr. Gandhi answered that he certainly thought it did. The meeting that was held last January in Bombay under the presidency of His Highness the Aga Khan was very widely attended. Anglo-Indians and Indians were absolutely united on this question, and so were Mahomedans, Hindoos, Christians, and Parsees. The protest made at the Bombay meeting was emphatic and unanimous. Advice[s] lately received also showed that the treatment in the Transvaal and consequent suffering had affected British India very deeply. Mr. T.J. Bennett, who was the proprietor of one of the leading newspapers of India, writing to the London *Times*, the other day, had said that during his recent travels in India he found that Indians, rich and poor, maharajahs and plebeians, resented the treatment very bitterly, and all wondered what the Imperial Government was doing to allow[*sic*] it. There was no doubt that Lord Morley was being pressed, in connection with this question, from many parts of India. Those in India who were the warmest friends of the Empire had been moving heaven and earth in order to secure fair treatment in the Transvaal, as, also, indeed, in South Africa.

Turning now to the local questions affecting Indians, our representative asked Mr. Gandhi what he thought of the Indian Bills passed during the last session.

To this query, he replied that he would be very much surprised indeed if these Indian Bills received the Royal assent. They laid down a principle, not of compensation, but of confiscation. An analogy had been drawn between liquor licensing legislation at Home and trade licences. Surely there should be no comparison between the two. Liquor licences were admitted to be an evil, and the cause of national degradation. Everyone wanted to see public-houses restricted, if not done away with altogether. Naturally, therefore, there would be, or must be, legislation with reference to these licences; indeed, with reference to them, the question was one of compensation or no compensation. All parties were agreed that many public-houses should be closed, but with reference to trading licences, whatever might be the local prejudices, nobody could seriously contend that they should be treated on the same footing as liquor

licences. To his mind, so long as the system of inducing indentured labour from India was continued, there certainly would be no rest in Natal, so far as Indians were concerned. Licensing legislation was merely a useless palliative. If indentured immigration were stopped, they would find that the Indian question would solve itself. There was scope enough for the present population of Natal, and the European population should certainly expand without taking the bread away from the mouths of the free Indian population. But if the system of indenture were continued, there must necessarily be a forced addition to the Indian population, and, consequently, agitation. Of course, some of the industries of Natal would, at the commencement, suffer, but he could not help thinking that it was much better that these industries should suffer than that they should have an eternal eyesore in the Colony. There might be even a way of compensating these particular industries, but indentured labour should be stopped at the earliest possible moment.

In this, concluded Mr. Gandhi, Indians could always be relied upon; they were just as anxious that the system should be stopped as any Colonist could be, and he only hoped that Mr. Evans, who had commenced his crusade against the system, would not rest satisfied until it was abolished.

The Natal Mercury, 1-10-1908

41. TELEGRAM TO COLONIAL SECRETARY[1]

[DURBAN,]
October 2, 1908

HON'BLE COLONIAL SECRETARY
P. M. BURG[2]

NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS LEARN[S] SOME BRITISH INDIANS ARRIVED PER *Governeur*. THEY HOLD PROOF RESIDENCE TRANSVAAL. IMMIGRATION OFFICER DECLINES GRANT EMBARKATION PASSES. SOME PASSENGERS MINOR CHILDREN WHOSE PARENTS HAVE ARRIVED FROM TRANSVAAL FETCH THEM. OFFICER[3] DECLINES PERMISSION LEGAL ADVISERS SEE PASSENGERS. CONGRESS CONSIDERS THIS UNJUST AND CRUEL. REQUEST[S] PERMISSION SEE PASSENGERS AND REQUEST[S] INSTRUCTIONS OFFICER ISSUE EMBARKATION PASSES. CONGRESS GUARANTEES THESE MEN PROCEEDING TRANSVAAL.

NICELY[4]

From a photostat of the original draft in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 4889

[1] The telegram was signed by Gandhiji "for sender". A copy of it was forwarded to the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies by L. W. Ritch on October 6.
[2] Pietermaritzburg
[3] The original has "officers".
[4] Telegraphic address of the Natal Indian Congress

A. NATAL GOVERNMENT TELEGRAPHS. No. of Message

Prefix.	Code.	Class.	Sent. At ___ m. To ___ By ___	For Stamps. (A receipt for the Charges on this Telegram can be obtained, price Twopence.)	Office Stamp.
Office of Origin and Service Instructions.			Words. Charge.		

FROM Please Write Distinctly. TO

Nicely
Sn. 4889 L.n. 99

Hon'ble Colonial.
secretary.
P.M.Burg

Natal Indian Congress learn
some British Indians arrived
per governeur they hold
proof residence Transvaal
Immigration officer ~~[illegible]~~
declines grant imbarkation
passes some passengers
minor children whose
parents have arrived
from Transvaal fetch them
officers declines permission
legal advisers see passengers
Congress considers this
unjust and cruel request

permission see passengers
and request instructions.
officer issue imbarkation
passes congress guarantees
these men proceeding
Transvaal

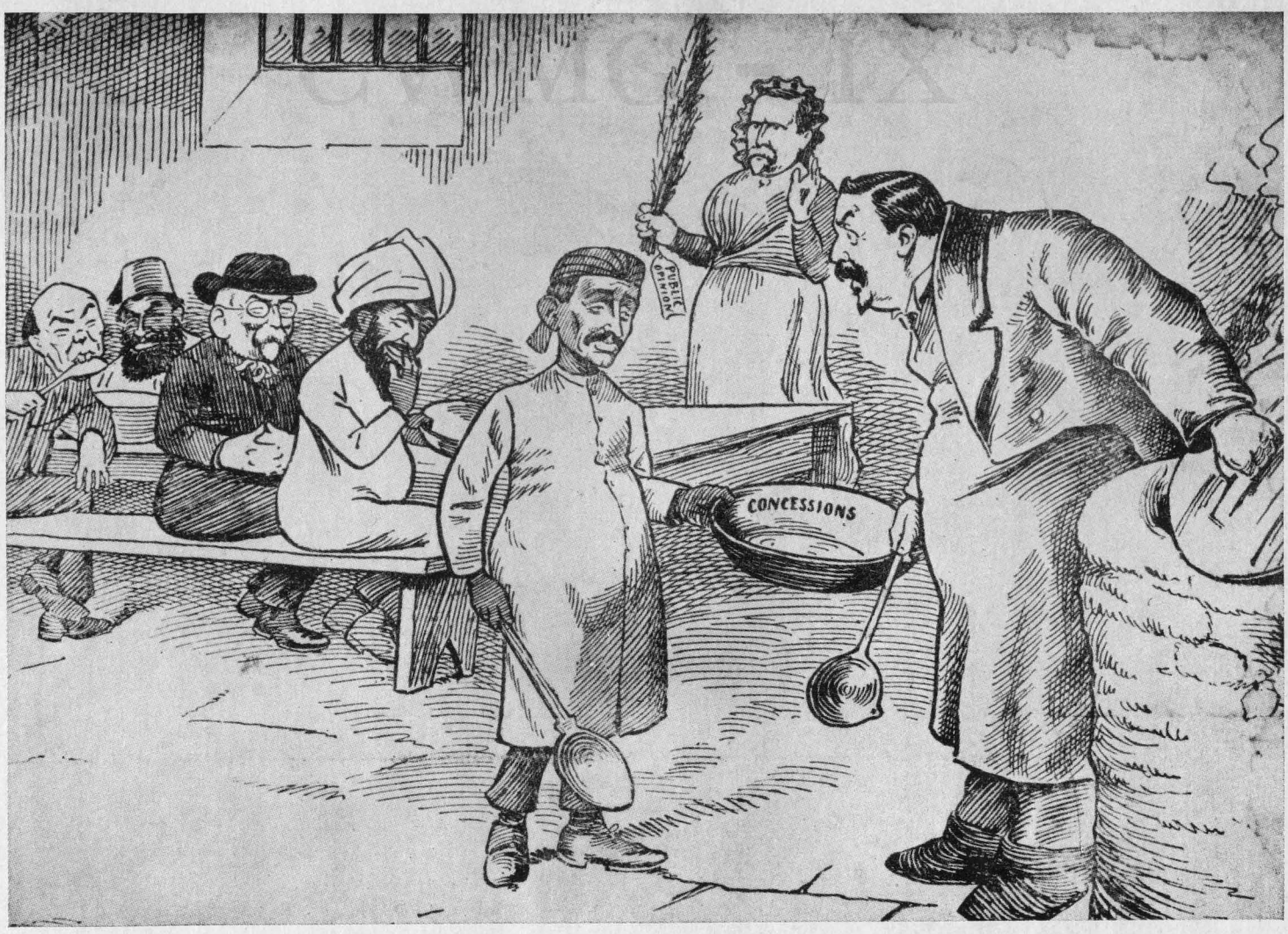
2/10/08

Signature of Sender W.K. Gandhi for sender

Address (in full)

P. L.

TELEGRAM TO COLONIAL SECRETARY



OLIVER GANDHI : "PLEASE, SIR, I WANT SOME MORE!"

42. CABLE TO S.A.B.I. COMMITTEE[1]

DURBAN,
October 2, 1908

TO
THE SOUTH AFRICA BRITISH INDIAN COMMITTEE
LONDON

CONGRESS STAGGERED. OVER 80 ARRESTS KOMATIPOORT[2]. THIRTEEN INDIANS FROM BOMBAY INCLUDING MINOR CHILDREN HOLDING TRANSVAAL CERTIFICATES REFUSED TRANSIT PASSES PROCEED TRANSVAAL BECAUSE THEY WILL NOT ACCEPT NEW ACT. TRANSVAAL OFFICIAL THREATENING THEM. NATAL OFFICIALS HELPING HIM. LEGAL ADVISER REFUSED PERMISSION SEE THEM.[3] CONGRESS CONSIDERS THIS COERCION. RESULT WILL BE MEN DEPRIVED OPPORTUNITY CONTESTING RIGHT TRANSVAAL COURTS.

NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS

From a photostat of the draft in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 4913; also Colonial Office Records: 291/132

43. DRAFT FOR MINISTERS OF RELIGION

[*October 2, 1908*][4]

We the undersigned Ministers of Religion resident in Johannesburg being horrified at the alleged treatment of a large number of Indians on their way from Delagoa Bay to their homes in the Transvaal *via* Komatipoort urgently appeal to the Transvaal Government in the names of Religion and Humanity to forthwith institute careful enquiries into

[1] Of the original draft in Gandhiji's hand which is damaged, only the first page is available. It ends with the words "legal adviser". The telegram, however, is available in full in the Colonial Office Records. A copy of it was forwarded by L. W. Ritch on October 3 to the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies.

[2] The original has "Komatiepoort".

[3] Romer Robinson, a leading solicitor of Durban, wrote in his letter of October 2, 1908 to the Indian Immigration Restriction Officer: "I am told further that leave for me to visit these Indians as their legal adviser has been refused so that they are denied even the privilege of a criminal in gaol. Is this so? If not, please give me written permission to interview them."

[4] The draft appears to have been prepared at about the same time when Gandhiji sent the "Telegram to Colonial Secretary", p. 80 and the preceding item.

these allegations and in accordance with the evidence obtained to take such action as will vindicate justice.

We also pray that the religious objections of the Asiatics to certain elements of prison diet may be respected and that another earnest effort may be made to effect a satisfactory settlement of the present difficulties.

DOKE
PHILLIPS
HOWARD
TITCOMBE
CANON BERRY
DR. HUNTER
BERRY
LENDER BLOP [1]

From the original draft in pencil: S.N. 4885

44. *NATAL INDENTURED LABOURERS*

The [*Natal*] *Advertiser*, of Durban, is a determined enemy of the Indian community. Even so, its editor could not remain unmoved by the sufferings of the Indian indentured labourers. In a lengthy comment, he has shown that the condition of Indians under indenture is not far different from slavery. The members of the Immigration Trust, which administers the affairs of indentured labourers, are elected by their white employers. It is these members who appoint the physicians to look after indentured labourers. Whether the labourers are happy or not depends very largely on the physicians. If the latter in their turn depend for their livelihood on the employers of indentured labour, they are not generally free to express their own views. For instance, if a physician certifies that a certain Indian is physically unfit, the employer will not only be deprived of the benefit of his labour during the period of his illness, but will also be required to bear the expenses of his treatment. A physician who discharges his duty faithfully is thus likely to incur the displeasure of the employer. When there is conflict between duty and self-interest, most men prefer the latter. The *Advertiser* suggests therefore that the physicians should be free from the control of the employers. The Protector of Indians is almost in the same predicament as the physician. The Protector is a member of the Trust Board. Since many of the members of the Board are themselves employers of indentured labour, the Protector can make himself heard no more than a reed. The *Advertiser* states further that

[1] The names of the signatories are in Gandhiji's hand.

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an indentured labourer who deserts work has to suffer imprisonment. Ordinarily, when a servant throws up his job, his employer can only file a civil suit against him. For the indentured labourer, on the other hand, no better lot is ordained than imprisonment. Pointing out that these conditions are the marks of slavery, the editor of the *Advertiser* urges the whites of the Colony to stop importation of indentured labour from India and to amend the regulations relating to indenture. This is a fine opportunity to secure some improvement in the conditions of indentured labourers. We believe, however, that no improvement of any real value is possible. The best way is to stop the system of indenture. Indian newspapers have published the experiences of an indentured labourer in Mauritius. We summarize these elsewhere.[1] Probably the reports are somewhat exaggerated. It is certain, however, that the condition of indentured labourers is utterly miserable. Indian indentured labourers are not found to be happy in any part of the world. A study of world history tells us that at first slaves were generally kept as a substitute for cattle and were treated as such, and that as soon as legalized slavery had disappeared, thanks to the powerful influence of the British people, it was reintroduced in other forms. In all such places, or in the neighbourhood of such places, where Indians or members of other communities are employed at present to work under a system of indenture, it was the practice formerly to employ slaves. It is natural for the rich to want to control others by force. The only way to prevent the suffering which may result from this tendency of theirs is to limit their powers by law. In other words, the method of exploiting human labour under a system of indenture should be prohibited by law. Therefore, the main duty of Natal Indians in this matter is to start an agitation on a big scale, to adopt satyagraha, if necessary, and bring the system of indenture to an end.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 3-10-1908

45. REAL EDUCATION

We have sometimes been told, orally and in writing, that the satyagraha campaign in the Transvaal, which we have been sponsoring and for which we have been making sacrifices, is all a vain effort. These advisers of ours argue, moreover, that there is no justification for such an effort for the sake of the handful of Indians who live in South Africa. And in any case, [they say,] Indians will have no choice in the end but to leave this country. It will then be found that we had been building on foundations of sand.

[1] Not reproduced here

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Such reflections have given rise to doubts in the minds of some of our readers. Let us consider this matter a little.

We have no hesitation in saying that the argument is entirely fallacious. Those who advance it do not understand the deep significance and the marvellous power of satyagraha. It is a counsel of despair to say that Indians will be forced to leave South Africa in the end. We visualize no such possibility. If the Indian community can practise satyagraha even in a small measure, there is no reason why it should have to leave this country.

But, even if it is obliged to leave the country, it will have already enjoyed the fruits of satyagraha. That one can secure one's rights through satyagraha is not the reason why it is practised. Securing one's rights is one of the results, but satyagraha can be offered without thinking of the result. As for efforts of other kinds, we count them wasted if there are no results. For instance, if a man aims at seizing the property of another by killing him, and fails either to kill him or to get the property, he will feel frustrated and, maybe, will himself have to face death. In satyagraha, it makes no difference whether the result is achieved or not. For, there is no cause for frustration in the event of failure. In the case of the Transvaal agitation, even if the obnoxious law had continued to be in force, those who resorted to satyagraha would have ever remained victorious. Their efforts would have done the community no harm. Putting the same thing in another way, we can say that satyagraha is a kind of education in the real sense of the term. If we undergo education with a specific object in view, such as earning our livelihood, the education that has been received will not be wasted even though we fail to earn our livelihood through it. In like manner, the invaluable education—the benefit—received through the strengthening of will power which results from our adherence to truth and suffering hardships for its sake, is never lost. Those who became satyagrahis, and have remained so, will reap the benefits of satyagraha in any part of the world where they may go.

If, moreover, we look closely into the result of satyagraha, we shall find that it is always the same, that it is invariably good. If on any occasion we fail to discover such a result, it will not be because of any imperfection in satyagraha as such, but because people might not have been steadfast in their satyagraha.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 3-10-1908

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46. OUR AIM

It is the object of those, both whites and Indians, who are engaged in publishing this paper, to serve the entire human race. There is an obvious reason why the first duty of the whites and of the Indians living in Phœnix is to serve the Indian community. Indians must, of course, serve India. If, instead of doing that, anyone were to claim that he was dedicated to the service of mankind as a whole, it would be nothing more than a pretence—it would be no service, or anything that could be called service. The whites who have joined us were formerly engaged in their own avocations. There was no need for them to offer their services to the white community. Wishing to renounce their selfish pursuits and to devote themselves to the service of others, they decided to join the journal. That is how we look at the matter.

But we cannot be content with merely bringing out a paper. Those who have chosen to settle in Phœnix wish to educate themselves and to extend the benefits of their education to the entire Indian people. With this end in view, those members of the journal's staff who can teach devote a part of their time to the education of the children living in Phœnix. That arrangement has been in force for several months past. The members engaged in this teaching work neither receive nor expect payment.

The number of children at Phœnix is so small that it has not been found necessary to have a separate school building for them. Mr. Cordes[1] has offered the use of his building for the purpose.

Teaching is done through both Gujarati and English. Attention is paid to the simultaneous development of mind and body. Special emphasis is laid on strengthening the moral character of pupils.

We aim at making such education available to all Indian children. Our chief object is to provide education to those children only who may live in Phœnix. For, it is not good for children to have one standard of behaviour in the school and another at home.

Some who have heard of this school have expressed a desire to send their children to Phœnix. But we are not in a position to meet their request for want of residential and school accommodation facilities.

We do not have the resources for putting up the required buildings. The buildings need money. We therefore invite the views of those

[1] A German theosophist who was attached to Gandhiji and was for some time in charge of the school at Phœnix; he died at Sevagram in 1960.

among our readers who believe that a school along the lines indicated above should be established. If they offer us monetary help, we shall be prepared to put up a building for the school as also a hostel. Trustees may be appointed to supervise the expenditure to be incurred and the accounts of all expenditure on construction of buildings may be published. This is a big undertaking and it is after long deliberation, therefore, that we place the matter before our readers.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 3-10-1908

47. JOHANNESBURG LETTER[1]

Rustomjee's Message

On behalf of the prisoners, Mr. Rustomjee has sent a message that "instead of taking any hasty step to seek a compromise, we should obtain everyone's signature". These are his own words. They show the prisoners' courage, and point out their duty to Indians.

Warning

On receipt of a report that a steamer named *Governeur* was due to arrive in Durban with Indian passengers aboard, and that Mr. Chamney would receive applications from them on board the steamer, telegraphic instructions were sent to Mr. Ismail Manga, Mr. Ismail Halimbhai, Mr. Hormusji Edulji, Mr. Nanji Durlabhadas and Mr. Vrijdas Lalchand that they should warn the Delagoa Bay passengers not to walk into the trap laid by the Government. They should be asked to disembark at Durban and proceed thence to the Transvaal to join the movement there. Owing to an error of a day in calculation, no one could be deputed specially for the purpose. Mr. Cama and Mr. Nagadi had got ready to go.

Prisoners' Diet

The British Indian Association and the Government are still at odds with each other with regard to the prisoners' diet. There are now two complaints instead of one. As for mealie pap at breakfast, Mr. Cachalia has already taken up the issue [with the authorities]. But it is stated now by the Director of Prisons that food arrangements differ from prison to prison. The Government has been asked to supply copies of the different manuals on this subject.

[1] Gandhiji was in Durban during this period and could not have written about happenings in the Transvaal at the same time. Only those portions of the dispatch therefore which can be reasonably attributed to him are given here.

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"DAILY MAIL" COMMENT

Commenting on this in its issue of Saturday last, the [*Rand*] *Daily Mail* observes that there is no uniform scale for Indian prisoners throughout the Colony. This is quite surprising. In one of the prisons, Indians are allowed a diet to which they are used. Elsewhere they are given maize flour and animal fat which they can refuse only on pain of being starved. The complaint, the journal thinks, deserves to be attended to. An orthodox Hindu will prefer to die rather than touch to animal fat. When men are sentenced in this country, they are not sentenced to starvation. If a white prisoner, who happens to be a vegetarian, were asked to accept non-vegetarian diet or starve, or if a Jew were asked to accept animal fat or go without food, there would be an uproar; or, if whisky and soda were to be offered to those who never take them, on pain of their having to go thirsty if they did not accept them, there would be a big outcry. In whatever gaols Indian prisoners are lodged, they must get their rice and ghee.

CHAMNEY UNFIT?

Mr. Gandhi has often told General Smuts that Mr. Chamney is quite unfit for the post he is holding.[1] It was a good thing that Mr. Bhaiji was sentenced to a month's imprisonment. I congratulate him. But why should Mr. Bhaiji have been sentenced when Mr. Mulji Patel and Mr. Harilal Gandhi were discharged? Mr. Bhaiji, too, holds [both] the permit [and] the register. He is also, like the other two, entitled to apply under the new Act. That Mr. Bhaiji does not intend to apply is quite another matter. But the Government had in fact no power to arrest him for two months. Mr. Polak has criticized this case in very strong terms. It has brought us nothing but gain. However, my object in referring to this matter is [to show] that it may perhaps be necessary for the British Indian Association to petition for the removal of Mr. Chamney. I do not want Mr. Chamney to be deprived of his means of livelihood, but an officer who is altogether ignorant of his duty can do no good to the community.

Looking at the matter from another point of view, we feel that the Indian community has profited by Mr. Chamney's ignorance. Had he not been guilty of serious errors, we would not have won our freedom so soon in the measure that we have done. In regard to the issues still pending, we shall be free quite soon, thanks to Mr. Chamney's errors.

COURAGEOUS LETTER

"A Poor Indian Harassed by the Law", whose letter I gave earlier,[2] has now assumed the name, "A Dauntless Soldier of Satya-

[1] *Vide* Vol. VI, p. 412, Vol. VII, pp. 359 & 410.
[2] *Vide* "Johannesburg Letter", pp. 65-6.

graha", and written to say that he did not write that letter in a defeatist mood. He had only given expression to the thoughts of many. As for himself, he will not allow his mind to be influenced by considerations of health or money. He would welcome whatever suffering might be inflicted [on him] in the faith that all that we do must be for the [common] good. Anyone [he goes on to say,] who clings to satyagraha with courage and faith in truth is bound to win.

I congratulate this satyagrahi, and hope that he will remain firm till the end.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 3-10-1908

48. CABLE TO S.A.B.I. COMMITTEE

JOHANNESBURG,
October 3, 1908

TO
THE SOUTH AFRICA BRITISH INDIAN COMMITTEE
[LONDON]

FIFTYEIGHT INDIANS PROSECUTED KOMATIPOORT[1]. IMMIGRATION ACT READ WITH NEW ACT ON ACCOUNT ENTERING COLONY WITHOUT MAKING APPLICATION OUTSIDE COLONY UNDER LATTER. ALL POSSESSED PEACE PRESERVATION PERMITS MILNER REGISTRATIONS OR OTHER AUTHORITY TO ENTER. ALL LONG DOMICILED TRANSVAAL JUST RETURNED VISIT INDIA SENTENCED TWO MONTHS OR TWENTY POUNDS ADDITIONAL DEPORTATION ORDER NOTWITHSTANDING RIGHT UNDER UNREPEALED ASIATIC ACT TO APPLY REGISTRATION EIGHT DAYS AFTER ENTERING. SEVENTEEN MINORS AVERAGE AGE ELEVEN CHILDREN AFORESAID DETAINED. COMMUNITY INFURIATED. OLD RESIDENTS THEIR CHILDREN TREATED AS PROHIBITED IMMIGRANTS. LARGE INTERESTS AT STAKE. PEOPLE OUGHT NOT BE DEPORTED. COMMUNITY FIRM ABOUT REPEAL OLD ACT, PROVISION FREE ENTRY CULTURED INDIANS UNDER STRICTEST ADMINISTRATIVE TEST. IMMENSE SUFFERING ANTICIPATED.

M. K. GANDHI

Colonial Office Records: 291/132; also Governor's Office File: 18/1/1908—Part III and *Indian Opinion*, 10-10-1908.

[1] The original has "Komatiepoort".

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49. CABLE TO S.A.B.I. COMMITTEE

JOHANNESBURG,
October 5, 1908

TO
THE SOUTH AFRICA BRITISH INDIAN COMMITTEE
LONDON

TRANSVAAL RETURNING INDIANS VIA DELAGOA BAY FROM VISIT INDIA WITH FAMILIES INCLUDED BROTHER LATE CHAIRMAN ASSOCIATION, WIFE, BABIES, MOTHER AGED 80 PARALYTIC.[1] 17 MINORS REMOVED TRAIN KOMATIPOORT[2] WHERE 80 MEN, WOMEN, CHILDREN HERDED SMALL FILTHY ROOM. WOMEN BABIES EXPOSED OPEN AIR WHOLE NIGHT AND DAY ALL FOODLESS TWO DAYS. WOMEN, BABIES ALLOWED PROCEED STARVING OWING MAHOMEDAN FAST. REMAINDER CONVEYED KAFIR TRUCKS, BARBERTON WHERE POLICE PREVENTED LOCAL INDIANS SUPPLYING FOOD. OBLIGED ENGAGE SOLICITOR. MINORS STILL DETAINED. ALTERNATIVES CHARITY LOCAL COMMUNITY GAOL. URGENTLY BEG IMPERIAL GOVERNMENT INTERVENE STOP BARBAROUS INHUMAN TREATMENT. RELIGIOUSLY UNCLEAN FOOD SUPPLIED SOME GAOLS CONSEQUENT PARTIAL STARVATION.

M. K. GANDHI

Colonial Office Records: 291/132; also Governor's Office File: 18/1/1908—Part III

50. LETTER TO J. J. DOKE

KING EDWARD'S HOTEL,[3]
VOLKSRUST,
Thursday [*October 8, 1908*]

DEAR MR. DOKE,

I received your note[4] at Phœnix. The expected has happened. I think it is well. I have arrived just in time. There were serious differences between two sections here. They are by no means over yet.

[1] The original has a comma here.
[2] The original has "Komatiepoort".
[3] This was the name Gandhiji gave to the Volksrust prison, where he was interned on October 7, 1908.
[4] The reference is to Doke's letter of September 30; *vide* Appendix VI.

You will say I have accepted the hospitality before the 'settings' were finished. I think it was better that I should do that than that the invitation should be rejected for the sake of the 'settings'. And after all I have done nothing.

For six days I may carry on correspondence. If you think I should answer any questions, you may write.

I must now stop as I have been called away to give digit impressions.

Please excuse me to Olive[1] for not writing.

I am,
Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From the original in Gandhiji's hand: G.N. 4093
Courtesy: C. M. Doke

51. WHY IS RELEASE OF BUSINESSMEN DELAYED?

Many Indians have been asking this question. The answer is that our satyagraha is imperfect. A satyagraha campaign obeys the rule of three. We can load a cart in proportion to its strength. If overloaded, the cart may give way. The same holds good in the case of the satyagraha cart. The businessmen have gone to gaol for the sake of the community. To be sure, the cart of their sufferings will carry the load of other Indians' happiness. But it will move forward rapidly if others put their hands to the wheel. If no men come forward for this, the cart will be stranded on the way. Not that it will break. But it may take time to reach the destination. Satyagraha is in no way to blame for this. The continued delay shows that the satyagraha is not as intensive as it should be. Because of this the cart has slowed down. If more men come forward to join satyagraha, the end will come quite soon. This is simple enough.

In Natal, hundreds of Indians went to see the businessmen off. Many of them expressed readiness to follow them. But now that the time has come, only 13 have come forward. Many showed themselves ready for work. Now that the time has arrived, they are not to be found anywhere. Everyone seems to ask what he himself would gain, forgetting that satyagraha can be offered only to advance the interests of others. One need not even be conscious that the interests of others include one's own. Natal has not acted in this manner, though it is not to blame for

[1] Doke's daughter, later a missionary in Northern Rhodesia, who, on September 30, had written to Gandhiji wishing him "very many happy returns" on his birthday, October 2.

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this. It only shows that we have not had enough experience, that we lack the capacity to suffer, that we lack knowledge. We shall acquire these things in due course. Meanwhile, we need not grow impatient if there is delay in achieving the desired result in any particular case.

For the present, those who understand what satyagraha means should remain steadfast in it. Even if only one man is left, he can continue satyagraha. He will have done his whole duty. One can do no more.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 10-10-1908

52. SOME PROBLEMS OF NATAL

We think the condition of Natal Indians is deteriorating day by day. The present Government here is altogether bad, unsure of its ground and indifferent to Indians.

Traders will begin to experience hardships in regard to licences.

The poll-tax on labourers whose indenture has expired is an oppressive burden.

Those who are slaving under the system of indenture are treated harshly by their masters.

New restrictive laws continue to be enacted.

Grants-in-aid to schools have been reduced. Boys above the age of fourteen are not allowed to be admitted.

What should be done to remedy all this? Should a petition be made? Will it do any good? What if it does not? If satyagraha is advised, should all of them act collectively or each group for itself?

We should patiently seek answers to all these questions. A petition must certainly be made. But it should have some sanctions behind it. These sanctions can be created by satyagraha.

But satyagraha can be offered only by a man who understands truth. If we knew what truth meant and acted accordingly, there would have been no such hardships as those mentioned above. How, then, can we offer satyagraha? The answer is that resistance through satyagraha itself implies that we gradually learn to follow truth. Our grievances will disappear in the measure in which we cultivate truthfulness.

We shall consider some time later how satyagraha can be offered in particular situations.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 10-10-1908

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53. *PRISONERS' CONDITION*[1]

Saturday [*October 10, 1908*]

Just as in January [1908] the Johannesburg prison had overflowed with Indians, this time it is Volksrust gaol which has overflowed. More Indians are coming in. Today there are 37 in gaol, from among whom the following 17 persons are serving sentences of imprisonment:

Messrs Dawad Mahomed, Parsee Rustomjee, M. C. Anglia, Shapurji Randeria, Sorabji Shapurji, Azam Sedu Patel — all these have been sentenced to three months each — and Messrs Kazi Kalamian Dadamian, Omar Osman, Mulji Uka Mayavasi, Ibrahim Hoosen, Ismail Essop, Vally Amodji Randerwala, Mohanlal Parmananddas Killawala, Harishanker Ishwar Joshi, Mohanlal Narbheram Goshalia, Surendrarai Bapubhai Medh and Umiyashanker Manchharam Shelat, each serving a six-week term.

The following 19 persons are awaiting trial. Instead of applying for bail, they are refreshing themselves in gaol:

Messrs Mavji Karsanji Kothari, Ratanshi Mulji Sodha, Khatri Damodar Durlabh Gandevi, Khatri Dahya Narasi, Zinabhai Vallabhbhai Ugi, Bhikhabhai Kalyanji Ugi, Lalbhai Nathubhai, Vasanji Lalbhai, Moonsami Elleri, Mulji Ratanji, Hira Mulji, Raghavji Ragunath Mehta, Ravikrishna Talevantsingh, Davji Ahmed, Karsan Jogi, Lakshman Vartachalan, Morar Makan, Pakiri Naidoo and M. K. Gandhi.

From among these, Mr. Mavji Karsanji Kothari got himself released on bail only today, with everyone's consent, and left for the town. The object is to have a close watch kept on the trains arriving from Durban. It appears that three Madrasis have applied in Charlestown for submission to the Act. Since it was felt necessary that such persons should be acquainted with the true position, it was decided to apply for bail for Mr. Mavji. After he is imprisoned, some other arrangement will have to be made.

"Ramzan Sharif"

All the Muslim prisoners are duly observing the *Ramzan*[2]. Mr. Kazi brings them food specially prepared for the purpose. The Governor [of the prison] has granted special permission for this. Permission has

[1] This appears to have been written from Volksrust lock-up where Gandhiji, arrested on October 7, was awaiting trial. It was published as "From Our Special Representative" at Volksrust.

[2] The 9th month of the Muslim year *Hijr*, during which the Muslims fast from sunrise to sunset

also been granted for keeping a clock and a light in their cell. All of them are particular about the *namaz*[1], and pass the time cheerfully.

Work in Gaol

Those who are observing *roza*[2] and other Indians as well are being given very little work for the present. Mr. Shelat and Mr. Medh work as cooks. The rest engage themselves in cleaning the cells or such other miscellaneous work, which they do not find hard or difficult in any way. If anyone is found to be ill, he is totally exempted from work. All the officers, including the gaoler, behave well. One need not take off one's cap, but may only salute. This is a mere trifle. Taking off the head-gear is more convenient for those who wear a hat. But I am reporting this just to show that even in a matter like this, the officers do not harass anyone. Orders have been issued permitting the Parsees to wear their customary shirt and sacred thread as well as their own cap.

Prison Diet

By way of food, one gets mealie pap in the morning, plenty of rice with a green vegetable (such as cabbage, etc.) for the midday meal, and rice in the same quantity with beans in the evening. Since food is cooked by the prisoners themselves, it is quite eatable. Apart from the nuisance of mealie pap, this diet can be considered deficient only in respect of ghee. The regulations here do not provide for any ghee or fat to Indians. A complaint has therefore been made to the physician, and he has promised to look into it. So there is reason to hope that the inclusion of ghee will be ordered. Most of the prisoners take mealie pap —some more, some less.

Fasting

Mr. Ratanshi Sodha, however, does not eat anything. He and the other Indians with him joined [us] on Wednesday. He ate something on the train on Wednesday, after which he had nothing, except a small quantity of groundnut once. He has been fasting thus just to please himself. He intends to miss a few more meals. He does not show that he dislikes the food served here. He is only making an experiment to find out how long he can fast.

Gaol Building

Indians are so happy in gaol that one should think of it only as a palace. It is well built, too. It is constructed of stone. The cells are large. Ventilation is satisfactory. There is an open courtyard in

[1] Prayers offered by Muslims always facing the west
[2] Fast during *Ramzan*

the middle, with a flooring of black stone. For bathing there are three showers. Water pours out of these in large quantities, enabling one to have a very good bath. Under-trial prisoners are given bread and sugar in addition. The courtyard is covered with a barbed-wire netting. In spite of strict arrangements, two Negroes once escaped by breaking through the tin roof. Hence, there is now a strong iron ceiling.

Deported

Messrs Zinabhai Vallabhbhai, Bhikha Kalyan and Mahomed Hoosen were ordered to be deported. Before they were deported yesterday, they were unnecessarily locked up in the gaol for 13 days. Of these, Mr. Zinabhai and Mr. Bhikhabhai returned as soon as they were put across the border. They spent the night yesterday in the Volksrust police station. They were welcomed here today. As for Mr. Mahomed Hoosen Konkani, he got cold feet and stuck to Charlestown.

Sorabji and Azam

These two have become seasoned with long terms of imprisonment. They were deported today at 3 o'clock, for no apparent reason. However, they were to return the moment they were put on the other side, so that the affair will turn out to be merely a joke on the part of the Government.

Sunday [*October 11, 1908*]

Both these brave soldiers of India who have fought many a battle returned as soon as they reached the other side. The moment they were put across, they jumped over into the Transvaal without so much as a second's interval, were arrested by the same gentleman who had gone with them to put them across the border, and again entered King Edward's Hotel. All the Indians of Charlestown had turned up to receive them. They were disappointed. They did not even have the opportunity to arrange a party for them. The poor Chinaman, who was deported along with Mr. Sorabji and Mr. Azam, was dragged away by a Charlestown officer. This shows that Indians have risen in the estimation of others. The whites do feel a little afraid of them. The court can do nothing to the Chinaman, and the Immigration Officer has no authority to restrain him.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 17-10-1908

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54. PETITION TO RESIDENT MAGISTRATE[1]

VOLKSRUST GAOL,
October 11, 1908

THE RESIDENT MAGISTRATE
VOLKSRUST

THE PETITION OF THE UNDERSIGNED PRISONERS AT HIS MAJESTY'S GAOL AT VOLKSRUST

HUMBLY SHEWETH THAT:

Your petitioners are prisoners at His Majesty's gaol at Volksrust either serving imprisonment or awaiting trial.

Your petitioners are British Indians.

Your petitioners find on perusing the diet scale for British Indians that no fat is at all supplied with their food.

The scale consists merely of mealie pap, vegetables and rice for convicted prisoners, bread being added to the above for prisoners awaiting trial.

Your petitioners find that natives are regularly supplied with fat and Europeans with meat which contains the requisite amount of fat.[2]

In the humble opinion of your petitioners, the diet supplied to British Indian prisoners is medically deficient by reason of the absence of fat in the Indian diet scale.

Moreover, your petitioners for religious reasons are unable to take animal food or fat prepared from meat,[3] and therefore, on meat days remain without meat or its substitute.[4]

[1] Gandhiji drew up the petition originally in his hand and then evidently dictated a slightly modified draft which was later adopted. This was further revised before submission.

[2] The first draft here read: "Your petitioners find that Europeans and natives are regularly supplied with fat."

[3] The first draft did not have the words: "or fat prepared from meat".

[4] Here followed the paragraphs below, which were in both the drafts, but were finally omitted:

"Your petitioners who are Mahomedans have been graciously permitted during the past few days, it being their fasting month, to receive food from outside.

"Owing to the said permission, the hardship due to the absence of fat and a substitute for meat has been confined to a few.

"But now by reason of the advent of many more, the difficulty has become serious."

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Your petitioners have often complained of the above deficiency but owing to the advent of a large number of other Indians, the hardship has become serious.[1]

Your petitioners therefore pray that

(1) ghee may be added to the ordinary Indian scale and

(2) a vegetarian substitute in the shape of lentils or green vegetables may be authorised for meat on meat days.

Your petitioners further pray that should permission of the Director of Prisons be deemed necessary, you will be pleased to telegraph or telephone the contents hereof for the requested relief.

And for this act of justice, etc.

DAWUD MAHOMED
PARSEE RUSTOMJEE
M. C. ANGLIA
M. K. GANDHI
and 33 others[2]

From a photostat of the original handwritten office copy: S.N. 4893

55. TO SATYAGRAHIS AND OTHER INDIANS[3]

[VOLKSRUST GAOL,
October 13, 1908]

Since I shall have no opportunity of writing for *Indian Opinion* during the time I shall be serving a sentence of imprisonment, I take the liberty of addressing a few words to satyagrahis and other Indians.

Those who are outside carry a greater responsibility than those in gaol. In fact, the real trouble will have to be faced by those who want to serve sincerely from outside. The hardships of gaol life are mostly imaginary. Here I find everyone as happy as a bird the whole day long. The occasional harassment by inconsiderate officers can be remedied immediately. I hope therefore that no Indian will fight shy of going to gaol for the sake of the motherland.

Satyagraha is both easy and difficult. I think it should be easy by now for everyone to see that every grievance can be remedied if we make it a point to follow nothing but the truth. It is difficult to observe truth—to suffer in order to put an end to suffering. And yet, the more

[1] This paragraph, not found in the first draft, was introduced in the second during revision.

[2] Of the 37 signatories, 21 signed in English, 10 in Gujarati, one in Tamil and five affixed their thumb-impressions.

[3] This message was sent by Gandhiji on October 13 from the lock-up at Volksrust, before his trial on October 14.

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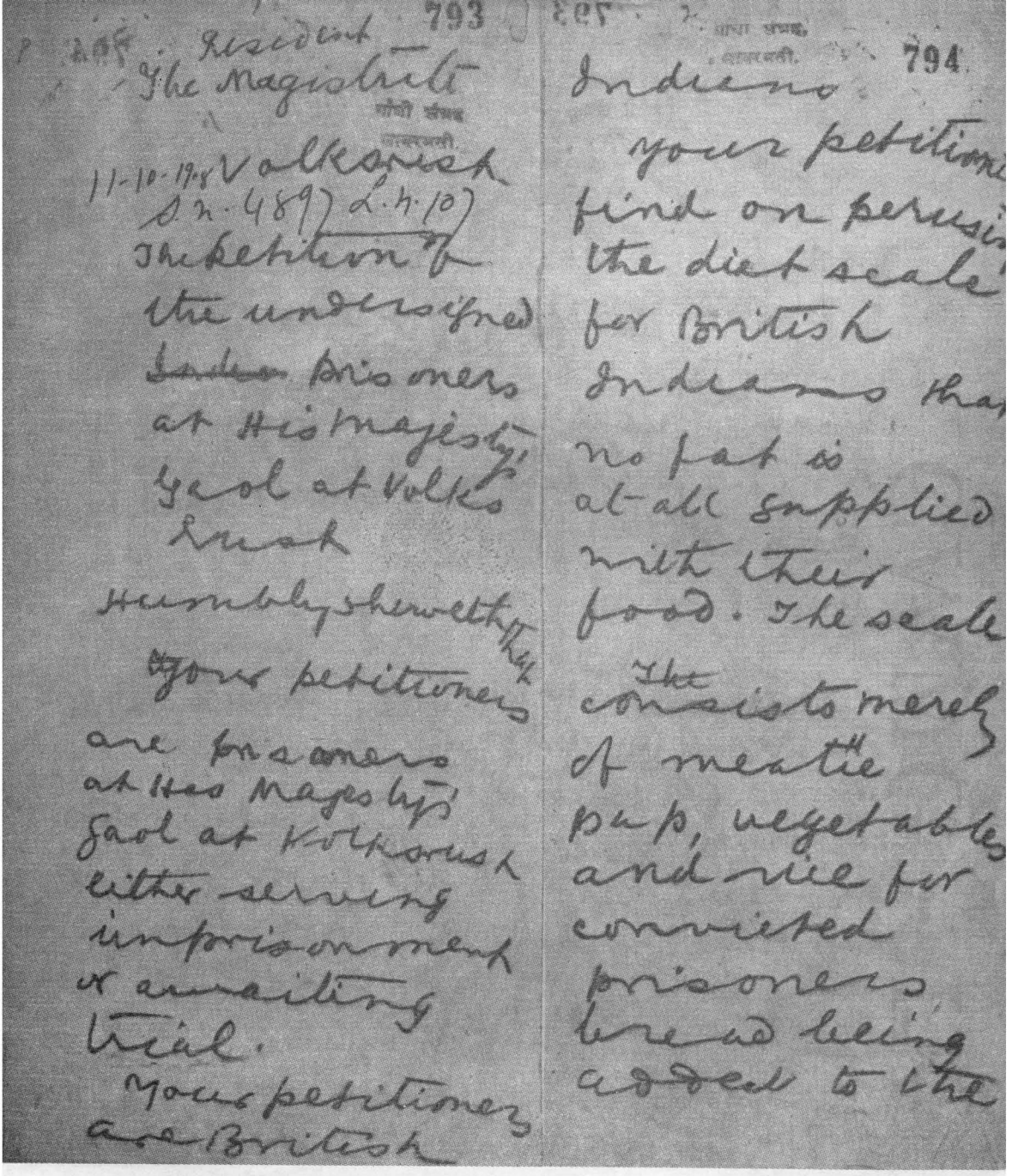

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Resident
The Magistrate
Volksrust
11-10-1908
S.n. 4897 L.n. 107

The petition of
the undersigned
~~Indian~~ prisoners
at His Majesty's
Gaol at Volks
Rust

Humbly sheweth that
your petitioners
are prisoners
at His Majesty's
Gaol at Volksrust
either serving
imprisonment
or awaiting
trial.
Your petitioners
are British

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Indians

your petitioners
find on perusing
the diet scale
for British
Indians that
no fat is
at all supplied
with their
food. The scale
The consists merely
of meatie
pap, vegetables
and rice for
convicted
prisoners
bread being
added to the

FROM "PETITION TO RESIDENT MAGISTRATE"

285/134—9.09—15,000

Form T.P.D. 31.

Pretoria Prison,

Transvaal, 25. 3 1909

Name of Prisoner M. K. Gandhi

{ Naam van Bandiet / Igama Lombanjwa }

Number (with initial letter) 777

{ Nommer met voorletter / Inani lake }

TO WHOM SENT.

Names in full Master Manilal Gandhi

Occupation C/o Indian Opinion

Postal Address Phoenix

Nearest Town Natal

INSTRUCTIONS TO SENDER OF REPLY.

When replying, the address must give full name and number exactly as above.

Letters may be written in English, Dutch, German, French or Kafir. Letters in any other language may be delayed or even returned.

Money must not be enclosed in Prisoners' Letters, but sent to the Governor of the Prison.

Letters to Prisoners must bear ordinary postage. Unpaid letters are liable to be returned.

Het antwoord moet het adres, den vollen naam, en nommer geven, net zoo als boven.

Brieven mogen in Engelsch, Hollandsch, Duitsch, Fransch of Kafir geschreven worden. Brieven in eenige andere taal mogen opgehouden en ook terug gestuurd worden.

Geld moet niet in brieven in gesloten worden, maar moet naar den Gouverneur gezonden worden.

Brieven aan bandieten worden niet ontvangen tenzij gewone post geld daarop betaald is.

Uma upendula ku lencwadi, loba ngapandhle kwe envelope ibizo lonke le sibotshwa kanye ne nombe lao nje nga pezulu ku leli pepa.

Izincwadi zinga lotywa nge Singisi, ngesi Buru, ngesi Jelemani, ngesi Fientshi, na ngesi Ntu. Izincwadi ezilotywe nge zinge ilwimi zinoku banjezelwa okanye zabe zipandele emva.

Imali mayi nga-fakwa encwadini zebotshwa, kodwa itunyelwa ku Mhusi wi Tilongo.

Incwadi zebotshwa manifakwe istampu ngapandhle kwe envelope. Masi ngeko zinoku pendela emva.

Read and passed by me. Date Rank.

my dear Son,

I have a right to write one letter per month and receive also one letter per month. It became a question with me as to whom I should write to. I thought of Mrs Relish, Mr Polak and you. I chose you, as you have been nearest my thoughts in all my reading.

As for myself I must not, I am not allowed to say much. I am quite at peace & none need worry about me.

I hope mother is now quite well. I know several letters from you have been received but they have not been given to me. The deputy Governor however was good enough to tell me that she was getting on well. Does she now walk about freely? I hope she and all of you would continue to take cayenne milk in the morning.

And how is Chanchi? Tell her I think of her everyday. I hope she has got rid of all the sores she had and that she & Ramu are quite well.

I think, the more I see that there is no other way than that of satyagraha for us to fight our ills and those of others. I even feel that the world has no other really effective remedy to offer. Be that as it may, we at least have realized that it is better to win through satyagraha. Consequently, I am hopeful that, if all the Indians persevere and carry through what they have begun, we shall have earned afresh the title of "brave pioneers"[1].

Let us constantly remind ourselves that all the nations that have risen high have braved extreme suffering. If we want to rise high, we must adopt the same means.

We must realize what a heavy responsibility we have assumed by sending the Natal businessmen to gaol. It is not too much that, following them, we should embrace poverty. They have not gone [to gaol] to serve their own interests.

Every Indian who goes to gaol must realize that he expects to serve no personal interests thereby. He should know that even after having been to gaol, he may not remain in the Transvaal. Everyone must sacrifice his own interests in order to safeguard those of the community, uphold its honour and its good name.

This campaign knows no distinctions of Hindus, Muslims, Parsis, Christians, Bengalis, Madrasis, Gujaratis, Punjabis and others. All of us are Indians, and are fighting for India. Those who do not realize this are not servants but enemies of the motherland.

I am,
M. K. GANDHI
Satyagrahi

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 17-10-1908

56. TULSIDASA'S "RAMAYANA"[2]

[Before *October 14, 1908*]

A SUMMARY

These days India's sons go abroad in large numbers. In a foreign country, not everyone can be conscious always of his particular religion.

[1] The original has *arambhe shoora*, meaning "brave beginners", a Gujarati phrase which is generally used by way of reproach, referring to those who begin a task bravely but leave it unfinished. Gandhiji, however, uses it here in a good sense.

[2] This appeared among the advertisement columns of *Indian Opinion*. The notice was presumably drafted by Gandhiji. Evidently, this and the following two items were written by Gandhiji before October 14, when he was tried and sentenced to two months' imprisonment.

This is especially so in the case of Hindus. The present writer is of the view that it is the duty not merely of the Hindus alone but also of all Indians to acquaint themselves with the essentials of Hinduism in its common form.

Hinduism, in its general spirit, is a religion which everyone will find acceptable. It is essentially an ethical religion. From this point of view, it may be said that all religions are equally true, since there can be no religion divorced from ethics.

Be that as it may, the general spirit of Hinduism is most vividly reflected in the *Ramayana*. The original *Ramayana* is in Sanskrit. Few people read it. It has been translated into many languages of the world. The work [also] exists in all the *prakrits*[1] of India. If we examine all these translations, none can equal the Hindi *Ramayana* by Tulsidasa. Really speaking, Tulsidasa's work is not a translation. His devotion to God was so profound that instead of translating, he poured forth his own heart. Apart from Madras, there is hardly any part of India where we find a single Hindu totally ignorant of Tulsidasa's *Ramayana*. This wonderful work, however, is not read in its entirety by everyone settled in a foreign land (not even by everyone in India). There is no time to do so. If such works are published in an abridged form, they may prove beneficial to the Indian people. With this idea in mind, it has been decided to bring out an abridgement of Tulsidasa's *Ramayana*. The first canto of the book will shortly be before the public. It is not our intention that this abridged version should be used as a substitute for the original *Ramayana* [of Tulsidasa]. The object rather is that, after reading the shorter version, those who have time on their hands and who are saturated with love of God may go on to the original. The abridgement does not leave out any portion of the main narrative. But interpolations, long descriptions and some portion from the subsidiary parts have been omitted.

We wish that every Indian goes devoutly through the summary which we are placing before the public, reflect over it, and assimilate the ethical principles so vividly set out in it. We shall consider our effort to have been duly rewarded if this abridged *Ramayana* is read in every Indian home in the evenings and during periods of leisure at other times.

The other cantos will be published as their printing proceeds. They can be got bound together in the end. The price has been deliberately kept as low as possible, with a view to placing the work within the reach of every Indian.

[1] Forms of Sanskrit representing a stage towards the evolution of the modern languages of Northern and Central India. Here the word is used for the regional languages of India.

It is the duty of every Indian to know the Hindi script and language. There is hardly any other book as helpful as the *Ramayana* for a study of the general form of that language.

Price 1s. Postage 1d.

International Printing Press, Phœnix, Natal.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 17-10-1908

57. THE STRUGGLE

[Before *October 14, 1908*]

It appears our struggle is drawing to a conclusion, for the Government is resorting to more oppressive measures. The deportation of Mr. Sorabji and Mr. Azam, their immediate return, the swiftness with which sentences were passed on them, the sentences of imprisonment against 58 Indians in Barberton, their deportation—all this shows that the Government is coming to the end of its tether. Its resources are getting exhausted. It is using up all its ammunition. But it should be remembered that things become very difficult as we near the end, and that the last stage is always hard to go through. All other difficulties can be borne, but they must be heroic souls indeed who can face the difficulties of the last stage. We therefore hope that Indians will not be deterred even by these.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 17-10-1908

58. TO SOME INDIANS

[Before *October 14, 1908*]

Some Indians in the Transvaal, Natal and other parts of South Africa have become confirmed addicts to drink. Not only is this against religion, but it has also a debilitating effect both on body and mind. It will be difficult for those who have formed this evil habit to join the satyagraha campaign. We do not wish to write about the evils of drinking. Much has been written about the subject already. We shall only say that those who have formed this harmful habit should strive to get rid of it. If not, they will bring unnecessary suffering to others; and very often they will find themselves unable to give their services to a good cause, however much they may wish.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 17-10-1908

59. LETTER TO J. J. DOKE

[VOLKSRUST,]
Wednesday [*October 14, 1908*]

DEAR MR. DOKE,

I am writing this from the Court House. I had hoped to be able to send you something[1] before I was fixed up. But I have been too busy otherwise. I thank you very much for your good wishes. My sole trust is in God. I am therefore quite cheerful.[2]

I am,
Yours truly,
M. K. GANDHI

From the original in Gandhiji's hand: G. N. 4092
Courtesy: C. M. Doke

60. MESSAGE TO INDIAN YOUTH[3]

[VOLKSRUST,
October 14, 1908][4]

I am not sure that I have any right to send a message to those with whom I have never come into personal contact, but it has been desired and I consent. These, then, are my thoughts:

The struggle in the Transvaal is not without its interest for India. We are engaged in raising men who will give a good account of themselves in any part of the world. We have undertaken the struggle on the following assumptions:

[1] Doke, who was gathering material for his book, *M. K. Gandhi: An Indian Patriot in South Africa*, had written to Gandhiji on October 9, evidently in response to his letter of October 8: "If you are able to carry me forward from the Battle of Spion Kop, I shall be grateful. In your leisure moments from 'hard labour', try and note down all you can remember step by step. Even if you can do it during these few days of grace, it will be a great thing." *Vide* also Appendix VI.

[2] In his book, Doke quotes the last two sentences as having been written just before the case against Gandhiji came up for hearing on October 14, 1908.

[3] While quoting this, Doke wrote: "I invited him to send a message through these pages to young men of his native land," and claimed to have received it in writing. *Vide M. K. Gandhi: An Indian Patriot in South Africa*, Ch. XX.

[4] In Doke's book, this message is assigned to "October 1908". It is likely that this was written on October 14, the day Gandhiji was sentenced.

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(1) Passive Resistance is always infinitely superior to physical force.
(2) There is no inherent barrier between Europeans and Indians anywhere.
(3) Whatever may have been the motives of the British rulers in India, there is a desire on the part of the nation at large to see that justice is done. It would be a calamity to break the connection between the British people and the people of India. If we are treated as, or assert our right to be treated as, free men, whether in India or elsewhere, the connection between the British people and the people of India can not only be mutually beneficial, but is calculated to be of enormous advantage to the world religiously, and, therefore, socially and politically. In my opinion, each nation is the complement of the other.

Passive Resistance in connection with the Transvaal struggle I should hold justifiable on the strength of any of these propositions. It may be a slow remedy, but I regard it as an absolutely sure remedy, not only for our ills in the Transvaal, but for all the political and other troubles from which our people suffer in India.

M. K. Gandhi: An Indian Patriot in South Africa

61. TRIAL OF DAWJEE AMOD AND OTHERS[1]

[VOLKSRUST,
October 14, 1908]

On Wednesday last, before Mr. De Villiers, A.R.M., Mr. Mentz prosecuting, Dawjee Amod was charged as a prohibited immigrant for entering the Colony without having previously made application under the new Registration Act (No. 36 of 1908) from outside the Colony. Mr. Gandhi defended, and pleaded not guilty. Accused had previously entered the Colony, producing a permit and registration certificate and had been arrested. He had afterwards promised to leave he Colony and apply for registration under the new Act from Natal, but when Corporal Cameron had shown him the form of application, he had refused to leave the Colony, and was re-arrested.

In cross-examination, Corporal Cameron admitted that the accused did not fall within sub-sections 3, 5, 6, 7 and 8 of section 2 of the Immigration Act, nor was there any removal order against him. He had no reason to suppose the documents produced were not the lawful property of the accused.

[1] This was published along with the report of Gandhiji's trial, under the heading, "Volksrust Again: Mr. Gandhi Sentenced", as "Special to *Indian Opinion*". For the trial of Gandhiji, *vide* the following item.

Mr. Gandhi said that the accused could choose to enter under the unrepealed Asiatic Act, No. 2 of 1907, and that he could not be a prohibited immigrant when he produced his permit. He did not come under sub-section 4 of section 2 of the Immigration Act.

The Magistrate found the accused guilty, but said he appeared to have been influenced not to leave the Colony. Accused was sentenced to pay a fine of £15 or go to gaol with hard labour for one month.

Karson Jogi and eight others, including two minors, were similarly charged. They were similarly sentenced, except Hirji Mulji, a boy of about 12 years, who was sentenced to pay a fine of £5 or go to jail without hard labour for 14 days.

Ratanji Sodha, Mawji Karsonji, Ravikrishna Talwantsingh, and Ratanji Rugnath were also charged as prohibited immigrants, pleading not guilty. The first three claimed to enter the Colony under the education test, whilst the first two and Ratanji Rugnath claimed pre-war residence. Mawji Karsonji claimed also to enter as an ex-member of His Majesty's Volunteer Forces, holding a medal issued to him for services rendered during the Boer War. Ravikrishna was born in South Africa.

Giving evidence on behalf of the accused, Mr. Gandhi said he took the sole responsibility for having advised them to enter the Colony. They had largely been influenced by his advice, though no doubt they had used their own judgment. He thought that, in giving that advice, he had consulted the best interests of the State.

Cross-examined: He asked accused to enter at a public meeting and individually. They probably, at that time, had no idea of entering the Colony, except, perhaps, one of them. He would certainly admit that he had assisted the accused to enter. He admitted aiding and abetting them to enter the Transvaal. He was quite prepared to suffer the consequences of his action, as he always had been.

The accused were found guilty, and sentenced to pay a fine of £20 or go to gaol with hard labour for six weeks.

Daya Narsi was then charged for refusing to give his thumb-print under the new Registration Act, though he had produced his permit. He had given his [finger-]impressions at the gaol (under the gaol regulations), where he had already been awaiting trial for a week. He was sentenced to a fine of £10 or imprisonment with hard labour for one month, as was Moonsamy Ellary, who was similarly charged.

Bhikhabhai and Jhinabhai, who had been deported on Friday and had returned at once, were charged as prohibited immigrants. They were sentenced to a fine of £20 or 6 weeks' hard labour.

Indian Opinion, 17-10-1908

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62. TRIAL AT VOLKSRUST[1]

[VOLKSRUST,
October 14, 1908]

Mr. Gandhi himself was then charged with failing to give his thumb- and finger-impressions upon demand, under the new Act. He pleaded guilty. He produced no documents, and when asked to furnish means of identification as required by Regulation 9, he refused.

Giving evidence, Mr. Gandhi said:

In connection with my refusal to produce my registration certificate and to give thumb impressions or finger impressions, I think that, as an officer of this Court, I owe an explanation. There have been differences between the Government and British Indians whom I represent as Secretary of the British Indian Association, over the Asiatic Act, No. 2 of 1907, and after due deliberation, I took upon myself the responsibility of advising my countrymen not to submit to the primary obligation imposed by the Act; but still, as law-abiding subjects of the State, to accept its sanctions. Rightly or wrongly, in common with other Asiatics, I consider that the Act in question, among other things, offends our conscience, and the only way, I thought, as I still think, the Asiatics could show their feeling with regard to it was to incur its penalties. And in pursuance of that policy, I admit that I have advised the accused who have preceded me to refuse submission to the Act, as also the Act 36 of 1908, seeing that, in the opinion of British Indians, full relief that was promised by the Government has not been granted. I am now before the Court to suffer the penalties that may be awarded to me. I wish to thank the prosecution and the public for having extended to me the ordinary courtesies.

Mr. Mentz thought that a difference should be made in this case; as Mr. Gandhi had admitted his sin to be greater than that of the others, he asked that the heaviest penalty (£100 or three months with hard labour) should be awarded.

The Magistrate found Mr. Gandhi guilty. In giving judgment, he remarked that it was not for him to consider the question of religious objections. He had only to administer the law. There had been a general defiance of the law. He felt very sorry to see Mr. Gandhi in that position today, but he must make a difference between him and the others. He sentenced Mr. Gandhi to pay a fine of £25 or go to jail with hard labour for two months.

[1] After the trial of Dawjee Amod and others, *vide* the preceding item, Gandhiji's case came up before the Court.

Of course, no fines have been paid, and all have smilingly gone to jail, Mr. Gandhi being especially happy.

Indian Opinion, 17-10-1908

63. MESSAGE TO INDIANS[1]

[VOLKSRUST,
October 14, 1908]

Keep absolutely firm to the end. Suffering is our only remedy. Victory is certain.

Indian Opinion, 24-10-1908

64. CABLE TO SECRETARY OF STATE FOR COLONIES[2]

VOLKSRUST,
November 7, 1908

TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES
[LONDON]

BRITISH INDIAN PRISONERS VOLKSRUST SEVENTY FIVE INCLUDING CHAIRMAN VICE PRESIDENT SECRETARY NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS PRESIDENT HAMIDIA ISLAMIC SOCIETY SECRETARY BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION TENDER LOYAL CONGRATULATIONS HIS GRACIOUS MAJESTY KING EMPEROR AND RESPECTFULLY INVITE ATTENTION CIRCUMSTANCES UNDER WHICH THEY ARE SUFFERING IMPRISONMENT.

BRITISH INDIAN PRISONERS IN VOLKSRUST

Colonial Office Records: 291/132

[1] This was issued by Gandhiji as his "last message prior to his incarceration at Volksrust". It was made the subject of an editorial entitled "Keep Firm" in *Indian Opinion*. The message, which also appeared in the Gujarati section, was read out at a mass meeting held in Johannesburg on October 18.

[2] This was sent through the Secretary of State for India to King Edward VII in connection with his 57th birthday, which fell on November 9. Presumably, it was drafted by Gandhiji from Volksrust Prison where he was lodged. A similar message was cabled by Reuter on behalf of the "conscientious objectors" in Johannesburg Prison on November 9.

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65. LETTER TO A. H. WEST

NAME OF CONVICT / PRISONER M. K. GANDHI [VOLKSRUST] PRISON / GAOL

TRANSVAAL,
November 9, 1908

MY DEAR WEST,

Your telegram to hand. It cuts me but does not surprise me. It is impossible for me [to] leave here unless I pay the fine which I will not. When I embarked upon the struggle I counted the cost. If Mrs. Gandhi must leave me without even the consolation a devoted husband could afford, so be it.[1]

Please do what you all can for her. I am wiring[2] Harilal to go there. I expect from you or someone a daily bulletin—not that I can help thereby. Please let me know by wire what the disease is exactly. I am writing to her.[3] I hope she will be alive and conscious to receive and understand the letter. The authorities will allow me to receive the letters daily. The enclosed is for Mrs. Gandhi. Let Manilal read it to her.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

A. H. WEST, ESQ.
MANAGER
INDIAN OPINION
PHŒNIX, NATAL

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 4409
Courtesy: A. H. West

[1] Mrs. Kasturba Gandhi was suffering from haemorrhage and her condition was grave. She underwent an operation on January 10, 1909, as reported in *Indian Opinion*, 16-1-1909. *Vide also An Autobiography*, Part IV, Ch. XXVIII.

[2] This telegram is not available.

[3] *Vide* the following item.

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66. LETTER TO MRS. KASTURBA GANDHI

[VOLKSRUST GAOL,]
November 9, 1908

BELOVED KASTUR,

I have received Mr. West's telegram today about your illness. It cuts my heart. I am very much grieved but I am not in a position to go there to nurse you. I have offered my all to the satyagraha struggle. My coming there is out of the question. I can come only if I pay the fine, which I must not. If you keep courage and take the necessary nutrition, you will recover. If, however, my ill luck so has it that you pass away, I should only say that there would be nothing wrong in your doing so in your separation from me while I am still alive. I love you so dearly that even if you are dead, you will be alive to me. Your soul is deathless. I repeat what I have frequently told you and assure you that if you do succumb to your illness, I will not marry again. Time and again I have told you that you may quietly breathe your last with faith in God. If you die, even that death of yours will be a sacrifice to the cause of satyagraha. My struggle is not merely political. It is religious and therefore quite pure. It does not matter much whether one dies in it or lives. I hope and expect that you will also think likewise and not be unhappy. I ask this of you.

MOHANDAS

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Bane Patro, International Printing Press, Phœnix, 1948

67. MESSAGE FROM GAOL[1]

My only desire is that everyone should remain steadfast and ever refuse to violate his pledge, however long the struggle lasts, whether eight days or eight months or eight years, or even longer. We ought not to bring any pressure on those who may yield and desert the movement. If anyone does, I shall believe that he does not understand the nature of the movement. If the struggle has become drawn out so long, we are ourselves the reason for that. If we make a conscious effort to remove the causes, everything can be over even today.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 5-12-1908

[1] This was read out at a mass meeting of Indians held in Johannesburg on the eve of the expiry of the time-limit for registration under the Asiatic Registration Amendment Act of 1908.

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68. INTERVIEW AT GERMISTON STATION[1]

[GERMISTON,
December 12, 1908]

[Gandhiji said:] I have heard about the allegation, but I shall say later whatever little I have to say about it. I enjoyed every minute in gaol.

[Replying to another question, he said:] I was very well treated in gaol. My complaint is against the gaol regulations. The officers only did their duty in enforcing the regulations.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 19-12-1908

69. SPEECH AT JOHANNESBURG RECEPTION

[JOHANNESBURG,
December 12, 1908]

Mr. Chairman, delegates from Natal, my Tamil brethren and other friends,

I see you today after two months and ten days. I feel as if I was outside all the time and not in gaol. It is today that I think I have entered a prison. Those who are outside have a more important duty to discharge than those in gaol. So long as people who are outside do not exert themselves more vigorously, our bonds are not likely to snap. When the station-master at Volksrust congratulated me on my release, I told him also that it was really on that day that I found myself in prison, and that I was now facing much heavier tasks than those assigned to me while in gaol.

In a country where people suffer injustice and oppression and are denied their legitimate rights, their real duty lies in suffering imprisonment. And further, so long as the bonds that bind us have not been snapped, I think it is better that we spend our days in gaol. This, I think, is the true meaning of religion for those who have faith in God.

I want to say a few words about the scene that was witnessed at the station today. My services have pleased the community. You have assembled today in such a large number because you wish to express

[1] On his way from Volksrust to Johannesburg on December 12 after his release from gaol, Gandhiji was interviewed about his ill-treatment in prison.

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your appreciation of my having worked for a day at breaking stones, of my having suffered imprisonment and of the other things that I did. Where there is God there is truth, and where there is truth there is God. I live in fear of God. I love truth only, and so God is with me. Even if the path of truth does not please the community, it pleases God. Therefore I will do what pleases God, even if the community should turn against me. The enthusiasm that was in evidence today was heartening enough. It shows that all of you, like others who could not be present, approve of the satyagraha campaign that we have launched. I have said at Standerton, Heidelberg and other places that the outcome of our campaign does not depend upon whether we win or lose in the Supreme Court. We should rather, if need be, bear separation from our families, sacrifice our property for the sake of truth, endure whatever other hardships we may encounter and thus make the voice of truth heard in the Divine Court. When the echoes of that voice strike the ears of General Smuts, his conscience will be stirred and he will acknowledge our rights, will see that we invite suffering in order to secure them, that we have suffered more than enough. It is then that we shall get what we have been demanding. It is not the Imperial Government that will secure you your rights; you will get them only from God. If you fight truthfully with Him as witness, your bonds will be loosened in eight days according to your Chairman, but in less than 24 hours according to me. God is present everywhere; He sees and hears everything. I am sure that we shall be free when that God stirs their [our opponents'] conscience. We do not sacrifice as much as we should. The moment we do so, our fetters will fall away. I shall say more tomorrow. Today I have nothing more to say. I thank all the friends who have assembled here today. I want them to inscribe my words in their hearts and to pray to God that He may make everyone feel the same as I do.[1]

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 19-12-1908

[1] Gandhiji then spoke in English. The report of his speech in English, however, is not available.

70. SPEECH AT HAMIDIA ISLAMIC SOCIETY[1]

[JOHANNESBURG,
December 13, 1908]

I said yesterday that we had won. We have won because of the sufferings of our people. A community, 1,500 members of which have been to gaol, must certainly be considered to have emerged victorious. That out of a population of 7,000 as many as 1,500 have been to gaol must surely, I think, be counted as a victory. As things are reckoned in this world, it can be said that there has been no victory, because we have not yet secured what we demanded from the Government. The Chairman said that, as I was the leader of the community, you should do my bidding. But that is not right. It is my duty to place before you what I think and what I hear, and to do what you tell me. It is for you to decide whether or not to act upon my suggestions. We are still half-hearted about everything, and therefore never do anything in time. When we become punctual, we shall be able to attend to everything without loss of time. I place two things before you. The first phase of the struggle commenced with Ram Sundar, the second with Sorabji.[2] What I wrote to Sorabji I wrote to others as well. The first reply I received was from Sorabji. I did not know him as well as I did Ram Sundar, and I was doubtful whether he would hold firm till the last moment. Personally, I take everyone at his word. The community knows what Sorabji has done. There were 75 prisoners with me in the Volksrust gaol; among them all I observed Sorabji to be the mildest, the most even-tempered and steadfast. He put up with everything that people said to him. Living with him, I have very well realized his worth.

Next, from among the Emam Saheb, Moosa Essakji and the two Madrasis who had received six weeks' imprisonment, I spent more time with the Emam Saheb. I used to feel concerned how he would be able, with his [poor] health and physique, to withstand the strain. But I saw that he endured all difficulties and performed every task. The Hamidia Islamic Society and the community are fortunate that the Society has a chairman like him. Once, when the gaoler asked for some men to go with him to mow grass, no one responded. Emam Saheb felt that it was our duty [to go]. When he got up, others started remonstrating with the gaoler, saying that he was an Imam and should

[1] A meeting of the Society was held in the Hamidia Mosque on December 13, to honour Gandhiji and Emam Abdool Kadir Bawazeer on their release from gaol.

[2] *Vide* Vol. VII, pp. 352-6 and Vol. VIII, pp. 345-7, 354-8 & 376-7.

not be put to work. They all rather felt ashamed on this occasion. Such habits of ours are also responsible for our struggle being prolonged. After the release of others, a few of us were left behind. Moosa Essakji took charge of cooking. The Emam Saheb agreed to help him. They used to get up at three o'clock in the morning and start the cooking. Because the community has such men among it, I believe that it has come out victorious. I strongly advise those who go to gaol that while there they must obey the gaol regulations. If everyone acts in the name of God, our fetters will fall away in no time. We are certainly not fighting on behalf of those who hold forged permits. The struggle is no longer what it was before. The fight is now only to uphold the honour of the millions who live in India. The Imperial Government is seeking ways and means of expelling Indians from South Africa. They want us to go and settle in regions with a bad climate. I therefore think it very important that we convince the Government of our courage. We are not to fight now for men who have no legitimate claims but we can live honourably if educated men, men who can teach us the right things, come in. So long as we do not understand even this, we cannot hope to win. I see that some men hanker after publicity. Why should they have such notions? To those who wish to serve, who rely on God, what does it matter whether they get publicity or not? A true satyagrahi does not care for it. He merely works. The Natal gentlemen have promised me that they will be with us till the struggle comes to an end. I want the three leaders to reiterate that promise today. It has made me very happy to know that they have collected a very large amount and that all the gentlemen [approached by them] responded to their appeals without reserve. Of the four resolutions that were passed at the last mass meeting[1], the second was explained to everyone by Mr. Cama. I explain it again today. It was resolved, in the name of God, to continue the struggle till the Government did justice. If the pledge was taken after full deliberation, everyone may please raise his hand.[2] We are here in the sacred premises of a mosque. Please remember that you have raised your hands in such a place in the name of God. Sheth Rustomjee sent [me] a book on religion for reading in gaol. It says that the righteous are dear to God. The pledge you took on oath in the name of God you must have taken after full deliberation. Is there any reason, then, why you should not win? The scriptures of all religions declare: "I give unto those that are with me all they ask for." The Government may take your wealth or imprison your body, but it cannot deprive you of your soul. If you do in the right spirit what I have asked you to do, you will get not merely the two things you have demanded, but whatever else you

[1] This was held on November 29.
[2] Everyone present did so.

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want. The echoes of this campaign have already been heard in India and in the rest of the world. See that the campaign is intensified.

[*Gandhiji was then garlanded on behalf of the Hamidia Islamic Society. Speaking again, he said:*]

I take this to be a diamond necklace, offered not out of respect merely but out of love. It is with that feeling that I thank you. Dawad Sheth's son, a mere child, writes from England to know why we are not united. The Hamidia Islamic Society is an institution of Muslims. I take it as a great honour that I have been garlanded on its behalf. If both the eyes, Hindus and Muslims, remain unharmed, you will prosper. If 13,000 Indians continue the fight in the name of God and if the two communities remain united, you will also be the masters of India. What is happening here will have its repercussions out there and all people will be united.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 19-12-1908

71. SPEECH AT TAMIL RECEPTION[1]

[JOHANNESBURG,
December 14, 1908]

This garland[2] has in fact been earned by the Tamil community which has given such an excellent account of itself. Hence what you have offered to me I offer in turn to your Chairman. I have nothing more to say. If you feel that the Tamils have done very well, you should be worthy of the community. Should any of you fail, he would deserve all that might be said against him, and much more.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 19-12-1908

72. TRIAL OF THE NAIDOOS AND OTHERS[3]

[JOHANNESBURG,
December 18, 1908]

Upon several Indians, it is said, proceeding to the registration office on Von Brandis Square yesterday morning (the 18th instant) in order to comply with Act 36

[1] Gandhiji spoke at a reception held in honour of Emam Abdool Kadir Bawazeer, some Natal Indians and himself.

[2] Gandhiji was garlanded before he addressed the audience.

[3] The report of the trial of C. K. T. Naidoo, L. R. Naidoo, L. D. Naidoo and A. V. Chetty was published in *Indian Opinion* under the title: "Pickets Arrested—Leaders Before the Court."

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of 1908, the office was immediately picketed by "passive" resisters, says *The Transvaal Leader*. The police were sent for, and soon after their arrival they arrested four members of the picket, amongst whom was C.K.T. Naidoo. The places of the four men were taken by four others, who, in turn, were arrested. A crowd of Indians collected; further arrests were made, and eventually about 27 Indians were charged with having refused to produce registration certificates and to give signatures and impressions of thumbs and fingers.

Later in the day, the arrested Indians were removed for trial to Government Square. The news of their detention had got abroad and, when Mr. Gandhi arrived to conduct the defence, he was escorted by about 200 compatriots.

The first quartette charged consisted of C.K.T. [Naidoo], L.R. [Naidoo] and L.D. Naidoo and A. V. Chetty. Pleas of "Not guilty" were entered.

Mr. Samuels, who prosecuted for the Crown, said that the charge was on the lines of that in the Randeria case. The circumstances were the same and the question was whether the Crown should proceed pending the result of Randeria's appeal.

MR. JORDAN: Why have they been arrested?

MR. SAMUELS: They have been arrested upon instructions received and, it is alleged, they have been acting as pickets and causing trouble amongst Asiatics who are desirous of complying with the law. I make this statement *ex-parte*, and possibly it is not correct.

Mr. Jordan said that such conduct, if report were true, was most serious. The statement seemed "to lend the colour of truth to statements upon oath made before me by Indians to the effect that they are frightened to register because of these pickets. Many of the men who have been charged before me have told me that they have been terrorised and now I begin to believe their stories."

MR. GANDHI : If these men in the dock have been terrorising Indians anxious to comply with the law, surely there is some section amongst the Statutes for the contravention of which they can be charged. But why charge them under this section 9 of Act 36 of 1908? The watching will go on so long as the struggle continues. If these men have been terrorising others, then they should be punished, but my learned friend, Mr. Samuels, says he hardly credits the story.

MR. JORDAN: Men upon oath have told me that they have been terrorised by compatriots.

MR. GANDHI : Some people will say anything.

MR. JORDAN: And I'm afraid it will continue so long as your friends are permitted to do what you glibly term "watching". (Laughter)

MR. GANDHI : Anyway, these four men can't be charged under this section, because there is no Registrar of Asiatics according to law.

MR. JORDAN : Oh! Then what's the use of your picketing if Indians cannot get registered?

MR. GANDHI : We only want to let those who forget their manhood know that there is such a thing as ostracism.

MR. JORDAN: I don't think it is ostracism. I think it is a wholesome fear of incurring grievous bodily harm.

MR. GANDHI : Then 500 would not have registered and been living upon the best of terms with the rest of the community and be supplying part of the sinews of war today.

MR. JORDAN: All right; the accused are remanded *sine die*.

MR. GANDHI : If there is any terrorism brought into play, if it is brought to the notice of the officers of the Association, they will do all they can to help the Government.

The other Indians under arrest were similarly remanded.

Indian Opinion, 26-12-1908

73. MIGHTY STRUGGLE

It is growing clearer every day that this is indeed a mighty struggle that is being carried on in the Transvaal. The Act must, of course, be repealed. Undoubtedly, this is an important demand. But as time passes, we have the advantage of being able to understand the real nature of the conflict. We have stated earlier that the Transvaal Indians are not fighting merely against the Transvaal Government; they are fighting against the Imperial Government as well. We have also stated that it is not as if the Transvaal Indians were fighting for themselves alone; they are fighting on behalf of all Indians in South Africa, on behalf of all Indians abroad; in fact, they are fighting for the whole of India. We have recently received support for this view from England. We give elsewhere summaries of a speech by Colonel Seely and Mr. Ritch's reply to it. Colonel Seely's statements in that speech deserve notice. He says that Indians must not migrate to a region with a good climate. The Coloured peoples and the whites cannot mix with each other and both stand to suffer by such mixing. Indians [he says] are rice-eaters and the whites cannot successfully compete with them. These statements express the views of the Imperial Government. They mean only one thing, namely, that in their view Indians are good enough to work merely as slaves of whites. Colonel Seely went on to say that Indians already settled in the Transvaal and in other Colonies should be allowed to live honourably, saying, in the same breath, that General Botha was right in the policy he was following. Colonel Seely is therefore hypocritical when he says that we should be treated honourably. His speech in fact implies that Indians residing in lands where whites had already settled should be gradually eliminated. The Transvaal Indians therefore have to shoulder a burden on behalf of the whole of India. We shall show later that they can easily do so, and they certainly will. Colonel Seely's views suggest a change [for

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the worse] in British policy. They represent a rather unworthy aspect of British policy and, if they gain currency, they will herald the decline of the Empire. Therefore, the Indians' resistance tends to the good of the British Empire, too. Colonel Seely's views will be endorsed only by those who wish that the British Empire should be destroyed. All the Colonists belong to that class. They are therefore enemies of the British Empire. Indian [passive] resisters, who have been opposing this view and will continue to do so, may be said to be friends of the Empire.

If our readers consider the matter in this light, they will easily see that the Transvaal struggle is not merely for permits, of no value in themselves, nor for the entry of a handful of Indians. It is a fight for a noble cause. It is a battle of principles. Indians have pitted themselves against a mighty force. Even so, we make bold to say that it is possible for us to win. No one should imagine that this is like hoping that a black ant will carry on its head a potful of jaggery. The men who say this do not understand the efficacy of satyagraha—the power of truth. What cannot be done by millions can be done by a handful of men. We come across such instances everywhere. This is also true of the Transvaal Indians. It is because the Indians here are few that they can put up a good fight. It may take time to explain the position to most Indians, to convince them of the beauty of satyagraha, to stop dissensions amongst them. If, however, the seed of truth strikes root in a few men and blossoms forth, its branches can be planted elsewhere and the tree can thus be multiplied indefinitely. Let it not be imagined that mustard seeds cannot make a hill. This also is possible; in fact, it has often happened. That is the greatness of the Lord of this universe. The hill is made up of nothing but particles of earth. If one were to inquire how this came about, one would simply feel incredulous. And yet we know that the thing has happened. Not only do we believe that a few Indians can accomplish this task; we have also said that they can do so quite easily. Why do we say this? As the satyagraha campaign progresses, we see that it is the poor alone who can join it. The rich find the burden of their wealth too heavy; they are not able to carry the burden of truth. This means that the Transvaal Indians must embrace poverty. To think that this is impossible is to give up the effort in despair. In what way is this difficult ? We can never rely on wealth. We may even be robbed of it. Therefore, let us ourselves renounce it and instead take the sword of truth in our hands. If we have the strength to think and act thus, we are bound to get what we have been demanding. We have already said that the fight will certainly be carried on. Is there any reason to believe that it will not be? We find that the community on the whole is united. Hundreds of Indians have been, as it were, sanctified through anointment in prisons. They have seen the beauty of gaol life and they are not likely to turn back. And

most of the Transvaal Indians are in any case poor, so that the question of their retreating simply does not arise. We place Colonel Seely's speech before such Indians and beg of them not to be defrauded, while they live, of the glory of such a mighty battle, but win immortal fame for themselves—for India—throughout the world.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 19-12-1908

74. INSCRIPTION IN A BOOK[1]

[JOHANNESBURG,]
December 23, 1908

TO MR. G. NELSON

FOR HIS MANY KINDNESSES WITHIN THE LAW DURING HIS[2] INCARCERATION AT VOLKSRUST

M. K. GANDHI

From the original in Gandhiji's hand
Courtesy: Gandhi Smarak Sangrahalaya, New Delhi

75. BALANCE-SHEET

The year, according to the English calendar, is drawing to a close. In our present state, we attach less importance to our own than to the English calendar. We plan our affairs with reference to the English or European calendar. We do not wish to suggest that this state of affairs is deplorable in itself. But as things stand, it is a sign of our degradation. The same thing would hardly have been regarded as unusual if we were really free. Since we want to have good relations with all parts of the world, nothing will be wrong in our following the European calendar for the convenience of all. However, this is a digression. The object of this article is to set out the balance-sheet for the year.

Examining conditions in Natal, we find that the Government of the Colony wanted to enact many laws directed against us. But the Imperial Government did not sanction them. A commission has been appointed to consider the question of the continued import of indentured labour. There is every possibility of some good coming out of it.

[1] Gandhiji wrote this on a copy of Tolstoy's *Kingdom of God Is within You* which he presented to a warder in Volksrust Gaol, where he had served his sentence.
[2] This should have been "my".

But the disallowance of the Bills should give us no reason to be particularly happy. Considering its internal difficulties, the [Natal Indian] Congress has done well. But those who manage its affairs must give thought to its continued financial difficulties. There is not enough enthusiasm among the people. Trade is ruined. Owing to a fall in land prices, many Indians have been reduced to poverty. Even servants are put to hardship. Cases of murders among Indians are on the increase. The police feel helpless and Indians appear incapable of self-defence. This is an illustration of the fact that Indians are not free, do not even deserve to be free, for they depend on others for the safety of their lives and property. There is lack of education for the mind. On the one hand, the Government is withdrawing the educational facilities; the higher-grade schools are in a bad way. On the other hand, we ourselves do nothing for our education. We do not even mind losing a library. The only happy feature in the midst of all this is that some young men have been sent by their parents to England for education. The parents at least have thus done their duty. But no one can say whether the final product will be an earthen pot or a brass pot. Just now, the potter's wheel is at work.

Things seem quiet in the Cape. Whatever opportunities Indians have there are being thrown away. There are two rival bodies, engaged in mutual bickerings. The situation is likely to be exploited for its own advantage by the third party, their common enemy. The trading law and the immigration law there bear hard [on the Indians]. There, too, the internal situation is rather pitiable.

Rhodesia was threatened with a law similar to the Transvaal Act. The threat has not disappeared altogether, but there is little possibility of the Imperial Government sanctioning such a law.

The condition of Delagoa Bay Indians is as bad as the climate there. The Indian community is slumbering. There is no one to challenge the laws enacted. People there seem to think that, so long as their business is good and they make money, nothing else matters.

There are no Indians in the Orange River Colony to speak of. There has been no change in the situation there. It depends on Indians when a change will come about.

The Transvaal appears to hold the cards for all. That the Natal and Rhodesian Bills were disallowed was due principally, it may be said, to the Transvaal campaign. The campaign has now assumed a form which has won for it the admiration of the entire world. The prestige of the Indian community has gone up. In India, meetings are being held in every town over the Transvaal. A [public] discussion has been going on in England. Within the space of twelve months, nearly 2,000 Indians have gone to gaol. People have been displaying great courage in facing hardships, and their campaign is being

acclaimed on every side. They have found a new weapon and acquired a new strength. We have not yet fully realized the miraculous quality of this strength and this weapon. General Smuts played foul, but since the Indians were satyagrahis, his foul play has turned out to their advantage. Such is the marvellous power of truth. Falsehood pays homage to truth, for falsehood cannot hold out against it. Moreover, as the struggle is being prolonged, people are growing more determined, [whereas] other modes of fighting have always the effect of wearying the people. Similarly, service of truth can never lead to weakness. The more one puts oneself in its service, the stronger one grows.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 26-12-1908

76. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

Monday night [*December 28, 1908*][1]

CHI. MAGANLAL,

Your letters to hand. Jagatsingh's is a regrettable case. As I see it, it is more the fault of the Hindus. It was particularly their duty which they have failed to discharge.

One should not be carried away by Jagatsingh's *brahmacharya*. Lakshman and Indrajit were both celibates (*brahmacharis*) and had conquered sleep and were therefore equally valorous. But the valour of the former was divine, while that of the latter ungodly. This means that the vow of *brahmacharya* and other vows are holy and bring happiness only when they are taken as a spiritual discipline. If resorted to by a demon, they only add to misery. This is a very serious statement to make; but all the same, it is no doubt true. Lord Patanjali has shown this very clearly in his *Yogadarshan*[2]. This is the thing our religion teaches us. The phrase *madanugrahaya*—'for my favour'—deserves to be always borne in mind. If you do not follow what I say or if you have any doubt about it, please write to me.

I am not surprised at your losing control over yourself. As you dive deeper into yourself and have experience, your mind will become calm, your passion will cool down and you will be stronger spiritually. Think carefully of every step you take or a piece of work you do, analyze it, always applying to it this test, namely, "Will this promote my spiritual progress?" The question "Will this lead to the progress of the Hindu religion or of India?" is covered by it. The country cannot rise, religions cannot advance by a step that will not lead to spiritual growth.

[1] This letter was written sometime towards the end of 1908.

[2] Book of aphorisms on Yoga, one of the systems of Indian philosophy

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This has been found to be the result of the Swami's[1] impatience. It is very regrettable. It was because of such results that the venerable Kavi[2] often used to say that in modern times we should beware of religious teachers. Our experience also confirms his view. Everyone is obdurate and wants to see his own opinion prevail. If instead of such obduracy in regard to one's opinion one devotes one's energy to self-realization, one will do good to oneself as well as to others. Otherwise, both will face degradation.

Mrs. Polak will leave tomorrow. This letter also will reach you the same day, perhaps later, for you must have gone to Maritzburg.

More from other letters.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 4781

77. NEW YEAR

We examined the balance-sheet of the last year.[3] We were unhappy at the thought that we had to follow an alien calendar in making our calculations. No cause for unhappiness would remain if *swadeshi* were to replace everything foreign. We can easily attain happiness if we exert ourselves to that end during the year that has just commenced. *Swadeshi* carries a great and profound meaning. It does not mean merely the use of what is produced in one's own country. That meaning is certainly there in *swadeshi*. But there is another meaning implied in it which is far greater and much more important. *Swadeshi* means reliance on our own strength. We should also know what we mean by "reliance on our own strength". "Our strength" means the strength of our body, our mind and our soul. From among these, on which should we depend? The answer is brief. The soul is supreme, and therefore soul-force is the foundation on which man must build. Passive resistance or satyagraha is a mode of fighting which depends on such force. That, then, is the only real key [to success] for the Indians.

During this year a good deal will depend on the Transvaal and Natal. The Transvaal fight is continuing. In Natal, the issue of licences will come up. If the Indians in the Transvaal give up their fight, that will have an immediate adverse effect in Natal, because the course of events in Natal during the coming year will largely be determined by this movement. Nothing will be gained by submitting petitions to the

[1] Shankeranand
[2] Shrimad Rajachandra; *vide* Vol. I, pp. 90-1.
[3] *Vide* "Balance-Sheet", pp. 115-7.

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Natal Government. How, then, may anything be gained? The Transvaal provides the answer to this. That is to say, the answer to the question as to what this year has in store for us will be provided by whether or not the Indians in the Transvaal fight to the last.

It may be hoped that a community from among which 2,000 men have been to gaol will never accept defeat, though there may be some traitors in it. Looking at the matter in this light, every Indian will find that what the new year will bring lies entirely in his own hands.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 2-1-1909

78. PHŒNIX SCHOOL

We have received many requests from parents for admission of their children to this school. We are prepared to undertake their schooling. There are some financial difficulties, however, in providing residential facilities for them. We are trying our best to overcome them. We hope to give more details about this in our next issue.

In the meantime, those parents who want to send their children [to our school] may inform us accordingly. If they can also give us some idea of the monetary help they will be able to give, the matter will be settled soon.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 2-1-1909

79. NATAL-BOUND INDIAN PASSENGERS

Indian passengers arriving in Natal are facing more and more difficulties. The fault mainly is our own. Many of these people are rather impatient to enter [the Colony]. If they have no right to enter, that makes no difference to them. Others have to suffer in consequence. If the fault is ours, surely the remedy also lies with us. Only when and to the extent that we develop a sense of justice will there be an end to our troubles. Anything else that we may do will be of no avail. It will prove as ineffective as an attempt to stitch a patch on the sky.[1]

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 2-1-1909

[1] This is a Gujarati saying: If the sky were to get torn like a garment, it would be impossible to stitch a patch on it.

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80. EXEMPLARY CASE OF SATYAGRAHA

In Maritzburg, there is a white named Mr. Green. He refused to pay the poll-tax. So he was produced before a magistrate. He declared bluntly that, as it was an unjust tax, he was not willing to pay it. The Magistrate has sentenced him to imprisonment. Mr. Green is at present undergoing the sentence. This is an unusual case. Mr. Green does not incite others. He feels that the poll-tax is an oppressive impost. He is not much of an orator. He, therefore, resolved in his mind that so far as he was concerned, he would never pay that tax. He does not mind the sentence of imprisonment imposed on him in consequence. This is satyagraha in the true sense of the term. Those who love truth never follow others blindly. They go on suffering for the sake of truth.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 2-1-1909

81. MY SECOND EXPERIENCE IN GAOL [–I][1]

Introductory

I think my experience in gaol this time was better than in January 1908. It was good education for me personally, and I believe it will prove useful to other Indians.

A campaign of satyagraha can take many forms, but it is found that gaol-going is the most effective means of fighting political disabilities. We shall have to go to gaol often enough, I think; it is necessary not only during the present agitation, but is the only course that can be adopted in fighting future disabilities. It is the duty of every Indian, therefore, to know all that is worth knowing about gaol-life.

Arrested

When Mr. Sorabji was arrested, I wished that I could follow him to gaol, or that the agitation would end before he was due to be released. I was disappointed. The same desire came over me again more intensely, when the brave leaders of Natal went to gaol, and [this time] it was fulfilled. While returning from Durban, I was arrested at Volksrust Station on October 7 [1908] for being without my certificate of voluntary registration and refusing to give my finger-impressions.

My object in going to Durban was to bring [along with me] educated Indians living in Natal and other Indians who had been previously

[1] For articles on his first experience, *vide* Vol. VIII.

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resident in the Transvaal. I had hoped that quite a large number of Indians in Natal would show readiness to follow their leaders [to gaol]. The Government also felt the same way. Accordingly, orders had been issued to the gaoler to make arrangements for the accommodation of more than a hundred Indians, and tents, blankets, utensils, etc., had been sent on from Pretoria. I also found, as I alighted at Volksrust accompanied by several Indians, that a large number of policemen were present. But all this labour proved superfluous. The gaoler and the police were disappointed, for only a small number of Indians from Natal had offered to accompany me. There were just six in that train. Eight more started from Durban by another train on the same day. In all, therefore, only fourteen Indians came. All of us were arrested and taken to the lock-up. The next day we were produced before the Magistrate, but the hearing of the case was postponed for seven days. We declined to offer bail. Two days later, Mr. Mavji Karsanji Kothari, who had joined [us] in spite of the fact that he was suffering from piles, was asked to bail himself out, as his trouble had become aggravated and there was need for a picket in Volksrust.

Situation in Gaol

There were in gaol, when we arrived there, Mr. Dawad Mahomed, Mr. Rustomjee, Mr. Anglia [and] Mr. Sorabji Adajania who had initiated the second phase of the movement, and about 25 other Indians. It being the *Ramzan* month, Muslim friends had been observing the *roza*. By special permission, food was sent to them in the evening by Mr. Essop Suleman Kazi. Due observance of the fast had thus been made possible. Though there is generally no provision for lighting in mofussil gaols, orders had been issued in view of the *Ramzan* to arrange for lights and provide a clock. Mr. Anglia led the *namaz*. Those who were observing the fast were subjected to hard labour during the first few days, but later on no hard labour was exacted from them.

As for the other Indians, permission had been granted for one of them to attend to the cooking. This was done by Mr. Umiyashanker Shelat and Mr. Surendrarai Medh, who were joined later by Mr. Joshi when the number of prisoners went up. When these gentlemen were deported, cooking was attended to by Mr. Ratanshi Sodha, Mr. Raghavji and Mr. Mavji Kothari. Later still, when the number rose very high, Mr. Lalbhai and Mr. Omar Osman also joined. Those in charge of cooking had to get up at two or three in the morning and keep busy till five or six in the evening. When a considerable number of Indians had already been released, Mr. Moosa Essakji and Emam Saheb Bawazeer took charge of cooking. I count it as the good fortune of the Indians concerned that they were served food prepared by the Chairman of the Hamidia Islamic Society and a businessman who had in fact had no

experience of cooking. When the Imam Saheb and his companions were released, they left the legacy of cooking to me. Since I knew something of it, I experienced no difficulty. The work remained under my charge only for four days. It is now (that is, up to the moment of writing) being looked after by Mr. Harilal Gandhi. Though the information as to who was in charge of cooking when we arrived in gaol does not fall under the heading [of this paragraph], I have given it here for the sake of convenience.

When we entered the gaol, Indians were lodged in three bed-rooms. In this gaol, Indian and Kaffir prisoners were always lodged separately.

Arrangements in Gaols

There are two wards in the prison for males; one for the whites and one for the Kaffirs—the gaol [also] accommodates other non-whites. Though they were free thus to lodge the Indians in the Kaffir ward, the gaoler had made provision for them in the ward for the whites.

There are small cells, each with arrangements to accommodate ten or fifteen or even more prisoners. The prison is built entirely of stone. The cell has a good height. The walls are plastered and the floor is washed so that it always stays very clean. Moreover, the walls are frequently whitewashed, so that they always appear fresh. The area in front is paved with black stone, and is washed every day. It has a water-spout which enables three men to bathe simultaneously. There are two lavatories, and also benches. Above, there is a barbed-wire covering intended to prevent prisoners from escaping by climbing the walls. Every room is well lighted and properly ventilated. The prisoners are locked in at six in the evening, and let out at six in the morning. The cell is locked from outside during the night. This means that, if anyone has a call of nature to answer, he cannot go out of the cell, and hence commodes, filled with water treated with a germicide, are placed in the cell itself.

Diet

At the time of my imprisonment in Volksrust, the Indian prisoners were served mealie pap in the morning, and rice, with some vegetable, for the midday and evening meals. The vegetable served was mostly potato. No ghee was allowed at all. Under-trial prisoners were allowed, in addition, an ounce of sugar with mealie pap in the morning, and half a pound of bread for the midday meal. Some of the under-trial prisoners used to share a portion of their bread and sugar with the prisoners undergoing sentences after conviction. Prisoners were entitled to meat twice [a week]; since, however, it was not given to either the Hindus or the Muslims, they were entitled to a substitute. We therefore

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made a joint petition[1] and as a result it was ordered that we should receive an ounce of ghee and, on meat days, half a pound of beans in place of meat. Moreover, there was some *tandalja* growing by itself in the gaol garden, and we were allowed to pluck its leaves. We were also permitted from time to time to gather onions from the garden. There remained, therefore, nothing to complain of about food after ghee and beans had been sanctioned. The diet in the Johannesburg Gaol is somewhat different. There, only ghee is supplied with rice; no vegetables are allowed. In the evenings, there are green vegetables and mealie pap twice in the week, beans on three days, and potatoes, with mealie pap, once.

Though this scale cannot be considered adequate, as judged by our habits, it is not bad in itself. Many Indians have a strong dislike of mealie pap and obstinately refuse to have it. But personally I think this is an error. Mealie pap is a sweet and strength-giving food. It can be taken in place of wheat in this country. It is very tasty when sugar is added to it, but even otherwise it tastes quite good when one is hungry. If one can get used to it, the foregoing scale will not prove inadequate nourishment; on the contrary, one may actually thrive on it. With some adjustments, it can be a perfect diet. But it is a matter of regret that we have grown so fond of good eating and have pampered ourselves into such habits that we are quick to lose our temper if we do not get the food we are used to. This was my experience in Volksrust, and it made me very unhappy. There was incessant grumbling about food, and very often there were such fretful scenes as if eating and living were the same thing, or as if we lived only to eat. Surely it does not become a satyagrahi to behave in this manner. It is our duty to try to get some changes made in the diet. If we fail, however, we must remain content with whatever is offered and thus demonstrate to the Government our determination not to yield; this also is our duty. There are some Indians who are afraid of going to gaol only because of the inconvenience in the matter of food. They must make a conscious effort to overcome the craving for good food that might have enslaved them.

SENTENCED TO IMPRISONMENT

As I mentioned above, all our cases were postponed for seven days, so that they came up for hearing on the 14th, when some of us were sentenced to a month and others to six weeks with hard labour. There was a boy eleven years old who was sentenced to 14 days' simple imprisonment. I was much worried lest the case against me should be withdrawn. The Magistrate retired for some time after the other cases had been disposed of, which made me all the more nervous. The view generally

[1] *Vide* "Petition to Resident Magistrate", pp. 95-6.

expressed earlier was that I would be charged with failure to produce my register and refusal to give my thumb-impression, and also with inciting other Indians to enter the Transvaal without any right. While I was grappling with the problem in my mind, the Magistrate returned to the court and my case was called out. I was then sentenced to a fine of Rs. 25 or to two months' hard labour. This made me very happy, and I congratulated myself on what I considered to be my good fortune in being allowed to join the others in gaol.

Clothes

After the sentence was passed, we were issued gaol uniforms. We were supplied each with a pair of short breeches, a shirt of coarse cloth, a jumper, a cap, a towel and a pair of socks and sandals. I think this is a very convenient dress for work. It is simple, and wears well. We should have nothing to complain about such a dress. We should not mind having it even for everyday wear. The dress given to the whites is somewhat different. They get a rimmed cap, stockings and handkerchief, in addition to two towels. Indians, too, need to be supplied with handkerchiefs.

(To be continued)

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 2-1-1909

82. *INTERVIEW TO "THE NATAL MERCURY"*

[Durban,
January 5, 1909]

Mr. Gandhi, the well-known leader of the Natal Indians, who has taken a prominent part in the agitation amongst the Indians in the Transvaal during the past year, is at present on a visit to Durban, and yesterday he was interviewed by a representative of *The Natal Mercury*.

Asked to give a sketch of the present position in the Transvaal, and more especially what has led up to the second stage—or "Passive Resistance Movement", as it is called—Mr. Gandhi said:

I have read the editorial notes in the *Mercury* lately, saying that we have not been conducting this campaign with the same grace and dignity with which we started it, and I should like to say that, when I read that I felt rather grieved, because I have always understood that, whether the *Mercury* differed from the Indians in their struggle or agreed with them, we always received credit for fair fighting and good intentions. I may at once state that there has been no falling away from grace and dignity in our struggle. When we commenced that struggle, we did

so deliberately, with a desire to use the cleanest weapons possible, and we have not departed from the principles then laid down.

Asked to give a concise definition of these principles, Mr. Gandhi said:

Well, we have eschewed resorting to violence in any shape or form, and we are simply trying to show the Government, by our personal sufferings, that we will not submit to a law which, we consider, wounds our consciences, and is otherwise objectionable. This is called "passive resistance" for want of a better term. To put it plainly, it is really fighting evil by patience, not returning evil for evil. In this struggle, therefore, there can be no question of violence or intimidation. At the same time, I am free to confess that some members of the Indian community, in their over-zeal for the cause, have not hesitated to use threats against those who have deserted [and decided] to submit to the law, but whenever such acts have come to the notice of the leaders, they have been promptly dealt with, and every effort has been made to dissociate ourselves from any such acts. The charge has also been brought against us that we have invited the Natal Indians to take part in the struggle. This is not true. The Natal Indians who have gone to the Transvaal have rights of residence there, and they have gone there because they felt that they could not reap the results of our sufferings without, as original residents of the Transvaal, taking their share in them. They had a right of access there, for under the new law any Indian who has lived in the Transvaal for a period of three years previous to the war is entitled to return. I notice it has also been suggested that we are trying, during this second stage of the struggle, to gain an advantage to which we were not entitled when we took up passive resistance, or at the time when the compromise of last January was effected. This, too, is wrong. The position at the time of the compromise was perfectly clear. The Indians were fighting for the repeal of the Asiatic Act of 1907. This does not mean that we objected to the complete identification of every Asiatic who was entitled to remain in the country. What we objected to was the spirit of the Act of 1907, and some of the objectionable sections of that Act. It was the methods that we really objected to. For instance, with regard to the finger-prints question—for which I actually suffered physically—I never, at any stage of the struggle, said that the giving of finger-prints was objectionable as such. It was owing to the utter disregard of every representation made by the Indians, and of every sentiment which they cherished, that the struggle was really undertaken.

Proceeding, Mr. Gandhi dealt with the compromise entered into and said:

Whilst it is true, with regard to that compromise, that there was nothing written in so many words as to the repeal of the Asiatic Act of 1907, reading between the lines one can read even the repeal of the Act in the written terms of the compromise, but as I have said often,

and repeat now, General Smuts deliberately, but verbally, promised to repeal the Act, if the British Indians fulfilled their part of the compromise, that is to say, underwent voluntary registration. As the whole of South Africa knows, we have done so. I might also point out that General Smuts repeated his promise in his speech[1] at Richmond three days after the compromise, and that speech, although it has been brought to his notice, he has never contradicted or qualified. If this Act had been repealed, there would certainly have been no agitation whatsoever, and there would have been no question either of the status of educated Indians, because, as has been shown by the latest decision of the Supreme Court of the Transvaal, an educated Indian is not a prohibited immigrant under the Immigration Act of the Transvaal, and his right to enter under that Act is affected and taken away only by means of the Asiatic Act of 1907. Therefore, the repeal of the Asiatic Act of 1907 would have meant the re-instatement of the educated Asiatics.

THE INTERVIEWER: You mean, of course, the new-comers?

MR. GANDHI : Yes; and let it be remembered that these educated Indians were not affected, either before the war or after the war, under the Peace Preservation Ordinance, so that the question of the educated Asiatic is in no sense of the term a new question. It is now mentioned prominently and separately, because of the controversy that has arisen over the repeal of the Act, and over the offer made by General Smuts to repeal that Act, and the fulfilment of certain other conditions which were not contemplated at the time of the January compromise, one of which was that we should forego the rights of educated Asiatics and allow them to be considered as prohibited immigrants under the Immigration Act of the Transvaal. I claim that no self-respecting Indian could accept a bargain of that nature. At the present moment the controversy has assumed, so far as the merits of the case are concerned, a purely academic shape. Everybody admits that the Act of 1907 is useless, if not actually harmful, even from the Colonial standpoint. The Supreme Court, in its two decisions given recently, has said as much. It is not required for the identification or registration of Indians. The new Act of last year brings about that satisfactorily. With reference to these educated Indians, it is admitted that we are entitled to a few highly educated Indians being allowed to enter the Transvaal for our wants, if we are to remain there as a progressive community. The only difficulty with reference to the educated Indians is that, whereas General Smuts states that they can only enter on sufferance on temporary permits, we maintain that they should be able to enter as a matter of right, provided that they pass an education rest, which may be imposed by the immigration officer, and we have

[1] *Vide* Vol. VIII, Appendix VIII.

further added that the test may be so severe as to allow of only six such men being able to enter the Transvaal during any one year. That this could be easily done is shown by the practice in Natal and the Cape, and even in Australia, which has not allowed, so far as I know, a single Asiatic to enter that Colony by means of the education test.

Continuing, Mr. Gandhi said:

The passive resisters are now told that, whilst these two very reasonable demands might have been granted before passive resistance was taken up, they could not now be granted, because of the influence that any yielding to passive resistance might create on the native mind. Personally, I consider that that fear is totally groundless. In the first place, if our demands are just, they ought to be granted, whether we are passive resisters or not; and, in the second place, if the natives were to adopt our methods, and replace physical violence by passive resistance, it would be a positive gain to South Africa. Passive resisters, when they are in the wrong, do mischief only to themselves. When they are in the right, they succeed in spite of any odds. It is not difficult to see in Natal, that, if Bambata, instead of murdering Inspector Hunt, had simply taken up passive resistance, because he felt that the imposition of the poll-tax was unjustifiable, much bloodshed would have been avoided, and a great deal of money would have been saved; and, at the same time, if the natives as a body did not feel the imposition of the poll-tax, Bambata's passive resistance would have been in vain. If, on the other hand, the natives did, in any large body, resent the imposition of the tax, no amount of physical violence by the Government could possibly have been enough to collect such a tax from people who simply sat still and would not pay it. So that the South African Colonists should, in my opinion, rather welcome passive resistance in place of physical violence; and, after all, is it not merely the supersession of the Mosaic law of a tooth for a tooth by Christian law of non-resistance of evil by evil?

THE INTERVIEWER: To narrow down the point, I take it that you are insisting upon the promise, if it was made, or whether it was made or not—you are insisting upon the repeal of the Asiatic Act of 1907, because you only want to establish the absolute right of the educated Indian to go into the Transvaal. Is that so?

MR. GANDHI: If he can pass the test, certainly.

THE INTERVIEWER: But the Imperial Government has taken up the attitude that a self-governing Colony can exclude whom it will; at least, broadly, that is the position which has been taken up. On the other hand, you claim a right which the Imperial Government says the self-governing Colony is entitled to exercise, and say that it cannot exclude a certain class.

MR. GANDHI: I don't think that the Imperial Government has at any stage taken up the attitude that self-governing Colonies have a perfect right to exclude whom they will; but, if that has been stated, then it is a departure from the Colonial policy hitherto followed. I

don't think the Imperial Government would pass any such law. The Imperial Government made a mistake with reference to the Immigration Law of the Transvaal—that is to say, in no section was there any mention of Asiatics, except in the most indirect manner; but the Government of the Transvaal has placed an interpretation upon one section which brings about that result, and the Imperial Government, having accepted that, now finds it most difficult to intervene effectively. If the Imperial Government is now going to say that the self-governing Colonies have a perfect right to exclude whom they will, then that is an innovation in Colonial policy hitherto followed. You know that, in 1897, the late Mr. Escombe actually submitted to Mr. Chamberlain a draft law to exclude Asiatics from this Colony, and Mr. Chamberlain then said that he would not pass it, and suggested that any exclusion law should not be racial, but should be of a general character. That suggestion was adopted, and since then the Natal Act has been copied everywhere throughout the Colonies. But, with regard to what members of the Imperial Ministry have said as to the rights of the Colonies to exclusion of whom they will, I don't think you will find any definite pronouncement.

Asked what was the position to-day in the Transvaal, Mr. Gandhi said:

The position to-day is that the Indians have gone through the struggle for the last two years, and over 2,000 have gone through the prisons of the Transvaal—that is to say, nearly one-third of the actual resident Indian population of the Transvaal, and one-sixth of the possible Indian population of the Transvaal. This has also carried conviction amongst some representative Europeans, and, as a result, a small Committee has been formed, with Mr. W. Hosken as Chairman, which Committee has pledged itself to support the British Indians in their struggle, even to the extent of facing imprisonment, if need be, until the claims put forward by the Indians, which these friends consider to be just, are granted. The Government considers that it will be able to starve us into submission. It is perfectly true that some may become exhausted and yield, but I believe that we have amongst ourselves a very large and sufficient number to carry on the struggle, in the face of all odds. There are some who have already sold out their businesses, given up everything, and are merely carrying on the struggle because they consider that a great principle is involved, and if my estimate is true, I can only say that the conclusion can be but one, viz., that our demands will be granted. How early or how late that will come about will depend upon our own strength. Then, in England we have the South Africa British Indian Committee, with Lord Ampthill —sometime acting Viceroy of India—as chairman, also working for the same object, and that Committee has on it many influential Anglo-Indians of wide experience, and I think that, if we are patient enough,

we will be able to gain sympathy from all quarters. Meanwhile, the Transvaal Government has again begun to take active steps. I have a telegram saying that nearly 30 Indians have already been deported to Natal, and they have immediately re-entered the Transvaal, and now await trial there. This time, I understand, they will be charged under a different section, and will, therefore, suffer imprisonment. The Natal leaders and 33 others will be brought before the Magistrate, probably to-morrow. They will share the same fate, so that the process of filling the gaols of the Transvaal has now commenced, and it remains to be seen whether they are equal to the task or not. The Government evidently thinks that by these drastic measures, and by the magistrates imposing the fullest penalties provided by the law, the Indians will succumb and submit to it, but I do not think so.

THE INTERVIEWER: Has the law-abiding Indian, rightly in the Transvaal, any substantial grievance against the laws there as they stand today?

MR. GANDHI: Certainly. Although we are not now fighting on the ground of any such grievances, there are grievances. For instance, the most law-abiding Indian is deprived of the ownership of land, and cannot possess a piece of land in the country, except in special Locations. That may be said to be a most tangible grievance. But that is apart from what we are fighting for. The principle involved in this struggle is, or was, at one time, religious, that is to say, the law of 1907 strikes at the religious sentiment of the people, but the principal object now is on account of the honour of the Indian race, for we are to be treated as an integral part of the Empire, or we are not.

THE INTERVIEWER: That is a very wide principle, but, as I understand it, the real crux of the whole thing is this question of the right of educated Indians to enter the Transvaal. In that case there is the statement already referred to as to the Imperial Government not being prepared to quarrel with a self-governing Colony which denies that right of entry.

MR. GANDHI: Then, in that case, we fight both the local Government and the Imperial Government. But I still believe that the Imperial Government is with us.

THE INTERVIEWER: Well, it is a certain impasse just now. You are simply fighting to make the position so unbearable that some Imperial action will be taken.

MR. GANDHI: Well, I have so great a faith in the spirit of the struggle, that I feel that, before the Imperial Government intervenes, all the Colonies in South Africa will say "No, we must grant those just demands." There are already signs of that in the Transvaal, and some prominent Europeans who had at first deprecated our entering on the second struggle are now strongly supporting us.

The Natal Mercury, 6-1-1909

83. SHOPKEEPERS VERSUS HAWKERS

Stomach versus Limbs

Once upon a time a great quarrel arose between the stomach and the limbs of the body. The hands said, "We shall do no work. We are tired of working. We carry food to the mouth every time, but it is the stomach that eats it and wastes it. We get no help from the stomach." The legs said, "We shall not walk a step. We have fruitlessly slaved for the stomach. It is only the stomach that really enjoys itself. The stomach is honoured like the king. It has fallen to us to do the drudgery." The other limbs of the body also made similar complaints. The stomach did a good deal of explaining, saying, "The work I put in is not visible. The hands merely carry the food to the mouth, and their work is then over. The legs enjoy rest after fetching the food. But I have to work twenty-four hours a day, though you may not be able to see it. If I take rest even for a minute, all of you will stop working. You yourselves will be the first to suffer if you stop working. So far as I am concerned, I can carry on my work for some time, though, without you, I too shall have to die ultimately. But if you stop working, know for certain that you are virtually dead before I die." However, the limbs were not convinced. They stopped working. In twenty-four hours, the hands, the feet and the other limbs of the body became weak. They repented. As the stomach did not receive any food, they became worried. In the end, they were convinced of the truth of what the stomach had said. They realized that the work done by the stomach was not inconsiderable, and that because the stomach worked for many limbs, [the benefit of] its work was spread all over, with the result that it could not be noticed by any particular limb. But when the limbs stopped working, they discovered that it was they who were the first victims.

We were reminded of this story by some letters which we have received. The correspondents accuse businessmen in a number of ways. Some have gone to the length of abusing them, while others hold out threats against them. Many of them put forward religion as the excuse, quite late in the day, for not going to gaol. As the limbs in the story became jealous of the stomach, all these persons have become envious of the shopkeepers. They charge the Transvaal shopkeepers with having betrayed the hawkers and ruined them. The businessmen are enjoying themselves [they say], having sent the hawkers to gaol. One of the correspondents, while he refers to hawkers in respectful terms on the one hand, states on the other that they cannot voice their views freely

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at meetings because they are afraid of the shopkeepers. We have not published these letters, for they are not such as will enhance the prestige of the community. The reason for these charges is the fact that some traders have transferred their businesses to the names of their wives or of some whites. It behoves these traders to be generous, like the stomach, and reason with the hawkers gently. The community has submitted to slavery for a very long time and has never tasted independence. Now that we have reached the threshold of independence with the help of the weapon of satyagraha, and are being freed from slavery, everyone, great or small, finds it difficult to adjust himself naturally to the new situation. We envy those whom we find to be superior to the rest. There is nothing surprising about this. Every nation which has attained freedom has passed through such a stage of heart-burning. Before a child is delivered, the mother suffers pangs which are like agonies of death. It is then that the child is born. In the same way, before we see the birth of freedom, not only shall we have to suffer the pangs inflicted by the Government, but also those of our own making. The charges against the traders mentioned above are ill-conceived. Those of them who have transferred their businesses to whites did so neither out of greed nor out of fear of going to gaol. Most of them are in fact ready to go to gaol. The only object of transferring businesses was to see that we did not ourselves place in the hands of the Government the ammunition that it might use against us. We must remind the hawkers that when hands were laid on Indians in January [1908], it was mainly the businessmen who were first attacked. Almost all the traders of Standerton have been to gaol. The Chairman of the Association, Mr. Cachalia, has been to gaol. Mr. Aswat and Mr. Nagadi, who had got themselves arrested with great difficulty, have completed their term of imprisonment and likewise Mr. Ebrahim Kazi is in gaol now; and he too got the opportunity only when he transferred his business to a white. Mr. Bhabha went to gaol in Middelburg, and Mr. Belim in Christiana. At present Mr. Mahomed Mia is in gaol. Thus, a large number of traders have suffered imprisonment. Those who came specially from Natal to help us are also leading merchants of the Colony. It is therefore not proper to accuse the traders. The hawkers ought to see that they do not envy the traders. They should be satisfied if the traders go to gaol. To say that the traders have ruined them suggests that they think they themselves made a mistake in going to gaol. In fact, we should believe that those who are responsible for sending us to gaol have done us good. Those who have gone to gaol have been the gainers. Those who have not gone to gaol have been the losers. Those who have sacrificed their wealth for the sake of their motherland have in reality earned it. Those who betrayed their country, their prestige and their pledge, and clung to their money are, really

speaking, poor in spite of their riches. We hope therefore that those who have written letters to us and those who hold similar views will ponder over our words and will persist in the fight rather than, by abandoning it, lose the game that we are about to win.

If it behoves the hawkers to realize this, the traders too cannot be let off. We cannot say that they are entirely blameless. No doubt there are some among them who are cowards, to whom their money is their God. Their heart is not in the movement. Some make big speeches and nothing more. All the traders should follow the example of the stomach. It gives more to the limbs than it keeps for itself of what it digests. Whereas the limbs work only for some time, the stomach slaves all the twenty-four hours, not for its own sake but for the sake of the limbs. In the same way, it is up to the traders to safeguard the interests of hawkers and their dependants. Though they are big men, they must learn to be humble and, though masters, they must act as servants. One may transfer one's business to another's name if it cannot be helped. But this is only the last resort, fit enough for half-cowards. We hope that those who are resolved to be lions, who are brave satyagrahis, will never take out licences in the names of third parties, but help the cause of the community by winding up their businesses and embracing poverty for the present. That is the only right way for a man who claims the privilege of social status, of wealth. We cannot say that the hawkers have had no reason to complain; no one would have any ground for complaint if every businessman did his duty and sacrificed self-interest for the common good. The Indians in South Africa have their eyes fixed at present on the Transvaal merchants. The hawkers have to fight their battle independently, but in case they give in, the traders will also share part of the blame for that. Day by day, the situation in the Transvaal is getting more delicate. We pray to God to show the right path to the traders, the hawkers and all other Indians, to keep them resolute, to give them the courage to bear all the hardships that their heroic undertaking may entail.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 9-1-1909

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84. OTHER LEADERS OF NATAL

Every Indian will want to know what the leaders of Natal have been doing, apart from those who have sacrificed their all for the sake of the country and proceeded to the Transvaal. The question that our Johannesburg correspondent has posed for Natal is worth pondering over. Every Indian in South Africa is morally bound to help the Transvaal struggle. Natal's obligation is twofold. But we regret to say that the leaders who have remained behind are not doing their full duty. This ought to make all of us hang our heads in shame. The first duty of the leaders is to start raising contributions to the Congress fund. The Congress is running short of money. It is in debt. Mr. Robinson's Bill is hanging over us. When the brave heroes of Natal go to gaol, it will be the duty of the Congress to dispatch telegrams; what does it propose to do in that case? Where will it get the money from? Will not the Congress offer any help if it is found that the families of those imprisoned in the Transvaal are facing starvation? If it wants to help, what source will it draw upon ?

Movements for raising contributions were initiated again and again. They never made any progress. This is not the way to conduct the affairs of a big public body.

The futile dispute with the Main Line [Indians] is dragging on merrily. On behalf of the Main Line leaders, Mr. Mahomed Ibrahim and Mr. Kharsani had a meeting with Mr. Dawad Mahomed in the Volksrust gaol. A settlement was almost reached, but it appears everything is in the melting-pot again. It is obviously the duty of the leaders of the Main Line Indians to offer monetary help rather than raise issues. If only they will see the point, the position is simple: their demand can be easily met, nay, it is almost as good as met. They want that a large number of Main Line Indians should be included in the Committee as of right. This right has always been there. All the same, they can demand an assurance that the right will be duly respected. The other point in dispute is that their consent should be necessary for every item of expenditure exceeding £25. Though this is a trivial matter, the Congress can pass a resolution to that effect. The Main Line Indians should realize that it is for themselves, not for others, to ensure that they enjoy these rights. The Congress certainly cannot stand in their way. But it is not in the least proper to hold up the work of collection just for this reason. We hope that the Main Line Indians will not fail in their duty.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 9-1-1909

85. HINDU-MUSLIM RIOTS

Reuter cables received here report violent Hindu-Muslim riots in Calcutta. It is believed that several persons were killed. Some Hindus attacked a mosque, which provoked the Muslims. They retaliated. The Army was called in. It appears from the cables that order has not yet been restored. None of us can judge how far these reports are true. It is, however, apparent that the cause of the riots was a white officer. There appears to be no reason why Hindus and Muslims should fight among themselves. In their short-sightedness, the officers imagine that they stand to gain if the two communities fall out with each other. The situation in India is so critical at present that the Government, as also the officers—a large number of them—believe, can rest secure if the two communities fight with each other. One must consider what the duty of overseas Indians in this situation is. It is clear to us that, whether we are Hindus or Muslims, we must not support either side. We should feel sorry that a third party has provoked quarrels among us and pray to *Khuda-Ishwar* in mosques and in temples to grant that there might be an end to the disputes that frequently arise between our two communities. We are convinced that every patriotic Indian will see that this is the only way to ensure the progress of India.

The war of satyagraha that we have been waging can be effective in every situation, and we may rest confident that, in case disputes arise between the two communities, we can meet them with this same weapon.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 9-1-1909

86. VANCOUVER INDIANS

It appears the Indians of Vancouver, in Canada, are standing up to the Government with great courage. They refused to walk into the trap laid by the Government there for removing them to a malarial region. They will now remain in Vancouver, instead of migrating to the British Honduras. Two of their representatives who had gone on an inspection tour of the Honduras reported that it was not suitable for Indian settlement. They allege that inducements were held out to them to submit a false report. But they were not influenced. They only thought of the interests of their compatriots. Both these Indians deserve congratulations.

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Vancouver Indians are not men who can be trifled with. Another instance of this kind has come to our knowledge. From reports in newspapers published there, we find that a professor named Teja Singh, who has settled there and passed the M.A. examination, addressing a meeting of thousands of Sikhs and other Indians, spoke as follows:

> As far as the present agitation in India is concerned, the country will put up a constitutional fight. But should redress be denied, an Indian will arise who, equipped with arms, will lead the people to fight with bombs and explosives.
>
> The uncontrolled powers which the white officers in India enjoy have made some of them totally incapable of understanding the people. The eyes of the Sikhs are being opened. They are beginning to understand things. India wants justice. Mr. Cunningham wrote some years ago in a book of history that if England failed to do justice, there would arise in India a great military leader who would seize all power in his hands. No State can be built on the foundation of bad faith.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 9-1-1909

87. PHŒNIX SCHOOL

We hinted last week that we might write [more] about this school.[1] We are now in a position to report as under:

Boarding

Those in Phœnix who live with their families can take in up to eight boarders. It is intended that the boys who may be accepted as boarders will be treated as one's own children. This practice prevailed in India in olden days, and it should be revived as far as possible. There is only one condition for a boy's admission, namely, he should be in sound health. Indians of any caste or community will be admitted. No distinctions will be made in such matters as food, etc. The boys will get the same food as the inmates, with certain modifications. It will be, in effect, as under:

Half a bottle of milk, two ounces of ghee, flour, mealie meal, pulse, rice, fresh fruit, green vegetables, sugar, bread, nuts (mainly groundnut).

The diet will be provided regularly, spread over not less than three and not more than four meals as it may suit the boys. Which of these

[1] *Vide* "Phœnix School", p. 119.

items should be included in which meal will be decided in the light of our customary practice or in any other way that may be found to be best from experience.

The diet does not include tea, coffee or cocoa. It is our view, based on our knowledge and experience, that things such as tea are harmful even to adults, and much more so to children. Some medical men think that the introduction of tea, etc., has led to an increase in the incidence of ill-health.

Moreover, tea, coffee and cocoa are produced through the labour of men who work more or less in conditions of slavery. In Natal, for instance, it is the indentured labourers who work on tea and coffee plantations. Cocoa is produced in the Congo, where indentured Kaffirs are made to work beyond all limits of endurance. We think that slave labour is used even in the production of sugar. Though it is not possible to look too deeply into these matters, we are firmly of the view that these three things should be used as sparingly as possible.

Furthermore, if we claim to be fired with the spirit of *swadeshi* in India, we had better avoid these three things as far as possible. There is no need to go into these arguments, especially those against tea, in this place. Suffice it to say that boys do not need these things.

Boarding Charges

We find that boarding charges come to not less than a guinea a month. The figure includes the barber's service charges. The provisions themselves amount to £1 [per head]. A shilling is added to this by way of washing charges. No separate charges for a barber's services are included since this work is mostly done by the inmates of Phœnix themselves and does not entail any expenditure.

Lodging

It will not be possible to provide lodging arrangements similar to the boarding tariff outlined above. There are not enough buildings to provide the requisite accommodation, nor can the boys be conveniently lodged with families. It will therefore be necessary to build a dormitory for them. We do not see any possibility of our being able to provide lodging for them before such a dormitory is built. To show that there will be no differential treatment as between the boys who may be admitted and the boys of the families which will provide board to them, it is intended that the two classes of boys will sleep in the same room. It is thus necessary to put up a building which will provide sleeping accommodation to about 20 boys. The construction of such a building and of a reservoir to provide bathing facilities for the boys is estimated to cost £200. These arrangements for boys can materialize if those who want to have their boys admitted agree to raise

this sum. The estimates have been prepared in consultation with the architect, Mr. Kallenbach, and an Indian carpenter. The ownership of the building will be vested in those who donate the money, provided they will have no rights so long as the school functions. If it ceases to function, the donors may, if they choose, carry away the building. The necessary amount may either be provided by the parents who want to send their boys, or may be raised through donations from others. Those who donate money will be serving a public cause. The inmates of Phœnix are so busy these days that they are in no position to undertake the necessary effort to raise a fund.

Dress

It is more convenient to prescribe a uniform dress for the boys. The following will be the requirements of dress according to us:

	£	s.	d.
1 Hair-brush		1	6
3 Half-length breeches		6	0
3 Shirts		6	0
4 Shorts		4	0
2 Pairs of sandals or shoes		6	0
1 Hat		2	0
2 Night dresses		4	0
2 Towels		2	0
2 Napkins		1	0
4 Pocket handkerchiefs		1	0
	1	13	6

The cap will be of the model customary in one's community. The hat mentioned above is merely for use when working in the sun. Whether such a dress should be provided for the boys or not will depend on their parents. If any parents do not want to incur this expenditure or are not anxious to teach the boys such simplicity, they may send with the boys materials for the items indicated above in a small bag or packet. If they ask us, we suggest that they send nothing with the boys, but give us a sum of £1.13.6, with permission to have the required garments made and give them to the boys to wear. The requirements of dress indicated above are for one year.

Beds

We do not intend to provide Indian-style beds to sleep on, but think of using planks of the kind in use in gaols. They appear to be more conducive to one's well-being. We think it is healthier for the boys to be made to sleep on blankets than to be allowed cotton mattresses.

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But we shall make necessary alterations in this regard as desired by parents. According to us, the boys will need the following things:

3 Blankets	10 s
1 Pillow	1 s
4 Bedsheets	4 s
2 Pillow-covers	1 s
	16 s

Parents may themselves send these materials; otherwise we shall be prepared to buy them. Leaving the expenditure on dress and blankets, etc., to the decision of the parents, we calculate that the other expenditure to be borne by them will amount to one guinea per month. It is proposed to charge admission fee at the rate of £1 for each boy. The sum is intended to be spent on buying the required books for him. It is not that books worth that amount will be necessarily bought. But the intention is to keep some provision for the miscellaneous expenditure on the boys that the school may find it necessary to incur. Books required for advanced boys will have to be provided by the parents.

Teachers

It will be observed from the account given above that we do not propose to charge any monthly fee. We are in a position to follow this course only because the teachers maintain themselves by their earnings from the [International Printing] Press. With the permission of the press, every teacher gives his services at certain hours. It is also planned to have a School Board which will consider methods of teaching, etc.

Among the teachers will be Purshottamdas Desai (Principal), Mr. West, Mr. Cordes, Miss West and others.

Curriculum

The main object of this school is to strengthen the pupils' character. It is said that real education consists in teaching the pupil the art of learning. In other words, a desire for knowledge should grow in him. Knowledge, however, is of many kinds. There is some knowledge which is harmful. If, therefore, the boys' character is not formed well, they will acquire the wrong kind of knowledge. Because of lack of proper planning in education, we observe that some persons grow to be atheists and some, though highly educated, fall a prey to vices. It is therefore the main object of this school to assist in building the moral character of boys. We can see this aim realized in Mr. Hassan Mia and Mr. Ravikrishna. We can form some idea of what Mr. Hassan Mia has been doing in England. Mr. Ravikrishna is in gaol today for the sake of the country. Both these have gone out from the school at Phœnix.

Boys will be taught their own language, that is, Gujarati or Hindi and, if possible, Tamil, as also English, arithmetic, history, geography, botany and zoology. Advanced pupils will also be taught algebra and geometry. It is expected that they can be brought up to the matriculation level.

For purposes of religious instruction, parents will be allowed to send any religious teacher of their choice. Hindu boys will be taught the fundamentals of the Hindu religion in any manner that may be desired by their parents. Indian Christians will be taught the elements of the Christian religion by Mr. West and Mr. Cordes on the basis of the teachings of Theosophy. For boys of the Muslim faith, we want to arrange for a Moulvi, if possible. They will be permitted to go to Durban on Fridays. We believe that the education of any people is fruitless without religious instruction. Therefore, it is the duty of parents with a religious bent of mind to provide their children with both religious and secular education. We shall find on reflection that what we call secular education is also for strengthening the religious instinct. We think education imparted without any such aim is often harmful.

Boys will be taught the history of ancient and modern India so as to inculcate in them love of India and help them grow patriotic.

Apart from this, there is no other information to be given. We hope that those who want to send their boys will do so indeed. As for the difficulty about the building, it is the duty of the parents to remove it. It is hardly necessary to mention that a report on the school and a statement of accounts will be published regularly.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 9-1-1909

88. HIGHER-GRADE SCHOOL

It is plainly the intention of the Government gradually to drive away Indian boys from higher-grade Indian schools and other Government schools. We have already shown that the remedy lies in having a school of our own, and have been saying this in connection with the Phœnix school[1]. All the same, it is necessary to fight the Government. There are two ways of fighting it and securing justice. One, through courts of law, and two, through petitions, etc. Whether we can obtain redress through the courts of law cannot be stated without careful study. We can come to no final conclusion from the fact that a suit was filed once and dismissed by the Supreme Court. Hence, a good

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

lawyer may be consulted and, if advised by him, the matter should be fought out legally. If that is not possible, a petition may be made. The matter should be taken right up to the Imperial Government. Of course, we shall need to have sanctions behind all these moves. We can apply them through satyagraha. We need not at the moment go into the question of how this can be done. We can discuss it later. Meanwhile, it is necessary that the leaders take the steps outlined above as expeditiously as possible.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 9-1-1909

89. MY SECOND EXPERIENCE IN GAOL [–II]

Work

The Government can exact nine hours' labour daily from those sentenced to rigorous imprisonment. The prisoners are locked in every day at six o'clock. At half-past five in the morning, there is a bell to wake them up, and the cell-doors open at six. The prisoners are counted when they are locked in and again when they are let out. In order that the counting may be orderly and speedy, every prisoner is required to stand at attention near his bed. Each one must roll up his bedding, put it in its proper place and, after a wash, be ready before six. Then, at seven, work starts. The work assigned is of various kinds. On the first day, we had to dig up the soil in a field near the main road for purposes of cultivation.[1] About 30 Indians were there. No one was thus compelled to work if he was not fit enough. We were taken there along with the Kaffirs. The soil was very hard, and since it had to be dug up with spades, the labour involved was strenuous. The day was very hot. The place of work must have been at a distance of about one and a half miles from the gaol. All the Indians set to work with great energy. But only a few of them were used to hard work, so that we were all quite exhausted with the exertion. Among us was Ravikrishna, son of Babu Talevantsingh. I was much disconcerted to see him work, and yet the energy with which he went about it gladdened my heart. As the day advanced, we found the task quite hard. The warder was rather sharp of temper. He shouted at the prisoners all the time to keep on working. The more he shouted, the more nervous the Indians became. I even saw some of them in tears. One, I noticed, had a swollen foot. I was sorely distressed at this. However, I went on urging everyone to ignore the warder and carry on as best he could. I too got

[1] Later, this became the subject of a controversy; *vide* Appendix VII.

exhausted. There were large blisters on the palms, the lymph oozing out of them. It was difficult to bend down, and the spade seemed to weigh a maund. For myself, I was praying to God all the time to save my honour, so that I might not break down, and to give me strength to keep doing the work as well as I should. Placing my trust in Him, I went on with the work. The warder started rebuking me. He did so because I was resting. I told him that there was no need to shout at me, that I would do my best and work to the utmost limit of endurance. Just then, I observed Mr. Jhinabhai Desai fainting away. I paused a little, not being allowed to leave the place of work. The warder went to the spot. I found that I, too, must go, and I ran. Two other Indians also followed me. Water was sprinkled over Jhinabhai. He came to. The warder sent away the others to their work. I was allowed to remain by his side. After plenty of cold water had been poured over Jhinabhai's head, he felt somewhat better. I told the warder that Jhinabhai would not be able to walk down to the gaol. Hence a cab was sent for. I was ordered to take him in it to the gaol. As I splashed cold water over Jhinabhai's head, I thought to myself, "A great many Indians have been going to gaol at my word. What a sinner I would be if I had been giving wrong advice! Am I the cause of all this suffering on the part of Indians?" As I thought thus, I sighed deeply. I considered the matter afresh, with God as witness, and, after being plunged in reflection for some time, I collected myself with a smile. I felt I had given the right advice. If to bear suffering is in itself a kind of happiness, there is no need to be worried by it. This was only a case of fainting, but even if it were to be death, I could have given no other advice. Seeing that our sole duty was to break free from our fetters by enduring every hardship rather than remaining bound for life, I felt light in heart and tried to instil courage in Jhinabhai.

As soon as the cab arrived, Jhinabhai was made to lie down in it and was taken away. A complaint was made to the chief warder. After inquiry, the warder was reprimanded. Jhinabhai was not taken out for work at noon. Similarly, four other Indians were found too weak [to work]. All the others resumed work. One is required to work from twelve noon to one. At noon, supervision over us was assigned to a Kaffir warder instead of a white one. He proved a little better. He did not go on prodding us. Occasionally, he would shout a few words. Moreover, at noon Kaffirs and Indians were deployed in the same place, though at different spots. We were given softer soil to dig up.

I had a talk with the contractor. He said that the labour of Indian prisoners was likely to put him to some loss. He admitted that Indians could not all at once equal the Kaffirs in point of physical strength. I also told him that they were not likely to work [harder] for fear of the warder, that they would do as much—and only as much—as they

possibly could for fear of God. But I found it necessary later to revise this idea altogether. Let us see how that happened.

We were taken out [again] the next day. But we were sent with a Kaffir warder instead of a white one. The Kaffir, moreover, was not the same one as on the previous day. He had been advised not to bother us at all about work.

(To be continued)

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 9-1-1909

90. LETTER TO "RAND DAILY MAIL"[1]

PHŒNIX,
January 9, 1909

THE EDITOR
RAND DAILY MAIL
[JOHANNESBURG]

SIR,

I notice that there still exists some doubt as to what is wanted by my countrymen in the Transvaal, who have now been fighting against tremendous odds for the past two years. I will, therefore, with your permission, endeavour to state the Indian submission as briefly as possible.

What we want is the following:

(1) Repeal of Act 2 of 1907;
(2) Legal recognition of the right of highly educated Indians to enter the Transvaal like any other immigrant, under the education test provided by the Immigration Act of the Colony with such administrative severity in applying the education test as to exclude all but six highly educated Indians in one year.

Repeal of the old Act is necessary,

(1) for the honour of the country, because it is claimed that General Smuts is under promise to repeal the Act.
(2) Act 2 of 1907 is in conflict with the new Act of 1908, and, a recent decision of the Supreme Court has shown, the running together of the two dissimilar Acts having the same purpose may lead to dangerous results.

[1] This letter appears to have been addressed to *Rand Daily Mail*. It has the superscription scored out and the words "Statement for Mr. Cartwright" substituted. The office copy available is imperfect and words in square brackets have been supplied in some places by conjecture.

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(3) Recent events have shown that Act 2 of 1907 is not meant, [as] was stated by General Smuts at one time, to be a dead letter.
(4) The Act, being still on the Statute-book of the Colony, constitutes an offence to the Turkish Mahomedans, and, therefore, continues to offend the religious susceptibilities of Indian Mahomedans.
(5) It is open to the Government, if they wish to harass British Indians, to enforce the most objectionable clauses of the Act.

As to the educated British Indians, General Smuts [stated that there will be no] objection raised [to the entry] of such persons, if they apply under the Asiatic Registration Act. This is highly unsatisfactory, because

(1) the powers granted by the Asiatic Act refer only to temporary permits;
(2) such temporary permits, even though they may be of long duration, would still make the holders prohibited immigrants;
(3) the permits, therefore, would prevent the holders [from] carrying on their profession;
(4) temporary permits would leave their holders at the mercy of the Government.

What Indians want, in place of such makeshifts, is the retention of the undoubted right of highly educated Indians to enter the Transvaal as free immigrants, provided that they pass any education test that the authorities may impose.

If it be objected that there is no such power reserved in law as to enable the Minister to impose severe or discriminating tests—I deny that the present law is not enough for the purpose—my countrymen will offer no objection to administrative discrimination against them. Thus, power can be given to the Minister to set any education test, even different tests for different classes, the Minister's decision in such cases being final and not appealable to the Supreme Court. Under such a severe test, it will be competent for the Government to limit the entry of highly educated Indians to only six in any one year.

My countrymen resent a racial bar as regards educated Indians, it being deemed a national dishonour. Whilst, therefore, the matter with General Smuts is largely sentimental, with Indians it is one of vital principle.

Repeal of Act 2 of 1907 is necessary, whether we demand it or not. Amendment of the Immigration Act is necessary, because of the severe condemnation by the Supreme Court of its several clauses. Why not, then, at the time of amending it, free it from the taint of the Asiatic Act, and alter it so as to give the Minister additional powers regarding the imposition of the education test? Indians on their part will under-

take not to raise passive resistance over the administration of the education test, so long as six highly educated Indians are passed under the test during any single year.

I am, etc.,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S.N. 4914

91. EDUCATION OF INDIANS IN NATAL

We wrote last week about the decision of the Government not to admit boys above the age of 14 to the higher-grade Indian schools.[1] Whatever steps it is proposed to take in this connection must be taken immediately. On further inquiry, we find that there are two ways of filing a suit. First, a suit may be filed against the refusal to admit an over-age boy, and second, for securing admission of Indian children into an English school. The second approach may perhaps succeed. There is less possibility of success in the first. Even then, it is worthwhile to file a case of that kind. It will expose the Government's intentions. In filing a case of the second kind, we need not think of sending our boys to an English school afterwards; only, if we win the case, boys may get more concessions in the higher-grade [school].

Both these suits will cost money. If Indian parents raise it, something can be done.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 16-1-1909

92. IMMIGRATION COMMISSION

The Natal Immigration Commission commenced its sessions in Durban on Tuesday. Anyone who wants may give evidence before it. It is the duty of the Congress to give evidence on this issue. Individuals may also do so. According to us, there is only one thing which all Indians can say, and that is to ask for an end to the system of indenture. There is hardly any difference between indenture and slavery. We assume that Indians who have come over under the system have stood to gain somewhat. But, in fact, by accepting slavery for the sake of pecuniary gain, they have only suffered a loss. Those who endure such slavery are as good as lost to the motherland. Their slavery is of no benefit to the country. So long as man is not able to work as an independent individual, the community derives no benefit

[1] *Vide* pp. 139-40.

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from his work. Looking at the matter from other points of view, too, it appears necessary that the system of indenture should be stopped. This, therefore, is the evidence that should be tendered before the Commission.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 16-1-1909

93. MY SECOND EXPERIENCE IN GAOL [–III]

We were advised to make a sincere attempt to do our best. The work assigned to us was also light. We had to dig up pits and fill them on municipal land adjoining the main road. This allowed occasional rest. But I found from experience that, left to our conscience and our God, we are shirkers. For I observed that the men slackened in their work.

It is my confirmed belief that we get a bad name because of this habit of shirking work and also that this habit is one of the reasons why our struggle is being prolonged. Satyagraha is a difficult as well as an easy method. Our *bona fides* must not be in doubt. We bear no ill will to the Government. We do not regard it as our enemy. If we are fighting it, it is with a view to correcting its errors and making it mend its ways. We would not be happy to see it in difficulties. We believe that even our resistance is for its good. It follows from this line of reasoning that we at any rate should work to the best of our ability in gaol. If we believe that we have no moral obligation to work [hard], it is not right that we put in the full amount of work in the presence of the warder. If it is not just that we should work, then we should not submit to the warder, but resist him rather and suffer any further term of imprisonment that may be awarded to us in consequence. But there is no Indian who holds such a view. If some of them do not work [hard enough], there is no more to it than mere laziness and desire to shirk work. It does not become us thus to be lazy or to shirk work. As satyagrahis, it is our duty to do whatever work is given to us; if we worked [as well as we could] without any fear of the warder, we would be spared all harassment. There would then be no question of our being made to overwork ourselves. Because of the habit of shirking work, people were put to some difficulties in gaol.

After this digression, let us return to the main story. As days passed, our work became lighter, as I have pointed out above. The batch which included me was next assigned the task of maintaining cleanliness in the gaol garden and looking after its cultivation. Our

work was mainly to sow maize seeds, clear the potato bed and dust the potato plants.

And then, for two days, they took us to dig a municipal tank. Our work there consisted of digging, piling up the earth and carrying it away in barrows. This again was hard work. We had a taste of it only for two days. I had a swollen wrist, which was cured when treated with earth.

The place being at a distance of four or five miles, we used to be taken there in a trolley. We had to cook our meal near the tank, so that we also carried with us the necessary provisions and fuel. Here, too, the contractor was not satisfied. We could not equal the Kaffirs. After making us work on the tank for two days, they gave us some other work. Hitherto they used to take out mostly such Indians as were strong enough for work. Now, however, they were formed into groups. Some of them were sent to dig out the weeds that had shot up round the soldiers' tombs. Others were sent to clean the graveyard. This arrangement continued for some time. Meanwhile, after the Barberton case, nearly 50 Indians were released.

During the remaining period, we were assigned work in the garden. This included digging, reaping, sweeping, etc. This cannot be considered to be heavy work; rather, it was conducive to vigour of health. One may at first get bored when engaged on such work for nine hours at a stretch, but one doesn't feel it after getting used to it.

Apart from the kind of work described above, it is the duty of the men in every cell to carry the bucket for urine, etc., placed in it. I observed that our people are unwilling to do such work. In fact, there is no reason why one should mind it. It is wrong to think of any work as humiliating or degrading. Moreover, those who have offered themselves for imprisonment cannot afford to stand on prestige thus. I saw that sometimes there was some argument as to who should carry the urine bucket. If we have understood the full meaning of satyagraha, we would compete with one another in offering to do such work, instead of making difficulties about it, and one would feel honoured if the work fell to one's lot. That is to say, the honour would not consist in being required by the Government to work, but, since the work had in any case to be attended to, he who was the first to offer himself would deserve special honour.

Since we have resolved to bear all suffering, each one of us may as well come forward to suffer more than others, and he who suffers most should feel most honoured. An example of this was once set by Mr. Hasan Mirza. He has been suffering from a very bad disease of the lungs. He is delicate of health. All the same, he gladly took upon himself whatever work fell to his lot from day to day. Furthermore, he gave no thought to his health. Once, a Kaffir warder asked him to clean

the chief warder's privy, which he instantly started doing. As he had never done such work, he vomited. He was not upset by this. While he was cleaning another privy, I happened to come up and see him engaged upon the work. I was astonished. To be sure, I felt great affection for him. On inquiry, I learnt about the first privy. Another time, the same Kaffir warder was ordered by the chief [warder] to find two Indians to clean the latrines specially set apart for the Indians. The warder approached me about this and asked me to name two persons. I thought I was the best person for such work, and so I went myself.

Personally, I feel no shame in this kind of work. I think we should accustom ourselves to it. Because of the dislike we feel for such work, not only do we find the front of our houses and our lavatories generally dirty, but also originate, or spread, epidemics such as the plague, etc. We assume that lavatories are bound to be unclean, and thus we frequently invite the charge of being dirty. Once an Indian was sentenced to solitary confinement, that is to say, he was locked up in a cell by himself, for refusing to do such work. Of course, I see nothing wrong in our having to submit to any kind of sentence. But, in this particular case, the penalty could have been avoided. It is, moreover, not proper that we should hold ourselves back from such work. When I set out to attend to the work, the warder began to scold others and urged them to come forward. This spread the news about the order and forthwith Mr. Omar Osman and Mr. Rustomjee ran to my help; the work was very light, though. My object in narrating this story is to show that these men also felt honoured in doing such work when required by the Government. If we are hurt by the nature of the work assigned to us, we cannot take part in any fight worth the name.

Removed to Johannesburg

I have given above an account of the work [assigned to us] in Volksrust gaol. But I did not spend two full months in that gaol. I was suddenly sent away to Johannesburg for a few days. What happened there is worth recounting. I was taken there on October 25. The reason was that I was required to give evidence in the case of Dahya, the tailor. There were all kinds of speculations as to other possible reasons. Everyone was filled with hope and imagined that perhaps there might be an interview with General Smuts. It was found later that there was no such idea. A warder was specially sent from Johannesburg to fetch me. A railway compartment was placed at our disposal. We had second-class tickets, the only reason being that there were no third-class carriages in the train. It appears that prisoners are carried only in third-class compartments. I was in gaol uniform throughout the journey. I had some luggage with me, which I was made to carry myself. The distance from the gaol to the station had to

be covered on foot. After arriving at Johannesburg, I had [again] to reach the gaol on foot, carrying the luggage myself. The incident provoked strong comments in newspapers. Questions were asked in the British Parliament. Many persons felt hurt. Everyone thought that, being a political prisoner, I should not have been made to walk the distance, dressed in gaol uniform and carrying a load.[1]

One can understand why this should have given offence to some people. When Mr. Anglia came to know how I was to go, there were tears in his eyes. Mr. Naidoo and Mr. Polak were at the station to see me, having received information [about my arrival]. They were also touched to see my condition. There is no reason why one should feel these things so much. It is not likely that in this country the Government will make any distinction between political and other prisoners. The greater the harassment we suffer, the earlier shall we win our release. Moreover, we shall find on reflection that it is not much of a hardship to have to wear a gaol uniform, or go on foot or carry one's luggage. But the world will always think of these things as hardships, and that is why an outcry was raised in England.

I did not have the slightest trouble from the warder during the journey. I had resolved [while in Volksrust Gaol] that, unless openly allowed by the warder, I would not take any food other than what I was allowed in gaol. Hence I had carried on with the gaol diet all these days. But they had given me no food packet for the journey. The warder [accompanying me] allowed me to buy whatever food I wanted. The station master offered me some money. He was also very much upset [to observe my condition]. I thanked him, [but] declined his offer of money. I borrowed 10 s from Mr. Kazi, who was present at the station, and spent something from it to buy food for myself and for the warder on the train.

It was evening when we reached Johannesburg, so that I was not taken where I could be among other Indians. I was given a bed in a cell of the prison where there were mostly Kaffir prisoners who had been lying ill. I spent the night in this cell in great misery and fear. I did not know that the very next day I would be taken among our own people, and, thinking that I would be kept in this place all the time, I became quite nervous. I felt extremely uneasy, but I resolved in my mind that my duty required me to bear every suffering. I read the *Bhagvad Gita* which I had carried with me. I read the verses which had a bearing on my situation and, meditating on them, managed to compose myself.

The reason why I felt so uneasy was that the Kaffir and Chinese prisoners appeared to be wild, murderous and given to immoral ways.

[1] *Vide* Appendix VIII.

I did not know their language. A Kaffir started putting questions to me. I felt a hint of mockery even in this. I did not understand what it was. I returned no reply. He asked me in broken English why I had been brought there in that fashion. I gave a brief reply, and then I lapsed into silence. Then came a Chinese. He appeared to be worse. He came near the bed and looked closely at me. I kept still. Then he went to a Kaffir lying in bed. The two exchanged obscene jokes, uncovering each other's genitals. Both these prisoners had charges of murder and larceny against them. Knowing this, how could I possibly sleep? Thinking that I would bring this to the notice of the Governor the next day, I fell asleep for a while late in the night.

Real suffering lies in this. Carrying luggage and such other troubles are nothing very serious. Realizing that the experience I have had must also sometimes be that of other Indians, and that they too would feel the fear that I did, I was happy that I had suffered in the same way as others. The experience, I thought, would impel me to agitate against the Government all the more tenaciously, and I hoped that I might succeed in inducing prison reforms in regard to these matters. All these are indirect benefits of satyagraha.

As soon as we rose the following day, I was taken to where the other prisoners were lodged, so that I had no chance to complain to the Governor about what had happened. I have, though, resolved in my mind on an agitation to ensure that Indian prisoners are not lodged with Kaffirs or others. When I arrived at the place, there were about 15 Indian prisoners. Except for three, all of them were satyagrahis. The three were charged with other offences. These prisoners were generally lodged with Kaffirs. When I reached there, the chief warder issued an order that all of us should be lodged in a separate room. I observed with regret that some Indians were happy to sleep in the same room as the Kaffirs, the reason being that they hoped there for a secret supply of tobacco, etc. This is a matter of shame to us. We may entertain no aversion to Kaffirs, but we cannot ignore the fact that there is no common ground between them and us in the daily affairs of life. Moreover, those who wish to sleep in the same room with them have ulterior motives for doing so. Obviously, we ought to abandon such notions if we want to make progress.

(To be continued)

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 16-1-1909

94. LETTER TO MRS. CHANCHALBEHN GANDHI

VOLKSRUST,
Saturday [*January 16, 1909*][1]

CHI. CHANCHAL[2],

I was arrested, deported, again arrested and am now released on bail. I shall now proceed to Johannesburg. You will know more from Manilal.

I feel unhappy that I was not able to have much talk, rather any talk, with you. But such is my plight.

I purposely dictated to you that day. I want to make you adept in such work. I would even keep you with me when Rami[3] is grown up. Be sure that if you give up the idea of staying with Harilal for the present, it will do good to both of you. Harilal will grow by staying apart and will perform his other duties. Love for you does not consist only in staying with you. At times one has to live apart just for the sake of love. This is true in your case. From every side, I see that your separation is for your benefit. But it can be a source of happiness only if you do not become restless owing to separation. I think Harilal will have to stay at Johannesburg till the struggle is over.

Considering your stage of life, I do not intend to treat you as a child. I wish you and Manilal take charge of the household. You two have to look after everything in the house, keep Rama[4] and Deva[5] in proper form, take care of their belongings, and teach them to do so themselves, see that they are clean and their nails are well trimmed. None can say when Ba[6] will completely recover. Even when she is fully restored, your role will not be affected. You have to behave as mistress of the house. Do not forget that we are very poor.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand : S.N. 9526

[1] Gandhiji was arrested on this day at Volksrust on his way to Johannesburg after seeing Mrs. Gandhi, who was seriously ill at Phœnix.
[2] Wife of Harilal, Gandhiji's eldest son
[3] Addressee's infant daughter
[4] Ramdas, Gandhiji's third son
[5] Devdas, Gandhiji's fourth and youngest son
[6] Mrs. Kasturba Gandhi

95. LETTER TO "INDIAN OPINION"

JOHANNESBURG,
January 19, 1909

TO
THE EDITOR
INDIAN OPINION

SIR,

By the time this week's issue of *Indian Opinion* is out, I shall perhaps find myself lodged in the gaol-palace. I, therefore, think it necessary to address a few words to the Indian community concerning the present situation.

There is no doubt that some Indians have weakened. Many of them have given up the fight. Others, it appears, are about to do so.

A letter has been published in *The Star*[1] over the signatures of [some] Pathans in which they state as under:

> We, Pathans, wish to inform the Government and the public through your paper that the British Indian Association has raised a volunteer corps of pickets to keep a watch on the Asiatic Office and the Licensing Office. The pickets are dressed in *khaki* uniform, and wear bands like soldiers. We saw some of them smartly parading up and down the roads. These pickets have been posted with a view to defeating the intention of the Pathans to help the Government and inciting loyal Indians to resist it. And therefore we, Pathans, who have been loyal servants of the late Queen-Empress Victoria, and the present King-Emperor and Queen-Empress—may God save them—consider these volunteers of Gandhi and Polak as bullies. We pray to the Government not to oppose us in what we may do in this connection. Not only does Gandhi always make derogatory remarks about our religion and pass insulting remarks against our Prophets, but he is ever disturbing the peace [of the land]. If the Government cannot remove him and his corps of volunteers from the Colony, we can do that much for the Government with all despatch. We shall be grateful to you if you give publicity to this letter.

I have said that the letter is over the signatures of Pathans. I cannot say that it was drafted by them. There was a time when the Pathans sent a petition to the Government to say that they would rather be blown up by its cannon than submit to the law. It is not

[1] Dated 18-1-1909; the letter was entitled "Revolt against Picketing".

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likely that these very Pathans would submit to the same Act or help others submit to it. Should that happen, it would be a matter of shame for them and for us.

How, then, did this letter come to be written? I am sure that there is the hand of a well-known Indian behind it. Some whites have been indulging in intrigues against the community in order to protect their own interests. There are some Indians who, having burnt their own fingers, want others to do likewise and thus wish to drag down the entire community. Both these classes of men want to use the Pathans as pawns in their game. The Pathans, being illiterate, are easily misled and induced to give their signatures. They ought to think before they do so. I should very much like some Indian to read out this letter to them in the right spirit. If the Pathans give their signatures to any sort of letter, without giving thought to its content, they will bedim the lustre of their swords. When a sword is used in the service of a wrong cause, I regard it merely as a piece of rusted iron.

The man who has written this letter or caused it to be written has held out a threat to the pickets. But the Pathans must realize that it is not proper for them to raise their hand against a single Indian.

I have not much to say about what has been said against me in the letter. The author of the letter wants to create dissensions among Hindus and Muslims. To charge me with insulting the Prophets of Islam betrays sheer ignorance. I have not even dreamt of such a thing. It is certainly not in the nature of true Hinduism to insult the religion of others. I believe myself to be a follower of that religion. Since my life is devoted to discovering the means of uniting Hindus and Muslims, how is it possible for me to insult the Prophets of Islam? But the enemies of the community, anxious to provoke dissensions, circulate all kinds of stories in order to break the bonds that have been forged, seeking to implicate the Pathans also.

The thoughtful members of the community, and those who want it to prosper, must be alert at a time like this. The first thing is not to be intimidated by threats from any quarter. The community is offering satyagraha against the Government, and it will do the same against any Indians who may act as their enemies. It is only *Khuda-Ishvar* that one must fear. Those who wish to harm the community must be pitied for their ignorance. But one must not be cowed down by them. The fight has been protracted—it will be prolonged still further. Everyone will see that we ourselves are the cause of its being prolonged. Likewise, it is in our own hands to hasten its end. The only way to achieve this is for those who know what the fight means to put their whole heart into it. They must not give way to panic or anger. Moreover, the greater the pressure on us, the more determined should our resistance be. Accordingly, those who understand the meaning of the

struggle should put up with greater losses and bear heavier suffering. It is of the essence of the fight that we should be fearless and rejoice in sacrificing our lives and allowing our property to be ruined, recognizing that only by acting in this manner can we serve our own interests and those of the community. Only thus will the fight be won.

The attack on Mr. Polak should fill us all with shame. I, at any rate, cannot truly estimate his services to the community. I do not know how to describe his goodness. There is perhaps no Indian who understands the meaning of our struggle so well as he does. The remarks made against such a man in the letter mentioned above show that we have fallen on evil days.

I do not know the author of the letter or the man who instigated it. I only pray to God that He may show the right path to that man, to the Pathans and to all Indians, and also that the community may remain firm in the great task it has undertaken.

MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI
SERVANT OF THE COMMUNITY AND SATYAGRAHI

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 23-1-1909

96. LETTER TO THE PRESS[1]

JOHANNESBURG,
January 20, 1909

[SIR,]

The Indian community is now entering upon the third and, perhaps, the final stage of the struggle, which has now been raging for the last two and a half years. Hitherto, it has not been necessary for the British Indian merchants to sacrifice their goods entirely, and to reduce themselves to poverty. They have, in order to free themselves for the struggle, largely contracted their businesses, but not given them up entirely. The saying that, under an unjust Government, only those who countenance and participate in their injustice can enrich themselves or retain their riches is about to be realised in the present case. In order further to circumvent us, and seeing that gaols have ceased to have any terrors for us, rules[2] have been framed under the Criminal

[1] This appeared in *Indian Opinion*, 23-1-1909. Gandhiji was present at the meeting of Cachalia's creditors on January 22 and presumably drafted this letter. *Vide* also "Letter to *Rand Daily Mail*", pp. 157-9.

[2] These rules framed by the Judges of the Supreme Court of the Transvaal under the provisions of Section 280 of Ordinance No. 1 of 1903 provided for the execution of a warrant for the levy of a fine as in civil cases, for the Crown to be in the position

Procedure Code, laying down the mode of selling the goods of those who may be fined by Magistrates without the alternative of imprisonment. This move is clearly aimed at Indian merchants. They have, therefore, to face voluntary poverty, enforced poverty, or disgrace. They have no desire to enrich what is to them an unjust Government at the expense of their creditors or themselves. They have no desire to face disgrace. My advice, therefore, to my countrymen, both as a merchant and as Chairman of the British Indian Association, is that they must all for the present cease to be merchants, and return the goods they have to their creditors, if any, or otherwise close down their stores. To set an example, I have myself decided to take the first step, and I am doing so with the greatest deliberation, though not without some hesitation. No formal vote of the Association will be or can be taken as to the momentous step. It is most difficult to expect all Indian storekeepers, who have remained hitherto true to the struggle, to sell their all and follow the narrow path chosen by some of us. If they cannot rise to the occasion, I think that, even then, they will have deserved well of their countrymen, if not of the Colonists, in that they have braved dangers and difficulties during the past thirty months. Yet, if we prize our principle better than our pockets, the only advice that I can tender to my countrymen is that they should rise to the occasion and take this final step. Then will the Colonists realise, if they cho[o]se to, that this is not, so far as the Indians are concerned, a struggle for retaining our hold of the trade we have, or for unfair competition, or for bringing into the country men who have no right to be in it. The only question, so far as we are concerned, is that of national honour and our conscience.[1] In other words, we are endeavouring to show that we are worthy to be citizens of South Africa. It is likely that many Indians, during the last stage of the struggle, may fall. We see, also, that the struggle will be prolonged. Attempts are being made by ill-disposed persons within our own ranks and by interested Europeans to sow dissensions in our own camp. All these things we expected, but they cannot deter us from the course we have adopted; and whether, after

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of the judgement creditor, for the bailiff to attach goods sufficient to cover the costs of execution as well as the amount of the warrant and for the term of imprisonment to be reduced in the proportion of the amount of fine realized. *Vide Indian Opinion*, 9-1-1909.

[1] The European merchants reacted differently to this move. *The Natal Mercury*, January 21, in a special telegram reported, "Hitherto, it has to be remembered that the commercial community has been practically solid in supporting the Government on the Asiatic question. The stand which is being taken by the Chairman of the British Indian Association is, therefore, construed into an attempt by Mr. Gandhi and his fellow-agitators to force their hands."

many have fallen, we are a small or a large body, our sufferings will continue until justice is satisfied.

I am, etc.,
A. M. CACHALIA
CHAIRMAN,
BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION

Indian Opinion, 23-1-1909

97. *LETTER TO CREDITORS*[1]

[JOHANNESBURG,
January 20, 1909]

[GENTLEMEN,]

I regret to inform you that a meeting of my creditors will be called, at the Offices of the British Indian Association, 21-24 Court Chambers, Corner of Rissik and Anderson Streets, at 3 p.m., on Friday, the 22nd inst. My financial position is not the cause of calling this meeting, but I, as Chairman of the British Indian Association, in view of the determination of the Government to ruin the British Indian merchants who declined to accept the Asiatic Registration Act until the promise of General Smuts is redeemed, and until the status of the educated Indians is placed upon a firm footing, can no longer continue to carry on my trade with safety to my creditors or myself. I may state that, evidently on instructions from the Law Department, the magistrates are now imposing heavy fines upon merchants who trade without licences, without the alternative of imprisonment. Rules have been gazetted, laying down the manner in which goods are to be sold for these fines.

In saying this, I do not complain either about the magistrates imposing severe penalties or about the Government framing these rules. They are in their own estimation entitled to compel submission to their laws. I only claim that the British Indians are in their turn entitled to resist by their sufferings laws which they consider are in conflict with their national honour and conscience. Under these circumstances, so long as the struggle lasts, there is no course left open to me but to hand over what I possess to my creditors, rather than allow those possessions—which, after all, I hold in trust for them—to be sold. I am aware that I should also consider myself responsible to convert these goods into money, and pay my creditors in cash, but my private interests

[1] Signed by A. M. Cachalia, Chairman, British Indian Association, it is possible that this and the preceding item were written at the same time.

have to give way to the public interest, and, seeing that I cannot sell my possessions by auction, to the advantage of my creditors, I have decided to call them together and place my position before them, and ask them to take over the goods and my other assets. Should the struggle happily come to an end in the near future, or whenever it ends, I should be pleased to take over the goods as they are, and sell them for the benefit of my creditors. But as to the disposal of my possessions at the forthcoming meeting, I shall place myself entirely in my creditors' hands.

Indian Opinion, 23-1-1909

98. INTERVIEW TO "THE NATAL MERCURY"

[JOHANNESBURG,
January 21, 1909]

Interviewed, Mr. Gandhi says that the step[1] involves such a large measure of self-sacrifice by the Indian community that, at the present early stage, it was difficult to say whether the Indian merchants, as a whole, would be prepared to adopt the idea, which occurred to him whilst he was in Natal. The creditors of the Indians consisted of wholesale British firms oversea[s], local wholesale and retail firms, banks, storekeepers, and firms in India. If unanimity could be secured among the Indians, the loss sustained by these would run into many thousands of pounds. Wholesale firms in England had supplied largely to the Indian merchants here. If the Indians surrendered their estates, wholesale firms here would be compelled either to cut their losses, or put Asiatic storekeepers in charge, as managers or clerks, which would enable them to trade, despite the registration laws. If creditors, of whatever kind, decided to sell up the Indians, the latter would be smashed, but the former would suffer severe loss. The success of the Indians, Mr. Gandhi said, depended upon unanimity. Therefore, the Transvaal Indians affected would all be circularised.

Indian Opinion, 23-1-1909

[1] It was suggested that Indians should return the goods they had to their creditors, if any, or otherwise close down their stores, *vide* "Letter to the Press", pp. 153-5.

99. REPRESENTATION AT MEETING OF CACHALIA'S CREDITORS[1]

[JOHANNESBURG,
January 22, 1909]

. . . Mr. Gandhi, who spoke for Cachalia, said that it was open to the creditors to take what action they thought fit. His client wished to return the confidence shown in him by the merchants. If they desired, they could use the assets to the best advantage by keeping the business running, or they could sell him out. He could not continue trading.

Eventually, the Chairman closed the meeting by stating that, as the representative of the majority of creditors, he was not prepared to make any composition, but he would give Cachalia till Monday next at noon to pay 20s. in the pound.

Mr. Gandhi said that his client did not want time.[2]

Indian Opinion, 30-1-1909

100. LETTER TO "RAND DAILY MAIL"[3]

JOHANNESBURG,
January 22, 1909

TO
THE EDITOR

SIR,

Perhaps you will allow me to pass a few comments upon your leaderette[4] and the remarks made upon what you are pleased to call

[1] In pursuance of the letters to the Press and creditors, *vide* pp. 153-6, a meeting of A. M. Cachalia's creditors was held in the office of the British Indian Association. Hall of the Merchants' Trust presided. Cachalia produced his balance-sheet, roughly showing assets of £ 7,500 and liabilities of £ 3,800. He said he could not pay his creditors in cash, whereas Hall demanded full payment. *Rand Daily Mail*, 23-1-1909, published a full report of the meeting.

Earlier in the day, the executive of the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce had endorsed the resolutions of their wholesale soft goods trade section that, should any Asiatic call "a meeting of his creditors with a view to handing over his assets to his creditors and if this is done as a part of the passive resistance movement, such creditors be advised to apply for the sequestration of the estate, unless all liabilities are fully satisfied".

[2] The other creditors did not oppose Hall's decision and the meeting was dissolved.

[3] This was published in *Indian Opinion*, 30-1-1909, under the title "Letter from Mr. Gandhi".

[4] *Vide* Appendix IX.

the "latest move" of the British Indian community. I will not go into many side-issues that arise out of your remarks; but I venture to say that either you do not understand the spirit of the struggle that my countrymen have been carrying on, or you do not care to understand it. The latest move is not intended to coerce European merchants into taking action. Your interviewer received the replies to the questions he asked.[1] There are, therefore, many gaps to fill up. He took away from me only one side of the question.

In the latest move, Indian merchants do not desire that a single European merchant shall suffer. On the contrary, they have undertaken voluntarily to suffer even on behalf of their creditors. In giving the notice to his creditors, Mr. Cachalia has simply informed the creditors of the danger in which the goods entrusted to his care have been placed by the action of the Government—you will perhaps add by the action of the British Indians as well. Mr. Cachalia presented to the meeting of his creditors[2] a balance-sheet of which any debtor would be proud, and he made a statement before his creditors which I hold to be perfectly honourable. He has shown not only 20s in the £ on paper, but he has also stated that he does not desire to receive from his creditors a clean discharge against the handing over of his stock to them, but he added that he was willing, in the event of any loss being incurred on these assets, to make good the loss to the creditors out of his future earnings, if he is allowed to make any by the Government of the country of his adoption.

Nor does the latest move consist in British Indian merchants simply calling a meeting of their creditors, and associating them by force of circumstances in their sufferings to some slight extent. All British Indian merchants are not debtors of Europeans only; perhaps 50% of Mr. Cachalia's creditors are Indian. In any case, British Indian merchants may be divided as follows : (a) those who have European as well as Indian creditors, (b) those who have European creditors only, (c) those who have no creditors. All these three classes have been advised to close down their businesses and dispose of their belongings. You will therefore see that only to a small extent will British Indians have to trouble their European creditors. The latest move, therefore, is not a matter of any coercion at all. If you imply that European creditors will now have to take greater interest in the question, I admit the charge; but it only means that the sufferings of my countrymen have again told. Passive resistance consists purely and simply in the undergoing of every variety of suffering by passive resisters. To call

[1] The report of this interview is not available.
[2] *Vide* the preceding item.

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this defiance is a prostitution of terms; and how can the surrendering of all their belongings, including their profits, by British Indian merchants, the consequent pecuniary loss, and the acceptance of voluntary poverty be called a degeneration!

You have also remarked upon picketing, and called it intimidation. Picketing, in the case of the Indians, will deserve to be called intimidation, when the missionary efforts of the Salvation Army and other such philanthropic bodies merit the term of open defiance, coercion and intimidation.

I am, etc.,
M. K. GANDHI

Rand Daily Mail, 23-1-1909

101. WHAT DOES THE STRUGGLE MEAN?

The Transvaal struggle can be said to have entered on its third phase. It will be observed from our news-letters that some Indians are now giving in. It also appears that there are rifts among them. This need not depress us. It is so in every conflict. It is very difficult to climb the last steps. There are very few horses in a race; even then, not all of them remain on the course till the end—they cannot. Some of them just stall. Some others get exhausted. Some die while running; only a few reach the destination. The same thing happens in the history of every community. There is, therefore, no cause for disappointment in the developments mentioned above. In a campaign which produced thousands of Indians who have held out with determination for two years, there are bound to be some who will reach the goal.

We have yet to secure the repeal of the obnoxious Act and to safeguard the rights of the educated. But that is not the only purpose of the struggle.

That we should get training in organizing a movement, learn to be resourceful and demonstrate that we are not cowards but men—this also is a part of the meaning of our struggle, but not the whole of it. The main object of this fight is that we should learn to be men, to be a nation, to cease being the goats that we are and be lions, and to show to the world that we are one people, that we are the children of India ready to lay down our lives for her.

The great Thoreau said that one sincere man is more than a hundred thousand insincere men. We want to know how many of us are sincere. This the fight will tell us. Thus, to learn to be sincere is far more difficult than to secure repeal of the Act. It is wrong for us to get demoralized when we see others giving in. It is such behaviour that is the true mark of cowardice.

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The white nations taunt us with being brave enough to start with, but betraying lack of purpose at the critical moment. We want to prove that we are nothing of the kind. The all-too-powerful Government of the Transvaal will not succeed in proving that we are [pliable] like wax.

True religion consists in learning all this, and hence we are prepared to sacrifice our lives in this righteous war. To show that we are so prepared is one of the objects of the struggle; in fact, that is the main object. As for other things, they will follow as a matter of course.

Success in such a big task will require an equally big effort. In what way ? Businessmen are the most important Indians in the Transvaal. They must prove their worth and be prepared to embrace poverty in the process. It is only by embracing poverty that they can serve their own interests as well as those of the community. In a tyrannical state, only those who subserve its purposes can be happy or grow prosperous. In such a state, it is not straightforward men who can amass wealth. They can live in such a state only if they are prepared to suffer. That is the position of the Transvaal Indians. The Transvaal Government wants to rob the Indians of their honour and wealth. Why should they allow that? In former times, when in any part of the world the subjects rebelled against their oppressive rulers, before joining battle they would first kill their womenfolk in order to save them from dishonour. At the present moment, the Transvaal Indians are engaged in the battle of satyagraha. They will have to sacrifice their money, as women were sacrificed [in the olden days]. If not, they will be dishonoured and find their money as bitter as poison. No religion believes it possible to worship God and Mammon at the same time. Every religion teaches that if one wants to devote oneself to God, one must forsake wealth. Since we started this struggle with faith in God and with prayerful hearts, we must be prepared to renounce wealth. When we stand in need of wealth, that same God will see that we get it.

In Italy, 300,000 men were buried together with their possessions—such is divine Providence. Keeping that in view, let us always be mindful of our honour. To preserve our honour is in our hands. It is not so with regard to wealth. We hope that the Indians will sacrifice wealth and preserve their honour.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 23-1-1909

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102. MY SECOND EXPERIENCE IN GAOL [–IV]

I had one further unpleasant experience in the Johannesburg Gaol. In this gaol, there are two different kinds of wards. One ward is for Kaffir and Indian prisoners sentenced to hard labour. The other is for prisoners who are called as witnesses and those who have been sentenced to imprisonment in civil proceedings. Prisoners sentenced to hard labour have no right to go into this second ward. We slept in it, but we could not use its lavatory as of right. In the first ward, the number of prisoners wanting the use of the lavatory is so large that a visit to it is a great nuisance. Some Indians find this a source of great inconvenience. I was one of them. I was told by the warder that there would be no harm in my using a lavatory in the second ward. I therefore went to one of the lavatories in this ward. At these lavatories, too, there is usually a crowd. Moreover, the lavatories have open access. There are no doors. As soon as I had occupied one of them, there came along a strong, heavily-built, fearful-looking Kaffir. He asked me to get out and started abusing me. I said I would leave very soon. Instantly he lifted me up in his arms and threw me out. Fortunately, I caught hold of the door-frame, and saved myself from a fall. I was not in the least frightened by this. I smiled and walked away; but one or two Indian prisoners who saw what had happened started weeping. Since they could not offer any help in gaol, they felt helpless and miserable. I heard later that other Indians also had to go through similar tribulations. I acquainted the Governor with what had happened and told him there was urgent need for separate lavatories for Indians. I also told him that Indian prisoners should never be lodged with Kaffirs. The Governor immediately issued an order for a lavatory for Indians to be sent on from the Central Gaol. Thus, from the next day the difficulty about lavatories disappeared.[1] As for myself, I had no motions for four days, and hence I suffered in health somewhat.

While in Johannesburg, I was taken to the court three or four times. I was allowed to see Mr. Polak and my son there. Others also came sometimes. I was even free, when in the court, to have food brought to me from home and accordingly Mr. Kallenbach used to bring bread, cheese, etc., for me.

When I was in this gaol, the number of satyagrahi prisoners in it mounted very high. At one time, there were more than 50. Many of them were asked to pound gravel with a small hammer, sitting on a stone. About 10 men were employed in mending torn clothes. I

[1] The incident was later discussed in the Press; *vide* Appendix X.

was given the work of stitching caps with a [sewing] machine. I learnt sewing for the first time here. It was not difficult work and therefore I learnt it in no time.

Most of the Indians were employed in pounding gravel. I also asked for the same work. But the warder said that he had orders from the chief warder not to let me out, and accordingly he did not allow me to go out for pounding gravel. One day it so happened that I had no sewing work to do on the machine or other work. I therefore started to read. The rule is that every prisoner must do some work or other assigned to him in the gaol. The warder therefore called me and inquired whether I was ill.

I replied: No.

Q. Why are you then not doing any work?

A. I have finished the work assigned to me. I do not wish merely to pretend being busy with work. If you give me any work, I shall be glad to do it. Otherwise, what harm is there if I read, having nothing else to do?

Q. That is true, but it will be better if you remain in the store when the chief warder or the Governor comes round.

A. I don't like to do so. I am going to tell the Governor also that there isn't sufficient work in the store and that I should therefore be taken out to pound gravel.

Q. All right. I cannot on my own send you out for that.

A. little later, the Governor came. I told him everything. He did not allow me to go out for pounding gravel, but informed me that it was not necessary either, since I was to be sent back to Volksrust the following day.

Medical Examination—Undressing of Prisoners

The freedom from some regulations which is permitted in the mofussil gaol of Volksrust is not possible in the Central Gaol of Johannesburg. For instance, in Volksrust Mr. Dawad Mahomed was allowed to have a shawl as head-dress, and breeches were allowed to others as well. Mr. Rustomjee, Mr. Sorabji and Mr. Shapurji were permitted to wear their own caps. This will not be easy in the Johannesburg Gaol. Similarly, when prisoners first come to gaol, they are examined by the physician. This is done in order to find out if any of them suffers from a contagious disease and, if anyone does, to give him treatment and isolate him from the others. For this reason, the prisoners are examined with great care. Some of the prisoners are found to suffer from diseases like syphilis, and therefore everyone of them has his genitals examined. For this purpose, the prisoners are totally undressed, while being examined. Unlike the others, Kaffirs are kept standing undressed for nearly 15 minutes so as to save the physician's time.

Indian prisoners are made to lower their breeches only when the physician approaches them. The other garments have to be removed in advance. Almost every Indian resents having to lower his breeches, but most of them do not create any difficulty in the interest of our movement, though at heart they feel ill at ease. I told the physician about this. As a special case, he examined some of the prisoners in the store but declined to adopt that as a practice. The Association has written about this,[1] and the matter is under correspondence. We are justified in making an issue of this. This is an old practice of these people,[2] which is not likely to be changed all at once. All the same, the matter deserves attention.

When in the presence of men only, there should be no need to conceal any parts of our anatomy. There is no reason to believe, moreover, that others will keep staring at the parts which we generally hide. We need not have any false sense of shame. If we are pure in our own minds, where is the need to be particular about hiding what is a part of our natural endowment? I know that these ideas will sound strange to every Indian, but I do feel that one must go deep into the matter and learn the right attitude to take. By raising difficulties of this nature, we harm our cause in the long run. Formerly, Indian prisoners were not examined by the physician at all. But once two or three Indians were interrogated. They replied that they had no disease. The physician examined them nevertheless, having felt somewhat suspicious, and found that they had not spoken the truth. He decided thenceforth to examine even Indian prisoners. We can thus see that whenever we are in some trouble, it is generally of our own making.

Return from Johannesburg

As I said above, I was taken back to Volksrust on November 4. This time, too, I was accompanied by a warder. I was dressed in the prisoner's uniform, but on this occasion, instead of being made to walk, I was taken in a cab. However, instead of second, third-class tickets were provided. By way of provisions for the journey, I was given half a pound of bread and bully-beef. I refused the latter, giving up my claim to it. On the way, I was permitted by the warder to buy some other food. When I reached the station, I found some Indian tailors

[1] In two letters, dated November 24 and December 1, 1908, the British Indian Association protested to the Governor of the Transvaal Gaol against the practice of keeping prisoners undressed for over an hour in public for medical examination. The Director of Prisons, replying to these representations, denied that the prisoners were kept in such condition longer than necessary for the check-up. This correspondence was published in *Indian Opinion*, 19-12-1908. The Transvaal Ministers, also, in a minute dated January 30, 1909 refuted the allegation.

[2] This might also have been intended to mean: the prejudice against undressing in public is an old sentiment of our people which cannot be given up all at once.

present. They noticed me. Of course, talking was not allowed. Observing my dress, etc., some of them were filled with tears. Since I was not free even to tell them that I did not mind my dress or anything else, I merely remained a silent spectator. The two of us were assigned a separate compartment. There was a tailor travelling in the adjoining compartment, who passed on some of his food to me. At Heidelberg, Mr. Somabhai met me. He bought for me some eatables on the station. The woman from whom he bought them at first refused to accept any money, showing her sympathy for our cause. When Mr. Somabhai insisted on paying, she merely accepted a nominal sum of six pence. Since Mr. Somabhai had also sent a telegram to Standerton, several Indians had gone to the station there too, carrying some food with them. The warder and I had therefore more than our fill on the way.

As soon as we reached Volksrust, I was met by Mr. Nagadi and Mr. Kazi at the station. Both of them walked with me part of the way. They were permitted to walk at some distance from us. I was again made to walk the distance from the station [to the gaol], and carry my luggage. The matter even provoked much comment in newspapers.

All the Indians were happy to find me back in Volksrust. I was locked up in Mr. Dawad Mahomed's cell for the night, so that we kept awake till a late hour narrating our experiences to each other.

Situation of Indian Prisoners

When I returned to Volksrust, the situation of Indian prisoners had assumed a new aspect altogether. The number of prisoners had risen from about 30 to about 75. There was no way of accommodating such numbers in that gaol. Eight tents had therefore been pitched. For cooking, a special *chula* had been sent from Pretoria. Moreover, the prisoners were often allowed to go to a river nearby for a bath. The men looked like soldiers rather than prisoners. This was not a prison, but a camp of satyagrahis. What, then, did it matter whether we were treated well or ill by the warders ? In fact, most of the warders were on the whole reasonable men. Mr. Dawad Mahomed had given a nick-name to every warder. One was called "Oakly", another "Mafuto", and so on.

Visitors

We used to get a good number of Indian visitors in Volksrust gaol. Mr. Kazi was always hanging around. He looked after the prisoners' affairs outside, putting his whole heart into the work, and seized every opportunity to visit us. Mr. Polak used to come almost every week on official work. Mr. Mahomed Ibrahim and Mr. Kharsani came specially from Natal in connection with contributions to the Congress funds by Main Line Indians. On *Id* day, about a hundred Indian

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businessmen from Natal must have paid us a visit. There was also a shower of telegrams on that day.

Some Observations

Prisons are generally kept very clean. If this were not so, there would be epidemics before long. But there is also lack of cleanliness in some respects. Blankets are constantly interchanged. A blanket that has been used by the dirtiest of Kaffirs may later fall to an Indian's lot. Frequently, the blankets are found to be full of lice. They have a nasty smell. Under the rules, they must be exposed to sunlight for half an hour every day, if the sky is clear. But this is rarely done. The difficulty about blankets is not a trivial matter to a man of clean habits.

The same thing often happens about dress. The uniform worn by a prisoner is not always washed after he is released, but is given to another prisoner to wear in the same dirty condition. This is a disturbing state of affairs.

Moreover, there was considerable crowding of prisoners. In Johannesburg, where the accommodation was just sufficient for 200 prisoners, nearly 400 were lodged. Thus, twice the number of prisoners permitted under the rules was often lodged in a cell, and sometimes there were not enough blankets to go round. This was not an inconsiderable difficulty. But it is a law of nature that man adjusts himself to any situation in which he is placed by circumstances beyond his control. This happened with the Indian prisoners too. Even in the midst of the very real difficulties mentioned above, Mr. Dawad Mahomed, especially, remained in good spirits the whole day and kept the Indian prisoners amused all the time by his wit and humour.

There was an incident in the gaol which made one unhappy. Once a Kaffir warder approached some Indians who were sitting in a group. He asked for two Indians to go with him and do some grass-mowing. No one spoke for some time. Mr. Imam Abdool Kadir then offered himself for the work. Even then, no one got ready to accompany him. On the contrary, they told the warder that Mr. Kadir was their priest and asked him not to set him any task. This made matters twice as bad. For one thing, everyone ought to have offered himself for the work, instead of which, when the Imam Saheb came forward, out of consideration for the good name of the community, they divulged his status. By indicating their unwillingness to take up the work even when the Imam Saheb was ready for it, they proved that we—the community as a whole—are a shameless lot.

(To be continued)

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 23-1-1909

103. LETTER TO CREDITORS[1]

JOHANNESBURG,
January 23, 1909

GENTLEMEN,

I have seen a report of the meeting of creditors[2] of Mr. A. M. Cachalia of Johannesburg, merchant. I may state that my position is very similar to Mr. Cachalia's. Owing to the action taken by the Government, and referred to by Mr. Cachalia, my stock is in jeopardy. It is not possible for me to take out a licence. The question, therefore, is what am I to do with the stock that is in my possession. My liabilities are roughly £2,000, and my assets £4,000. In view of the decision arrived at by the meeting of Mr. Cachalia's creditors, and in view also of the reported concerted action of European merchants regarding cases like Mr. Cachalia's, I am not calling a meeting of creditors, but I merely advise you of the position. I shall be pleased, if you so desire, to call a meeting, or to attend any meeting that you may wish to call, and shall be pleased also to place my position before the creditors. Any further information that you may desire can be obtained at the offices of the British Indian Association, 21-24 Court Chambers, Corner of Rissik and Anderson Streets, and I shall esteem it a favour if any communication you may wish to make is addressed as above.

E. M. ASWAT

Indian Opinion, 30-1-1909

104. LETTER TO THE PRESS[3]

JOHANNESBURG,
January 23, 1909

[SIR,]

As one-time Secretary of the Indian Association, and as a merchant, I beg to congratulate Mr. A.M. Cachalia on the most self-sacrificing step he has taken. In my opinion, he deserves the best thanks of the

[1] This letter, presumably drafted by Gandhiji, as in the case of Cachalia's communication, was signed and addressed to his creditors by E. M. Aswat; later, he became the Acting Chairman of the British Indian Association in place of Cachalia, who was imprisoned.

[2] *Vide* "Representation at Meeting of Cachalia's Creditors", p. 157.

[3] This was presumably drafted by Gandhiji and signed by E. M. Aswat.

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British Indian community and, more especially, of the British Indian merchants, for having pointed the way out to them. The best manner in which I can express my approval of Mr. Cachalia's action is to follow him, and I have, therefore, placed myself in communication with my creditors.

I notice that the morality of the step taken by Mr. Cachalia has been questioned,[1] and that it has been construed into a desire on the part of the British Indian merchants to coerce European wholesale houses.[2] As to the morality or immorality of the step, it is largely a matter of opinion. According to the view taught by my religion, a merchant who does his best to pay his creditors 20/- in the £, and warns them of any danger in which their goods may be placed, is considered to have performed a meritorious act deserving of warm approbation from the community in which his lot is cast. With reference to coercion, I am sure that those who have used the term have done so hastily. It is quite clear that if [the] British Indian merchants do not take out licences to trade, they must be very properly prosecuted for trading without licences. The Government have every right, as they consider that their position is just, to impose every form of hardship on those traders who trade in disregard of the Licensing Law. What is an Indian debtor with a large stock on hand and with a conscience to keep to do? He has not cash enough to pay out his creditors immediately. He cannot, with any regard for his creditors, and without their consent, sell his goods by auction. He finds he has assets enough to pay out his creditors. Apart from any political considerations, I cannot but think that the only honourable course for a debtor, placed in the position above described, is to take his creditors into his confidence, and place himself at their disposal, telling them that, short of compromising his conscience, he is willing to do everything that the creditors may consider desirable in their interests. That my action will bear a political interpretation is unavoidable, for the simple reason that it is based upon the situation created by the Government; but, speaking for myself, I can assure the public that the action that I have taken is irrespective of whatever the European wholesale houses may do, so far as the political aspect is concerned. My desire is simply to protect my creditors, and certainly also to frustrate the design of the Government, in so far as they wish to receive monetary aid from me in order to bend me and my other countrymen to their wishes, which I hold to be unjust, immoral, and unrighteous.

Indian Opinion, 30-1-1909

[1] In a resolution of the Executive Committee of the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce on January 22

[2] *Vide* "Letter to *Rand Daily Mail*", pp. 157-9.

105. INTERVIEW TO "RAND DAILY MAIL"[1]

[JOHANNESBURG,
January 25, 1909]

...He [Gandhiji] says that he has sufficient faith in the sense of justice of the Colonists to believe that, as soon as they are in full possession of all the facts, they will give the Asiatics "their rights".

The Indians, he said, in the course of conversation yesterday, had secured the Kaffir trade to a large extent, because they treated the Kaffir better and more courteously than the European. He denied that the Indians under-sold the European storekeepers, but admitted that the Indian storekeepers paid their employees less than the European did.

Replying to the popular reproach that the Indians had ruined Ladysmith and Potchefstroom for European traders, Mr. Gandhi said that Ladysmith was largely supported by the indentured Indian community, just as Verulam was, and it was only natural that Indian stores should spring up there.

He concluded by saying that, if the European traders took up so definite and uncompromising an attitude as it was suggested they would do, and if they applied for the sequestration of the Indians' estates, so that the latter were turned out of the country, then every Indian would go back to India and become a passive resister.

"I, personally," he concluded, "would endeavour to become a thorn in the side of the Indian Government, and I would not be satisfied until the Asiatic trader got his rights in South Africa, or until South Africa were declared no longer a British Colony."

Indian Opinion, 30-1-1909

[1] This was reported in *Rand Daily Mail*, 26-1-1909, with the prefatory remarks that 40 Indian merchants of standing had decided to follow Cachalia's example in closing down their business houses; *vide* "Letter to Creditors", pp. 155-6. The report said that conferences were to be held at Krugersdorp and Johannesburg to discuss the implications of the move. "Meanwhile, Mr. Gandhi gives the movement active support, and views with much apparent optimism the outcome of the struggle."

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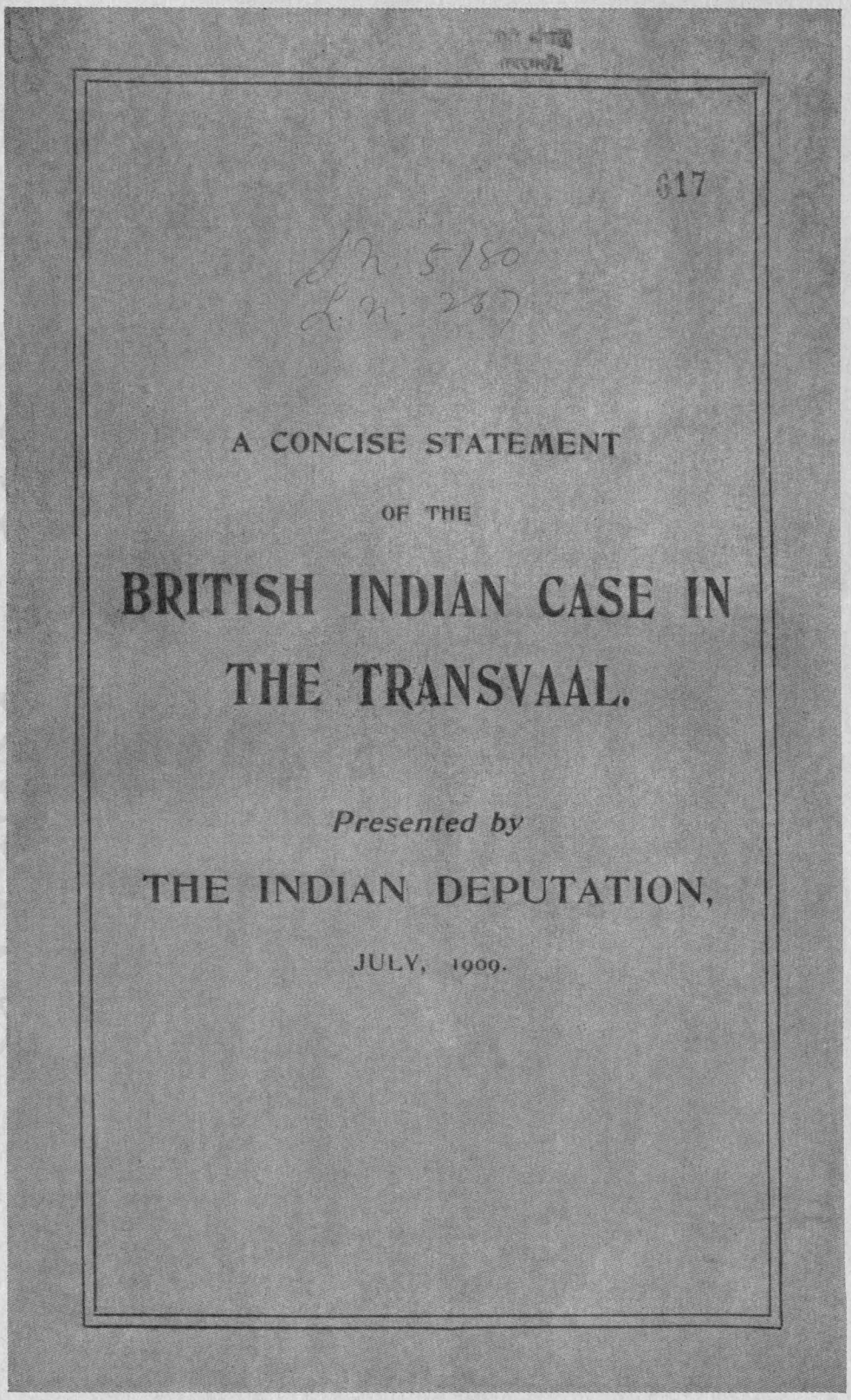
ASIATIC ORGANPLAYER

"Now, then Voetsak! We are fed up with you;—you and your monkey and your organ!"

"And what will Honourable Sahib give me if I leave off?"

"Give you! I'll give you something if you don't!"



COVER OF "A CONCISE STATEMENT . . . "

106. LETTER TO SIR CHARLES BRUCE[1]

[JOHANNESBURG,]
January 27, 1909

DEAR SIR,

On behalf of the British Indian Association, I beg to thank you for your persistent advocacy of the British Indian cause in the Transvaal. The sympathy of distinguished members of the Empire gives my struggling countrymen a great deal of encouragement and nerves them for what sometimes appears to be an interminable fight. We all feel that we are fighting not only our own cause, but we are fighting for the good name of the Empire.

I remain, etc.,
A. M. CACHALIA
CHAIRMAN,
BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION

SIR CHARLES BRUCE, G.C.M.G.
LONDON

Indian Opinion, 6-2-1909

[1] (1836-1920); Governor of Mauritius, 1897-1904; author of several books on the Empire and Imperial policy; published in 1908 a pamphlet on the British Indian problem in the Transvaal based on articles in *Empire Review*; wrote frequently on the subject in the Press. In a letter to the *Morning Post*, 4-11-1908, he had refuted the paper's argument that the terms of Queen Victoria's Proclamation of 1858 did not cover the rights of British Indians outside the territorial limits of India. Quoting Lord Selborne's speech of 1897 in support of his interpretation of the Proclamation, he declared that to exclude Indians outside India from the "obligations of duty" in the Proclamation would be "the direct negation of Empire".

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107. LETTER TO LORD CURZON

[JOHANNESBURG,]
January 27, 1909

TO
THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD CURZON[1]
JOHANNESBURG

MY LORD,

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of Your Lordship's note[2] of the 26th instant, in reply to a wire[3] from my Association requesting Your Lordship to receive a deputation, in connection with the struggle that is at present unfortunately going on between the Government and the community represented by my Association.

My Association is deeply thankful to Your Lordship for taking so much interest in the position of British Indians in the Transvaal; and regrets that, owing to Your Lordship's brief stay, the Association will be deprived of the opportunity of sending a deputation to Your Lordship to pay its respects.

I now enclose herewith a very brief statement of the position as it stands at present, a pamphlet[4] published by Sir Charles Bruce, which fairly summarises the position, and the petition[5] of the Association submitted to His Majesty's Government through the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

As a Committee of some influential Europeans has been formed in the Transvaal to help the Association in this particular matter, I took the liberty of showing Your Lordship's note to its Chairman, Mr. Hosken[6], who, I understand, is also addressing a letter to Your Lordship.

[1] (1859-1925); Viceroy and Governor-General of India, 1899-1905; British Foreign Secretary, 1919-1924

[2] Lord Curzon had written: "I have only just arrived in Johannesburg and have so short a time here being engaged all tomorrow, away all Thursday and leaving Friday morning, that I am afraid I cannot receive a deputation. If however your Association will give me as full a statement of their case as they can prepare before Thursday evening, I will study it on my way."

[3] Not available

[4] Not available. *Vide* also footnote to the preceding item.

[5] *Vide* "Petition to Secretary of State for Colonies", pp. 18-29.

[6] As head of the European Committee, he had addressed a letter to *The Times*, London, on January 6, of which a copy was forwarded to the Secretary of State for the Colonies by L. W. Ritch. *Vide* Appendix XI.

If any further information is desired by Your Lordship, my Association will be pleased to furnish you with it.

In accordance with Your Lordship's wishes, all communications between Your Lordship and this Association will be kept private.

I beg to conclude with the hope that your intervention will result in a happy ending to the struggle.

I have, etc.,

[ENCLOSURE]

STATEMENT OF THE INDIAN POSITION FOR SUBMISSION TO THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD CURZON

THE INDIAN CLAIM

Apart from matters of detail, the following are the two outstanding questions between the Local Government and British Indians:

1. Repeal of the Asiatic Act No. 2 of 1907.
2. The status of educated Indians.

ARGUMENT ON THE CLAIMS

As to the first, the Indian contention is that General Smuts was under promise to repeal the Asiatic Act. The promise was not reduced to writing, but, three days after the completion of the compromise of January, 1908,[1] General Smuts, in his speech[2] at Richmond, which has never been contradicted, stated as follows: "He had told them that the law would not be repealed so long as there was an Asiatic in the country who had not registered," and, again, "Until every Indian in the country had registered, the law would not be repealed."

Apart, however, from the promise, the above Act has been declared to be unworkable. The recent decisions of the Supreme Court have emphasised the opinion; and the Act of 1908, which was passed in partial fulfilment of the promise, in effect superseded the Asiatic Act 2 of 1907.

That the Indians understood that a promise had been made to repeal the Act as against voluntary registration can no longer be doubted, and it was in that faith that British Indians submitted to voluntary registration. The leading Indians, in their eagerness to carry out the Indian part of the compromise, did so at much personal risk, as even the voluntary giving of finger-impressions was resented by many Indians. The Secretary of the Association was, on his way to the Registration

[1] *Vide* Vol. VIII, p. 44.
[2] *Vide* Vol. VIII, Appendix VIII.

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Office, brutally assaulted, and, later, the then Chairman of the Association was also assaulted for the same reason.

The giving of finger-impressions as such was never made a fundamental objection. The objection was raised against the spirit of the Act, based, as it was, on a false charge of an organized entry, on a large scale, into the Transvaal of British Indians who had no right to be in the country.

As to the status of educated Indians, it is contended that General Smuts puts upon the Immigrants' Restriction Act of the Transvaal an interpretation whereby British Indians possessing the necessary educational qualifications become prohibited immigrants; and this prohibition is brought about by means of the Asiatic Act of 1907.

British Indians submit that such prohibition, based on racial lines, is a departure from the Imperial policy; that when the Immigrants' Restriction Act was sanctioned, such a departure was not intended; and that, in any case, British Indians hold that they cannot accept such racial disqualification involving, in the words of Mr. Chamberlain[1], "an affront upon millions of His Majesty's subjects".

British Indians state that, legal equality for Indians possessing educational qualifications being retained, they do not mind such an administration of the Law as would, under a strict examination test, prohibit the entry of all but six Indians of high educational attainments. Such administrative inequality is today in vogue at the Cape, [in] Natal and Australia; and British Indians, recognizing the prejudice, have submitted to it, but they claim that the importing of a racial difference in the matter of immigration would be intolerable.

Passive Resistance

In order to attain this end, British Indians have exhausted all their resources, by way of petitions and deputations. At one of their mass meetings,[2] they took a solemn oath not to submit to the Asiatic Act of 1907 and not to receive the benefits of the Act of 1908, until the above redress was granted. Many Indians have, therefore, in virtue of the oath, suffered imprisonment. The struggle has lasted now for over two years; and over 2,000 Indians have undergone imprisonment, mostly with hard labour. Hundreds have been deported, only to return immediately. Many families have been ruined pecuniarily. Many Indian merchants have suffered enormous loss. Some have even closed [down] their businesses. The Chairman of the Association, in order to avoid confiscation of his property by the Government under fines imposed for

[1] Joseph Chamberlain (1836-1914); Secretary of State for the Colonies, 1895-1903

[2] *Vide* Vol. VII, pp. 80-2.

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trading without licences, has accepted sequestration of his estate.[1] Several Indian merchants are ready to follow his example. Some Indians have, no doubt, owing to their weakness accepted the Asiatic Acts, and more are likely to succumb; but, after a very careful examination, the Executive of the British Indian Association as a whole will remain solid in offering passive resistance until justice is done.[2]

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S.N. 4916-7

108. LETTER TO HARILAL GANDHI

Wednesday [*January 27, 1909*][3]

CHI. HARILAL,

Your letter to hand. I can see that you are unhappy. I have got to accept your opinion as to whether you would be happy or not on account of separation.[4] However, I see that you will have to undergo imprisonment for a long period. I would like to know what you think about it. Please write to me in detail. The struggle is likely to be a prolonged one. There are some indications of its being a short one also. There is a likelihood of Lord Curzon interceding. Let me know what arrangement should be made in regard to Chanchal during your absence. More when I have time.

I have not been able to follow what you say about taking a stone in exchange for a pie. In what context have you written that?

You may not have to come here before the 5th.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

[PS.]

Was the *Bhagwat* read ?

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 9533

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Creditors", pp. 155-6.

[2] Lord Curzon, in his reply of February 2, 1909, wrote that, in his discussions with Generals Botha and Smuts, he had been assured of their anxiety to treat the British Indians with liberality and justice. Lord Curzon felt that the matter would be taken up as a broader issue later between the Union and Home Governments. *Vide* Appendix XII.

[3] The date is inferred from the reference to the probable intercession by Lord Curzon; *vide* "Letter to Lord Curzon", p. 171. Lord Curzon finally wrote to Gandhiji on February 2 on the result of his talks with Smuts and Botha.

[4] *Vide* "Letter to Mrs. Chanchalbehn Gandhi", p. 150.

109. LETTER TO MRS. CHANCHALBEHN GANDHI

Thursday [*January 28, 1909*][1]

CHI. CHANCHAL,

Your letter received after a long time. I am pained to see that your mind is restless. However, I would always want to know your inner feelings. Do not hide them thinking that I shall be unhappy.

It is not right that you should think you are away from your father's house. I consider you to be my daughter, not a daughter-in-law. Had I considered you as my daughter-in-law, I would have looked upon you as a child. I take you to be my daughter, and hence I do not want to accept that you are a child. You have not been able to understand that. Just as I do not consider Manilal a child, so also I would not consider you one. Had I kept up our relations as between father-in-law and daughter-in-law, that is, had I kept up such a distance between us, I would have, in accordance with my usual nature, first tried to win you over and would have taken work from you freely only when a sense of oneness with the family had developed in you. But I had taken it for granted that you would forget our relationship of father-in-law and daughter-in-law as I have fondled you in my lap as a daughter long before your marriage to Harilal.[2] You have not forgotten that. Try to forget it now.

I must on no account behave in a way that may cause any harm to you or make you unhappy. There have been innumerable women in India who saw their ultimate good in separation from their husbands. Damayanti became immortal on account of her separation from Nala. Taramati separated from Harishchandra and that separation led to the good of both. Draupadi's separation from the Pandavas proved a blessing to them and the entire Hindu nation sings the praises of her resoluteness. Do not think that these instances have not taken place. Lord Buddha left his wife and became immortal and so did his wife. This is an extreme case. By these examples I only want to show you that your separation is not going to do you any harm. That it would cause you mental agony is quite natural. That is a sign of love. But that does not necessarily mean that it will do you harm. Weal and woe depend on the purpose behind separation. My separation from Ba was almost

[1] This letter seems to have been written after the preceding one wherein Gandhiji refers to her separation from Harilal during the struggle.

[2] Addressee's father, Haridas Vora, and Gandhiji were great friends.

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involuntary; that is, it was not of my choice and yet it proved to be a blessing to us both. By giving these examples, I do not want to impress upon your mind that you have to live in separation for ever. I write this so that you are not unhappy over your separation during the struggle. I shall hardly be a cause of your separation after the struggle is over. My effort, however, is to change your mental attitude. That also will be effected after you understand and get used to it.

Preserve this letter. Read it again and again. Ask me whatever you do not understand. Do both of you read it. My object in writing this is your welfare. I am always eager to promote it. But I do not insist that you should accept my ideas. My only desire is that both of you should grow with your own effort.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 9527

110. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

[VOLKSRUST,]
January 29, 1909

CHI. MAGANLAL,

Received your letter. Please write to me what particular things you intend to say to me before I enter the gaol. Remember that my period [of bail] will be over on the 4th.[1]

Do keep seeing Camroodeen Sheth frequently. There is everything to gain by doing so. "Even hard black boulders are cut by a string." My enthusiasm is such that I may have to meet death in South Africa at the hands of my own countrymen. If that happens, you should rejoice. It will unite the Hindus and the Mussalmans. In this struggle a twofold inner struggle is going on. One of them is to bring the Hindus and the Muslims together. The enemies of the community are constantly making efforts against such a unity. In such a great endeavour, someone will have to sacrifice his life. If I make that sacrifice, I shall regard myself, as well as you, my colleagues, fortunate.

I have written to you to see Mr. Subramanyam[2], who is a clergyman. I have on the whole found him to be a good man.

[1] Gandhiji was arrested at Volksrust on January 16, 1909 and was released on his own recognizance. Instead of February 4, he was tried on February 25 and sentenced to three months' imprisonment.

[2] Minister of the Queen Street Wesleyan Indian church, Durban

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When you come to know who is making the effort about me, please let me know. For the present I shall not write to anyone about it.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 4918

111. CACHALIA'S SELF-SACRIFICE

The fact that each successive Chairman of the Transvaal [British Indian] Association has proved himself worthier than his predecessor is an indication that the Indian community's star is in the ascendant. Mr. Cachalia has been to gaol. He has now declared his intention to embrace poverty. His financial position is so sound that no one can argue that he had little to sacrifice. He is prepared to forgo a flourishing business. He does not mind being declared a bankrupt at the instance of his creditors. Rather he takes pride in that. This is what we can claim as wealth well earned. All this Mr. Cachalia suffers for the motherland. He wants to honour his pledge. This is real self-sacrifice. We offer our congratulations to him.

This excellent step is already proving infectious. Mr. Aswat has emulated Mr. Cachalia's courage. We congratulate him as well.

This is a moment which will test the businessmen. We have often defended them in the past. They have suffered losses. Some of them have also courted imprisonment. We have mentioned all such instances from time to time. But this is the time when the businessmen will be really tested. They have never staked their all, as the hawkers did; now is the time for them to do so. Mr. Cachalia and Mr. Aswat have shown the way. It is to be seen what the other businessmen do. Nearly 40 of them have signed a statement that they will not take out licences, but close down their businesses instead. Those who are prepared for this had better come out in the open in support of Mr. Cachalia's action. The next phase of the campaign depends upon the businessmen; it is they who will stand to suffer, should the movement be unduly prolonged.

Everyone realizes that Mr. Cachalia has not lost his honour by having been declared an insolvent; rather, it has been enhanced. The creditors also know that it is none of Mr. Cachalia's fault. He has brought distinction to the post of Chairman. Why, then, should the other businessmen feel timid? If at all, what they should fear is a retreat. When engaged in a battle, one can have nothing to fear in rushing forward.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 30-1-1909

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112. ENGLISH INFLUENCES IN THE AIR

In these days of *swadeshi*, it is necessary to bear in mind a few simple things. We observe that some Indian youths, having acquired a smattering of English, use it even when it is not necessary to do so, as if they had forgotten their own language or wanted to suggest how much more difficult it was to speak English, or for some similar reason. When talking among themselves, they use broken English rather than pure Gujarati, Hindi or Urdu. They even carry on their correspondence in English. These young men emphasize their spirit of *swadeshi* by using difficult English words which they themselves do not understand, and then take pride in what they do. This is a simple, and yet, a grave fault. Any nation that cherishes its individuality must love its own language and feel proud of it.

Let us consider the example of the Boers themselves. We are not concerned with their moral principles. Their patriotism, at any rate, is wonderful. That is the only thing that calls for emulation. Though it is very useful for Dutch children to learn English, they are taught their own dialect, a local variety of Dutch called 'Taal'. There are very few books in this language. But they are confident that in the course of time they will enrich that language. It is possible to do so. It is because of this spirit of theirs that they have succeeded in gathering the reins of government in their own hands.

The Jews love their language, Yiddish, very much, though not as much as the Dutch love theirs. Until a few years ago, that language was only an uncultivated dialect. Some eminent Jews believe that only when they cultivate a real love for Yiddish will they be united as a people.

In our case, we already have a language of our own; what is necessary is to cultivate respect for it. It is our duty to enrich it, to read a great many books written in it, to write books in it and also to encourage others to write them.

This does not mean that we need not learn English or can be indifferent to it. It is the language of the Government, and has also become an international language, and hence it is necessary for everyone to learn it. One must learn to use it well, when it has to be used. One must learn to read and write in it with facility. But no useful purpose is served by behaving as some young men have been doing. There is no point in writing to another in English when that other person knows as little English as one does oneself. It would only lead to a total misunderstanding, apart from encouraging a bad habit. The right approach

would be to use English [only] when the other person does not know our mother tongue. English may be learnt, but one's mother tongue must not be ignored. The learning of English must come second to learning one's mother tongue. Or, one may learn both the languages simultaneously, remembering, however, the general rule mentioned above. We do not believe that those who are not proud of their own language, who are not proficient in it, can have the true spirit of *swadeshi*. Gujarati, among the Indian languages, is a poorly-developed language, and we also observe that Gujaratis lag behind all the others [in India] in respect of the *swadeshi* spirit. It is for the Gujaratis to strive for the development of Gujarati. It is in that way that all of us can make ourselves true Indians.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 30-1-1909

113. EXAMPLE OF TURKEY

The moment a parliament was established in Turkey, the British became respectful. More than 300 members of the House of Commons sent a message of goodwill to the [Turkish] Parliament. Mr. Asquith, who is a minister, was also among the signatories. It is reported that all the members who were present gave their signatures. Newspapers are now reporting the names of those whose efforts for the establishment of the Parliament were thus crowned with success. In the conflict that Austria provoked with Turkey, the latter gave it a resounding slap in the face without unsheathing its sword, or firing a single shot. Readers will recall that the Turkish people organized a boycott of Austrian goods, which has not yet been relaxed, though Austria has climbed down somewhat. According to newspaper reports, Austrian estimates place the loss Austria has incurred in such a short time at £ 1,700,000. Turkish estimates place the figure at £ 3,000,000. When the ships carrying Austrian goods arrived [at the Turkish port], the Austrian Ambassador made frantic efforts [to have the cargoes unloaded], but the Turkish Government took no notice. Even the porters sacrificed their wages, and not a single Turk was found ready to unload the Austrian goods. The Austrian Government thereupon lodged a strong protest with His Majesty the Sultan. The Turkish people concluded from this that Austria had received an unbearable blow; in the result, the boycott became more intense. First, the fez (the Turkish cap) and matches imported from Austria were boycotted. The boycott was then extended to other articles, as the people came to know what other goods were imported from Austria. Ahmed Reza Pasha, the well-known leader of Young Turkey, stated when questioned in Paris, that

they had certainly boycotted Austria, and that the boycott would continue still. It was not their duty [he added] to think of the losses that Austria would suffer. They had acted in self-defence, only raising their hands to ward off a blow. Austria [he said] had struck the first blow. It might as well enjoy the fruit [of what it had done]. Newspapers report that it was because of this extensive boycott that negotiations started between Istambul and Vienna for a *rapprochement*.

This was a struggle for national honour, and neither the poor nor the rich gave a thought to their own losses in defence of that honour; that is the reason why Austria was brought to its knees so easily. The Transvaal Indians ought to turn this example over and over again in their minds.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 30-1-1909

114. MY SECOND EXPERIENCE IN GAOL [–V]

Moral Dilemma

When I had completed about half the term of my imprisonment, there was a telegram from Phœnix saying that Mrs. Gandhi was seriously ill and asking me to go down immediately.[1] Everyone was unhappy at this. I had no doubt as to my duty. When the gaoler asked me whether I would agree to pay the fine to obtain my release, I replied without the slightest hesitation that I would never do so, and that it was implied in our movement that we should bear separation from our kith and kin. The gaoler smiled at this, but felt sorry too. On a superficial view of the matter, this attitude would appear to be rather harsh, but personally I am convinced that that is the only right attitude to adopt. I think of my love for the motherland as an aspect of my religion. It is, of course, not the whole of religion. But religion cannot be considered to be complete without it. If necessary, we should bear separation from our family in order to be able to follow the dictates of our religion. We may even have to lose them. Not only is there no cruelty in this but it is actually our duty to do so. If it is true that we have pledged ourselves to fight unto death, there is nothing further to think of. Lord Roberts lost his only son for a cause inferior to ours and, being on the front, could not even attend his funeral. The history of the world is full of such instances.

[1] *Vide* "Letter to A. H. West", p. 105.

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Quarrels among Kaffirs

There are some dangerous murderers among the Kaffir prisoners in gaol. We find these prisoners constantly engaged in disputes. After they are locked up in the cell, they quarrel among themselves. Sometimes, they openly defy the warder. One warder was twice assaulted by the prisoners. Indian prisoners are obviously in danger when locked up in the same cell with these. So far, Indians have not been placed in such a situation. But so long as Indian prisoners are classed with the Kaffirs, the danger will remain.

Illness in Gaol

There was for the most part no serious illness among the prisoners. I have already mentioned Mr. Mavji's case. There was a Tamil named Mr. Raju, who had acute dysentery. He was very much pulled down. The reason he gave for this was that he used to take 30 cups of tea [every day], and he got dysentery because he did not get them. He asked for tea. Of course, the request was rejected. But he was given some medicine, and the medical officer in the gaol ordered two pounds of milk and bread [for him]. This restored him to full health. Mr. Ravikrishna Talevantsingh kept indifferent health till the end. Mr. Kazi and Mr. Bawazeer were ill all the time. Mr. Ratanshi Sodha was observing a religious vow for the four months of the rainy season, and therefore he had only one meal a day. Since the food was not quite satisfactory, he nearly starved himself and as a result got oedema. Apart from these, there were other cases of minor illness.

On the whole, however, we found that even those Indians who fell ill were not broken in spirit. They were happy to bear this particular kind of hardship for the sake of the motherland.

Some Difficulties

It was observed that the more irritating difficulties were those of our own making rather than those created by others. There were occasions in the gaol when one sensed in the air distinctions between Hindus and Muslims, between high and low castes. Indians of all communities and castes lived together in the gaol, which gave one an opportunity to observe how backward we are in the matter of self-government. It was also discovered, however, that we were not altogether incapable of self-government, for whatever difficulties cropped up were always overcome in the end.

Some Hindus said that they were not prepared to take food prepared by Muslims or by certain individuals. Men who hold such views should never stir out of India. I also observed that no objection was raised if any Kaffir or white touched our food. It so happened once that

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someone objected to sleeping near a certain person on the ground that the latter belonged to the scavenger caste. This again was humiliating to us. On probing deeper into the matter, it was found that the objection was raised not because the man [who had raised the objection] was himself particular about it, but because he was afraid of being declared an outcaste should other members of his community in India come to hear of it. Thanks to these hypocritical distinctions of high and low and to the fear of subsequent caste tyranny, we have, I think, turned our back on truth and embraced falsehood. How can we be called satyagrahis if, knowing that it is wrong to despise the scavenger, we still do so out of an unreasonable fear of members of our caste or other men? I wish that Indians who join this movement also resort to satyagraha against their caste and their family and against evil wherever they find it. As for myself, I am convinced that it is because we do not act in this way that the successful outcome of our struggle is being delayed. If it is true that we are all Indians, how can we cling to false distinctions and so quarrel among ourselves and, at the same time, demand our rights? How can we hope to achieve success in our struggle if, out of fear of what may happen to us in India, we do not do what we believe to be right? It is the mark of a coward to shrink from anything out of mere fear, and Indians who are cowards will not hold out to the last in this great war that is being waged against the Government.

Who Can Go to Gaol?

We see from these facts that those who are slaves to bad habits, who observe vain distinctions of caste and community, who are quarrelsome, who are not able to look on Hindus and Muslims with an equal eye and those who are diseased in body—such men cannot go to gaol or remain in gaol for any length of time. It follows therefore that those who want to go to gaol as a matter of honour and with a view to the welfare of the motherland must be healthy in body, mind and soul. An ailing man will find himself exhausted in the end; those who are conscious of Hindu-Muslim differences, who think themselves superior to others, who are slaves to bad habits, who are possessed by a craving for tea, smoking or such other things, are incapable of fighting till the bitter end.

What I Read in Gaol

Though the entire day is taken up with work, one can find time for some reading in the mornings and evenings, as also on Sundays and, since there is nothing else to tax one's attention in gaol, it is possible to read with a peaceful mind. Though I had limited time on my hand, I managed to read two books by the great Ruskin, the essays of the great

Thoreau, some portions of the Bible, life of Garibaldi (in Gujarati), essays of Lord Bacon (in Gujarati), and two other books about India. We can find the doctrine of satyagraha in the writings of Ruskin and Thoreau. The Gujarati books were sent by Mr. Diwan for all of us to read. Apart from these works, I read the *Bhagavad Gita* almost every day. All this reading had the effect of confirming my belief in satyagraha, and I can say today that life in gaol is not in the least boring.

Two Attitudes

We can take two different attitudes to what I have written above.

First, why should we bear such hardships, submit ourselves, for instance, to the restrictions of gaol life, wear coarse and ungainly dress, eat food which is hardly food, starve ourselves, suffer being kicked by the warder, live among the Kaffirs, do every kind of work, whether we like it or not, obey a warder who is only good enough to be our servant, be unable to receive any friends or write letters, go without things that we may need, and sleep in company with robbers and thieves? Better die than suffer this. Better pay the fine than go to gaol. Let no one be punished with gaol. Such an attitude will make a man quite weak and afraid of imprisonment, and he will achieve nothing good by being in gaol.

Alternatively, one may consider oneself fortunate to be in gaol in the cause of the motherland, in defence of one's honour and one's religion. Gaol life, one may think, involves no [real] suffering. Outside, one has to carry out the will of many, whereas one has only the warder to reckon with in gaol. One has no anxieties in gaol, no problem of earning one's livelihood, no worry about getting one's bread, for that is provided regularly by others. One's person is protected by the Government. None of these things has to be paid for. By way of exercise, one gets ample work to do and, without any effort on one's part, all of one's bad habits fall away. The mind enjoys a sense of freedom. One has ready to hand the benefit of being absorbed in devotions to God. The body is held in bondage, but the soul grows more free. One is in full enjoyment of the use of one's limbs. The body is looked after by those who hold it in bondage. Thus, from every point of view, one is free. One might, perhaps, be in difficulties, be manhandled by a wicked warder, but then one learns to be patient. One feels glad to have an opportunity of dissuading [him] from such behaviour. It is up to us to adopt such an attitude and think of gaol as a holy and happy place and to make it such. In short, happiness and misery are states of the mind.

I hope that the reader, after reading this account of my second experience [in gaol], will resolve in his mind that his only happiness will be in going to gaol for the sake of the motherland or his religion,

in submitting himself to the suffering involved in it, or bearing hardships in other ways.

(Concluded)

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 30-1-1909

115. THE TRANSVAAL STRUGGLE

The Transvaal campaign is now in full swing. The Chairman of the [British Indian] Association is in gaol. Almost all the leaders of the Madrasi community are installed there. Thus, Thoreau's statement that in a tyrannical state those who do not wish to submit to its tyranny have their place in gaol is proved true.

This time, the sentences of imprisonment are not just for a week or two.[1] Our Johannesburg correspondent reports that the other leaders will be arrested shortly. We think all this is as it should be. If we had gained our object by a mere pretence of suffering, by being in gaol for a few days, we would not have been able to retain what we had gained, or derive any benefit therefrom. As a rule, we can hold on to anything in the world by the same means by which we gain it. The commonest illustration of this is that of territories acquired by force, which can be retained only by force. Following this logic, some arrogant, power-drunk and thoughtless Englishmen believe that India, which was conquered with the power of the sword, can be held only with the same power. This is an obvious fallacy. We have mentioned it here only as an illustration of the general rule referred to above. We shall therefore say no more than this about it, that they conquered India—not with the power of the sword, but by employing the strength of our own people [against themselves], thanks to the disunity prevailing among them. Therefore, according to the rule mentioned above, India can be retained only by perpetuating that disunity and employing the strength of our people [against themselves]. And taking this line of argument a step further, we see that if Hindus and Muslims in India were to unite and refuse to hold down their own people, the country would not remain dependent. India could, even then, remain under the British flag. But that would be on a different basis and with the freely-given consent of the people. People's consent is there even today. But it is, as it were, forcibly obtained. We shall stop here with the story of India. We only want to draw from it the lesson to be applied to the Transvaal situation.

[1] Gandhiji himself was sentenced to three months on February 25.

We see, then, that it is with those very means which we employ to force the Government to yield our demands that we can avail ourselves of those demands when conceded. If so, it follows as a matter of course that satyagraha should be employed with full regard for truth. Satyagraha must not be satyagraha only in name. This way of thinking will enable us to bring all our strength into play. That will be of benefit to us. At this moment, if we display real strength instead of being theatrical, that strength will stand us in good stead in future.

The campaign has now reached a stage when everything depends on the businessmen. That is as it should be. It is they whose interests are most heavily involved. They enjoy a higher status [than others]. Therefore it is they who especially feel the disgrace of the Act. Hence, the businessmen must be very careful now as to what they do. Our correspondent reports of numerous businessmen having yielded. Even these, if they have any iota of decency left in them, can join the movement. They can take to hawking in order to court imprisonment. If they mean it, the Government cannot but send them to gaol. Men like Mr. Cachalia and Mr. Aswat are rare in this world. If the Hindu businessmen display even half as much strength, they can serve the movement. Whether they do so or not, those who are already in gaol and those who aspire to be installed in the gaol-palace have a clear duty before them. They must go to gaol again and again till redress is ensured. Let them not mind if their goods are auctioned. If they have staked their lives for the cause, everything else must be accepted as a matter of course. We wish that God should show the right path to Indians. Would it not be a great misfortune for us if, after the publication in England of the letter[1] addressed by Mr. Hosken and other whites, the Indians were to give way to fear and admit defeat? In fact, that would be the utmost limit of disgrace for us. We are confident that Indians, who have held out for two years, will certainly not bring on such disgrace upon themselves.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 6-2-1909

[1] Addressed to *The Times*, London, January 6, 1909. *Vide* Appendix XI.

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116. MORE SACRIFICE BY CACHALIA

We saw that Mr. Cachalia accepted honourable insolvency for the sake of the community.[1] He is now serving a term of three months' imprisonment with hard labour in Johannesburg gaol. From among businessmen, Mr. Amod Moosaji and Mr. Maimy have joined him. The entire Indian community, the Muslims especially, should be proud of what Mr. Cachalia has done. There is nothing more he can do. He has gone to gaol a second time, and that, too, with a smiling face. The community in which there exist such persons will never give way. Even a few such men can save the community from ruin.

We hope hundreds of Indians will emulate the glorious example of Mr. Cachalia. The greater the number of such Indians who undergo hardships, the more onerous becomes the responsibility of the community. Every Indian should bear this fact in mind. Should the other Indians give in, while Mr. Cachalia and his associates are in gaol, it is not Mr. Cachalia who will lose his good name. It is the community that will be disgraced.

The Tamils have surpassed all expectations. All their leaders are now in gaol. Now-a-days, imprisonment is not merely for a week, but for three months, and it is not simple, but rigorous. Unbounded is the courage of those Indians who have gone to gaol, undeterred by such sentences. To secure their release before the term of their imprisonment expires is in the hands of the Indians outside. How that can be done is very well shown in our Johannesburg Letter.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 6-2-1909

117. CONVENTION

The report of the Convention which met to evolve a single Government for South Africa has been published. It is divided into 10 parts, and contains 153 sections. The report will be presented to all the four Parliaments in South Africa on March 30. If it is approved, the Convention will meet again in May at Bloemfontein and present its final report in June. It will be approved by the Parliaments. Delegates will then take the report to England and the new Parliament of South Africa will meet within a year thereafter. To some extent, the

[1] *Vide* "Cachalia's self-sacrifice", p. 176.

whites can be proud of all this. We congratulate them on having displayed a unity of purpose and sacrificed their individual interests. It should not be surprising that men who are capable of acting in this manner should succeed in their aims; whether or not, as a result of their action, others stand to suffer is a different question. In so far as the Convention itself is concerned, it has proved that men who unite for concerted action, for an unworthy or evil object, will always achieve some measure of success.

The Convention will lead to the establishment of a single Parliament and a single High Court for South Africa. Subordinate to the Parliament, there will be a council for each of the present Colonies for its internal affairs. The council will have power to enact ordinary laws. There will be uniform customs and a single railway. Pretoria will be the permanent capital, but one session of Parliament will be held in Cape Town. The new High Court will be located at Bloemfontein. There will be one Governor-General for South Africa. Parliament will have two Houses, the Senate and the Assembly. There will be 40 members in the Senate, of which eight will be nominated by the Government. The rest will be elected by the several provinces. The Assembly will have 121 members, 51 from the Cape, 17 from Natal, 36 from the Transvaal, and 17 from the Orange Free State.

The proposed Union has dangerous implications for Indians and other Coloured races. They will be left with no voting rights anywhere, and care has been taken to provide in the report that they should be deprived of whatever little measure of such rights they enjoy in the Cape. But franchise is a mere trifle. Where we are not allowed even standing room, voting rights can be of little avail. In a place where some are slaves and others masters of slaves, they may have the same voting rights for the purpose of appointing supervisors over them both, the slave's vote will be of no use to him. Before the right can be of profit, the slave must be made free and educated to value his freedom. Otherwise, voting rights will hardly be worth the name. In this land, we are in a state of slavery. We have not even been educated to understand the meaning of freedom. We must have both at the same time. It is not likely that those who are our masters will break our bonds. Therefore, we have to educate ourselves and win freedom for ourselves by our own efforts. Till that is done, the franchise, in our opinion, will have no value. Let us therefore come to the other kinds of shackles [being forged for us] by the Convention.

The existing laws of the several provinces will remain intact, that is, whatever laws against us exist in the Orange River Colony, the Transvaal and elsewhere will remain unchanged. We shall be allowed no right of movement from one province to another; moreover, the new Parliament will be empowered to enact fresh legislation. The result

will be that the harshest laws that exist in any of the Colonies or provinces will be taken as models elsewhere.

It is evident from the report of the Convention that it has not solved the Indian question in the Transvaal. And should the Indians remain inactive, they would be reduced to a miserable condition all over South Africa. Any Indian who would rather not live as a slave in South Africa must understand this and, if he belongs to the Transvaal, must join the fight, staking his head on it; if he is from outside the Transvaal, he must extend all possible support and encouragement to the Transvaal Indians.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 13-2-1909

118. TO THE FALLEN

Potchefstroom and Klerksdorp have fallen. It appears that Indians in other towns have also given in. Potchefstroom has even sent a report to newspapers to the effect that since that town, which has been so firm, has fallen, other towns are bound to follow suit and that [consequently] there will be no more of satyagraha.

To those who have fallen, we want to give some idea of the duty that they owe. They know of course that the movement is worth carrying on. They gave in because they could not bear the sacrifices it involved. Those who have fallen in this way must not think of bringing down others. They can even inform the Government that they have surrendered owing to their weakness, that they wish success to those who are standing firm and that they will do everything they can to strengthen these. This much they can certainly do. If they do not, it will be assumed that they did not give in out of weakness, but that they deliberately turned enemies of the motherland. They can give statements in newspapers to say that, though they have themselves fallen, they do not want that others should do the same.

If they do not act in this manner, the campaign will certainly not be wound up for that reason. It will continue. But it will be prolonged if they range themselves on the opposite side. If they admit their weakness in having surrendered, to that extent they will have helped the cause. The campaign will be the shorter for that.

Moreover, even those who have fallen can go to gaol, if they choose. When, in Italy, the people had the spirit of patriotism flowing in every vein of theirs, those who did not join the fighting would not obstruct it, but, admitting their weakness, remained aloof and even helped in many other ways. The Indians who have surrendered can do

likewise. They ought to heed these suggestions. They ought to have thought of Mr. Dawad Mahomed and others and remained firm. Since they have not done so, they can at any rate act as suggested above and so refrain from adding to the sufferings of these men.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 13-2-1909

119. RANDERI APPEAL

We have lost Mr. Randeri's appeal.[1] This was not unexpected. It was evident from the attitude of the judges in Mr. Naidoo's case that this appeal, too, would be rejected. Both these appeals are a sort of hint to the satyagrahis that they must appeal to God alone. The courts of this world cannot help them. How can they? The courts of a blind king must also be blind. This does not mean that the officers of the court—the judges—were blind. But there can be no other result when the officers administer an unjust law. Therefore, a satyagrahi's appeal lies to his own strength, to his faith in God and his God-given strength. These will never fail him.

Some Indians appear to have lost heart altogether because of [the outcome of] this appeal. They seem to have received a rude shock. These Indians should be taken to be cowards. "Ah misery! Nothing but deportation is left!" But what does "deportation" mean? When deported, one is to return. If one must choose between imprisonment and deportation, deportation is better in some ways, for a man who is deported can continue to fight. The rejection of the appeal does not mean that we have lost our rights. Rights will be lost only when we forgo [them]. Those who have made the Transvaal their home will not allow themselves to be driven out by the Government. They may leave of their own accord. We must therefore advise everyone to think no more about the Randeri appeal.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 13-2-1909

[1] For the first hearing of the case, *vide* "Johannesburg Letter", p. 4.

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120. DUNCAN'S VIEWS

Mr. Patrick Duncan was Colonial Secretary in the Transvaal before it received self-government. Recently, he took a leading part in the Convention. *State* is an important monthly journal in South Africa. Only very prominent persons write for it. It is patronized by white millionaires.

To this monthly, Mr. Duncan has contributed an article on the Asiatic question that is of serious import and worth reading. The author, moreover, is a man of such vast influence that he can [if he chooses] get the Indian demands accepted.

Those who know English may read this article in that language. We do not have space enough to give a translation, nor is it necessary to do so. Much of it is past history, which is quite familiar to all Indians.

What is remarkable in the article is that it concedes that our demand is reasonable. It also shows conclusively that Mr. Smuts had entertained the thought of repealing the Act. It points out, further, that the Government felt heavily the pressure of satyagraha. In brief, the article offers conclusive proof that the Government cannot but yield to that pressure. All this is important. But the most important point is that the article shows why the Government has not yielded so far. Well, Mr. Duncan asserts categorically that the problem of [the immigration of] educated Indians is a serious one. Whether they should be given in law the same freedom of immigration as the whites is the main issue. How can it be allowed? Mr. Duncan argues that if South Africa is to be settled by a predominantly white population, such freedom cannot be allowed. He says, moreover, that the problem is not limited to the Transvaal, but concerns the whole of South Africa. This realization led the Imperial Government to sanction the Immigration Law. It is the same realization which has led all the whites to resist [the Indian demand], and which accounts for the continuation of the [Indian] campaign. If the Transvaal Indians withdraw their campaign, there will be identical legislation in the Cape, Natal and Rhodesia. If the Transvaal Indians continue the struggle, it will not be possible to enact such a law for the whole of South Africa. Mr. Duncan has discussed these ideas at great length. One may infer from this that the solution of the Indian question will be found only after the Convention has concluded its labours.

However, before that stage is reached, we already hear people saying that the satyagraha has collapsed. If there is to be no more of satya-

graha, why bother about the Convention ? We are, of course, not bothered about the Convention, but satyagraha will not on that account be abandoned. All the Indians who fought for two years got a taste of this way of fighting. They realized something of its beauty. It is possible that they may give up fighting now. But even if a majority of Indians give up the fight, that will not mean the end of the movement. It will go on so long as there is one single person to carry it on. It is, however, our duty to commend this article of Mr. Duncan's to the attention of those who have not yielded so far, and they, on their part, must note Mr. Duncan's words and carry on the fight.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 13-2-1909

121. DAWAD MAHOMED'S PATRIOTIC SERVICES

Mr. Dawad Mahomed, though nearing old age, has been rendering wonderful services to the community. They deport him, but he is not deterred. Imprisonment holds no terrors for him. "No matter at what point on the border the Government sets me free, [I shall go where I like, even as cattle do]". He has smilingly repeated this remark to a number of men. Serving repeated terms of imprisonment and indifference to wealth are no longer rare among Indians in South Africa. We have already written about the invaluable services of Sorabji,[1] who opened the second stage of the satyagraha. He goes on doing his duty silently, whether inside the gaol or outside it. But this time it is of Mr. Dawad Mahomed's services especially that we wish to write. A man's work may be appreciated in two ways. First, with reference to its intrinsic worth, and second, with reference to the results, that is, by an assessment of its likely effects on other men in future. From this second point of view, no one can equal the services of Mr. Dawad Mahomed. It is not merely that he is the President of the Natal Indian Congress. He is a resident of South Africa of long standing. There must be very few Indians in South Africa who are his equals in resourcefulness. He is so intelligent that, had he known English, he would be occupying a big position today. He has a remarkable power of raillery with which he can chaff a great many people with effortless ease. He has had a long experience. He has been free with his money in helping people. He has done good turns to a number of men, either by putting in a good word for them or by offering them monetary help. He is a staunch Muslim, and exerts a powerful influence on

[1] *Vide* Vol. VIII, pp. 378, 398 and 427.

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the Surati community. For these reasons, his activities have proved to be of immense value from the point of view of their effect. We do not believe that any Indian in South Africa can be content to leave Mr. Dawad Mahomed in gaol. His continued imprisonment has made it the duty of the Indian community to intensify the campaign. The reader will now see why it is that Mr. Dawad Mahomed's part [in the movement] should be considered so very important, and we hope that every reader will be of this view and do his best to help the struggle. If this is done, we believe that Mr. Dawad Mahomed and his associates will not have to complete the full term of six months' imprisonment. Even if they have to, and be imprisoned again thereafter, what will it matter? They will earn thereby all the more enduring fame, and we who remain outside shall have an evil name. What Indian is there who wants to avoid imprisonment at the price of inviting disgrace upon himself?

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 13-2-1909

122. RHODESIA VICTORY

We give in this issue a report to the effect that the Asiatic law which had been passed in Rhodesia, similar to the Transvaal measure, has been disallowed. This is not a small thing. We must remind readers that the petition which was submitted against the Bill had referred to the resolution of the Indians not to submit to it if it was approved. Everyone will be able to see that the Transvaal fight is the main reason for the disapproval of the Bill. The Imperial Government is forced by the newly-acquired strength of Indians to act very cautiously. We hope the Indians will not readily allow this strength to vanish.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 13-2-1909

123. DUTY OF INDIANS OUTSIDE THE TRANSVAAL

It appears that the Transvaal struggle will be prolonged and also that there will be very few Indians now to take part in it. It has become doubly obligatory upon the Indians outside the Transvaal to help them. They can do so by holding meetings and passing resolutions. This will serve two purposes. One, those who have not given in yet will feel encouraged, and those who have may join the battle again. Two, the rulers will realize from such meetings and the resolutions passed there that the Indians are united in continuing the fight. Besides passing resolutions, it is necessary to collect funds. How much money will be needed

in the Transvaal cannot be judged. But it has become imperative to remit some money to Mr. Ritch in England. We don't here enter into the question whether the Committee should continue to be maintained or not, but at least six months will elapse before the Committee is wound up. There is no option but to maintain the Committee till then. The Transvaal sent money to Mr. Ritch only recently. It will be therefore difficult to spare more funds [just now] from the Transvaal. Hence it is the duty of Indians in the other Colonies to shoulder this burden. Our eyes turn especially to Natal. It has played its part till now in maintaining the Committee and so we hope that it will do its duty this time as well.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 13-2-1909

124. THE STRUGGLE

Readers of this journal will see from our columns this week that the Government have now begun to single out those passive resisters who have proved themselves strong, staunch and true. In this we think the Government deserve congratulations from all parties. At the rate the Government are going on, we should soon have most, if not all, of the passive resisters in gaol. We should find out the true from the false, and the Government will have provided a demonstration for themselves and also for the Colony that real passive resisters are not concerned with an Asiatic influx into the Colony. They are not concerned with bolstering up fraud. All they care for and all they are fighting for is the good name of the community to which they belong, and if it suits the Government to keep such men in gaol for the term of their physical lives, it will suit passive resisters also admirably. The honour of the community will be safe in their keeping, even though they may be in gaol. They will have kept their sacred oath. They will have lived up to the religion they professed. More cannot be expected of man. The Government may then, if they choose, pat themselves on the back for having put passive resisters out of harm's way, but the world will have then seen the righteousness of the struggle in a manner it could not have done otherwise.

There is no such word as defeat in the dictionary of passive resisters, for the simple reason that, in passive resistance, there is no trial of brute strength in which one must necessarily yield.

Indian Opinion, 20-2-1909

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125. THE CONSTITUTION

The more the Draft Act of Union is examined, the less it appeals to us. It seems to be a document redolent of race-prejudice, reaction and weak compromise. The more we read it, the more it seems lacking in principle. An enormous effort was evidently made to deprive the Coloured voters at the Cape of their franchise rights, and even under the Constitution as it stands today, there is the chance, though it may be a remote one, that they will, in fact, be deprived of their electoral privileges. We understand that Section 35 has met with the approval in advance of the Imperial Government. That in no way surprises us, after the lesson of the Transvaal. The Natal Coloured voter of the future is actually disfranchised. His future privileges are specifically taken away by the Draft Act of Union, and he is left in the lurch. Then, again, although the Cape will get an increase in representation in the course of time, such an increase will be based only upon an increase in the European population. The Coloured population is again ignored, and this increase of membership for the Cape will, in due course, be balanced by an increase of membership for the other Colonies on a similar basis, so that the Cape's advantage will have disappeared. Mr. Lyttelton knew well what he was talking about, when, in commenting upon the Constitution, he urged that, in the consideration of it, the position of British Indians in the Transvaal should be regarded with care and sympathy. That seems to apply all round. Frankly, we would rather see Closer Union, however admirable in itself it may be, postponed indefinitely, than that it should be accomplished at such a cost to the Empire. It will be worse than building upon sand.

Indian Opinion, 20-2-1909

126. PARSEE BRAVERY

We have mentioned the Tamils' bravery. Besides Mr. Chettiar, a number of Tamils are at present in gaol, so that they have certainly not allowed the light of the community to be dimmed. Mr. Pillay, Chairman [of the Committee] at Pretoria, has also been sentenced to six months' imprisonment. Like the Tamils, the Parsees, too, have shown themselves to be brave. It is one of the supreme wonders of God that, though the Parsee community does not number more than a hundred thousand in the whole world, it has made a name for itself everywhere by virtue of its many illustrious qualities. It can be said that it

is this community which holds power in India. Bombay is the real capital of India, [and] it owes its prosperity mainly to the Parsees. Examples of their charity are to be found everywhere. They lead in the political field and India has had so far only one "Grand Old Man", Dadabhai. It could not be that members of such a community should behave differently in South Africa. We can say about the Parsees, as about the Tamils, that they have been fighting to a man. They are very few in South Africa, but, as we look round, we do not find a single Parsee who has complied with the Government's senseless law. Out of the five to seven Parsees in Natal, as many as three are installed in gaol in the Transvaal. Mr. Nadirshah Cama sacrificed his job and has now been arrested; we hope he will shortly be imprisoned. His brother, Mr. Ardeshir Cama, has also been arrested. Elsewhere, Mr. Mulla Bapu Feroze has also been arrested. The other Indians ought to take a lesson from this. We congratulate members of the Parsee community. Their prestige is the prestige of all Indians, for they too are Indians. Other Indians, Muslims and Gujarati Hindus should hang their heads in shame before the Tamils and the Parsees. When we have the example of these two communities in our midst, why should we cite examples from others in order to whip up the Indians' courage? The Tamils and the Parsees have achieved a great victory for themselves, and though, at the end of the struggle, the entire Indian community will benefit by it, the credit will be theirs alone. They will be the rulers. They alone will deserve that position. The rest of us will be looked upon as subjects.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 20-2-1909

127. WILL INDIANS YIELD?

Picking up some newspapers just now, we read how 500 men, who had gone to see a play in Mexico, were burnt to death in a fire in the theatre, and how 200 miners were buried [in a mine] in Durham in Britain owing to an explosion. It is only a few days ago that we read about the death of a large number of men when heavy rains caused the flooding of some mines near Johannesburg.

Though we receive such mysterious warnings from time to time, we turn back from the tasks that we may have resolved on. We fail to accomplish them either through fear of pecuniary loss, danger to our lives or other similar misfortunes. Day and night we are busy guarding our bodies from harm, though we cannot take their safety for granted even for an hour. For reasons such as these, the Transvaal Indians are turning back just when the ship is about to gain the shore; such behaviour brings no credit to Indians, is indeed unworthy of them. The

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greatest charge against us is that we lack the spirit of manliness, that we make a big effort for a while, but soon get tired of it, and that we do not put all our heart into anything that we do. It is one of the objects of the Transvaal movement that this charge should be disproved. From its very nature, the movement will test most of the virtues of Indians or expose their faults. Naturally, therefore, a number of things are involved in it.

Indians ought to realize that in this campaign no one is to wait for a lead from others [or] to point to others in justification of one's own lapses. Everyone must put his own courage to the test. We must remember that the people whom we are fighting have themselves passed through many sufferings. Only 300 years ago, they had heroes who preferred being burnt alive to betraying their principles. There was a white man of holy character, John Bunyan[1] by name, whom the whites adore today, but who in his life-time suffered much, having had to serve a harsh term of twelve years' imprisonment. In those days, gaols were veritable dungeons. It was only for his principles that John Bunyan suffered. In his time, men were put into prison if they did not attend a particular church. John Bunyan would not attend under compulsion even the most hallowed church. And for this he suffered imprisonment. He was as happy in gaol as if it were a palace. While there, he wrote a book which hundreds of thousands of whites read with great devotion. It is believed that there are very few books like it in other languages. This John Bunyan did not concern himself with what others did. All that mattered to him was his own principles; these he refused to betray, preferring to remain in gaol. He won, nevertheless. Even today, those who threw him into prison are despised by the world. Moreover, the imprisonment of a man like John Bunyan won freedom for his people. It is with the fellow-countrymen of such a man that we have to deal. We take that to be our good fortune. We cannot learn respect for a principle from a man who has much less of it than we have. In the company of a jackal, one can learn to be a jackal and nothing better, but in a lion's company one must learn to roar like a lion or face annihilation. We find ourselves thrown among such lion-like whites, who are extremely oppressive in their dealings with us. If we look at the matter in the right perspective, we shall succeed in holding our own against them, shall save ourselves from being reduced to slavery and live in freedom as their equals in the Transvaal. We have ventured through this campaign to claim equality with them, and success in the venture requires true knowledge and true education. True knowledge is not mere literacy, and true education, not mere reading

[1] *Vide* Vol. V, pp. 476-7.

of books. True knowledge and true education consist in knowing and understanding our true state, and in fashioning our lives and conduct in the light of that knowledge.

It will be observed from our Johannesburg Letter that the Government has now started arresting men everywhere. It arrests everyone known to be strong. We congratulate those who are arrested. We pray to *Ishvar—Khuda* to keep up their courage till the end. Their daring will ensure a bright future for the Transvaal Indians, for the Indians of South Africa—in fact, for the whole of India. The fact that they are a small minority need not dishearten them. It is quite plain now that those who have not been arrested have yielded. We can generally assume that they have come to an understanding with the Government. It is true that there are several Indians, unyielding in their attitude, who have not been imprisoned. They will also find themselves arrested by and by. But a time is coming when almost all true satyagrahis will have been installed in gaol. It is therefore our emphatic advice to those who would strike with all their strength to come forward fearlessly and boldly [to court imprisonment]. Let them not be anxious as to who would attend to the work [outside] in their absence. God is present everywhere—behind, in front, to the right and the left, above and below. He is our only support. He will provide for everything. Why, then, depend upon the efforts of any human being? What can a human being do, after all? The brave Mr. Aswat will be in gaol in a few days. We hope that he will be followed by Chairman after Chairman, in a long line. We repeat once more that those Indians who have fallen can spring back again to their feet with a roar. All that they have to do to make themselves free is to tear off their licences, to make a bonfire of their certificates.

We have never known circumstances so favourable as in the Transvaal for giving a fight. How is it that Indians fail to notice this opportunity? If they have noticed it, it passes our understanding why they do not grasp it.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 20-2-1909

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128. NEW WINDS BLOW

The newspapers have reported that Dar-e-salam Indians propose to do what Natal Indians could have done. They want to boycott the German East Africa Line[1] since it does not book Indian passengers in the first class and refuses to accept responsibility for loss of luggage, etc. There is a Reuter telegram to this effect from Berlin. Traders have decided not to book their goods on the steamers of this Line. They have gone to the length of saying that they will commission their own steamers if the Company's officers do not behave respectfully and conduct themselves properly. We thus find that the winds of self-respect and patriotism are blowing on every side. Everyone feels that Indians will sink into utter insignificance or be squeezed out of existence like fleas if, at this time when the nations of the world are competing with one another, they do not wake up and assert themselves.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 20-2-1909

129. TRIAL AT VOLKSRUST[2]

VOLKSRUST,
Thursday [*February 25, 1909*]

Today Messrs M. K. Gandhi, Somabhai Patel and six others were sentenced under the Regulations for refusing to produce certificates of registration and to give finger-prints or other means of identification, to a fine of fifty pounds or to undergo imprisonment for three months with hard labour. All went to gaol.

Addressing the Court, Mr. Gandhi said:

It is my misfortune that I have to appear before the Court for the same offence the second time.[3] I am quite aware that my offence is deliberate and wilful. I have honestly desired to examine my conduct in the light of past experience and I maintain the conclusion that, no matter what my countrymen do or think, as a citizen of the State and as a man who respects conscience above everything, I must continue to incur

[1] *Vide* Vol. VII, pp. 313 and 428-9.

[2] The report of the trial was published as "From Our Own Correspondent" with the caption: "Mr. Gandhi Goes to Gaol—Three Months Hard Labour for Refusing to Degrade His Honour and Conscience."

[3] For the first trial at Volksrust, *vide* pp. 103-4.

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the penalties so long as justice, as I conceive it, has not been rendered by the State to a portion of its citizens. I consider myself the greatest offender in the Asiatic struggle, if the conduct that I am pursuing is held to be reprehensible. I, therefore, regret that I am being tried under a clause which does not enable me to ask for a penalty which some of my fellow objectors received, but I ask you to impose on me the highest penalty. I desire to thank the Court and the Public Prosecutor for the courtesy extended to me in granting so long a delay on account of my wife's illness.

The Magistrate, in passing sentence, said: As I stated before, it is a matter of opinion. You have your opinion. I can only act in accordance with the law. As you do not ask for different treatment, I shall treat you as I have treated others in the same position.

Indian Opinion, 27-2-1909

130. MESSAGE TO INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA[1]

[JOHANNESBURG,
February 25, 1909]

I am happy that I am going to gaol again. The only regret is that I received only three months' imprisonment, whereas other satyagrahi patriots have received six months.

As I go to gaol, I see that many Indians have given in. It is left only to a few Indians to continue the campaign now. I am undeterred by this fact. In some ways, it can be more vigorous now.

Those who have fallen can rise again. They can [still] go to gaol. I hope they will rise.

Even if they cannot, they can offer monetary help, and send statements to newspapers to say that, though they have surrendered, they are in favour of the fight and wish it success.

Men of education outside the Transvaal can enter and be installed in gaol. If they do not do this, they can serve as volunteers at meetings wherever they are. It is the duty of all Indians in South Africa to hold meetings, pass resolutions and send telegrams.

This is a fight on behalf of religion, that is, on behalf of the [universal] religion which underlies all religions. Had I not believed so, I would never have advised the community to invite grievous suffering on itself. I believe that sacrificing one's all in a struggle like this should in no way be difficult. It is the duty of every Indian to forget all thought of relatives and friends, to sacrifice wealth and life, in this

[1] This appears to have been written on February 25, when Gandhiji went to gaol. *Vide* also the following item.

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struggle. I pray to God, and beg of Indians that all of them fulfil this duty.

It lies in our own hands to shorten the campaign.

M. K. GANDHI
COMMUNITY'S SERVANT & SATYAGRAHI

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 6-3-1909

131. MESSAGE TO TAMIL BRETHREN[1]

[VOLKSRUST,
February 25, 1909]

TO MY TAMIL BRETHREN

BEFORE GOING TO GAOL FOR THE THIRD TIME IN OUR STRUGGLE

I have addressed a letter in Gujarati[2] to our countrymen, but, as I do not know the beautiful Tamil language sufficiently, I write to you in English, hoping that I may reach some of you. The struggle has now reached the most critical stage. Whilst the majority of the other sections of the community have fallen, being too weak, the majority of the Tamils and the Parsis have stood firm. The brunt of the battle must, therefore, fall upon their shoulders. I pray to God that He may give you sufficient strength to bear it. You have discharged yourselves brilliantly hitherto. Remember that we are descendants of Prahlad[3] and Sudhanva, both passive resisters of the purest type. They disregarded the dictates even of their parents, when they were asked to deny God. They suffered extreme torture rather than inflict suffering on their persecutors. We in the Transvaal are being called upon to deny God, in that we are required to deny our manhood, go back upon our oath, and accept an insult to our nation. Shall we in the present crisis do less than our forefathers?

M. K. GANDHI

Indian Opinion, 6-3-1909

[1] *Indian Opinion*, 6-3-1909, published this message under the captions: "Message to the Madrasis: Mr. Gandhi's Last Exhortation". *The African Chronicle* translated this into Tamil and published it as a supplement for free circulation through the British Indian Association, Transvaal.

[2] *Vide* the preceding item.

[3] A child-saint, who resisted his father, King Hiranyakashipu, and affirmed his faith in God despite persecution.

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132. LETTER TO MRS. CHANCHALBEHN GANDHI

VOLKSRUST PRISON,
TRANSVAAL,
February 26, 1909

CHI. CHANCHAL,

I am sorry not to have any letter from you. I see that Ba is getting better. Please read good writings and poems to her. Always write to me after consulting her and let the letters be signed by both Manilal and you. You may ask Ba what she has to say and let me know that also.

Let me know about your own health as well as the condition of your right ear, feet and cough.

The change that I made in your diet is to be adhered to as an order from me. Take sago and milk regularly. Feed Rami at the breast for a few days more. Take sufficient food after feeding her also. Your health will not improve so long as you do not get open air. I need not write more.

Ask Willie[1] not to do any mischief at all. If Ramdas has a sore throat, apply an earth bandage.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

[PS.]

Harilal and I are quite well. Be sure that we are happier here than you.

Please read out this letter to Ba.

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 9525

133. M.A. EXAMINATION

Much is at stake in the Transvaal struggle, and therefore we have been writing on it frequently and at some length. That seems to be the only right thing to do. We submit to all Indians that the community will not chance upon such a struggle again. It is no small matter that the fight has reached the present stage.

But some Indians have been asking: "Hundreds have yielded. What is the point in continuing the fight?" We think this betrays lack of understanding. If some Indians have yielded, the same thing has been true of other armies. There is nothing unusual in that.

[1] Cordes's son

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The fight in which we are engaged at present is a kind of examination which we are to take. We have been studying [as it were]. Everyone came forward to study. Thousands went through the first grade. Some got tired of their studies when they came to the second grade. They left off. In this manner, we reached the seventh grade.[1] Things became rather difficult. A large number gave up. Even so, a considerable number reached the matriculation stage. But only a few had the courage to venture beyond that, though the number was not very low.

And now we are on the last stage. We are to qualify ourselves for the M.A. degree. That surely cannot be done by people in their hundreds. Only a few will succeed. Can it be said that those who appear at this examination are defeated because the rest did not offer themselves for it? No; it cannot. Those who take the M.A. degree will certainly have emerged victorious; not only that, but those who lagged behind will also share in the glory.

Thus, we liken the satyagrahis who still remain staunch to candidates for the M.A. degree. They should not in the least feel disheartened; rather, they should be proud that they have remained steadfast so long. There can be only a few highly educated men in any community. But, though small in number, they are of the greatest help. That is the situation in the Transvaal. Maybe there are only a few Indians still who are left fighting; but the highest value should be attached to the part they are playing.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 27-2-1909

134. HELP FROM NATAL

We congratulate the [Natal Indian] Congress on having held a meeting in support of the Transvaal campaign. In our view, the meeting was rather thinly attended, not much enthusiasm having been in evidence, and it had not been called as expeditiously as it should have been, so that we rest content with the mere fact of the meeting having been held, on the principle that something is better than nothing.[2] All the same, the Natal leaders will be blamed for their lapse to the extent that they were found wanting.

[1] The last stage of the High School course

[2] The Gujarati saying used here literally means, "A squint-eyed uncle is better than no uncle."

We believe that they ought not to rest content merely with a meeting. The Government will arrest as many persons as it wants to, and then watch the fun. But Indians outside the Transvaal cannot afford to sit back. They must send frequent cable reports to India, revive the spirit of those in the Transvaal who have fallen and by such means focus public attention on the struggle all over the world. If that is done, the gods of heaven will descend to watch the battle that will ensue. If not, Indians will be ridiculed and lose their foothold in South Africa in the near future.

We spoke of a Natal meeting. Really speaking, it was only a Durban meeting. What has happened to Maritzburg and the other towns in Natal? Why should they not hold meetings? The Main Line dispute has not yet been resolved. People are preoccupied with questions of prestige and dignity while their brethren are in gaol. This is not dignified behaviour. The Main Line dispute ought to be resolved. Even if it is not, work can be carried on in the other main towns of Natal.

What is Natal's duty is also the duty of the Cape, Delagoa Bay and other places. Cablegrams should be dispatched to England from all these places. Money too will be needed for such an agitation; for this regular provision should be made. If every Indian does his duty and performs the community's tasks in the same spirit that he does his own, it will not be surprising to see India being forged into a nation in South Africa.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 27-2-1909

135. LETTER TO A. H. WEST

PRETORIA PRISON,
TRANSVAAL,
March 4, 1909

MY DEAR WEST,

I am still left-handed. The right hand I can use only with difficulty.

The authorities will not grant permission for me to write to Mrs. Gandhi in Gujarati. I am sorry for her and Harilal's wife. I do not know whether wife would like me to write in English. I know that I can write nothing new. She wants to read my own writing. I feel that it is more dignified not to take advantage of a privilege grudgingly given. You may write to me, or Manilal may, in English how she progresses from day to day and also about Harilal's wife. If they wish to, they will let me have these letters and I shall know something about the health of the patient.

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Please tell Mrs. G[andhi] that I am all right[1]. She knows that my happiness depends more upon my mental state than upon physical surroundings. Let her cherish this thought and not worry about me. For the sake of the children, she should help herself to get better. She should have the bandages regularly and add hip-baths if necessary. She should adhere to the diet that I used to give. She ought not to start [walking][2] till she is quite restored.

Harilal's wife has all the directions. I shall be glad to learn that she follows them. She ought on no account to omit sago and milk in the morning. Let Manilal watch that she takes it. Rami should have the breast yet for a month. She can only be gradually weaned.

I am told that even if a letter in Gujarati were passed, it would take quite ten days before it could be transmitted.

With regards all round,

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

[PS.]

Please get Manilal to translate this to wife.

I trust Mrs. West is getting on.

From the original in pencil in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 4675
Courtesy: Sushilabehn Gandhi

136. DRAFT PETITION TO GAOL GOVERNOR[3]

[PRETORIA,
After *March 11, 1909*]

Your Petitioner is a British Indian, undergoing a sentence of three months' imprisonment with hard labour.

Your Petitioner received last week, as has been discovered, by mistake, one ounce of ghee every day with the rice that was issued to him for supper. Your Petitioner was admitted to this gaol on the 3rd instant.

Since last Sunday, the issue of ghee for supper as above has been stopped. Your Petitioner tried to take the rice without ghee on Sunday last but found it difficult.

Since Monday last, your Petitioner has had no supper at all, he having been obliged to return the rice issued to him.

Your Petitioner complained of the absence of ghee to the Chief Warder, who referred your Petitioner to the regulations and suggested that your Petitioner could see the Medical Officer if he so wished.

[1] The original has "alright".
[2] Here the original is damaged.
[3] This was drawn up during Gandhiji's incarceration in Pretoria Gaol.

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On the 11th instant, your Petitioner saw the Medical Officer who as a special concession was prepared to order a ration of bread for supper.

Your Petitioner, while appreciating the concession, has been unable to avail himself of it, not being desirous of receiving any special concession in regard to diet as apart from his Indian fellow-prisoners placed under similar circumstances.

Your Petitioner was shown the printed diet-scale which provides for one ounce of fat with rice as supper for Indian prisoners. The scale provides under Indian diet meat twice a week.

Your Petitioner has been informed that this scale has been changed and Indian prisoners now receive one [ounce] of rice without fat for supper and rice with one ounce of ghee in lieu of meat for dinner on meat-days.

Your Petitioner in common with the majority of Indians is prohibited by religion from taking meat or mutton fat or such other fat. Indian Mahomedans cannot take meat or fat not religiously killed. Indian Hindus with certain exceptions cannot at all take meat or fat.

In the humble opinion of your Petitioner, the change above referred to is a change for the worse. It is most difficult to take rice without some adjunct. Moreover, the scale is deficient in nutrition with only two ounces of ghee per week.

Your Petitioner has noticed that Natives receive one ounce of fat per day in addition to meat twice a week or at least once a week.

In the humble opinion of your Petitioner, reversion to the old scale with the substitution of ghee for fat and substitution of vegetables for meat on meat-days will meet the ends of justice.

If the above prayer is considered unreasonable, your Petitioner fears that he will suffer in health for want of sufficient nutrition.

Your Petitioner ventures to draw your attention to the fact that the change prayed for is in accordance with the scale at the Johannesburg gaol.

If the Governor is (not)[1] empowered in law to grant the petition, your Petitioner requests that the petition may be forwarded to the Director of Prisons for consideration.

And for this act, etc.

M. K. G.

From a typewritten copy
Courtesy: H. S. L. Polak

[1] The brackets seem to have been retained in the original by mistake.

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137. LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI

NAME OF PRISONER: M. K. GANDHI
NUMBER (with initial letter): 777

PRETORIA PRISON,
TRANSVAAL,
March 25, 1909

MY DEAR SON,

I have a right to write one letter per month and receive also one letter per month. It became a question with me as to whom I should write to. I thought of Mr. Ritch, Mr. Polak and you. I chose you, as you have been nearest my thoughts in all my reading.

As for myself I must not, I am not allowed to, say much. I am quite at peace and none need worry about me.

I hope mother is now quite well. I know several letters from you have been received but they have not been given to me. The Deputy Governor however was good enough to tell me that she was getting on well. Does she now walk about freely? I hope she and all of you would continue to take sago and milk in the morning.

And how is Chanchi[1]? Tell her I think of her everyday. I hope she has got rid of all the sores she had and that she and Rami are quite well. I was much struck by one passage in Nathuramji's[2] introduction to the *Upanishads*. He says that the *Brahmacharya* stage—i.e., the first stage—is like the last, i.e., the *Sanyasin* stage. This is true. Amusement only continues during the age of innocence, i.e., up to twelve years only. As soon as a boy reaches the age of discretion, he is taught to realise his responsibility. Every boy from such age onward should practise continence in thought and deed, truth likewise and the not taking of any life. This to him must not be an irksome learning and practice but it should be natural to him. It should be his enjoyment. I can recall to my mind several such boys in Rajkot. Let me tell you that when I was younger than you are, my keenest enjoyment was to nurse my father.[3] Of amusement after I was twelve, I had little or none. If you practise the three virtues[4], if they become part of your life, so far as I am concerned, you will have completed your education—your training. Armed with

[1] Chanchalbehn Gandhi

[2] Pandit Nathuram Sharma of Saurashtra, a man of religion and student of Hindu Philosophy; translated the *Upanishads* into Gujarati.

[3] *Vide An Autobiography*, Part I, Ch. IX.

[4] Truth, *Ahimsa* and *Brahmacharya*

them, believe me, you will earn your bread in any part of the world and you will have paved the way to acquire a true knowledge of the soul, yourself and God. This does not mean that you should not receive instruction in letters. That you should and you are doing. But it is a thing over which you need not fret yourself. You have plenty of time for it and after all you are to receive such instruction in order that your training may be of use to the others.

Remember please that henceforth our lot is poverty. The more I think of it, the more I feel that it is more blessed to be poor than to be rich. The uses of poverty are far sweeter than those of riches.

You have taken the sacred thread. I want you to live up to it. It appears that leaving one's bed before sunrise is almost indispensable for proper worship. Do therefore try to keep regular hours. I have thought much over it and read something also. I respectfully disagree with the Swamiji[1] in his propaganda. I think that the adoption of the sacred thread by those who have for ages given it up is a mistake. As it is, we have too much of the false division between *shudras* and others. The sacred thread is therefore today rather a hindrance than a help. I should like to elaborate this view but I cannot for the present. I am aware that I am expressing these views before one who has made a lifelong study of the subject. Yet I thought that I would pass on to the Swamiji what I have been thinking over. I have studied the *Gayatri*[2]. I like the words. I have also studied the book the Swamiji gave me. I have derived much benefit from its perusal. It makes me more inquisitive about the life of Swami Dayanand[3]. I see that the meaning given by Swami Dayanand to the *Gayatri* and several *mantras* of the *Vajasaneya Upanishad*[4] is totally different from that given by the orthodox school—now which meaning is correct? I do not know. I hesitate straightway to accept the revolutionary method of interpretation suggested by S. Dayanand. I would much like to learn all this through the Swamiji's lips. I hope he will not leave before I am out, but if he does leave, will he kindly leave all the literature he can or send it from India? I should also like to know what the orthodox school has said about S. Dayanand's teaching. Please thank the Swamiji for the handmade socks and gloves he has sent me. And get his address in India. Show the whole of this letter to the Swamiji and let me know what he says.

I have not yet thanked Bhatt Keshavram for presenting me with the *Upanishads*. The book has been simply invaluable. It has given

[1] Swami Shankeranand, Hindu missionary who toured South Africa in 1908-9
[2] A Vedic *mantra*, the metre of which is known by the same name
[3] Swami Dayanand Saraswati (1824-1883); founder of Arya Samaj
[4] *Isha Upanishad*

me much solace. Write to him thanking him on my behalf and tell him what I have said above.

How is the school progressing? Have any other boys come? How are Ebrahim[1] and Manikam[2]? If the building is being constructed, Chhaganbhai[3] should see to it that four tanks are put at the four corners. Mr. Ismail Gora should be approached regarding it.

How is Mr. Cordes? Tell him I have not forgotten the scene enacted at Mr. Kallenbach's the day I left for Volksrust. I often think of him, sit and say to myself, "After all, how egotistical we all are!"

Mrs. West by this time must be out of the woods. Let me know how she, Mrs. Pywell[4] and Devibehn[5] are keeping. I trust Mrs. Pywell continues to act the mother of the settlement.

Has Thakar[6] arrived? If he has, where is he housed? How is he? How is his wife?

I hope Kababhai's[7] son is quite all right[8] now and that Dhoribhai[9] and Nagar[10] are now fixed up.

Let Mr. Polak please keep his eye on the finances of the office. Dada Abdulla & Co. should be approached and asked to pay a portion of the debt they owe. Mr. McIntyre[11], I hope, is looking after the business part of the office. What about Miss Schlesin's articles? I am entitled to receive one visitor during a month. Let Mr. Polak come. He has not yet sent the books I have asked for.

I received Purshotamdas'[12] letter. But I was not able to reply to it. He should have the verandah fenced. The other additions should, I think, for the present, stay over unless they are absolutely required. I hope, tell him, he has well digested the conversation I had with him. He has raised in me great expectations to which he has to live up. How is poor Ani[13]? She must be loaded with work!

Please let me know how Messrs Sam, Behary, Muthu, Rajcoomar, Ram and Mannering are getting on?[14] Remember me to them. I hope Mr. Mannering has not again got tired of the jungle life.

[1] Ward of Ismail Gora
[2] A Tamil student
[3] Chhaganlal Gandhi, a nephew of Gandhiji
[4] Mother-in-law of A. H. West
[5] Miss West, sister of A. H. West
[6] Harilal Valji Thakar, an inmate of Phœnix
[7], [9], & [10] Compositors in the International Printing Press at Phœnix
[8] The original has "alright".
[11] An articled clerk with Gandhiji
[12] Purshottamdas Desai, in charge of Phœnix School
[13] Purshottamdas Desai's wife
[14] The reference is to workers in the press.

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Remember me to Mr. West and ask him to recall the communion I had with him on the day of departure from Phœnix.

And now again, yourself. Do give ample work to gardening, actual digging, hoeing, etc. We have to live upon it in future. And you should be the expert gardener of the family. Keep your tools in their respective places and absolutely clean. I hope Ramdas and Devdas are keeping well, learning their lessons and not causing any worry. Has Ramdas got rid of his cough?

I trust you all treated Willie well while he was with us. Any balance of the foodstuff left by Mr. Cordes, I doubt not you have returned to him.

And now about yourself. How are you. Although I think that you are well able to bear all the burden I have placed on your shoulders and that you are doing it quite cheerfully, I have often felt that you required greater personal guidance than I have been able to give you. I know too that you have sometimes felt that your education was being neglected. Now I have read a great deal in the prison. I have been reading Emerson, Ruskin and Mazzini. I have also been reading the *Upanishads*. All confirm the view that education does not mean a knowledge of letters but it means character building, it means a knowledge of duty. Our own word literally means 'training'. If this be the true view and it is to my mind the only true view, you are receiving the best education—training—possible. What can be better than that you should have the opportunity of nursing mother and cheerfully bearing her ill temper, or than looking after Chanchi and anticipating her wants and behaving to her so as not to make her feel the want of Harilal or, again, than being guardian to Ramdas and Devdas ? If you succeed in doing this well, you have received more than half your education. In your lessons you should give a great deal of attention to mathematics and Sanskrit. The latter is absolutely necessary for you. Both these studies are difficult in after life. You will not neglect your music. You should make a selection of all the good passages, hymns and verses, whether in English, Gujarati or Hindi and write them out in your best hand in a book. The collection at the end of a year will be most valuable. All these things you can do easily if you are methodical, never get agitated and think you have too much to do and then worry over what to do first. This you will find out in practice if you are patient and take care of your minutes. I hope you are keeping an accurate account, as it should be kept, of every penny spent for the household.

Remind Anandlalbhai of his promise this time not to dis-continue his studies. I am more anxious that he should give a proper training to Vijia[1]. Has he secured the garden?

[1] Anandlal's daughter

Please tell Maganlalbhai that I would advise him to read Emerson's essays. They can be had for nine pence in Durban. There is a cheap reprint out. Those essays are worth studying. He should read them, mark the important passages and then finally copy them out in a notebook. The essays to my mind contain the teaching of Indian wisdom in a Western garb. It is refreshing to see our own sometimes thus differently fashioned. He should also try to read Tolstoy's *Kingdom of God Is within You*. It is a most logical book. The English of the translation is very simple. What is more, Tolstoy practises what he preaches.

I hope the evening service continues and that you and all attend the Sunday service at Mr. West's.

You should copy this letter. Get the others to assist you and send a copy of it to Mr. Polak and a copy to Mr. Kallenbach, another to Swamiji. You should read my letter carefully and give me a detailed reply. You should wait for a reply from Mr. Polak so that you may tell me what he has to say. As soon as you have read and understood my letter, you may commence writing your reply. It should be [in] ink and neat. Let it be as long as you want to make it. It should not contain any information about the struggle. Then there would be no difficulty about my getting it. You may take your time about the reply. This will be in your hands perhaps on Tuesday. I shall wait a week from that date. You may even take longer if you like. You should await Swamiji's and Mr. Kallenbach's letters also before closing your letter. You may tell me what they have to say. You may write a little from day to day. What you cannot express in English, you should get Purshotamdas to translate for you. If you do not understand any portion of this letter, you should get it translated to you.

Please send me a copy of Algebra. Any edition will do.

And now I close with love to all and kisses to Ramdas, Devdas and Rami.

From
FATHER

MASTER MANILAL GANDHI
C/O *INDIAN OPINION*
PHŒNIX
NATAL

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 4676
Courtesy: Louis Fischer

138. CABLE TO S. A. B. I. COMMITTEE[1]

JOHANNESBURG,
April 7, 1909

TO
SOUTH AFRICA BRITISH INDIAN COMMITTEE
5 PUMP COURT, TEMPLE
[LONDON]

URGENT LETTER RECEIVED HEIDELBERG PRISONERS STATING CONDITION STARVATION IMPROPER DIET FILTHY SURROUNDINGS UTTER INSANITATION NO WASHING BATHING FACILITIES NOR CHANGE CLOTHING. INDIAN PASSIVE RESISTERS TREATED WORSE KAFFIR CONVICTS. MANY HOSPITAL DYSENTERY FEVER HYSTERIA. GAOL AUTHORITIES BRUTAL. GOVERNMENT ENDEAVOURING BREAK DOWN MOVEMENT BY TORTURE.

M. K. GANDHI

Colonial Office Records: 291/141

139. INDIANS AND ALCOHOL[2]

[PRETORIA GAOL,
Before *April 10, 1909*]

I have seen your letter addressed to the British Indian Association regarding its evidence to be submitted to the Commission. I have not been able, my movement[s] having been uncertain, to submit my statement earlier. Nor has it been possible to call a meeting of the Association to consider the evidence to be given. The Chairman[3] and the Acting Chairman[4] of the Association are in gaol. The statement, therefore, that I am about to submit represents my personal views only.

I have been in South Africa now for the last fifteen years, and having, almost throughout that period, been officially connected with

[1] Gandhiji was in Pretoria Gaol at the time. It may be that this was dispatched from Johannesburg under his instructions.

[2] This statement was sent by Gandhiji from Pretoria Gaol by courtesy of the Governor as "written evidence" to the Transvaal Liquor Commission, Johannesburg. It was published with editorial comments, under the sub-title "Mr. Gandhi's Views", as "Special to *Indian Opinion*".

[3] A.M. Cachalia

[4] E. I. Aswat

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Indian public bodies, I have come in contact with all classes of Indians. Since 1903, I have been practising as an attorney in Johannesburg, and have held the office of Honorary Secretary of the British Indian Association.

The Transvaal has a population of not more than 13,000 adult male Indians. Indians actually resident in the Colony since the war have probably never been more than 10,000 at any time. At the present moment, owing to the Asiatic struggle, there are probably not more than 5,000 in the Colony. These are chiefly Mahomedans and Hindoos. For the purposes hereof, I do not consider the Christians and the Parsees, as they form, though an important, a numerically small section of the Indian community.

Both Mahomedans and Hindoos are prohibited by their respective religions from taking intoxicating liquors. The Mahomedan section has very largely conformed to the prohibition. The Hindoo section, I am sorry to say, contains an appreciable number who, in this Colony, have disregarded the prohibition of religion.

The method adopted by Indians who indulge in alcoholic drinks is generally to secure the assistance of some unscrupulous whites. There are other methods, also, which I do not care to go into.

I am of opinion that the legal prohibition should continue. I think, however, that the prohibition has not succeeded in preventing Indians, who have wanted it, from obtaining liquor. The only use I see in continuing the prohibition is to let those of my countrymen, who indulge in it, retain the sense of shame they have in drinking liquor. They know that it is wrong for them both in religion and in law to obtain and drink liquor. This enables temperance workers to appeal to their law-abiding sentiment. I draw a fundamental distinction between wrongful law-breaking and a conscientious breach of man-made law in obedience to a higher law. Happily, those Indians who break the liquor law know that it is wrong for them to do so.

I am aware that some of my countrymen—themselves ardent temperance men—see in the liquor legislation one more disqualification based on the ground of colour. Superficially speaking, they would be right. But I believe that this legislation has little to do with colour. It is, in my opinion, a recognition on the part of the predominant race that the drink habit is an evil which, while they themselves are yet unable to get rid of, they do not want other races to contract. Viewing the position in this manner, I believe liquor prohibition among the Asiatic and Coloured races to be the forerunner of general prohibition.

Whether, however, general prohibition becomes an accomplished fact or not, so long as the predominant race continue to indulge in alcoholic drinks, be it ever so moderately, partial prohibition such as we now have cannot be of much practical use. This, it is submitted,

is a forcible illustration of one of the evil incidents of contact between the European and other races. And unless those who preach abstinence are themselves ready to practise it, all liquor legislation must largely be a makeshift. I wish the Commission could see their way to point out to the electors of the Transvaal what a serious responsibility rests on their shoulders. They make it impossible for their representatives to pass legislation that is so desirable. It is they who must take the responsibility for the breaking up of many a home. I am writing under a full sense of my own responsibility. I know only too well how many Indian youths who never knew the taste of spirituous liquors have succumbed, after having come to South Africa or the Transvaal.

If the Commission desire me to answer any question, I shall be pleased to do so.

Indian Opinion, 10-4-1909

140. LETTER TO H.S.L. POLAK[1]

PRETORIA [GAOL,]
April 26, 1909

FROM
MR. GANDHI (CONVICT NO. 777)

MY DEAR HENRY,

Nothing has caused me so much worry as the financial question. I hate the idea of Phœnix being in debt; that is what the office debts mean. Besides the jewellery, then some of the law-books, i.e., the books I got out from England and the law-reports should be sacrificed, also the large safe in the office and the cyclopaedia in the revolving case. The law books may be placed before Playford, Benson, or Godfrey, if he is doing well. If none of them can take any or all up, you may circulate a list. They should go at cost price less 10 per cent. The safe should fetch at least £15. Godfrey owes £3 for the cyclopaedia (Curtis's). You know Curtis got £3 from me. This amount does not appear in the books. It might now be collected.

I had a long letter from Manilal, not badly constructed. I see that Mrs. Pywell is proud of her grand-daughter and considers her to be the...[2] be careful. Waldo[3], who may be claimed to be a Phœnixite *in posse*, is the pattern to be beaten. It is a hard feat. I should like

[1] The original having been damaged, missing words have been conjectured and supplied in square brackets wherever possible.

[2] Some words are missing here.

[3] Son of the addressee

to know how Cordes' lecture went off, and where it was given. Has Thakar brought any books and type from Bombay? I notice that the Thakars are staying with Chhaganlal. Now Chhaganlal like Millie[1] has a habit of suffering mutely. But the suffering tells on both of them. They, therefore, make the friends' position embarrassing. I am, therefore, anxious that Chhaganlal should not overdo things. He is a man ...as his mother puts it, of being baked even under the s[hade of a] leafy tree. I have found this trait in him ever[since I have] known him as a grown-up boy. And I have seen no [reason to change] my opinion. Please, therefore, tell him that he must not tax himself. I do not know Mrs. Gandhi's intentions. [The Thakars] should have stayed with her. Purshotamdas and Cordes [have each] a boarder now. It is grand of Cordes to [take a boarder.] It is so like him. But I am sceptical about the advisability of P[urshottamdas] having taken up any boarder at all. He has hardly enough floor space. Ani has more than enough having to look after four kids. P[urshottamdas] wishes to do her reparation for past laches. He has not begun well in that direction. I should, therefore, very much like to know what he has done to lighten his poor wife's burdens. The message he has sent me is sweet. More I will not say at present. I should like all in Phœnix to read Tolstoy's *Life* and *My Confessions*. Both are soul-stirring books. They can be easily read in two days. The Gujaratis should also read Kavi's two volumes—the books I have got. Thakar may have brought them. They may give 10 minutes of the half-hour evening service and half hour of the hour's service on Sundays, which the Gujaratis have [for] themselves. The more I consider his life and his writings, the more I consider him to have been the best Indian of his times. Indeed, I put him much higher than Tolstoy in religious perception. The books I have read have afforded me the highest solace. They should be read over and over again. So far as English books are concerned, Tolstoy is incomparable in my opinion in chastity of thought. His definition of the purpose of life is unanswerable and easy to understand. Both Kavi and Tolstoy have lived as they have preached. Kavi writes from richer experience. Will you ask Chhaganlal to write Revashanker Jagjiwan & Co. to let me know what I owe them and what they advance monthly to my sister[2]? Manilal is naturally somewhat dissatisfied with his studies. But it is inevitable. We are in the experimental stage and the first students have to be the victims. However, let him learn well what is given to him. I hope one of these days to examine him. He was sure of his geometry lessons, but he was found wanting. Let him cultivate regular

[1] Millie Graham Polak, wife of the addressee
[2] Raliatbehn, Gandhiji's elder sister

and studious habits, and learn to rely on himself in his studies. One of these days I may be able to undertake part of his tuition myself. [I] understand too his worry about gardening. He should be patient[, give the] best that is in him and then remain perfectly cheerful [without] anxiety or fretting. I wish the boys would talk [to Mani]kum in Tamil. I am glad Kitchin was at Phœnix for a day. Manilal does not mention whether he was pleased with his stay there. I hope everything was done to make him comfortable there. I suggest to Maganlal that now that he has learnt so many English pieces by heart he should commit to memory some Tamil sentences. Is Chanchi cheerful? Or does she brood over her separation from Harilal? Does Mrs. G[andhi] now take part in household work? Pray thank Dr. Nanji[1] for his attention to the Phœnix settlers. He is ever adding to the debt I am under to him. What is the progress of the school-building? I think Chhaganlal should represent to Mr. Gora on my behalf that he should consent to the boarding allowance to be raised so as to free the guardians from eternal worry about half-pennies. I am glad Swamiji is prolonging his stay. I hope to learn more from him about the sacred thread on meeting. I hope he received my letter[2] addressed to him at Pietermaritzburg, from the train. I am anxious that he should do everything he can to promote the goodwill existing between Hindus and Mahomedans. I expect Anandlal to keep to his promise not to abandon his studies and to make the garden smile. Please ask West to continue the Sunday services in spite of difficulties, if any. During Mrs. West's illness, they may be held elsewhere but so far as possible should not be omitted. Will you please have the Phœnix part copied and sent to West? Then all can read it, and let Chhaganlal give me a detailed reply embodying messages from all who have any to send. I would expect a letter from Chhaganlal at the latest on the 7th May. That would give him ample time.[3]

From a photostat of the typewritten copy: S.N. 4925

[1] An Indian medical practitioner of Durban and a leader of the Natal Indian community; often treated the sick in the Phœnix settlement including Mrs. Gandhi.

[2] This is not available.

[3] The letter appears to be incomplete and represents, perhaps, the part which was sent to West.

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141. SPEECH AT PRETORIA MEETING[1]

[PRETORIA,
May 24, 1909]

I have no time to make a long speech. Having gone for breakfast, I was [as it were] locked up for some time. However, I will say a few words which I hope you will bear in mind. I can say from my experience of gaol that conditions of gaol life are satisfactory. We are bound to get what we have been asking for. I find on my release that those who are brave will stand firm. The Chairman said that this fight was being prolonged on account of disunity among us. But I do not think this is true. It is because our people have been cowed down that they do not fill the gaols. Those who are fearless do go to gaol, and will continue to do so. That is as it should be. Prisoners who have been released appear to be ready to go to gaol again at a moment's notice, notwithstanding the hardships that they have suffered there. He who has tasted the sweetness of gaol life will never shrink from it, but will welcome going there every time.

The Chief Warder told me at the time of my release that it was useless to advise me not to return to gaol, for he knew that I would not accept the advice. This shows what impression satyagraha has made on his mind. I find no happiness outside gaol. While in gaol, I could devote myself regularly to prayers. Now that I am out of it, I shall have no time for them. A lamp was lit at half past five in the morning in order to wake up the prisoners and enable them to roll up their beds and be ready, and it was put out after half an hour. In the darkness which followed, some prisoners engaged themselves in small talk, while I found it a good opportunity to pray to God. From tomorrow, I shall not get such opportunity and facility. Whatever you may think, I certainly do not subscribe to the view that life is difficult in gaol and happy outside. Those who are afraid of gaol have registered themselves, or are doing so. However, there is a duty that they also can perform. There can be no one who is opposed to us in the path of truth that we have been following, and if there is any such man, he does not deserve to be called an Indian, but should rather be regarded as working for India's utter ruin. It was good that I had an opportunity for a talk

[1] On completion of his sentence, Gandhiji was released on May 24, 1909 at 7.30 a.m. instead of at 9 a.m., the usual time, with a view to preventing a demonstration. Over a hundred Indians, however, had already assembled to greet him. Gandhiji marched at their head to the Mahomedan Mosque and later addressed a meeting there. Vally Mahomed presided.

with Mr. Hajee Cassim. If you ask him, he will tell you what should now be done and, if you act accordingly, that will be as good as helping the cause. I am not happy at being released; rather, I am unhappy. Mr. Vyas gave me sweetmeats for breakfast, but they were as bitter to me as poison. For, Mr. Dawad Mahomed, Mr. Rustomjee, Mr. Joshi and others, including, if I may be personal, my eldest son Harilal, are still in gaol, and they have more than two and a half months yet to serve. I would feel happy only if I were imprisoned [again] and released after them. I cannot say now how this can be brought about. As for me, all my pleasures and my happiness are in gaol. If we think of our pledge, going to gaol appears to be the only desirable course. I will try my best to see that I am imprisoned again and released after those others. But I cannot have my way as to how long I shall be in gaol. What I have to tell you or rather the request I have to make to you is this, that those who have the courage must go to gaol. Others who cannot do so will do what I have advised Mr. Hajee Cassim to do. While in gaol, I learnt from Mr. Polak's letter that the British Indian Association has become bankrupt and the people have been financially ruined. Therefore, those who have been carrying on their businesses must lighten their pockets. I have heard that this is being done, but I do not think on an adequate scale. Please give more generously. Your generosity will be justified; it will also please God. I thank you for having assembled in such large numbers and I request you again to fill the gaols and not rest till our demands are conceded. You too can see for yourselves that there is no other course that I can advise. I am sure you agree with me.[1]

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 29-5-1909

142. SPEECH AT PRETORIA MEETING[2]

[PRETORIA,
May 24, 1909]

...He said that he had been released from gaol, but he felt no pleasure at that, many of the stalwarts among his compatriots had still to serve their sentences, and his own son had six months to do, but for all that, the struggle must go on until the Government granted them relief to which they were entitled; their sufferings must continue until justice was done. Those Indians who could not bear the hardships of gaol should give what assistance they could in other ways, for he took it that no single

[1] Gandhiji then spoke in English; *vide* the following item.
[2] This report of his speech in English was reproduced in *Indian Opinion* from *Pretoria News*.

Indian could possibly approve of the harsh measures of the Government or fail in sympathy of one sort or another with the struggle which was now proceeding. There could only be one end to the struggle, and that end would be hastened or delayed by the strength displayed by the British Indian community. They were now in the hottest part of the fight, and it was possible that they might not carry all their countrymen with them, but that only meant that the brunt of the battle would fall on the shoulders of the few, but, concluded Mr. Gandhi:

whether our members be large or small, I earnestly pray God that He will give us strength to carry the burden until we have reached the goal.

Indian Opinion, 29-5-1909

143. INTERVIEW TO "PRETORIA NEWS"[1]

[PRETORIA,
May 24, 1909]

...Mr. Gandhi said that he had no desire at the present moment to make any statement in regard to his treatment in gaol; he had now done five months and three weeks, having served three sentences.

In regard to the deportation policy, Mr. Gandhi said that he would have to go into the matter carefully. He could not see how it was possible for the Transvaal Government to retain authority over British Indians long enough to deport them to India. In any case, the policy of deportation, he said, was a very foolish one, it was unnecessarily cruel and would merely transfer the struggle to a country where it might take [on] a much more serious aspect. Mr. Gandhi said:

It cuts me to the quick, to hear of a lad of sixteen being deported to India, while his father remained in gaol at Volksrust. The Government are very much mistaken if they imagine that they will break the heart of the Indians by resorting to such cruel methods.[2]

Indian Opinion, 29-5-1909

[1] Gandhiji gave this interview at the conclusion of the meeting at the Mahomedan Mosque, Pretoria; *vide* the preceding item.

[2] After the meeting, Gandhiji was escorted to the station by about two to three hundred Indians, and he left for Johannesburg by train.

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144. SPEECH AT JOHANNESBURG MEETING[1]

[JOHANNESBURG,
May 24, 1909]

After so many months I have this opportunity to see you and to be with you. I am glad of it. But I am not happy at my release, for our leaders, and aged ones at that, are still in gaol. They have still more than two months to put in to complete their term of imprisonment. Among them, as you know, are Dawad Sheth, Mr. Parsee Rustomjee, Mr. Sorabji and others. Speaking of what touches me personally, I may say that my son Harilal is also in gaol. How can I then feel at ease? So long as we do not get what we want, we cannot feel happy at heart. God will grant what we have been demanding. But it is through the Government that we shall receive it. Why we do not get what we want has been explained by Mr. Cachalia. A task that needs a thousand men cannot be accomplished by ten, as it were. The struggle is being prolonged because not enough men join it. We at this moment are in the House of the Lord, where we took pledges on oath, raised our hands and declared that we would continue to fight till the law was repealed and the rights of the educated were conceded, and that we would not avail ourselves of the certificates [of registration]. We must go to gaol to carry out this pledge. I for one should very much like to run up to Natal and, returning, get arrested. That way I can join Dawad Sheth in gaol. My duty is to serve the community and its well-wishers. The right way of doing so for me is to join Dawad Sheth in gaol. I was heralded today with the cry: "Salute the King of Hindus and Muslims." That was not right. I am a servant of the community, not its king. I pray to God to grant me the strength and the desire always to serve the community. My aspiration will be fulfilled only if I have to lay down my life in the very act of serving the community.[2] It is indeed my duty so to die. Those who have love for India and Indians must necessarily make themselves servants of the community. I did not, and do not, deserve the honour of a coach. I have not been able to serve as well as I ought to have done. For, there are others who are still in gaol as servants of the community. They return to it again and again, when they are released. The Chairman became a servant after

[1] On arrival at Park Station from Pretoria, Gandhiji was given a hero's welcome. A gathering of about a thousand including Indians, Chinese and some European friends including Rev. J. J. Doke, received Gandhiji and his associates. Gandhiji was garlanded and escorted in a carriage to the Mosque grounds. A. M. Cachalia presided. Gandhiji addressed the assembly first in Gujarati and then in English.

[2] At this point, the report says, Gandhiji was overwhelmed with emotion.

sacrificing everything, and is still serving. My mind would be at ease only if I had to suffer imprisonment as others have to, and were released after they are released. Tomorrow, Mr. Omarji Sale, Chairman of the Hamidia Islamic Society, will be released. Mr. Vyas and Mr. David Ernest will be released from Diepkloof. Indians must go to receive them. I hope that Kanamias will show their highest spirit this time, and pull Mr. Omarji Sale's carriage. I am sure the old gentleman will prefer to court imprisonment yet again for the sake of the community. I pray for God's blessings on him so that he may be full of strength despite his old age. It is also the duty of others to act like him. People must take a carriage even to Diepkloof and bring [them] in it. I do not wish to say more for the present. If any Indian talks of defeat, that will mean that he himself is defeated. If a person going to gaol is firm in his resolve, he is ever victorious. It lies in God's hands as to when the obnoxious Act will be repealed and men of education allowed their rights; however, it is our faith in Him and the way we act that will determine the course of future events. God is with those who follow the right. Since we follow the right, victory is bound to be ours. When I arrived at Volksrust after two months' imprisonment, there was the same number of men present, as there is today. I should like to ask you whether you just come to say "yes" to everything I say, or want to join in shouldering the burden. Your duty is to bear the hardships of gaol life. Please bear that in mind. It is the same whether one is in gaol or outside. There were some Tamils with me in Volksrust [Gaol]. Mr. Naidoo writes to say that they remain unbending, and are ready to go to gaol at a moment's notice. We have a paper of our own, so that we are able to carry on propaganda. There is no paper in the language of the Tamils, and yet what courage they have been displaying, and how well they have been doing their duty! They have faith in God. We ought to learn a lesson from them and follow in their footsteps. If we do, victory will be ours quite soon. I thank you all, and the Chinese as well, for having taken the trouble to come here to receive me. I am not in a position to say anything more at the moment without studying the community's mood. However, if you have any questions to ask, I shall answer them at the office. We have had enough of taking of pledges and raising of hands. I do not want to have these things repeated. But if you are prepared unreservedly to go to gaol, all the ways are open to you. I shall, in that case, give the best advice I can. If you go to gaol, you will be assured of victory. There is still time. It will be enough if you do just this.[1]

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 29-5-1909

[1] Gandhiji then spoke in English; *vide* the following item.

145. SPEECH AT JOHANNESBURG MEETING

[JOHANNESBURG,
May 24, 1909]

He [Gandhiji] said it was not with any degree of pleasure that he came out of gaol. The reason was obvious. Some of the best men in the Indian community were still in one or other of the Transvaal gaols, and some of them were elderly men. His own eldest son was also still in gaol. Some of them had still two to two-and-a-half months to do. Some of them had worked with him as friends, and some had gone to gaol simply out of love and regard for him. Could he, as a human being, derive any pleasure from his freedom when all those men had a restraint placed on their liberty? He could not be happy under such circumstances. So long as justice, which was their due, had not been done to them, they could not take food and rest. When that justice was to come, God only knew, but that it was bound to come they did know. He had considered and reconsidered the position during the past three memorable months, and, after looking over the past two-and-a-half years, he was still able to say that he withdrew nothing of the advice that he had given to his countrymen. (Applause.) He could not withdraw a single word of his condemnation of the Law of 1907, and he still adhered to his statement that General Smuts was bound by his promise to repeal the Act. They wanted absolute and pure justice. No Indian could sit still under the insult offered to the whole Indian nation. As long as the present state of affairs lasted, the only place of safety in the Transvaal was the gaol. He did not wish to say much about his treatment in gaol or about the struggle; in the latter case because he knew little of what had been going on of late. He had nothing to say against the prison officials who were in immediate charge of him. The section warders treated him with every courtesy and kindness, and so did the other officials. He would shortly put in writing a great deal more that he had to say to his countrymen. There was plenty of work for them to do, and they must realise their duty. He preferred to see them work for the cause to being dragged through the streets in a carriage. During the last three months, he had found much consolation in reading the book of the prophet Daniel in the Bible. Daniel was one of the greatest passive resisters that ever lived, and they must follow his example. The laws of Generals Botha and Smuts were not for them (Indians) if they were in conflict with their consciences. They must sit with their doors flung wide open and tell those gentlemen that whatever laws they passed were not for them unless those laws were from God. Let them be up and doing, and not waste words or energy. He regretted that some of them had broken their solemn oaths by accepting the law, but they could still recall their act and do the right thing. He informed the meeting that several prominent Indians would be released tomorrow, and he asked them to give them a fitting reception. He thanked them heartily for their presence, and he asked God to give them strength to carry out the real work that lay before them.[1]

Indian Opinion, 29-5-1909

[1] The meeting was later addressed by Rev. J.J. Doke and Chettiar, Chairman, Tamil Benefit Society.

146. LETTER TO THE PRESS[1]

JOHANNESBURG,
May 26, 1909

SIR,

As there has been much talk, during my last incarceration, regarding the treatment I underwent, I shall thank you to publish the following statement. When I was sentenced to undergo imprisonment for three months with hard labour at Volksrust, and taken to the gaol there, I found myself in the company of over fifty fellow-workers, including my son. This, in itself, was to me a great pleasure. The food supplied was nice and clean, and included 1 oz. of ghee (clarified butter) per day, and was cooked by Indian cooks. All Indian prisoners were completely separated from the Natives, and had separate sanitary accommodation also. Those who occupied cells had bed-boards, in addition to the usual supply of blankets, etc., and all had a pillow each issued to them. The work was out-door work, and consisted for about thirty of us in road-repair or weeding the school ground, either of which, so far as I was concerned, was very agreeable and healthy. I was sentenced on the 25th February last.

"ISOLATED"

On the 2nd March, I was ordered to be removed to Pretoria. I had to travel in a third-class compartment, and, as most of the travelling was done during the night, it was naturally cold, more so as no blankets are issued, evidently, to prisoners. Arriving at Pretoria on the 3rd March, I was, after the usual formalities had been gone through, locked up in a cell. For, I think, five days, I had to pass the whole of the time in the cell or the corridor, except when I was allowed out for bathing and for such other purposes. My cell-door was marked "isolated" and I found, too, that I was isolated along with four other prisoners, one of whom was convicted of having made an attempt to murder, two of having committed sodomy, and one bestiality. Here there was no pillow and no bed-board issued, and, for food, there was no ghee allowed except on Wednesdays and Sundays. The work given to me consisted in polishing the floor of my own cell and polishing the cell-doors in the corridor of the section in which I was accommodated, along

[1] The letter was addressed generally to the Transvaal Press. It was published in *Indian Opinion* under the caption "Mr. Gandhi's Experiences in the Pretoria Gaol".

with the Native prisoners. It was during this time that Mr. Lichtenstein[1] visited me, and I told him that I considered the treatment to be brutal, and that there was evidently an intention on the part of General Smuts to bend me, but that I was not likely to succumb. Subsequently, I was given half-hour's exercise twice a day, and the work was altered to that of blanket-quilting, or such other tailoring work.

One Meal per Day

I went practically without any breakfast, because the mealie-meal was not cooked sufficiently for my taste. I made no complaint about it, as all the other prisoners, I noticed, took their porridge with relish. I went without supper, because the rice issued contained no ghee. I complained about the absence of ghee to the Chief Warder, but he pleaded helplessness, because the regulations did not provide for the issue of ghee to Indian prisoners. I may state, parenthetically, that 1 oz. of fat per day is given to all Native prisoners. I then approached the medical officer and submitted that the Indian diet-scale should include 1 oz. of ghee per day. He would not make the change, but, for me specially, ordered 8 oz. of bread, along with the rice. I told him that, while I appreciated it, I could not accept a special privilege, unless ghee was issued to all Indian prisoners, as I considered it to be absolutely necessary for their health. I then approached the Director of Prisons in the matter.[2] A fortnight after, an order was made that I was to have 1 oz. of ghee allowed with my rice. I took this for a day, believing that the order was generally applicable. When, however, I found that it was a concession only for me, I was obliged to revert to the original position, that is, one meal per day. I again drew the attention of the Director of Prisons to the fact that I was being partially starved, and a reply came, after I had served for a month and a half, that ghee would be issued, pending an alteration of the Indian diet-scale, wherever there was a body of Indian prisoners. I felt thankful for this, and had no hesitation thereafter in taking my supper. After this, absence of breakfast was no loss to me.

Health Impaired

The Director of Prisons paid a visit, and made kind inquiries about myself, and, when he asked me whether I had any complaints, I pointed to some of the facts I have already narrated; and a bed-board, felt-mattress, night-shirt and handkerchief were issued to me, and I was allowed the use of pencil and note-book, which had been hitherto denied to me. I would also mention here gratefully that I was allowed an unrestricted use of books, which to me were a source of the greatest

[1] Lawyer and a professional colleague of Gandhiji
[2] *Vide* "Draft Petition to Gaol Governor", pp. 203-4.

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consolation. The tailoring work in my cell, which required bending to it for nearly seven hours per day, began to tell upon my health. I, therefore, requested that I should have more active work, or, at least, that I should be allowed to do the tailoring in the open. Both the requests were at first rejected. I suffered, I believe, owing to this close confinement in the cell, from violent neuralgia for nearly ten days, and I developed symptoms, too, of chest disease. On repeating my request, I was allowed to do the tailoring work in the open air.

Government Alone to Blame

The opinion I expressed to Mr. Lichtenstein about General Smuts underwent a change upon further observation, and I felt that he had directly nothing to do with the treatment described above. Indeed, I gratefully recall here the sending by him of two nice books for me to read, testifying, as I took it, to the fact that he entertained no personal illwill against me, and that he gave me credit for doing what I believed to be right. Nor do I blame any of the officials for what I had to undergo. They were all courteous and kind, and I cannot be sufficiently thankful to the section warders, who seemed to realise the peculiar position in which I was placed, and showed me every consideration. And yet I must adhere to the opinion that the treatment itself was brutal. My sentence was imprisonment with hard labour, but, for the larger part of the term, it was practically solitary confinement. The officials of the Prison Department could do no otherwise because, Indians being classed with Native prisoners, I could only be placed in the Native section. The same, however, can hardly be said of the Government, who, having so many Indian prisoners on hand, gave no thought to the matter. They must have known, when I was cruelly separated from my fellow-prisoners at Volksrust, that, at Pretoria, I would be obliged to undergo hardships not warranted by the sentence imposed upon me. I do not say that Indian prisoners should be classed with Europeans. Their lot would, then, probably, be much worse than it is now. But I do say that they should be separately classed and separately accommodated. I may be told that, having invited imprisonment for myself, I can hardly complain of the prison system with any justification. This taunt is inapplicable, because, I submit, avoidable misery was inflicted upon me, and, in any case, it is as well for the public, in whose name the Government is supposed to be acting, to know what is being done to Indian passive resisters.

Other Prisoners

After my discharge I learnt that, if I fared somewhat ill, the majority of the other passive resisters fared no better, if not worse; for the majority of the Indian passive resisters at the Johannesburg Fort were removed

to the penal settlement at Diepkloof, and the majority of those at Volksrust to Heidelberg, at both of which places, in the initial stages, they had to undergo hardships for which there was no warrant. The Indian prisoner may not complain about the labour to which he is put so long as it is tolerable, but I think that he has every right to complain about improper, unsuitable, or insufficient diet. It is hardly any credit to the Colony that one of the bravest and the truest of Indians in the Colony, an Indian who has occupied the position of Acting Chairman of the British Indian Association, and who is a well-known merchant, has been made to carry slop-pails.

No amount of harassing that may be applied will turn those who have passed through their experience during the last few months from their purpose. Several have already again been imprisoned, one young man of nineteen for the fifth time. The public has no knowledge of the fact that an Indian is nearly every day arrested and imprisoned for three months with hard labour, at Vereeniging, for managing the store belonging to Mr. Aswat, who is himself locked up at Diepkloof. Eight such Indians have already been offered up as a sacrifice, and volunteers are still forthcoming to take charge of this store. Passive resistance is not then dead. It cannot die, because it represents truth.

Indian Opinion, 5-6-1909

147. WHO CAN OFFER SATYAGRAHA?

The satyagraha campaign in the Transvaal has lasted so long and has been so conducted that we have been able to see—learn—a great many things from it. Many have had personal experience of it. This much at least has been realized by everyone—that, in a struggle of this kind, there is no room for defeat. If, on any occasion, we fail, we shall discover that the failure was due to some deficiency in the satyagrahi and did not argue the inefficacy of satyagraha as such. The point needs to be carefully grasped. No such rule can be applied to physical fighting. When two armies engage in such fighting, defeat [of either] will not necessarily be the result of the inferior fighting quality of the troops. The combatants may have a high morale, and yet, insufficiency in other matters may lead to defeat. For instance, one side may have better arms than the other, or may be favourably placed in the battle-field, or may command superior technical skill. There are many such extraneous factors which account for the victory or defeat of the parties to a physical fight. But such factors offer no difficulties to those fighting the battle of satyagraha. Their deficiency alone can come in their way. Moreover,

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in the usual kind of fighting, all the members of the losing side should be deemed to have been defeated, and in fact they do think that way. In satyagraha, the victory of a single member may be taken to mean the victory of all, but the defeat of the side as a whole does not spell defeat for the person who has not himself yielded. For instance, in the Transvaal fight, even if a majority of Indians were to submit to the obnoxious Act, he who remains unyielding will be victorious indeed, for the fact remains that he has not yielded.

That being so, it is necessary to inquire as to who can offer so admirable a battle—one which admits of no defeat—which can have only one result. The inquiry will enable us to understand some of the results of the Transvaal campaign, and to decide how and by whom a campaign of this kind can be fought elsewhere or on some other occasion.

If we inquire into the meaning of satyagraha, we find that the first condition is that anyone who wants to engage in this kind of fighting should show a special regard for truth—should have the strength that flows from truthfulness. That is to say, such a man should depend on truth alone. One cannot have the best of both worlds.[1] A man who attempts to have it so will be crushed under pressure of both kinds.[2] Satyagraha is not a carrot, to be played on as a pipe.[3] Anyone who thinks that it is, so that he may play on it if he can or bite it off if he cannot, will find himself lost in the end. It is absurd to suggest that satyagraha is being resorted to only by those who are deficient in physical strength or who, finding physical strength unavailing, can think of no alternative but satyagraha. Those who hold such a view, it may be said, do not know what this fight means. Satyagraha is more potent than physical strength, which is as worthless as straw when compared with the former. Essentially, physical strength means that a man of such strength fights on the battle-field with little regard for his body, that is to say, he knows no fear. A satyagrahi, on his part, gives no thought whatever to his body. Fear cannot touch him at all. That is why he does not arm himself with any material weapons, but continues resistance till the end without fear of death. This means that the satyagrahi should have more courage than the man who relies on physical strength. Thus, the first thing necessary for a satyagrahi is pursuit of truth, faith in truth.

He must be indifferent to wealth. Wealth and truth have always been in conflict with each other, and will remain so till the end of

[1] The Gujarati saying used here literally means, "One cannot have one foot in curds and the other in milk."

[2] Of physical strength and moral argument

[3] The reference is to a Gujarati saying, denoting a course of action that one expects to be profitable either way, whether one succeeds or fails.

time. We have found from many examples of Indians in the Transvaal that he who clings to wealth cannot be loyal to truth. This does not mean that a satyagrahi can have no wealth. He can, but he cannot make his wealth his God. Money is welcome if one can have it consistently with one's pursuit of truth; otherwise one must not hesitate even for a moment to sacrifice it as if it were no more than dirt on one's hand. No one who has not cultivated such an attitude can practise satyagraha. Moreover, in a land where one is obliged to offer satyagraha against the rulers, it is not likely that the satyagrahi will be able to own wealth. The power of a king may be unavailing against an individual. But it can touch his property, or play on his fear of losing it. The king bends the subjects to his will by threatening them with loss of property or physical harm. Therefore, under the rule of a tyrannical king, for the most part, it is only those who make themselves accomplices in his tyranny can retain or amass wealth. Since a satyagrahi cannot allow himself to be an accomplice in tyranny, he must, in such circumstances, be content to think himself rich in his poverty. If he owns any wealth, he must hold it in some other country.

A satyagrahi is obliged to break away from family attachments. This is very difficult to do. But the practice of satyagraha, if satyagraha is to be worthy of its name, is like walking on the edge of a sword. In the long run, even the breaking away from family attachments will prove beneficial to the family. For, the members of the family will come to feel the call for satyagraha, and those who have felt such a call will have no other desire left. When faced with suffering of any kind—loss of wealth or imprisonment—one need not be concerned about the future of one's family. He who has given us teeth will provide us with food to eat. If He provides for such dangerous creatures as the snake, the scorpion, the tiger and the wolf, He is not likely to be unmindful of mankind. It is not a pound of millets or a handful of corn that we hanker after, but the delights of the palate; not just the clothes that we need to enable us to bear cold, but garments of brocaded silk. If we abandon all this restless craving, there will hardly be any need for anxiety as to the means for maintaining one's family.

In this connection, it is worth while to bear in mind that many of these things have to be sacrificed even if physical force is resorted to. One is obliged to suffer hunger and thirst, to bear heat and cold, to sacrifice family bonds, to put up with pecuniary loss. The Boers went through all this when they resorted to physical force. The one great difference between the physical resistance that they offered and our resistance based on truth is that the game they played was in the nature of a gamble. Physical strength, moreover, has made them proud. Their partial success made them forgetful of their former condition. Having fought with deadly arms against a deadly enemy, they are bearing hard

upon us as deadly tyrants. When a satyagrahi wins in battle, his success cannot but be beneficial to him and to others. A satyagrahi, if he is to remain loyal to truth, can never be a tyrant.

This inquiry, then, leads at last to the conclusion that he alone can offer satyagraha who has true faith in religion. "The name of Rama on the lips, and a dagger under the arm"[1]—that is no faith. It is no religion to speak in its name and to do exactly the opposite of what it teaches. But anyone who has true religion and faith in him can offer satyagraha. In other words, he who leaves everything to God can never know defeat in this world. Such men are not defeated in fact simply because people say that they are defeated. So also one cannot claim success simply because people believe that one has succeeded. [There can be no arguing about this;] if you know the difference, you know it, else you don't.

This is the real nature of satyagraha. The Transvaal Indians have partially understood it. Having done so, they have been faithful to it in practice, again partially. Even so, we have been able to taste its priceless sweetness. He who has sacrificed everything for satyagraha has gained everything, for he lives in contentment. Contentment is happiness. Who has ever known any happiness other than this? Every other kind of happiness is but a mirage. The nearer we approach it, the farther it recedes.

We hope that every Indian will think of the matter this way and make himself a satyagrahi. If we learn the use of the weapon of satyagraha, we can employ it to overcome all hardships originating from injustice. It is not here [in South Africa] alone that the weapon is useful; it will be more so in our home-country. Only we must know its true nature, which is easy to do, and yet difficult. Men of great physical strength are rare. Rarer still must be those who derive their strength from truth.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 29-5-1909

[1] A Hindi saying

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148. MY THIRD EXPERIENCE IN GAOL [–I]

VOLKSRUST

When, on February 25, I was sentenced to three months' imprisonment with hard labour and I embraced my fellow-prisoners and my son in the Volksrust Gaol, I did not imagine that I would have much to say or write about this pilgrimage to gaol. But my expectation, like many other expectations of man, proved false. The experience I had this time was something new altogether. What I have learnt from this I would not have been able to learn even from years of study. I think these three months have been of inestimable value to me. In that brief period, I had many vivid experiences of satyagraha and I think I am a better satyagrahi today than I was three months ago. For all this, thanks are due to the local (the Transvaal) Government.

Some officers had sworn that I should in no circumstances get less than six months' imprisonment this time. My fellow-prisoners—elderly and prominent Indians—and my son—were all serving a six months' term each, so that I wanted the officers' wish to be fulfilled. However, since I had been charged under the Regulations framed under the Act,[1] I was afraid that three months would be the utmost I might get, and that is what happened.

After the sentence had been passed, it was a pleasure to join Mr. Dawad Mahomed, Mr. Rustomjee, Mr. Sorabji, Mr. Pillay, Mr. Hajurasingh, Mr. Lalbahadursingh and other veterans. Except ten of them, all were provided with beds in tents pitched on the ground in front of the gaol. The scene had therefore the appearance of an armed camp rather than a gaol. Everyone liked sleeping in a tent. Arrangements for food were satisfactory. As on previous occasions, cooking was in our own hands. It was therefore possible to prepare food to our taste. In all there were about 77 (satyagrahi) prisoners.

Those who were taken outside for work were set a rather difficult task. They had to build a road in front of the magistrate's court. This required quarrying out stone, digging into heaps of stones that had been piled up, and carrying them in loads. After the work on the road was over, they were set to uproot the grass in the school compound. But, on the whole, everyone worked cheerfully.

I also went with the gangs for three days to join in this work. There was a telegram meanwhile that I should not be taken for work outside. I was rather disappointed, for I liked going out. It improved my health

[1] Gandhiji was charged with refusing to produce certificate of registration and to give finger-prints or other means of identification; *vide* pp. 197-8.

and kept me fit. Ordinarily, I have two meals a day, but on account of this exercise, the stomach insisted on my having three meals while in Volksrust Gaol. I was now assigned only the work of sweeping. That kind of work, I thought, would do me no good. And then came a time when I was denied even this.

Why Was I Made to Leave Volksrust?

On March 2, I heard that my removal to Pretoria had been ordered. I was asked to get ready the same day. It was raining, the roads were bad; despite this, my warder and I were obliged to leave, with my luggage on my head. I was taken by the evening train the same day in a third-class carriage.

Some thought that this might possibly mean a settlement; others felt that the intention was probably to harass me by isolating me from the rest. Some also thought that the object might be to keep me in Pretoria and give me more freedom and better facilities so as to prevent a discussion in the House of Commons.

I did not like leaving Volksrust. Happy during the day, the evenings too we passed in cheerful conversation. Mr. Hajurasingh and Mr. Joshi, especially, asked a number of questions, which were in no way flippant but were quite instructive. Which satyagrahi would like to leave a place where conditions were so happy and where the largest number of Indians were congregated ?

But man would not be man if things always happened as he wished. And so I left. On the way, Mr. Kajee saluted me. The warder and I found ourselves huddled up in a compartment. It was cold, and it rained the whole night. I had my overcoat with me, which I was allowed to put on. I felt a little better after that. I had been given bread and cheese to eat on the way. I did not touch them, since I had had my meal before starting. They were consumed by the warder.

In Pretoria Gaol

I reached Pretoria on the 3rd. Everything appeared unfamiliar. Even the gaol is of recent construction. The men were strangers. They gave me something to eat, but I had no appetite. They placed before me mealie meal porridge; I tasted a spoonful, and left it off. The warder was surprised. I told him that I was not hungry. He smiled. Then I passed on to the charge of another warder. He said: "Gandhi, take off your cap." I did so. He then asked me: "Are you Gandhi's son?" "No," I replied, "my son is serving six months in Volksrust." I was then locked up in a cell. I began pacing up and down. Before long, the warder peeped through the watch-hole, saw what I was doing and shouted: "Gandhi, stop walking about like that; my floor is being spoiled."

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I stopped, and stood in a corner. I had nothing even to read. I had not yet received my books. I must have been locked in at eight. At ten, I was taken to the physician. He asked me if I suffered from any contagious disease, and dismissed me. Was locked in again. At eleven, I was removed to another small cell. It was in this that I spent the rest of my term. It was a cell of the kind intended for one prisoner at a time. It measured, I believe, ten feet long and seven broad. The floor was covered with black pitch. The warders were constantly engaged in keeping it shining. For ventilation, it had a very small glass window, with iron bars. It was provided with an electric light for keeping a watch on the prisoner during the night. The light is not meant for the prisoner's use, for it is not powerful enough to read by. Standing close to it, I could read a book printed in large type. The light is put out exactly at eight. But it is switched on five or six times in the night when the warders have a look at the prisoner through the watch-hole mentioned above.

After eleven, the Deputy-Governor came. I asked for three things from him: books, permission to write to my wife who was ill, and a small bench to sit on. As to the first, the reply was: "I shall see"; as to the second: "Yes"; as to the third: "No." When, however, I wrote in Gujarati, the letter was returned to me with the remark that I should write in English. I said in reply that my wife did not know English, that my letters served as medicine for her, that they contained nothing of special significance. In spite of this, however, I did not get the permission. I refused to avail myself of the permission to write in English. The same evening my books were handed over to me.

When the midday meal arrived, I had to eat it in the cell standing, with the doors shut. At about three, I asked permission to take a bath. The spot for bathing must have been at a distance of about 125 feet. The warder replied: "All right. Undress (make yourself naked) and go." I asked him if this was necessary, suggesting that I could place my clothes on the screen. He then gave his permission, but asked me to be quick. While I had yet to wipe my body after bath, the gentleman shouted: "Are you ready, Gandhi?" I said I would not take long. I hardly ever got an opportunity to see an Indian face. When it was evening, I was given a blanket, with half a piece in addition, and a coir mat by way of bedding; there was no pillow or bed-board. Even when I went for evacuation, a warder stood by to keep watch. If by chance he did not know me, he would shout: "Sam, come out now." But Sam had the bad habit of taking a long time for evacuation; how could he get out so soon, and if he did, how would he feel easy in bowels afterwards? Sometimes a [white] warder, and sometimes a Kaffir, would thus stand by, and keep peeping over or shouting to the refrain of "Get up", "Get up".

The next day, I was given the work of polishing the floor and doors. The latter were made of varnished iron. What was the point of polishing them every day? I have often spent three hours at a stretch on polishing one door. But I could not observe the slightest difference. Yes, it did make some difference to the floor. There were some Kaffirs working with me. They would sometimes talk in broken English of how they had come to be imprisoned, and ask me questions about my imprisonment. One asked me whether I had committed theft, and another whether I had been imprisoned for selling liquor. When I explained the correct position to one of the intelligent Kaffirs, he exclaimed, "Quite right." "*Amlungu bad*" (The whites are bad). "Don't pay fine." My cell bore the description "isolated". I saw five other cells adjoining mine bearing the same description. My neighbour was a Kaffir who had been serving a term of imprisonment for attempted murder. The three next to him were convicted of sodomy. It was in the company of such men and in such surroundings that I commenced my experience in Pretoria Gaol.

Diet

The food was in keeping with the conditions described above. Mealie pap in the morning, mealie pap with potatoes and carrots thrice a week for the midday meal, beans on other three days and rice without ghee for the evening meal. On Wednesdays, I received beans and rice with ghee for the midday meal, and on Sundays, rice and ghee with mealie pap. It was difficult to eat rice in the absence of ghee. I decided not to eat it till I was allowed ghee. The mealie pap served at breakfast and for the midday meal was sometimes not well cooked, and sometimes it was cooked so as to taste like *rab*[1]. The beans were only half-cooked sometimes, [though] generally they were good. On the days for vegetables, only four small potatoes [were served], which counted towards the [prescribed] eight ounces and, if it was the turn for carrots, only three, and these too rather small-sized. Sometimes I would take four or five spoonfuls of mealie pap in the morning. But on the whole, I spent one and a half months on one meal of beans only at midday. My fellow-prisoners at Volksrust should realize from this how wrong they were to be angry with our own men when they did not sometimes cook well or when there was occasionally an insufficient supply of a particular item. One may be angry to some purpose, when our own friends attend to the cooking. What could one do in the circumstances described above? It would be possible, of course, to express one's resentment. But I think it would not be proper for us to make any such complaints. How can we complain when there are hundreds of prisoners who accept these

[1] A liquid preparation of wheat flour boiled in water, generally for invalids

things? A complaint must have only one object—to secure relief for other prisoners. How would it mend matters if I were occasionally to complain to the warder about the small quantity of potatoes and so get him to serve me a little more ? I once observed him giving me [an additional helping] from a portion meant for another, and thereafter gave up complaining altogether.

That no ghee was allowed with rice in the evening I knew beforehand, and I was determined to have the matter set right. I immediately brought it to the notice of the Chief Warder. He replied that ghee was allowed only with the midday meal on Wednesdays and Sundays in lieu of meat. He asked me to approach the physician if I wanted it oftener. The next day I asked for permission to see the physician. I was taken to him.

I asked him to order ghee for all Indian prisoners in lieu of fat. The Chief Warder was present. He said, "Gandhi's demand is not justified. Most of the Indians have been taking fat, and even meat. Those who refuse fat are given plain rice, which they readily accept. When there were satyagrahi prisoners here, they also accepted it. They were weighed when entering and again when leaving the gaol. It was found that they all weighed more when leaving." The physician asked me, "Come on, now, what do you say to this?" I said I could not believe it. And speaking for myself, I said, I would certainly suffer in health if I had to go without ghee. The physician said that in that case he would order bread for me. I thanked him, but told him that I had not approached him specially for myself. So long as ghee was not ordered for everyone, I could not accept bread. Whereupon he said, "Please don't blame me now."

What was I to do now? If the Chief Warder had not intervened, ghee would have been ordered. The same day, I was offered bread and rice. I was hungry. But, as matters stood, how could a satyagrahi accept the bread? I therefore refused both. The next day I asked for permission to make a petition to the Director of Prisons which was granted.[1] In the petition, I cited the instances of Johannesburg and Volksrust [gaols] and asked for ghee to be ordered for all prisoners. A reply to the petition was received after 15 days. It was to the effect that, pending the revision of the diet-scale for Indians, I should be given ghee with rice every day. Since I did not know the exact terms of the order, I readily accepted rice, ghee and bread on the first day. I pointed out that there was no need for bread, but was told that it had been ordered by the physician and so would continue to be supplied. Hence, I went on accepting that also for 15 days.[2] But my joy lasted no more than a

[1] *Vide* "Draft Petition to Gaol Governor", pp. 203-4.

[2] This is contradictory to the sentence which follows; *vide* also "Letter to the Press", p. 222.

day. I discovered the next day the terms of the order mentioned above, so that I again declined to accept rice, ghee and bread. I told the Chief Warder that I would not accept ghee so long as it was not ordered for every Indian. The Deputy-Governor, who was present, replied, "As you please."

I wrote again to the Director. I had been informed that the diet-scale would be modified so as to bring it in line with the one in force in Natal. I expressed dissatisfaction with this and stated the reasons why I could not accept ghee. In the end, after more than a month and a half in all had elapsed, I was informed that ghee had been ordered for Indian prisoners wherever there was a large number of them [in one gaol]. It may thus be said that I broke the self-denial (*roza*) nearly a month and a half after I had taken up the matter. During nearly the whole of the concluding month [of my term of imprisonment], I took rice, ghee and bread, but went without a meal in the morning; and even after I had started taking rice and bread, whenever I was served mealie pap for the midday meal I would hardly take ten spoonfuls, for it had a different taste every day. The bread and ghee, however, stood me in good stead, and I was restored to health.

I have said above that I was restored to health, for it had broken down during the time that I lived on only one meal a day. I had lost my strength and had severe neuralgic pain in the head for ten days, and had also developed symptoms of some affection in the lungs.

Change of Work

There was another reason why the lungs had been affected. I said above that I was asked to polish the floor and doors. After ten days of this work, I was given two worn-out blankets to be sewn into one. This was rather intricate work. It required me to bend down the whole day towards the floor, and that, too, while sitting in the cell. This used to give me back-ache by evening, and my eyes also began to feel the strain. Besides, I had all along believed that the air in the cell was unwholesome. Once or twice I asked the Chief Warder to give me some work outside, such as digging, etc. If that was not possible, I asked to be allowed to work on the blankets in the open air. He rejected both requests. I brought this matter also to the notice of the Director. In the end, the physician passed the [necessary] order and I was allowed to sew the blankets in the open air. If that had not been done, I think I would have suffered still more in health. There were some other difficulties after the order was passed, which it is not necessary to describe here. It so happened, therefore, that I got permission to work in the open air at about the same time that a change in my diet was ordered. The resulting gain was twofold. When I was [first] given a blanket to sew, it was expected that it would take a week to finish it, so that my

entire term would be taken up with that work. But, contrary to expectations, after the first blanket had been finished, I could manage to sew a pair into one in two days. So they found some other work for me, such as knitting a sweater, stitching purses for holding tickets, etc.

I had earlier told many satyagrahis that, if anyone came out of gaol with impaired health, that would be a reflection on his spirit of satyagraha, for it should be possible for us, given sufficient patience, to find remedies [for all difficulties in gaol]. Moreover, one might suffer in health through worry. The satyagrahi must learn to live in gaol as if it were a palace. Arguing thus, I used to feel anxious lest I myself should have to leave gaol in poor health. The reader must remember that I had suffered in health in the course of satyagraha because I could not accept ghee which had been ordered for me alone. But this rule does not apply to others. Whenever there is a single [Indian] prisoner in gaol, he can represent his own grievances for redress. In Pretoria I had a special reason for not doing so, and that is why I was not in a position to accept ghee when ordered for me as a special case.

(To be continued)

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 29-5-1909

149. SPEECH AT RECEPTION TO ASWAT AND QUINN[1]

JOHANNESBURG
June 2, 1909

I am happy beyond words today that Indians and Chinese have assembled here together. Only yesterday I decided in consultation with the Chairman of the British Indian Association that Mr. Aswat should be invited here and entertained at Mr. Cachalia's. I did not think it even possible that my countrymen and the Chinese would come together in such large numbers. I am very happy that these two groups—the Chinese and the Indians—who took part in this struggle, have been brought together. This manner of welcoming heroes like Mr. Quinn and Mr. Aswat deserves no small praise. Both of them are leaders of their respective communities and sincerely cherish their welfare. The more I think about the campaign, the more convinced I am that we are bound to win in the end if we fight with the weapons of goodness and virtue. Whatever the number of those who are continuing or may continue the fight, the two demands we have made will surely be conceded. If you think of the other things we have gained in this prolonged struggle, you will

[1] A meeting of Indians and Chinese was held in the West End Hall to welcome Messrs Quinn and Aswat on their release. Gandhiji spoke at the reception.

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realize that we have been brought close together through self-sacrifice and mutual co-operation. We are keen on such co-operation. We have now learnt how to maintain our self-respect and how to respect others. There is something in me which tells me that we need not be disappointed even if we get nothing [more at present], for what we have gained so far is not insignificant, and we shall gain much more yet in future. It does not matter if the satyagrahis' army is a small one. History will tell you that real fighters are but few. In the war between England and Russia, the Light Brigade consisted of only a few men and yet it attained immortal fame. Similarly, satyagrahis will enjoy immortal fame, at least in South Africa. I humbly advise you to follow in the footsteps of Messrs Quinn and Aswat, and may you remain firm in that path till the end and so attain happiness.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 5-6-1909

150. SPEECH AT TEA PARTY[1]

[JOHANNESBURG,
June 2, 1909]

It would not be proper if I did not speak in Gujarati on this occasion of Mr. Aswat's and Mr. Quinn's release. This is the least that we can do when Mr. Aswat is released. I mentioned this when Mr. Omarji Sale was released. I shall not say anything more about it. Men can have their way even if they are a few in number. There were thousands who applauded and showed themselves ready for gaol. But only a few come forward now. I am not dissatisfied with this. To any inquiry about his health today, Mr. Aswat says that he is all right; but, according to Mr. Vyas, that is not correct. This brave man [while in gaol] did not obtain tobacco, etc., as personal favour. I am proud of this. He has done all that he promised, and he will act in the same manner till the last. There are very few men who, without hankering after publicity, would act as he has done. To honour others is as good as honouring oneself, for that shows one's own worth. Yesterday, Messrs Manji, Fakir, Shah, and others whose names I do not remember, came. We could not go to receive them. And they too were not—and are not—hungry for honour. However, it is our bare duty to honour those whom we consider to be our seniors. Mr. Quinn is also the same to us as our two leaders and he has been reduced to much the same condition as theirs. He used to get mealie pap and maize in gaol and when the

[1] After the reception, Messrs Aswat and Quinn had tea at Cachalia's residence; *vide* the preceding item.

Governor offered to order rice for him, he said he would accept it only if it was ordered for all Chinese. As the Government did not agree, he firmly refused the rice, which was no small thing. Truly, Mr. Quinn is a pillar of satyagraha. The Acting Chairman of their Association is now impatient to go to gaol. All these persons will have justice at least from God. I feel proud when I come across a man of his type during my experience of our struggle. I am not disheartened by those who drop off. Be sure victory is ours.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 5-6-1909

151. WHO CAN GO TO GAOL?

Last week we briefly considered the question: Who can be a satyagrahi ? In the Transvaal, satyagraha consists for the most part in going to gaol. But imprisonment is not the end of the matter. Satyagrahis have had to mount the gallows,[1] embrace a pillar of red-hot iron,[2] suffer being rolled down a mountain, swim in boiling oil in a big frying pan,[3] walk through a blazing forest,[4] suffer loss of a kingdom and be sold [as slave] in a low-born family[5] and stay in a lion's den. Thus, satyagrahis have had to pass through different ordeals in different parts of the world.

In the Transvaal, the ordeal for the satyagrahis consists merely in going to gaol. Hence, it will be useful to inquire as to who can go to gaol. Some Indians were willing to go to gaol, but did not do so—could not do so—owing to one reason or another. What could have been those reasons ? This question will answer itself if we find out who can go to gaol.

Every person, then, who wants to go to gaol must have, in some measure, the qualities which, as we have seen, are essential in a satyagrahi. But, in addition, he should have the following strong points :

(1) Freedom from addiction to harmful things.
(2) A well-disciplined body.
(3) Disregard for comfortable seat or bed.
(4) Extreme simplicity in food habits.
(5) Total freedom from false sense of prestige or status.
(6) Fortitude.

Friends who would go to gaol must particularly have these qualities, (which we may call the six forms of wealth in a prison.) Let us examine

[1] The reference probably is to the crucifixion of Jesus.

[2], [3], [4] & [5] These are references to legends of Prahlad, Sudhanva, Nala-Damayanti and Harishchandra, respectively.

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each of them. It was our experience that those prisoners who were addicted to smoking, drinking, betel-nuts or even tea found the strain of gaol life too much. In consequence, they either managed to get these things surreptitiously in gaol, that is, abandoned [the path of] truth, or gave up speaking of going to gaol again. One must therefore avoid every form of addiction. One addiction alone is permissible, and that is repeating the name of the Lord in prayer.

Cowards can never become satyagrahis. Likewise, a physical wreck will not generally be able to bear gaol life. There have been many cases of men who, though physically weak, have braved hardships through sheer will-power. These are exceptions. As a general rule, one must have a healthy and sound constitution; lacking this, some of the prisoners were unable to bear the strain [of gaol-life]. A satyagrahi knows that his body is [as it were] lent to him on hire. He should prove a worthy tenant by keeping it clean and glowing with health.

One can understand that a man who is accustomed to a spring cot with a soft mattress cannot all at once bring himself to sleep on the floor. One must therefore get rid of this pampering of the body.

Diet, it seems, has proved to be much the most important problem. That also is not surprising. He who has his tongue under control, being both sparing in speech and moderate in his taste for good food, must be reckoned to have achieved a great conquest. We hardly come across anyone who does not relish good food. Even the poor Kaffirs die with craving for good food. Of course, this is not a simple problem. However, those who want to offer themselves for imprisonment in a public cause must learn to master their palate. The proper thing is to offer thanks to God for whatever we get. Every Indian must ponder over the fact that, in India, thirty million out of a population of three hundred million get only one meal a day, and that, too, nothing more than *roti* and salt. Compared to this, it is not much of a hardship to have to maintain oneself in gaol on three meals a day, each different from the other. Hunger accepts everything. Though one may not feel at ease for a few days, by and by one does come to like gaol food. Any Indian who wants to be a satyagrahi—a prisoner—must accustom himself to simple food as quickly as possible.

A person with a false notion of prestige or status cannot afford to go to gaol. One is subjected there to the authority of the warder and is asked to do work which is thought rather degrading. If one refuses to do such work, considering it dishonourable, or on the ground that one has never done it before, the result will be unwelcome. Whether one thinks of anything as a mark of servitude or not depends entirely on one's mind. He who is free in his mind will feel as free as a king even when carrying buckets [of night-soil]. Rather than feel that carrying of buckets is a

mark of servitude, such a man will consider it a matter of honour in the present circumstances.

And last, Lady Fortitude. Everyone starts counting days the moment he is in gaol, with the result that they appear to grow inordinately long. Years wore on while we were outside and were lost to us for ever. And yet we did not think much of that. In gaol, three days appeared to be as long as three years. Why? The answer is that we were not happy to be in gaol. Just as a mother takes pleasure in suffering for the sake of her child, so also must we take pleasure in suffering for the motherland—for truth. One must patiently serve out the full term of one's imprisonment, bearing always in mind that one could never have passed one's days outside in the same manner as in gaol and put the time to good use, that is, spent the days in devotion to God, in good thoughts, in self-examination. In this way, going along a single path one will have accomplished two tasks.

These six qualities, therefore, a [satyagrahi] prisoner must have. There may be other qualities which will suggest themselves to the reader. But we urge every reader to ponder, at any rate, the suggestions made above.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 5-6-1909

152. MY THIRD EXPERIENCE IN GAOL [–II]

Other Changes

As I mentioned above, the warder in charge of me was somewhat harsh in his behaviour. This did not last long. When he saw that with the Government itself I took up a fighting attitude about food, etc., but carried out all his orders, his manner changed, and I was allowed to do as I liked. Thus, the difficulties about lavatory, bath, etc., disappeared. Moreover, he never allowed me to feel that I was subject to his authority. His successor was a happy-go-lucky man. He was careful to provide me with all reasonable facilities. He used to say : "I love a man who fights for his people. I am myself something of a fighter. I do not regard you as a prisoner." Many a time he would console me with such talk.

Moreover, after a few days they used to let me out into the gaol-yard for half an hour's stroll in the mornings and similarly, in the evenings. This exercise was continued even after I was allowed to sit outside for work. The rule about exercise applies to all prisoners who have to do work sitting.

And then the bench which had been refused to me was later sent by the Chief Warder of his own accord. Meanwhile, I received from

General Smuts two books on religion, and I inferred from this that it was not under his orders that I had been subjected to hardships, but that it was the result of his negligence and that of others, as also a consequence of the fact that we are equated with the Kaffirs. One thing appeared certain, that the only object of isolating me was to see that I had no opportunity of talking to anyone. With some effort, I could also secure a pencil and a note book.

Director's Visit

Within a few days of my being brought to Pretoria, Mr. Lichtenstein came to see me with special permission. He had come on official business, but he made inquiries about my health, etc. I was reluctant to give a reply, but, being pressed, I said to him: "Without going into details, I shall only say that I am being subjected to brutal treatment. General Smuts wants to bend me, but I am not likely to succumb. I am prepared to suffer everything. My mind is at peace. Please do not make this public. I shall tell the world everything after my release." Mr. Lichtenstein conveyed this to Mr. Polak. The latter could not contain himself and talked about it to others. The result was that David Pollock wrote to Lord Selborne, and an inquiry was made. There was a visit by the Director, to whom I said exactly what I had said to Lichtenstein. In addition, I also pointed out the other discomforts which I mentioned in the beginning. As a result of this, they sent me ten days later a bed-board, a pillow, a night-shirt and a handkerchief. I accepted them. In the statement[1] which I have submitted on this matter, I have pointed out that all the Indians [in gaol] stand in need of these things. In fact, Indians are more comfort-loving than whites in regard to sitting and sleeping. They find it difficult to do without a pillow.

Thus, simultaneously with improvement in diet and facilities for work in the open air, I was provided with better comfort for sleeping, as described above. But man can never escape his fate. The bed-board was full of bugs. I did not use it even for ten days. At last, the Chief Warder had it repaired and I started using it. Meanwhile, I had grown used to sleeping on a blanket spread out on the floor. The bed-board, therefore, appeared to have made no difference to me. In the absence of a pillow, I had been using my books for the purpose, so that even the provision of a pillow made little difference to me.

Handcuffed

The conclusion to which I had been led by my initial treatment [in Pretoria Gaol] was confirmed by the following incident. Four days later, I was summoned as a witness in Mrs. Pillay's case. I was,

[1] This is not available.

accordingly, taken to the court. I was handcuffed on the occasion.[1] Moreover, the warder locked up the handcuffs rather tight. I think he did this unintentionally. The Chief Warder saw this. I had obtained his permission to carry a book with me to read [on the way]. Thinking probably that I felt ashamed of the handcuffs, he asked me to hold the book with both hands, so that the handcuffs might not be seen. I was rather amused at this. To me the handcuffs were a matter of honour. It happened by chance that the title of the book which I was carrying, if rendered in Gujarati, would be: *Khuda-no Darbar Tara antar-man Chhe*.[2] I regarded this as a wonderful coincidence. Whatever the difficulties that pressed on me from outside, so long as I kept my heart worthy of God's presence in it, what need had I to mind anything else? I was taken on foot in this fashion. For the return journey, a truck was sent from the gaol. Indians must have come to know that I was to be brought [to the court]; some of them were, therefore, present there. From among them, Mr. Tryambaklal Vyas was able to see me through Mrs. Pillay's lawyer.

I was also taken to the court on another occasion, this time, too, in handcuffs. There was a truck to carry us to the court as also to bring us back.

Magic Power of Satyagraha

Some of the facts which I have given above will appear rather trivial, but they have been described in such detail in order to show that satyagraha is feasible in every situation, serious or otherwise. The result of my having submitted to the physical hardships inflicted by the junior warder was that I could preserve my peace of mind. Not only that, the warders themselves removed all those hardships. If I had resisted, that would have distracted my energies from the bigger tasks on hand and the warders would have become my enemies.

On the question of food also, I remained firm in my principles and bore some hardships initially, with the result that this difficulty, too, disappeared. The same thing can also be seen [to have happened] in respect of the smaller difficulties.

The biggest gain, however, has been that I find myself, beyond any shadow of doubt, to have grown in mental strength in consequence of having endured physical suffering. I believe that the last three months have been of great profit to me and I am ready today to bear much heavier suffering without flinching. I see that satyagraha is assured of divine help, and that in testing a satyagrahi the Creator imposes on him at every step only as much burden as he can bear.

[1] For official correspondence and other material on this subject, *vide* Appendix VIII.

[2] *The Kingdom of God Is within You* by Tolstoy

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My Reading

The story of my suffering or of my happiness, or rather of both, ends here. But I had a great many benefits in the course of these three months. One of the most important, to be sure, was that I got an opportunity for reading. I must admit that, during the earlier part [of my imprisonment], I often found myself lost in thought and felt dejected. The moment I had succeeded in withdrawing my mind from an unpleasant thought, it would again wander off like a monkey. In such circumstances, men often go mad. My books saved me. Thanks to them, I did not feel much the absence of contacts with Indian friends. Everyday I had three hours for reading. I had an hour to myself in the morning, which could be spared [for reading] because I went without a breakfast. It was the same about evening. At noon, I read while eating. Besides, in the evening, I continued reading even after the light was switched on, if I was not too tired. On Saturdays and Sundays, I had plenty of time on hand. I read over 30 books during this period, and reflected on some of them; among these, there were books in English, Hindi, Gujarati, Sanskrit and Tamil. Notable among the English books, I would say, were those by Tolstoy, Emerson and Carlyle. The first two were on religious subjects. Along with these, I also borrowed a copy of the Bible from the gaol. Tolstoy's writings are so good and simple that a man belonging to any religion can profit by them. Moreover, he tries to put into practice what he preaches, so that, by and large, they command greater confidence.

There is a forceful book by Carlyle on the French Revolution. I realized after reading it that it is not from the white nations that India can learn the way out of her present degradation. It is my belief that the French people have gained nothing of value through the Revolution. Mazzini also thought the same way. There is much difference of opinion on this subject. We cannot enter into a discussion on it here. I came across many instances of satyagraha even in this history.

The books in Gujarati, Hindi and Sanskrit which I read were *Veda-Shabda-Sangna*, sent by Swamiji, the *Upanishads* received from Bhatt Keshavram, the *Manusmriti* received form Mr. Motilal Diwan, the *Ramayana* printed in Phœnix, *Patanjal-Yoga-Darshan*, *Ahnika-Prakasha* prepared by Nathuramji, and *Sandhya-ni Gutika*, given by Professor Parmanand, the *Gita* and the writings of the late worthy poet Raychand[1]. All of them gave me much food for thought. The *Upanishads* proved a great source of peace to me. One statement in them has made a deep impression on my mind; in substance, it means that everything one does must be done for the welfare of the soul. The thought is expressed in words of great beauty. There is much else in it worthy of attention.

[1] Also known as Rajachandra; *vide* "Letter to Maganlal Gandhi", p. 118.

But it was the writings of the poet Raychand which proved the most satisfying. So far as I can judge, they should appeal to all. His way of life was noble, like Tolstoy's. I memorized a portion of his writings and of the book on *Sandhya*. I would repeat them over and over again in my mind whenever I happened to wake up at night, and every morning I spent half an hour meditating on them. I would recite most of what I had memorized, and this kept me cheerful all the time. If ever I gave way to despair, I would smile with happiness again the moment I went back in thought to what I had read, and would be filled with gratitude to God. On this subject, too, I have a great many thoughts which I should like to place before the readers. But this is not the occasion to do so. I shall only say this, that in these days good books partly make up for the absence of good men with whom we can cultivate contacts, and that, therefore, every Indian who wants to be happy in gaol must form the habit of reading good books.

Study of Tamil

No other Indians can equal the performance of the Tamils in this fight. It therefore occurred to me that I should read Tamil with close attention, if for no other reason than to tender sincere thanks to them at least mentally. Accordingly, the last one month was devoted mostly to the study of Tamil. The more I learn it, the better I appreciate the beauties of this language. It is a very fine and sweet language, and from its structure and from what I have read in it, I find that the Tamils have produced, and still produce, a large number of intelligent, thoughtful and wise men. Moreover, since India is going to be one country, some Indians outside Madras should also learn Tamil.

Conclusion

I wish that everyone who reads this account of experience should cultivate patriotism, if he does not have it, and learn satyagraha therefrom, and if he has it already, be more firm in it. I am growing more convinced every day that no one who does not know his religion can have true patriotism in him.

For the rest—

The sky rings with the name of the Invisible,
I sit rapt in the temple, my heart filled with gladness;
Taking up an *asana*[1], the face immovable,
I have pitched my tent in the abode of the Inscrutable.

Moreover—

Take to the life of a fakir and yield not to despondency,
Let the mind be always rapt with joy.

[1] Yogic posture for contemplation

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It is possible to practise renunciation while living in the world of men. And the last question is, how does one find *Khuda-Ishvar*?

The poet answers—

When, smiling and playing my way through life,
I see [Him] revealed to me, a visible presence,
Then shall I consider my life to have attained its true end;
He who has seen Him even in a dream,
Will cease chasing the shadows in vain.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 5-6-1909

153. SPEECH AT GERMISTON[1]

[GERMISTON,
June 7, 1909]

Mr. Gandhi, who was well received, on rising, said that, although he had chosen passive resistance as his subject that evening, he did not wish to deal with the Indian question, except in so far as it might be necessary to illustrate any proposition. Passive resistance, the speaker proceeded, was a misnomer. But the expression had been accepted as it was popular and had been for a long time used by those who carried out in practice the idea denoted by the term. The idea was more completely and better expressed by the term "soul force". As such, it was as old as the human race. Active resistance was better expressed by the term "body force". Jesus Christ, Daniel and Socrates represented the purest form of passive resistance or soul force. All these teachers counted their bodies as nothing in comparison to their souls. Tolstoy was the best and brightest exponent of the doctrine. He not only expounded it, but lived according to it. In India, the doctrine was understood and commonly practised long before it came into vogue in Europe. It was easy to see that soul force was infinitely superior to body force. If people in order to secure redress of wrongs resorted to soul force, much of the present suffering would be avoided. In any case, the wielding of this force never caused suffering to others. So that, whenever it was misused, it only injured the users and not those against whom it was used. Like virtue, it was its own reward. There was no such thing as failure in the use of this kind of force. "Resist not evil" meant that evil was not to be repelled by evil but by good; in other words, physical force was to be opposed not by its like but by soul force. The same idea was expressed in Indian philosophy by the expression "freedom from injury to every living thing". The exercise of this doctrine involved physical suffering on the part of those who practised it. But it was a known fact that the sum of such suffering was greater rather than less in the world.

[1] At the invitation of the Germiston Literary and Debating Society, Gandhiji spoke on "The Ethics of Passive Resistance" at the Council Chamber. Linton Jones, President of the Society, presided. The audience was representative of Germiston's leading citizens. The report appeared in *Indian Opinion* as "From Our Own Reporter".

That being so, all that was necessary for those who recognized the immeasurable power of soul force was to consciously and deliberately accept physical suffering as their lot, and, when this was done, the very suffering became a source of joy to the sufferer. It was quite plain that passive resistance, thus understood, was infinitely superior to physical force and that it required greater courage than the latter. No transition was, therefore, possible from passive resistance to active or physical resistance. The Colonists would, therefore, see that no exception could be taken to Indians making use of this force in order to obtain a redress of their grievances. Nor could such a weapon, if used by the Natives, do the slightest harm. On the contrary, if the Natives could rise so high as to understand and utilize this force, there would probably be no native question left to be solved. The one condition of a successful use of this force was recognition of the existence of the soul as apart from the body, and its permanent and superior nature. And this recognition must amount to a living faith and not a mere intellectual grasp. The speaker illustrated his lecture with several modern illustrations.[1]

Indian Opinion, 12-6-1909

154. LETTER TO "THE TRANSVAAL LEADER"[2]

[JOHANNESBURG,
After *June 8, 1909*]

[THE EDITOR
THE TRANSVAAL LEADER
JOHANNESBURG]

SIR,

The Colonial Secretary has laid the Indian community under obligation, by returning a prompt and decisive reply to Mr. Munnik's charges against the British Indian community. The honourable Mr. Munnik says that Asiatic children about 12 years old, whose parents have never been in the country, have been entering the country and evading the law. If 59 Asiatics only have entered the Transvaal during the six months, and these are evidently all authorised entrants, it is evident that the libel uttered by Mr. Munnik against the whole community is groundless, and, unless the honourable gentleman has anything else to support the accusation, and unless it is placed before the public, it is in my opinion,

[1] At the conclusion of his address, Gandhiji answered questions put to him. A vote of thanks, moved by Mackay, the Town Clerk, was later passed with acclamation.

[2] Gandhiji wrote this with reference to an allegation made by G. G. Munnik in the Transvaal Parliament on June 8 that "double the number of Indians had entered [the Colony] during the last month than during any month... that their 'game' was to introduce children into the country whose parents had never been in this Colony." The Colonial Secretary replied: "...during this year 59 Asiatics have come into this country—nine *via* Natal and 50 *via* Mozambique". The letter was reproduced in *Indian Opinion*, 12-6-1909, under the title "Withdraw!".

due to the community that the honourable gentleman should withdraw the charges made by him.

I am, etc.,
M. K. GANDHI

The Transvaal Leader, 12-6-1909

155. SOME SUGGESTIONS

Satyagraha will end some day, no matter when. But, meanwhile, we give below instances, without offering any argument, of the benefits the Indian community has already derived and the fruits it has tasted; every Indian should ponder over these :

(1) The Rhodesian law has been defeated.
(2) Lord Crewe has clearly stated that the [Rhodesian] Act has been disallowed because of the satyagraha campaign in the Transvaal.
(3) Lord Crewe has stated in the same communication that the Imperial Government did not feel happy in giving assent to the Transvaal Act.
(4) In the Blue-book recently issued, Lord Crewe has recommended that both demands of the Indians should be conceded.
(5) The Transvaal Government in its reply has not rejected the recommendation [outright], but has explicitly stated that the satyagraha campaign has for the most part collapsed and that, if Lord Crewe waited, the remaining Indians would also give in. (This is a clear indication that, if satyagraha had been continued by a large number of Indians, our demands would have been met long before this.)
(6) Many whites who knew nothing about Indians till now have not only come to know what they are, but have also been working for our cause.

Each of these instances will suggest a number of reflections. We shall elaborate them some time later for the benefit of our readers. Meanwhile, we hope that many Indians will ponder over and derive fresh strength from them. It is clear, at any rate, that it depends on us whether or not we shall win. We fail, then, to understand why so many Indians have been disheartened.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 12-6-1909

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156. INDIANS IN THE CAPE

Indians in the Cape have been slumbering. The Immigration Officer is wide awake. The immigration report of the Cape is worth reading and pondering over by every Indian in the Colony. Here we intend to emphasize only two points. Mr. Cousins (the Chief Officer) states that many Indians bring in others' children representing them as their own, and give wrong information about their ages. Under these circumstances, Mr. Cousins suggests that the law be so amended as to require every Indian to bring with him a (Government) certificate from India testifying to the boy's age and stating that the boy is his own son. The two facts are related to each other as cause and effect. It is because some Indians practise deception, as stated above, that Mr. Cousins has put forward a new suggestion. We are bound to suffer so long as we continue to resort to falsehood. It is always harmful to violate a law on the sly. Should we disapprove of any law, it would be to our advantage to violate it openly, if we have the courage to do so. We should know when to violate a law in this way. The Cape Indians need to act with great caution; first, to cast out the falsehood in us, should there be any, and, second, to represent to the Government without the slightest delay that Mr. Cousins' suggestion is improper. We shall give elsewhere the other facts mentioned in the report.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 12-6-1909

157. JOHANNESBURG LETTER

Visit to Houtpoort Prisoners

Indian prisoners in Houtpoort Gaol, near Heidelberg, were visited by Mr. Gandhi, Mr. and Mrs. Vyas and Mr. Shelat. All the prisoners were found to be in good health. It was also observed that, for some time past, the officers there have been behaving rather well.

Mr. Nanalal Shah is in this gaol. His being sentenced to six months' imprisonment, because he refrained from using his certificates, proves him to be a man of courage; likewise, his work and conduct in gaol have been excellent. He has endeared himself to everyone. He also gives to everyone portions from his own quota of food. All the prisoners released from the gaol testify to this. Mr. Manji Nathubhai, Mr. Khimchand Shah and Mr. Parbhu Kuber are unanimous in their praise of Mr. Nanalal Shah.

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Though Mr. Bhayat is in gaol, prisoners continue to receive help from his store. Whenever a prisoner is released, a carriage is generally sent to receive him. I use the word "generally" because when Mr. Manji, Mr. Khimchand and Mr. Parbhu were released, no carriage was sent to receive them. Since Mr. Manji had been fasting and Mr. Khimchand was in poor health, they were put to considerable hardship. Moreover, as the telegram intimating their arrival in Johannesburg was not received in time, no one could go to the station to receive them. Such hardships need not frighten any satyagrahi. These too must be borne. Mistakes will always happen through oversight.

Aswat's Greatness

Mr. Aswat endured much suffering in the Diepkloof Gaol. He has lost about 30 pounds in weight. It seems he acted in perfect conformity with the spirit of satyagraha. He did not even so much as touch food other than what he got in gaol. He was a confirmed smoker, but he did not smoke even once during the three months [of his imprisonment]. Indifferent to his business, he has offered to go to gaol again. While I am writing about Mr. Aswat, it occurs to me that Mr. Thambi Naidoo has given up smoking, tea and coffee for ever, though, before he went to gaol, he could not do without any of these things even for an hour. He has, moreover, pledged himself not to allow his moustache to grow so long as the struggle is on. So long as the community has such heroes among its members, the fight is bound to continue and ultimate victory is assured.

The Moral

It has come to my knowledge that some of the satyagrahi prisoners have learnt to resort to underhand ways in gaol. Formerly they would not eat anything which was not openly available for all or which others could not get; now they do so. Those who were not used to chewing tobacco or smoking have now learnt to do so. Such prisoners should be ashamed of themselves, and ought to emulate the examples of Mr. Aswat and Mr. Naidoo. The more faithfully the community observes the spirit of satyagraha, the earlier will come the end, and the more indifferent it grows, the more will satyagraha be prolonged. The reasoning is simple enough.

Deportation

Prompt steps are being taken about deportations to India. Mr. Isaac has been sent to Delagoa Bay in connection with that. I hope Delagoa Bay Indians will help him. At the same time, correspondence is also going on with the Government. Mr. Narottam Kalidas, who was sentenced to deportation, has been released and is enjoying himself in Johannesburg. However, there is no reason why we should be afraid

even of deportation. Men with courage, even if deported, can continue the fight in the home-country as well. Telegrams have been sent to India to have proper arrangements made for those who, though they are satyagrahis, have nevertheless been deported or may be deported in future. Besides, Mr. Somabhai Patel, who was only recently released and has gone to India on some work, has decided to do his best about this in Bombay.

Indian Washermen in Pretoria

The Pretoria Town Council has passed the following resolutions on the recommendation of its Health Committee :

(1) That the resolution of August 1907, which denied the use of the Municipal wash-houses to Indian laundrymen and required them to provide a proper water supply and washing accommodation at their own laundries, be rescinded.
(2) That the resolution of May 1908, to the effect that all laundrymen be excluded from the Municipal wash-houses, be rescinded.
(3) That in future all Coloured persons, irrespective of nationality, be permitted to use the Municipal wash-houses.
(4) That instructions be issued to the caretakers of the wash-houses to exercise the strictest supervision to prevent waste of water.

Released Because of Illness

Information has been received that Mr. Mahomed Mamuji Patel, of Mr. Bhayat's store, who was in Volksrust Gaol, has been released by the Government on account of ill-health.

Mahomed Ahmed Bhabha

Mr. Mahomed Ahmed Bhabha of Standerton, who was in the Houtpoort Gaol, was released on Saturday last. Mr. Bhayat's carriage was sent to fetch him, and he was entertained as a guest at Mr. Bhayat's. I hope Mr. Bhabha will be ready to court arrest again.

Bhayat

He will be released on the day on which this issue is published, that is, June 12. It is believed that, after his release, other Indians of Heidelberg will come forward to court arrest.

Tailors, Kanbis, etc.

Some tailors, Kanbis[1] and others have been arrested. They do not all appear to be satyagrahis. Some of them have applied [for registration] under the new Act. It also appears that many of them deserve to be deported. If such Indians resort to satyagraha, they and the

[1] A caste in Gujarat, consisting mostly of peasant farmers

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community will both stand to gain. By doing so, they may even escape deportation. Many Indians can be in gaol, if only they want to. Mr. Aswat's store offers one Indian as sacrifice every day. Many Indians can manage to be in gaol by offering themselves for the honour of being in charge of the store. So far, it is mostly the Tamil heroes who have done so. This is a matter of shame to other Indians. Under these circumstances, if those tailors, Kanbis and other Indians who are threatened elect to go to gaol, they will accomplish two things at a time. In doing this, however, it should be remembered that the Indians concerned should be men who are entitled to live in the Transvaal. I hope that readers will act upon these suggestions.

Imam Saheb

Imam Abdool Kadir Bawazeer, who is serving a third term of imprisonment for the community, will be released on the 15th. I hope that every Indian who knows his status, his calling as a priest, and his services, will be at the gaol on that day to do him honour.

To Be Released on Thursday

Messrs E. S. Coovadia, M. P. Fancy, Ahmed Halim, Razak Nurbhai, Suleman Casmat, Vallabhram Chhanabhai, Narayansami Naidoo and Nayanah Francis will be released on Thursday next. Arrangements are being made to give them a fitting welcome. I hope that everyone will be present at the gaol on Thursday morning to receive them.

British Indian Conciliation Committee

A meeting of this Committee was held on Sunday last in the Hamidia Islamic Society's hall. Many Indians were present. From Standerton there was Mr. Hajee Ismail Amod, from Pretoria Mr. Khamisa, from Zeerust Mr. Hajee Cassim and from Krugersdorp Mr. Mahomed Kajee. Among the gentlemen from Johannesburg, there were Mr. Abdool Ganie, Mr. Halim Mahomed[1], Mr. George Godfrey, Mr. Dadabhai, Mr. Shahbooddeen and others. The Committee has been set up to help the cause of the satyagrahis. Those who have found themselves unable to participate in the gaol-going and other programmes [of the satyagraha campaign] can join this Committee. Mr. Hajee Habib is the Chairman. Mr. George Godfrey is its Honorary Secretary. Mr. Gandhi attended the meeting by special invitation. Mr. Hajee Habib dealt with a great many points in his introductory remarks. He said that in regard to the struggle, Mr. Gandhi had acted hastily at the time of the settlement[2].

[1] The original has "Maal", which appears to be a misprint.

[2] The reference is to the compromise arrived at between Transvaal Government and Asiatic communities in January 1908; *vide* Vol. VIII, p. 44.

Had he not done so and had insisted on having everything in writing from General Smuts, the community would not have had to go through so much suffering. However, [he said] they were concerned at present with bringing about the end of the struggle itself. It was the duty of every Indian to help secure the release of their brethren who had courted imprisonment. It was not proper to call those who refused to go to gaol blacklegs. They must all live in harmony with one another. The Committee [he continued] would make a petition to General Smuts. Act No. 36 had failed to provide for several things. Many persons were deprived of their rights. Minors were subjected to harassment. One was not allowed to enter the Transvaal first and then make the application.[1] Finger-impressions were demanded from everyone. All these grievances [he said] called for redress. Real satyagraha, it might be claimed, was offered by Mir Alam alone. He declined even to show his permit and had been deported for that. *Indian Opinion* very often published tendentious articles and reports which, he thought, was not quite proper. A man like Mr. Khanderia used to encourage others to go to gaol, but he himself got cold feet when it was his turn to go to gaol, and paid the fine; yet, there was no comment on him in *Indian Opinion*, which was obviously unfair. He also believed that it was necessary to send a deputation to Europe.

The resolution to set up a Committee was proposed by Mr. Hajee Ojer Ally. Introducing the resolution, he said that the meeting was being held because Mr. Gandhi had suggested that those who had not gone to gaol or did not wish to, could also help the community. The resolution was supported by Mr. Halim Mahomed and passed unanimously. The second resolution was proposed by Mr. Essop Cachalia; it called for a petition to be made to the Colonial Secretary to press for the acceptance of the satyagrahis' demands. Moving it, he said that he had burnt his certificate and had not taken out a duplicate, so that he was, he thought, a full-fledged satyagrahi. However, he was introducing the resolution with the permission of the Chairman. If the demands were not accepted, all Indians would again be prepared to court imprisonment.

The resolution was supported by Mr. Abdool Ganie. Mr. Hajee Ojer Ally and Mr. Abdool Ganie pointed out that, if the demands were not accepted by the Government, the question of people not going to gaol would not arise. Their duty was to extend as much support as possible to those who went to gaol. Mr. Habib Motan then made a long speech. He pointed out several mistakes which [he believed] Mr. Gandhi had

[1] The Asiatics Registration Amendment Act of 1908 provided that Indians who were outside the Transvaal at the time the Act came into effect, but claimed the right of entry, could apply from any part in South Africa where they were resident on September 21, 1908.

made and asked [him] some questions. He expressed his happiness at the fact that Hindus and Muslims had sat at the same table on the occasion of the tea-party at Mr. Cachalia's in honour of Mr. Omarji Sale, and wished that the same thing would also happen in India. Mr. Ismail Amod of Standerton then made a short speech. He was followed by Mr. Khamisa and Mr. Ismail Patel.

Mr. George Godfrey made a statement in English. Mr. Gandhi gave a brief reply and said that, if the Committee worked sincerely and with despatch and energy, it would undoubtedly be of great help to the cause of satyagraha.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 12-6-1909

158. TRIAL OF NAIDOO AND OTHERS[1]

[JOHANNESBURG,
June 16, 1909]

Afterwards,[2] in open Court, Mr. Thambi Naidoo was charged under Section 9 of the Regulations, Mr. Gandhi appearing on his behalf. He pleaded guilty, and was sentenced in the usual manner to imprisonment with hard labour for three months, in default of paying the fine of £50. Messrs N. A. Cama and G. P. Vyas were afterwards brought before the Court, and charged similarly. On their behalf, Mr. Gandhi pointed out that his clients proposed to plead guilty but applied for a remand for 14 days, owing to the fact that each of the prisoners was responsible for the wellbeing of a near relative who was in a dangerously ill condition. The prosecution raised no objection, and a remand was granted.

Meanwhile, outside the Court, Messrs A. M. Cachalia, Chairman of the British Indian Association, and V. A. Chettiar, Chairman of the Tamil Benefit Society, had been arrested on a similar charge. Mr. Cachalia complained of rough treatment after his arrest, both by the police officer taking him in charge and in the courtyard.

Mr. Gandhi strongly protested against this treatment, pointing out that it surely could not be any part of the punishment meted out to passive resisters.

Mr. Schuurman, the Magistrate, said that this was really a matter for the Commissioner of Police and not for himself to deal with, as he was able only to deal with the specific charge before him.

[1] Thambi Naidoo, G. P. Vyas, N. A. Cama and U. M. Shelat were arrested on June 15. The first three were charged with refusing to produce their registration certificates and to give their signatures and thumb-impressions. Shelat was charged under Section 7 of Act 36 of 1908 for being in the Colony without a registration certificate. This report appeared under the titles: "Foul Play, Delegates Arrested and Sentenced", as "Special to *Indian Opinion*".

[2] Earlier in the Magistrate's private office, on his admitting the offence and refusing to comply with the law, Shelat was ordered to leave the Colony.

Mr. W.J. MacIntyre, by permission of the Court, stated that, as an officer of the Court, he felt it his duty to confirm the statements that had been made, as he had been an eye-witness to them. He thought that it was a great shame that such treatment should be used to inoffensive men. He had himself frequently seen similar treatment given to Indian passive resisters, even in the presence of the Magistrate, and respectfully protested against it.

The Magistrate said that he had never noticed such treatment himself. Had he done so, he would never have allowed it. He thought, however, that this was not a matter for him to deal with.

The prisoners pleading guilty were sentenced to three months' imprisonment with hard labour.

Mr. Gandhi, on behalf of Mr. Chettiar, explained that his client was a man of about 50 years of age, and suffering from diabetes.

Indian Opinion, 19-6-1909

159. SPEECH AT MASS MEETING[1]

[JOHANNESBURG,
June 16, 1909]

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES, GENTLEMEN AND FRIENDS,

We have met here this afternoon under somewhat exceptional circumstances, but I cannot say that these circumstances were unexpected. For some weeks the chief members of the Indian community have been discussing among themselves the advisability of sending a deputation to England, in view of the approaching visit to England of Generals Botha and Smuts in connection with unification[2]. The European Committee that has been formed in the Transvaal, in order to sympathise with us and to help us in every legitimate way, has also advised that such a deputation should proceed to England. As you know, a large Committee meeting[3] was held last Sunday, and after much debate a resolution was come to by a large majority that a passive resistance deputation should proceed to London next Monday. That Committee nominated Mr. Cachalia, the Chairman of the British Indian Association, Mr. Chettiar, representing the Tamil section and Chairman of the Tamil Benefit Society, Mr. Hajee Habib who, although he has not been able to see eye to eye with us up to now, declared himself a passive resister,

[1] A mass meeting of about 1,500 to 2,000 British Indians was held in the grounds of the Hamidia Mosque, Fordsburg, on June 16, to appoint delegates to go to England and to India to explain the present state of affairs in the Transvaal. Delegates from all over the Transvaal were present. E. S. Coovadia, Acting Chairman of the British Indian Association, presided and made a few introductory remarks in Gujarati. Gandhiji spoke next.

[2] The reference is to the proposed Union of the four Colonies in South Africa.

[3] For minutes of this meeting held on June 13, *vide* Appendix XIII.

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was also nominated, and myself. There was also a submission made to the meeting that, simultaneously with the English deputation, a deputation should proceed to India, in order that the true situation might be placed before the Indian public, and other names were submitted. Among them were the names of Mr. Polak, the Assistant Honorary Secretary of the British Indian Association, Mr. N. Gopal Naidoo, Mr. N. A. Cama, and a fourth name was not given then, but it will be submitted at this meeting, and that is, Mr. Coovadia. To-day we find that the Government have laid their hand upon Mr. Cachalia, and Mr. Cachalia is locked up in the Johannesburg Gaol. He has been sentenced to three months' imprisonment with hard labour unless he paid a fine of £50. Mr. Cachalia is now in gaol in connection with this struggle for the fourth time. Mr. Chettiar also has been arrested, and he is undergoing imprisonment for three months. The brave Thambi Naidoo is also in gaol. Mr. Vyas was arrested yesterday. He has been released on bail because he has to meet perhaps a dying brother who is dangerously ill. His case is adjourned for a fortnight. Mr. Nadeshir Cama, who was to have proceeded to India if duly elected by this meeting, has also been arrested, and his case has been adjourned for similar reasons. Our worthy Chairman whose name is included in the Indian deputation, was arrested at 2 o'clock. His case has been remanded in order to enable him to wind up his business, but him also three months' imprisonment stares in the face, and Omarji Sale, the Vice-Chairman of the British Indian Association, as also Mr. Dildar Khan, has been arrested, and they are released on bail, but them also the same punishment awaits. Such are the circumstances under which we have assembled here. I do not know what displeasure I have incurred that the Government have not arrested me yet, but I do declare that if this meeting chooses to pass the resolution with reference to the English deputation, the Government will find me gone on Monday next, unless they choose to extend [me] the hospitality in the Transvaal as they have done before now. My friends, the men who have gone to gaol to-day have left families behind them. I had the misfortune to see a weeping wife last evening but the last word that she told me was, "Whether I weep or do not weep, you will see that my husband will do his duty, and suffer imprisonment for the fifth time." It only remains for this meeting to say what the remaining Indians are capable of doing. I am fully aware that all the members of the community are not capable of undergoing the same measure of suffering, but, if you cannot do that, you can certainly help those who have now gone to gaol and can help the cause by showing your sympathy in many other respects, and I do hope that this meeting will not fail in its duty.

Indian Opinion, 19-6-1909

160. RESOLUTIONS AT MASS MEETING[1]

[JOHANNESBURG,
June 16, 1909]

[RESOLUTION 1:] This mass meeting of Transvaal British Indians hereby confirms the appointment, made by the Committee of the British Indian Association of the Transvaal, of Messrs A. M. Cachalia, Hajee Habib, V. A. Chettiar, and M. K. Gandhi, as a deputation to proceed to England and place before the authorities and the British public the true situation with regard to the present Asiatic struggle and the British Indian view of the coming union of South Africa.

[RESOLUTION 2:] This mass meeting of British Indians hereby elects Messrs N. A. Cama, N. Gopal Naidoo, E. S. Coovadia, and H. S. L. Polak, as a deputation to proceed to India, and to place before the authorities and the Indian public the true situation with regard to the present Asiatic struggle in the Transvaal.

[RESOLUTION 3:] This meeting respectfully protests against the sudden and unwarranted arrest of Messrs Cachalia, Coovadia, Cama, and Chettiar who were, as the Government well knew, appointed or to be appointed as delegates in the deputation mentioned in the foregoing resolutions, and calls upon the Government to release them in order to fulfil their mission under approved security as to their return, after completion of their mission, to undergo the sentence passed upon them by the Court.

Indian Opinion, 19-6-1909

[1] The resolutions, moved by Imam Abdool Cadir Bawazeer, Chairman, Hamidia Islamic Society and seconded by Dildar Khan, were presumably drafted by Gandhiji. They were put to vote and passed, with six dissentients, their objection being mainly that the deputation was not representative of the large section of the community which comprised people who were not passive resisters, and that Polak, a European, should not be included.

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161. LETTER TO "THE STAR"[1]

JOHANNESBURG,
June 18, 1909

TO
THE EDITOR
THE STAR
JOHANNESBURG

SIR,

You have always generously opened your columns to a discussion of public questions, whether your views coincided with those of your correspondents or not. I know you will extend that generosity to those who are engaged in the Asiatic struggle, until, in the fulness of time, it is over, but I trust that you will see your way to give your opinion of the latest phase of it.

The Chairman of the British Indian mass meeting[2] of Wednesday telegraphed the purport of the resolutions passed at that meeting to the Honourable the Colonial Secretary, requesting suspension of the sentences passed upon and the adjourned cases of those who have been elected as delegates composing the English and Indian deputations. The following is the Colonial Secretary's reply:

> With reference to your telegram this morning, the Colonial Secretary desires me to state that when instructions were given for the arrest of the persons you name, for non-compliance with the registration provisions of the law, nothing was known of the likelihood of their being selected as delegates. While anxious not to interfere in any way with the freedom of action of members of the deputation, he regrets it is impossible for him to comply with your request and interfere with the course of the law.

The public do not know that the Government have dotted the Colony with their spies, who watch the movements of those who are actively engaged in the struggle. They have sent to them the reports of every meeting, public or private, that is held by British Indians. The names of the members who were elected last Wednesday have been before the Government for some time. The names of the delegates were finally fixed at a committee meeting last Sunday, which was attended by nearly three hundred Indians. The Press came to know of this appointment, and an inquiry was made at the offices of the Association on Monday. The names were published on Tuesday in the local Press. The four

[1] This was reproduced in *Indian Opinion*, 26-6-1909 under the title: "Imprisonment of the Delegates: Government Refuses to Release Them".

[2] *Vide* "Speech at Mass Meeting", pp. 252-3 and also the preceding item.

delegates, Messrs Cachalia, Coovadia, Cama and Chettiar were arrested on Wednesday. It is impossible therefore to believe that the Government knew nothing as to the selection of these delegates. The text of the Colonial Secretary's telegram, in the light of the facts given above, is quite clear. When he says "nothing was known of the likelihood of their being selected as delegates", he simply means that the mass meeting had not yet passed them, and he did not know whether it would confirm the nomination of the committee referred to above. One is justified in concluding that the Government did know that those names were to be submitted to the mass meeting, and that the nomination of three hundred Indians was not likely to be overridden by the mass meeting. Why did not the Government stop proceedings, or wait until the decision of the mass meeting was known? Every Indian believes that the Government intended that, at the time of discussing the South African Draft Act in London, there should be no Indian deputation; that they, by striking terror, into the hearts of British Indians, wished to make the mass meeting a fiasco, and that they have left free the remaining members of the deputation only because they got frightened of themselves. Not only have they arrested four of the Indian delegates out of seven, but they have also picked out some of the best workers and the staunchest men among the Indian community, making a total of seventeen men. Some of these have passed through the gaols of the Colony more than four times, are married, and have left behind them weeping wives and children. The refusal to suspend the sentences or the cases of the delegates is as heartless as the proceedings which were taken with such suddenness and in violation of the ordinary rules of fair play and decency.

My countrymen consider that Sir George Farrar, Sir Percy Fitzpatrick and other members of the Progressive Party are just as responsible for the savage action as Generals Botha and Smuts. They, however, act in the name of the electors. I ask them, and I ask you, as representing the Press, and also as an elector, whether you and they, who are about to receive a liberal Constitution, will use the power which will be shortly given to you and to them in prosecuting men who are fellow-subjects with you and them, but who happen to wear a brown skin. Apart from the merits of the case, is it too much for the public to demand from the Government a release of the chosen leaders of the Indian people under the security offered?

I am, etc.,
M. K. GANDHI

The Star, 19-6-1909

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162. DEPUTATION

The decision of the Transvaal Indians to send a deputation is a very important move. The significant thing is that it has been decided to send a deputation consisting of satyagrahis. It appears somewhat incongruous that those who have been defying laws should go to England to seek redress. Hence, one can understand why there was a difference of opinion on this point.

This deputation cannot be defended as being consistent with the principles of satyagraha. Satyagrahis must only suffer. They should depend on God alone. A satyagrahi's success consists in the very fact of his offering satyagraha. But all satyagrahis do not have the same spirit and the same trust in God. Moreover, many Indians have not been able to continue satyagraha. They are nonetheless with the satyagrahis. They want our struggle to come to an early conclusion. So long as Mr. Dawad Mahomed, Mr. Rustomjee and others are in gaol, they cannot rest in peace. The satyagrahis who have been released must also have something to do. The Government will not re-arrest them immediately. What, then, should they do? Thus considered, the deputation idea appears justified.

Sending deputations to both countries[1] cannot but bring some benefit. Our struggle is not properly understood either in England or in India. If it can be properly explained in both the countries, that by itself will surely mean much. It will lead to increased help from both countries, and to that extent the duration of the struggle may be shortened.

Moreover, since this movement is cited as a model, it is our duty to see that it is fully understood in India. From this point of view also, the idea of a deputation appears to be justified.

The deputation to India will prove immensely helpful to that going to England. It will compel even Lord Crewe to think, and force Lord Morley to realize his duty.

It is our view that the right persons have been elected as members of the deputation. It was a great thing that Mr. Hajee Habib declared himself ready to join satyagraha. Some members of the community had lost courage because of his having withdrawn from the struggle. Now that he has decided to throw in his weight, that may revive the strength of the other Indians too. Be that as it may, it was a matter of regret for many Indians that Mr. Hajee Habib, who had served the community over many years, had shown himself weak. Now that he is in full form again, the community feels happy. We pray to God to give him

[1] England and India

sufficient strength to carry on to the end, and to welcome imprisonment cheerfully should the need arise. About Mr. Cachalia, who is a member of the deputation, there is no need at all to say anything. The fact that there are Tamil members on both the deputations does honour to that community. The Tamils' performance has been so very good that no deputation can proceed unless they are represented on it.

The community is not unaware of the valuable services of Mr. Cama. Much work, indeed, awaits him in India, and there is no doubt that he will acquit himself well. It reflects credit on the community that it has thought of sending Mr. Polak to India. His services have not yet been fully appreciated by it. They will be—in due time. Mr. Polak's visit to India will open India's eyes somewhat. By sending him we can also prove that the Coloureds and the whites can work together and that, in the present circumstances, India can make better progress with the help of whites. One should know how to utilize such help.

After saying this about the deputation, we must ask the community not to build high hopes on it. It is on pure satyagraha that we should really depend. The sending of the deputation does not imply the end of satyagraha. It must continue. We hope that by the time the deputation reaches [its destination], quite a number of Indians will have gone to gaol. The deputation's task is difficult and, should it return empty-handed, we must find comfort in the thought that the effort had been worth making.

The deputation will have some weight only if the community discharges its duty during the time that it is away. Meetings must be held all over South Africa to express support. The resolutions [passed in these meetings] should be forwarded directly to Lord Crewe.

Since this article was written, the Government has arrested some prominent Indian leaders, among them members of the deputation. Consequently, it appears likely that the struggle will be only intensified right here.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 19-6-1909

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163. LETTER TO TRANSVAAL INDIANS

[JOHANNESBURG,
Before *June 21, 1909*][1]

TO
ALL TRANSVAAL INDIANS

I am also going as a member of the deputation to England. Two of the four delegates have already been arrested, and are now installed in gaol. Other Indians, too, who have suffered many a wound, have been arrested again. I do not at all like going to England in these circumstances. However, it is the opinion of all our European friends that I should go; the community desires it; the Committee in England is of the same opinion. I am therefore going along with Mr. Hajee Habib. But there is no guarantee that by going to England we shall succeed in getting our demands accepted—demands whose rejection has led already to hundreds of Indians going to gaol. It may also happen that Lord Crewe will refuse to receive the deputation, saying that he cannot meet men who have been defying the law. Those who are sending the deputation must realize that in sending a deputation, which will be in England at a time when all statesmen of South Africa will have assembled there, so that we may have no regrets later, we are only making an experiment. It will be wrong to build any hopes on it.

There is only one unfailing remedy—going to gaol. Even if a few Indians keep on going to gaol from time to time, we are bound to get in the end what we want. We shall get it even if there should be only one such Indian to fight to the last.

This is a war between truth and falsehood. Since truth is on the side of the Indian community, it must win[2]. It is the duty of every Indian to assist the deputation. There are some Indians who are bent upon creating dissension in the community. The Government has its spies among Indians. Efforts are continually made to mislead the Indian community through them. These efforts will be intensified during the visit of the deputation to England. It is the duty of every Indian to counteract all these. Those who are not strong enough for the hardships of gaol must keep at home. If one is approached for one's signature on any document, it should not be given without thorough inquiry.

[1] This and the following three items were evidently written on or before June 21 when, along with Hajee Habib, Gandhiji left for Cape Town *en route* to England on deputation.

[2] The word *janma* (birth) in the original seems to be a misprint for *jaya* (victory).

It is necessary that meetings are held at every place to extend support to the deputation. Such meetings should not be confined to the Transvaal, but must be held all over South Africa. It should also be remembered that this deputation is not going on behalf of the satyagrahis. They put their faith in nothing but the truth. For them following truth is itself a victory. The deputation is going rather out of regard for the sentiments of those who have not been able to hold out till the last and, if possible, with a view to lightening the burden on the satyagrahis. The latter, therefore, need not pay any attention to the deputation. When the force of their truth grows stronger than the falsehood of the Transvaal Government, their trials will come to an end as a matter of course. Remembering this, the satyagrahi must continue to seek opportunities for imprisonment.

MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 26-6-1909

164. LATE MRS. GOOLBAI

[Before *June 21, 1909*]

The latest mail from India reports the sad news of the passing away at Versova[1] of Mrs. Goolbai, wife of India's Grand Old Man, Dadabhai Naoroji, at the age of eighty. Indians all over the world cannot but deeply sympathize with the revered old man in the loss of his life-long partner and friend. May the soul of the departed rest in peace. We pray to God to give courage and fortitude to Dadabhai, who is indeed looked upon as the *Dada*[2] of India's millions, to enable him to bear in his old age the burden of this latest loss.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 26-6-1909

[1] Near Bombay
[2] Literally, grandfather

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165. *JOHANNESBURG LETTER*

[Before *June 21, 1909*]

BRITISH INDIAN CONCILIATION COMMITTEE

A deputation of this Committee, consisting of Messrs Abdool Ganie, Hajee Ojer Ally, Habib Motan, S. V. Thomas, Ally Khamisa, Jusab Ebrahim Gardi and George Godfrey, waited on General Smuts at 12 o'clock on Saturday. General Smuts gave nearly half an hour to the Committee. It submitted the following demands:

> That the obnoxious Act be repealed, that the educated [Indians] be granted the same rights of immigration as the whites, that, in case there are more partners than one [in a firm], all the partners should not be required to be present when applying for a licence, that educated persons should not be required to give thumb-impressions, that applications for registration should be permitted from within the Transvaal, that temporary permits should be issued freely, that those who do not hold permits should not be required to adduce proof of three years' domicile, that there should be provision for an appeal to the Supreme Court against the decision of a magistrate, etc.[1]

I understand that General Smuts has given the following reply to these demands:

> The obnoxious Act will not be repealed, though it will not be enforced; in deserving cases permission will be given to educated men to enter, as in the case of Mr. James Godfrey, but the law will not be amended; if it is true that there is delay in issuing permits, permission [to enter] will be conveyed by telegram; all the partners of a firm will not be required to attend, and so on.

A written reply has been promised.[2] There will be no modification of the provision regarding three years' residence, since, as General Smuts claims, Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Quinn had agreed to its introduction.

If this is the whole of the reply, I must say that it takes us nowhere. This is only a repetition of what happened in 1907. General Smuts has refused to make any concessions on essential points, and offered trivial

[1] These demands were embodied in a petition presented to the Colonial Secretary on June 19.

[2] This was received on June 23. In its acknowledgment of June 25, the Committee regretted "that the Hon'ble Colonial Secretary has not seen his way clear to grant any relief on the grievances. . ." The Committee forwarded to the Colonial Office resolutions to similar effect adopted at a meeting on June 24. The correspondence was published in *Indian Opinion*, 3-7-1909.

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ones which it did not require a deputation to secure. It will hardly be necessary even to amend the Regulations in order to effect the changes [he has offered to make].

The Conciliation Committee was set up only with one object, namely, to secure the release of the Indian prisoners still serving their terms of imprisonment. This can be brought about only through the repeal of the obnoxious Act. That General Smuts has declined to consider. Conciliation means peace. Since this has not been secured, I for one would advise that the Committee be dissolved. It has become superfluous, as it has no more work to do. Those who are anxious to hasten the end of the struggle but cannot bring themselves to court arrest should patiently help those who are in gaol. They can do this by contributing to funds and extending their support by holding meetings. Those who have joined the Committee in the hope of doing some good to the community should be careful that they do not, on the contrary, harm it.

Many persons seem to think that the provision regarding three years [domicile] introduced in the new law [of 1908] makes the position much worse than it was under the obnoxious Act [of 1907]. This is a misapprehension. Under the latter, those who held permits were alone eligible for registration. Whether or not others should be registered was entirely within the discretion of the Registrar. Under the new law, the right granted to those with three years' domicile is an additional provision. Why it should be three years and not two and why there should be any time-limit at all are separate questions. The point was included in the Association's petition.[1] But the point to be noted is that, under the obnoxious Act, the rights of pre-war residents of the Transvaal were liquidated entirely, while the new law recognizes the rights of those with three years' domicile. Of course, we must ask for as many more rights as possible. But such rights cannot be secured as long as the basic demand has not been conceded. If our two demands are accepted, it will be easy to secure the rest. It should also be remembered that, if the obnoxious Act did in fact recognize the rights of Indians with pre-war residence, that Act is still on the Statute-book. Why is it that such Indians are not able to come in under that Act? If it is true that their rights are implied in that Act, we can as well fight to avail ourselves of them as long as the Act is in force. But anyone who looks into the Act will see that it recognizes no such rights.

Personally, I would advise those who are out to secure miscellaneous concessions to remember that, if the trunk is cut off, the branches will wither away as a matter of course, and hence they should apply themselves to the task of felling the trunk.

[1] *Vide* "Petition to Secretary of State for Colonies", p. 19.

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ARRESTS

I think the community's fortunes are taking a turn for the better. It is a matter for congratulation that gaols are being filled just when the deputation is about to proceed. Other Tamils, listed below, were arrested on Thursday:

Messrs N. K. Peter, Rome John, Moses Anthony, David Anthony, Gabriel Anthony, Peter Anthony, Harry Tamabrahm, Edward Varmale, S. Chetty, Chhana, Bhikha Kasan, Veerdoo, J. M. S. Cook, Raja Francis, K. Subia Naidoo, Pana Padiachy, Perumal Naidoo, B. Krishnasamy Naidoo, V. Mathurasamy Padiachy, V. N. Peter, Sami Nathan, Sahala Padiachy, V. Naidoo, P. Chetty, M. P. Padiachy, V. Mootia Naidoo, N. Gopal, R. K. Padiachy, N. Chetty, S. Chetty, G. Padiachy, S. P. Naidoo and Appu Chetty.

The list includes Mr. Gopal also. On Friday, forty-one more were arrested, all of them Tamils. When twenty-one were arrested, the remaining Tamils informed the police that they too would welcome arrest. There are now hardly any Tamils left in the Pretoria Location. At the trial, it was suggested that the cases might be adjourned. In agreeing to the adjournment, the Public Prosecutor demanded bail amounts to be fixed, in reply to which Major Dixon [the Magistrate] remarked that there was no question of bail in the case of satyagrahis, for the Government itself wanted them to run away. This shows that wherever Indians are arrested in numbers, it is the Government that is likely to grow weary of the business.

GOVERNMENT LIE

In accordance with the resolution passed at the mass meeting on Wednesday, a telegram[1] was sent to the Government in the name of the Chairman asking it to release the members of the deputation who had been arrested, so that they might be able to join the deputation, and stating that the community was prepared to stand security for their return. General Smuts immediately replied to the telegram, saying that, when instructions were given for their arrest, nothing was known of the likelihood of their being selected as delegates. This is absolute falsehood. The Government is always posted with full information about satyagrahis' movements and Indian meetings. It is obviously the intention of the Government to make it impossible for the deputation to leave. If

[1] This is not available. According to *India*, 25-6-1909, however, Reuter's telegram of June 19 from Johannesburg stated that "Mr. Gandhi has appealed to Mr. Smuts for the release of three members of the Indian deputation to India and England... on condition that they should serve their sentences when they return. The Colonial Secretary has replied that he was unaware at the time the men were arrested that they were members of the deputation. He could not, however, interfere with the law, and consequently refused the application." *Vide* also "Letter to *The Star*", pp. 255-6.

Mr. Gandhi has not been arrested, it is only out of fear. And Mr. Hajee Habib has been spared because he has joined satyagraha only recently.

However, when the party that is in the wrong tries to harass the one that is in the right, it only succeeds in serving the interests of the latter. Everyone says that General Smuts has made a big mistake in arresting members of the deputation. The community has refused to elect alternative members. Therefore, from our point of view, the imprisonment of those who have been elected is as good as their joining the deputation. Their places [as members of the deputation] will not be filled by any other Indians, but will remain vacant instead. I rather wish that Mr. Gandhi too were arrested. That would have straightaway exposed the intentions of the Government.

Aid to Prisoners

The families of some of the Tamils who have been arrested are left without any means of maintenance. Arrangements have been made for such families. This burden should be borne by the Pretoria businessmen, and I hope that it will not fall on the Association. More than £12 have been spent in providing maintenance to the families of the Tamils who went to gaol on the last occasion, and the expenditure had to be borne by the Association. Such expenses continue to be incurred from time to time, and, therefore, everyone who can afford should come forward with financial assistance.

While on this subject, I remember that the Rev. Mr. Howard gave one pound to the Association, though he is a poor man. An Indian youth went to the Association's office last week and offered £3. It was with great difficulty that he could be made to give his name, and that, too, he did on condition that it should not be published. Hence, I do not give the young man's name. Such examples deserve to be emulated.

Shelat's Case

Mr. Shelat's arrest has already been reported.[1] His case was heard in the Magistrate's chambers. At first, the Magistrate signed a blank warrant for his deportation. In other words, it was not specified in the warrant at what point he was to be deported. Subsequently, Mr. Gandhi approached the Magistrate and submitted to him that he had no authority to put his signature on a blank warrant for deportation. It was then ordered that Mr. Shelat be put across the Natal border. Afterwards, he was taken to Pretoria. There, Mr. Chamney tried to persuade him to apply for registration. Mr. Shelat gave a blunt refusal and displayed great courage.

[1] *Vide* "Trial of Naidoo and Others", p. 251.

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JAMES GODFREY

I have referred above to the dispatch of a permit to Mr. James Godfrey. I am sorry that, while the struggle was in full swing, he applied for a permit and had it sent to him and that he proposes to submit to the Act. I hope that he will do nothing of the kind.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 26-6-1909

166. LETTER TO HABIB MOTAN

[JOHANNESBURG,
Before *June 21, 1909*]

DEAR MR. HABIB MOTAN,

Here is my reply to your letter dated 17th June:[1]

I do not know exactly what the demands of the Muslim League are, for I was in gaol at the time, and I have not yet acquainted myself with what happened during my imprisonment. I think it reasonable that a Muslim should be appointed to the Viceroy's Council. If Lord Morley has ordered such an appointment, I think he is justified. I make no distinction between Hindus and Muslims. To me both are sons of Mother India. My personal view is that, since numerically Hindus are in a great majority, and are, as they themselves believe, better-placed educationally, they should cheerfully concede to their Muslim brethren the utmost they can. As a satyagrahi, I am emphatically of the view that the Hindus should give to the Muslims whatever they ask for, and willingly accept whatever sacrifice this may involve. Unity will be brought about only through such mutual generosity. If Hindus and Muslims observe, in their dealings with one another, the same principles that govern the relations of blood-brothers, there will be unbroken harmony [between the two communities], and then alone will India prosper.

MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 26-6-1909

[1] In Habib Motan's letter, the following questions were raised: Were the demands put forward by the Muslim League deputation which waited on Lord Morley in London reasonable? Was the demand for the inclusion of a Muslim in the Viceroy's Council justified and what was Gandhiji's reaction to Lord Morley's decision to concede it? Should a Hindu or a Muslim be appointed? How could Hindu-Muslim unity be achieved?

167. LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI

JOHANNESBURG,
June 21, 1909

MY DEAR MANILAL,

I have no time to write to you in Gujarati to-day. I enclose Mr. Dada Osman's account. You should read it and forward your reply. Let mother also see it. Please remember that everything that you get from the East Indian Trading Co., adds to the debt. You should send your reply, not directly to me in England, but to Miss Schlesin[1], who will forward it to me, if I leave to-day. With reference to Purshottamdas, I hope that you will implicitly obey him, and remove from your mind the impression that you cannot learn there. You should do the best you can.

Yours sincerely,
MOHANDAS

From the typewritten original signed by Gandhiji: C.W. 83
Courtesy: Sushilabehn Gandhi

168. LETTER TO D. E. WACHHA[2]

June 23, 1909

DEAR MR. WACHHA[3],

This will serve to introduce to you my cousin Mr. C. K. Gandhi. He has given himself to public work. May I ask you to help him and introduce him to Sir Phirozeshah[4] and other leaders?

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy of the original in Gandhiji's hand: C. W. 4950
Courtesy: Chhaganlal Gandhi

[1] Sonja Schlesin joined Gandhiji as steno-typist and later played an important role in the satyagraha struggle; *vide* Vol. VIII, p. 24.

[2] This letter of introduction was, however, not used by the bearer, Chhaganlal Khushalchand Gandhi.

[3] Dinshaw Edulji Wachha; prominent Indian politician, President of the Indian National Congress, 1901; *vide* Vol. II, p. 380.

[4] Sir Pherozeshah Mehta; one of the founders of the Indian National Congress; *vide* Vol. I, p. 384.

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169. *INTERVIEW TO "CAPE TIMES"*[1]

[CAPE TOWN,
June 23, 1909]

[GANDHIJI:] We are going to England particularly in connection with the Asiatic struggle which has been going on in the Transvaal. We consider this a most suitable opportunity for placing the whole of the situation before the Imperial Government and the British public. We also feel that this is essentially a matter in which mutual personal discussion can do a great deal.

[REPORTER:] Will you act in any way with the Native and Coloured deputations which are also proceeding to England?

It all depends, what opportunity offers itself, and in this connection we shall naturally be very largely guided by Lord Ampthill's[2] Committee in London.

What is your particular objection to the Act of Union?

Personally, I have no fault to find with the Constitution if the full liberties of British Indian subjects who are domiciled in South Africa are guaranteed. I hold that Union should not be merely a union of the white British subjects, but of all British subjects who are domiciled here. The great fear of British Indians is that under the Constitution, it will be a union of white races against British Indians and the Coloured races,[3] and if that happens, I think it will be a most unfortunate thing in every

[1] Cape Town Indians held a reception for Gandhiji and Hajee Habib on board the *Kenilworth Castle* before they left on deputation to England. Gandhiji was interviewed by representatives of the *Cape Times* and the *Cape Argus*. The interviews, which were later reproduced in *Indian Opinion*, 3-7-1909, were substantially the same. The report in the *Cape Argus*, however, carried this introductory paragraph: "Interviewed by the *Argus*, just before leaving, Mr. Gandhi hinted that he had half expected to be arrested by the Transvaal authorities, but no obstacle had been placed in his way. He added that the actions of himself and his fellow-delegate, Hajee Habib, would be guided by the S.A. British Indian Committee in London. All that they wanted was to secure guarantees that their rights would be safeguarded. He was confident of a successful result of their mission."

[2] 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; took active interest in Indian struggle in South Africa and was President of S.A.B.I. Committee. He wrote the introduction to Doke's biography of Gandhiji.

[3] Touching on this point of the interview, *Indian Opinion*, 3-7-1909, observed in an editorial note: "There exists a colour bar in the Draft Act of Union, and existing legislation concerning the movements of Indians within the Union is maintained unaltered, until such time as the Union Parliament may choose to interfere, and modify

way, and it will be the duty of the British Indian deputation to leave no stone unturned to guard against any such Imperial calamity.

How about the restriction of the franchise in the Transvaal?

Personally, I am not laying any great deal of stress on the matter of the franchise. What I am now thinking of is the genesis of a situation which is undoubtedly against the Coloured races of South Africa. I have studied all that has been said about it; I have studied the Parliamentary discussions, and all these undoubtedly go to show that Union spells, perhaps, ruin to the Coloured races, especially the Asiatics, unless the Imperial Government obtained full guarantees with regard to these matters.

In what respect will they be worse off under Union?

In this way, for the simple reason that the Union Parliament will speak with the united voice of South Africa, and the Imperial Government would be very slow to object to any legislation passed by the Union Parliament. As it is, each individual Colony brings such tremendous power to bear upon the English Government that the latter rarely exercises its right of veto in connection with measures affecting the Coloured population and it would be still less inclined to do so when that legislation came with the sanction of a Union Parliament of South Africa.

Mr. Gandhi, who expects to be absent about three months, also referred to the arrest of Indians in the Transvaal, and said that he himself hardly expected to be allowed to cross the border without arrest, but no obstacle was placed in his way. He arrived here by the mail train a couple of hours or so before the steamer left.

Cape Times, 24-6-1909

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it either for the better or the worse. We have no doubt what the tendency will be. The last ten years have not shouted their warning for nothing in South Africa. And, under Union, the comparatively liberal-minded Cape members will be 'snowed under' by the large Transvaal, Orangia, and Natal contingent of Indophobes. Undoubtedly, the spirit of artificial race-segregation is in the air, and at the back of the Indian hostility to most of the South African Governments is the firm-rooted conviction that, sooner or later, the policy of confinement in latter-day ghettos or bazaars will be put into operation against British Indians, together with other Asiatics."

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170. DEPUTATION'S VOYAGE [–I]

[After *June 23, 1909*]

A Comparison

When the Indian community sent a deputation to England in October 1906, the circumstances were different from what they are today.

In 1906, the Indian community had pledged itself to go to gaol, but no one was sure who would do so if there was no redress from the Government. Now we know of men who are saturated with [love of] gaol. In 1906, the Indian community did not realize its own latent strength. This time the whole world knows about it.

Nevertheless, the deputation's task in 1906 was comparatively easy. It is difficult this time. We have to secure the repeal of an Act which has already been sanctioned. In 1906, we did not know the Imperial Government's attitude. This time it has indicated this. Even then the deputation is proceeding, unconcerned. For we are to a great extent indifferent to what will happen in England. It is with our tried weapon of satyagraha that we are to fight.

Preparations

Preparations for the deputation had been under way for several days past. But the community is faced with a situation so difficult that till the very last day it was not certain whether the deputation would proceed or not. Sufficient funds had not been collected either. The tickets for the voyage were bought at eleven in the morning of the very day of departure (Monday, June 21). Even after that, it was not certain that it would leave. The Government was free, if it chose, to arrest the other members of the deputation. Some thought that the arrests might take place even as the members were about to board the train. All the same, the deputation started on its way. But it is mutilated, having lost one of its legs. Mr. Cachalia and Mr. Chettiar are the deputation's right leg. Both these friends are in gaol, while we two, Mr. Hajee Habib and I, are proceeding. Neither of us is happy over this. But I am sure that Mr. Cachalia and Mr. Chettiar will speak for us more eloquently from gaol than they could have done in England. They will be happier in gaol than we on our journey, though travelling first-class. A satyagrahi cannot even conceive otherwise. My own experience proves the same thing, as I shall show more clearly afterwards.

At the Station

Park Station was crowded with Indians. About 500 Indians must have assembled. Mr. Aswat and Mr. Nagadi, who had gone to Krugers-

dorp to raise funds, had managed to reach the station. The police had made special arrangements. They were not seen shoving the people about. A number of Indians were made to stand quite at the back. There were many who had brought bouquets and garlands. This at least could be observed, that every face was lit up with the hope that the deputation might meet with success. Mr. Kallenbach, his partner Mr. Kennedy, Mr. MacIntyre, Miss Olive Doke, Miss Schlesin and Mr. Polak were also there. The train started exactly at 6-15 p.m.

On the Way

At Vereeniging, almost the whole of the local Indian community had turned up at the station. They greeted the deputation with great warmth. They had brought for us a basketful of fruit, which is still not exhausted. Mr. Haffejee gave us a bottle of Indian scent.

At Worcester Station, there were many Indians who had come all the way from Robertson. They too had brought flowers and fruit. In Robertson, the Indian population consists mainly of Tamils. At Worcester, therefore, it was mainly the South Indian friends who were present.

On the way, Mr. Hajee Habib suffered from some infection in the left eye. It has been with him from before he left Johannesburg. The eye was a violent red and watered profusely. A wash with hot saline water gave him relief, but not much. We have had to consult the physician on board the ship. Even at the moment of writing, the pain has not subsided completely, though there is considerable relief. I put eye-drops every day twice or thrice, in addition to which ice-cold compresses are also being applied. The physician is very solicitous.

In Cape Town

The train reached Cape Town half an hour late. There were a few Indians at the station. The rest came on board the ship to meet us. A farewell dinner had been arranged in honour of Mr. Anglia, who was leaving for Durban the same day. Many Indians were busy with the function. Here, too, the Indian community gave us a send-off with fruit and flowers.

Mrs. Olive Schreiner, a prominent South African lady, and Mrs. Lewis came on board the ship specially to shake hands with us. Both the ladies appeared to have great sympathy for our cause. We saw that the satyagraha movement had won a place in their hearts.

Cables Received on Steamer

Mr. Cachalia's cable is a rousing and stirring call to the deputation to do its duty. It reads as follows:

> Happy to know both going. Suffering in gaol for country's sake preferable to going with you. Wish you success.

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Mr. Ebrahim Coovadia sent the following telegram at the time of his arrest:

> On way to gaol, wish the deputation success. Can serve the community best through gaol.

I am touched to the quick as I translate these two telegrams. There can be nothing but empty bubbles where we are going. But those who are in gaol at the moment are assuredly serving the community. I am convinced that whatever the deputation may be able to achieve will be nothing as compared to the value of their service. Mr. Cachalia, Mr. Coovadia and other prisoners demonstrate the new spirit of the Indian community. The deputation only shows Indians' weakness. The prisoners prove to the world that the Indians have grown to be men. The deputation only proves that they are not quite men still, that as yet they are children who need the deputation to lean on, as a child needs the support of a *chalan-gadi*[1]. The prisoners are the strong limb of the Indian community, while the deputation is the debilitated one. Those who have gone to gaol have nothing to be disappointed about. Those who have pinned their hopes on the deputation will be disappointed, if it returns empty-handed. Therefore, I would advise everyone to expect nothing from the deputation. Help it—by going to gaol, by maintaining unity, by sending cables and by remaining strong there. Think of the deputation as a steam engine. Steam will be produced and the engine will move only if the coal needed for the purpose is supplied from there. The motive power lies [with you] there; the motion of the engine is but a visible manifestation [of that motive power]. This point must never be lost sight of. And so, the other telegrams that we received have also proved a source of encouragement to us.

The Hamidia Islamic Society cables:

> Good wishes of the faithful go with you. Trust you to uphold faith, honour and manliness. Will do our best to secure support for you here and in India.

The Imam Sahib has sent a separate cable to say:

> Will keep the flag flying. Wish you success.

The following telegram was received from the Potchefstroom Committee:

> Support your mission. Wish you success.

Robertson Indians sent this telegram:

> Wish you a happy voyage. Pray God crown your mission with success.

We left Cape Town fortified by these good wishes.

[1] A small, four-wheeled cart by pushing which a child learns to walk

"Do Something Regarding Union"

Many Indian friends have urged the deputation not to forget the question of the Union. I must say that this request proceeds from ignorance as to the implications of a Union, and so I shall make a few observations on it here. On the ship, I have been able to give further thought to the subject, and discuss it [with others]. The Union Bill makes no reference to us at all. The Act will unite all the Colonies. But the respective laws of the Colonies will remain intact. What can we say against this ? We can do or say nothing against a Union of the Colonies of South Africa. If, after the Union is formed, they attempt any legislation against us, we can fight out the question then. Our rights will not be liquidated by the mere formation of the Union. No doubt, that will be one of the consequences of the Union. But we cannot oppose a Union merely on the ground that we might be ruined under it. The main point is that even the white population of the Colonies acts as our enemy. When the enemies are united, they are bound to increase their pressure [on us]. What can be done about this? We certainly cannot prevent them from being united.

No one comes forward to say that, as our enemies are uniting, so must we, the Indians. That is the real solution. Ignoring that, Indians have been begging for something to be brought to them from England [as a gift]. This shows our utter helplessness. The whites of the Colonies are the strong and favoured sons [of the Empire]. We are the weak and neglected ones. How can the neglected sons get a hearing from the mother against the favoured ones? By petitioning? It is impossible. A petition can help us only when it is in the form of a command, which it will be when it has some sanction behind it. A petition should be taken to mean a polite command. Sanctions are of two kinds: one, physical force, and two, soul force—satyagraha. Physical force is nothing compared to the power of truth. If we cultivate this, we shall cease begging for something to be done about the Union.

Dr. Abdurrahman[1] is going to England entirely in connection with the question of the Union, and that is justified. For, under the Union Act, some of the rights of the black races will be abrogated right now. In such a contingency, an effort must be made [to prevent this]. It is not the same with us. However, no one should suppose that the deputation will not raise the subject at all. It cannot but do so. It is because negotiations for a Union are in progress that the deputation is going. It will, moreover, urge in no uncertain terms that the Union should not be permitted if the Transvaal grievances are not redressed. And I say further that, if the Indians act with all their strength,

[1] President of the African Political Organisation and member of the Cape Town Municipality; *vide* Vol. V, pp. 239 and 244.

the deputation cannot but gain its point. It will also raise the subject of the laws that have been enacted in the whole of South Africa. This does not mean that these laws will be repealed. Their repeal can be achieved only through satyagraha. But we may hope that discussion [of the question] will impel the Imperial Government to seek an understanding from the Colonial Government. I presume that this clarification will satisfy all Indians. Everyone who reflects on this question will realize that the deputation will, of course, do all it can regarding the Union. This is a question involving legal subtleties. How can they be fully understood without knowledge of the law?

FELLOW-PASSENGERS

With us are Mr. Merriman[1], Prime Minister of Cape Colony, and Mr. Sauer[2]. From Natal, there are Mr. Smythe and Mr. Green. From the Orange River Colony, there is Mr. Botha. The names of other English passengers need not be given.

The deputation of the "Coloured people" is also sailing by this very ship. It consists of Dr. Abdurrahman, Mr. Frederick, Mr. Londors and Mr. Mavela. I am sorry to say that Dr. Abdurrahman and two of his companions are travelling second-class and Mr. Mavela third. This reflects on the dignity of the deputation. It does not seem proper that they should travel in these conditions as representatives of the Coloured people. I see some worthless whites travelling first-class, while these representatives [of the Coloured people] are in the second and third classes. On inquiry I learn that the deputation is travelling thus because it was short of funds. Two more members of the deputation will follow by the next ship. Dr. Abdurrahman has told me some remarkable things about Mr. Schreiner, who has gone ahead on their behalf. Not only has Mr. Schreiner put their case strongly before [Cape] Parliament, but he has also gone to England specially to plead on their behalf. He had no other work there. Besides, he has gone at his own expense. He has not taken a farthing from the Coloured people. Though he has a lucrative practice at the Bar, he is not a rich man, for he spends a great deal on his large family and on philanthropic activities. He was engaged for over two months in the Dinuzulu case, but he has not received his fee as yet, and he does not care. Here is a lawyer worthy of the name. In former times, this was the attitude of all lawyers. They practised in order to serve others and not for money. What they received in return for their services was called "honorarium". No suit could lie in respect of such honorarium. Moreover, the fact that Mr. Schreiner is exerting himself so much for the Coloured people shows that there are great

[1] John Xavier Merriman (1841-1926); Prime Minister of Cape Colony, 1908-10

[2] J. W. Sauer, M.L.A., later a member of the Union Cabinet; a "philanthropical radical" who refused knighthood

and philanthropic whites who include other communities within the scope of their philanthropic activities. It seems to me that we should judge a community by its good men. Only then can different communities live together.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 31-7-1909

171. MR. POLAK AND HIS WORK

In view of the departure of Mr. H. S. L. Polak as a delegate on behalf of the Transvaal British Indians to proceed to India, in order to educate public opinion there, and to rouse India to a sense of her duty, our readers will be glad to have a short sketch of Mr. Polak's life. Mr. Henry Salomon Leon Polak was born just 27 years ago at Dover, England, and is the son of Mr. J. H. Polak, J.P., who is a member of the the South Africa British Indian Committee in London. Mr. Polak is an undergraduate of London University, and is the holder of many certificates, in literary and economic subjects, issued by the London Chamber of Commerce and other educational bodies. He completed his education at the Ecole de Commerce, Neuchatel, Switzerland, whereafter he was appointed Assistant Secretary of the Society of Chemical Industry, in London. For reasons of health, Mr. Polak came to South Africa, in the early part of 1903. Before he became identified with the Indian cause and accepted the editorship of this journal, which was and still is purely a labour of love, he was engaged in journalistic work. Desiring to realise some of his ideals, he left what might be termed a lucrative appointment, with promise of further pecuniary advancement and, in 1904, joined the Phœnix scheme, under which the members receive only just enough to support themselves in the simplest manner possible. The scheme, as readers of this journal are aware, is intended to put into practice the essential teaching of Tolstoy and Ruskin, and, in its outward manifestation, to assist in removing the grievances of British Indians in South Africa. Owing to the exigencies of Indian public work in the Transvaal, and in order the better to enable him to carry on his duties in connection with this journal, Mr. Polak took articles with Mr. M. K. Gandhi in the year 1906 and, in 1908, was admitted as Attorney of the Supreme Court of the Transvaal.

Since the year 1906, he has acted as Assistant Hon. Secretary of the Transvaal British Indian Association—a period that has marked a most critical stage in the history of British Indians in South Africa, and which has demanded from those who, like Mr. Polak, have been intimately connected with the passive resistance movement, the most un-

remitting zeal and devotion. During the last three years, Mr. Polak has known no rest. He has, besides using his able pen freely for the cause, travelled throughout South Africa, either making collections in aid of the passive resistance struggle, or addressing public meetings and enlightening Indians in different parts of the sub-continent as to the nature of the struggle. His knowledge of the different questions affecting British Indian settlers and Asiatic legislation in South Africa is almost unrivalled. In his eagerness to possess himself with accurate knowledge, he has considered nothing too unimportant to study, and in order to have a proper perspective of the whole situation, during what leisure he has been able to find, he has studied also modern Indian history. Mr. Polak has kept himself in touch with the current Indian thought by contributing to several leading newspapers and magazines in India. He, therefore, goes to India by no means unknown to the Indian public. The people of India will no doubt be glad to learn that, in order to know the inner side of Indian life and character, throughout his travels in South Africa, Mr. Polak has always lived with Indians in their homes like one of themselves. He has acquired such a hold on their affections that, during the incarceration of the Indian leaders, his advice was eagerly sought and implicitly followed.

Mr. Polak was married in 1905, and the Indian community in South Africa owes not a little to Mrs. Polak sharing her husband's self-sacrifice and public spirit. Latterly, she herself has taken up the organising of Indian women's meetings, and has thrown herself heart and soul into her work. Two children have been born to them in South Africa. Mr. Polak belongs to an ancient Jewish family and, being a member of a race which has undergone much oppression, considers it a privilege to help in alleviating the sufferings of British Indians in South Africa. When he was yet quite a youth, ethics had a fascinating attraction for him. With him religion and ethics are convertible terms. He, therefore, naturally attached himself to the South Place Ethical Society in London, of which he is still an associate, and it was from an ethical standpoint that he felt himself called upon to take up Indian work.

Indian Opinion, 3-7-1909

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172. LETTER TO RAMDAS GANDHI

[R.M.S. *Kenilworth Castle*,]
July 7, 1909

CHI. RAMDAS,

I am on this steamer.

Blessings from
BAPU

MASTER RAMDAS GANDHI
INDIAN OPINION,
PHŒNIX, NATAL

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand, written on a picture-postcard of the steamer: C. W. 84
Courtesy: Sushilabehn Gandhi

173. DEPUTATION'S VOYAGE [–II]

[Before *July 9, 1909*]

LIFE ON SHIP AND LIFE IN PRISON: A COMPARISON

As I have stated already, it is far better to be in prison than travel first-class on a ship. Mr. Bhikhubhai Dayalji Malia is travelling third-class. Both of us see him every day. That has given us some experience of what third-class travel means. I am of the opinion that the freedom and comfort available in the third-class are not to be found in the first-class. But even that cannot match what is available in gaol. The servants in a ship are happier—if only they knew it—than the passengers. First-class passengers are looked after by servants as though they were so many babies. There is something to eat every two hours. We cannot even lift a glass of water with our own hands. At the table it is considered beneath one's dignity to reach out one's hand for a spoon lying at some distance. Hands must be washed every now and then all through the day, on the ground that they must be kept clean. As for work, they have hardly any, so that they are growing altogether delicate and soft. It vexes me to observe the present state of my hands and compare it with what they were like in gaol. I envy the servants at their work. Here I have neither the peace nor the freedom I enjoyed in gaol. On the contrary, I have to live hedged in on all sides. My prayers here lack the depth, the serenity and concentration they had when I was in gaol.

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I am not writing all this in a frivolous mood, but after deep reflection. I think of these things every day. Whatever I have read and am reading I put to the test of experience. I have realized that those who wish to serve God cannot afford to pamper themselves or to run after luxury. Prayers do not come easily in an atmosphere of luxuries. Even if we do not ourselves share the luxuries, we cannot escape their natural influence. The energy that we spend in resisting that influence is at the cost of our devotional efforts. I am having a personal experience of this at the moment. I do not write this to suggest that I want myself or anyone else to spend all his days in gaol or that I consider travelling by first-class to be wrong always and in all circumstances. I write this only to point out that we would all profit from the kind of simplicity and solitude we find in gaol. I think it is better to travel by third-class than by first-class, except when we need certain facilities or when there are some special reasons which make first-class travel necessary. In South Africa, however, there are several reasons why I would prefer Indians to travel first-class or second-class. We must rebut the charge of miserliness that is levelled against us. Moreover, we generally value simplicity in such matters, so that we are not likely to be puffed up with vanity if we travel first or second. For those who have amassed wealth, first- or second-class travel would appear to be necessary even for maintaining their status. All the same, at a time like this when we are engaged in a mighty fight, I would unhesitatingly ask all Indians to take the view that it is better for an Indian to be in gaol rather than be travelling in a class even higher than the first.

How We Live

I have known Mr. Hajee Habib for the last fifteen years. But I never had any opportunity of living with him as I am doing today. Hajee Saheb is a man of strict religious principles. He keeps the *namaz* hours punctually. He carefully follows the religious injunctions about food and drink. He has often told me that he has no difficulty in doing so on this occasion. He allows me to decide for him the menu for every meal. I know what will prove acceptable to him. In the morning he has porridge, eggs and tea. At noon he has boiled potatoes, sometimes fish, a vegetable called lettuce, much like the *moola*, some variety of pudding, fruit and coffee, and in the evening some leafy vegetable, pudding, fruit and coffee. It is a constant thought with him how to make the deputation a success, and we frequently come together to apply our minds to the problem. The ghee and pickles given to him [when he started], he has passed on to Mr. Bhikhubhai. The passengers on board the ship seem to think that we are brothers.

I have, as usual, two meals a day. I avoid pudding as it contains eggs. I also avoid tea and coffee as far as possible, since they are the

produce of slave labour. In other respects, my diet is the same as above, except for fish. I am growing more convinced every day, as my body hardens, that I can do with still simpler food. On this voyage I do not feel a craving for delicacies as I did on the previous occasion.

Most of the day is spent in reading. The statement[1] to be submitted in England has already been drafted, and approved by Mr. Hajee Habib. He made some suggestions, which have been incorporated.

Meeting with Merriman

There have been meetings with some of the whites on board ship. Mr. Merriman was one of them. From what I gathered about his views in the course of a long discussion with him, I could see that our efforts against the Union were bound to fail. When I pointed out to him that the Transvaal problem did not have much connection with the question of unification, he studied it in greater detail and promised to do his best in regard to it. I found him full of sympathy for the satyagrahi prisoners. There was a meeting with Mr. Jagger also. He too appeared to hold views similar to Mr. Merriman's. The Union has come to stay. If the Transvaal problem can be solved without prejudice to the question of unification, he will also be prepared to help. He was filled with indignation when he was told of the sacrifices of Mr. Cachalia and Mr. Aswat, and he implied by his remarks that the dispute would have been settled by now if the other Indian businessmen had followed in their footsteps. He was sorry, as well as surprised, to hear that his own firm had acted against Mr. Cachalia.

When I spoke to these gentlemen about Mr. Dawad Mahomed and Mr. Parsee Rustomjee, they seemed both deeply impressed. They deplored it all and wanted that some kind of solution should be found. When they were told of our demands, both admitted that they were quite reasonable.

The subject of the Cape Immigration Act was raised with Mr. Jagger. He was surprised to hear that Indians resident in the Cape had to take out temporary permits when leaving it. Had the Cape Indians exerted themselves sufficiently, this clause would not have been retained in the law. It is still their duty to bestir themselves in regard to this. I am sure that most of the Cape members are entirely ignorant of this absurd clause.

I had also had a meeting with Mr. Sauer, who is a member of the Cape Cabinet. He was full of sympathy and has promised all possible help. He admitted that the demands of a community that undergoes voluntary suffering as we do can hardly be unreasonable and that it was the duty of every liberal-minded person to help that community.

[1] *Vide* "Statement of Transvaal Indian Case", pp. 288-301.

I regard this also as one of the results of our satyagraha. Men like him would not have cared to listen to us had we not gone to gaol. There is, moreover, another white with whom we have had frequent discussions. He is himself a passive resister. He is secretary of some association. According to him, we have far excelled the English passive resisters in our capacity to suffer. He has promised a letter of recommendation and also other help.

All these things are a testimony to the success of satyagraha. Everyone is touched by the story of the suffering which satyagraha has entailed. They are all amazed to hear that we have had no redress so far.

The sympathies of all these men spring from their conviction that our cause is just and that we are sincere. With Mr. Hajee Habib's help, I have been reading a book named *Kasassul Ambia*. In it I read how it was commanded of Azazil that should he fail, after 600,000 years of prayers to God, to bow to Him even on a single occasion, all his prayers would be as though they had never been. The point is, first, that it is what we do when we reach the last stage which will provide the test of our sincerity. Secondly, we can make no conditions with God. We must live as He may order us. If, having gone to gaol ten times, we refuse to do so on the eleventh occasion, the ten previous terms of imprisonment will have been in vain and we shall be laughed at.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 7-8-1909

174. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

UNION-CASTLE LINE,
R.M.S. *Kenilworth Castle*
July 9, 1909

CHI. MAGANLAL,

I have written you a letter[1] from Madeira. This letter will be posted tonight. We shall reach London tomorrow; I am writing this without knowing the atmosphere prevailing there.

It would be nice if a Sanskrit class is started for the elders there. As I go deeper into the subject, I see the necessity for every Hindu to have a knowledge of that language. I am aware that the suggestions I make one after another increase your burden. But there is no other way. We have lost so much in the past that it will take some time and also a good deal of effort to regain and consolidate it. It has to be done sooner or later. If not in this life, then in the next. So long as the

[1] This is not available.

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desires are there, we should better have altruistic ones only. From among these suggestions, you may act up to those that you can and bear in mind the rest.

Add the following to "Travel Notes"[1]:

"I had also had a meeting with Mr. Sauer who is a member of the Cape Cabinet. He was full of sympathy and has promised all possible help. He admitted that the demands of a community that undergoes voluntary suffering as we do can hardly be unreasonable and that it was the duty of every liberal-minded person to help that community. I regard this also as one of the results of our satyagraha. Men like him would not have cared to listen to us had we not gone to gaol."

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

[PS.]

Talk to all the persons there about the Sanskrit class.

From a photostat of the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 4940

175. INTERVIEW TO REUTER[2]

[SOUTHAMPTON,
July 10, 1909]

Our deputation was to consist of four, but two are now in prison. Our movements depend largely upon the advice of Lord Ampthill and his Committee. We feel, we must take this opportunity when so many South African statesmen are in this country to see whether something cannot be done to relieve the very acute suffering which British Indians in the Transvaal have been undergoing for the past two and a half years. Our mission does not seriously affect the question of unification except that every Indian feels that the Imperial Government should take full guarantee regarding the status of British Indians in South Africa under the Union. What we are chiefly concerned in is the settlement of outstanding questions between the Transvaal Government and the Indian community which, when boiled down, really means the question of the status of highly cultured Indians, and whether they may or may not enter the Transvaal under the general immigration law of the day. We contend that the present legislation insults the whole of India in that it creates a racial bar for the first time in the history of Colonial legislation, and in order to remove this bar, hundreds of

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

[2] On his arrival in England, with Hajee Habib, on July 10, Gandhiji was interviewed by Reuter.

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British Indians have suffered imprisonment. Even to-day some of the best Indians in the Transvaal are in gaol as conscientious objectors.

Indian Opinion, 7-8-1909

176. INTERVIEW TO PRESS AGENCY[1]

[LONDON,
July 10, 1909]

Mr. Gandhi, interviewed on his arrival in England to-day, stated that the object of his visit was to ensure that the grievances of the Asiatics in the Transvaal should be remedied under the unification, and the status of the King's Indian subjects in South Africa defined and embodied in the Union Constitution.

Indian Opinion, 17-7-1909

177. DEPUTATION NOTES [–III][2]

[After *July 10, 1909*]

WE ARRIVE

I have reported what happened up to the time of our arrival at Madeira. We arrived at Southampton on the 10th. We were met by a Reuter representative.[3] We gave him a brief statement of facts, and the report has appeared in most newspapers. We reached London at about 10.30 a.m. But there was no one at the station. This was quite surprising. After conveying our luggage to Hotel Cecil, we went to see Mr. Ritch. We found him with Abdul Caadir[4]. They were both surprised. In the absence of any cable, Mr. Ritch had given up hopes of our arrival. What happened was that Reuter had cabled the news [about the deputation] from Johannesburg and it was expected to be published in the newspapers; hence no separate cable was sent to Mr. Ritch. Newspapers nowadays rarely publish Reuter cables on the Transvaal. The cable about the deputation having left was not published. The cable reporting the arrests of the delegates was [however] published. Mr. Ritch concluded from this that the idea of sending a

[1] The interview was given to South Africa Associated Press Agency. It was also reported in the Gujarati section of *Indian Opinion*.

[2] These weekly dispatches, though written from London, continued to be published in *Indian Opinion* under the original title "Deputation's Voyage".

[3] *Vide* "Interview to Reuter", pp. 280-1.

[4] Member of the Natal Indian deputation which had gone to England at this time to plead for the Natal Indians' interests under the Union Bill.

deputation must have been given up for the moment. No one, therefore, expected our arrival.

We Set to Work

Soon after we had seen Mr. Ritch, we set to work the moment we had had our lunch. We, the two brothers, accompanied by Mr. Abdul Caadir, Mr. Ritch and Mr. Hussain Dawad, who had run up to Mr. Ritch's office, called on Mr. Bhownaggree. After consulting among ourselves there, we wrote to Lord Ampthill, and so the round of interviews began. The whole day is taken up in interviewing people and writing letters, and we have to keep working even at night. Being free, Miss Polak[1] has been entrusted with typing work. She works very hard, regardless of the hour of the day or night. She also appears to have a good temper.

We have met Lord Ampthill, Sir Richard Solomon[2], Miss Winterbottom[3], Mr. Surendranath Banerjea[4], Mr. Cotton[5], Mr. Justice Ameer Ali[6], Dr. Abdool Majid, Mr. Azad and others. We have also had interviews with Sir William Lee-Warner[7], a member of India Office, and Mr. Morison[8]. I am not in a position to give more information just yet. Private consultations are going on. They give some hopes. If they lead to nothing, there is little possibility of our achieving anything through other channels. Lord Ampthill is considering, besides, whether a deputation should be led at all, and whether it will be of any benefit.

I have been able to see that everyone approves of our having courted imprisonment and that, if anything counts, it is the fact that so many Indians have gone and are still going to gaol.

We are deliberately refraining from giving any information to newspapers for the present. It is Lord Ampthill's advice that we should not.

This is a very bad time to seek interviews with public figures here. Everyone is out of town on a holiday, so that we are not likely to get help from many people. Moreover, the British people are preoccupied with their own affairs. The new budget has raised a storm in Parliament.

[1] Miss Maud Polak, H. S. L. Polak's sister

[2] Lieut.-Governor of the Transvaal, 1905-6

[3] Florence Winterbottom, Corresponding Secretary of the Union of Ethical Societies, London

[4] (1848-1925); orator and politician; President of the Indian National Congress, 1895 and 1902; *vide* Vol. I, p. 378.

[5] H. E. A. Cotton, editor of *India*

[6] (1849-1928); eminent judge, later a member of the Privy Council, author of several books on Islam and Mahomedan law; *vide* Vol. VI, p. 11.

[7] (1846-1914); Anglo-Indian administrator, additional member of the Viceroy's Council, author of several books on India

[8] Theodore Morison; one-time Principal of the Mahomedan College at Aligarh; *vide* Vol. VI, p. 154.

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Also, the visit of South African statesmen makes a heavy demand on [people's] time. Considering all this and looking at the circumstances around us, I am inclined to believe that, should the private moves that are under way at present fail, nothing is likely to be achieved by our visit.

First Sacrifice

There have been a large number of cables about meetings in South Africa. This is something to be happy about. There is not a single cable from Natal. Mr. Nagappen's martyrdom[1] has made Mr. Hajee Habib and me very unhappy. This has been, even otherwise, a time of mourning for us, and it is all the more so now. However, there is no reason to be sad if we think of the community. We have known all along that we may have to make any sacrifice, including that of life, and that, too, cheerfully. This is exactly what we have to learn in this fight, that in the interest of the community we must bear every kind of suffering, and that only by doing so can we find a solution to our problems. As I get more experience here, I gradually come to see that the deputation which has been sent represents only our weakness. The energy and the time that are spent in seeing various people and in cultivating their goodwill would, if spent merely in suffering, ensure a very early solution. I can make no guess as to the result. But it will be enough if we learn from this struggle the lesson I have indicated above.

We have also had news of Mr. Dawad Mahomed's release on account of ill-health. Looking at the matter from his point of view, I feel sorry. But looking at it from the community's point of view, I congratulate him. We think nothing of inviting illness for ourselves through over-indulgence and soft living, or by exerting ourselves overmuch in the pursuit of self-interest. It is, moreover, our own fault that we fall ill in this manner. If, then, anyone falls ill while doing his duty by the community, he surely deserves congratulations on that. That has been so, and will always be so. His example is being followed by Mr. Hussain Mia here. It should make one happy to observe his habits. Besides, he has a noble regard for the community.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 14-8-1909

[1] The reference is to the death of a young passive resister, following exposure and bad treatment during confinement in a gaol work-camp; *vide* "Statement of Transvaal Indian Case", p. 299.

178. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

WESTMINSTER PALACE HOTEL,
4, VICTORIA STREET,
LONDON, S.W.,
July 14, 1909

MY DEAR HENRY,

You will be agreeably surprised to know that Maud has been assisting me and that this letter is being dictated to her. She has been out of work now for some time and you can easily imagine my surprise when I was told by Pater[1] that I could have Maud to assist me. Of course, I was naturally very pleased to avail myself of her assistance; at the same time, sorry that she was not working. She thinks, and I agree, that the enforced rest has perhaps done her a little good. It might have done her greater good, if she had the capacity for passing the time at her disposal as it might have been, but, as she tells me, she does not like her own company, which means a great deal. Mater[2] and Sally[3] are in Belgium; they return, I understand, next Sunday. Millie[4] will be here on the 24th. A cablegram was received advising about her departure. I saw your cablegram to Mr. Ritch, but the one I am referring to was received from Kallenbach yesterday. It also informs us of your departure for India.[5]

This may anticipate you, but the more I think about it, the more I feel and realize that your work over there is far more difficult than our work here. The terrible tragedy about Sir Curzon Wyllie and Dr. Lalcaca[6] complicates the situation here, but it is nothing compared with the complications that must arise there. Please, however, do not worry if you do not see the work prospering there under you. You may have no meetings and the influential papers there may even boycott you. I do not anticipate any such dire result, but I am quite prepared for it and I should reconcile myself to it in time. All I care about is that you should be able to see most of the leading Anglo-Indians and

[1] Polak's father
[2] Polak's mother
[3] Another sister of Polak
[4] Polak's wife
[5] Polak had sailed on July 7 on a deputation to India.
[6] Sir William Curzon Wyllie, Political ADC to the Secretary of State for India, was shot dead by an Indian student, Madan Lal Dhingra, at a reception held by the National Indian Association at the Imperial Institute in South Kensington, London. Dr. Cawas Lalkaka, a Parsee doctor from Shanghai, was fatally wounded while trying to save Sir Curzon Wyllie.

Indians; that I know you will be able to do, but I am fully aware of the difficulties that beset you, even in this mission of having quiet chats with leaders. You will require all the patience and tact you can command. However, I am not in the slightest degree anxious. I write in this strain only to tell you that I realize your difficulties, and that, therefore, I shall not in any way at all feel disappointed if we do not get much out of the Indian mission. You should confine your attention for the time being to those whose names I have specially given to you, that is, the Editor of *The Times of India*, Professor Gokhale, Mr. Malbari[1].

The Aga Khan is in London; I have asked for an appointment. We have already seen Justice Ameer Ali. The mission commenced on board. I had a long chat with Mr. Merriman and Mr. Sauer. Both of them were very sympathetic; neither of them knew the situation accurately. Both expressed surprise that our demands, which they considered so reasonable, were not granted. We are, therefore, moving with a view to get together the South African statesmen and see whether they would not influence General Smuts in the right direction. I am already working under double pressure: have not yet been able to go to bed before one o'clock in the morning, and you know what that means to me. The legacy of a swollen leg, which I inherited from the Pretoria gaol, has not yet left me; this, however, by the way.

We are meeting Sir Richard Solomon who has given an appointment in response to our letter, as also Lord Ampthill, to-day. In order to give you detailed information, I am dictating this letter in advance, but hope to be able to bring it up to date to-morrow evening (Thursday). Justice Ameer Ali knows Sir Richard personally, and he has also promised to see him and discuss the situation with him. I sent a statement[2] which he wanted, copy of which I shall keep among the papers to be sent to you.

Miss Winterbottom is full of the Indian question; she has studied it very accurately. She still continues to read *Indian Opinion* very regularly and entertains the same high regard as before. She never wrote again[3] to us, simply because, I fancy, she was too disgusted with the state of things in the Transvaal to trust herself to write calmly. Both Mr. Hajee Habib and I passed nearly an hour with her. She had some other members of her Society to meet us; among them is a lady journalist who appeared to be a very brilliant woman; she is married to a Dutchman who too is a journalist. She told me that she had seen General Botha very often and that she was making a point this time to tackle him on the Indian question. Miss Winterbottom had arranged to go to Cornwall

[1] Behramji Merwanji Malbari (1854-1912); poet, journalist and social reformer
[2] *Vide* the following item.
[3] She had written to Gandhiji earlier in 1907, *vide* Vol. VII, p. 247.

for a change of air which she needs very badly, but she almost feels inclined to abandon her journey for the time being. I have implored her not to cancel her programme and have promised that I would send for her if I considered her presence in London necessary, but she is a woman of extremely high ideas and I could notice yesterday that it was a matter of very prayerful consideration for her whether she would go to Cornwall or not. The one thought that is supreme with her to-day is how she can assist in the struggle. She boiled with indignation when I informed her of poor Nagappen's death. His picture has been before me ever since the receipt of the cablegram and my work has been more or less mechanical since then. I cannot get him out of my mind; it has affected me very much. However, our attitude must remain unchanged and we have to confirm the advice to the people to face death and worse—if there were anything worse. I am sending you a copy of that cablegram so that, if you did not know of the news contained therein, the cablegram will supply you with the information.

Poor Dowd Mahomed must have keenly felt his discharge from the gaol, when Parsee Rustomjee was still in gaol. However, he has returned to Johannesburg, so that he is in the thick of the fight.

Mr. Abdul Caadir is here. He is often at the hotel but he is not living with us. When the balance of the deputation arrives from Durban, I think all will engage rooms at this hotel.

Mr. Hajee Habib has been working splendidly. He always keeps me up to the mark and does not let me forget anything at all. We are in perfect harmony. I wrote[1] to you about his eye; it caused him trouble throughout the voyage, but now he is much better, though there is still a slight inflammation.

Mrs. Ritch has undergone a third operation, this time at the hands of a very great specialist, Sir Henry Morris; he has been exceedingly kind. I saw her on Sunday and there is every indication of complete recovery in a short time. Dr. Oldfield[2] has entirely fallen—even his supposed surgical skill is now no more. Ritch thinks that he bungled the whole thing and was too cowardly to own up to it. It hurts me to have to write of a man whom I have held in high estimation, but we have often to break our idols. I am only waiting for permission from Ritch, to be able to write to him straight or speak to him, but Mrs. Ritch is averse to any such thing being done until she has completely recovered.

Dr. Abdurrahman is working [with] might and main. Mr. Schreiner is a wonderful man. He is rendering very great assistance to the Doctor

[1] This letter is not available.

[2] Dr. Josiah Oldfield, an old friend of Gandhiji and member of the Vegetarian Society. *Vide* Vol. VI, p. 23.

and is not at all without hope. Olive Schreiner and her sister, Mrs. Lewis, both came up to me when I left Cape Town, to shake hands. Dr. Abdurrahman tells me that Mr. Sauer tackled her and she, in her own charming and yet refined manner, told Mr. Sauer that she merely wanted to shake hands with me. She performed this ceremony most heartily in the presence of a huge crowd and both the sisters were quite for a few minutes with us. Fancy the author of "Dreams" paying a tribute to passive resistance, but the whole Schreiner family, from what I have learnt through Dr. Abdurrahman, seems to be perfectly exceptional.

Cablegrams[1] supporting the deputation have been received from

Cape Town,	Germiston,	Grahamstown,
Kimberley,	Lourenco Marques,	Lichtenburg,
Pietersburg,	Port Elizabeth,	Potchefstroom,
Rustenburg,	Standerton.	

Thursday

Mr. Hajee Habib and I had a very long and satisfactory interview with Sir Richard Solomon. He went through the whole of the legal aspect, seemed to be very sympathetic; would not commit himself, but has promised to see Mr. Smuts and do what he can. Then followed a long interview with Lord Ampthill. Transparent honesty, courtesy and genuine humility were written on his face. He—an ex-Viceroy—did not want to take a single step without our agreeing to its being taken. His object is not in any way to advertise himself by his connection with the Committee, but to serve the cause which he is espousing. He did not know by what right he could ask Mr. Merriman and Mr. Sauer to see him. It seemed to be nothing to him that he has occupied the highest positions in India and occupies a fairly good position in public affairs here. In order that the cause may be served, he is going to see Lord Curzon and get him to take up the matter at the point he left it in South Africa.[2] Thus, you will see, our work will be entirely, for the time being, behind the scenes.

Sir William Lee-Warner is coming to the hotel to-morrow to see us. Mr. Ameer Ali has undertaken to see Sir Richard Solomon. I had a long chat with Cotton of *India* yesterday and he has definitely promised to refer to your mission in India in the columns of the ensuing number. I thought that this was necessary in order that the readers of *India* might realize the situation.[3]

I think you had seen Dr. Mehta's[4] letter, in which he referred to

[1] These were addressed to the S.A.B.I. Committee which forwarded copies to the Secretary of State for the Colonies on July 16.

[2] *Vide* "Letter to Lord Curzon", pp. 170-3.

[3] *India*, 16-7-1909, carried notes regarding the two deputations.

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

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his impending departure for Europe, taking his son for education. He is now here and staying at the same hotel.

I forgot, I think, to give you a letter to Mr. Wadia, who you will remember, was going to form in Bombay a Committee in connection with the question. Do not fail to see him at the earliest opportunity.

If Chhaganlal is there, please show him this letter, as I have no time to write to him at length.

I have written to several Gujarati men, including Mr. Omer Haji Amod, Mr. Issa Hajee Soomer, Mr. Peerun Mahomed and Mr. M. S. Coovadia.[1]

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4942

179. STATEMENT OF TRANSVAAL INDIAN CASE[2]

PRESENTED BY THE INDIAN DEPUTATION (JULY 1909)

LONDON,
July 16, 1909

APPOINTMENT OF DELEGATES

1. A mass meeting of the British Indians of the Transvaal was held on the 16th June last on the Hamidia Mosque ground at Johannesburg.[3] The meeting was convened by the British Indian Association and was attended by nearly 1,500 Indians. The Rev. Canon Berry, the Rev. Mr. Perry, Mr. Kallenbach, Mr. and Mrs. Vogl, Mr. Dallow, and other European friends were present by invitation. Telegrams from most parts of the Transvaal were received from Indian Committees approving of the resolutions that were to be submitted to the meeting.

2. Two days[4] prior to the Mass Meeting a meeting of over 300 British Indians was held on the premises of the Chairman of the Association, the delegates for the Indian deputation finally nominated, and

[1] These letters are not available.

[2] The original draft of this statement, which—except for an unauthenticated fragment—is not available, was ready on board the ship; *vide* "Deputation's Voyage" [-II], p. 278. It was not sent for publication on arrival in London as Gandhiji was anxious not to publish it until it was known that the negotiations had failed. The draft underwent several alterations and additions, mainly at the instance of Lord Ampthill. Gandhiji sent him proofs of the statement on July 29. He modified and enlarged it in the light of suggestions made by Lord Ampthill, in his letter of August 3; *vide* Appendix XIV. Later he prepared a summary of this statement of which an earlier, incomplete draft is also available. Both the statement and the summary were subsequently printed in the form of a pamphlet: "A Concise Statement of the British Indian Case in the Transvaal", and finally released with the "Letter to the Press" on November 5, about a week before the deputation sailed for South Africa.

[3] *Vide* "Speech at Mass Meeting", pp. 252-3.

[4] The meeting was held on June 13, three days before the mass meeting.

the names of delegates for a simultaneous Indian deputation discussed.[1]

3. Of late most Indian meetings have been attended by Government detectives.

4. The names of the delegates to be submitted to the mass meeting were published in *The Transvaal Leader* of the 15th June.

5. Of these, Mr. Amad Mahomed Cachalia, Chairman of the Association, Mr. Ebrahim Salooji Coovadia, Acting Chairman of the Association, Mr. S. S. Chettiar, Chairman of the Tamil Benefit Society, and Mr. Nadirshaw Cama, together with other prominent Indians, were arrested on the 15th and 16th June, for failing to comply with the Asiatic Registration Act.

6. Messrs Cachalia and Chettiar were, on the very day of the meeting and before the advertised time, sentenced to three months' imprisonment with hard labour in default of payment of a fine of £50.

7. The mass meeting, however, took place. The following three resolutions[2] were submitted there and passed with six dissentients out of 1,500 people present:

(1) This mass meeting of Transvaal British Indians hereby confirms the appointment made by the Committee of the British Indian Association of the Transvaal, of Messrs A. M. Cachalia, Hajee Habib, V. A. Chettiar and M. K. Gandhi as a deputation to proceed to England and place before the authorities and the British public the true situation with regard to the present Asiatic struggle and the British Indian view of the coming Union of South Africa.

(2) This mass meeting of British Indians hereby elects Messrs N. A. Cama, N. Gopal Naidoo, E. S. Coovadia and H. S. L. Polak as a deputation to proceed to India and to place before the authorities and the Indian public the true situation with regard to the present Asiatic struggle in the Transvaal.

(3) This meeting respectfully protests against the sudden and unwarranted arrest of Messrs Cachalia, Coovadia, Cama and Chettiar, who were, as the Government well knew, appointed, or to be appointed, as delegates in the deputations mentioned in the foregoing resolutions, and calls upon the Government to release them in order to fulfil their mission, under approved security as to their return, after completion of their mission, to undergo the sentence passed upon them by the Court.

8. The purport of the resolutions was telegraphed to the Government, to which the Government replied that they had no knowledge, at the time of giving instructions for the arrests above referred to, that

[1] *Vide* Appendix XIII.

[2] *Vide* "Resolutions at Mass Meeting", p. 254.

the delegates included in the list of the Indians to be arrested would be elected.

9. After the formal election by the mass meeting and on the 17th June last, however, Mr. Gopal Naidoo, one of the delegates for India, was also arrested, together with many other Tamil Indians. Thus, out of seven Indian delegates (the eighth, Mr. Polak, being an Englishman), five were arrested, and two only, the undersigned, were left free by the authorities to proceed on their mission.

Who Are the Delegates?

10. Mr. Amad Mohamed Cachalia is a British Indian merchant of over 18 years' standing in the Transvaal, is married and is living in Johannesburg, together with his wife and children. He is one of the trustees of the Pretoria Mosque, as also of the Hamidia Mosque at Johannesburg, and of the Dabhel Madressa Trust. He has for the past nine months held the office of Chairman of the British Indian Association and is now, for the third time, serving imprisonment for conscience sake. When he found that the Government were selling the goods of Indian merchants for payment of fines imposed under the Asiatic Registration Act, he felt called upon to hand over to his creditors the goods which were bought by him on credit. The creditors, however, took a political view of the step and forcibly sequestrated his estate, although it was fully worth 20 s in the £. Mr. Cachalia submitted to the process, and his estate has already paid his creditors in full, though a forced realization has left him practically penniless.

11. Mr. Chettiar is an old man over fifty, has been settled in Johannesburg with his family for over ten years. He is a Tamil (Madras) leader and is now in gaol for the second time in connection with the Indian struggle. His son, about nineteen years old, is also in one of the Transvaal gaols in the same cause—for the fifth time.

12. Mr. Hajee Habib migrated to South Africa twenty-nine years ago, and has been connected with important Indian businesses. He was married in the Transvaal and lives in Johannesburg with his children. He has held the office of the Honorary Secretary of the local Indian Committee at Pretoria for the last fifteen years and has been intimately connected with Indian public movements in the Transvaal during the whole of that period. He is permanent Honorary Secretary of the Pretoria Mosque and President of the Pretoria Anjuman Islam. He is a member of that portion of the Indian community which, from the beginning, submitted to the Asiatic Registration Act, after having vainly attempted to obtain relief from the Government. But its submission was due largely to the inability or unwillingness of the community to undergo the heavy pecuniary losses that were involved in non-submission. His community has, however, never relaxed its efforts, in common with

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the other Indians, to obtain relief. But Mr. Hajee Habib is unable any longer to enjoy the security of life and property, when hundreds of his countrymen continue for the common good to suffer untold hardships. He has, therefore, bound himself, should the efforts of the deputation fail to secure relief, to throw in his lot with the other sufferers and no longer to make use of the registration certificate obtained by him. He was the founder and Chairman of the British Indian Conciliation Committee that was formed during the month of June to intercede between the Government and the active sufferers. The Committee was intended to bring about conciliation, by affording the Government an opportunity of gracefully conceding the very just demands of the Indian community. A petition was submitted to the Government and a deputation waited upon General Smuts on the 19th June last, but General Smuts stated that he could not grant the Indian prayer on the two main points hereinafter referred to.

13. Mr. Gandhi, the fourth delegate, has been settled in South Africa for the last sixteen years, is a Barrister of the Inner Temple, Advocate of the Supreme Court of Natal and Attorney of the Supreme Court of the Transvaal. He has resided and practised his profession in the Transvaal since 1903. He is Honorary Secretary of the British Indian Association of the Transvaal and has been identified with the Indian public work in South Africa since 1893. He served at the time of the late war as Assistant Superintendent of the Indian Volunteer Ambulance Corps[1] and was mentioned in General Buller's despatches. He also served with the Indian Stretcher Bearer Corps[2] raised by the Indian community at the time of the late Zulu rebellion and held the rank of Sergeant-Major. He was co-delegate to London with Mr. H. O. Ally in 1906 in connection with the Transvaal Indian struggle. He has suffered imprisonment three times in this cause. His son is now undergoing six months' imprisonment, although he holds Lord Milner's certificate and is domiciled in the Transvaal. Mr. Gandhi, Junior, is now serving imprisonment for the third time. After the compromise of January, 1908, hereinafter referred to, whilst Mr. Gandhi was on his way to the Registration Office to fulfil his part of the compact between the Government and the Indian community, he was severely assaulted by some of his countrymen, who distrusted the compromise and resented his action.

14. It is worthy of note that the delegation has been largely insisted upon by those British Indians who hitherto have been too weak to risk pecuniary loss and imprisonment, and therefore have been compelled to submit to the Asiatic Act, but that they have volunteered to pay the out-of-pocket expenses of the delegates shows how keenly they desire relief.

[1] *Vide* Vol. III, pp. 174-6.
[2] *Vide* Vol. V, pp. 368-73.

A Brief History of the Struggle

15. It is generally recognised that the British Indian position before the War was better than it has been at any time since, as will more fully appear from Note A[1]. Since the advent of the British flag in the Transvaal, it has been steadily growing worse. Law 3 of 1885 (which requires every Asiatic entering the Transvaal to pay £3 and take out a receipt therefor; deprives Asiatics of the right to own landed property, save in locations; confines their residence to such locations; and disqualifies them from becoming burghers), which was accepted by the Imperial Government under a misapprehension and when there were only about thirty Indians resident, was never fully enforced by the late Boer Government. Indian merchants were not interfered with in their business, and the location regulations were never carried out. Notices issued to Indians to remove to locations were, under the advice of British Agents, ignored or disregarded, and under the same advice, Indian merchants traded without licences. They were even arrested for so doing, but were discharged on the intervention of the British Agent. Indian immigration was unrestricted, except that those Indians who settled in the State for purposes of trade had to pay £3 once for all, and in this way get their names registered. This was in no way intended *as a measure of identification.*

16. After British occupation all this was altered. A measure called the Peace Preservation Ordinance was passed in 1902 to prevent the entry of persons dangerous to the peace and good government of the Colony. This Ordinance made no distinction between Europeans and Asiatics. It was of general application. But in practice it was employed as an Indian Immigration Restriction measure. An attempt was made to enforce strictly the provisions of Law 3 of 1885. When Lord Roberts was approached for relief, he said that the Indian position would be ameliorated after the establishment of complete civil administration.[2] When the latter was initiated, Lord Milner was approached.[3] Several attempts were made by the Local Government to improve the position, but sufficient firmness was lacking to carry them into effect. The golden opportunity afforded by the new British occupation, of doing away with—among many other un-British laws—the equally un-British anti-Asiatic laws, was neglected or allowed to slip by. Every later attempt at amelioration, being unsuccessful, resulted in making the position of British Indians worse and worse.

17. Lord Milner (in 1904) changed the scope and intention of Law 3 of 1885 by using one of its clauses (*with the consent of the British*

[1] *Vide* pp. 299-300. This was added according to Lord Ampthill's suggestion, *vide* Appendix XIV.

[2] *Vide* Vol. III, p. 365.

[3] ibid, pp. 364-71.

Indians) for the purpose of identifying every Asiatic in the Colony. Under this arrangement and under a *definite promise* in writing that *such identification was to be final*, almost every British Indian resident of the Colony took out a certificate containing his full description and his thumb-impression. Nevertheless, just before the grant of responsible Government, the then Colonial Secretary, Mr. Duncan, (in 1906) brought up a Bill[1] which ignored Lord Milner's promise, which nullified the certificates above referred to, and made it obligatory on every Indian and on other Asiatics to take out another identification ticket. The measure contained many other extremely objectionable clauses which need not be here described. Indians were greatly agitated. They bound themselves not to conform to the measure should it be sanctioned.

18. A deputation came to England (in the latter part of 1906), waited upon Lord Elgin, and the Bill was disallowed.

19. Responsible Government followed (in the beginning of 1907). Almost the very first Act of the new Parliament was to restore the above measure, with one meaningless verbal alteration, not in any way affecting any of the objectionable clauses. In spite of Indian protests, it was hurried through Parliament and received the Royal assent on the 2nd March, 1907. When this legislation was introduced by Mr. Duncan, it was stated that it was to be temporary and to be replaced by an immigration measure.

20. When, however, an Immigration Bill was passed, as it was during the same session, it was found that it did not repeal the Asiatic Bill (now Act), but that, read together with the latter, the effect was to bring about, in a circuitous manner, the total prohibition of Indian immigration. The two measures together, therefore, for the first time in the history of Colonial legislation, create a colour or racial bar in respect of immigration. (As to how the total prohibition of Indian immigration has been brought about by the two Acts read together, see Note B.)[2]

21. During the January of 1908, active steps were taken to enforce the provisions of the Asiatic Act (Act 2 of 1907). The Indians, in accordance with their solemn pledge, declined to submit to it, and the leaders were prosecuted and imprisoned.

22. Through the intervention of Mr. Albert Cartwright, Editor of *The Transvaal Leader*, a compromise was effected. It was partly written and partly oral. Indians contend that General Smuts promised that, if they underwent identification voluntarily, the Asiatic Act should be repealed and their voluntary identification be legalised by means of

[1] *Vide* Vol. V, pp. 382-3.

[2] *Vide* p. 301. This was inserted in accordance with Lord Ampthill's suggestion; *vide* Appendix XIV.

another measure, preferably by amending the Immigration Bill which had now become law. (For fuller details of the compromise, see Note C.)[1] Indians have, admittedly, fulfilled their part of the compromise, and have asked for repeal of the Act.

23. General Smuts, on behalf of the Government, contends that he never made any promise of repeal, though he admits that the question of repeal was discussed between him and Mr. Gandhi and that there might have been a misunderstanding on Mr. Gandhi's part.

24. The facts proved and admitted are:

(a) That Mr. Gandhi sent him (22nd February, 1908) a draft Bill[2], by his permission, one clause of which repealed the Act. This was acknowledged, and the proposal to repeal was never repudiated.

(b) That two days after the completion of the compromise, General Smuts stated at a public meeting (6th February, 1908) that "he had told them that the law would not be repealed so long as there was an Asiatic in the country who had not registered", and again that "until every Indian in the country had registered, the law would not be repealed".

(c) That General Smuts actually drafted and circulated an amendment of the Immigration Act (13th June, 1908) repealing the Asiatic Act, but imported therein four new conditions, one of which was that British Indians, no matter what their status might be, should be treated as prohibited immigrants. Acceptance of these new clauses by the Indian community he made a condition of carrying the amendment repealing the Asiatic Act. Indians would not accept the new conditions.

25. To resume. The Indians not accepting the new conditions, the repeal fell through. These new conditions were unacceptable to them because the first three took away the right of residence, in the Transvaal, of those British Indians who were at the time domiciled in the Colony, and the fourth condition, as stated above, constituted a national affront in that it prohibited the entry of British Indians, no matter how cultured they might be, *on the ground of race*. Thus it is clear that the repeal fell through, through no fault of the Indians. General Smuts went back even upon the written and manifest terms of the compromise. For, although in accordance with the written compromise (see Note C.), Act 2 of 1907 was clearly not to be applied to those persons who had been voluntarily identified, and although their

[1] *Vide* pp. 301. This was included as a result of Lord Ampthill's suggestion; *vide* Appendix XIV.

[2] *Vide* Vol. VIII, pp. 103-4.

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identification was to be legalised by a separate Act, a Bill was published (11th August, 1908[1]) bringing such Indians under Act 2 of 1907.[2]

26. In consequence of this double breach of the compromise on the part of Mr. Smuts, Indians held a mass meeting (16th August, 1908), burned about 2,500 of the certificates they had voluntarily taken out, and so rendered themselves amenable to prosecution. This induced a conference (18th August 1908[3]) between the Executive, the Progressive leaders, and Messrs Gandhi and Quinn (the Chinese leader)—Mr. Essop Mia, Chairman of the Association, not being available owing to short notice.

27. As a result of the conference, a new Bill was brought in, placing voluntary registrants under a separate law. The question of repeal was discussed, but the Government would not listen to the proposal, saying that the Act would be treated as a dead letter. The question of the entry of highly educated Indians too was discussed, but no relief was promised under the Immigration Act, General Smuts only going so far as to say that temporary permits would be granted to such men.

28. Another mass meeting (20th August, 1908) was, therefore, held to consider the result of the conference, and the meeting decided not to accept the new Bill, unless Act 2 of 1907 was repealed and highly educated Indians might enter as a matter *of right* after passing the educational and other tests, however severe, under the general immigration law[4].

29. The Government, however, carried their new Bill in spite of the Indian protests. The new Bill—which is otherwise generally acceptable—contains certain defects which need not be set out here and which were recounted in a petition submitted to the Imperial Government.[5]

The Outstanding Questions

30. Apart from minor points arising out of the new Bill, the outstanding questions between the Transvaal Government and the Indian community are:

(1) Repeal of Act 2 of 1907 and

(2) The status of highly educated Indians.

31. The Transvaal Government alleges that these two points are as good as granted, because—

(1) Act 2 of 1907 is to be treated as a dead letter, and

(2) Highly educated Indians can receive temporary permits to be indefinitely prolonged under a clause of the new Asiatic Bill.

[1] The original has "7th August, 1909".

[2] *Vide* Vol. VIII, pp. 449-51 and 454-5. This paragraph was re-drafted as suggested by Lord Ampthill; *vide* Appendix XIV.

[3] The original has "1909", which is a misprint. *Vide* Vol. VIII, p. 461.

[4] *Vide* Vol. VIII, pp. 462-5.

[5] *Vide* "Petition to Secretary of State for Colonies", pp. 18-29.

32. The Indians contend that

(1) If Act 2 of 1907 is to be treated as a dead letter, it can serve no useful purpose to retain it on the Statute-book of the Colony. The Indians have (by reason of broken promises) grown suspicious and do not understand the meaning of a law being a dead letter and, yet, remaining part of the laws of the country. If the Act is merely retained to satisfy the electors, they, being more intelligent, ought to understand that a law that is a dead letter need not encumber the Statute-book of the Colony, and lastly, notwithstanding the fact that the Government had pronounced this Act to be a dead letter, *it has been—when it has suited the Government—put into active operation against the Indians, and there is nothing to bar its being put into effect at any time in future.*

(2) If the Transvaal Government are willing to admit highly educated Indians, they might as well admit them under the immigration law; unless the Government intend to insult the whole Indian people, it must be a matter of indifference to them whether educated Indians are admitted under the Asiatic Act or the Immigration Act; to the Indians it is a vital principle. The manner of admission is everything to them. They are more anxious that one educated Indian who enters the Colony should do so under the general immigration law and through the front door of right than that twenty or more Indians should enter the Colony through the back door of favouritism and as ticket-of-leave men, entitled to remain in the Transvaal only during the pleasure of the Government.

33. This question of educated Indians is the crux. There is no desire to flood the Transvaal with British Indians. Indians recognize that the British and Boer population should remain predominant in South Africa. But they contend that the Colony of the Transvaal should not be allowed to offer a national insult in carrying out that policy.

34. Moreover, Indians who are resident in the Transvaal, if they are to rise in the social and moral scale, require the help of their highly educated brethren. In order to prove their *bona fides*, they declare that they would not mind an administration of the Immigration Law so as to admit the fewest possible Indians (say six) in any one year. While they object to legal inequality and legal discrimination, they are prepared to put up with administrative discrimination. This very thing is now being done in Australia. It was done in the Transvaal under the Peace Preservation Ordinance previously referred to. They further submit that, if the present law does not confer sufficient administrative authority, the Act may be amended in the desired direction, but not so as to perpetuate a *racial* distinction.

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Under the New Constitution

35. Under the new Constitution, the position of British Indians requires careful safeguarding, unless they are ultimately to be driven out of, or extinguished in, South Africa. They are practically unrepresented. What little representation they have enjoyed at the Cape and Natal is to be of no effect under the new Constitution. The union of the Europeans in South Africa will, if the Imperial authority is not properly retained, spell disaster to vested Indian rights. In the Orange River Colony, Indians, save as menials, are not admitted. In the Transvaal, apart from the above-mentioned legislation, they are debarred the right of buying land except in locations specially set apart for them, and even this right is withheld. In Natal, Indian traders are being starved out under a one-sided and oppressive administration of the licensing law of the Colony. Minor grievances throughout South Africa are too numerous to set out in detail. They affect the daily life of the Indian and make it well-nigh intolerable, by continually reminding him that the wearing of a brown skin is a crime in the sub-continent. The unmistakable tendency of the legislation in South Africa is to impose restrictions on Indian liberty in the same proportion as the liberties of the European races are extended.

36. It is, therefore, a matter of paramount importance, both from an Imperial and an Indian standpoint, that the Transvaal Indian question be satisfactorily settled. It is an undoubted fact that the Transvaal is the predominant State in South Africa. It leads; the other States follow. If, therefore, the Transvaal Indian legislation is not first set on a firm and equitable basis, the Transvaal legislation is sure to be copied under the Union, and then the Imperial Government will be powerless to afford relief.

The Indian Covenant

37. Moreover, the Indians are bound by a solemn covenant to secure the above relief, even though they may have to suffer imprisonment and worse, for an indefinite length of time. In virtue thereof, over 2,500 imprisonments, mostly with hard labour, have taken place during the two years and six months that the struggle has lasted. The prison life has been anything but tolerable. Indian prisoners are classed and accommodated with the South African Natives, and two-thirds of their food is the same as that of the Natives. There is no such thing as a political offence in the Transvaal. Indian prisoners, whom General Smuts himself has called conscientious objectors, are imprisoned with the worst criminals. The labour required of them is generally of a severe character. Indians who have never lifted a heavy weight or done any spade work have been put to wheeling heavily loaded barrows, digging holes, repairing roads, etc., side by side with Kaffir convicts of the worst type.

38. Many Indian families have been reduced to poverty. Many homes have been broken up. And several families whose wage-earners are now in the Transvaal gaols are dependent for their daily bread on public charity.

39. Latterly, the Government, by means of a secret arrangement with the Portuguese authorities, have taken to deporting to India those who do not comply with the provisions of the Asiatic Act and who can be dealt with under the deportation sections of that Act. Under this procedure children have been torn from their parents; boys born in South Africa, and to whom India is a foreign land, have been sent penniless to India. And, although Lord Crewe has denied that those who are domiciled in any of the South African Colonies outside the Transvaal are deported, at least one such case has undoubtedly happened of an Indian possessing educational attainments, and therefore capable of residing in Natal or the Cape, and possessing domicile in Delagoa Bay, being deported to India.

40. These are the means that the Government are using to bend the Indian covenanters to their will, and while they have partly succeeded, a sufficiently large number remains who show no signs of weakening. The most influential Mohammedan, and an undisputed leader of the Indians in South Africa, Mr. Dowd Mohmed, a resident of many years' standing in the Transvaal, and a man over 50 years of age; Mr. Parsee Rustomjee, a most prominent Parsee—another recognised leader—a man who has spent hundreds of pounds in the cause of education (even of children belonging to a faith not his own)—are both undergoing six months' imprisonment with hard labour. Two ex-sergeants, who served during the late Zulu rebellion and who are holders of the rebellion medals, are also undergoing a like term of imprisonment. At the present time there are nearly one hundred objectors undergoing imprisonment, and most of these have been through the gaols more than once in the course of the struggle.

The European Committee

41. Actuated by sympathy with the Indians in their sufferings, and believing in the justice of their cause, certain leading Europeans of Johannesburg have formed themselves into a committee to secure relief. This committee is led by Mr. William Hosken, M.L.A., and has been working actively in the matter.

Conclusion

42. Apart from any promise made by General Smuts, it is submitted that the two Indian demands are intrinsically just, that it is not difficult for the Government to grant them, and that, in order to have them granted, the Transvaal Indians have gone through a long course of

sustained suffering. In the circumstances, they feel that their covenant should be respected, and that regard for the wishes of the self-governing Colonies should not debar the Imperial Government from protecting British subjects in the same way as it would protect them in foreign countries—the more so when such subjects are unrepresented, as in the present instance.[1]

M. K. GANDHI
HAJEE HABIB

FOOTNOTE TO THE STATEMENT

Since preparing the foregoing statement, the delegates have received a telegram which shows that an Indian youth named Nagappen, who was sentenced on the 21st June last to be imprisoned for ten days with hard labour, in connection with the struggle, was discharged on the 30th June in a dying condition, and died on the 6th July. The allegations according to the cablegram are that it was bitterly cold, the blankets supplied were insufficient, the native warders were brutal, and medical attendance was not forthcoming. The same cablegram adds that Mr. Dowd Mahomed, one of the foremost Indians in South Africa, over fifty years old, and who was suffering imprisonment for six months, was discharged owing to illness. The date of the cablegram is 12th July, and if he was discharged after the death of Nagappen, he had completed five months' imprisonment.

NOTE A

UNDER THE BOER *Regime*	SINCE BRITISH ANNEXATION
Asiatics could freely enter the Republic and, subsequent to 1885, could reside and trade on payment of a £3 tax.	Only such Asiatics as could prove pre-war residence have been re-admitted.
"Registration" required by Law 3 of 1885 (amended in 1886) did not include identification particulars. It consisted merely of the payment of the £3 fee and the holding of the receipt therefor.	"Registration" voluntarily assented to by Asiatics in 1903, under advice of Lord Milner, included very full identification particulars.
	Re-registration under the Act of 1907 *is compulsory* and

[1] The original draft of this paragraph was amended on Lord Ampthill's suggestion. In his letter of August 4, he had advised: "It will not conciliate the Imperial Government to tell them that they have been 'shirking their duty' however true that may be, and we must conciliate them at this stage. How would it be to say that respect for Colonial Self-government does not debar the Imperial Government from protecting British subjects in the same way as it would protect them in foreign countries?"

Asiatics were denied burgher rights.

Asiatics might not own fixed property, save in Asiatic locations.

Asiatics were liable to be relegated to streets, wards, and locations specially set apart for that purpose.

Whereas Law 3 imposing the above disabilities was virtually inoperative, British Indians [were] being protected by His Majesty's Government.

Responsible English Ministers claimed for British Indians the equal rights of civilized subjects of the Empire. The British Government virtually pledged itself to the reinstatement in their just rights of Transvaal British Indians.

British Indian protests against the Boer Law were supported by Imperial Government, and the insistence by the Republic of its right to legislate indiscriminately against Asiatics within its borders figured prominently in the causes that led up to the war.

Generally, while theoretically British Indians were placed under the above disabilities, in practice the law was not strictly enforced.

additionally humiliating in details. It applies to all children from eight years of age upwards. Failure to re-register entails fine, imprisonment, and expulsion. (Since modified by Act 36 of 1908.)

Asiatics, including British Indians, are excluded from both political and municipal privileges.

This is still the case.

Asiatics, including British Indians, are still so liable, and are threatened with such segregation.

Since the annexation, and more especially since the grant of responsible government, British Indians have failed to secure such Imperial protection.

The British Government have apparently abandoned the self-same Indians, who resided in the Colony prior to its annexation, to the tyranny of trade rivals, and of a Government largely composed of legislators who were responsible for the Boer Law 3 of 1885.

Now, for want of effective Imperial protection, British Indians have been obliged to fall back on passive resistance, which has resulted in the imprisonment of 2,500 of their number, and other sufferings.

The restrictions upon the freedom of British Indians have been enforced with the utmost rigour, and the absence of a penalty clause to Law 3 of 1885 has alone saved the Indians from its worst consequences.

NOTE B

The Asiatic Bill provides that every Asiatic in the Colony should take out an identification ticket, and it also defines an Asiatic eligible for receiving such ticket. The definition states that only an Asiatic who is domiciled in the Transvaal from before the passing of this measure shall be eligible. The Bill further provides that every Asiatic who is held to be ineligible is subject to a removal order from the Colony.

The Immigration Bill, among other provisions, makes a person who is subject to a removal order a prohibited immigrant. Now, an educated Indian who has not been domiciled in the Colony before the passing of the Asiatic Bill is ineligible for holding an identification ticket, and is therefore subject to a removal order, and thus, under the Immigration Bill, is a prohibited immigrant.

NOTE C

The written compromise was that—

1. British Indians should voluntarily identify themselves.
2. That Act 2 of 1907 should not be applied to such British Indians, and that the voluntary identification should be legalised by a separate measure.

These terms are embodied in a letter addressed by Messrs Gandhi, Quinn, and Naidoo to the Transvaal Colonial Secretary, and dated 28th January, 1908[1]. Two days after the receipt of the letter, Mr. Gandhi, who was then a prisoner, was taken to Pretoria to discuss the compromise with the Colonial Secretary (Mr. Smuts), and a further discussion took place subsequent thereto. At these interviews, according to Mr. Gandhi's statement, Mr. Smuts promised to repeal the Asiatic Act (2 of 1907) on the completion by the Asiatics of their part of the bargain, *i.e.*, voluntarily identifying themselves.[2]

From a photostat of a printed copy: S. N. 5180

[1] The original has "26th January, 1907" which is a misprint; *vide* Vol. VIII, pp. 40-2.

[2] There was a further Note D, but this was not printed; *vide* "Letter to Lord Ampthill", pp. 335-6.

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180. LONDON

[After *July 16, 1909*]

Curzon Wyllie's Assassination

Under the heading "Deputation Notes", I have given all the information about the activities of the deputation that can be made public. Under the above heading, I give other news worth reporting.

The assassination of Sir Curzon Wyllie and Dr. Lalkaka was a terrible thing. Sir Curzon Wyllie served as an officer at several places in India. Here he was Lord Morley's aide-de-camp. Dr. Lalkaka was a Parsi physician and carried on business at Shanghai in China. He was here on a short visit only.

On July 2, there was a tea-meeting of the National Indian Association in the Jehangir Hall of the Imperial Institute. Such meetings are arranged with the object of bringing Indian students into contact with Englishmen, who therefore attend as the guests of Indians. Sir Curzon Wyllie was [thus] a guest of the assassin. From this point of view, Mr. Madanlal Dhingra murdered his guest in his own house, and also killed Dr. Lalkaka who tried to interpose himself between them.

It is being said in defence of Sir Curzon Wyllie's assassination that it is the British who are responsible for India's ruin, and that, just as the British would kill every German if Germany invaded Britain, so too it is the right of any Indian to kill any Englishman.

Every Indian should reflect thoughtfully on this murder. It has done India much harm; the deputation's efforts have also received a setback. But that need not be taken into consideration. It is the ultimate result that we must think of. Mr. Dhingra's defence is inadmissible. In my view, he has acted like a coward. Ail the same, one can only pity the man. He was egged on to do this act by ill-digested reading of worthless writings. His defence of himself, too, appears to have been learnt by rote. It is those who incited him to this that deserve to be punished. In my view, Mr. Dhingra himself is innocent. The murder was committed in a state of intoxication. It is not merely wine or *bhang* that makes one drunk; a mad idea also can do so. That was the case with Mr. Dhingra. The analogy of Germans and Englishmen is fallacious. If the Germans were to invade [Britain], the British would kill only the invaders. They would not kill every German whom they met. Moreover, they would not kill an unsuspecting German, or Germans who are guests. If I kill someone in my own house without a warning —someone who has done me no harm—I cannot but be called a coward. There is an ancient custom among the Arabs that they would not kill

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anyone in their own house, even if the person be their enemy. They would kill him after he had left the house and after he had been given time to arm himself. Those who believe in violence would be brave men if they observe these rules when killing anyone. Otherwise, they must be looked upon as cowards. It may be said that what Mr. Dhingra did, publicly and knowing full well that he himself would have to die, argues courage of no mean order on his part. But as I have said above, men can do these things in a state of intoxication, and can also banish the fear of death. Whatever courage there is in this is the result of intoxication, not a quality of the man himself. A man's own courage consists in suffering deeply and over a long period. That alone is a brave act which is preceded by careful reflection.

I must say that those who believe and argue that such murders may do good to India are ignorant men indeed. No act of treachery can ever profit a nation. Even should the British leave in consequence of such murderous acts, who will rule in their place? The only answer is: the murderers. Who will then be happy? Is the Englishman bad because he is an Englishman? Is it that everyone with an Indian skin is good? If that is so, we can claim no rights in South Africa, nor should there be any angry protest against oppression by Indian princes. India can gain nothing from the rule of murderers—no matter whether they are black or white. Under such a rule, India will be utterly ruined and laid waste. This train of thought leads to a host of reflections, but I have no time to set them down here. I am afraid some Indians will commend this murder. I believe they will be guilty of a heinous sin. We ought to abandon such fanciful ideas. More about this later.

"SUFFRAGIST"

The British women who have been demanding the franchise are putting up a wonderful show. They are not deterred by any kind of suffering. Some of these ladies have suffered in health, but they do not give up the struggle. Every day a number of them keep standing the whole night near Parliament gate with the intention of handing in a petition to Mr. Asquith. This is no ordinary courage. What great faith they must have! A great many women have been ruined, and more are being ruined, in this struggle, but they do not yield. Their campaign has gone on for a longer time than ours. We can learn quite a few things and draw much inspiration from it.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 14-8-1909

181. LETTER TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO LORD CREWE

LONDON,
July 20, 1909

PRIVATE SECRETARY TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES

SIR,

Mr. Ritch, the Secretary to the South Africa British Indian Committee, has already reported to the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for the Colonies the arrival of a delegation on behalf of British Indians in the Transvaal.

It consists of Mr. Hajee Habib of Pretoria, merchant and President of the Pretoria Anjuman Islam and myself, two other delegates[1] having been arrested and imprisoned under the Asiatic Registration Act before their departure.

My colleague and I have purposely refrained from seeking an interview with His Lordship, because we are endeavouring at the present moment to secure a settlement of the difficult question that has brought us here, without having to trouble the Imperial Government, but as the Conference regarding the South African Draft Act commences to-day, we consider it desirable that we should draw His Lordship's attention to the fact that the Transvaal Indian question has involved untold suffering to British Indians in that Colony, and that it still continues to cause grave anxiety to the British Indian leaders.

At the present stage we are desirous of avoiding a public discussion of the question, so as to facilitate a private settlement. We shall, therefore, be deeply grateful to His Lordship if he will be pleased to grant us a private interview, so as to enable us to place the position to date before His Lordship.

I have the honour to remain,
Sir,
Your obedient servant,
M. K. GANDHI

Colonial Office Records: 291/142; also, from a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S.N. 4951

[1] A. M. Cachalia and V. A. Chettiar; *vide* p. 290.

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182. LETTER TO LORD AMPTHILL

[LONDON,]
July 21, 1909

MY LORD,

I am extremely obliged to Your Lordship for your letter of the 20th inst. I am very sorry for the proper address not being on my letter[1]. The fact is, I have a special index of addresses, which was prepared when the deputation was last here. Miss Polak, who is still new to the work, looked up the index book and took down from among the three addresses given against your name the first one, which was put in there from a directory. The Bedford address was the third on the list, but as the work has been done somewhat under pressure, she hurriedly took the first, hence the mistake.

I agree with Your Lordship that Mr. Merriman's letter[2] is rather discouraging. At the same time, I respectfully venture to think that, if somehow or other you could come in personal contact with the South African politicians, it will be useful for future action in connection with the Imperial work that you, as President of the South Africa British Indian Committee, are engaged in.

There is no doubt that, under the Union, a great deal of trouble is in store for British Indians throughout South Africa.

The Hon'ble Mr. Sauer, to whom also I wrote,[3] has not said anything in reply, from which I assume he retains still the same position that he did on board.

I am obliged to Your Lordship for offering to see Sir W. Lee-Warner. I can well understand the pressure on your valuable time. It is therefore a matter for grateful satisfaction to all who know Your Lordship, as it is to my colleague and myself, that amid your many duties you find time to give so much attention to the British Indian question in the Transvaal and other parts of South Africa.

[1] Gandhiji had an interview with Lord Ampthill on July 14, and seems subsequently to have addressed him a letter which is not available.

[2] *Vide* "Letter to H. S. L. Polak", p. 307.

[3] This letter is not available.

I have already addressed a letter[1] to the Private Secretary to the Earl of Crewe asking for a private interview, and a similar application[2] has gone forward to the Private Secretary to Lord Morley.

I beg to remain,
Your Lordship's obedient servant,

LORD AMPTHILL, G. C. S. I., G. C. I. E.
CURZON HOTEL
CURZON STREET, W.

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S.N. 4953

183. LETTER TO "SOUTH AFRICA"

[LONDON,]
July 22, 1909

SIR,

In your leading article in the current number, you state that:

> Mr. Gandhi, of Natal and Transvaal fame, admits that the campaign of himself and his friends will be dictated by sympathisers in England, whose names by the way are unfortunately associated with the dangerous movement in India, which has been brought into such startling prominence of late.

Will you kindly allow me to say in reply that what I said to Reuter's Agent[3] was that our movements will be guided by the advice that may be given us by Lord Ampthill and his Committee.

I am not aware that Lord Ampthill or his colleagues are associated with what you call "the dangerous movement in India". Moreover, for passive resisters there can be no dictation save that of their consciences. They are under solemn obligation to secure what they are justly entitled to, and, in their endeavour to do so, they are resolved to undergo personal suffering to any extent, not even excluding death. The test of true passive resistance is sacrifice of self and not of others.

Indian Opinion, 21-8-1909

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Private Secretary to Lord Crewe", p. 304.
[2] This is not available.
[3] *Vide* "Interview to Reuter", pp. 280-1.

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184. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

[LONDON,]
July 22, 1909

MY DEAR HENRY,

I have nothing very startling to report. Mr. Ameer Ali who saw Sir Richard, came over yesterday to the hotel and he seemed rather hopeful. Sir William Lee-Warner and Mr. Morison were also at the hotel, but they merely wanted to understand the true position.

I enclose herewith the copy of a letter from Lord Ampthill, which speaks for itself. I have applied for a private interview with the Colonial Secretary, as also with the Secretary of State for India. There appears in today's *Morning Post* a statement to the effect that the control of differential Asiatic legislation will be in the hands of the Governor-General and Council and not in the hands of the Provincial Councils. I do not know what this means; it may mean much or it may mean little.

Mr. Merriman, to whose letter Lord Ampthill has made reference, states that, beyond expressing the wish that there should be no legislation repellent to the Liberal principles which the South African statesmen pretended to profess, he would not be able to do anything. We have seen Stead[1] who too has promised to see General Smuts. I need not worry you with the names of others whom we have seen. By the time this letter reaches you, the result of the private negotiations will have been known; I therefore do not want to forecast it.

I am certain that you will cable your arrival in India. It is a pity I do not know the name of the steamer by which you were to go to India. However, I am sending a cable[2] to Daphtary with a view to his making some arrangements in advance.

Millie will be here the day after to-morrow. Mater has already engaged apartments—two bedrooms and one sitting room for £1 per week. They will be fixed up there but will take their meals with Mater. This appears to me to be a very serviceable arrangement, and will give Millie complete rest. The weather just now is very fine and it ought to prove very suitable for the children.

I think I forgot to mention to you the name of Professor Bhandarkar[3]. He is, as you know, one of the greatest Sanskrit scholars of the age. I am sure you will go to Poona; you should then make it a point to see

[1] W. T. Stead (1849-1912); eminent publicist and editor of *Review of Reviews*

[2] This is not available.

[3] Dr. Ramakrishna Gopal Bhandarkar (1837-1925); orientalist, Sanskrit scholar and social reformer; author of several books on religion and history

him; you may even draw him out of his seclusion on this question, but, in any case, it would be better for you to come in contact with him. You should also see Mr. Nazar's[1] son. His address is Girgaum.

I am sending you a copy of the list of those who took part in the banquet to the Ottoman Parliament delegates. The function was brilliant but I came away from it much saddened. The banqueting hall was crowded; the dinner took nearly three hours. The fumes from the wine-glasses and the smoke from the cigars or cigarettes, smoked by nearly three hundred guests, had a most depressing effect on the mind. I then involuntarily called it "refined savagery", and it reminded me of the scene described by poets at banquets held by *Rakshasas*[2].

The statement[3] of the case that was sent you last week has not yet been published. The summary[4] has been revised; I enclose copy herewith, as also copy of my letter[5] to Professor Gokhale.

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4956

185. LETTER TO G. K. GOKHALE

LONDON,
July 23, 1909

DEAR PROFESSOR GOKHALE,

By the time this reaches you, Mr. Polak will have been in India. Our work here is very difficult; this, however, will be no news to you. I merely mention it by way of introduction, in order to enable me to ask you if you can spare the time to give special attention to it.

I am most anxious that our leaders should realize the national importance of the struggle. Mr. Polak has been sent as a missionary to do this work. We will continue to suffer in the Transvaal until justice is granted, but we have a right to expect much more than we have yet received from the Motherland.

Mr. Polak's work is very difficult. I have asked him to place himself unreservedly under your instructions and I know that you will not spare yourself in making his work as light as possible. We are endeavouring by private negotiations to arrive at a settlement, but I know Mr. Smuts too well to put much faith in these negotiations. In a week's time we

[1] Mansukhlal Hiralal Nazar, first editor of *Indian Opinion* and Gandhiji's colleague. He died in 1906; *vide* Vol. V, pp. 179-81.

[2] Demons in Indian mythology known for their bacchanalian feasts

[3] *Vide* "Statement of Transvaal Indian Case", pp. 288-301.

[4] *Vide* "Letter to the Press", pp. 515-7.

[5] This seems to have been dated and despatched the next day; *vide* the following items.

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may be obliged to take public action, and in that case it will be absolutely necessary for India to support our prayer, if we are to do anything at all. May I look to you to do whatever you may consider necessary?[1]

I enclose herewith a summary of a longer statement that we have prepared, and that will be published immediately the result of the negotiations is known—provided they are unsuccessful.

I am,
Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

THE HON'BLE PROFESSOR GOKHALE, M.L.C.
POONA

From a photostat of the typewritten original: G. N. 4110

186. LETTER TO MRS. VOGL

LONDON,
July 23, 1909

DEAR MRS. VOGL[2],

Miss Schlesin tells me that you were present at an Indian Women's meeting. I was delighted to have the news. I know that you can impart your own enthusiasm to them and I know also how much they appreciate the sympathy of their European sisters.

Miss Schlesin will give you all the information about the work here. I will therefore close, with my thanks to you for your work and regard[s] to both you and Mr. Vogl.

Whenever you want more copies of *Indian Opinion*, you should simply ask for them at the office.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

[PS.]

Mrs. Polak arrives today.

From the typewritten original signed by Gandhiji: C. W. 4408
Courtesy: Arun Gandhi

[1] Polak had a long talk with Gokhale, and in his letter of August 14 reported to Gandhiji: "He is not hopeful, but is putting the whole of his energies and organisation at my disposal. Agrees to necessity of meeting. Promises to work on Sir P[herozeshah] M[ehta] who is holding back. Maps out itinerary—Bombay, Poona, Surat, Baroda, Ahmedabad, Madras, Calcutta, U.P. etc., etc. Will arrange everything for the future. Wonderful man, has most accurate knowledge of facts and principles. Huge admirer of yours. Is worn out with overwork, worry and malaria fever."

[2] Mrs. Vogl conducted classes for Indian women and organized Indian Bazaars in Johannesburg. She, as also her husband, a draper, took keen interest in the cause of Indians.

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187. LONDON

[*July 23, 1909*]

Dr. Abdul Majid

A party was arranged in honour of Syed Abdul Majid, LL.D., who is proceeding to India in a few days. Mr. Hajee Habib and I attended it by invitation. An occasion offering itself, there was a discussion on the Transvaal problem. Dr. Syed Abdul Majid promised to work [for us] in India. Some whites were also present at the function. Mr. Ritch, too, attended.

Ottoman Party

Some members of the Turkish Parliament have arrived here specially with the intention of meeting prominent leaders of the British nation. A dinner was given in their honour in Hotel Cecil. Among the members, the chief is Mr. Tallat. Others include Mustafa Arif Bey, Jawad Bey, Dr. Reeza Taufik Bey, Mehmen Ali Bey, Zuberzade, Ahmed Pasha, Mighat Bey, Suleman Khustani, Nazim Mazalian Effendi, Sassoon Effendi and Fazal Arif Effendi.

The party must have been attended by nearly 300 persons. The Earl of Oslo was in the chair. Lord Curzon was also present. About 50 Indians attended. Among them were Mr. Justice Ameer Ali, Nawab Imd-ul-Mulk Syed Hussain Bilgrami, Major Syed Hussain, Sir Muncherji Bhownaggree and others.

Lord Curzon was the principal speaker. Mr. Suleman Khustani, who replied on behalf of the Turkish members, is a Christian. He said that in the Turkish Empire all enjoyed equal rights.

Dhingra Case

Mr. Madanlal Dhingra's case came up for hearing today (the 23rd). We were not permitted to be present in the court. Since Mr. Dhingra did not put up any defence, the case did not take much time. He only stated that he had done the deed for the good of his country, and that he did not regard it as a crime. The presiding judge sentenced him to death. I have already given my views about this assassination.[1] Mr. Dhingra's statement, according to me, argues mere childishness or mental derangement. Those who incited him to this act will be called to account in God's court, and are also guilty in the eyes of the world.

[1] *Vide* "London", pp. 302-3.

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Shadow of Dhingra Case

Mr. Dhingra's case has led to Government action against *The Indian Sociologist*. The journal had published a categorical statement that homicide for the good of one's country was no murder. The printer, poor man, has been sentenced to four months' imprisonment for printing such a violent article. The man who has been sentenced is a poor, innocent Englishman, who was entirely ignorant [of what he was printing]. The authors are in Paris, and hence the Government is unable to get at them. Such acts will not advance the progress of the nation. So long as the people do not throw up men who will be prepared to invite the utmost suffering on themselves, India will never prosper.

Natal Deputation

The Natal deputation is due to arrive next week. By that time, the Union Act will have been passed. The conference over the Act is in session. It is not likely to propose any important modifications. It appears that amendment of the existing laws relating to the Coloured races will be kept within the jurisdiction of the Union Parliament. This means nothing. If not actual death, it is something very much like it. I am afraid the Natal deputation is arriving too late. Even otherwise, I do not think much could have been achieved.

Dr. Abdurrahman

Dr. Abdurrahman has been working very hard. He has had an interview even with Lord Crewe. But it does not seem likely that it will lead to anything. Mr. Schreiner has been striving hard. There will be a party in his honour on the 27th in the Hotel, from where I am writing this.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 21-8-1909

188. LETTER TO UNDER SECRETARY FOR COLONIES

London,
July 24, 1909

TO
THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE
COLONIAL OFFICE
WHITEHALL, S.W.

SIR,

With reference to your letter of the 23rd instant No. 24316/1909—I have the honour to state that my colleague and I, if received, will, in

view of the approaching unification of South Africa, place before His Lordship the position of the British Indians in the Transvaal as it arises from, and is affected by, the voluntary suffering that the British Indians in the Transvaal have undergone and are still undergoing. It was the wish of the majority of those British Indians who, being too weak to put up with physical suffering or to risk pecuniary loss, have yielded obedience to the Asiatic Registration Act they nevertheless do not like, that we should proceed to London and, taking advantage of the presence in London of the chief members of the Transvaal Government, lay before His Lordship the Indian position in the hope of securing friendly intervention and thereby, if possible, ending a situation that has caused untold suffering to hundreds of innocent British Indians.

British Indians in the Transvaal have, for the past two years and six months, been moving the Transvaal Government to repeal the Asiatic Registration Act of 1907, and so remove the humiliation it imposes upon them, and to respect the status of highly educated Indians desiring to enter the Transvaal in accordance with British traditions and in a manner similar to that obtaining in the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope and the other British Colonies.

I venture to hope that His Lordship will be pleased to give us an opportunity of laying the case before him personally, and so carry out the purpose for which we have been specially sent by the Indian community in the Transvaal.

I have, etc.,
M. K. GANDHI

Colonial Office Records: 291/142; also, from a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4958

189. DEPUTATION NOTES [–IV][1]

[*July 24, 1909*]

I think I reported last week that we met Sir William Lee-Warner and Mr. Morison in the hotel where we are staying. They expressed their sympathy. Afterwards we met Major Syed Hussain Bilgrami. He has agreed to do his best. We also saw, through the good offices of Miss Winterbottom, a lady named Mrs. Tedman. She has married a Dutchman. Mr. Tedman works for a Dutch newspaper there and knows General Botha and others. He has promised to see General Botha.

[1] In *Indian Opinion*, the title of this and the subsequent dispatches was changed from "Deputation's Voyage" to "English Deputation's Voyage", as another series entitled "Indian Deputation's Voyage" had commenced.

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We also called on a journalist named Mr. Brown, who had been helpful during the previous deputation [in 1906].

The Parsi Anjuman gave a dinner in honour of one Mr. Bhedwar, a Parsi barrister, with Sir Muncherji in the chair. We were invited to attend the function. [Several] Indians made speeches on that occasion promising to help us. We, too, as also Mr. Ritch, were given an opportunity to say a few words on the subject.

We had an interview with Mr. Stead, editor of the *Review of Reviews*. He is on good terms with General Smuts and has promised to see him.

We met Mr. Gupta and Nawab Imd-ul-Mulk Syed Hussain Bilgrami, members of the India Office. We have explained the entire position to them.

We had meetings with others also, but these, being unimportant, I am not reporting.

As advised by Lord Ampthill, we have requested Lord Crewe and Lord Morley to fix time for interviews with them. There has been a reply from Lord Crewe, asking us to give reasons why we want to see him. We have sent a reply.[1] Whether an interview will be granted or not will be known next week.

The more experience I have of meeting so-called big men or even men who are really great, the more disgusted I feel after every such meeting. All such efforts are no better than pounding chaff. Everyone appears preoccupied with his own affairs. Those who occupy positions of power show little inclination to do justice. Their only concern is to hold on to their positions. We have to spend a whole day in arranging for an interview with one or two persons. Write a letter to the person concerned, wait for his reply, acknowledge it and then go to his place. One may be living in the north and another in the south. Even after all this fuss, one cannot be very hopeful about the outcome. If considerations of justice had any appeal, we would have got [what we want] long before now. The only possibility is that some concessions may be granted through fear. It can give no pleasure to a satyagrahi to have to work in such conditions.

I think it will be far better to submit to still further suffering than exhaust ourselves in such efforts and waste so much money on them. If, in spite of the difficulties, our demands are conceded, I shall conclude that we had suffered enough to have earned the concessions. If they are not conceded, I shall believe that still more sacrifices are called for. I can think of no course so wonderfully effective as voluntary suffering. Even the most powerful orators cannot protest as effectively as [such] suffering can. Suffering is bound to bring redress. Those who are prepared to suffer need not advertise their suffering. I believe, it will speak

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

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for itself. Accordingly, I advise every Indian to have suffering as his companion. Everything else is mere bubbles in water. Do not expect much from the deputation. Always bear in mind that there is no help like self-help, and be ready for gaol. That way alone lies victory.

The cables received from other towns have been forwarded to the Colonial Office and the India Office.

INOPPORTUNE

Everyone believes that the deputation has arrived at an inopportune time. In no more than a few days, all the important men will have left London. They take a holiday in the month of August. It is therefore difficult to undertake any public activity. The situation is awkward, to be sure, but the circumstances would not have permitted sending the deputation at some other time. It was necessary that it should have been here just when the others from South Africa were here. And the upshot of it is that, if the private moves bear no fruit, there is precious little possibility of gaining anything through public representations.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 21-8-1909

190. LETTER TO LORD AMPTHILL

[LONDON,]
July 26, 1909

MY LORD,

I am obliged to Your Lordship for your letter of the 24th instant.

I do not put the interpretation you have upon the absence of reply from Mr. Sauer,[1] for I simply informed him that Your Lordship would probably write to him. I am, therefore, rather inclined to think that he is still in the same receptive mood that I found him in on board. I told Your Lordship that Mr. Sauer was more enthusiastic than Mr. Merriman.

Mr. Hajee Habib and I have just returned from a private visit to Lord Morley. His Lordship gave us a very sympathetic consideration and said that he would write to Lord Crewe, and on my suggestion, agreed to discuss the question with Mr. Smuts. Lord Crewe has not yet sent an appointment, but he has asked us to reduce to writing the points we would discuss at the interview, if granted. The letter giving the points went forward on Saturday.[2]

Sir Richard Solomon has sent a confidential note saying that he has already discussed the whole question with Mr. Smuts, but that

[1] Lord Ampthill had felt that they could not profitably work in that quarter.
[2] *Vide* " Letter to Under Secretary for Colonies", pp. 311-2.

it might be some time before General Smuts decides, as he would be very busy with the conference work. As I know Mr. Smuts so very well, this delay is somewhat ominous, because he has more than once put off friends who have approached him on inconvenient matters. Should we, apart from an interview with Lord Morley and that with Lord Crewe—if it is granted, make a written submission, a short statement is quite ready.[1] I have refrained from having it printed for circulation because of the negotiations that are going on, but if the progress of the negotiations virtually enforce silence upon us, that can hardly apply to the friends of the cause. Would not the purpose be served if Your Lordship wrote, or several public men jointly wrote, to Lord Crewe urging him to use his good offices with the Transvaal ministers to signalize the advent of the Union, by granting the small concessions to British Indians in the Transvaal, who have suffered so much and so terribly for them.[2]

Your Lordship may have noticed that a deputation on behalf of the Aborigines' Protection Society was to have waited upon the South African Premiers and other public men, and that it did not so wait only because Sir Charles Dilke[3], who was to have led the deputation, could not accept the time that was appointed by these gentlemen.

I cannot help feeling that, if Your Lordship were still to seek a discussion with Mr. Merriman and Mr. Sauer or, failing them, with Messrs Botha and Smuts, it cannot but be good. May I also state that it is very largely within the power of Sir George Farrar[4] and

[1] Perhaps unaware of the fact that Gandhiji had already prepared a statement, Lord Ampthill, in his letter of July 24, had suggested to Gandhiji: "You should draw up a very brief and explicit statement of your demands for submission to the authorities of the Imperial and Colonial Governments and for the information of the public at large. Such a document must necessarily be very brief and, if I were to advise, I should say that the reasons which you give in support of your demand should mainly lay stress on the desirability of ending a quarrel which all must in their hearts deplore and of enabling His Majesty's Indian subjects in the Transvaal to share in the general rejoicing over the union of South Africa. You could then send this statement to His Majesty's Ministers, to the Colonial representatives in this country, and to the Press." *Vide* "Statement of Transvaal Indian Case", pp. 288-301.

[2] Replying to this in his letter of July 28, Lord Ampthill observed: "I think that I am right in saying that there is no question of altering the South Africa Bill which does not touch the problem at all. All that is wanted is that the passage of the Bill through Parliament should be signalized by an announcement on behalf of the Transvaal Government that they intend by a conspicuous act of grace to put an end to the difficulty and remove the Indian grievance."

[3] Sir Charles Wentworth Dilke (1843-1911); politician, writer, Member of Parliament and Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, 1880-2

[4] (1859-1915); a mine-owner and legislator of the Transvaal; served in the South African War, 1899-1900; a leading member of the Progressive Party

Sir Percy Fitzpatrick[1] to bring about a settlement, and if Your Lordship could even see them, I am sure a way would be opened to a satisfactory solution.

I would venture to invite Your Lordship's special attention to the current number of *Indian Opinion*; it contains three remarkable petitions[2] and facts about the Indian deputation.

I hope that Your Lordship will pardon me for encroaching upon your time.

I am, etc.,

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4960

191. LETTER TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO LORD MORLEY

LONDON,
July 26, 1909

THE PRIVATE SECRETARY TO
THE RIGHT HON'BLE THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA
WHITEHALL, S.W.

SIR,

I shall be obliged if you will place the following before Lord Morley:

At the private interview[3] that His Lordship was graciously pleased to grant to Mr. Hajee Habib and myself, I was unable, owing to want of time, to say all I had intended to. I wish, therefore, on behalf of my colleague and myself to state that the two outstanding questions between the Transvaal Government and the Indian community—namely, the repeal of the Asiatic Act and the guarding of the status of educated British Indians on a basis similar to that adopted in the other Colonies, are the questions which are of paramount importance, because of the solemn covenant undertaken by the community. This, however, does not mean that the British Indians do not feel aggrieved about the other disabilities in the Transvaal, such, for instance, as the prohibition to hold landed property, riding on the tramcars, etc.

We, however, feel that these questions are not those for which the community has suffered imprisonment or suffered such personal hardships as it has for the removal of those two grievances. British Indians will, however, continue to adopt the means they have hitherto adopted

[1] (1862-1931); a mining magnate, author of several books on South Africa, a prominent member of the Progressive Party

[2] These were addressed by the Transvaal Indians to the Queen, Dadabhai Naoroji and the President of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce. *Vide* Appendix XV.

[3] This had taken place earlier in the day; *vide* the preceding item.

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for the removal of the other disabilities. But the two grievances above-named have been separated from the others by reason of the terrible suffering that they have involved and will continue to involve until a proper settlement is arrived at.

My colleague and I trust that Lord Morley will be able to find time to give special attention to this matter and, by his friendly offices on behalf of those whose interests are in his keeping secure an honourable settlement.

I have, etc.,
M. K. GANDHI

Colonial Office Records: 291/142; also, from a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4961

192. DEPUTATION NOTES [–V]

[After *July 26, 1909*]

There have been very few interviews during this week. Most of the time was spent in writing letters and meeting all sorts of people.

MOST IMPORTANT INTERVIEW

The most important interview[1] was with Lord Morley. The gentleman saw us in his private capacity. It is difficult to say whether his reply was satisfactory or not. I shall only say that he has promised to help.

Lord Ampthill has been striving hard. What he has been doing is completely private, so that I shall write nothing about it. He is fully confident that a settlement will be reached. We are in continuous correspondence with him. We must now await the outcome. I gather from his letter that something will be known next week. If so, the news will be conveyed through cable, so that perhaps the result will have been known by the time this article appears in print.

Should the outcome be satisfactory, it must not be attributed to any very strong pressure applied in England, but only to our gaol-going. Anyone here can easily see this. Every white who hears of our gaol-going is struck with admiration. Voluntary submission to suffering cannot but have a powerful effect. This has been my experience again and again.

Mr. Hajee Habib, Mr. Abdul Caadir and I were invited to Miss Smith's. Everyone there was talking about the same thing, namely, gaol-going. The very mention of gaol-going impressed people. I see the time drawing nearer every day when no one, whether black

[1] This had taken place on July 26; *vide* "Letter to Lord Ampthill", p. 314.

or white, will succeed in obtaining a hearing by merely making petitions. If I am right, then, no force in the world can compare with soul force, that is to say, with satyagraha. I therefore wish that Indians should fill the gaols if, by the time this letter is published, there has been no decision or solution.

On August 9, a number of Indian friends will have been released. It is my request to all of them to be fearless and go back to gaol. Let them not betray the pledge they have taken. Such is the prevailing wind all over the world; everyone, young or old, feels the call of patriotism. Much evil [often] results from this. Those who embrace satyagraha will alone be able to serve with the right kind of devotion.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 28-8-1909

193. LETTER TO LORD AMPTHILL

[LONDON,]
July 28, 1909

MY LORD,

Sir Muncherjee wrote privately to General Smuts requesting an interview. General Smuts has offered to send him an appointment after the pressure on his time is relieved. This may mean much or little, but, as it may also mean that General Smuts intends by delaying the matter to prevent a public discussion of our mission, I feel that the time has come to circulate our statement and let the authorities as also the British public know what our mission is. Sir Muncherjee not only agrees with this but is insistent on it, but, as in my letter of the 26th inst., I have expressed the contrary opinion, I consider it my duty to place the new phase before Your Lordship and request your opinion as to the desirability of publishing the statement. May I trouble you to send me a telegraphic reply.[1]

I have seen Mr. Ritch's letter about holding a Committee meeting. I venture to think that a Committee meeting is now necessary.[2]

I am, etc.,

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S.N. 4966

[1] Lord Ampthill sent a telegram next day to Gandhiji, reading: "Have written fully in reply to your letter of yesterday." In his letter, he deprecated publication of the statement; *vide* Appendix XVII.

[2] Lord Ampthill felt that a Committee meeting would serve no useful purpose at the moment. In his letter of July 28 to L. W. Ritch, he wrote: "I am giving hours of time to this business daily but I have no time for any unnecessary meeting; if the necessity for a meeting should arise I shall let you know at once. Mr. Gandhi's mere

194. LETTER TO LORD AMPTHILL

[LONDON,]
July 29, 1909

MY LORD,

I am extremely obliged to Your Lordship for the very great trouble you are taking over the Indian cause in the Transvaal which you have made your own. Immediately on reading your letter[1], I telegraphed[2] saying that nothing would be done without consultation with Your Lordship and that I was writing this letter and sending the statement[3].

Perhaps I should explain that most of the letters, which I would otherwise like to write myself, are dictated, because I write, I am sorry to confess, a very indifferent and illegible hand.

My colleague and I are very pleased to find that you have been able to see the distinguished men whom you have mentioned in your letter.

I am enclosing statement in proof form because, in anticipation of Your Lordship's approval, it was sent to the printers yesterday, but it will not be published or submitted without consultation with Your Lordship.

If the Act of 1907 is repealed and a promise given that six Indians will be admitted to the Transvaal annually in the way I have proposed, I would certainly be contented. . .[4] similar question was put to me by Lord Morley also. May I [hope that the matter will be reconsidered by the][5] Transvaal Parliament or the Provincial Council as the case may be, and that the Immigration Law will be amended so as to leave it open for Indians of great culture to enter the Transvaal under the general education test. The number will be limited to six, not in the law

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presence in this country, his demand for interviews with Lords Morley, Crewe have roused the responsible authorities to a sense that the question must be considered. They have promised to consider it, they are considering it, so that no public pressure would be opportune or wise at this moment. I am to see General Smuts next week and it is on him that everything depends. For goodness' sake, keep the Committee and the M.P.s quiet just for the present." He had further observed: "The letter which I have just written to Mr. Gandhi and which I have asked him to show to you will explain why there is nothing for the Committee to do."

[1] *Vide* Appendix XVII.

[2] This telegram is not available.

[3] *Vide* "Statement of Transvaal Indian Case", pp. 288-301.

[4] The original being mutilated, some words are missing here.

[5] Here a line is missing. The words in square brackets have been conjectured in the light of the context.

itself, but it will be limited or regulated by administrative action, that is to say, by the imposing of a severe enough test so that the Immigration Officer will pass only six Indians in any one year. So far as immigration is concerned, such Indian immigrants will be free from any measure of registration or identification, their identification being the examination, they will have to pass at the border. The whole position, I believe, I have clearly explained to Sir Richard Solomon and I believe, too, that he has understood it.

There undoubtedly are other grievances in the Transvaal, as for instance, the prohibition to hold landed property, to ride in the tram-cars, etc., and we will have to trouble the local authorities as also Your Lordship for assistance in the matter, but the distinction between the two grievances which have brought the deputation to London and the others is, that the former have entailed passive resistance involving untold suffering by us, and must continue to do, so long as I can help it, until the grievances are redressed or every Indian perishes in the attempt to have them redressed. The latter grievances are of long standing; there is no solemn covenant to impose upon ourselves personal suffering in order to remove them and we can wait for public opinion to mature and prejudice to die out, without reducing ourselves to penury and filling the Transvaal gaols.

It is to me a test of Your Lordship's very great interest [in our struggle][1] as also, may I say, of your high-mindedness. . .[2] passive resistance. Will you excuse me for saying that I know of no Indian, whether here, in South Africa or in India, who had so steadily, even defiantly, set his face against sedition—as I understand it—as I have. It is part of my faith not to have anything to do with it, even at the risk of my life. Most people, that is most Indians and Anglo-Indians, express their detestation of bomb throwing and violence in words or in unreasonable action. The movement in the Transvaal, with which I have identified myself is an eloquent and standing protest in action against such methods. The test of passive resistance is self-suffering and not infliction of suffering on others. We have, therefore, not only never received a single farthing from "the party of sedition" in India or elsewhere, but even if there was any offer, we should, if we were true to our principles, decline to receive it. We have hitherto made it a point not to approach the Indian public in India for financial assistance. The accounts of the British Indian Association are open to the world. A statement of income and expenditure is published from time to time and is advertised in *Indian Opinion.*[3] Mr. Doke, Mr. Phillips[4], and other

[1] The original is damaged here.
[2] Here a whole line is cut off.
[3] *Vide* Vol. VII, Appendix VII.
[4] Charles Phillips, Congregational Minister in the Transvaal

notable men who are working in the Transvaal for us, know this fact most intimately. May I add, too, that the idea of passive resistance originated in South Africa was independent of any movement in India and that we have sometimes been bitterly assailed by some of our Indian friends for pinning our faith to passive resistance pure and simple?

I hope Your Lordship will pardon me for introducing so much of the personal element, as also for the length of this letter, which was unavoidable.

If any further elucidation or information be necessary, you can only add to the debt of gratitude to me by commanding [me to furnish the same.][1]

Mr. Ritch points out that this explanation may not be quite clear to Your Lordship. He suggests my adding:

The Immigration Law imposes an educational test on all immigrants white or black. The severity of the test is left to the discretion of the Immigration Officer. There will not be, there is not now, the same test for all. The officer, therefore, will set one test for Europeans—and perhaps no test at all, as happens often in Natal—and another for Indians. The Courts will not interfere with such exercise of discretion. General Smuts has said that the present Immigration Law does not give so wide a discretion as this to the Immigration Officer. If that be so, the law can easily be altered to extend the measure of discretion to the necessary degree. I have already submitted through Mr. Dallow an amendment which, in my opinion, would satisfactorily effect this. Mr. Smuts did not reject my amendment, but said that he did not consider it desirable to alter the law during that session (June last). Armed with the necessary powers, the Immigration Officer need admit only six Indians under the educational test. If a seventh applied, he can plough him by imposing a test impossible for him to pass, just as is done in Australia.

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4968

[1] The original is damaged here.

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195. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

[LONDON,]
July 30, 1909

MY DEAR HENRY,

Not many visits have been paid during the last week and yet a very great deal of work has been done. Lord Ampthill has been doing very well; he was in touch with Sir George Farrar, General Smuts and Lord Selborne on the one hand and Lords Crewe, Morley, Lansdowne and Curzon on the other. He himself seems to be very hopeful. I send you copy of my long letter[1] to him.

Sir Muncherji, too, wrote asking for an interview with Smuts and he has promised to send him an appointment as soon as pressure upon his time has been removed. This interview was invited when it was unknown what definite action Lord Ampthill was taking. Arrangements were also made for beginning a public campaign on a gigantic scale. I have it sketched out in my mind, but, in view of Lord Ampthill's work, everything remains in suspension.[2]

We saw Lord Morley on Monday; he gave us about half-an-hour. Sir Charles Lyall[3] was present at the interview; it was private and informal. He wanted to know whether the feeling in India was keen on the matter. I told him it was and I told him also that the reason why a meeting had not been held in Bombay was that Sir Pherozeshah feared violence. No one could be prevented from attending the meeting or from making bitter speeches. The question, in my opinion, shows that he is not satisfied that the feeling in India is keen, or rather, invites an emphatic expression of opinion from all over India. However, he has promised to pass on the substance of the interview to Lord Crewe and even to see Smuts. You will be surprised to learn that he did not know that General Smuts was in London, and he had forgotten everything about objections to the Asiatic Act.

On your side, you should have meetings, if they will hold meetings; if not that, representations should[4] be sent from various bodies and, if you can get sufficient volunteers, you may have a brief petition signed by thousands. I hope you have had the petitions[5] to Dadabhai Naoroji and

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.
[2] *Vide* Appendix XVI.
[3] (1845-1920); Anglo-Indian administrator
[4] The original has "to".
[5] *Vide* Appendix XV.

the President of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce translated in the principal languages and widely distributed. In each place, if you are properly supported, you should be able to get volunteers. They should then take up these copies and distribute them. They can be posted near mosques, temples, theatres and such other places.

I expect a cablegram from you today, after which I will hope to send you a brief cable. If, however, I do not receive one from you to-day, I may cable independently either tomorrow or Monday. Mr. Anglia and the other two arrive tomorrow. Mr. Abdul Caadir is still staying at the same hotel with us. I hope you will secure Indian directories and a suitable English-into Gujarati and Gujarati-into-English dictionary and other books of reference or study which are not obtainable in South Africa. You may also discuss our scheme of education with Professor Gokhale; he, being a very great educationalist, may give helpful hints. You ought to be able, with Chhaganlal[1], to fix up an agency in Bombay, and you may be able to come to some definite understanding with Natesan[2] also for propagating our views and ideas.

Millie arrived on Saturday. Pater went to Southampton, but he did not return with them. They were received by Mater, Maud, Hajee Habib, Hoosen and myself. Sallie could not come because she had to attend to her business. Both Millie and Celia, as also Waldo and baby, were looking very nice. I think they look all the better for the voyage. They had a good time on board. Celia went to find Amy and then directly went to the apartments; Millie came to the hotel with baby, as the arrangement was that Celia should come with Amy to the hotel, but she, in her excitement, did not take in the name of the hotel where I am staying and went to Hotel Cecil and, afterwards, directly to the apartments. Waldo has a slight touch of cold, nothing serious about it.

There was an at-home at Miss Smith's; Millie and Maud were there. I think both of them enjoyed it; it was rather good and there was good company. There were a few Indian ladies also. Millie became chummy with one of them—Mrs. Dube. She is Hindustani though she was partly brought up in Bombay; she speaks English very nicely. Millie will come into closer contact with her.

She does not like the apartments she is in and will probably take a small house partly furnished, either in Cricklewood or near Kew. I have suggested to her that she should have Hoosen with her; it would

[1] Chhaganlal Gandhi was expected to have left for India at this time, *en route* to England to study for the Bar, but was held up for a few months owing to A. H. West's illness.

[2] G. A. Natesan (1873-1949); politician and publisher; founder and editor of the *Indian Review*

be mutually satisfactory. Hoosen is going on splendidly; a better youth it will be difficult to find, but he is somewhat dreamy, he has not the go that I should expect a youth of his age to have and does not give himself enough exercise, but, as he is not self-willed, he will easily accept a gentle guidance from Millie, with whom I have discussed what should be done for him. Amy is also staying with Millie. I understand that Amy has grown wonderfully, but she is not a steady girl and she causes some anxiety to Millie. I sent a cablegram[1] on Monday to Daphtary, Morality[2] and the Presidency Association[3] regarding you. I am curious to know whether the cablegrams were acted upon.

I attended a great suffragette meeting last night; met Mrs. Pankhurst[4] also. I am sending you their weekly *Votes for Women*. We have a great deal to learn from these ladies and their movement. I have other pamphlets which I thought I would send on to you, but, on second thoughts, I should send them to Johannesburg or Phœnix. I will get another set for you; you will then have it next week.

Mrs. Ritch's progress continues to be steady. This time I hardly think there can be any relapse.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S.N. 4970

196. LONDON

Friday, July 30, 1909

Natal Delegates

The Natal delegates will arrive here tomorrow morning. Some of us have made preparations to go and receive them.

Suffragettes

Mr. Abdul Caadir, Mr. Hajee Habib and I attended a suffragette meeting. The St. James' Hall was crowded to capacity by the women attending the meeting. According to Mr. Hajee Habib's estimate, there must have been about 1,500 persons, including men and women.

Such meetings are held almost every week. A collection is made at every meeting, and at least £50 are received. At yesterday's meeting, it was £100. The meeting was held to honour some ladies who had been released from gaol. There were fourteen of them. They were presented

[1] This is not available.
[2] Telegraphic address of Revashanker Jhaveri & Co. of Bombay
[3] Of Bombay
[4] Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst (1858-1928); *vide* Vol. VII, p. 65.

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silver medals. A dinner has also been arranged for them, for which tickets at one shilling each have been issued.

The meeting was presided over by a lady named Mrs. Lawrence. All the speakers were women. All the arrangements were also made by them.

Among those who had been to gaol, there were three or four who were mere girls of twenty or so. All of them had been arrested in the course of the campaign for the franchise. According to the practice here, the prisoners are placed in different classes. These women were awarded second class. It is their demand that they should be treated as first-class prisoners. As the Government did not concede it, they resolved collectively to disobey the gaol regulations. They broke the windows of prison cells and refused to submit to any of the regulations. In consequence, they were confined in dark cells. There, too, they disregarded the gaolers' orders. At last, all the women stopped taking food. One of them ate nothing for six days, some others for five days. In this way, everyone fasted. The Government felt helpless in the end and let them off. The women feel disappointed at this, and have declared that they will continue to go to gaol till all women like them are treated as first-class prisoners. At this very meeting, the police served summonses on two of the women who had been released, to answer a charge of having committed an assault while in gaol. The serving of the summonses was received with thunderous applause in the Hall. When we consider the suffering and the courage of these women, how can the Indian satyagrahis stand comparison with them?

Their Association brings out a weekly of its own. It has a sale of 50,000, and a copy costs a penny. The contributors[1] are mostly women. Every week some women come forward as volunteers to go round selling copies. They receive no remuneration. Though all these ladies belong to good families, they are not ashamed of doing this work, but rather take pride in it. All of them turn out with ribbons on their shoulders bearing the words "Votes for Women" printed on them.

Besides bringing out this weekly, they have also published a number of other pamphlets. There are some women who, having offered their all in the service of this cause, now exert themselves physically. Some are highly educated women.

They collect £3,000 in a year. They aim at collecting a total of £20,000.

Their campaign has been going on for nearly five years. Its foundations were laid a good many years ago, but it is during the last five years

[1] The original has a word meaning "those who assemble" which appears to be a misprint for another word meaning "those who write".

that they have been going to gaol in order to exert pressure. During this period, nearly 500 women have suffered imprisonment. Some of them have been to gaol more than once. All the [Association's] office-bearers have been to gaol. They employ every means to get themselves imprisoned.

So many years have passed, but they do not yield. They grow stronger every day. They think out new ways of harassing the Government, and some of the women have dedicated themselves entirely to this cause. Some are ready to die. They have taken a pledge that they must win. They would meet death rather than betray the pledge, so great is their spirit of determination.

The systematic way in which they set about their work and their skill deserve the highest commendation. Their enthusiasm is unbounded. A great many men have been struck with admiration to see all this.

Let Indians ask themselves whether it is anything to wonder at that we, in the Transvaal, have to wait a long time [for redress], have to suffer, fall ill in gaol or go hungry, even face death, when the British women have failed to get redress for such a long time and have to go through such suffering. Mrs. Lawrence, who has contributed large amounts of money to this campaign and who has been to gaol herself, says: "There can be no building for progress unless—in the case of every reform or scheme of human good—some men do the building with their blood."

These words should be pondered over by every lover of India. If we want freedom, we shall not gain it by killing or injuring others (i.e., by the use of brute force) but by dying or submitting ourselves to suffering (i.e., by the use of soul force). The Transvaal struggle is for the defence of our honour, that is, for freedom. To lay down one's life to achieve this is as good as remaining alive. To go on living without it is no better than being dead. We have much to learn from the suffragettes. No doubt we may find some faults in them, but we need not enlarge upon the matter here.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 28-8-1909

CWMG-IX

197. LETTER TO LORD AMPTHILL

[LONDON,]
August 3, 1909

MY LORD,

In reply to your letter of the 29th ultimo, I sent a telegram[1] which, I hope, was duly received by Your Lordship.

I write this to draw your attention to this week's *Indian Opinion*[2], containing a petition to the Imperial Parliament from the Indian people of the Presidency of Madras and the affidavits[3] made in connection with the death of Nagappen, about whom, as you will recollect, a cablegram was received some time ago.

I remain, etc.,

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4974

198. LETTER TO "THE ENGLISHMAN"

LONDON,
August 3, 1909

THE EDITOR
THE ENGLISHMAN
[CALCUTTA]

SIR,

Your correspondent "South African" has packed so much ignorance into the letter published by you in your issue of the 21st ultimo, that he had need to conceal his identity. May I correct a few of his misstatements ?

Mr. L. W. Ritch, though he calls me his friend and colleague, is not—as your correspondent assumes—an Indian. He is an English Jew and is at present practising as a barrister.

The registration of Indians is a measure of identification, impugning the honesty of Indians as a class. The pass system with reference to the Kaffirs is somewhat of a taxing measure and in no way insulting in the same sense that the Asiatic Registration Act of 1907 is. There is as

[1] This is not available.

[2] The issue of 10-7-1909

[3] Veera Muthoo and A.A. Moodaley had mentioned therein the cruel gaol treatment and other circumstances leading to the death of Sammy Nagappen; *vide* "Statement of Transvaal Indian Case", p. 299.

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much difference between the Asiatic Registration Act and the Continental Passport system as there is between chalk and cheese. The Continental Passport is a protection to the holder and the non-holding of it does not make him a criminal and liable to imprisonment with hard labour up to six months, whereas the non-holding of registration certificates under the Asiatic Act by British Indians has sent already 2,500 Indians to gaol in the Transvaal. There are no Indian coolies in the Transvaal.

The Indian trading community in Natal—notwithstanding your correspondent's statement to the contrary—had no part in shaping the legislation in connection with the introduction of indentured Indian labour into that Colony.

Your correspondent's fiction is that every Indian in Natal lives at a cost of 10/- per month and a hut made of old tin linings of cases, whereas the fact, according to the borough valuation of Durban, is that the Indians hold substantial properties in that place, valued at nearly a million pounds, and that this very fact has been used against them by their European competitors in trade.

In one thing, however, the Indians can join hands with your correspondent, and that is in his denunciation of the existence of indentured labour in Natal or in any part of South Africa. British Indians have been, for the past fifteen years, agitating for abolition of that form of labour, which the late Sir William Wilson Hunter[1] described as perilously near to slavery.

I am, etc.,
M. K. GANDHI

Indian Opinion, 4-9-1909

199. LETTER TO LORD AMPTHILL

[LONDON,]
August 4, 1909

MY LORD,

I have to thank you very much for your letter of the 3rd inst., and for the valuable suggestions made by you with reference to the statement[2].

I know how hard pressed the authorities are with work and, knowing that you lose no opportunity of bringing the question home to them, both Mr. Hajee Habib and I are content to wait.

[1] (1840-1900); Indian administrator and member of the British Committee of the Indian National Congress; *vide* Vol. I, pp. 381-2 and Vol. VI, pp. 244-5.

[2] *Vide* "Statement of Transvaal Indian Case", pp. 288-301; also, Appendix XIV for Lord Ampthill's suggestions.

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Your Lordship's question was whether passive resistance was financed or fomented from India. As to the "fomenting", I did not go into details; I very nearly did so and then refrained for fear of making my letter too long and burdensome, but, as you have kindly invited me to express myself more fully, I gladly avail myself of the opportunity. I am fully aware of the allegation that we are acting in co-operation with the Extremist Party in India.[1] I however give Your Lordship the emphatic assurance that the charge is totally without foundation. Indian passive resistance in the Transvaal had its rise in that Colony and has been continued absolutely independent of anything that is being said or done in India; indeed, sometimes, even in defiance of what has been said or written to the contrary in India or elsewhere. Our movement is absolutely unconnected with any ex-[tremist movement in] India. I do not know the extremists per[sonally]...[2] is the...[3] Moslem League and sometime Secretary in London of the Pan-Islamic Society, and this correspondence has been carried on with a view to interesting Indian opinion in our matter and arousing public sympathy. We are also in close touch with the Editor of *The Times of India* and I used to be in personal touch with the late Mr. Saunders[4] of *The Englishman* who, I may say, gave me most valuable assistance and advice when I first undertook public work in South Africa. Our complaint has always been that our countrymen in India have, as it might have appeared until recently, almost studiously ignored the question of its Imperial importance. The greatest prominence has been given to it by the suicidal action of General Smuts in having forcibly deported innocent Indians, in most cases penniless, from the Transvaal through the Portuguese territories to India. This has advertized the cause as perhaps nothing else has done, and now Mr. Henry S. L. Polak is in Bombay, from the Transvaal, in order to place the position before the Indian public. He has gone there with definite instructions not to come into touch with the Extremist Party, but to be guided largely by the Editor of *The Times of India*, Professor Gokhale and the Aga Khan.

What I mean by passive resistance will appear somewhat more clearly from the enclosed cutting[5], which gives a summary of my address to the Germiston Literary and Debating Society.[6] Germiston, I may say, is seething with anti-Indian feeling. Yet the members of that society, including the Mayor of Germiston, were good enough to recognise that the fight we are carrying on is perfectly clean.

[1] *Vide* Appendix XIV.
[2] The original is damaged. Some words are missing here.
[3] A line has been cut off here.
[4] *Vide* Vol. VI, p. 232.
[5] This is not available.
[6] *Vide* "Speech at Germiston", pp. 243-4.

It would be improper for me not to add that I follow what is going on in India with the keenest interest and some of the [phases] of the [nat]-ional movement with the gravest anxiety. With . . .[1] [sym]pathy, and by . . .[2] people and my countrymen is fraught with advantages to both and also to the world. I believe, too, that the fullest expansion of national sentiment is quite consistent with the stability of British rule in India and I further believe that much of what we suffer in India is easy of remedy by effort from within. I know that under the British constitution, British subjects, no matter to what race they belong, have never got and never can get their rights until they have performed their corresponding duties and until they are willing to fight for them. The fight takes the form either of physical violence, as in the case of the extremists in India, or of personal suffering by the fighters, as in the case of our passive resisters in the Transvaal. In my opinion, the first form of seeking redress is largely barbarous and, in any case, inconsistent with the genius of the people of India, not because they are physically too weak to take that course, but because their training has adapted them to the latter mode, and I am free to confess that passive resistance in the Transvaal is a practical demonstration to the party of violence in India that they are entirely on the wrong track and that, so long as they pin their faith to violence for obtaining relief of any kind whatsoever, so long are they beating the air.

I am quite aware that this exposition of my own view may not be of any use to Your Lordship and possibly is devoid of any interest whatsoever. The only reason why I mention it is to guard myself against being misunderstood.[3] I am most anxious not to withhold anything at all from Your Lordship and I am anxious also to retain, in any work that I undertake, the support of one who so loves the Empire and the country of my birth as yourself.

With many thanks for the deep interest you are taking in our troubles and with apologies for the unavoidable length of this letter.

I remain, etc.,

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4976

[1] A few words are cut off here.

[2] Here one line is missing.

[3] Acknowledging this letter on August 7, Lord Ampthill wrote about Gandhiji's categorical statement regarding the alleged connection between passive resistance in the Transvaal and the extremist movement in India: "Your answer is exactly what I expected, and while I have not failed hitherto to deny the charge indignantly from my own inward conviction, I shall now be able to do so armed with the certainty of your complete and candid explanation. I have never had a moment's doubt myself as to your freedom from complicity with conspirators in India, but I have found myself obliged to meet suggestions to that effect proceeding from high and responsible quarters."

200. LETTER TO LORD AMPTHILL

[LONDON,]
August 5, 1909

MY LORD,

I beg to acknowledge your two letters of yesterday's date. I hope to send you copies[1] of your letters at the earliest opportunity. My letter[2] in reply to yours of the 3rd instant has already gone forward.

With reference to the allegation as to the question of educated Indians being a new question—I deal with it on a separate sheet of paper[3] in order to enable you to use it without having to refer to this letter. The terms of the proposed amendment to be submitted are also enclosed herewith.[4] I fully realise that the difficulty will be on the question of right. I have given many an anxious night to find out a solution without insisting on the "right", but I have failed because anything short of it, in my humble opinion, implies a record on the Statute-book of the Colony of racial inferiority, and this reply to your question is also the reply to Your Lordship's suggestion that, in the enumeration of demands, the status of educated Indians should be replaced by "the occasional admission of the few highly educated Indians", etc. Any such substitution is not possible because the fight is not that of getting the few educated Indians admitted, but it is essentially that of having the potential or theoretical right recognised. Physicians, lawyers, etc., have been mentioned in connection with the question in order to emphasise the tangible consequences of a denial of the "right", and this became necessary in order to satisfy Mr. Cartwright's friends as . . .[5] [Colon]ial stand [point it] is necessary for them to know in a tangible form that our demand does not involve the admission of more than six such Indians into the Colony; as a matter of fact, there may not be even two per year applying for such admission and, personally, I should want no assurance from the local Government that they would admit six or a smaller number. The principle being conceded, mere admission is a matter of detail and I frankly confess that, had it been purely a question of admit-

[1] Lord Ampthill had asked for copies of his letters to Gandhiji, as he had not retained any with him.

[2] *Vide* the preceding item.

[3] *Vide* enclosure 1.

[4] The original enclosure is not available. But the text of the amendment prepared by Gandhiji, which was forwarded by Lord Ampthill to General Smuts on August 10, is given here as enclosure 2. For the proviso later on added to it by Gandhiji, *vide* "Letter to Lord Ampthill", p. 342.

[5] Some words are missing here.

ting a few such Indians, I should never have advised tremendous suffering on the part of my countrymen of the Transvaal.

I am much obliged to Your Lordship for your further and valuable suggestions as to improving the statement[1]. In concert with Mr. Ritch, I am attending to it directly. After the suggestions are incorporated, I will have a few copies struck and will forward them to you, but final order for printing them will not be given until I have received your approval and permission to circulate it.

I am, etc.,

[ENCLOSURE 1]

AS TO THE ALLEGATION THAT THE QUESTION OF EDUCATED INDIANS IS A NEW QUESTION

It is necessary to bear in mind that there were two conferences; the one in the January of 1908 when Mr. Gandhi was still in prison.[2] At that time the question of educated Indians was not mentioned because no such mention was necessary. This is so because the repeal of Act 2 of 1907, on condition of voluntary registration being gone through, would have automatically re-instated British Indians possessing educational attainments.

The second conference took place on the 20th August between the Executive Council and the leaders of the Progressive Party, Mr. Cartwright, Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Quinn. This is the meeting concerning which it is alleged that the question of educated Indians was not among the points discussed. This allegation received direct refutation in General Botha's despatch, No. 528, dated the 5th September 1908, at page 43, cd. 4327. General Botha says there: "The ninth subject of discussion was the fresh demand made for the immigration of Asiatics not claiming previous domicile in the Transvaal, but who could pass an education test." This is an admission that this subject was discussed at the conference, but, it is claimed by General Botha, it was a fresh demand brought up there. But this is also wrong, as is shown from the correspondence between Mr. Smuts and Mr. Gandhi, commencing from the 22nd February 1908.[3] Indeed, as a matter of fact, the conference was brought about because the negotiations that were going on with General Smuts for repeal of the Act fell through, inasmuch as General Smuts imposed a fresh condition as to the prohibition of educated British Indians before he would repeal the Act. Moreover, in the...[4] [above

[1] *Vide* "Statement of Transvaal Indian Case", pp. 288-301.

[2] Gandhiji was sentenced to two months' imprisonment on January 10, 1908, but was released on January 30 following the settlement; *vide* Vol. VIII, pp. 36-8 and 43-4.

[3] *Vide* Vol. VIII, pp. 101-4.

[4] Some words are missing here.

quotation] a claim which ministers had previously decided was inadmissible and, even had it been otherwise, it is difficult to see by what means a Bill providing for the immigration of Asiatics and the clause in question could be passed through either of the Houses of Parliament in view of the almost universal feeling of the white colonists on the subject." It may also be added that at this conference there was no agreement come to. The Asiatic leaders retired with distinct instructions from the members of the Executive Council and the Progressive Leaders that they were to put before their respective committees the points that were discussed at the conference and inform General Smuts of the decision of the committees. Accordingly and immediately, Asiatic meetings were held, and both Messrs Gandhi and Quinn reported to General Smuts. In the Blue-book above-mentioned, the whole of the letter written at the special request of the Private Secretary to Mr. Smuts is not given. The following are the opening sentences from the letter to Mr. Lane (Mr. Smuts' Private Secretary), dated the 20th August:[1]

> Mr. Cartwright told me that I should write to you what I told him as to the decision of the meeting today, and to give my impressions also.
>
> I placed before the meeting, for the third time today, the terms that I told them the Government were prepared to offer, and I told them further that these would form an acceptable compromise, if some provision was made for highly educated Indians and Mr. Sorabjee's re-instatement; but the meeting would not listen to anything short of repeal of the Asiatic Act and the recognition of highly educated Indians under the general clause of the Immigrants' Restriction Act. All I could persuade them to accept was that, the statutory right being recognised, there would be no objection to an administrative discrimination against educated Indians, so that only the most highly educated Indians could enter.[2]

[ENCLOSURE 2]

AMENDMENT

Part of sub-section 1 of Section 2 of the Immigrants' Restriction Act No. 15 of 1907 reads as follows:	Proposed Amendment of sub-section 1. as follows:
"Any person who when asked whether within or outside this Colony by a duly authorised officer shall be unable through deficient education to write out (from	"Any person who when asked whether within or outside this Colony by a duly authorised officer shall be unable through deficient education to pass an exami-

[1] *Vide* Vol. VIII, pp. 462-5.

[2] Lord Ampthill, acknowledging this letter on August 7, wrote that this memorandum seemed to be quite convincing and would be of immediate use to him.

dictation or otherwise) and sign in the characters of an European language an application for permission to enter this Colony or such other document as such officer may require; provided that for the purpose of this sub-section Yiddish shall be accepted as an European language; provided further that" (what follows is immaterial)

nation test in an European language that may be set; provided that for the purposes of this Section Yiddish shall be accepted as an European language and provided further that the Immigration Officer shall have full discretion as to the nature of the examination which may vary in respect of persons or classes and that the decision of the Immigration Officer in respect of the examination shall not be subject to review by or appeal to the Supreme Court or any other Courts of the Colony, and provided further that any Asiatic passing the examination test put to him by the Immigration Officer and not being otherwise in terms of this Act deemed a prohibited immigrant shall not be subject to the provisions of Act 36 of 1908, provided further that"

Notes Hereon

1. If Act 2 of 1907 had been repealed and if there were no Act 36 of 1908, there would be no occasion for reference to Act 36 in the proposed amendment. But the reference has become necessary as Act 36 contains a removal clause, and as sub-section 4 of Section 2 of Act 15 provides that any person being subject to a removal order becomes a prohibited immigrant in spite of his passing the examination tests. Said sub-section 4 reads as follows:

> Any person who at the date of his entering or attempting to enter this Colony is subject or would if he entered this Colony be subject to the provisions of any law in force at such date which might render him liable either at such date or thereafter if found therein to be removed from or to be ordered to leave this Colony whether on conviction of any offence against such law or for failure to comply with its provision or otherwise in accordance with its provisions, provided that such conviction be not the result of the commission by such person elsewhere than in this Colony of an offence for which he has received a free pardon.

2. The proposed amendment as to examination has been given in order to satisfy the objection raised by General Smuts that the present law may not contain sufficient discretion for the Immigration

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Officer, to warrant him putting one test before one immigrant and a different test before another.

Colonial Office Records: 291/142; also, from a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4980

201. LETTER TO UNDER SECRETARY FOR COLONIES

[LONDON,]
August 6, 1909

SIR,

I beg to acknowledge your letter of the 4th instant, in which you say that Lord Crewe will be willing to see my colleague and me on Tuesday the 10th instant at 3.30 p.m., in reference to the position of British Indians in the Transvaal. My colleague and I will wait upon His Lordship at the time.

I remain, etc.,

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4984

202. LETTER TO LORD AMPTHILL

[LONDON,]
August 6, 1909

MY LORD,

I am now sending twenty copies of the statement[1]. Most of the suggestions made by you are embodied in it and I hope that the manner of carrying them out will commend itself to Your Lordship. In order not to make the statement technical, some of the explanations considered necessary by you have been given at the end of the statement in the form of notes. As already stated in a previous letter, the statement is still in proof form. If, therefore, any further amendment is required, it can be made.

Note D is the petition[2] referred to in paragraph 29. It has not yet been printed. But, for Your Lordship's perusal, I enclose copy herewith.

Your letters are being copied.

May I state that, if Sir George Farrar's approval of the demands can be secured, Mr. Smuts is not likely to raise any objections?

[1] *Vide* "Statement of Transvaal Indian Case", pp. 288-301.

[2] *Vide* "Petition to Secretary of State for Colonies", pp. 18-29. This, however, was not included in the statement.

It may be that Mr. Smuts will excuse himself from doing anything, because, owing to the Union, there may be no more session of the Transvaal Parliament. If he takes up such a position, he can still promise to see to the two demands being granted at the first session of the Provincial Council under the Union, and, in the meanwhile, the Immigration Law may be administered as if the Asiatic Act did not exist. . . [1] Then passive. . .[2] efforts being successful, I take it that the passive resisters at present in the Transvaal gaols will be unconditionally released and that those who have been deported will be given the opportunity of applying for registration.

If, in Your Lordship's opinion, a conference between us is necessary, I am at your service.

Lord Crewe has now sent my colleague and me an appointment for Tuesday next.

I am, etc.,

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4982

203. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

[LONDON,]
August 6, 1909

MY DEAR HENRY,

I am sending you a cable[3] today. It has not yet been sent because I want to save a few shillings by codifying one or two words. Although Millie told me that she had promised to send you a cable, I exercised discretion by not sending a direct cable and leaving you to infer their arrival from my cable[4] to Daphtary. As she will be writing to you fully about herself, I am not saying anything more in this letter. I enclose statement which has undergone many corrections and amendments. It is not yet in its final form nor is it intended to be for circulation. Lord Ampthill is most cautious about these things. Whilst the negotiations are going on, he does not want any public activity at this end. He will meet General Smuts next Monday; we are to meet Lord Crewe next Tuesday. Next week, therefore, will definitely decide the course of action to be taken here. Your activity, however, need not be affected by what is going on here, unless a definite settlement is arrived at; but even if it is, I think you should take every advantage of your visit there to travel throughout India, see all the leaders and place the position before them. In the event of a settlement being arrived at, it would not be bad

[1] & [2] The office copy is damaged and some words are missing here.
[3] & [4] These are not available.

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for you to publish a pamphlet giving a history of Indian grievances throughout South Africa.[1] It may be somewhat after my green pamphlet[2] which I dare say you have before you. No matter how things go, I gather from Millie that she would remain in London for about a year. Personally, I think it is as well that she should do so. I assume that you will be in India at least three months, and if necessary, you may stay for the session of the Congress. All this, however, may have to be altered as events ripen here. If there is no settlement, you can only concentrate your energy on the Transvaal question, and not divert the attention of the public by referring to other matters. I purposely refrained from sending you copies of letters from Lord Ampthill. I, however, send you copies of my letters to him. They will show you what is happening here and what charges are being brought against us.

Your cable has been duly received. I hope you are being well treated by those with whom you come in contact, and that they have found for you a suitable residence.

You should look up at the *Bombay Gazette* office, or at some of the libraries, the *Gazette* dated the 13th July. It has a long editorial on the struggle. The article almost seems to be inspired and is a personal appeal to me to restrict my activity, too, in certain quarters only.[3] It is a very sympathetic article and you should try to read it. Miss Smith showed it to me. The cutting I am sending to Johannesburg. By the way, whenever you get the time, you should try to see the public libraries there, and make the acquaintance of Mr. Velinkar[4], the great educationalist, of whom I think I spoke to you. I am not sending you any note of introduction to him because I hardly think you need any now.

This is how Mr. Dallow refers to you in his letter to the *Yorkshire Daily Observer:* "Finding that all attempts to move the Imperial Government

[1] Polak wrote in his letter of August 21: "The S[outh] A[frica] grievances pamphlet is already in MS. I wrote it in anticipation on board. Until a settlement, I am absolutely barring out anything but the Transvaal trouble." The pamphlet was published in October 1909 by G. A. Natesan, Madras, under the title: *The Indians of South Africa: Helots within the Empire and how they are treated.* Polak wrote another on the Transvaal problem entitled: *The Tragedy of Empire: The Treatment of British Indians in the Transvaal.*

[2] *The Grievances of the British Indians in South Africa: An Appeal to the Indian Public. Vide* Vol. II, pp. 1-52.

[3] Commenting upon the Indian struggle in the Transvaal and adverting to Gandhiji, the journal had written that "if he gets in the hands of 'irresponsible degenerates', he had better have remained in South Africa. . .we trust he may be better advised than to throw in his lot with the class of agitator who now roams through Great Britain and advocates he knows not what". The article was reproduced in *Indian Opinion*, 11-9-1909.

[4] Professor of English at Wilson College, Bombay, and later, at the Nizam's College, Hyderabad. He was a friend of Gokhale.

on grounds of justice to redress their grievances have failed, the Indian leaders have despatched one of their white sympathisers to India in the hope, thereby, of awakening the attention of the Indian people to their sufferings. The gentleman is an English Jew; an attorney by profession; in thought and habit a Hindu, and he is the only one appointed on the Indian deputation whom the Transvaal Government was unable to arrest." From one point of view, what a libel that you should be considered in thought and habit a Hindu! What would Kallenbach say to this? And yet, from another standpoint, it is undoubtedly a compliment. You may regard it as neither. Mr. Dallow has been writing, I know, in the same strain to one of the members of Parliament. As I am dictating this, I change my mind and will send the article to you instead of to Kallenbach. You will like to read the whole of it and it will be of no use in Johannesburg.

The Natal delegation is here, that is, Messrs Abdul Caadir, Anglia, Bhayat and Badat. I enclose herewith draft statement[1] prepared for the Natal delegates. I am not responsible for reversing the order in which the grievances should have appeared.

A splendid cablegram was received from Zanzibar by Sir Mancherjee supporting the Transvaal struggle.[2] Sir Mancherjee has sent copies both to the Colonial and India Offices.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S.N. 4981

204. LONDON

Friday, August 6, 1909

Natal Deputation

Messrs Amod Bhayat, H. M. Badat and M. C. Anglia arrived here safely on Saturday last. They were received by Mr. Ritch, Mr. Hajee Habib, Miss Polak, Mr. Azam Haffeji, Mr. Hussain Dawad, Mr. Abdul Caadir and Mr. Gandhi. They are staying in the same hotel as the Transvaal deputation. The delegates have met Sir Muncherjee, Nawab Saheb Major Syed Hussain Bilgrami and Mr. Gupta. They applied for interviews with Lord Crewe and Lord Morley; the former has already replied fixing Thursday, August 12, for the interview. They have prepared a statement[3]. I am afraid the deputation's visit will

[1] This draft is not available. However, for the revised text bearing the signatures of the deputationists, *vide* pp. 344-50.

[2] Polak in his letter of August 21, ascribed this to his visit there.

[3] This was evidently drafted by Gandhiji himself; *vide* the preceding item.

prove unavailing. For one thing, it is too late, and they have come to raise an issue which is a very old one. However, the experience they will carry with them may be of some benefit to the community. They are trying to see some other men who count. At this time [of the year], most of the leading men in British public life are generally on holiday and do not return till September. Mr. Justice Ameer Ali, also, is not present here; he has left for a distant place.

Mrs. Ritch

Mrs. Ritch has suffered terribly through illness. The good lady has been in pain for the past two years. Her wound has had to be cut open four times, and she has been confined to bed. Mr. Ritch is quite buried under the expenses of [her] treatment. It is impossible to say when he will be able to shake off that burden. He has started practice at the Bar, where he has even made a mark for himself and won some important cases. But a new barrister does not earn much here. I advise Indians to address a letter of sympathy to Mr. Ritch. His address is : L. W. Ritch, Esq., 5 Pump Court, Temple, E. C., London. I am hopeful that Mrs. Ritch will eventually recover.

Suffragettes

The suffragettes have been straining every nerve. The more I see of their work, their skill in organization and their power of endurance, the more I feel that, compared to their effort, ours is of little worth. They have a large number of volunteers who force themselves into ministers' meetings and so get arrested. In gaol, they take no food and so the authorities release them. They harass the latter in a number of ways; they have taken a pledge to allow themselves no rest till they get the franchise.

Union of South Africa

The Bill in regard to this has been passed by the House of Lords. It will be in the House of Commons in a few days. Mr. Schreiner is still exerting himself, but I do not see what good that can do. There has been plenty of discussion. Irrespective of the outcome, Mr. Schreiner's ability, his strenuous efforts and his philanthropic zeal deserve the highest commendation.

Dhingra

Mr. Dhingra has been awarded the death penalty. He will probably be executed on the 10th. Some whites have been trying to secure remission of the death penalty. They argue that he acted out of foolishness. Moreover, they add, the act was not inspired by any personal motive and, therefore, should not be treated as ordinary murder. The white printer of *The Indian Sociologist* has been sentenced to four months'

imprisonment for printing [the particular issue of] the journal. Being a very poor man, he is put to great loss. He had no knowledge whatever of the contents of the issue. But ignorance is no defence in law.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 4-9-1909

205. DEPUTATION NOTES [–VI]

[Before *August 7, 1909*]

I have no special information to give this week, as I had none last week, for everything is confidential. Lord Ampthill has himself been active. There is a slight hope that an amicable solution will be found. Even if that happens, I see no possibility of any other gain besides the repeal of the Act and the recognition of the rights of the educated. It should be understood that "the rights of the educated" mean those that have often been explained in *Indian Opinion*. That is, those Indians with the highest attainments will be allowed to come in and, from among such men, only six. Of course, in the law itself, there will be no mention of "six", and no racial discrimination. The law will be the same, but it may be implemented in a different way. Provided the law is the same, there will be no humiliation. It will be there if the law itself makes distinctions. It should be noted by every Indian that, apart from these two points, other miscellaneous matters will not be included in the settlement. I hope to be able to give a little more information next week.

Sir Muncherji has also been taking great pains on this question. He wrote [to General Smuts] seeking an interview with him. A reply has been received saying that General Smuts will fix a time for interview after he is free from the pressure of engagements in connection with the Act of Union.

The deputation will meet Lord Crewe on Tuesday, the 9th[1]. That is the day on which a number of Indians are due to be released.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 4-9-1909

[1] Tuesday, however, was the 10th, the date on which the interview took place. *Vide* also "Letter to Under Secretary for Colonies", p. 335.

206. LETTER TO AMEER ALI

[LONDON,]
August 7, 1909

DEAR MR. AMEER ALI,

Mr. Abdul Caadir has shown me your letter of the 2nd instant. So far as the Transvaal question is concerned, negotiations are still going forward. We have privately seen Lord Morley and we are to see Lord Crewe, also, privately on Tuesday. It is yet too early to say what the result will be. We have a statement ready for publication and circulation, if necessary. No public activity has been undertaken on account of the negotiations. I think that a private note from you to Sir Richard reminding him about the question will keep the matter fresh in his mind and will show him that, even in your holidays, you do not forget the question. This will emphasise the belief that is gaining ground that India is not going to sit still over this question.

I hope that change and the bracing climate of the Swiss mountains have been doing you and Mrs. Ameer Ali a great deal of good.

Mr. Abdul Caadir asks me to thank you for your letter and to say that whatever he and Mr. Hajee Habib have given for the two institutions[1], has been given as a matter of duty, and may I express my concurrence in your statement that the activity of the two Associations should receive the support of all Indians.

As you may recall the fact, Mr. Abdul Caadir is one of the delegates for Natal. The Natal delegation is now complete, the other three members having arrived last Saturday. They have been specially commission[ed] to wait on you and seek your advice and be guided by it. They even telegraphed for your address and received it from Mr. Ahmed. They then went to Thos. Cook and Sons to find out how they could reach you, but, on learning that it was nearly three days' journey, they were reluctantly obliged to drop the idea of seeking an interview with you there. A statement for the Natal delegates has now been prepared, which I enclose herewith. If you have any suggestions to make, will you kindly telegraph? The Natal delegates have sought an interview with Lords Crewe and Morley; the former has appointed Thursday next for receiving the deputation. They are extremely disappointed that they will not have the benefit of your presence and guidance at the time. If, however, you could write a letter to be read before Lord Crewe, it will be valuable. They approached Sir Charles Bruce, inquiring whether he

[1] The Natal Indian Congress and the Transvaal British Indian Association

would lead the deputation. Sir Charles Bruce has sent a telegram saying he is not able to do so. Probably, now, Sir Mancherjee will lead it.

I remain,
Yours truly,

JUSTICE AMEER ALI, C. I. E.
ENGADIN
SWITZERLAND

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4987

207. LETTER TO LORD AMPTHILL

[LONDON,]
August 9, 1909

MY LORD,

Before I write on the subject which to my colleague and myself is of the utmost importance, may I once more thank Your Lordship for the very great interest you have taken in the struggle? Whatever may be the ultimate result, my countrymen and I can never be sufficiently grateful for what you have done for us.

If I understood you correctly, in your opinion the entry as a matter of right will be recognised if the number were limited by the law itself. If that be so, it appears to me that the concession should be given coupled with repeal of the Act, without any bargaining with the passive resisters, but on thinking the matter over, if General Smuts is really desirous of meeting us, he should have no objection to accepting the amendment[1] I have submitted, together with the proviso I give hereunder. It should be read after "1908" and before "Provided further that"—

> "Provided that it shall be lawful for the Governor in Council to restrict by regulation the number of persons belonging to different nationalities (notwithstanding their having passed such examination) who may be allowed to enter the Colony as immigrants."

This amendment just—and only just—satisfies the Indian covenant. It still creates no disqualification on the Statute-book against British Indians as such. It completely, in my opinion, meets the objections raised by, or on behalf of, General Smuts.

In submitting this amendment, I recognise that I am becoming a party to a dangerous precedent in the history of Colonial legislation, but in deference to the views of Your Lordship and of other distinguished friends of our cause, I am prepared to advise my countrymen to accept this

[1] *Vide* enclosure 2 to "Letter to Lord Ampthill", pp. 333-4. The proviso was inserted by Lord Ampthill in the draft of the amendment which he sent to General Smuts.

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further proviso, and if it is not accepted, it would be, I am sure, patent to you that there is no desire on the part of the Transvaal Government to offer an honourable settlement. With the knowledge—right or wrong—that I have of the methods of General Smuts, may I suggest that Your Lordship should not put this amendment as coming from me, but ask him independently—unless you have closed entirely the negotiations with him—whether he would be prepared to amend the Immigration Act in the direction above indicated? This proviso I am submitting because of my earnest desire to promote an immediate settlement and to avoid your long and arduous labours proving abortive; but if nothing comes of it, I should like Your Lordship to treat it as if it had never been suggested. The first amendment submitted by me is such, as I for one should advise my people to accept at any stage of the struggle, but the proviso I am now submitting does not fall under that category.

Kindly let me know whether you have any further suggestions with reference to the statement, of which I sent you twenty copies, and whether it may now be published and circulated.

I am, etc.,

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4990

208. LETTER TO LORD AMPTHILL

[LONDON,]
August 9, 1909

DEAR LORD AMPTHILL,

I have now received the somewhat delayed proof of the Rev. Mr. Doke's book[1], which I am very anxious to see published as early as possible. I might mention in passing that I have received a number of subscriptions from subscribers in advance.

I know you are very busy and I have hesitated to burden you further with the perusal of this proof and with the writing of the introduction, which you were good enough to promise, if the proof should meet with your approval. Nevertheless you will, I hope, find time—as I am sure you have the desire—to give this matter your very kind attention.[2]

I am forwarding the proof under separate cover.

I remain, etc.,

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4989

[1] *M. K. Gandhi: An Indian Patriot in South Africa*
[2] For Lord Ampthill's introduction to the book, *vide* Appendix XVIII.

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209. STATEMENT OF NATAL INDIAN GRIEVANCES[1]

[LONDON,]
August 10, 1909

A SHORT STATEMENT OF THE GRIEVANCES OF THE BRITISH INDIANS IN NATAL

BY THE NATAL DELEGATION

The delegation consists of Messrs Abdul Caadir, Acting Chairman of the Natal Indian Congress; Amod Bayat, of Pietermaritzburg, a merchant of twenty-five years' standing; Hoosen Mahomed Badat, a merchant of Pietermaritzburg and Richmond, of twenty-two years' standing; and Mahomed Cassim Anglia, of Durban, merchant and Joint Honorary Secretary of the Natal Indian Congress.

The delegates were unanimously appointed at a British Indian meeting presided over by Mr. Abdoola Hajee Adam, Acting President, Natal Indian Congress, and held at Durban on the 7th day of July last, and have received numerous telegrams supporting the mission.

A petition[2] has been forwarded to the Colonial Office, a copy of which has since been received by the delegates.

The British Indians of Natal have suffered for a long time from a number of serious disabilities arising out of certain laws enacted by the Colonial Legislature and by reason of certain municipal laws.

The delegation desires respectfully to place on record its gratitude to His Majesty's Government for having refused Imperial sanction to the Municipal Corporations Act of 1906 and the Natal Licensing Acts of 1908, all of which measures threatened their community with still further disabilities.

The British Indians of Natal are practically unrepresented in the Natal Parliament, and are therefore obliged almost entirely to rely upon

[1] The draft of this statement, evidently drawn up by Gandhiji, was ready on August 6; *vide* "Letter to H. S. L. Polak", p. 338. The statement was sent to the Colonial Office on August 11 by M. C. Anglia, who made a further statement at the interview with Lord Crewe on August 12; *vide* Appendix XIX. On the following day, the delegation issued the former representation to "responsible politicians . . . in the hope that they will render to the suffering British Indians in Natal whatever assistance they can to obtain redress and justice."

[2] Dated July 10, 1909, this petition was made on behalf of the Natal Indian Congress and other Natal Indian organizations, and covered grievances in respect of indenture, franchise, trade and other matters; *vide* "London", p. 355.

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the protection of the Imperial Government. For them Self-Government has no special or beneficial meaning.

The delegates propose, however, to restrict their representations to three very serious and tangible grievances:

The Dealers' Licenses Act, 18 of 1897;
The Indentured Immigration Law of 1895; and
The policy with reference to the Education of Indian children.

The Dealers' Licenses Act, 1897

This Act is felt by the whole British Indian community to be extremely unjust and tyrannical. It affects the whole of the Indian mercantile population. In its wording it is of general application, but in practice it has been employed more and more extensively for depriving Indian traders of their licenses. The powers conferred by the Dealers' Licenses Act of 1897 were, it would appear, abused from the beginning. Mr. Chamberlain went as far as to intimate that, if its one-sided administration against Indian traders did not cease, he should be compelled to take serious action. The immediate effect would appear to have been that circulars were sent round to the different Municipalities by the Government of Natal (at Mr. Chamberlain's suggestion) to the effect that, although they had been given arbitrary powers, they were expected, on pain of being deprived thereof, to use them in a reasonable and general manner, and that in no case, if they wished to retain those powers, were they to touch vested interests.

Two cases of recent occurrence may be cited by way of illustration. Mr. M. A. Goga, a British Indian merchant of Ladysmith, long established and widely supported by Europeans both as sellers and customers, was, in June last, refused permission by the Licensing Officer, who is invested with almost autocratic powers in this matter, to take transfer of a license from another Indian in Ladysmith of equal standing. The premises in which the business was conducted were the property of Mr. Goga's mother. Appeal was made by Mr. Goga to the Licensing Board, which, however, declined to reverse the decision of their Licensing Officer.

In the course of an appeal to the Licensing Board from a refusal to renew another license of this applicant the previous year, Mr. Wyllie, K.C., M.L.A., remarked:

"You as a Council are not going to see injustice done even to an Indian. Take the license away and the business is at an end. You and the inhabitants of Ladysmith have enabled him to build up a business, and I submit that you cannot take that license away. If he comes today and asks you for a new license, then you can refuse. He tells you that 95 per cent. of the business is with Europeans; therefore, it is a convenience to the burgesses of the town. It would be utterly impossible

to come before you with a stronger case. I ask you to deal with it without bias as to anything that happened previous to entering this room, and with justice to the appellant."

Commenting upon the recent decisions of the Klip River Licensing Board, *The Times of Natal* said :

"A Scandalous Injustice"

"A more arbitrary and unjust proceeding could not be imagined; and we have no hesitation in saying that had the Boer authorities, in the days of the South African Republic, been guilty of such conduct, they would have instantly been brought up with a round turn by the Imperial Government. Here we have a number of reputable Indian shopkeepers, who have built up business in which a large amount of capital is invested, suddenly and arbitrarily deprived of their trading licenses through alleged non-compliance with the law. They had complied with the law as far as it was in their power to do so, and those who could not write in English had their books made up in English at the end of each week by a competent book-keeper. They have done this for years past, and not a word has been said against the practice till now. We can only describe the decision of the Ladysmith Licensing Board as a scandalous injustice, and illegal as well; and if the applicants had the right of appeal —which, of course, under the law they have not—the Board's decision would immediately be quashed by the Supreme Court. We wish to be perfectly clear in this matter. We have no sympathy with Indian traders, and we should be glad to see an end of Indian trading. We would support the most drastic restrictions at the port of entry, and would go so far as to favour no fresh licenses being granted to Indian applicants. But to decline to renew a trading license in the case of Indians who have been allowed to settle in the country, who have been conducting their business in a perfectly legitimate manner for years past, and who have invested their capital in commercial enterprises on the strength of the license to trade, is to do something which conflicts with the laws of all civilised nations and with the most elementary notions of justice. We hope that stringent instructions will be issued to all licensing officers in order to prevent a repetition of the Ladysmith scandal; otherwise, Natal will gravely embarrass the Imperial Government in its relationships with the people of India."

In 1908, Col. Greene, M.L.A., appeared to support the appeals of a number of Estcourt Indian traders. He remarked as follows :

"Throughout his Parliamentary career he had maintained that it was undesirable that the Indian mercantile community should be allowed to increase, and it was with great surprise that he had been approached and asked to take up these appeals; but it was pointed out to him that in the House he had said that we, as a community, had to face the position

like men, and that we had not to do any injustice, but that we had to take steps that would be perfectly just to the men whom we had encouraged and allowed to come into the country and obtain vested interests there. He said that they, as a superior race, had a duty to perform to the community, and that, if there was any dirty work to be done, it was for Parliament to face it, and to take the right steps. It had never been intended by the law that any dirty work of this sort should be done by local boards of this sort, and, upon my soul, if you refuse this application, I think it will make us all feel like worms."

The other case is that of one of the delegates, Mr. H. M. Badat of Pietermaritzburg and Richmond. Last year, a license granted to him in the latter place by the Licensing Officer for buildings owned by him was, at the instigation of a few European rivals, taken away by the Licensing Board. The Licensing Officer again granted it and again the Board overrode his decision.

In 1907, renewals of 11 Indian licenses were refused in the division of Klip River:

Ten	renewals	of licenses	were refused in	Inanda
Two	,,	,,	,,	Alexandra
Five	,,	,,	,,	Victoria
Three	,,	,,	,,	Weenen

Last year there was a further crop of similar refusals.

The delegates desire to point out that this harsh and arbitrary conduct towards Indian traders is not adopted at the instance of the general European population of the Colony, but from the pressure of European trade rivals. The Licensing Boards which are the final courts of appeal in this matter consist largely of European storekeepers. The Supreme Court has, on more than one occasion, commented upon the arbitrary powers conferred upon the Licensing Boards and has deplored its inability to interfere with their decisions. The Licensing Officers who, in the first instance, decide the fate of Indian merchants, are in most cases the appointees and servants of the Licensing Boards. They decide whether a license shall be granted, renewed or transferred. Very rarely are their decisions not upheld by the Licensing Boards. The declared policy is to reduce the movement of Indian traders, and the outcome of this policy is the almost complete failure on the part of British Indian traders to obtain common justice in the matter of new licenses, renewals or transfers. Proof of this could be adduced by citing numerous instances which have occurred during the twelve years that the Law has been in operation. Respectability and responsibility in the applicants or considerations of vested interests have hardly appeared to count if they have been Indian. For instance:

The second signatory hereto, in 1907, purchased a business in Weenen from a trustee. The Licensing Officer declined to transfer and license

the business to him. On appeal to the Licensing Board, the latter upheld the decision of its officer. The Supreme Court, being moved, declared its powerlessness to grant relief. In 1906, the fourth signatory hereto was the transferee of a license of a business in Port Shepstone. The transfer of the license was duly allowed and renewed once. When next applied for, further renewal was refused at the instigation of trade rivals.

It is obviously merely a question of time—by no means remote—when the whole class of Indian traders in Natal will be extinguished, unless the Dealers' Licenses Act is so amended as to give the aggrieved party the right of appeal to the Supreme Court.

The Indentured Immigration Law Amendment Act, 1895

During the last half century, Natal has relied for its labour and prosperity upon indentured Indian immigrants. The fact stands admitted by nearly every Natal statesman, past and present. Natal's chief industries have depended for their very existence almost entirely upon this class of labour, but the labourer, after he has given the Colony the best energies of the best years of his life, is now denied an opportunity to settle down and finish his years in the Colony as a respectable freeman. Every effort is made to compel him either to re-indenture or to leave the Colony. A prohibitive special annual tax of £3 per head is imposed upon him and upon his wife and his children—a tax that presses so severely upon him that it has ruined many a freed Indian and has driven many more to questionable practices and moral degradation. The imposition of this tax has not been defended save on the grounds of political expediency. Thanks to the firm attitude of His Majesty's Government, the Government of the Colony has hitherto failed to carry into effect the desired and long-contemplated plan of repatriating the Indian indentured labourers upon completion of their indentures. The delegates respectfully submit, however, that His Majesty's Government should with equal propriety and justice have refused their sanction to the imposition of the iniquitous special annual tax, which very nearly produces the same result.

The delegates feel that, in the interests of the Colony, of the free Indian population, and even of the indentured labourers themselves, the whole system of indenture should be put an end to. They consider that the mere fact that these unhappy people are able, during the term of their indentures, to earn a little more money in Natal than in India, is a matter of relative unimportance. What material advantage thereby accrues to them is as nothing compared to the deterioration of their manhood and the vicious consequences that react upon the Colony as a whole.

If, however, the supply of indentured labour cannot suddenly be withdrawn without jeopardising the chief industries of Natal, the special

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tax above referred to should, in the humble opinion of the delegates, certainly be abolished.

The Education of Indian Children

The delegates feel keenly that a deliberate attempt is being made to starve the Natal British Indian community intellectually, by depriving them of even such limited facilities for educating their children as have hitherto existed. The Indian schools supported by the Government have never supplied British Indian children with any but very elementary education. The general schools of the Colony are, of course, closed altogether to Indian children. The Government higher grade school no longer permits Indian children to remain as pupils after completing the age of thirteen; consequently, such education as might be acquired in the upper standards, if the children were given the chance of reaching them, is no longer available to them. The effect of this policy has been to drive out a large number of Indian children, whose education was scarcely begun, from the Indian schools. This lack of facilities for acquiring education operates as a very serious handicap upon, and causes the gravest anxiety to, the thoughtful members of the Indian community. They are deeply concerned for the future of their children.

The delegates respectfully submit that this important matter should be equally a matter of concern to the European Colonists themselves, inasmuch as the condemnation of a section of the population of the Colony to a condition of illiteracy is bound to affect the general intellectual and moral well-being of the State.

In view of the above facts, British Indians in Natal naturally approach the proposed Union of the South African Colonies in fear and trembling. It is generally recognised that an anti-Indian wave is passing over South Africa. Three of the four States of the proposed Union are admittedly hostile to British Indians. The Cape has already shown signs of joining the hostile movement, so that the Union will represent a combination of hostile forces which hitherto have been working independently of each other. British Indians feel, therefore, that the proposed Union in South Africa will mean further degradation of a class of loyal subjects of His Majesty domiciled in South Africa, who already labour under a double disability, viz., of being British Indians, and of classification with the so-called "coloured races".

It is submitted here that, whatever may be said in regard to the other Colonies in South Africa, the Imperial Government have, undoubtedly, facilities for securing justice to the British Indians of Natal. This Colony cannot take all and give nothing. It has, on its own admissions, to depend upon the goodwill of the Imperial Government for the development and retention of its industries. The least that

Natal can be asked to do in return for the supply of indentured labour that is permitted to flow on to her lands is to grant common justice and fair treatment to those British Indians who have settled there, and who have thus acquired vested interests.

ABDUL CAADIR
AMOD BAYAT
H. M. BADAT
M. C. ANGLIA

Colonial Office Records: 179/255

210. LETTER TO LORD AMPTHILL

[LONDON,]
August 10, 1909

MY LORD,

Mr. Hajee Habib and I have just returned from the interview with Lord Crewe. His Lordship was very sympathetic; he gave a patient hearing. I slightly sketched before him, as I saw that the opportunity was too great to be missed, the amendment that I sent to you last evening. I took the liberty of mentioning that we had discussed the question fully with Your Lordship. Lord Crewe nodded appreciatingly and said that you had taken great pains over the question. From what Lord Crewe said, I imagine that the negotiations still continue. I think he admits that the amendment that I have suggested is very reasonable and that he would press it upon General Smuts. I do not know what should now be done in the circumstances. I await Your Lordship's advice.[1]

I remain, etc.,

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4996

[1] Discussions and correspondence on this subject among Lord Ampthill, General Smuts and Lord Crewe indicated a "divergence in principle" between Gandhiji and Smuts. *Vide* Appendix XX.

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211. CABLE TO H. S. L. POLAK

[LONDON,
August 10, 1909]

POLAK
REUTER
BOMBAY

GOVERNMENT AGREE REPEAL. WANT INSERT LIMIT LAW. WE PROPOSED AMENDMENT AUTHORISING GOVERNOR MAKE REGULATIONS FIXING LIMIT NUMBERS ANY NATIONALITY JUST SATISFIES OATH. (WISH YOU COULD ADVERTISE DATE[1] MEETING).[2]

From a photostat of the draft in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 4999/2

212. CABLE TO BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION

[LONDON,
August 10, 1909][3]

BIAS
JOHANNESBURG

NEGOTIATIONS PROCEEDING. GOVERNMENT AGREE REPEAL. WANT INSERT LIMIT IN LAW. WE PROPOSED GENERAL AMENDMENT AUTHORISING GOVERNOR MAKE REGULATIONS FIXING LIMIT ANY NATIONALITY. THIS MAKES LAW GENERALLY APPLICABLE JUST SATISFIES OATH. HOPE

[1] This referred to the meeting called by the Sheriff of Bombay; the date announced was August 31. *Vide* "Letter to Private Secretary to Lord Crewe", p. 366.

[2] In his letter of August 14, Polak acknowledged receipt of this cable and stated that he had "dealt with it in the Press". The following extended version of the cable was published in *The Times of India*, 12-8-1909 and *The Hindu*, 19-8-1909: "The Transvaal Government agree to repeal the Asiatic Act of 1907, but they desire to insert a clause in the Immigration Law limiting the annual number of Asiatic immigrants. The Indian deputation have declined to agree to legal differentiation upon racial lines, and have proposed that a clause may be inserted in the Immigration Law empowering the Government of the Transvaal to frame regulations fixing the number of immigrants of any nationality, thereby maintaining the principle of legal equality without interfering with existing powers of administrative differentiation."

[3] This cable appears to have been sent on the same day as the preceding one.

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RUSTOMJEE HARILAL OTHERS REMAIN TRANSVAAL.[1] DOWD SHOULD RETURN.[2]

From a photostat of the draft in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 4998

213. LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI

[LONDON,]
August 10, 1909

CHI. MANILAL,

I have received your letter. There is little hope of any settlement; I am therefore writing this on Tuesday, for there is likely to be a greater pressure of work on me than before.

The words in your letters are sometimes incomplete. You will do better if you form the habit of reading the letters after writing them.

As regards having another tank, my advice is that you should carry on for the present without buying a new one. The rains will now set in and it will be possible to carry on with one tank. Meanwhile, I hope to be able to go there. We shall see to it then.

I am glad that you have given up worrying [about your studies]. The more I observe things here, the more I feel that there is no reason to believe that this place is particularly suited for any type of better education. I also see that some of the education imparted here is faulty. However, there is a constant desire in my mind that each of you should be able to come and stay here for a while at least. If we go on doing our duty properly, we need not worry about the future. Your studying there earnestly would be your preparation for coming here. Mr. West's mother is just 150 miles away from London and yet she has never visited this city. The distance between London and Louth is only three and a half hours.

That there are more fruit trees on the land than we can look after shows our lack of competence. You should grow only so much as you can look after yourself.

Please let me know what made Anibehn ill, the nature of her illness and for how many days she has gone to Tongaat, and other news.

It is a matter of joy that Kababhai got a son. However, as you know my ideas in the matter, I feel sorry too. Thinking of the state of affairs in the country, I believe very few Indians need marry at the present time. The significance of marriage is also very deep. A person who marries in order to satisfy his carnal desire is lower than even the beast. For the

[1] Harilal Gandhi and Parsee Rustomjee were released on August 9 and 10 respectively. Rustomjee was re-arrested the same day and sentenced on August 11.

[2] *Vide* "Letter to H. S. L. Polak", pp. 356-7.

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married, it is considered proper to have sexual intercourse only for having progeny. The scriptures also say so. Thus considered, all the progeny that is born now is the issue of passion. Hence it is that the children born are mean and faithless and continue to be so. I do not want to discuss these things further with you; for that one has to go deeper into them. But I want you to understand the purport of what I have said above; and, understanding it, conquer your senses. Do not be scared by this and think that I want to bind you not to marry even after the age of 25. I do not want to put undue pressure on you or on anyone whatever. I just want to give you advice. If you do not think of marriage even at the age of 25, I think it will be to your good. But in case you feel like marrying then, I would like to explain to you the meaning of marriage from Kababhai's example. I am putting this serious subject before you, though you are but a child, simply because I have a high opinion of your character. I would not place these thoughts before any other child of your age, for he would not understand them.

More you will know from my letters to Ba and others, which I shall write hereafter.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the original Gujarati in Gandhiji's hand: C. W. 85
Courtesy: Sushilabehn Gandhi

214. LETTER TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO LORD CREWE

[LONDON,]
August 11, 1909

SIR,

In connection with the interview that the Earl of Crewe was pleased to grant Mr. Hajee Habib and me yesterday on the British Indian struggle in the Transvaal, I beg to mention that a cablegram[1] has been received by the South Africa British Indian Committee from Lorenco Marques, showing that probably a hundred British Indians —presumably passive resisters—are likely to be deported any day through that port to India. His Lordship is doubtless aware that this method of deportation has caused a great deal of misery and has formed a subject of repeated communications to the Colonial Office.

[1] L. W. Ritch wrote on the same day to the Foreign Office, quoting the cable which read: "Probably hundred deportees any day here. No reply intervention. Consul referred Imperial July sixteenth." The matter had been referred to the British Consul at Lorenco Marques, but no reply was forthcoming.

In view, however, of the negotiations that are going on for a settlement of the question, may I request His Lordship's intervention with a view at least of postponing any such deportation during negotiations.

I have, etc.,
M. K. GANDHI

Colonial Office Records: 291/142; also, from a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 5002

215. LETTER TO LORD AMPTHILL

[LONDON,]
August 11, 1909

MY LORD,

I beg to thank you for your letter of the 10th instant.

I am glad that you are pleased with the proviso I have suggested.[1] May I say that the proviso does not, in my opinion, involve a sacrifice of any essential principle.[2]

As the negotiations are still to continue, it will be perhaps as well not to circulate the statement among the newspaper editors or amongst sympathisers. Newspaper editors as editors are hardly interested in anything that is not sent to them for publication, and I am chary of circulating the statement among sympathisers without taking them into confidence as to what is going on. Subject, therefore, to Your Lordship's confirmation, I shall hold over the circulation of the statement pending negotiations.[3]

Although I know that I am trespassing upon your time, as I am anxious that I should keep you informed of everything that is going on,

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Lord Ampthill", p. 342. Commenting on this Lord Ampthill had observed: "So far as I can judge, you would actually be securing a recognition of right, though of course a very limited one, if the law itself were to declare that six Indians per annum may be admitted annually as permanent residents. It would be the gain of a practical and positive, though limited, right as against the theoretical and unavailable right which you are contending. The 'proviso' which you suggest seems to me to be a clever solution of the difficulty and I shall at once try what can be done with it, but without letting it be known that it comes from you."

[2] This assertion has reference to Lord Ampthill's remark: "I am more glad than I can say to know that you are thus far prepared to make a sacrifice as, after our talk yesterday, I despaired of a settlement."

[3] Lord Ampthill had suggested that it might be helpful to give the "Statement" to newspaper editors only for their information and to sympathisers for their confidential use.

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I enclose herewith copy of a letter[1] addressed by me to Lord Crewe, which I hope will meet with your approval.[2]

I remain, etc.,

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 5000

216. LONDON

[After *August 12, 1909*]

Natal Deputation

The Natal deputation had a meeting with Lord Crewe on Thursday. He gave a patient hearing. Mr. Anglia made a statement[3] and was followed by Mr. Abdul Caadir. Lord Crewe expressed his sympathy, but said that the existing laws would not be repealed. After unification, he said, conditions might improve under the Union Parliament. The deputation's petition referred to the issue of licences, the law relating to indentured labour, and education. Copies of the petition will now be distributed among all Members of Parliament. Preparations are going on for that. Two newspapers here have published a short summary of the petition which was forwarded from Durban. Mr. Ritch is thinking of sending copies to other places.

Suffragettes

The suffragettes are unremitting in their efforts. Meetings are being held all over. Everyone of the women posted at the Parliament gate keeps awake the whole night. Some of their ways of inviting suffering on themselves are, no doubt, highly commendable.

Dhingra

Mr. Dhingra, it is said, will be hanged on the 17th. But it is also likely that the death penalty will be commuted.

House of Commons

There has been quite a row in the House of Commons about the budget proposals recently introduced. The sessions continue right through the night, with the result that half the number of members

[1] *Vide* the preceding item. Lord Ampthill, commenting on the subject in his reply of August 12, observed that Gandhiji's communication was discreet and temperate, that the incident of deportation should favour their cause and that he regarded it as a powerful lever in the negotiations.

[2] Lord Ampthill informed Gandhiji that, as soon as he had received his letter suggesting the "proviso", he had written to both General Smuts and Lord Crewe, putting forward the suggestions as his own and urging its acceptance from a point of view which was also his own. *Vide* Appendix XX.

[3] This was on August 12, 1909. For M. C. Anglia's statement, *vide* Appendix XIX.

stretch themselves out for a nap right in the midst of all, wake up when it is time for voting and resume the nap as soon as the voting is over. Such is the condition of the greatest Parliament in the world. How, in these circumstances, they attend to the nation's business—readers may imagine for themselves. We find that most people are selfish. It will not be wrong to say that the sun of pure justice has set. Relatively, the British people behave somewhat better and that is why they outshine the other nations. However, it does not seem likely that Western civilization will survive much longer.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 11-9-1909

217. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

[LONDON,]
August 13, 1909

MY DEAR HENRY,

I hope you received my cablegram[1] about the negotiations and the new amendment. The enclosed copy[2] will give you all the information about the events of the week.

All I need add now is regarding your cablegram suggesting that Mr. Dowd should go to India. I feel sure that such is not your own opinion, but that you have merely transmitted the opinion of the Surat friends. You will remember the public declaration that Mr. Dowd made, that until the question was finished he would not leave the Transvaal, even at the risk of his life. It is therefore highly necessary for him, if for nothing else, for the sake of his honour, that he should return to the Transvaal and challenge the Government to re-imprison him, but other considerations, too, show that his presence is far more desirable in the Transvaal than in India. We want as many meetings there as possible. All these meetings are of use only if the fire of passive resistance is kept alive. You know as well as I do how effectively Mr. Dowd Mahomed can contribute to the process. Then, again, we can't wait for his arrival in Bombay before meetings are held. They should be convened now whilst the deputation is in London; they may be even after the deputation has returned to South Africa with empty hands, but we need not hurry Mr. Dowd to India in anticipation of so prolonged a struggle. Lastly, the negotiations are maturing hourly and there is every reason to hope that they will be successful. If so, Mr. Dowd Mahomed is not required in India for meetings in connection with the

[1] *Vide* "Cable to H. S. L. Polak", p. 351.
[2] This is not available.

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Transvaal. If he is required in connection with the general grievances, he can be sent after the Transvaal matter is closed. For that there is ample time. I shall therefore be cabling tomorrow[1] saying that Dowd Mahomed's place is in the Transvaal at the present time.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 5007

218. DEPUTATION NOTES [–VII]

[*August 13, 1909*]

It always happens that, when negotiations are in progress, very little information can be divulged to the public. I had hoped last week to be able to give definite news this week. But I find that the week is over without there being any definite news. However, negotiations are proceeding. We had an interview with Lord Ampthill on Monday. Mr. Hajee Habib, Mr. Ritch and I spent nearly an hour and a half with him, and had a long discussion. On Tuesday, we met Lord Crewe. I think his reply was very satisfactory. He has agreed to have a talk with General Smuts.

While these negotiations were proceeding, there was a cable from Delagoa Bay to say that about a hundred Indians were likely to be deported. The information has been forwarded to Lord Crewe.[2] Everything possible is being done in the matter.

While I was writing this, I received a cable[3] from Johannesburg, reporting the release of satyagrahis and the immediate re-entry of Mr. Rustomjee. I also saw the cable reporting that he has been sentenced to six months' hard labour. Reading it, I felt happy and cried too. This is exactly what I had expected of Rustomjee. He has been beyond praise. It made me happy to think that there are such men among Indians. I cried because he had to suffer so much. It is only when leading Indians set such examples that the people will acquire a backbone. If everyone followed this example, Indians would have nothing to suffer. I see from experience that we have now plenty of brave Indians who are ready to go through extreme suffering for the sake of the motherland. If we have a settlement, so much the better; should there be none, however, my only prayer to Indians is this: "Do not betray your pledge. Suffering for a just cause brings more real happiness than what generally passes as such. At any rate, in the broken state

[1] It appears that the cable was actually sent on August 16; *vide* "Cable to H. S. L. Polak", p. 358.

[2] *Vide* "Letter to Private Secretary to Lord Crewe", pp. 353-4.

[3] This was dated August 12. It reached London on August 13, the day this article was written.

that we are in, we have no right whatever to indulge in luxury. We shall get used to suffering after a little experience. Therefore, train yourself to endure suffering." I for one know of no other way.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 11-9-1909

219. LETTER TO LORD AMPTHILL

[LONDON,]
August 14, 1909

MY LORD,

I thank you for your letter of the 12th instant. It encourages me to send you a copy of letter[1] written by Mr. Ritch to Lord Crewe and of the cablegram[2] attached to it. The cablegram, I am sure, will be painful reading to Your Lordship, as it is to me.[3]

I am, etc.,

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 5010

220. CABLE TO H. S. L. POLAK[4]

[LONDON,]
August 16, 1909

DOWD'S PLACE TRANSVAAL. AMENDMENT INCLUDES GENERAL EDUCATION TEST AND POWER GOVERNOR MAKE REGULATION RESTRICTING NUMBER NATIONALITY PASSING TEST.

From a photostat of the draft in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 5018

[1] It requested for an inquiry into the allegation regarding food supply to prisoners and invited special attention to circumstances leading to Nagappen's death.

[2] The cable received from the Transvaal British Indian Association read: "Prisoners suffering severely, insufficient unsubstantial food. Ex-prisoners Johannesburg except Rustomjee, who straightway deported returned, six months' rigorous. Good mass meeting yesterday; resolutions, congratulation ex-prisoners; dissatisfaction Nagappen finding which arousing public indignation; published evidence completely substantiating Indian allegations; support deputations, respectful urgent appeal Imperial Government intervene this juncture. Arrests, deportation continuing."

[3] Lord Ampthill's reaction, indicated in his letter of August 16, was: "Painful and vexatious though it is that the persecution should continue and be augmented at the present moment, I cannot help thinking that the circumstances will further our cause."

[4] Though the draft does not bear Polak's name, it is clear from the contents that this cable was sent to him; *vide* letters to H. S. L. Polak, pp. 357 and 362.

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221. LETTER TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO LORD CREWE

[LONDON,]
August 16, 1909

SIR,

I beg to invite the attention of the Earl of Crewe to the enclosed extract translation of a letter received by me from a Mr. Mahomed Khan, who was for some time my clerk in Johannesburg. I have given a free rendering of the apposite portion of the letter. It is typical of many that were received by me whilst I was in Johannesburg.

It is possible that there is unconscious exaggeration in some parts of the letter, as for instance, as to the exact quantity of food stolen, or the entire absence of bathing accommodation. In the main, however, the statement appears to me to be accurate.

I am sending the translation to show what avoidable hardships most British Indian political prisoners are undergoing in the Transvaal prisons. I deliberately use the adjective "political". I am quite aware of the fact that there is no legal division of prisoners in the Transvaal. At the same time, there is no doubt that the Government recognise the fact that there are prisoners who are hardened criminals, and there are prisoners who have committed only technical breaches of the laws of the Colony. Unfortunately, this natural division is not only not recognized in favour of Indian passive resisters, but there seems to be a desire to treat them somewhat more harshly because they are passive resisters. The insufficiency and the unsuitability of food and the fact of Indian prisoners being classed with native prisoners are two very serious difficulties, causing a great deal of misery.

My colleague and I trust that His Lordship will be pleased to inquire into the matter and, if possible, secure some relief whilst some members of the Transvaal Government are in the metropolis.[1]

I have, etc.,
M. K. GANDHI

[ENCLOSURE]

EXTRACT TRANSLATION FROM A LETTER RECEIVED BY MR. GANDHI FROM MR. MAHOMED KHAN AT JOHANNESBURG, DATED 19TH JULY, 1909

I was discharged on the 12th July last. The only regret I had was that I could not meet you in the gaol. The day I was admitted I

[1] Acknowledging this letter on September 3, the Colonial Office informed Gandhiji that a copy of these papers had been sent to the Governor of the Transvaal for a report.

asked the chief warder to let me see you, but he did not grant the permission.

I was kept in the 'reserve camp' which has been established only lately. There was much suffering there. The water supply was not sufficient. There was no bathing facility. I had hardly a bath during the two months I was in the prison. I complained to the officer. He said: "Are you blind? Do you not see that there is no bathroom here?" I then said: "What are prisoners to do if there is no bathroom for a year?" He then said: "They have to do without."

The food supply was also not enough. Moreover, on Saturdays, when the prisoners have to wash their towels, socks, etc., there was only one tank among 200. I received no ghee (clarified butter). They mixed fat with rice, which I did not eat. I complained about it, but my complaint went unheeded. I drew the attention of the chief warder to the fact that you had complained about absence of ghee, and the chief warder said that, as you were not able to eat enough because of the want of ghee, you were told that other Indian prisoners also would be supplied with ghee, in order to induce you to take your food. You know the disposition of the Governor of the gaol and the chief warder. When we have to complain, they do not tarry long enough to listen to it. Later, I received food according to the new scale. The latter also is not sufficient. Four ounces of bread were allowed, but I never felt that I had more than two ounces. Gruel is only gruel in name because it is all water, and, then, it is too little. From the bread, rice, vegetables etc., supplied, the Native prisoners working in the yard steal a great deal. The quantity of rice allowed was six ounces, but hardly three ounces were received by me. I believe that about fifteen dishes full of food are stolen by the Kaffirs and the warders say nothing. Moreover, the warders are abusive. I put up with all this silently.

The work was not extra heavy. I was taken with a span consisting of 32 men to Lord Selborne's bungalow. There we had to do grass-cutting, roller-turning, digging, stone-breaking, cutting trees, cleaning ground, and also watering trees. Of this work, digging alone was somewhat difficult, because it was all stony; the stone was, moreover, very hard. The garden was situated on a rise. We were locked up with the Kaffirs. There was not a single European officer who described us as Indians. We were called "sammies" or "coolies". Most of the warders were Dutch; some of them were youngsters, who had no knowledge of the work.

At length came 74 Madras Indians. They were in very great distress; they are suffering much. Among them are five very old men, over perhaps sixty. They could not walk well. These also are sent out to work early in the morning in a shivering condition, and as the tramp is

long, they, poor fellows, get tired, and yet they utter not a word of complaint. Therein lies their bravery.

The whole of the Pretoria Location is empty.[1]

Colonial Office Records: 291/142; also, from a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 4949 and 5015

222. LETTER TO LORD AMPTHILL

[LONDON,]
August 16, 1909

MY LORD,

I beg to enclose herewith for your perusal copy of a letter[2] I have addressed to the Private Secretary to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, which I hope will meet with Your Lordship's approval.

I commend to Your Lordship's attention this week's *Indian Opinion*.[3] The inquiry about the death of the Indian Nagappen shows that the allegations made as to bad treatment have been substantially proved. *The Transvaal Leader* has made very severe strictures upon the conduct of the gaol authorities. Mr. Ritch has drawn Lord Crewe's attention to the proceedings.[4]

I remain, etc.,

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 5016

[1] In their reply of September 30, the Transvaal Ministers pointed out to the Governor that "the allegation that the water supply in the Pretoria Prisoners Reserve Camp is not sufficient is absolutely untrue", that prisoners had ample bathing facilities, that the other allegations made in Khan's statement were without basis, that the Indian prisoners were invariably housed in cells by themselves and were treated humanely and that there was no desire on the part of the prison officers to treat them harshly because they were passive resisters.

[2] *Vide* the preceding item.

[3] This was the issue of 17-7-1909, which reproduced from *The Transvaal Leader* of 8-7-1909 a dispatch from its Pretoria correspondent reporting the official enquiry into Sammy Nagappen's death. It was conducted by Mr. Bateman, Governor of the Johannesburg Fort. *Indian Opinion* published the *Leader*'s critical editorial of July 10 on the prevailing prison system and the character of the enquiry, demanding a fresh judicial investigation of the case. The issue also contained similar comments by the *Pretoria News* and the *Jewish Chronicle* and letters addressed by a number of influential European ministers of religion to the Transvaal Press. The Government had to yield to public opinion, and commissioned Major F. J. Dixon, Assistant Resident Magistrate, Pretoria, to hold a public enquiry. *Vide* "Letter to *South Africa*", pp. 483-4.

[4] Ritch forwarded a copy of the report of the official inquiry to the Colonial Office on August 16.

223. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

[LONDON,]
August 20, 1909

MY DEAR HENRY,

I was very pleased to receive your note written just before your landing. I fully expected that you would work away on board and prepare the two statements, but I had hoped that you would give yourself sufficient rest and not overdo it. I am looking forward to both the pamphlets[1], which Ritch re-christened "books".

After my last cablegram, I hope you have no difficulty in understanding the scope of the new amendment. Anyhow my letters, giving you the first amendment as also the second, will be presently in your hands and you will be able to know exactly the position here. I am sorry to say, at the time of writing, we stand where we were last week. I had thought that we should know the result about the beginning of this week for certain. Such, however, was not to be the case. Lord Ampthill in his last letter[2], however, says that he hourly expects a reply from Lord Crewe or General Smuts. We are seeing Mr. Schreiner tomorrow, to further discuss what you will find dealt with in the copy[3] which will be kept with this letter.

The Natal friends[4] have seen Mr. Bottomley, through the Acting Manager of the African Banking Corporation. Mr. Bottomley is certainly working very well. Through him they saw Colonel Seely also yesterday, and are likely to see him again. The matter will also be taken up by him in *John Bull*; thus there will be some fuss made, but I very much fear that nothing is going to come out of these interviews. If, however, our friends return convinced that they will get justice, not by

[1] These were on the Transvaal problem and on Indian grievances in South Africa in general. Polak wrote to Gandhiji on August 21: "I have written a pamphlet on the Transvaal trouble and had hoped to send you advance copies by this mail. But that has not been possible. Mr. Gokhale has read it, thinks it good and, whilst, he considers it much too strong in parts (I have since toned it down somewhat), has passed it. Mr. Jehangir Petit has personally undertaken to charge himself with the cost of printing and publishing 20,000 copies. I have illustrated it from my own photos. There will be a block of Volksrust Gaol and another of Pretoria Gaol, with suitable letter press . . ." The pamphlet was entitled *A Tragedy of Empire: The treatment of British Indians in the Transvaal.* For the other pamphlet, *vide* "Letter to H. S. L. Polak", p. 337.

[2] This was dated August 16.

[3] This is not available.

[4] Members of the Natal delegation

praying for it, but by demanding it at the point of the passive resistance bayonet, their visit will have been of some use.

I was dictating this letter when I was interrupted by Millie and Waldo. Both of them are looking very well. Millie seems to be quite happy in her new and temporary home.

Dr. Mehta is staying at the hotel. Both he and I went to Louth last Sunday to put his son at Mr. Worral's Grammar School. He understands the struggle much better, and I think he has begun to see that passive resistance is a sovereign remedy for most of the ills of life. He bought for you and Millie yesterday a magnificent edition of *Omar Khayyam.* It is more an album than a book. The whole of it is lithographed; the pictures are splendid and so is the colouring. You know how well Arabic letters lend themselves to ornamenting. There is a great deal of Arabic or Persian writing in the book. I have never seen anything like it. The book, together with others, has been just delivered and Millie has seen it. Maud is so charmed with it that she is going to save her pennies to enable her to buy a copy. Dr. Mehta has given £10 to the poor Passive Resisters' Fund opened in our columns; he offered £25, [but] I advised him to give £10 and the balance to the Phœnix School. Cordes wrote for some books and other things, the result of which is that Dr. Mehta and I went over to a bookseller's yesterday, and the books as per list[1] herewith have been already bought. They will form part of the Phœnix library at the same time as they are used for the school.

You know that I have a Life Policy for about £660. It is with Mr. Rewashanker Mehta[2]. I would like you to get hold of the policy and see the Agent of the Company. It has been long preying upon my mind. I have no longer, I conceive, any use for it. If they would refund the premiums paid to them less whatever they may wish to charge, so long as the deduction is not unreasonable, I would like to give up the policy and receive back a large portion of the premiums paid.[3]

I am looking forward to hearing from you everything about Kaliandas[4].

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 5019

[1] This is not available.

[2] Revashanker J. Jhaveri, brother of Dr. P.J. Mehta

[3] For Gandhiji's views on insurance, *vide* Vol. VI, p. 431.

[4] Kaliandas Jagmohandas Mehta; *vide* Vol. VI, p. 461. In his letter of September 4, Polak reported: "Kaliandas is working best of all. . . . [He] is doing fairly well. He is a little more sober than before, but the same good-hearted shrewd youngster. I love him. . ."

224. LONDON

[About *August 20, 1909*]

Union Bill

The Union Bill has been passed. Mr. Schreiner, Dr. Abdurrahman and others strove very hard [to get it amended], but to no purpose. Their efforts may have made a good impression. Many members made long speeches. They were not happy with the taint [of racial discrimination] in the Act. They expressed their regret. To what purpose? Why do they not give up their office? They express regret, but their actions are just the same! What should the Coloured people do now? The question should not arise. If they have courage[1] in them, let them, with Rama's name on their lips, sound a call for satyagraha; otherwise, they are surely as good as dead. To have come over here and made big speeches would avail them but little. The days are past, so it seems, when something could be gained by making speeches.

Natal Deputation

The Natal delegates are engaged in sending copies of the draft statement[2] on Natal all over the world. They have sent it everywhere. They have, moreover, met a Member of Parliament named Mr. Bottomley. He treats them very cordially. He offers them tea, and has also played host to them on other occasions. The meeting with Lord Crewe took place through his good offices. They will meet again. Mr. Bottomley has been of great help. But let everyone understand that it is through satyagraha alone that the Natal Indians will be free. Let us wait and see.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 18-9-1909

225. DEPUTATION NOTES [–VIII]

[After *August 21, 1909*]

This week I have very little news to give. Negotiations for a settlement are continuing. But so far there has been no result. From an article in *The Times* it appears that, perhaps, the result will be satisfactory. It gives the impression of having been written by someone in

[1] The original has "Rama" which, in Gujarati, figuratively means courage.
[2] *Vide* "Statement of Natal Indian Grievances", pp. 344-50.

the know. He says that there are hopes of Mr. Smuts making a pronouncement that will take account of Indian susceptibilities.

We met Mr. Schreiner,[1] and had a long talk. The gentleman also feels that there should be no objection to the entry of six Indians as a matter of favour, but that they cannot enter as a matter of right. He is honest in his opinions. But, having been convinced over a long time that we are an inferior people, he cannot see that it is insulting to propose that Indians may enter as a matter of favour.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 18-9-1909

226. LETTER TO DR. ABDURRAHMAN

[LONDON,]
August 23, 1909

DEAR DR. ABDURRAHMAN,

Please accept my sympathy as also congratulations in connection with your mission; my sympathy because you have got nothing substantially; my congratulations because no deputation deserves success as yours did, on account alike of the inherent justice of your cause and the solid work that you put forth. Mr. Schreiner has undoubtedly worked sincerely and like a giant.

That no amendment would be made in the Draft Bill was a foregone conclusion. One may derive whatever satisfaction is to be had from the fact of almost every member having regretted the insertion of a racial bar in an Imperial Statute-book; neither you nor I can live upon regrets. You are busy, so am I. Were I not busy, I should certainly have come down to you to offer what consolation I could, and yet I know that real consolation has to come from within. I can but recall to you the conversation we had on board. You are disappointed (if you are); you expected something from the Parliament or the British public, but why should you expect anything from them, if you expect nothing from yourself.

I promised to send you Thoreau's *Duty of Civil Disobedience*. I have not been able to procure it; I am writing for it to-day and hope to send it before you are off.

All I can add is a prayer that you may have the strength for it and ability to continue the work in South Africa along internal reform,

[1] This meeting was to take place on August 21; *vide* "Letter to H. S. L. Polak", p. 362.

and, therefore, passive resistance, even though, in the beginning, you may be only a handful.

If you can possibly look in, please do so. Come down tomorrow if you are free and we shall go then to the Vegetarian Restaurant together and talk away. You will also be introduced to Dr. Mehta of Rangoon, who is staying at this hotel. We shall wait for you until 5 minutes to one at the hotel.

Yours sincerely,

DR. ABDURRAHMAN
38, LONGRIDGE ROAD
EARLS COURT, S.W.

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 5024

227. LETTER TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO LORD CREWE

[LONDON,]
August 24, 1909

SIR,

I beg to invite Lord Crewe's attention to the fact that a cablegram has just been received from Mr. Polak, who is at present representing the Transvaal British Indians in India, to the effect that a public meeting is to be held at Bombay in connection with the Indian struggle on the 31st instant. The cablegram adds that two Indians have arrived in Bombay, having been deported by the Transvaal Government. One of them is a pre-war resident, and served the military authorities during the late war; the other was born in Natal and subsequently domiciled in the Orange River Colony. The last case shows that even Indians who were domiciled in other parts of South Africa are, contrary to the assurance given by His Lordship in the House of Lords, being deported to India.[1]

I have, etc.,
M. K. GANDHI

Colonial Office Records: 291/142

[1] The Colonial Office, acknowledging the letter on September 2, informed Gandhiji that a copy of it was being forwarded to the Governor of the Transvaal for the attention of the Ministers. In a reply dated September 29, Smuts denied the deportation to India, and pointed out that "Mr. Gandhi does not state whether the person claims (1) to have been resident here for three years prior to the 11th October 1899, (2) to have been in lawful possession of a permit to enter the Colony, or (3) that he was resident and actually in the Transvaal on the 31st May, 1902." He added that, if Gandhiji would furnish the names of the Indians regarding whom his complaints were made, full particulars of the facts about their deportation could be supplied.

CWMG - IX

228. LETTER TO LORD AMPTHILL

[LONDON,]
August 24, 1909

MY LORD,

I beg to enclose copy of letter[1] I have sent to Lord Crewe regarding a cablegram just received from Bombay.

The letter will speak for itself, but I should like to add that these deportations are becoming more and more serious and unreasonable. Mr. Polak, who is the sender of the cablegram, reports in his letter received to-day that he is being guided by the acting editor of *The Times of India*, Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, and other leading men.[2]

I remain, etc.,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy signed by Gandhiji: S. N. 5026

229. CABLE TO H. S. L. POLAK

[LONDON,]
August 25, 1909

PROGRESS CONTINUES VERY[3] UNCERTAIN. PRODUCE DEPORTEDS MEETING. RESOLUTION ADOPTING PICE SUBSCRIPTION AID STRUGGLE AS TANGIBLE EXPRESSION INDIA'S SYMPATHY SUGGESTED. BOMANJEE KNOWS.

From a photostat of the draft in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 5029

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

[2] Lord Ampthill, acknowledging this letter on August 25, observed that he had written to Lord Crewe and that, as soon as he had received a reply, he would be "in a better position to say whether the moment has arrived for abandoning our present attitude of reticence and expectation".

[3] The draft shows that the words "continues very" were added later; *vide* also the following item.

230. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

[LONDON,]
August 26, 1909

MY DEAR HENRY,

I have your long and interesting letter as also the cuttings. I am delighted that you are pleased with the reception you are meeting with. I wonder whether there was anybody to receive you when you landed?

Have you seen Dr. Mehta's brother ? I hope you will on no account miss doing so. He is of a very retiring nature and he may have felt diffident in calling on you, on finding you surrounded by all the big bugs of Bombay.

The cuttings you have sent make interesting reading and show the possibility of your being able to do very good and substantial work. I have your cablegram. I have sent a reply as follows:

> "Progress continues very uncertain. Produce deporteds meeting. Resolution adopting pice subscription aid struggle as tangible expression India's sympathy suggested. Bomanjee knows."

Sir Muncherji is very keen on the subscription idea. Ritch seems to have suggested it before at his instigation. Sir Muncherji thinks that it will carry very great weight, being a tangible expression of public feeling. The idea is not that we should get pecuniary assistance. We ought to be able to say that we should do without [it], but the idea is, in their wishes to take part in the struggle by collecting this subscription, the value will consist in thousands having given their mite. I will not labour the point much, because by the time this reaches you, you will have either acted upon the suggestion or rejected it.[1]

Smuts is leaving this week for South Africa and yet there is no settlement and no reply from the Colonial Office. I am therefore prepared any day to receive an unfavourable reply. Lord Ampthill has written to Lord Crewe.

I have had further important chats with Dr. Mehta. I think he is convinced now that ours is the right plan.

I assume that you have placed yourself in correspondence with the leading men in the other parts of India also. Mr. Hajee Habib is most

[1] In his letter of September 4, Polak informed Gandhiji that a resolution would be adopted at the public meeting on September 14 to set up a committee, presided over by Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, to collect subscription for the deportees. Writing on September 10, he reported, however, that Gokhale considered the suggestion impracticable, though a resolution could nominally be passed.

anxious that you should invite his brother, Mr. Hajee Mohamed, to take part in the struggle and assist you. He is at Porbunder. His full name is Hajee Mohamed Hajee Dada.

The Natal friends have sent their statement to all the Members of Parliament here, to the Press and the Indian papers and public men. You may do whatever you consider to be necessary on the Natal question.

It was very good of Mr. Jamsetji[1] to have offered to print 20,000 copies of the pamphlet. That would be a magnificent stroke.

Maud, Dr. Mehta, Hajee Habib and I went last Sunday to Whiteway. We left by the early morning train at one o'clock, reaching Stroud at 3.40. George Allen was at the station to receive us and we walked to Whiteway. It was a delightful walk, which you would have enjoyed. The country was charming. George Allen is all energy. He is a very fine specimen. I suppose ordinarily he would be considered to be uncultured. He is perfectly natural in everything he does and is brutally frank. His devotion to his wife, who does not share his ideas, seemed to me to be very great and the finest part of his character. His wife is suffering from a cancer of the breast and is only lingering on. She has an utterly charming and open countenance. I had a fairly long chat with her. Allen has four children. The eldest is a daughter, a very strong and healthy girl, a splendid housekeeper. She looks after her younger brothers and practically the whole household. Allen does not believe in putting any restraint on his children; I almost feel that he carries it to excess. The children squatted on the floor anyhow and ate in any way they liked. That, however, is a matter of detail. All his children were perfectly healthy. Whiteway was at one time a Tolstoyian Colony. The settlers have not been able to live up to the ideal. Some have gone, others are living there, but not carrying out the ideal. Allen seems to be the nearest approach. His ground is kept in a very good condition and he has brought it to its present condition singly and without having used any machinery whatsoever; simple tools are all he uses. By profession, he was a shoemaker. Dr. Mehta enjoyed his visit very well. He came with the greatest reluctance, because he does not believe in putting himself to any unnecessary trouble. Maud liked it very much. I was cruel enough to think that she could walk back. Mr. Hajee Habib saved me from that situation.

Some more books by Tolstoy and others belonging to the School Life series have been bought for Phœnix out of the £15 given by Dr. Mehta.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 5031

[1] This evidently is a slip for Jehangir Bomanjee Petit; *vide* footnote 1, p. 362.

231. DEPUTATION NOTES [–IX]

[*August 27, 1909*]

This week has been like the last: a settlement is nowhere in sight. It has also been reported that General Smuts may leave for the Transvaal in the course of the week. One does not know therefore what to say. It does not seem that there has been duplicity [on anyone's part]. Sir Muncherji has received a reply today, August 27, to the letter which he wrote to General Smuts seeking an interview. The reply says that, since private negotiations for a settlement are in progress, the [proposed] meeting has been postponed for the time being. This has led people to believe that, perhaps, a settlement will come about. On the other hand, it is also thought that the continued delay indicates some difficulty in getting our demands accepted. It is difficult to know what the true position is. Speaking for myself, I can only say that we are little concerned with the outcome of the negotiations for a settlement; be that as it may. If one is prepared to suffer, what is there for one to fear or be anxious about? I have no doubt whatever, nor should any satyagrahi have any, that our demands are bound to be accepted sooner or later. Lord Ampthill also has information that the negotiations are still proceeding.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 25-9-1909

232. LONDON

[After *August 27, 1909*]

Natal Deputation

The members are still busy dispatching copies of their statement to several people, and meeting public men. They have sent a large number of copies to India with a forwarding letter. The following is a summary of the letter[1]:

Appeal to India

We are sending herewith a copy of the statement made before the Colonial Secretary regarding the condition of Indians in Natal.

[1] This was dated August 27, 1909. The English text of the letter is reproduced here from *Indian Opinion*, 25-9-1909, with some changes needed to bring it into conformity with the Gujarati version.

CWMG-IX

We who have been specially deputed to see the authorities in London and to inform public opinion have already waited on the Secretary of State for the Colonies and other officials, and have circulated very widely copies of the statement. We feel that, unless India helps us seriously, it is not likely that Lord Crewe and Lord Morley will be able to secure much relief.

British Indians in Natal form a very considerable portion of the inhabitants of Natal, have very large interests in that Colony and are drawn from all parts of India. They number over 100,000, of whom about 10,000 belong to the trading class, the rest are either indentured Indians or those who have once been under indenture and are now free. It is an acknowledged fact that the prosperity of Natal depends largely, if not entirely, on the help she receives from India in the shape of indentured labour. We have also spared no pains to help India. At the time of the last two famines, subscriptions were collected from rich and poor to the best of their means and forwarded to the famine funds. We ask for no pecuniary assistance, but we do feel that India can successfully alleviate by kindly assistance the very great distress we are suffering in Natal.

As will appear from the statement, we are being crushed out of existence in Natal in a threefold manner. Our trade is slowly being reduced by means of an unjust and tyrannical administration of a licensing law that leaves in the hands of the Licensing Officer and the Licensing Board—who are themselves our trade rivals—unlimited powers, without any check from the judicial tribunals of the Colony. Indian labourers are worked almost as slaves for the benefit of Natal, but, as soon as they have finished their service under the Natal planters or mine-owners, they, their wives and children are taxed exorbitantly, and thus prevented from settling in the Colony and earning an honest livelihood as free men, and our future progress is almost entirely prevented by depriving us of even ordinary facilities for giving a suitable education to our youth.

Unless, therefore, by means of meetings, memorials and such other ways continuously adopted, India insists on our grievances being redressed, it is only a question of time when we shall be slowly starved out of the Colony. There is a tangible remedy at the disposal of the Indian Government, and that is, to stop the supply of indentured labour that annually flows into it unless the Colony deals justly by the Indian traders and labourers. This course was adopted by Lord Curzon and he even sent a dispatch to the Natal Ministers almost threatening to take action unless redress was granted, especially to British Indian traders. We do not know what the result of those negotiations was, but, instead of any redress being vouchsafed to us, our condition ever since that time

has become much worse owing to the stringency of the measures stated above and their almost remorseless enforcement. Our means of subsistence are curtailed every day, and our very existence in the Colony in the enjoyment even of the elementary rights of British citizenship is imperilled.

LETTER TO "THE TIMES"

A statement appeared in *The Times* to the effect that the deputation had given up the demand for the franchise. There were other incorrect statements also. A letter was, therefore, addressed over Mr. Anglia's signature, which I summarize below:[1]

You say in your yesterday's issue that the British Indians have no grievance as regards the Parliamentary franchise. Although we do not lay great stress on the political franchise, we have never admitted it not to be a grievance. Our grievances are many, but the most pressing have been placed before Lord Crewe, so that his attention and our energy may be concentrated only upon them. Franchise and other rights will be of no use to us if, by a simple "stroke of the pen" by the Licensing Officer, we are deprived of the facility for honestly earning our livelihood, no matter how large and long-acquired our vested right may be, and of the future generations' ability to utilize the right of vote, by being intellectually starved in the way of education, and if the best Indian labourers in the Colony may be condemned to servitude by a ruinous special tax.

We have presented the British public with this trinity of grievances (and our requests have been universally admitted to be very moderate). They affect our physical and intellectual wants. The withholding of the franchise under democratic institutions will ever remain to the British Indians in Natal a serious grievance. In not pressing this point home at the present moment, we have bowed before the storm. We have shown our hereditary self-restraint and, in the very act, we are proving our fitness for political rights.

You say that "the British Indians claim on racial and intellectual grounds a position of superiority to the Native races of South Africa". I submit with due respect that we do not want to lay any such claim, nor, in my opinion, is it necessary to make these fine distinctions with reference to the enjoyment of elementary rights that every civilized man should possess in civilized countries.

[1] This letter appeared in *The Times*, 27-8-1909. The text is reproduced here from *Indian Opinion*, 25-9-1909, with some changes needed to bring it into conformity with the Gujarati version.

CWMG - IX

LETTER TO VICEROY[1]

They have also addressed a special communication to the Viceroy, in which they have called for an embargo on the recruitment of Indians as indentured labourers if our trading rights are not respected.

INTERVIEWS

The gentlemen also met Sir Frederick Lely[2] who was at Surat. He gave them a patient hearing. At the same time, they have been in contact with Mr. Bottomley and Mr. Clerk of the Corporation Bank. They saw Colonel Seely once and will meet him again. Lord Morley has fixed September 1 for an interview. They had another meeting with Mr. Gupta, Nawab Saheb Bilgrami and others. Besides, they are in correspondence with the Aga Khan. They continue to meet Sir Muncherji from time to time. His helpfulness knows no limits.

POLAK'S WORK

Mr. Polak appears to be going ahead with his mission in India with great energy. He has sent some press cuttings which go to show that he has achieved a great deal in one week. We find reports in almost all the newspapers, both Gujarati and English. He has written to a number of men in Bombay. There is also a cable about a public meeting on the 31st. It remains to be seen what will happen now. He sends private cables regularly, so that we get all the information.

Sir Muncherji believes that India should help the Transvaal by raising a fund. A cable[3] has been sent to Mr. Polak in this connection. Let us see what happens at the meeting. The raising of such a fund is calculated to produce a strong effect and will also test India's sympathy.

"THE INDIAN SOCIOLOGIST"

This journal continues to be published though its original printer is in gaol. The new printer has also been arrested. He has taken this bold risk in order to assert the freedom of the Press. He says that there is no common ground between his views and those of Mr. Shyamji. He has undertaken the work only out of regard for the freedom of the Press. We should note one thing at least about this, namely, that it is a white who has thus offered to take [the burden] upon himself; he has of his own accord undertaken the risk, so that Indians will be doing nothing specially admirable if they fight for the honour of their country.

JOSEPH ROYEPPEN

Mr. Joseph Royeppen, who was called to the Bar a long time ago, was not able to return so far as he was short of money. Even a fund was

[1] *Vide* Appendix XXI.
[2] Formerly British Agent in the Porbunder State; *vide* Vol. I, pp. 7 and 21.
[3] *Vide* "Cable to H. S. L. Polak", p. 367.

raised in the Transvaal for him. He is now sailing by the *Tintagel Castle*. He intends to live in poverty and offer his services to the motherland. I wish he remains firm in his idea. If necessary, he assures me categorically, he will even go to gaol in the Transvaal.

Determined Women

As in London, so in Liverpool, some seven women were arrested in connection with [the campaign for] the franchise. They went to gaol and embarked on a fast there. They ate nothing for six days, the result being that they were released before their time. It should not be imagined that I give publicity to these facts in order to suggest that we should imitate these women in everything they do. I only want people to note that there is no suffering which they will spare themselves.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 25-9-1909

233. LETTER TO MRS. KASHI GANDHI

London,
August 28, 1909
At 1.00 a.m.

CHI. KASHI[1],

Though it is very late now, I needs must write to you today. Every week I remember you and Santok[2] and put off writing. Though there is not particularly much work to do, I am always busy with something or other.

What shall I write to you about your having given birth to a daughter? If I say that it is good, it would be a lie. If I express sorrow, it would be violence. According to my present ideas, I should remain indifferent. For that one must have the mental equipoise described in the *Gita*. That, no doubt, is very difficult to attain. However, my effort is in that direction. Meanwhile, I would only say and wish that you learn to control your senses in the right manner. I am having plenty of experience. As I go on observing, my ideas become firm. I do not see any reason to change them. I shall not write a separate letter to Santok. This is for you both.

[1] Chhaganlal Gandhi's wife
[2] Maganlal Gandhi's wife

CWMG - IX

I admit that I did not write any letters to you; but ask yourself why you did not write, and if you do not find any justification for not doing so, repent for it, for I am hungry for letters from you all.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

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

234. LETTER TO LORD AMPTHILL

[LONDON,]
August 30, 1909

MY LORD,

In order not to unnecessarily worry you, I have refrained from acknowledging your last two letters.[1]

May I invite your attention to the statement[2] made yesterday to Reuter's Agent on the Indian question by General Smuts? What can be the meaning of the statement? Does it mean that the General will decide after he has reached Pretoria, and if so, what is our duty?

I remain, etc.,

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 5034

235. LETTER TO AMEER ALI

[LONDON,]
August 30, 1909

DEAR MR. AMEER ALI,

I have your postcard. I have purposely refrained from writing to you, in order that I may not interfere with your rest. Had there been anything striking, I should certainly have written. Moreover, I waited for the letter that you promised in your postcard. Not having had the letter, I concluded that you were too busy to write it.

[1] In his letter of August 24, Lord Ampthill had expressed himself as disconcerted at the unexpected departure of General Smuts for South Africa without replying to his suggestions. He had also referred to a leading article in *The Times*, which gave a "distinct hint that there would be some settlement of the British Indian question". In his letter of August 26, he referred to Lord Crewe's reply that "the negotiations are still going on, so that there is yet hope of something being settled". Lord Ampthill decided not to raise the question in the House of Lords, as he had intended to. "I cannot think of anything," he added, "which we are leaving undone or which we could do with advantage at the present moment; we must still wait patiently."

[2] *Vide* the following item.

CWMG - IX

The Transvaal matter is still the subject of negotiations. General Smuts left on Saturday and gave the following message to Reuter:

> I hope it[1] is in a fair way to disappear from the horizon of Transvaal politics. The vast majority of Transvaal Indians are sick to death of the agitation carried on by some of their extreme representatives, and have quietly submitted to the law. I have had repeated conversations with Lord Crewe and other important leaders interested in this matter, and I think it will be possible now to find a solution of this vexed question which all reasonable men will consider right and fair.

And there the matter rests at present. There is some ground, therefore, for hoping that a settlement will be arrived at. Lord Ampthill has worked wonderfully in the matter, but if the negotiations are protracted, it is now a question, in view of General Smuts' return to South Africa, whether Mr. Hajee Habib and I should stay here or whether our place is now in South Africa and, if necessary, in the Transvaal gaol.

As to the Natal deputation, Mr. Abdul Caadir and friends are moving heaven and earth. They are circulating the statement broadcast. They have seen Lord Crewe and they are seeing, this week, Lord Morley and Colonel Seely. They have also been in correspondence with the Aga Khan, who is in Paris undergoing medical treatment. Sir Muncherji is also in constant touch. A copy of their letter to the Indian public shows the remedy they are now concentrating their energy upon. They have sent you the statement. A letter has also been officially addressed to the Viceroy, asking him to adopt the remedy of suspending Indian immigration to Natal unless relief is granted. They are most anxious to pay their respects personally to you, especially as they have been specially instructed to meet you and be guided by your advice. I would, therefore, thank you to let me have an idea as to when you are likely to return.

I hope there has been no further hindrance to the cure you have been undergoing and that you will return thoroughly invigorated. I may mention that a public meeting will be held tomorrow in Bombay to protest against the Transvaal legislation.

I remain,
Yours sincerely,

JUSTICE AMEER ALI, C. I. E.
HOTEL SCHWEIZERHOF
VULPERA TARASP
[SWITZERLAND]

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 5035

[1] The Indian question

236. LETTER TO SWAMI SHANKERANAND

[LONDON,]
August 30, 1909

DEAR SWAMIJI,

Received your letter. I had read your speech earlier about Curzon Wyllie delivered at the Depot Road. I also read your letter on education. I am grieved at reading all the three. Your letter to me shows your views on Islam and the other two items show your behaviour towards the people of that faith. I do not say anything about your views on Islam. But your sarcastic remarks about Islam are, so far as I know, against the spirit of Hinduism. But even these I do not mind. What has particularly been painful to me is your expedient and immoral behaviour while making those remarks. In saying that the British are the defenders of the Hindu religion, you have shown our utter helplessness. If I myself am not able to protect my religion, how can a person of another faith do it? Your ideas on education I consider as only causing a split between the Hindus and the Mussalmans. If it is necessary to keep so much distance between the Hindus and the Mussalmans, then, Hindustan deserves to remain slave. How, then, can one find fault with the foreigner? And if that distance is insisted upon, Hinduism would just perish. Fortunately, Hinduism is sound and stable. I have firm faith that a religion that has maintained itself for thousands of years will not perish even at the hands of our priests. What shall I write to you? I have respect for your knowledge; but I am pained at your behaviour.

[From Gujarati]
Gandhiji-na Patro and *Gandhiji-ni Sadhna*

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237. LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI

[LONDON,
End of *August*,] *1909*

CHI. MANILAL,

Received your letter.

I shall consider myself fortunate if your mind is perfectly quiet, if you are thoroughly absorbed in your work and if you are doing your studies without any distractions. I do not think it necessary for you to come to this country in a hurry. People here appear to be very degenerate. We shall talk more about this when we meet.

That you are doing the work of teaching children is a very noble thing.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C. W. 86
Courtesy: Sushilabehn Gandhi

238. LETTER TO LORD AMPTHILL

[LONDON,]
September 1, 1909

MY LORD,

I am exceedingly obliged to Your Lordship for your letter of the 31st ultimo.[1]

If General Smuts' decision[2] be final, it is unfortunate. But I fear that it will not be possible for me to recede from the position as to the question of "right". In my opinion, nothing will be gained by his making the residence of a limited number of educated Indian immigrants permanent, if the "right" be not recognized. No Indian need enter the Transvaal if only the theoretical "right" remain inviolate. The origin of number six lies in Mr. Cartwright's anxiety that I should give some tangible proof of the community's declaration that, behind the question of the status of educated Indians, there was no intention to flood the Transvaal with British Indians. You will, therefore, see that the proposal of General Smuts does not in any degree satisfy the Indian requirement.

[1] & [2] *Vide* Appendix XXII.

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On the contrary it accentuates the racial insult, and our acceptance of it would simply mean that, after all, we were not fighting so much for a principle, as for the mere satisfaction of being able to import some educated Indians into the Transvaal for our own interests.

You may have noticed the cablegram in *The Times* of to-day's date, regarding the cancellation of a public meeting in Bombay, convened by the Sheriff on an influential requisition.[1] I very much fear that the action of the Government . . .[2] the Transvaal, in. . .[3] advocacy of the position taken up by us in the Transvaal.

I remain, etc.,

[PS.]

Mr. Hajee Habib and I are seriously considering whether it would not be advisable for us to go to India after finishing the work here and ask for a greater manifestation of public sympathy. This, however, we will discuss with Your Lordship after the expected interview with Lord Crewe has come off.

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S.N. 5037

239. LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI

LONDON,
September 1, 1909

CHI. MANILAL,

I get your letters regularly. I was again invited to dinner by Mrs. Freeth[4] this week. She enquired about you all. She also asked for a photograph of you all and also of the Phœnix settlement. Please send her whatever you may have of these. I have written[5] to Ba also. Mrs. Freeth is a good-natured lady and has much affection for me.

There is little prospect of a settlement now. In that case I shall have no alternative but to fight. I will need help from you all; that help you will give me by remaining calm and doing your duty courageously.

[1] The Government of Bombay considered it undesirable for the Sheriff to convene the meeting in his official capacity, after the passing of the South Africa Union Bill.

[2] The original is damaged and some words are missing.

[3] A line is missing here.

[4] Presumably, an acquaintance of Gandhiji from student days in England; *vide* also Vol. VI, p. 159.

[5] This letter is not available.

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I hope you keep your tools in proper trim. I also hope sufficient dust is being spread over night-soil. It is necessary to cultivate the habit of keeping all the surrounding area clean. Mr. Kallenbach writes that this time he had put up with us. I hope you attended to all his needs. Let me know what arrangements you had made for his bath and toilet. You must be realizing the necessity of keeping ready the lavatory which Kitchin used always. I am writing all this to you as you are the sanitary inspector of the house.

You have not written to me as to what you have learnt.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

[PS.]

Please show this letter to Ba.

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C.W. 87
Courtesy: Sushilabehn Gandhi

240. CABLE TO H. S. L. POLAK[1]

LONDON,
September 2, 1909

IT APPEARS SMUTS WILL GRANT PERMANENT PERMITS LIMITED NUMBER BUT NOT OF RIGHT. STILL NEGOTIATING. PUBLIC MEETING SHOULD BE HELD INDEPENDENTLY SHERIFF. MY CABLES NOT FOR PUBLICATION.

From a photostat of the draft in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 5039

241. LETTER TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO LORD CREWE

[LONDON,]
September 2, 1909

SIR,

I beg to draw the attention of the Earl of Crewe to the following cablegram received from the Chinese Association :

> Reuters report interview Smuts indicates settlement Asiatic question. If so, why continued arrest Chinese? Twenty-seven within week.

I have not received a copy of Reuter's report referred to in the above cable, and I do not know what truth there is in the settlement

[1] Though the draft does not bear Polak's name, it is clear from the contents that it was addressed to him.

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indicated of the Transvaal Asiatic difficulty. Mr. Hajee Habib and I are awaiting a communication from His Lordship in the matter.

I may add that the arrests of Indians, too, have continued.

I remain, etc.,
M. K. GANDHI

Colonial Office Records: 291/142; also, from a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 5041

242. LETTER TO LORD AMPTHILL

[LONDON,]
September 2, 1909

MY LORD,

The following cable has been received from the Chinese Association :

> Reuters report interview Smuts indicates settlement Asiatic question. If so, why continued arrest Chinese? Twenty-seven within week.

I may add that several Indians have been similarly arrested. Personally, I welcome this crusade against the Indians and the Chinese in the Transvaal. It puts them upon their mettle and enables the Government, as well as the passive resisters, to gauge the strength of passive resistance. I have not yet advised the British Indian Association at Johannesburg that Reuter's report may be misleading and that there may be, after all, no settlement at all.

Lord Crewe has not yet written as Your Lordship thought he might. I am drawing his attention to the Chinese cable.[1]

I should perhaps mention that questions have been suggested to M.P.s, regarding the Bombay Government's action[2] about which I wrote to you yesterday. I hope this step will meet with your approval.[3]

I remain, etc.,

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 5044

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

[2] A question on the subject was asked by James O'Grady, a member of South Africa British Indian Committee, in the House of Commons on September 7. Another question on the subject was asked by Sir Henry Cotton on September 9. On both occasions, the Under Secretary of State replied that the Imperial Government had not received any official information in the matter.

[3] Acknowledging this letter the following day, Lord Ampthill wrote: "Your view accords with that which I expressed to you when you first arrived in England, namely, that the continuance of resistance and repression in the Transvaal is helpful to our negotiations. I think you would do well to let the British Indian Association know that you are not yet aware of any settlement but that you are asking for another interview

243. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

[LONDON,]
September 2, 1909

DEAR HENRY,

I shall probably write two letters to you this week. The present one is in connection with Phœnix.

I have already told you that I had long chats with Dr. Mehta, and that he had given £15 for the school. I have got some books out of the £15 for the library; you have the list; some more have been bought. There is still a balance of about £12. There may be some books there of value, which might be purchased out of the balance left. You may consult Chhaganlal and others.

Dr. Mehta, however, has promised much more. He intends to give a scholarship that would cover the expenses of educating and boarding an Indian lad at Phœnix. I have told him what the expenses might be—anything from £1 to 25/- per month. He has also placed at my disposal the expenses of educating one Phœnixite in England. The idea arose from his desire to take over the training of one of my own boys. I told him that I could not accept any such thing, but I would be pleased to accept the expenses, to be used for the best person in Phœnix, and that, if I considered that Manilal was the most suitable for the purpose, I should not hesitate to send him also. All this makes me think that you might do some such work there. Mr. Petit is a moneyed man. There are others also, if you could convince them that Phœnix is intended to be a nursery for producing the right men and right Indians. You might induce some of these men to give scholarships to be used either for use generally or restricting them to Indians only. We should accept them either way. They might also give us donations, earmarking them for buying books and other educational material. The chief thing would be for you to convince them that whatever energy is put forth in Phœnix is not so much taken away from India, but is so much given to India, and that, in some respects, Phœnix is a more suitable place for making experiments and gaining proper training. Whereas in India there may be undesirable restraints, there are no such undesirable restraints in Phœnix. For instance, Indian ladies would never have come out so boldly as they are doing in Phœnix. The rest of the social customs would have been too much for them.

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with Lord Crewe. I wrote to you last night advising you to do so if you had not heard from him. Please let me know what answers are given to the questions in the House of Commons. The Press, as you know, often omits to publish them."

I have here given you enough to enable you to enlarge upon the idea and do whatever you think is necessary. You may be able to get Adamji Peerbhai or his son to give a scholarship either for the Indian boys generally or for training Mahomedan boys. You may get them to give you prizes also. It will be well to collect prospectuses from the different educational institutions in India, for purposes of reference. Mr. Omar has the century dictionary and various other important books of which he has not the slightest use. In my letter[1] which I enclose herewith, I have asked him to let us have this dictionary and any other books he could spare. You may speak to him in the matter.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 5042

244. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

[LONDON,]
September 3, 1909

MY DEAR HENRY,

I have your letter and cuttings. The work you are doing is most admirable and I am delighted that you are receiving splendid support from all sides and that Mr. Jehangir Petit has been treating you so nicely.[2]

I noticed from the papers that you published the cablegram that I sent you regarding the offer to repeal the Act.[3] I was surprised. I felt that you would understand that the negotiations would be quite private and that you could not publish the information. Lord Ampthill has been very strict in the matter. Happily, no ill result has followed. However, in order to guard myself, in my last cablegram[4] I have asked you not to publish any of the cables that may be sent from here.

The cancellation of the Sheriff's meeting is a disgraceful affair. A cablegram appeared in *The Times* in connection with it. I take it that you keep yourself in touch with *India*. You will see the cable reproduced in it. Sir Henry Cotton, as also Mr. O'Grady, are asking questions in the matter. I wish there had been from the Presidency Association a private cable to the British Committee of the Congress. It is somewhat difficult for us to move effectively. It is primarily Bombay that

[1] This is not available.

[2] In his letter of August 14, Polak had furnished a diary-wise report of his meetings with a host of prominent people and their favourable reactions.

[3] *Vide* "Cable to H. S. L. Polak", p. 351.

[4] *Vide* "Cable to H. S. L. Polak", p. 380.

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should resent action of the Bombay Government, and not we. However, whatever was possible has been done. I now expect from you a cablegram any time, informing me of the date of a public meeting independently of the Sheriff.

Mr. Hajee Habib is anxious that you should ask Mr. Hajee Mahomed, his brother, who is at present in Porbunder, to co-operate with you. He says that if he were invited, he would gladly join you. Please correspond with him. Mr. Omar knows him well. I may even cable in the matter.

From copies of correspondence with Lord Ampthill you will see that, now, there is little chance of an acceptable settlement. I send you a cutting giving General Smuts' statement to Reuter, before he sailed from Southampton. It, however, now appears that what he wants to do is to repeal the Act and to give permanent certificates of residence to a limited number of educated Indians; thus, he does not want to recognise the "right" of entry. I am rather glad if he does this and makes a public declaration. The issue again narrows down to the one and only point, namely, the status of educated Indians and the self-respect of India. We then approach England and India on a clear cut proposition, and ask the Indians in the Transvaal also to continue the battle until that point is decided. You will see from my letter to Lord Ampthill how I view it. I almost feel, before we return to South Africa, we may visit India and then pay another visit to London and retrace our steps. I know, if General Smuts makes the public declaration in accordance with Lord Ampthill's letter, the fight here will be most difficult. However, that does not dismay me, though I question very much whether any useful purpose will be served by public meetings if any could be held, and canvassing of Members of Parliament, until further suffering has been gone through. I would far rather be in gaol than carry on what may prove to be almost a useless agitation. There may be in this desire to avoid it a touch of laziness; I hope not. I do not wish to shirk having to see people and address meetings, in so far as that may be necessary, but whenever I have a quiet moment to myself, I do continually ask myself as to whether I should be doing right in remaining here for the purpose of canvassing.

Wherever your meeting is held, I hope you will have succeeded in getting Mr. Armstrong and other Anglo-Indians to attend it. I hope you have been sending the Gujarati and English cuttings to Johannesburg also. In order not to disappoint people there, I have been, by way of double precaution, sending to them the cuttings received by you.

You do not mind my not replying to your cables immediately, when you do not get one from me as early as you may expect it. Please understand that there is good reason for my not having replied. For instance, you have asked me whether there is any hope. I am delaying the reply,

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as I am waiting for a call from Lord Crewe. I should then be able, somewhat definitely, to tell you whether there is or not. Just now, I should say there is none.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 5049

245. DEPUTATION NOTES [–X]

[After *September 3, 1909*]

I am tired of reporting every time that I have no news to give about a settlement. But that is what I must say again. I know, of course, that those who are perfect satyagrahis will not weary of reading this, for they are not concerned whether or not a settlement is reached. They stand victorious in any case.

However, I am really in a position to give a little more information this time. We have been told that General Smuts will at least repeal the Act. But as regards the issue of educated Indians, he will grant permits for permanent residence to a limited number as a matter of favour. They will have the same rights as those who have been registered. But I see no advantage in this. They may not call us "dead", but use the expression "passed away"; yet, we shall be dead all the same. It is against the quick and living that we have to pit our strength. We must therefore continue the fight. I have no definite news, though. We shall know the truth in a few days. I do not think there will be any formal negotiations for a settlement this time. In due time, our demands will be conceded, and then alone shall we be in a position to hang up our weapons.

If, as I have suggested above, the Act is now repealed and permanent permits for six men are offered, that will give further impetus to the fight. Its real nature will come to be better understood. *Everyone will then realize that we have been fighting not for* [*the admission of*] *a particular number* [*of educated men*], *but for India's honour.* There must be legal equality with the whites; it will not matter then if, in practice, not even a single Indian is able to get in. We can bear that. But it would not serve our purpose even if permits are issued to 50 men, so long as the law itself is tainted. We are not fighting for ourselves, but for others. It is not a fight on behalf of the educated or the highly educated, but for India's honour, for our self-respect, for the fulfilment of our pledge. The more we suffer in this cause, the happier we shall be. Those who fight in this spirit are true satyagrahis—men with soul-force. I want to see every Indian join this beautiful, sublime struggle.

Readers must have noticed that the deputation has been acting all the time behind the scenes. They should know all the same that nothing that needs to be done will be left undone. Our object is to get things done through the good offices of the Imperial Government. So long as that is happening, nothing else needs to be done here (in England). In attempting anything more, we may only damage the cause.

When the Imperial Government washes its hands of the business, we shall have to act publicly. Eight weeks have passed in negotiations. A little more time may yet elapse. We shall then work publicly as and when necessary. This is a time-consuming process. We shall need more time than we had supposed, but there is no escape. Moreover, when the Imperial Government declares its helplessness after having tried to help us, our work here will become extremely difficult. Not before we have gone through the ordeal of a bitter, intense and strenuous fight shall we be able to slay what Mr. Dawad Mahomed has termed an elephant.

The more I observe things, the more I realize that deputations, petitions, etc., are all in vain if there are no real sanctions behind them. I see from experience that it is better to be in gaol than to have to seek interviews. Mirabai has sung:

> Prepare not your draught from the twice-bitter *neem*,
> Shunning the sweetness of the sugar and the sugarcane;
> Give not your love to the glow-worm,
> Turning away from the light of sun and moon.

This saintly lady has told us that anyone who devotes himself entirely to love of God will find everything else bitter like *neem* juice and lustreless like the glow-worm's glitter. Likewise, anyone who has had experience of satyagraha—soul-force, who has found its spell irresistible, will have no pleasure in petitions and deputations. 'Why, then,' the reader must ask me, 'did you leave the happiness of gaol-life to join the deputation?' I have said in an earlier letter[1] that the deputation is a confession of the community's weakness. It became something of a duty to come [here] on behalf of the weak. But I can say from experience that the community can put us and other Indians to the best use by allowing us to be in gaol. Those who lead a deputation cannot make a more skilfully drafted petition than the one that satyagrahis make by the fact of their being in gaol. Men have now lost faith in such activities. Personally, I make bold to say that, if anyone here gives us a hearing, that is only because we are satyagrahis and we pin our faith on suffering.

[1] *Vide* "Deputation's Voyage [–I]", p. 271.

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In spite of these views of mine, I feel that, should there be no settlement after all, we should leave for India and, after doing everything necessary there, return to England to take any further steps that may be called for, and then go back to the Transvaal. For the moment, however, these are mere castles in the air. As yet, we cannot even say whether or not there will be a settlement. But I have set down these plans here, thinking as I do that it is better the community is told of them.

We see that Mr. Polak is making a big effort in Bombay. He has met a number of people, who have all agreed to help. He attended the meetings of the Bombay Presidency Association and the local Anjuman-e-Islam. A Bombay millionaire, Mr. Jehangir Petit, has put up Mr. Polak as his guest. He looks after him, and has offered to have copies of the pamphlet printed at his own cost. Likewise, the Anjuman-e-Islam has offered to arrange for the printing and distribution of copies of Mr. Polak's speech in English and Urdu.

We learn from a cable that the Sheriff of Bombay had called a big meeting for the 1st. The Bombay Government, acting in a high-handed manner, asked the Sheriff to cancel the meeting. There is now another cable to say that the Bombay Government has regretted its error and allowed the meeting to be held. The meeting will take place on September 11[1]. By the time this letter is published, you will have received a report of the meeting as well. I, therefore, do not know what to say. The reason which the Government gave for not permitting the meeting was that, since the Union was an accomplished fact, a Government officer like the Sheriff should not hold a [protest] meeting. This is doubly wrong. In the first place, the Transvaal struggle has nothing to do with the Union; secondly, the fact that a meeting was called by the Sheriff does not imply Government participation in it. In calling a meeting, the Sheriff only gives expression to the people's will. He does not even take part in it.

Before leaving, General Smuts told Reuter that a settlement would be reached which would satisfy the Indian community. He also added that the majority of Indians were sick of agitating, and only a few irreconcilables were left. This indicates that he has had a long discussion with Lord Crewe on the Indian problem. But the gentleman wants a partial settlement such as I have described above.

I would personally invite the community's attention to only one remark of his: he says that most of the Indians are sick [of agitating]. This suggests everything. It tells us why there has been such a long

[1] The meeting was actually held on September 14.

delay. Whether a settlement will be reached or not depends on our strength.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 2-10-1909

246. LONDON

[Before *September 4, 1909*]

Natal Deputation

This deputation had interviews with Colonel Seely and Lord Morley. Both the officers expressed the utmost sympathy. But Colonel Seely said that nothing could be done, and Lord Morley pointed out that the matter was within the province of the Colonial Office and not his. However, [he said] he had been doing his best, and would continue to do so. He reminded the deputation that they could not interfere in the affairs of self-governing Colonies. Colonel Seely has agreed, at the deputation's request, to give a written reply. The posting of copies of its statement continues. The members call on Sir Muncherji from time to time and receive his guidance.

Ministers Leave

Mr. Merriman, General Smuts, Mr. Moore and other ministers of South Africa left last week.

Dr. Abdurrahman

Dr. Abdurrahman and his colleagues will leave by the mail-ship which will carry this letter. The gentleman will keep up the struggle. Whether it will be in the nature of satyagraha or something else is not known as yet.

Morris

Mr. Morris, who was employed in the Cape Town Colonial Office, has been sent here by a section of the Coloured people.

This Crazy Civilization

London has gone mad over Mr. Bleriot[1] who flew in the air in an aeroplane and Dr. Cook who claims to have reached the North Pole. Newspapers report their achievements in great detail. People, it appears,

[1] Louis Bleriot (1872-1936); French pilot, the first to fly across the English Channel

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throw away thousands of pounds after such things. Personally, I am unable to see what miracles they have achieved. No one points out what good it will do to mankind if planes fly in the air. People go crazy over every impostor making a novel claim. To me at least it appears that life would grow intolerable if there were to be too many planes in the air. We have trains running underground; there are telegraph wires already hanging over us, and outside, on the roads, there is the deafening noise of trains. If you now have planes flying in the air, take it that people will be done to death. Looking at this land, I at any rate have grown disillusioned with Western civilization. The people whom you meet on the way seem half-crazy. They spend their days in luxury or in making a bare living and retire at night thoroughly exhausted. In this state of affairs, I cannot understand when they can devote themselves to prayers. Suppose Dr. Cook has, in fact, been to the North Pole, what then ? People will not, on that account, get the slightest relief from their sufferings. While Western civilization is still young, we find things have come to such a pass that, unless its whole machinery is thrown overboard, people will destroy themselves like so many moths. Even today we can see that there are more and more cases of suicide every day. There are reasons why it may be advisable for people to come to England on some business or for education, but, generally speaking, I am definitely of the view that it is altogether undesirable for anyone to come or live here. We shall consider this point at greater length some other time.

Joseph Royeppen

I have already reported his departure on Saturday.[1] I see indications that he will have no option but to go to gaol. I hope he will do so.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 2-10-1909

[1] *Vide* "London", pp. 373-4.

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247. LETTER TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO LORD CREWE

[LONDON,]
September 6, 1909

SIR,

Lord Ampthill informs Mr. Hajee Habib and me that the Earl of Crewe will presently ask us either to wait on His Lordship or depute some one we could see, and with whom we could discuss the Transvaal Indian question.[1]

I am aware that His Lordship is very busy with many matters of State. May I, however, remind you that Mr. Hajee Habib and I have been now in the metropolis for over eight weeks, and that great pressure is being put upon us from those who have sent us here to give the result of our mission? I need hardly mention that we have purposely avoided all public activity, in order not to prejudice the negotiations that His Lordship has been pleased to carry on with the Transvaal Ministers, with a view to bringing the struggle to an end.

My colleague and I will be obliged if you will place this letter before His Lordship, and let us know when our presence will be required.[2]

I remain, etc.,
M. K. GANDHI

Colonial Office Records: 291/142; also, from a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 5053

[1] This was conveyed in his letter to Gandhiji of September 5.

[2] Apropos of this letter, the Colonial Office minute of September 8 recorded that: "Colonial Secretary should see Mr. Gandhi and his colleague, and indicate the scope of the proposals of Mr. Smuts in general terms. If they are unwilling to abate their demands, the Transvaal Government may be less willing to push through the amendment of the law this year: but if the India Office accept the compromise, it would be politic to press the Transvaal Government to do so, irrespective of Mr. Gandhi." Gandhiji and Hajee Habib were given an appointment with Lord Crewe on September 16.

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248. LETTER TO AMEER ALI

[LONDON,]
September 6, 1909

DEAR MR. AMEER ALI,

I am much obliged to you for your prompt reply to my letter[1].

I am glad that His Highness the Aga Khan has sent Mr. Anglia's letter to you.

We shall all be looking forward to your return, so that we may receive the benefit of your guidance and advice. I entirely agree with you that, whatever differences there may be between the Mussulmans and the Hindoos in India, in this question of the grievances in South Africa there can be none.[2] In fact, my life is devoted to demonstrating that co-operation between the two is an indispensable condition of the salvation of India.

The Bombay Government have now apologized for having instructed the Sheriff to recall his notice of public meeting, which has been re-advertised for the 11th instant.

The negotiations regarding the Transvaal matter are still progressing, though slowly.

With regards from us all,

I remain, etc.,

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 5055

249. LETTER TO KHUSHALCHAND GANDHI

LONDON,
September 7, 1909

RESPECTED KHUSHALBHAI,

Your letter to hand.

I am very glad to learn that you will not come in the way of Chhaganlal's public work and that you consider him to be wholly entrusted to me. I am sure that both the brothers[3] and their wives are elevating themselves by living in Phœnix. There is not much of

[1] This was dated August 30; *vide* "Letter to Ameer Ali", pp. 375-6.

[2] Ameer Ali had written: "...they can and ought to work on a common platform in endeavouring to secure justice to their countrymen who have taken up their abode in South Africa. And I do not think it can be difficult to devise some method of constitutional cooperation to attain that end."

[3] Chhaganlal and Maganlal Gandhi

Western influence in Phœnix. We do not hesitate in the least to take whatever Western we find worth acceptance. India is sure to profit by whatever good results accrue from this. The activities that are carried on in Phœnix are, I believe, all of them religious.

Chi. Narandas[1] has embarked upon a benevolent piece of work. Please give him your blessings and encouragement.

I, too, solicit blessings and encouragement in my work from the elders. It is possible that they might not appreciate some of my activities. Nonetheless, if they are convinced, which I hope they must be, that in whatever I do I am impelled not by selfishness, but by a sense of duty and goodwill, I would be worthy of their blessings.

No settlement has yet been reached though negotiations for it are going on. Political matters are very intricate and difficult. I have come to realize that gaol-going is easier and more fruitful than trying to persuade people here. However, one's character is built by such things. Only under such complicated conditions does one realize how strong the passions of attachment and enmity in one's mind are.

Please give my respects to my Bhabhi[2] as well as to the other elders.

Respects from
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C. W. 4894
Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

250. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

LONDON,
September 7, 1909

CHI. NARANDAS,

I was very glad to read your letter. That you thought of sharing the sufferings of Indians from there is, I believe, a meritorious act.[3] Please congratulate your co-workers also on my behalf.

You did a very good thing in getting Pandit Saheb[4] and Shukla Saheb[5] to subscribe to the fund.

I know that many educated men in India do not realize the significance of the struggle. This shows that the knowledge of soul-force that our forefathers had is lost in darkness. It will require patience and time

[1] Gandhiji's nephew and Chhaganlal Gandhi's younger brother
[2] Elder brother's wife; here, the addressee's
[3] The reference is to the collection of funds undertaken by the addressee for the satyagrahis in South Africa.
[4] Sitaram Pandit, a barrister of Rajkot
[5] D. B. Shukla, a barrister of Rajkot and Gandhiji's friend

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to bring it back into light. But as they gradually understand its significance, they will realize its strength the better. The soul-force I am speaking of does not consist in outward ritual like temple-going, etc. Sometimes such ritual is opposed to it. All this you must have realized if you have read *Indian Opinion* carefully. Chhaganbhai will be able to tell you more. You can experiment upon that force from where you are. Cultivation of truth and fearlessness is the first lesson for it.

Please send what money you collect there to *Indian Opinion* over the signatures of you three. Moreover, send an account to those who have contributed money. Send also instructions through Chhaganbhai about publishing the names of leading subscribers in *Indian Opinion.* It would perhaps be better if Pandit Saheb or Shukla Saheb sent the amount with a forwarding letter of sympathy. Do as you all deem proper.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C. W. 4895
Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

251. LETTER TO MRS. KASHI GANDHI

ENGLAND,
September 7, 1909

CHI. KASHI,

I do not know definitely whether Santok also is there with you. I wrote you a letter[1] last week.

Please do not forget there whatever good things you learnt in Phœnix. Do not give them up for false shame. You will have done the right thing only when you, and other virtuous women like you, do what you consider proper—with humility, but with firmness and without fear. I wish you to do even in India whatever we have been doing in Phœnix thinking it to be good, with patience, with Chi. Chhaganlal's approval and with God's name on your lips. I have written this letter to tell you this.

I shall have to stay here for some time yet; if, therefore, you write a letter to me, it will reach me here.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C. W. 4896
Courtesy: Chhaganlal Gandhi

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Mrs. Kashi Gandhi", pp. 374-5.

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252. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

[LONDON,]
September 8, 1909

MY DEAR HENRY,

I have your letter and cuttings. Whatever possessed you to publish my cablegrams? If you could only read the Gujarati cuttings you have been sending me, you would laugh over the whole thing. The Gujarati writers have been proclaiming a great victory, and, naturally, our friends here have a laugh at your and my expense. I notice also, in the English columns, your effort to extract yourself from the difficulty, by claiming a partial victory and by going for the Boers. Happily, nobody takes any notice of the Indian Press here, because our struggle is practically taboo. If these cuttings reach Neame[1], I can well imagine his doing us very great damage. I hope you do not think there is any agreement arrived at with reference to repeal of the Act. I did not intend to convey any such impression through my cable. The odds are that nothing will be granted without a bargain that passive resistance should cease, and yet, your writings in the Bombay Press seem to show that you have taken the repeal of the Act for granted. I am interested to know how you are going to deal with the whole question at the forthcoming meeting. My letters, I hope, will have made everything clear to you. If they have not, I should never be able to forgive myself. Three years ago if any such premature publication had taken place and if a victory had been imputed to us when there was none, I should have probably torn my hair, as there would have been, then, no passive resistance to fall back upon. As it is, I assure you, I have not even given serious thought to this publication, nor have I worried over it, knowing that whenever we gain what we are fight[ing for, we shall have][2] gained because of passive resistance, . . .[3] I mention the publication of this cable, I do so in order to warn you for the future, and in order to let you know what our friends (you know whom I mean) are saying.

What a silly mistake on the part of the Bombay Government to have stopped the public meeting. I am looking forward to your graphic description of how and why the thing came about. It is a matter for

[1] L. E. Neame, author of *The Asiatic Danger in the Colonies*, a reply to which was published by the editor of *Indian Opinion* in the form of a pamphlet.

[2] The original being damaged, words in square brackets have been conjectured.

[3] A few words are missing here.

great regret that Sir Pherozeshah still continues to hamper your progress.[1] However, I am fully expecting you to disarm him by the time you have finished with Bombay.

I quite agree with you that the statement[2] I sent to you would not do for Bombay at all; I never thought it could. A much more elaborate and detailed statement is required for India.

If you can induce Mr. Petit and others to defray the cost of the two deputations, it will be a great stroke and it will automatically solve the difficulty we have been trying to grapple with for the past twelve months.

At the time of dictating, Lord Crewe has not sent an appointment. I do not know what this delay means.

I am very sorry to hear about Mr. Gokhale's health. What is the matter with him? Does his medical adviser give up hope, or does he mean that he should have a change?[3]

I would like to have your impression about Mr. Padshah, and whether it is the elder Padshah or the younger. Both are brilliant men, but I have always heard it said that the elder Padshah has a saintly character. The younger Padshah I know well; he was a co-student. He does not, or rather he did not, when I was in Bombay, ap[prove] of the idea of Indians emigrating at all, and he . . .[4] induced to take any interest in our. . .[5]

What are the medical students for the Vegetarian Examination? I am rather interested in this, because I have been told here that medical study is practically impossible without having to destroy life. Mr. Gool tells me that, in the course of his studies, he[6] must have killed about fifty frogs. An examination in physiology without this, he tells me, is not possible. If this is so, I have absolutely no desire to go in for medical studies. I would neither kill a frog, nor use one for dissecting, if it has been specially killed for the purpose of dissection.

I hope that you have made it clear to the friends there that our restricting the propaganda to the two demands regarding the Transvaal does not mean that we do not intend to fight for the other things, as occasion arises. That the two things only are being mentioned prominently at present is because passive resistance has been applied to them only, and that on that account they claim, as they ought to,

[1] Polak had written in his letter of August 21: "I am tugging away at the mass meeting. Sir P[herozeshah] M[ehta] is the stumbling block. He will not do anything except delay matters."

[2] *Vide* "Statement of Transvaal Indian Case", pp. 288-301.

[3] Polak had reported: "Mr. Gokhale is killing himself with overwork. His medical adviser has given him a most depressing report."

[4] & [5] Some words are missing in the original.

[6] The original has "you".

the greatest attention. I mention this as the question was discussed with Lord Morley, as also Lord Crewe. The latter inquired what we proposed to do in reference to the other things, and I told him that we were going to work in the Transvaal to bring about the desired reforms, and I even hinted that passive resistance might have to be taken up in connection with them. Sir Muncherjee is very keen on this statement being made because he thinks that otherwise the people over there may not work in future, thinking that they had done their duty in helping us to solve the present problem.

I notice that you remark in your letter that the [passage of] the Union Bill makes our position somewhat more . . . [1] however, think so, as we never raised any discussion on the Union itself. As a matter of fact, work done after the Union, so far as the negotiations are concerned, was more substantial than before.

I do not think I need, and yet perhaps I may, tone down your raptures over what you have seen in the India of Bombay. I know you know that you are seeing Westernized India and not real India, which I hope you may be able to do whilst you are there, though I question whether you will. I was reading last night a very illuminating work by Edward Carpenter—*Civilisation, Its Cause and Cure*. I finished the first part and, whilst I was reading it, I thought that I would issue the warning, which I have done. His analysis of the civilisation, as we know it, is very good. His condemnation though very severe is, in my opinion, entirely deserved. The cure suggested by him is good, but I note that he is afraid of his own logic, naturally because he is not certain of his ground. No man, in my opinion, will be able to give an accurate forecast of the future and describe a proper cure, unless he has seen the heart of India. Now you know in what direction my thoughts are driving me. If you have not read the book, and if it is not on your shelf, you will find it at Phœnix.

I have the following cablegram from Johannesburg:

> Magistrate rebuked Vernon for stating in court duty white men hunt Asiatics from country. *Leader*, *Star* strongly comment.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 5056

[1] Some words are missing here. Polak had observed: ". . . the passage of the Act of Union handicaps you immensely now. It is one weapon the less in your armoury."

253. LETTER TO LORD AMPTHILL

[LONDON,]
September 9, 1909

MY LORD,

As suggested by Your Lordship,[1] I wrote to the Secretary to Lord Morley.[2] Enclosed is a copy of his reply.

I wrote to Lord Crewe on Saturday;[3] no reply has arrived as yet. I beg to enclose herewith copy of my letter to Lord Crewe.

I remain, etc.,

From the typewritten office copy : S. N. 5058

254. LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI

[LONDON,]
September 9, 1909

CHI. MANILAL,

Received your letter. I am sorry that Mr. Kallenbach incurred the expenditure. But I know that he cannot be prevented from doing so. It would be better not to let him know our requirements when he inquires about them.

I am sorry that Chi. Harilal[4] is not with you; but I believe that his duty for the present is to stay in the Transvaal.

I have no information about your studies. As Mr. Cordes is having boils, I hope you are visiting him at his place and attending upon him.

[1] In his letter of September 3, Lord Ampthill had written to Gandhiji : "You should ask to see Lord Morley or his representative at the India Office. Lord Morley does not understand the question yet, but if there is anyone to whom this question ought to appeal, it is he . . . . You might let fall a hint that you are thinking of going to India to explain it [the question of 'theoretical right'] there."

[2] This letter is not available.

[3] This letter was actually sent on Monday, September 6; *vide* " Letter to Private Secretary to Lord Crewe ", p. 390.

[4] Harilal Gandhi, who was released on August 9 after serving six months' imprisonment, did go to Durban to see Manilal who was ill, but returned to the Transvaal soon after in connection with the struggle. *Vide* also " Cable to British Indian Association", p. 352.

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It was a mistake on the part of Purushottamdas not to have sent the letter.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

[PS.]

I hope you have frequently visited Devibehn[1] and Mrs. Pywell[2] at their place.

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C. W. 88
Courtesy: Sushilabehn Gandhi

255. LETTER TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO LORD CREWE

[LONDON,]
September 10, 1909

SIR,

The following cablegram has been received from Johannesburg :

> Magistrate rebuked Vernon for stating in court duty white men hunt Asiatics from country. *Leader*, *Star* strongly comment.

Mr. Vernon, who is referred to in the cablegram, is Superintendent Vernon, whom I know well and who, in my opinion, has given no end of trouble to passive resisters in Johannesburg. The manner of making his remark must have been offensive enough to have drawn from the bench a rebuke, and from *The Transvaal Leader* and the Johannesburg *Star* strong comments.

The cablegram is but an indication of what my countrymen have to undergo in the Transvaal in their self-imposed suffering. But my colleague and I can have no reason for complaining. At the same time, we feel that we ought to bring the cablegram to the notice of the Earl of Crewe. I do not know whether the Earl of Crewe saw the statement that was made by General Smuts to Reuter, before he embarked for South Africa. In it he made the following remark:

> The vast majority of Transvaal Indians are sick to death of the agitation carried on by some of their extreme representatives, and have quietly submitted to the law.

We have treated it as a rhetorical expression, and have allowed it to remain unchallenged in the public Press, in order to enable General Smuts to grant the British Indian prayer without any difficulty arising with his party, but if he has really meant what he said to Reuter's agent, may I state that information received from the Transvaal goes to prove

[1] Indian name given to Miss Ada West, sister of A. H. West
[2] Mother-in-law of A. H. West

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the contrary, and that the strength of British Indian opposition still remains unabated ?

I remain, etc.,
M. K. GANDHI

Colonial Office Records: 291/142; also, from a photostat of the typewritten office copy : S. N. 5060

256. LETTER TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO LORD MORLEY

[LONDON,]
September 10, 1909

SIR,

I have your note of the 8th instant. I beg to enclose herewith, for Lord Morley's information, copy of letter addressed by me to the Private Secretary to the Earl of Crewe.[1]

Yours faithfully,

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 5059

257. LETTER TO LORD AMPTHILL

[LONDON,]
September 10, 1909

MY LORD,

The following cablegram was received last night from Johannesburg :

> Magistrate rebuked Vernon for stating in court duty white men hunt Asiatics from country. *Leader*, *Star* strongly comment.

The Mr. Vernon referred to in the cablegram, is Superintendent Vernon whom I know very well. He has given British Indians no end of trouble in the course of passive resistance. Even the magistrate, who as I know, often allowed much greater latitude to Mr. Vernon than he as a judicial officer, might have, was unable evidently to allow Mr. Vernon to proceed unchecked in his incitement of the white men against Asiatics. And the matter must have caused a sensation, to have called forth from *The Transvaal Leader* and the Johannesburg *Star* strong comments. I am forwarding copy of the cablegram to the Colonial Office.[2]

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.
[2] *Vide* "Letter to Private Secretary to Lord Crewe", p. 398.

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I have not yet heard from Lord Crewe. I often ask myself whether my duty is not to be in the Transvaal and share the sufferings of my countrymen, rather than vegetate here in the hope of inducing the Imperial Government to do its duty. My faith in the efficacy of quiet but continued suffering is much greater than in negotiations and public agitation, though I am aware that both are part of the struggle, in so far as the struggle represents strong and weak parties alike. I need hardly assure Your Lordship that I am not impatient, and I am prepared cheerfully to wait so long as, in your opinion, it is necessary to do so.[1]

I remain, etc.,

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy : S. N. 5062

258. LONDON

[*September 10, 1909*]

Natal Deputation

The Natal deputation still continues sending copies of its statement to various persons. They have addressed a letter to the Press as under. It has appeared in *The Times* of today (September 10). The members of the deputation have requested a written reply from Colonel Seely. It is expected any day now.

Letter to "The Times"[2]

We beg to invite your attention to a statement prepared by us and circulated in connection with the grievances of British Indians in the Colony of Natal.

In order to concentrate public attention on only the most pressing of them, we have excluded mention of many that do not call for immediate redress. The position of Natal among the other South African Colonies is somewhat peculiar. Natal introduced indentured Indian labour when its prosperity hung in the balance. Now she wants to avoid some of its natural consequences. In other words, she wants all the advantages that this form of labour gives her without having in its midst a non-indentured and free Indian population.

[1] Lord Ampthill wrote back on September 11: "I cannot think that you will have to wait much longer for your answer from Lord Crewe and I should be very much surprised as well as pained if he declined to give you another hearing. If you have not received an answer by the time this reaches you, you could with perfect propriety send a reminder pointing out that your time is valuable and that you are anxious to arrange for your return to South Africa."

[2] The English text of the letter is reproduced here from *Indian Opinion*, 9-10-1909, with some changes needed to bring it into conformity with the Gujarati translation.

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Hence, first, its desire to starve out Indian merchants and traders by depriving them of their licences to trade. The officers appointed to grant these licences or their renewals or transfers from place to place, or from person to person, have absolute discretion to grant or refuse. This discretion has been used detrimentally to Indians. Hence, the right of appeal to the Supreme Court should be granted. Secondly, its desire to drive out of Natal those Indians who have finished their indentures by imposing a prohibitive annual tax upon them, their wives and their children. Thirdly, its desire to keep them in a state of perpetual ignorance by depriving Indians of what little facility they had for education.

In the course of a Press letter, it is not possible to give an adequate idea of our grievances. Domiciled Indians cannot even bring with them their children over a certain age or their female relatives who are dependent upon them. You will thus see that the Indian community in Natal is attacked from three dangerous positions. We have, therefore, come to the centre of the Empire in order to obtain justice, and although Natal is a self-governing Colony, and will now form part of the Union of South Africa, it is the duty of the Imperial Government to protect acquired rights. It ought not to fail in that duty. We have no voice in the making of Natal laws. Our remedy therefore is, and must continue to be, by means of Imperial protection. Indeed, so far as that Colony is concerned, the Imperial Government have a very tangible remedy, and that is to withdraw from Natal the assistance she receives from India in the shape of indentured labour, until she has granted justice to those Indians who are suffering from the above-mentioned threefold disabilities.

We trust that the Press of the United Kingdom will come to the rescue and insist upon the Imperial Government doing its duty.

Abdul Caadir
Amod Bhayat
H. M. Badat
M. C. Anglia

Did They Reach North Pole?

A childish argument has been going on between two American whites whether the North Pole has, in fact, been discovered or not, and if it has, then, by whom. One of them is Dr. Peary and the other, Dr. Cook. Both of them claim to have stood on the North Pole. Dr. Peary challenges Dr. Cook's claim, and the latter that of the former. Men have almost lost their heads over this argument. Newspapers are full of the controversy. Reports about it and reports of football and cricket fill all the space in them. It is beyond my understanding what

good the discovery of the North Pole has done the world; but such things are regarded as important sign-posts of contemporary civilization. What exactly is their importance they alone can say who claim to understand these matters. I for one regard all these things as symptoms of mental derangement. That one should just fritter away one's time for want of a proper occupation, or, out of greed, cast about for ways of getting rich at any cost—I would not want even an enemy to be reduced to such a plight.

SUFFRAGETTES

Some of these ladies have grown impatient. It is, of course, an admirable thing that they should go to gaol. No one can have anything to say against their inviting suffering on themselves. But they go to the extent of breaking Mr. Asquith's windows because the franchise is not being conceded to them right now. They invade his leisure and his residence. There were three women who did this. They were caught hold of, but what could be done to them? They have not even been prosecuted. All this is absurd. Being women, they escape punishment for their misconduct. The British people respect women, so that no one lays hands on them. Being aware of this, the women take undue advantage of it. That will not, of course, secure them the franchise. If the British women mean to fight in the spirit of satyagraha, they cannot adopt tactics like those mentioned above. There is no room for impatience in satyagraha. Those who want the franchise are in a minority, whereas the majority of women oppose the demand; so the minority has no option but to suffer for a long time. If demoralized by suffering, they take to extreme measures and resort to violence, they will lose whatever sympathy they have won and set the people against themselves. We must draw a lesson from this case. We ought never to forsake the sword of satyagraha and grow impatient. If we do so, we shall lose all the gains we have made so far. We have, therefore, great need to learn patience from the example of others. Those who are not satyagrahis have nothing to be impatient about. Those who are have no reason to give up patience, if they rely entirely on the strength that comes from truth. When we have enough of such strength, falsehood will disappear.

GUY ALFRED

This is the name of the man who printed the last issue of *The Indian Sociologist*. He is twenty-two. He is being prosecuted. There was, of course, no defence. The issue contained open praise for the murder. He has received 12 months' imprisonment.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 9-10-1909

259. *DEPUTATION NOTES [–XI]*

[Before *September 11, 1909*]

We are just where we were. This week also I have to say this. There has been no invitation from Lord Crewe so far. One cannot say when or whether it will ever come. Some papers have been sent to him. There was a cable from Johannesburg to say that, while giving evidence in court, Superintendent Vernon said that it was the duty of every white to hunt the Asiatics out of the country. The Magistrate, it is reported, took strong exception to this remark and *The Star* and *The* [*Transvaal*] *Leader* wrote strongly about it. A letter was immediately addressed to Lord Crewe about this matter. Every such instance of high-handed behaviour works in our favour. The Transvaal question has grown to be a grave problem for the [Imperial] Government. It is considering what it should do now. In these circumstances, the more we are made to suffer, the heavier grows the Government's responsibility. A cable was received from Mr. Quinn, saying that, though General Smuts had said that a settlement was about to be reached, arrests of Chinese were continuing. How to explain this, he asks. I wrote last week about the kind of settlement General Smuts has in mind. Obviously, that does not satisfy us. Therefore, arrests are bound to continue. It is necessary that all—both Indians and Chinese —should remain strong. General Smuts has said that the spirit of the Indians is broken, and that a great many of them have accepted the Act. It is up to us to prove that this is a false charge.

The public meeting in Bombay will be held on the day on which this letter is posted.[1] It was good that the Bombay Government apologized in the end and allowed a meeting to be convened again. You will, of course, get a report of it.

I learn from a letter of Mr. Polak that there is a move to raise funds in Bombay for meeting the expenditure on both the deputations. We may not need money. But we certainly need the support which such a move extends to us by its expression of brotherly sympathy.

About our struggle, we have had discussions with Mrs. Saul Solomon, wife of Mr. Saul Solomon, a former Minister in the Cape, and with the daughter of the late Sir John Molteno. Though both these ladies are South Africans, they have much sympathy [for our cause] and are

[1] Gandhiji had expected the meeting to be held on September 11; *vide* "Deputation Notes [–X]", p. 387.

bold enough to offer their help. I am not in a position to write more about this. Perhaps, Miss Molteno will shortly be in South Africa.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 9-10-1909

260. LETTER TO LORD AMPTHILL

[LONDON,]
September 13, 1909

MY LORD,

I am exceedingly obliged to you for your letter of the 11th instant.[1] The letter[2] that I sent to Lord Morley was exactly as you suggested, and I now see that I might have written a better letter. My difficulty has always been as to what portion of the information you have given me should be used by me. I send you the office copy I have of my first letter to Lord Morley, and I send you draft copy of the letter I should now write.

I have now received an appointment from Lord Crewe fixed for the 16th instant. The appointment coincides with General Smuts' arrival in Pretoria. I do not know whether it is due to coincidence or deliberation.

I remain, etc.,

[ENCLOSURE]

DRAFT LETTER TO LORD MORLEY[3]

SIR,

On re-reading my letter of the 6th instant offering to wait on His Lordship, I see that I did not clearly put the position, so as to warrant the offer to wait on His Lordship.

Lord Ampthill, who has taken a deep interest in the sufferings of British Indians in the Transvaal, and has assisted us so very greatly, informs my colleague and me that, whilst General Smuts is prepared now to grant permanent certificates of residence to a limited number of educated and cultured British Indians, he will not recognize the right of such Indians to emigrate to the Transvaal, be it on ever so limited a scale. The Indian struggle has been undertaken on the question of 'right'. Whilst it is necessary for the domiciled Indians of

[1] *Vide* Appendix XXIII.

[2] This is not available. It was dated September 6.

[3] The letter was sent on September 16 after making a few changes in the draft; *vide* "Letter to Private Secretary to Lord Morley", pp. 406-7.

the Transvaal to receive fresh immigrants from India possessing educational attainments, in the opinion of the British Indian community, such a facility is not of so great an importance as the theoretical right of a British Indian, under a general immigration test, to emigrate to the Transvaal. But for the passing of another separate Asiatic Act, namely, Act 36 of 1908, mere repeal of Act 2 of 1907 would have been sufficient to guard the theoretical right above referred to, and thus to save the honour of India, but today the existence of that Act 36 of 1908 renders it necessary to mention the question of educated Indians separately, and slightly to amend the existing law of the Transvaal. It is in order to show the fundamental distinction between what General Smuts is now prepared to offer, and what has been and is still demanded by British Indians in the Transvaal, that I have offered, as I do again on behalf of my colleague and myself, to wait on His Lordship if he can spare the time.

As I doubt not Lord Morley is aware, the presence of Mr. Polak, the delegate from the Transvaal, has stimulated very great interest in the struggle on the part of the Bombay public. Cuttings received by me weekly show that the papers representing all shades of opinion have been giving a large amount of space to the question. Mr. Polak has interviewed prominent Indians and Anglo-Indians, and has received very great encouragement from them. This activity in Bombay shows that, as it is quite proper, India is deeply hurt by the insult that is put upon her by the racial disqualification imported, for the first time, into colonial legislation, and is much moved for the sufferings that have been gone through by hundreds of British Indians in the Transvaal, for the sake of realizing an Imperial ideal.

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy : S. N. 5066-7

261. LETTER TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO LORD CREWE

[LONDON,]
September 14, 1909

SIR,

With reference to your letter of the 11th instant, Mr. Hajee Habib and I will wait on His Lordship on the 16th instant at 3.15 p.m.

I have, etc.,

From the typewritten office copy : S. N. 5072

262. LETTER TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO LORD MORLEY

[LONDON,]
September 16, 1909

SIR,

On re-reading my letter[1] of the 6th instant offering to wait on His Lordship, I see that I did not clearly put the position, so as to warrant the offer to wait on His Lordship.

Although my colleague and I have not yet received any official intimation of the results of the negotiations which took place between Lord Crewe and the Transvaal Ministers, rumours have reached us that concessions are to be made, but that those concessions will fall short of the one object for which we have struggled and suffered. That object is the restoration of the 'right' of immigration. We are willing that the right should be limited in practice to any extent which the Colonial Government may think necessary or desirable, but we cannot submit to the deprivation of the right in theory without being false to our oaths and accessories to the dishonour of India. Indians have enjoyed, and still enjoy, the theoretical right of entry to every part of the British Empire, although that right is limited in practice in some of the Dominions. It is only in the Transvaal that they have been deprived of the right, and that—only within the past two years. We cannot believe that Lord Morley, who is regarded all over the world as the type of British Liberalism, would regard with indifference so reactionary and illiberal a policy as that which has been adopted by the Transvaal Government, if he had evidence of the startling fact. It is this evidence which we respectfully beg permission to give in person, for we venture to doubt whether His Majesty's Government have actually realised the situation. If they had, they would surely have taken steps to avert this, the first deliberate establishment of a 'colour-bar' within the Empire.[2]

[1] This is not available.

[2] This paragraph was substituted by Lord Ampthill for the second paragraph in the draft Gandhiji had sent him on September 13. In his letter of September 15, Lord Ampthill observed : " The above is rather strong, but I want you to emphasize the startling nature of the illiberal and reactionary policy of the Transvaal Government. Your draft does not quite do this and your reference to the unprecedented nature of the deprivation of right is buried in the last paragraph where it might well escape notice. Keep all the details for an interview or for a further possible letter. The thing you want to do at present is to make Lord Morley aware that his Government are responsible for the most illiberal step that has ever disfigured Imperial policy. If you get scolded for the letter, it will be open to you to publish it eventually and to let the world judge of it and of the further proofs of your contention." *Vide* also the following item.

As I doubt not Lord Morley is aware, the presence of Mr. Polak, the delegate from the Transvaal, has stimulated very great interest on the part of the Bombay public. Cuttings received by me weekly, show that the papers, representing all shades of opinion, have been giving a large amount of space to the question. Mr. Polak has interviewed prominent Indians and Anglo-Indians, and has received very great encouragement from them. This activity in Bombay shows that, as it is quite proper, India is deeply hurt by the insult that is put upon her by the racial disqualification imported for the first time into colonial legislation, and is much moved by the sufferings that have been gone through by hundreds of British Indians in the Transvaal, for the sake of realizing an Imperial ideal.[1]

I have, etc.,

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy : S. N. 5077

263. LETTER TO LORD AMPTHILL

[LONDON,]
September 16, 1909

MY LORD,

I have to thank you for your kind letter of the 15th instant. I have now written to Lord Morley as per copy.[2] I have made only a slight verbal alteration in the opening words of the substituted paragraph. Instead of "we" I have inserted "my colleague and I". The rest is exactly as drafted by Your Lordship.

Lord Crewe we see today. I shall bear in mind the valuable advice[3] given by you and will give you the result of the interview.

I remain, etc.,

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy : S. N. 5079

[1] Acknowledging this letter on September 18, Lord Morley's Private Secretary wrote: "...the point which you wish to press upon Lord Morley is not new to him, and that while, on abstract and general grounds, his sympathies are with you in regard to it, he does not feel that any practical purpose would be served by a further elaboration of it to him, and he therefore regrets that he is unable to accord you another interview. But he presumes that you have laid your views fully before the Secretary of State for the Colonies."

[2] *Vide* the preceding item.

[3] Lord Ampthill had written : "I hope that, when you see Lord Crewe, you will lay stress on the real point in the manner which I have here suggested. Be ready to prove that the theoretical right does in fact exist everywhere else, for that is the point on which he will question you. Do not mention me more than you can help."

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264. SUBSTANCE OF INTERVIEW WITH LORD CREWE[1]

[LONDON,
September 16, 1909]

PRESENT: LORD CREWE, HAJEE HABIB AND GANDHI

LORD CREWE COMMENCED BY SAYING: I suppose Lord Ampthill has been in touch with you, and has told you everything. I asked you to see me in order to tell you that there has been delay in the negotiations, because the Colonial Ministers had many other things to do. Both Colonel Seely and I had several interviews with General Smuts. He was reasonable and anxious to see a settlement. He proposes to repeal the Act but he was disinclined to accept Lord Ampthill's amendment. He, however, recognised that a limited number of British Indians should have permanent residential certificates, and, to that end, he said that he was willing to amend the existing legislation. He said that he did not like the fictitious equality. Can you not accept the substantial thing that General Smuts is willing to give?

GANDHI: I am afraid that it is impossible for the British Indian community to be satisfied with what General Smuts is willing to give; it still leaves the racial taint on the Statute-book.

LORD CREWE INTERVENED: But do you not think that the Australian policy of excluding by imposing ridiculous tests is not a satisfactory mode of dealing with the question?

GANDHI: I admit that it is unsatisfactory, but the fictitious equality is the lesser of the two evils. And after all, is not the British Constitution itself founded on many fictions? I have myself been nurtured in those traditions. As a student I learnt the value of this kind of fiction. Indeed, after mature consideration, I have come to the conclusion that there is a very reasonable basis for these so-called fictions and if General Smuts is really anxious to see a settlement, and wishes to live under the British flag, why will he deliberately interfere with the British Constitution, especially when what he wants can be had without departing from it? I should like to draw Your Lordship's attention to the fact that the Immigration Act of the Colony was not a Crown Colony measure, that it is General Smuts' own production and he has undoubtedly relied on fiction there. The Act bristles with adventitious clauses.

LORD CREWE (intervening): I share your views very largely. I think that what you say is quite just and proper, but General Smuts is

[1] After the interview, Gandhiji himself wrote down its substance; *vide* "Letter to H. S. L. Polak", p. 414. For Lord Crewe's minute on the interview, *vide* Appendix XXIV.

not an Englishman and, therefore, does not like the idea even of theoretical equality.

GANDHI: If that is the case, it is all the greater reason for us to press for the removal of the racial taint from the Statute-book, and in offering this opposition, we think that we are rendering an Imperial service. As Your Lordship must have noticed, the struggle has been in its later stages entirely idealistic. We have no personal interests to serve, and I for one should feel very reluctant to impose so much suffering on my countrymen and advise them to continue the struggle, if it were only for the admission of a few cultured Indians, however desirable such admission may be for the well-being of the community. If I am not taking up your time unduly, I should like to give you the origin of the limitation in number. Mr. Cartwright, the editor of *The Transvaal Leader*, a friend of the Boers, as also a friend always of unrepresented classes and a special friend of mine, told me that the club talk was that, behind the theoretical equality, I had some ulterior motives, and that I had not really accepted the policy of virtual exclusion of Asiatics, and it was in order to enable Mr. Cartwright to satisfy those friends of his who talked to him at the clubs, I told him that, if that were so, he could announce to his friends that I would be prepared to advise the Indian community to accept a very rigid educational test, so rigid as to admit of only, say, six highly educated Indians into the country per year. You will, therefore, see that from the commencement of the struggle, we have never placed any importance on the admission of Indians, but that we have all along fought for legal equality.

LORD CREWE: But do not you think that General Smuts would find it difficult perhaps with his own people to get Lord Ampthill's amendment accepted?

GANDHI: I venture to think not. I do not think that he could have any difficulty with the Progressive Party. I can picture before my mind's eye Sir George Farrar, as we were discussing at the meeting of the Executive Council, after the burning of the certificates, this very question, pleading with General Smuts to point a way out of the difficulty, and it was because General Smuts said he could not amend the Immigration Act that the question of the status of educated Indians remained unsolved. The people in the Colonies undoubtedly want to see the exclusion of Asiatics generally, in order to avoid competition. This policy having been accepted, I cannot conceive their offering objection to theoretical equality.

MR. HAJEE HABIB: As a matter of fact, we have received cables from Bombay from the party controlled by Professor Gokhale and Sir Pherozeshah Mehta to the effect that we had gone further than we ought to have in offering to accept the second amendment, and that the matter was exciting a very great deal of commotion in India.

GANDHI: We had to naturally cable what has been going on here, and from the letter received from Mr. Polak, I gather that the racial insult is being very keenly resented in India, so that it could not be said that only the Transvaal Indians were offering opposition.

LORD CREWE: I quite agree, and I see the force of what you are saying, and let me assure you that, keenly as I feel the justification of the demands of the local Indians in the Transvaal, I placed the matter before General Smuts as an Imperial question. I am myself most anxious to see a settlement, but it occurs to me that General Smuts may also feel—though I do not wish to say that he has said to me any such thing—that if theoretical equality were kept up, it might be used for fresh agitation in order to increase the demands.

GANDHI: I can only say in reply to any such fear that it will be open, whenever the Ministers in the Transvaal thought that we were departing from our understanding, to pass more restrictive legislation. At the same time, I do not for one moment wish to suggest that, if our demands were granted, that will be the end of all agitation in the Transvaal. There are peculiar difficulties under which we are labouring and they may call forth fresh efforts.

LORD CREWE: I quite recognise that. There can be no finality in such matters. All I say is, that for a certain number of years at least, there should be some rest if the question is settled to your satisfaction.

GANDHI: I am prepared to go a step further. When I talked of fresh agitation, I referred to other difficulties than those of the question of the status of educated Indians. As to the question of immigration, we are prepared to give a written undertaking that, our demands being satisfied, we should not raise any further agitation. I go so far as to say that, if there were any such unreasonable agitation, I should be prepared to become a passive resister against my own countrymen, even as I was just after the compromise.

LORD CREWE: Yes, I think that is quite reasonable and I shall now tell General Smuts what has happened at this meeting, and hope that there will be a settlement, but I do not hold out much hope. General Smuts may find it difficult to accept your proposition. If he does, will it perhaps not be as well to wait for the Union Parliament ?

GANDHI: May I make the position a little clearer? Passive resistance in the meanwhile will have to continue, and that prolongs the agony for another six months, and if my reading of the amendment introduced at Your Lordship's instance in the South Africa Act is correct, I feel that the Union Parliament will have no jurisdiction to amend the Immigration Act, because by itself it imposes no racial disqualification. The amendment is aimed at the legislation which itself contains racial disabilities.

LORD CREWE: That is true, only I feel that the Union Parliament will not like to see such suffering prolonged, and I can assure you that even General Smuts does not like the prolongation of the struggle, and it is for that reason that I think that the Union Parliament may intervene and bring about a proper solution, but it is difficult to know what view the Union Parliament will take.

GANDHI: If we cannot get relief now, I know that we will have to wait, but we are prepared to wait indefinitely. If the negotiations are not successful, I shall go back feeling that we have not suffered enough and that therefore we ought to continue our sufferings.

LORD CREWE: Very well, I will then discuss the question with General Smuts.

GANDHI: As Your Lordship is aware, we have been here quite two months. Will it not be better to cable to General Smuts, so that we may know the result in good time?

LORD CREWE: I thought a dispatch would be better, but perhaps it will be as well to cable, I know you have had to remain here for a long time.

From a photostat of the typewritten copy: S. N. 4995

265. LETTER TO LORD AMPTHILL

[LONDON,]
September 16, 1909

MY LORD,

Mr. Hajee Habib and I have just waited on Lord Crewe. His Lordship was very sympathetic. I think that he understands the question thoroughly, and I noticed too that every point I thought I had made, Lord Crewe interposed by saying he had heard it from you. I believe he feels too that there is a great deal to be said on behalf of our standpoint as to theoretical equality.

He has promised to cable to General Smuts the result of our interview, and press upon him acceptance of the amendment submitted by me through you.

We brought to his notice the intensity of feeling that has been roused in India, and he in reply admitted that it was an Imperial question and that it should be treated as such.[1]

I remain, etc.,

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy : S. N. 5078

[1] For Lord Ampthill's reply, *vide* Appendix XXV.

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266. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

[LONDON,]
September 16, 1909

MY DEAR HENRY,

I do not think you have yet received advice from Phœnix that West was suffering from a violent attack of pneumonia, so much so that he was at one time given up, and that Miss West was suffering from enteric fever.[1] Both were looked after by Dr. Nanji. The news was very disturbing. Manilal, however, told me that, if both of them were not well by the time their letter reached me, I would receive a cable, and as there was no cable, I take it that they are now both all right. However, these illnesses show that there is something irregular in the state of things at Phœnix. I am writing a long letter[2] asking West and Cordes to go into the matter thoroughly. According to letter received from Kallenbach, he was still in Durban. I notice that Chhaganlal and Manilal nursed West lovingly, and that they alternately kept watch during the night. Kallenbach speaks very enthusiastically about Manila's nursing. All this shows that life at Phœnix has undoubtedly brought the best out of the settlers. Chhaganlal, naturally under the circumstances, postponed his departure, and he tells me that he will not leave now for some time, and asks me until further notice to correspond with him at Phœnix, rather than write to him in India. I am sorry for you, because you will now be without a reliable and steady secretary. Still, Chhaganlal has undoubtedly done the right thing.

I have your cablegram; there was a very good cable in *The Times* also. I send you a copy. Your meeting[3] was evidently a very great success, and that you surpassed yourself. I had expected nothing else. The meeting came off just before the appointment given by Lord Crewe. I am dictating this before seeing him. To-day is Thursday and we are seeing him at 3.15. I shall, therefore, be able to give you a full description of the interview. I am glad that some subscription at least will be raised. It will nerve the people for the struggle in the Transvaal, and I am sure you have arranged for every steamer to be met and Indians deported to be received. I hope too that you have found Manji's[4] son, and others who reached India before your landing. If they have not

[1] Acknowledging this letter from Madras, Polak wrote: "I have heard all about the Phœnix disasters. Cordes sent me a living picture."

[2] This is not available.

[3] The reference is to the public meeting at Bombay.

[4] Manji Nathubhai Ghelani, a passive resister

all been traced, you should place yourself in correspondence with someone in Kathiawar and Surat, and get them to give you the names as also the condition of those who were deported.

Mr. Ali Imam of the All-India Moslem League is here. I have not yet met him; the Natal friends have. They speak enthusiastically of him[1]. He will probably have returned whilst you are there. He is a practising barrister in Patna. I trust you will get hold of him; even go to Patna if necessary, also Aligarh.

Whilst there may be joint action, you should get the Anjumans to move independently also, and lay stress upon the fact that Mahomedan interests are very much involved in South Africa.[2]

Your interpretation of the latest amendment suggested by me is very accurate and I could not have explained it myself more clearly. Your description of the prize distribution ceremony is amusing. It is good that you survived the ordeal. The Gujarati papers, rather one of them, makes you describe me as Kavi. Do please insist on Kaliandas writing to me.

Millie has gone with Mater to Westcliff; she returns next Monday. I do not think you need have the slightest worry about Waldo. I have not considered the case to be serious enough to require medical advice. I hate stuffing children with medicines. Dr. Mehta, however, will be here shortly and if he has not the instruments, I shall procure them and have Waldo examined by him. I think I have told you my opinion of Dr. Mehta's ability, [which] is very great. Anyhow, he will tell me exactly what the matter is, and give a prescription also, if he thinks it advisable, which may be used in case of need. I am thinking of sending Celia and Amy to Westcliff for Sunday; they will return the same day. Millie and I went over to see Mrs. Ritch last Sunday. Sallie gave me a walk from the Hotel to Cricklewood—one hour and forty minutes taking it easy. I came a little nearer to Sallie; more of that when we meet. Mrs. Ritch is making only slow progress. You will see from copy of my letter[3] to Kallenbach sent last week what, in my opinion, should be done regarding Ritch. I do not think that we want a Committee costing £500 per year. If the weaker members want it, they can have it. I am revolving in my mind a scheme whereby we may have some work done in London much more cheaply, though it can never be so efficient as Ritch's. When I have sufficiently elaborated it and discussed it with you, I feel sure that you will like it very well.

[1] Original has "them".

[2] Polak in his reply informed Gandhiji: "The Anjumans are certainly working independently and I have been laying special stress on Mahomedan grievances and interests. They have protested to the Viceroy re[garding] the Transvaal Prison authorities and *Ramzan*."

[3] This is not available.

Copies of correspondence with Lord Ampthill will tell you how thoroughly he is still working.

Dictated later—Friday [*September 17, 1909*]

We have now seen Lord Crewe. The result of the interview is embodied in a letter to Lord Ampthill,[1] copy of which you will find herewith. The agony, therefore, is now again prolonged.

I thought it would be better for me to reduce the purport of the interview with Lord Crewe to writing, and am therefore sending you a copy of it, or rather, I will, if I am in time for the mail.

I do not know whether they sent you also duplicates of cables that are being sent to me. Anyhow, I give you copies of the cables received during the week. The first cable you will find in copy of letter addressed to Lord Crewe.[2] The second cable is from the Chinese Association, as follows :

> Eighty Chinese arrested, including Chairman. Increasingly determined passively resist utmost.

The second cablegram, dated 16th instant, reads :

> Meeting held yesterday enthusiastic, determined continue, resolutions congratulating released, reaffirming complete confidence delegates, efforts greatly appreciated, afresh pledging their support, protesting Vernon's statement, which until Government repudiates Asiatics interpret disclosure Government policy. Request imprisoned Mohammedans special meal *Ramzan* refused.

I am basing a letter on both these cablegrams to Lord Crewe.[3] I do not know that I could give you a copy of that letter also, it may be too late.

A paragraph from the letter received last week from Johannesburg runs as follows. I am passing it on to Lord Crewe, but only cautiously. If you make use of it, please be very careful; do not publish it, but the chief workers may know what is passing in the Transvaal gaols. The thing, in my opinion, is somewhat exaggerated, but that the Tamil in question must have been brutally handled I believe implicitly, from what I have seen myself. A native prisoner was almost done to death for a similar reason. He bled so copiously that I saw the blood marks in the whole of the passage. How the boy lived passes my comprehension.

> One day when it was bitterly cold, the men were ordered to bathe. One of them was disinclined to do so, and four native warders were then directed to scrub him. They accordingly got hold of him, plunged him into the bath and started rubbing him with a brush so vigorously that blood was drawn. A hospital

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.
[2] *Vide* "Letter to Private Secretary to Lord Crewe", pp. 398-9.
[3] *Vide* "Letter to Private Secretary to Lord Crewe", pp. 421-2.

orderly chancing to pass at the time, ordered the natives to cease and the man was taken to hospital and placed under medical treatment. This was received by K. K. Samy, but as the information was not officially authorized, we naturally cannot deal with it. I understand that the man lodged complaint with the Governor of the gaol.

I have gone through your pamphlets fairly carefully. I want to write to you about them, but I do not think I shall be able to do so this week.

I am seriously thinking of advertising for the best essay on the "Ethics of Passive Resistance", just as we did in Johannesburg,[1] but I have to consult Dr. Mehta on the point. If he gives the prize, we shall have it. This will be done in the event of Lord Crewe's negotiations failing.

Mr. Doke's book is still unpublished; it is likely to be in the first week of October. For reasons I need not go into this week, I am thinking of buying out the whole of the edition, more for the sake of Mr. Doke than anything else. He will be very much cut up if there is a fiasco, and there might be. The publisher has not put his heart into it, and as many copies will have to be distributed free of charge, I thought I should pocket my own personal feelings and deal with the thing myself. I fancy that Dr. Mehta will guarantee any deficit. I have already corresponded with him in the matter. You may, therefore, be on the lookout for any bookseller who would care to take up the book. The best thing will be, perhaps, for Kaliandas or Chhaganlal's cousin, or both of them, to take the book personally to many people. In any case, there should be no credit given to any booksellers on whom you cannot rely implicitly.[2]

I have cabled to you today.[3] I feel that, if persistent pressure is put from that side, it is possible to pull the negotiations through. There is no longer any ignorance of the question on the part of Lord Crewe, and if the Liberal Ministry does not go under within a short time, something may be done.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy : S. N. 5104 a

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

[2] Polak replied: "Natesan will take 250 copies for distribution here among booksellers for sale. When Chhaganlal comes here, he will make enquiries in Bombay. You may be sure that no credit will be given to unreliable booksellers."

[3] This cable is not available.

267. *DEPUTATION NOTES* [–*XII*]

[After *September 16, 1909*]

This time I cannot merely say that we are where we were. We had an interview with Lord Crewe on the 16th. He said that General Smuts was agreeable to the repeal of the Act and to the provision for permanent residence permits to the educated, but that he cannot reconcile himself to the idea that educated men should be able to enter as a matter of right after passing the test. We have, therefore, replied that, so long as the right is not conceded, the struggle will certainly continue. India's honour cannot be upheld if that right is not secured. The struggle was not intended to defend merely the rights of the Transvaal Indians as individuals but also India's honour. Once equal rights were conceded under the law, it would not matter if they were not allowed to be availed of. It would be possible to deal with such a situation. But denying the right under the law itself amounted to an attack on India's honour. After a long discussion, Lord Crewe admitted that we had no ulterior motive in our fight and wanted to maintain a theoretical right. He has agreed to send a cablegram to General Smuts. Let us wait for the reply. What more can we hope for than this? We have told Lord Crewe frankly that, should General Smuts refuse to accede to our demand ultimately, we would conclude that we have not as yet had our full measure of suffering. We were always prepared [we told him] for suffering.

In the course of this discussion, we also referred to the agitation in India. It appears that Mr. Polak's vigorous efforts in India are a source of great strength [to our cause]. A very fine cable-report of the Bombay mass meeting appeared in the local newspapers. It said that the meeting demanded that the recruitment of indentured labour for Natal should be stopped. People's feelings were roused to a high pitch by Mr. Polak's speech. They were also very much put out by the news of Nagappen's death. Moreover, a fund has been started in aid of those who have been deported. To be sure, it was a very successful meeting.

The cables about the arrests of the Chinese in Johannesburg, the refusal [by the authorities] to provide special facilities regarding food during *Ramzan* and the criticism of Mr. Vernon, also, make welcome reading. There is no doubt that the more we suffer, the tougher we grow and the stronger becomes our cause. If Lord Crewe has been striving so hard, it is only because of our voluntary submission to suffering.

Lord Crewe also said that, if General Smuts did not concede [our demands], we should wait for the Union Parliament. This means that

we should continue with our struggle even while we are waiting for that Parliament to meet. If the fight is abandoned, the fate of Indians all over South Africa will be sealed, and we shall have, in the words of Mr. Rustomjee, cut off India's nose with our own hands and proved ourselves cowards.

But I have not the slightest hesitation in believing that the Indians who are courageously holding out at present are men who will fight on till death. I earnestly hope that our friends who have been released will be only too ready to welcome imprisonment whenever the Government chooses to arrest them. It is my hope that, by the time this letter reaches there, Mr. Dawad Mahomed will have been installed in gaol again. It is better, in my view, to die in prison than to enjoy good health outside. Death in prison will uphold our honour and will serve the cause of India. This is the time not to grieve over anyone's suffering, but rather to offer congratulations on it. In a land where innocent men are reduced to slavery and sentenced to imprisonment, all good men should take pleasure in serving such sentences. Let every brave Indian allow this idea to take hold of his mind. I have stated before now that, if General Smuts' reply proves disappointing, we should, after spending some time here in holding public meetings, etc., hasten to South Africa and get lodged in gaol. The only thing that remains yet to be considered is whether or not to go to India. For myself, I am unable to reach any definite decision on this point.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 16-10-1909

268. LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI

[LONDON,]
September 17, 1909

CHI. MANILAL,

I was extremely glad to read your letter of the 21st [ultimo] about Mr. West. I read the letter twice. I felt proud of you and thanked God that I had such a son. I wish you to remain such for ever. To do good to others and serve them without any sense of egoism—this is real education. You will realize this more and more as you grow up. What better way of life can there be than serving the sick? Most of religion is covered by it.

We have to keep a detached mind about the chicken soup, etc., given to Mr. West. You know my ideas in the matter. I would have preferred Ba's passing away without the soup;[1] but would not have

[1] The reference is to Kasturba's serious illness when Dr. Nanji gave her beef tea; *vide An Autobiography*, Part IV, Ch. XXVIII.

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allowed it to be given to her without her consent. The body should not be dearer than the soul. He who knows the soul, and also knows that it is different from the body, will not try to protect his body by committing violence. All this is very difficult indeed; but he who has imbibed very noble ideas easily understands it and acts accordingly. The belief that the soul can do good or evil only when it is encased in a body is quite mistaken and terrible sins have been and are being committed owing to it. I want you to be free from it. There is no such law that the soul can be known only at an advanced age. Many old men pass away without knowing the soul, while persons like the late Raichandbhai have been able to realize the self even at the age of 8. Mistakes are made and sins committed despite such knowledge; but these can be eliminated after very careful thought. The body has been given to us for curbing it.

About the settlement nothing definite can be said. You will know more about it from my letter[1] to Chhaganbhai.

The above is written as the occasion offered itself. Please share it with the others.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C. W. 89
Courtesy: Sushilabehn Gandhi

269. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

LONDON,
September 17, 1909

CHI. NARANDAS,

I see from Chi. Chhaganlal's letter that he will not be able to go there at present as Mr. West has suddenly been taken very ill. We have to live as the Lord ordains. Why then should we be sorry or elated? Do keep writing to me. Negotiations for a settlement are still going on. What the outcome will be cannot be said.

My respects to Khushalbhai and Devbhabhi.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C. W. 4897
Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

[1] This is not available.

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270. DRAFT LETTER TO LONDON BRANCH OF INDIAN MOSLEM LEAGUE

[London,
After *September 17, 1909*]

The Secretary
All-India Moslem League
London Branch

DEAR SIR,

The Transvaal deputation have received the following cablegram from Johannesburg:

> Meeting held yesterday enthusiastic, determined continue, resolutions congratulating released, reaffirming complete confidence delegates, efforts greatly appreciated, afresh pledging their support, protesting Vernon's statement which until Government repudiates Asiatics interpret disclosure Government policy. Request imprisoned Mohammedans special meal *Ramzan* refused.

I draw your particular attention to the last paragraph of the cablegram, which shows that the Transvaal Government have deeply hurt the religious susceptibilities of British Indian Mohammedans who have settled in the Transvaal, who have felt called upon, on religious and conscientious grounds, to disregard what is known as the Asiatic Act and to suffer imprisonment for their so doing.

That under the British flag, which is supposed to respect all religions, Mohammedan passive resisters should be prevented from performing a religious observance of the highest importance is a very serious matter. I hope that the League will take prompt action.

I may point out that last year, at Volksrust, facilities were given to passive resisters during the month of *Ramzan*.

I remain, etc.,

From a photostat of the typewritten draft : S. N. 5179

271. LONDON

[Before *September 18, 1909*]

Natal Deputation

The Natal gentlemen met Mr. Ali Imam, Bar-at-Law, of the All-India Muslim League. He has promised to help. Next week Mr. Amir Imam will also be apprised of the situation in the Transvaal. Mr. Justice Ameer Ali, who had gone for a change of climate, has now returned. He

too has promised every help. The deputation has received from Lord Crewe the written reply which it had requested. He says:

> The Imperial Government can only make a recommendation to the Natal Government but cannot effectively intervene in regard to the disabilities which flow from the existing legislation and which can be removed only by an amendment of such legislation. In case further disabilities are sought to be imposed through fresh legislation, the Imperial Government can disallow such legislation. Its sympathies are with the Indian community in the hardships which it experiences in Natal and, in the past, it has also made representations to the Natal Government about major grievances such as the denial of the right of appeal under the Dealers' Licenses Act. Moreover, Royal assent was withheld from the Bills which had been passed for curtailing [Indian] trade. As to the future, the Imperial Government hopes that the Union Parliament, which has been vested with powers of legislation regarding Indians and Coloured people, will follow a more liberal policy and give relief to the Indian community.

This is a very disappointing reply. It contains no promise to write again to the Natal Government. The powers of the Union Parliament relate to legislation exclusively affecting the Coloured people, but the Dealers' Licenses Act applies nominally to everyone, so that most probably the Natal Government alone can amend it. The hope of action by the Union Parliament is, therefore, a mere bait. Besides, the reply says nothing about the demand for stopping the import of indentured Indian labour. The members of the deputation have, therefore, decided to write again to Lord Crewe, and have drafted a letter[1] along the above lines. They will send it after consulting Sir Muncherji, Mr. Justice Ameer Ali and others.

As the *Ramzan* has commenced, Mr. Hajee Habib and other gentlemen observe the *roza*. All of them have gone to stay with Dr. Abdurrahman's sister, and thus get every facility to observe the *Ramzan*.

Pateti and Parsi Satyagrahis

The Parsis' *Pateti*[2] fell on Monday, when leading Parsi ladies and gentlemen here arranged a party in a hotel on the bank of the Thames. Sir Muncherji Bhownaggree was asked to invite the Transvaal and Natal delegates to attend it. About 50 gentlemen were present. Sir Muncherji was in the chair. The gathering also included two grand-daughters of the Grand Old Man of India. When toasts were being proposed, Mr. Gandhi suggested that, in proposing one to the Parsi community, they should name, besides Sir Muncherji,

[1] *Vide* Appendix XXVI.
[2] New Year

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Mr. Rustomjee, Mr. Sorabji Shapurji, Mr. Randeria and Mr. Nadirsha Cama. The suggestion was received by the meeting with great enthusiasm. Of the other delegates, Mr. Anglia alone was present. He also, speaking as befitted the occasion, thanked Sir Muncherji for the great pains he had taken. The tale of India's woes commanded everyone's interest and provoked resentment among all.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 16-10-1909

272. LETTER TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO LORD CREWE

[LONDON,]
September 18, 1909

SIR,

The following cablegrams have been received from Johannesburg; the first from the Chinese Association and the second from the British Indian Association:

1ST CABLEGRAM

JOHANNESBURG,
September 16, 1909

Eighty Chinese arrested, including Chairman. Increasingly determined passively resist utmost.

CHINESE ASSOCIATION

2ND CABLEGRAM

JOHANNESBURG,
September 16, 1909

Meeting held yesterday enthusiastic, determined continue, resolutions congratulating released, reaffirming complete confidence delegates, efforts greatly appreciated, afresh pledging their support, protesting Vernon's statement which until Government repudiate Asiatics interpret disclosure Government policy. Request imprisoned Mohammedans special meal *Ramzan* refused.

In the humble opinion of my colleague and myself, these cablegrams show that the British Indian community, as also evidently the Chinese community, in the Transvaal are determined in their opposition. I may state that, if the number of arrests sent by the Chinese Association be not a cable mistake, it is for the first time that the Government have seen fit to arrest such a large number of the Chinese. In the course of the campaign, I cannot recall, even in the Indian community, so many as eighty Indians arrested in a single place at the same time. The cablegrams, however, make it clear that the measures adopted by the Government, instead of weakening Asiatics, have nerved them.

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Non-repudiation by the Government of the statement made by Mr. Vernon, and referred to in my letter[1] of the 10th September, to the effect that it was the duty of white men to hound Asiatics out of the country, is, I am sure the Earl of Crewe will agree, somewhat unfortunate, as is also the refusal of the request of Muslim prisoners for special facilities as to their meals, for religious observance of the fasting month. I venture to draw Lord Crewe's attention to the fact that when last year I was serving imprisonment at Volksrust, I noticed that, during the fasting month, special facilities were given to my fellow prisoners who were Muslims.

Will you kindly place this letter before His Lordship?

I remain, etc.,
M. K. GANDHI

Colonial Office Records: 291/142; also, from a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 5082

273. LETTER TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO LORD MORLEY

[LONDON,]
September 18, 1909

SIR,

I beg to enclose herewith copy of letter[2] addressed to the Right Hon'ble the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and ask you to place it before Lord Morley.

I would venture particularly to draw His Lordship's attention to the refusal of the Transvaal authorities to afford facilities to Muslim prisoners as to religious observance of the fasting month. In my humble opinion, the method adopted by the Transvaal authorities to compel submission to their will is decidedly novel in that it means an attack on the prisoners through their religion.

I remain, etc.,
M. K. GANDHI

India Office Records: 3602/09; also, from a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 5083

[1] *Vide* pp. 398-9; a Colonial Office minute of September 23 recorded that copies of this correspondence needed to be sent to the Transvaal Governor to invite his opinion on the provisions regarding treatment of Muslim prisoners.

[2] *Vide* the preceding item.

274. LETTER TO LORD AMPTHILL

[LONDON,]
September 18, 1909

MY LORD,

Mr. Hajee Habib and I cannot sufficiently thank Your Lordship for all you have done and are doing for British Indians in the Transvaal.

Reluctant as I am to trouble Your Lordship at the time of your well-earned holiday, I feel that I am in duty bound to pass on to you a copy of the letter sent to Lord Crewe[1] as also the substance of the interview with Lord Crewe.[2] I thought it better to reduce it to writing.

If Sir George Farrar's active sympathy can be enlisted, I have no doubt that, even though General Smuts may send an unfavourable reply to Lord Crewe, he will have to listen to Sir George.

If the reply from General Smuts is unfavourable, I hardly think it will be possible for Mr. Hajee Habib and me to leave for South Africa. I feel that it will be necessary to take up some public activity here before our departure.

We hope that you will have an enjoyable holiday and that you will have the rest which I am sure you well deserve.

I remain, etc.,

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy : S. N. 5084

275. LONDON[3]

[After *September 18, 1909*]

CIVILIZATION OR BARBARISM?

For some days now newspapers here have been writing about food. They point out that almost all processed foods are adulterated, some of them to the extent of 33 per cent. Sometimes the adulterant is of a harmful nature. Big factories preparing items like jelly engage expert chemists who are expected to give to inferior products the appearance of quality goods. This is done through suitable methods of chemical

[1] *Vide* " Letter to Private Secretary to Lord Crewe", pp. 421-2.

[2] *Vide* "Substance of Interview with Lord Crewe", pp. 408-11.

[3] This was published in *Indian Opinion*, 8-1-1910, with the prefatory remarks that these paragraphs had been omitted for want of space from an earlier dispatch from London.

mixing which save costs. The conclusion to be drawn is that the producers have their eyes only on profit and never care what harm they do to people. These very men then donate a part of their ill-gotten wealth to public causes and so win respect for themselves. They earn reputation as good and virtuous men. In this civilization, therefore, immorality presents itself as morality. There is no doubt that most of the processed foods rely on the use of animal fat. For instance, it is used in cleansing or polishing rice in England. This is a frightful thing, but true all the same. It offends the religious susceptibilities of both Hindus and Muslims. Therefore, the only way out is not to use anything manufactured in the West. In any case, processed foods must never be used.

Brave Japanese Soldier

The newspapers here have reported the death of a brave Japanese, Marquess Ito[1], as the result of a revolver-shot by a Korean. Korea is situated near Japan. The Japanese hold power in Korea as the British do in Egypt and India, enjoying the same rights and privileges. Of course, Japan is not in Korea to oblige her. But the Koreans are known to be a weak people. Were the country to pass under the rule of the Russians or the Chinese, that would pose a threat to Japan, and so Japan herself grabbed it. The Korean people were in no way pleased with this. They have always regarded Japan with hatred. Ito had been attacked twice before this. But Japan, having once tasted Russian blood, was certainly not likely to pull out of Korea so easily. Such is always the intoxication of power. Those who wield the sword generally perish by the sword, just as expert swimmers meet their death by water. The man who fired the revolver-shot bluntly admitted that he had killed Ito because he could not bear to see Japan ruling Korea. It is said that Japan has killed nearly 12,000 Koreans to teach a lesson to the people. This episode shows that power is an ugly thing and that, having once possessed oneself of a country, it is not possible to rest in peace. Some of our young men believe that the British can be driven out of India by killing [some of them]. Even if this is possible, it is not worth doing. Some things in Japan are commendable, but her imitation of Western ways does not deserve to be admired.

Why, then, have we described Ito as a brave man? This is a different matter. He had the spirit of patriotism in him from childhood. He was born in 1841. From the earliest time that he began to understand things, he had thoughts of working for Japan's uplift. He braved many hardships in pursuit of his idea. In the war against Russia, he

[1] Prince Hirobumi Ito (1841-1909); Japanese statesman and reformer; was four times Prime Minister between 1886 and 1901. He was appointed Resident General in Korea in 1905 and in 1909 became President of the Privy Council of Japan. He was assassinated during a visit to Harbin.

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displayed great courage. He was thus an expert in war; also in mathematics, education, administration, in short, in everything. He must, therefore, be admitted to be a brave man. In subjugating Korea, he used his courage to a wrong end. But those who fall under the spell of the Western civilization cannot help doing so. If Japan is to rule, defend and expand herself through force, she has no option but to conquer the neighbouring lands. The conclusion to be drawn from this is that those who have the real welfare of the people at heart must lead them only along the path of satyagraha.

White's Views on Indian Awakening

Mr. G. K. Chesterton is one of the great writers here. He is an Englishman of a liberal temper. Such is the perfection of his style that his writings are read by millions with great avidity. To *The Illustrated London News* of September 18 he has contributed an article on Indian awakening, which is worth studying. I too believe that what he has said is reasonable. I give below the substance of that part of it which is of special interest:[1]

> When young Indians talk of independence for India, I get a feeling that they do not understand what they are talking about. I admit that they who demand *swarajya* are fine fellows; most young idealists are fine fellows. I do not doubt that many of our officials are stupid and oppressive. Most of such officials are stupid and oppressive. But when I see the actual papers and know the views of Indian nationalists, I get bored and feel dubious about them. What they want is not very Indian and not very national. They talk about Herbert Spencer's[2] philosophy and other similar matters. What is the good of the Indian national spirit if they cannot protect themselves from Herbert Spencer? I am not fond of the philosophy of Buddhism, but it is not so shallow as Spencer's philosophy. It has some noble ideals, unlike the latter. One of their papers is called *The Indian Sociologist*. Do the Indian youths want to pollute their ancient villages and poison their kindly homes by introducing Spencer's philosophy into them?
>
> There is a great difference between a people asking for its own ancient life and a people asking for things that have been wholly invented by somebody else. There is a difference between a conquered people demanding its own institutions and the same people demanding the institutions of the conqueror. Suppose an Indian said: "I wish India had always been free from white men and all their works. Everything has its own faults and we prefer our own. Had we

[1] The translation has been collated with the original article.

[2] (1820-1903); English philosopher; author of *Principles of Psychology*, *Synthetic Philosophy* and *Principles of Sociology*

our own institutions, there would have been dynastic wars; but I prefer dying in battle to dying in hospital. There would have been despotism; but I prefer one king whom I hardly even see to a hundred kings regulating my diet and my children. There would have been pestilence; but I would sooner die of the plague than live like a dead man, in constant fear of the plague. There would have been religious differences dangerous to public peace; but I think religion more important than peace. Life is very short; a man must live somehow and die somewhere; the amount of bodily comfort a peasant gets under your way of living is not so much more than mine. If you do not like our way of living, we never asked you to do. Go, and leave us with it."

Suppose an Indian said that, I should call him an Indian nationalist. He would be an authentic Indian, and I think it would be very hard to answer him. But the Indian nationalists whose works I have read go on saying: "Give me a ballot box. Give us power, give me the judge's wig. I have a natural right to be Prime Minister. I have a right to introduce a Budget. My soul is starved if I am excluded from the editorship of the *Daily Mail*," or words to that effect. Now this is not so difficult to answer. Even the most sympathetic person may say in reply: "What you say is very fine, my good Indian, but it is we who invented all these things. If they are so good as you make out, you owe it to us that you have ever heard of them. If they are indeed natural rights, you would never even have thought of your natural rights but for us." If voting is such a very important thing (which I am inclined rather to doubt myself) then, certainly we have some of the authority that belongs to founders. When Indians take a haughty tone in demanding a vote, I imagine to myself the situation reversed. It seems to me very much as if I were to go into Tibet and demand of the Lama that I should be treated as a Mahatma. The Lama would in that case reply: "Our religion is either true or false; it is either worth having or not worth having. If you know better than we do, you do not want our religion. But if you think that our way of life is good, please remember that it is we who discovered and studied it, and we know whether a man is a Mahatma or not. If you want one of our peculiar privileges, you must accept our peculiar discipline and pass our peculiar standards, to get it."

Perhaps you think that in writing this I am opposing Indian nationalism. But that will be a mistake; I am only letting my mind play round the subject. This is desirable when there is a conflict between two complete civilizations. I also admit the existence of natural rights. The right of a people to express itself, to be itself in action, is a genuine right. Indians have a right to be and

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to live as Indians. But Herbert Spencer is not Indian; his philosophy is not Indian philosophy; all this clatter about the science of education and other things is not Indian. I often wish it were not English either. But this is our first difficulty, that the Indian nationalist is not national.

Indians must reflect over these views of Mr. Chesterton and consider what they should rightly demand. What is the way to make the Indian people happy? May it not be that we seek to advance our own interests in the name of the Indian people? Or, that we have been endeavouring to destroy what the Indian people have carefully nurtured through thousands of years? I, for one, was led by Mr. Chesterton's article to all these reflections and I place them before readers of *Indian Opinion*.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 8-1-1910

276. LETTER TO UNDER SECRETARY FOR COLONIES[1]

[LONDON,]
September 20, 1909

SIR,

A letter was received addressed to my colleague, Mr. Amod Bayat, in his absence, from the Natal Immigration Restriction Department in connection with his application for a temporary visiting pass for a priest to take charge of the Mosque in Pietermaritzburg and of a Madressa. This application was made on behalf of and in the name of the whole of the Mohammedan congregation in Pietermaritzburg. I beg to enclose herewith copy of the letter above referred to.

I venture to think that the Earl of Crewe will be able to enter into the feelings of British Indian Mohammedans who, for the purpose of earning an honest livelihood, have settled in that Colony. My colleagues and I consider the letter of the Immigration Restriction Department to be highly offensive to our feelings as men, as British subjects and last but not least, as Mohammedans. A special assurance was

[1] Though the letter bears the signature of M. C. Anglia, there is evidence that the draft was Gandhiji's. In his letter of October 14, 1909, Polak wrote: "Your letter (through one of the Natal delegates) re: the PM Burg Moulvi is strong and excellent —but pardon me if I say the construction is wretched. They say lawyers write bad grammar. I hope I don't catch the complaint from you! I am appending the letter to my forthcoming book. It seems to be intended for publication, and no secrets are divulged . . . " Polak reproduced the letter as Appendix D to his pamphlet: *A Tragedy of Empire*. *Vide* also "Letter to Ameer Ali", p. 434-5.

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given to the Immigration Officer that this priest was required solely for religious purposes and that he would not in any way compete in trade or any other business.

That the community should have to make Herculean efforts to have a simple application like the above granted, and that it should be granted in a manner so offensive to it, and that in a matter in no way touching the economic policy of the Colony, only shows under what trying, humiliating and difficult circumstances British Indians have to exist in Natal. Why a visiting pass should be granted for only a quarter, renewable quarterly and should carry with it a penalty of twenty shillings each time that it is renewed, passes comprehension. A policy such as this, in the humble opinion of the deputation, can only be considered as wantonly cruel. It puts an undue strain upon the patience of the Indian community and, whilst the deputation is still here, I venture to request very serious and earnest consideration by the Earl of Crewe of the anomalous position British Indians occupy in Natal. We consider that a position such as this, intolerable as it is, cannot and ought not to be prolonged with safety to the Empire to which it has hitherto been the pride of British Indians to belong. We would be unjust to ourselves, to the trust that is reposed in us by the community and to the Empire, if we did not assure His Lordship that the humiliating treatment in Natal is corroding the hearts of British Indians, and it is difficult for us to imagine all the consequences that may follow, when it has reached, as it may any day reach, the breaking point.

I have written with the approval of my co-delegates somewhat strongly, but no more strongly than the occasion requires.

I have, etc.,
M. C. ANGLIA

Colonial Office Records: 179/255

277. LETTER TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO LORD CREWE

[LONDON,]
September 23, 1909

SIR,

May I know whether any reply has been received from General Smuts to the cablegram[1] that Mr. Hajee Habib and I understood the Earl of Crewe was to have sent him in connection with the negotiations

[1] Lord Crewe had promised to cable to General Smuts the result of his interview with Gandhiji and Hajee Habib and press upon him acceptance of the amendment submitted by Gandhiji through Lord Ampthill; *vide* "Substance of Interview with Lord Crewe", p. 411; and Appendix XXIV.

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that are going on for a settlement of the British Indian difficulty in the Transvaal ?[1]

I have, etc.,
M. K. GANDHI

Colonial Office Records : 291/142

278. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

[LONDON,]
September 23, 1909

MY DEAR HENRY,

I have your comparatively short letter. I sent the copy of the cablegram received from Johannesburg last week, regarding the refusal of the authorities to give facilities for the *Ramzan* month.

The enclosed is a copy of the cable sent by the London branch of the All-India Moslem League to the Central League there.[2] I hope that you are carrying on a correspondence with the Central League from Bombay.

I quite agree with you that the cancellation of the meeting was a splendid advertisement for the movement, and an equally good advertisement of the folly of the authorities.[3]

The attack by *The Advocate of India* is simply stupid.[4] It can hurt nobody but the paper and the writer. If Mr. Wadia has dealt with it,

[1] To this Gandhiji received a reply from the Colonial Office on October 4, that, "...there is no prospect of his being able to give you any further information for the present with regard to the negotiations respecting the British Indian question in the Transvaal. The Colonial Government must first decide, with the information before them, as to your attitude after your interview with His Lordship on the 16th ultimo, whether they are prepared to introduce legislation on the lines proposed by Mr. Smuts."

[2] This read : "Indian deputation received cablegram Transvaal Mahomedan passive resistance prisoners not allowed facilities *Ramzan*. Advise instant action."

[3] In his letter of September 4, Polak wrote: "The cancelled meeting has done much good to the cause. It has focussed attention on the Transvaal, brought round a number of half-hearted people, cleared the ground generally and brought over Sir P. M. He is now working enthusiastically. The meeting, which promises to be a greater success than ever, will be held after all, at the Town Hall, on the 14th. The Government have blundered through ignorance, but the Sheriff through stupidity. The whole story is one of blundering misunderstanding. The Government now realise their folly and the Sheriff's, and have tendered an apology (imagine it!) and let us have the Town Hall."

[4] In regard to this, Polak had written to Gandhiji on September 4, "Mr. Gokhale has cleared up a misunderstanding in the Governor's mind about myself. You will see it voiced in the personal attack on me by Gordon in *The Advocate of India*. It is particularly unfair as I had a personal letter to him from the G[eneral] M[anager] of Reuters. I hear that he is a most objectionable cad (Gordon, I mean)

well and good. If he has not, I do not think that it matters. In the two packets of cuttings, you will be surprised to learn that the cutting containing this attack was not to be found. I suppose Kaliandas, or whoever made the cuttings, must have considered that the paragraph was too contemptible even to be seen by us here.

I have not yet heard from Lord Crewe. I am sending a reminder[1].

I can understand my letters to you being opened, but that Millie's letters to you are deliberately opened, passes my comprehension. Let us hope they are all the wiser for having read the letters, and also that they have learnt the meaning of wifely devotion. Her letters must have been quite an education for them.[2]

I am not likely to leave here—unless Smuts' reply is favourable—for yet a month. Mr. Meyer is now here. I have asked him for an appointment. Unless a dissolution comes soon, the season now is favourable for public activity.

I do not think I have told you that I am coming in touch with all the Indian ladies I can, and get from them letters in Gujarati addressed to the Editor of *Indian Opinion*, encouraging the movement and applauding the devotion of the Indian women. You told me you were going to address a meeting of Indian women. You should get as many letters as you can from them. There is no reason why you should not get letters in English also. I have been getting them in Gujarati from Gujarati women, as I am anxious they should not disregard their mother tongue. One is from Mrs. Dube,[3] a most charming Hindustani lady, who has lived[4] in Bombay and can therefore read and write Gujarati. The other is from Mrs. K. C. Dinshaw,[5] who was for some time in Durban, and who is now travelling in Europe with her husband. You should get a letter from Mrs. Petit, Mrs. Ranade and others. Miss Winterbottom has returned from her holiday. I have suggested a letter of sympathy from English women,[6] and that they should also put down some small sub-

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and I think H. A. Wadia will reply. I can't." Gandhiji addressed a rejoinder to the paper; *vide* "Letter to *The Advocate of India*", pp. 436-7.

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

[2] Polak's comment on this, in his letter of October 14, was: "You take the opening of Millie's letters more philosophically than she and I do. I see that your days of writing love-letters are over! I am sorry for you! I haven't yet authorised Millie to start classes in marital devotion!"

[3] A letter from Ram Kumari Dube appeared in *Indian Opinion*, 11-9-1909.

[4] The original has "oved", an obvious typing error.

[5] A letter from Khurshedbai Kekobad Cawasji Dinshaw appeared in *Indian Opinion*, 23-10-1909.

[6] A letter from Miss Florence Winterbottom was published in *Indian Opinion*, 25-12-1909, under the heading: "Message to the Wives of Passive Resisters". Another letter from Hilda Margaret Howsin was published in the issue of 11-12-1909, under the heading: "An English Woman's Letter to the Wives of Passive Resisters".

scription for the relief of the suffering wives and daughters of passive resisters. I would suggest the same kind of thing over there. It is not the amount on which I should lay stress, but the fact of every cultured Indian woman having given even a pice for their sisters in the Transvaal, and I should obtain for it the widest publicity in India. There is no reason, too, why there should not be a women's meeting, only passing resolutions.[1]

I have been thinking of having a prize essay here on passive resistance, and a similar essay from India, along the lines of what we had in Johannesburg. I proposed to Dr. Mehta that he should give the prizes. He has considered it and he is willing to give them. I shall draw up the syllabus and send you a copy, but that will be next week. In the meanwhile, you may consider the following questions:

1. Who should be the Judge or Judges for India?
2. In whose name should the prize be offered?

The subject will have to be a little delicately handled, as it is evident that the people there, strange as it would appear, do not understand passive resistance at all, and any essay that we may have there to be worth anything must contain an examination of the bearing of passive resistance on public movements in India. You may discuss it with Professor Gokhale and others. The amount to be offered may be £50 on this side and £50 on yours, so that we should be able to attract good writers on either side. I am going to consult Mr. Meyer, Dr. Clifford and others. This prize essay, if any public activity has to be taken up here, will widely advertize the Transvaal cause.[2]

Of the Natal friends, Mr. H. M. Badat has left for Paris. His ultimate goal is Mecca.

I take it that Messrs Omar and Issa Hajee Soomar are still with you.

I have your cablegram with reference to the Surat meeting. I take it that the others have also come off well, and I assume, too, that all your resolutions are being forwarded to the Viceroy of India.

Dr. Mehta is here and will be for a few days. He leaves for Paris on Sunday and he sails from Marseilles for Rangoon on the 1st, reaching

[1] Polak wrote back: "I am glad you are in touch with the Indian ladies in London. I am trying to get a poem from Mrs. Sarojini Naidoo, through Natesan. Mrs. Ranade's ladies have passed a resolution of sympathy with the Transvaal women and it will be forwarded shortly. One or two of them will write at stated intervals for *I*[*ndian*] *O*[*pinion*]. Mrs. Petit will send a letter with pleasure and I shall ask her to get others to write. The Seva Sadan, a ladies' organisation, have sent Rs. 50 to the Transvaal for the support of the women and they will send a further donation. It was not advisable to pass a resolution at the Bombay women's meeting as the wives of several officers were taking part."

[2] About this Polak wanted to consult Gokhale. He wondered if Prof. Bhandarkar would act as judge.

Rangoon on the 23rd October. Wherever you are, I think it will be better to go to Rangoon, after corresponding with Dr. Mehta. He will not be able to write to you before hearing from you, as he will not know your address. He thinks that it will be a good idea for you to go to Rangoon. A meeting can be held there, but in any case I am anxious that you should meet him and—he you. If Mr. Omar goes with you, it will be ever so much better. There are many public-spirited Memons and Suraties, and, of course, you will see our friend Mr. Madanjit[1], and you will see there the freest women on earth.[2] From Calcutta it is three days, from Madras four days, so that you may go to Rangoon from wherever you are. I do not think you could give more than a week to Rangoon, but if you are pressed for time, you may give less. Dr. Mehta's address is 14, Mogul Street, Rangoon.

Mr. Thaker suggests that we are so poor that we should save the guinea for the London letter,[3] and stop it at least for the time being. I feel like him and with him, and seeing that to-day the paper is being used for passive resistance principally, will it not be wise to stop it? Please let me have your opinion per return.[4]

The news from Phœnix with reference to West and Miss West was much more reassuring last week. Both are entirely out of danger.

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy : S. N. 5091

279. LONDON

[Before *September 25, 1909*]

Natal Deputation

There is nothing more to report about the activities of this deputation. Correspondence is going on. There was an interview with Mr. Justice Ameer Ali. He attaches great importance to the question of stopping the import of indentured labour. He has promised every

[1] Madanjit Vyavaharik, a co-worker of Gandhiji. He set up the International Printing Press in Durban, in 1898, at Gandhiji's suggestion and with his help started *Indian Opinion* in 1903, which Gandhiji took over in 1904. *Vide* Vol. III, p. 307.

[2] Polak's rejoinder to this was: "I am looking forward to 'seeing the freest women on earth'. I shall discuss them afterwards with Millie, as I did briefly yesterday at Adyar with Leadbeater. I shall try to go over to Malabar before I leave here, in order to see the Nair women, who, I am told, take one husband after another. That beats you all who take one wife after another! I am inclined to think the women are right!"

[3] *Indian Opinion* published a weekly dispatch from London by *Observer*.

[4] Polak replied: "I don't like the idea of stopping the London letter. It is the only non-p[assive] r[esistance] thing in the paper, keeping us in touch with the outside world. But do as you like. You are on the spot, and can discuss with Miss Smith."

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help. A clergyman, Dr. Garnett by name, has also been coming to see [the delegates].

Mr. Badat has left for Paris this week. From there, it has been decided, he will proceed to Istanbul and further on to Jedda, and then to holy Mecca.

Indian's Brains

There is a report in the *Daily News* here that a Parsi gentleman has made a discovery which will act as a severe check on forgery. According to the report, its efficacy will be publicly demonstrated in a few days.

Zanzibar Indians

A public meeting was held in Zanzibar in connection with the difficulties experienced by the Indians there. Cables were then received here. A cable was received by Sir Henry Cotton, which has been published in *India*. A question was also asked in the House of Commons regarding this. In reply, it was stated that Lord Crewe would make an inquiry after the petition mentioned in the cable was received. I hope the Zanzibar Indian Association has sent the petition. If not, it should do so immediately.

Lord Kitchener's Opposition to Lord Curzon

"Who indeed can put out a fire raging in the sea?" Such is the state of affairs between Lord Curzon and Lord Kitchener. Someone has discovered a speech by Lord Kitchener in the same strain, and nearly in the same words, as Lord Curzon's when he left India. Everyone concludes from this that Lord Kitchener has plagiarized Lord Curzon's ideas. The matter has given rise to much discussion in newspapers. If the so-called great men appropriate what does not belong to them, what else can we expect from smaller folk?

Suffragettes

The suffragettes are giving way to impatience. Some of them made an unjustifiable attack on the Prime Minister, and were arrested. They were prosecuted and sentenced. In gaol they went on hunger strike. They had hoped thereby that they would be released. But the authorities have outwitted them and resorted to forcible feeding. Indian satyagrahis must realize from this that the women are not satyagrahis, but are resorting to physical force. For a certainty, they will suffer a set-back now.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 23-10-1909

280. DEPUTATION NOTES [–XIII]

[Before *September 25, 1909*]

There has been no further reply from Lord Crewe so far. The probability is that his reply will be unsatisfactory. There is no reason to believe that General Smuts will hurry to reply that he accepts Lord Crewe's advice. But of this I am sure, that, if General Smuts does not accept the suggestion, the fault will be entirely ours. I am not in a position to write anything more this week.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 23-10-1909

281. CABLE TO BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION

[LONDON,]
September 27, 1909

TO
BIAS
JOHANNESBURG

HAJI HABIB RECEIVED CABLE RETURN IMMEDIATELY. INQUIRE FULLY HIS PEOPLE REPLY.

From a photostat of the draft in Gandhiji's hand : S. N. 5098 (2)

282. LETTER TO AMEER ALI

[LONDON,]
September 27, 1909

DEAR MR. AMEER ALI,

I thank you for your letter[1]. I have now made a fair copy of the draft letter sent by you, and it will be signed in the course of the day. Mr. Anglia will bring it to you tomorrow at the time appointed by you.

The facts of the case referred to in the letter[2] addressed to the Under-Secretary, are briefly as follows :

[1] Dated September 26, it read: "Thanks for the drafts. Will you kindly send me by return post full particulars of the case you refer to in your letter to the Colonial Under Secretary? . . . It will give me much pleasure if Mr. Anglia will come round to the Reform Club on Tuesday at 3.30 P.M. I am returning one of the drafts. Will you kindly get it typed and afterwards signed by the delegates and then send it to me ?" The letter, however, is not available.

[2] *Vide* "Letter to Under Secretary for Colonies", pp. 427-8.

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A Moulvi was required for the Mosque in Pietermaritzburg, the capital of Natal. The Moulvi was to combine also the work of a Madressi teacher. This Moulvi was to replace the retiring one. According to the law of Natal, an intending immigrant must have a knowledge of one of the European languages. This Moulvi did not possess such a knowledge. The congregation of the Mosques, therefore, applied to the Government to grant to the Moulvi not the right of immigration, that is, permanent residence, but a certificate enabling him to reside in the Colony for three years. The applicants undertook to give security that the Moulvi, during his residence in Natal, would not carry on any commercial business and that he would leave Natal at the end of the period. After a great deal of waiting, the Government replied that they would grant permission on condition that the certificate was renewed every three months, and that each renewal bore a stamp fee of £1.

Mr. Anglia will show you the letter in question, and you will see from its tenor how insulting it is. In my opinion, we as self-respecting men cannot accept the offensive terms. The stipulation as to quarterly renewals bearing a fee of £1 is, in my opinion, an impudent exaction.

I remain, etc.,

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy : S. N. 5096

283. LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI

[LONDON,]
September 27, 1909

CHI. MANILAL,

I have received your letter.

You got nervous at the question, "What are you going to do?" If I were to answer on your behalf, I would say that you are going to do your duty. Your present duty is to serve your parents, to study as much as you can get the opportunity to do and to work in the fields. You need not worry about the future; your parents are doing that for you. You will take it upon yourself when they will be no more. You must be definite on this point at least—that you are not going to practise law or medicine. We are poor and want to remain so. Money is required only for maintenance. He who works with his hands and feet gets his livelihood. Our mission is to elevate Phœnix; for through it we can find our soul and serve our country. Be sure that I am always thinking of you. The true occupation of man is to build his character. It is not quite necessary to learn something special for earning [one's livelihood]. He who does not leave the path of morality never starves, and is not afraid if such a contingency arises. Give up all worry; do whatever study you can there. While writing this I feel like meeting and

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embracing you; and tears come to my eyes as I am unable to do that. Be sure that Bapu will not be cruel to you. Whatever I do, I do it because I think it to be in your interest. You will never come to grief, for you are doing service to others.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand : C. W. 90
Courtesy : Sushilabehn Gandhi

284. LETTER TO "THE ADVOCATE OF INDIA"[1]

[LONDON,]
September 28, 1909

TO
THE EDITOR
THE ADVOCATE OF INDIA
[BOMBAY]

SIR,

Your footnote in the issue of the 9th instant to the letter of Mr. Jehangir Bomanjee Petit, regretting among other things your description of Mr. Henry S. L. Polak as a paid agent, encourages me to address this letter to you.

You say, "We have alluded to Mr. Polak as a paid agent and we have said we think none the worse of him for that. If, however, that gentleman looks upon this as affecting his status and he can assure we are wrong, we are prepared to apologize to him". I hope that what follows will assure you that you are wrong and that you will apologize to the British Indians of the Transvaal, whom Mr. Polak represents, for the latter requires no apology. The wrong if any has been done, has been done to those whom he represents.

[1] The letter was apparently not published in *The Advocate of India*. J. B. Petit, however, had it published in the columns of *Gujarati*, 7-11-1909, under the caption " *The Advocate of India* and Mr. Polak ", along with the following covering letter : " You will remember that some weeks ago *The Advocate of India* sought to discredit Mr. Polak's activity in this country on behalf of our suffering brethren in the Transvaal by representing him as a near ' paid agent '. On Mr. Polak protesting, the Editor made a half-hearted retraction, but he had neither the grace nor the candour to withdraw the imputation unreservedly. The unworthy attack having attracted Mr. Gandhi's attention, Mr. Gandhi addressed to the Editor the following letter on the 28th September. It is now nearly a fortnight since that letter must have been received in Bombay, but it is not yet published.... Will you kindly publish this letter in your columns ? Your contemporary's conduct in withholding the letter is in keeping with the rest of his behaviour in this not very creditable affair. "

You say that you think none the worse of Mr. Polak even though he may be a paid agent, and yet the tone of your leading article, which I have read and re-read is undoubtedly calculated materially to discount Mr. Polak's efforts. I know him personally as a dear friend and brother. He came to the cause, embraced poverty and left the Assistant Editorship of a Johannesburg weekly, which might ultimately have proved much to him, if he had desired the goods of this world. For over four years he received not a farthing from the funds of the British Indian community because he needed nothing. During all that time he was working for the community.

The struggle in the Transvaal has meant for Mr. Polak, as it has meant for many Indians, the deprivation of even the means or rather the opportunity of earning a livelihood. Since then, Mr. Polak, who gives every minute of his time to the struggle, has received enough for his bread and butter from the common funds, and if I know him at all, if the community have not sufficient funds to feed its workers, Mr. Polak would remain at his post, and, if need be, perish in the attempt to obtain justice for those whose cause, in common with many others, he espouses.

You do not know, nor do the Bombay public, that ever since his marriage, Mr. Polak has given very little of his time to his wife who, in order the better to enable her husband to perform his self-imposed duty, has reconciled herself to a life of almost indefinitely prolonged separation.

I imagine that the term "paid agent" means an agent who names a price adequate to the work he does, and does the work well enough no doubt, in many cases, but does it nevertheless for the money he receives and not for the love of it. If a son in a joint family dying in the performance of his sonship may be described as a paid agent, because he is clothed and fed out of the family funds, then Mr. Polak is undoubtedly a paid agent, but not until then.

If, after a knowledge of the facts I have ventured to place before you, you will still consider Mr. Polak as a paid agent, I am afraid that his co-delegates, who might have been with him if they had not been imprisoned before their departure by General Smuts, must be described as "paid agents", because their passage and hotel expenses would have been found by the Indian community.

I trust that, in fairness, you will be good enough to find room for this letter.

I am, etc.,

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy : S. N. 5099

285. LETTER TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO LORD CREWE

[LONDON,]
September 29, 1909

SIR,

Mr. Polak cables from Kathore[1] to the effect that the following cablegram has been addressed by the President of a mass meeting held at Kathore on the 23rd instant to the authorities:

> Kathore, Kholwad,[2] Ghela[3] district inhabitants mass meeting, strongly protests persecution brethren Transvaal Government. Strongly urges Imperial authority seek immediate solution, prevent continuance misery, remove racial insult.

He also cables that excellent meetings were held at Ahmedabad and Surat, where two resolutions urging the Imperial Government to secure relief were passed.

I should be obliged if you would kindly bring this letter to the notice of the Earl of Crewe.

I remain, etc.,
M. K. GANDHI

Colonial Office Records: 291/142

286. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

[LONDON,]
September 29, 1909

MY DEAR HENRY,

At last I have decided about Dr. Mehta's offer of a scholarship for Manilal, of which I wrote to you, I think, some time ago. I told you, then, that I asked Dr. Mehta to let me use this scholarship for any other person belonging to Phœnix whom I chose. He accepted my proposal, but when he made the offer, I know he made it simply because he felt that he would like to undertake the education of at least one of my sons. Today, however, he is almost as good a passive resister as you and I, and he agrees with me entirely that he should defray the cost of educating some other Phœnixite.

I decided upon Chhaganlal, and I have already written[4] to him by the outgoing mail this week. I wrote to him last week a letter[5] embodying

[1],[2] & [3] Villages in the former Baroda State, now in the Surat District of Gujarat. The last name should be Ghalan.

[4] & [5] These letters are not available.

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my suggestions, but that letter was sent to Phœnix. I subsequently learned that he was to have left for India on the 15th. By the time this reaches you, he will probably, therefore, be with you. I will not go into all the reasoning that has led me to the following conclusions. After having remained with you there for some time, he should come to London, say to reach here at the latest about the end of March. He should join one of the Inns of Court. The question whether he should actually be called to the Bar or not to be decided later (the odds are that, by that time, we would not want him to be called to the Bar at all). Simultaneously with his legal studies, he should join an English class in one of the institutions here. He should, before embarking, take a definite and formal vow of poverty. He should also take the vow that he will not use the learning acquired here as a means of livelihood, the latter being always found from Phœnix, and that he should dedicate his life to a realization of the Phœnix ideals. He should stay in some vegetarian family (I am finding out information about all available vegetarian families in and about London). He should live, if necessary, in a house in one of the suburbs and there do his own cooking and everything. If he feels confidence in himself at the end of the year, we should send one or more from Phœnix at a time for training in London. These will be able to live with him in the house, and he having formed a desirable circle of friends and acquaintances, those who live with him will be able to get all the advantages of English associations, without having to live in English families, where the cost will be necessarily somewhat greater than if they were living with Chhaganlal. At the same time, if it were considered desirable, they could live in one of the families for just a short time. Chhaganlal should, during his stay, seek contact with every Indian student, in fact, force himself on their attention and, after insinuating himself in their favour, should present both in his life and by conversations, the Phœnix ideals to them. His being here would enable us to pass on, from week to week, correct information as to the progress of the struggle, and he would, in some very slight degree, fill in the gap that would be left by Ritch's withdrawal. I see nobody here who is capable of replacing Ritch, but there are some who, whilst they may do nothing without a spur, would be glad enough to assist a man like Chhaganlal. If we are not committed to Chhaganlal being called to the Bar, he need not even stay in London for a full three years, he might—if the exigencies of the situation require it—leave London temporarily.

There is no fixed scholarship to be taken from Dr. Mehta; he will simply defray the whole of the expense of Chhaganlal's stay. Chhaganlal, on his part, will naturally consider himself to be a trustee for the funds he will receive, and will be living a life of almost perfect simplicity. The cost therefore will be minimised.

I have placed all this before Chhaganlal. Please let him see this

letter also. If he agrees to all the suggestions I have made, it rests largely with him and somewhat with you, whether he should come here in March or earlier. It is much better that he remains with you for some time, comes in touch with the people, knows them and studies the question a little more fully. He must bring with him a fair stock of Gujarati books, some Sanskrit books, a Urdu Primer and some English books, which may not be obtainable here or which may cost a great deal. He need not stint himself as to books, because the books will be of use to the other students here. In the choice of books you should consult Dr. Mehta also. I would like Chhaganlal to give Gujarati tuition to Dr. Mehta's son, as also Hoosen[1] and any other Gujaratis who may be in London.

Of course, the above will have to be sanctioned by the people in Phœnix.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy : S. N. 5100

287. LETTER TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO LORD MORLEY

[LONDON,]
September 30, 1909

SIR,

I beg to enclose herewith for Lord Morley's information, copy of letter addressed by me to the Private Secretary to the Earl of Crewe.[2]

I remain, etc.,
M. K. GANDHI

India Office Records: 3815/09; also, from a photostat of the typewritten office copy : S. N. 5103

288. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK[3]

[LONDON,]
September 30, 1909

MY DEAR HENRY,

I have written to you separately about Chhaganlal. I do not know whether you admire the man who can show patience or whether you

[1] Son of Dawad Mahomed

[2] *Vide* "Letter to Private Secretary to Lord Crewe", p. 438.

[3] This letter is damaged and indistinct at some places. Where possible, words in square brackets have been supplied by conjecture on the basis of the context provided by Polak's letters to Gandhiji.

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admire the man who cannot. The sentence in the letter reads both ways.[1] Maud and Ritch read it one way, [I] the other.

I have your cablegram about the meetings in Ahmedabad, Kathore and Surat. They will all carry.

I consider the writings of *The Advocate of India* very valuable. Even cads render us a signal service . . .[2] take what Gordon has written, namely, that you have [ves]ted interest in the question. The remark is by no means unjustified. He has demonstrated the absolute necessity for having there a permanent Committee, with some one like Ritch working away day and night and keeping the pot boiling. I hope you will succeed in finding such a man. Have you seen N. V. Gokhale[3] of the *Gujarati* ? I do not wish to imply that he is the likely man. I can think of no one. He will have to be a lover of his work, without many irons in the fire, and with sufficient leisure to devote his attention almost solely to the South African question.

I do not at all share your view that you are receiving an honorarium, rather than a salary. If that were the only distinction, I would agree with Gordon that it is a fine distinction. You will see how I have dealt with it in my letter to the *Advocate*, copy of which I enclose.[4] The distinction, in my opinion, is fundamental. It is the manner of giving which makes that essential distinction. To the outside world, whether it can be called an honorarium or a salary, it is a matter of little concern. They will look upon every payment with suspicion, they will look upon all work with suspicion and refuse to admit that people work without selfish motives or without great consideration. Everybody in Bombay has treated [the edit]or's [views] with the contempt they deserve, and you may have done likewise.[5] Dr. Mehta who has seen your [let]ter writes to me in Gujarati, of which I gave you a translation:

[1] This was with reference to Polak's letter of September 10, in which he wrote : " Yours is splendid patience. I envy you. I see more and more the beauty of the *Gita* teaching — act, and don't worry about results. But I see more and more how difficult it is to do this, and admire the man who can ! " The letter is in Polak's hand-writing and the exclamation mark is so joined with " can " that, if casually seen, it can also be read as " can't ".

[2] Here a word is cut off.

[3] He was in charge of the English section of *Gujarati*.

[4] *Vide* " Letter to *The Advocate of India* ", pp. 436-7.

[5] In point of fact, Polak had not; this is what he reported to Gandhiji: "Nobody takes the attack seriously, except to arouse indignation against Gordon. I sent a short reply to the latest attack. It seemed called for. It will not appear until after the mail has left. He sent me a note today asking me to call upon him. I told him what I thought about the matter—that the expression gave people to understand that I was a paid agitator. I explained to him that I was a solicitor, etc., etc., and that I received a retainer for my legal work and that my expenses as a member of the deputation were paid. I told him that what I received from public funds did not pay my expenses—

He (that is you), has been affected by the writing in *The Advocate of India*, but it is too contemptible to be noticed. Where there are no selfish motives, there is no occasion for being affected by an imputation of them. Why should one be touched by unjust criticism, when one is doing one's duty? On the contrary, one ought to know that such unjust criticism is due to ignorance on the part of the critic. When a public worker has no money of his own, it is the duty of those who have it to see to it that such a worker is properly maintained. Certainly, the arrangements made in South Africa about him (you) ought to have been made.

I am giving you a translation of Dr. Mehta's remarks, because he is such a sober man with an exceedingly balanced mind, and also because of the reasons you know, I want you to come in as close touch as possible with him.

I am writing to Mr. Petit also this week. Copy of the letter[1] to him herewith.

Among the cuttings received, I miss the verses com[posed about] you.[2] I have seen the translation you sent to me, [I want] to see the original. Nor have I received the [Pateti Number] of *Sanj Vartman*[3].

[I am] delighted that you were able to see the G.O.M. Your [lines] are most pathetic.[4] I see too that you are now beginning to look beneath the bright surface that presented itself to you on your reaching Bombay.

Millie will bear only too willing testimony to this! I did not conceal anything from him, and he wound up by telling me that he thought that it was 'a fine distinction'. Then I let fly. Afterwards I sent him my (your) biography from *I*[*ndian*] *O*[*pinion*]. But this only shows that it will be better to call my remuneration a retainer rather than a salary. It preserves the honorary nature of the work and after all, as a salary it is utterly inadequate, whereas as a retainer, it is fair. You and I understand all about it, but people like this think it is 'a fine distinction', and can't understand disinterested work. You might pass this on to South Africa."

[1] This letter is not available.

[2] On September 9, Polak had attended a meeting of the Indian Music Society where he was presented with a composition about himself.

[3] A Gujarati evening daily of Bombay. The issue carried Polak's photo and a special article by him.

[4] Polak had written: "On Saturday afternoon, his birthday, I saw the G.O.M. It was a touching spectacle to see the little old warrior taking his rest, prior to the final plunge. He was sitting in an armchair, when we arrived, looking out to sea. He welcomed us simply, thanking me earnestly for my work. I blushed to think of his thanking me when *he* had done so much for which he had received no thanks. He asked me to thank you for sending him *Indian Opinion*, which he read regularly. He also desired me to tell you how much he admired your persistence and perseverance, and how right he thought you were. We did not remain long. He complained of mental and physical fatigue. He was 'simply living on'—it was all that there was left for him to do. He has, however, sent a letter to the Mass Meeting. When we left, the last we saw of him was sitting once more in his armchair, peacefully looking into the West again, gazing

I hope when Chhaganlal is with you, for his own sake you will use him mercilessly, and let him see and learn all there is to be seen and learnt. If the people do not realise thoroughly the spirit of passive resistance, I know that you will make at least the leaders see it. Dr. Mehta is most anxious that Mr. Gokhale should see the heart of it. I hope that Mr. Omar will travel with you wherever you go, but if Mr. Hajee Mohamed and others would travel also with you at their own expense, you should invite them to do so. Your mission will carry greater weight. Has anyone from there been sending detailed accounts in Gujarati for *Indian Opinion*? If this has not been done, please attend to it. We have to prepare for a prolonged struggle, and it is for that reason that I am going into these details. If you find a thoroughly earnest man or men who want to give themselves entirely to public work, but on the principle mentioned by Dr. Mehta, if they need to be supported, you will recollect we have already discussed that we could consider the proposition.

There is no news yet from Lord Crewe. I am doing my best to speed him on, but the work is necessarily slow. I have seen Mr. Meyer and Dr. Clifford. Mr. Meyer was very good and he says that, if the reply from Lord Crewe is not satisfactory, he would call together influential men and take the necessary steps.[1] I send you a draft syllabus[2] for the competitors for the prize. Dr. Mehta's name is not to be mentioned as the prize giver. Dr. Clifford will be one of [the] judges. I am to see the editor of *The British Weekly* and be guided by him in finally shaping the syllabus and discuss with him as to the best method of inviting competitors.

I am due to speak to the members of the Emerson Club on "Passive Resistance" on the 8th proximo and may speak at Hampstead Peace and Arbitration Society on the 13th or 14th proximo.[3] Both these meetings will deal with the struggle indirectly. It will be on the same lines as the Ger[miston] meeting.[4]

Please correspond with Dr. Mehta most regularly.

I think I told you last week that Dr. Mehta examined Millie. Dr. Mehta thinks that there is nothing wrong so far as the chest is concerned. From his diagnosis after talking with Millie, he did not consider it necessary even to use the stethoscope. He said that the stethoscope

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out to sea, as who should look for the soothing hand of Death. It was beautiful—but I felt humbled and subdued. As Mr. Gokhale says, when one goes to see Dadabhai, one performs a pilgrimage. 85! He may not last out another year. He is very frail."

[1] Rev. F. B. Meyer later arranged a meeting on November 12.

[2] This paper, setting down conditions for the essay on "Ethics of Passive Resistance", is not available.

[3] *Vide* "Speech at Emerson Club", p. 471 and "Speech at Hampstead", pp. 475-6.

[4] *Vide* "Speech at Germiston", pp. 243-4.

could tell him no more. He thought that it was a . . .[1] ing and probably some irritation in the throat . . .[2] belief I have held now for a long time, and I suggested earth bandages for the throat some time ago. I have made my suggestion and I think he will now have these applied to the throat. Anyhow there is not the slightest danger. Can you secure a special portrait of the G.O.M. for the *Indian Opinion*? If one is available, well and good, or I hope he will exert himself to give a special sitting for the portrait. You may also collect portraits with photographs of those leaders whom you may consider to be good and really patriotic. You do not mention having seen Professor Velinkar.

Mr. Ali Imam of the All-India Moslem League is at present here. I have had a brief conversation with him. He appealed to me as a very nice man; he is quite informal. He is the leader of the Bar in Patna and a broad-minded man. A dinner is being given today to him; I send you a copy of the notices that were issued. He will be leaving in a fortnight's time for India. He has come here to put his sons at Oxford and, being here, he has been naturally seeing Lord Morley and others specially in connection with the Mahomedan representation. Will you please watch the papers and, as soon as he comes, then place yourself in communication with him. He will be of very great assistance.

From the typewritten office copy : S. N. 5102

289. LETTER TO LEO TOLSTOY

LONDON,
October 1, 1909

SIR,

I take the liberty of inviting your attention to what has been going on in the Transvaal (South Africa) for nearly three years.

There is in that Colony a British Indian population of nearly 13,000. These Indians have, for several years, laboured under various legal disabilities. The prejudice against colour and in some respects against Asiatics is intense in that Colony. It is largely due, so far as Asiatics are concerned, to trade jealousy. The climax was reached three years ago, with a law[3] which I and many others considered to be degrading and calculated to unman those to whom it was applicable. I felt that submission to a law of this nature was inconsistent with the spirit of true religion. I and some of my friends were and still are firm believers in the doctrine of non-resistance to evil. I had the privilege of studying your writings also, which left a deep impression on my mind. British Indians, before whom the position was fully explained, accepted the

[1] & [2] Some words are missing here.

[3] The Transvaal Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance; *vide* Volumes V and VI.

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advice that we should not submit to the legislation, but that we should suffer imprisonment, or whatever other penalties the law may impose for its breach. The result has been that nearly one-half of the Indian population, that was unable to stand the heat of the struggle, to suffer the hardships of imprisonment, have withdrawn from the Transvaal rather than submit to [the] law which they have considered degrading. Of the other half, nearly 2,500 have for conscience's sake allowed themselves to be imprisoned, some as many as five times. The imprisonments have varied from four days to six months, in the majority of cases with hard labour. Many have been financially ruined. At present there are over a hundred passive resisters in the Transvaal gaols. Some of these have been very poor men, earning their livelihood from day to day. The result has been that their wives and children have had to be supported out of public contributions, also largely raised from passive resisters. This has put a severe strain upon British Indians, but, in my opinion, they have risen to the occasion. The struggle still continues and one does not know when the end will come. This, however, some of us at least have seen most clearly, that passive resistance will and can succeed where brute force must fail. We also notice that, in so far as the struggle has been prolonged, it has been due largely to our weakness and, hence, to a belief having been engendered in the mind of the Government that we would not be able to stand continued suffering.

Together with a friend, I have come here to see the Imperial authorities and to place before them the position, with a view to seeking redress. Passive resisters have recognised that they should have nothing to do with pleading with the Government, but the deputation has come at the instance of the weaker members of the community, and it therefore represents their weakness rather than their strength.

But, in the course of my observation here, I have felt that if a general competition for an essay on the Ethics and Efficacy of Passive Resistance were invited, it would popularise the movement and make people think. A friend has raised the question of morality in connexion with the proposed competition. He thinks that such an invitation would be inconsistent with the true spirit of passive resistance and that it would amount to buying opinion. May I ask you to favour me with your opinion on the subject of morality? And if you consider that there is nothing wrong in inviting contributions, I would ask you also to give me the names of those whom I should specially approach to write upon the subject.

There is one thing more with reference to which I would trespass upon your time. A copy of your letter addressed to a Hindu[1] on the present unrest in India has been placed in my hands by a friend. On

[1] This was in reply to a letter addressed to Tolstoy by the editors of an underground journal named *Free Hindustan*, issued from Vancouver. Its chief editor was Tarak Nath Das. Tolstoy's letter was published in *Indian Opinion*, 25-12-1909 and

the face of it, it appears to represent your views. It is the intention of my friend, at his own expense, to have 20,000 copies printed and distributed and to have it translated also. We have, however, not been able to secure the original, and we do not feel justified in printing it, unless we are sure of the accuracy of the copy and of the fact that it is your letter. I venture to enclose herewith a copy of the copy, and should esteem it a favour if you kindly let me know whether it is your letter, whether it is an accurate copy and whether you approve of its publication in the above manner. If you will add anything further to the letter, please do so. I would also venture to make a suggestion. In the concluding paragraph you seem to dissuade the reader from a belief in re-incarnation. I do not know whether (if it is not impertinent on my part to mention this) you have specially studied the question. Re-incarnation or transmigration is a cherished belief with millions in India, indeed, in China also. With many, one might almost say, it is a matter of experience, no longer a matter of academic acceptance. It explains reasonably the many mysteries of life. With some of the passive resisters who have gone through the gaols of the Transvaal, it has been their solace. My object in writing this is not to convince you of the truth of the doctrine, but to ask you if you will please remove the word "re-incarnation" from the other things you have dissuaded your reader from.[1] In the letter in question, you have quoted largely from *Krishna*[2] and given reference to passages. I should thank you to give me the title of the book from which the quotations have been made.

I have wearied you with this letter. I am aware that those who honour you and endeavour to follow you have no right to trespass upon your time, but it is rather their duty to refrain from giving you trouble, so far as possible. I have, however, who am an utter stranger to you, taken the liberty of addressing this communication in the interests of truth, and in order to have your advice on problems the solution of which you have made your life-work.[3]

With respects,

I remain, etc.,
M. K. GANDHI

[COUNT LEO TOLSTOY
YASNAYA POLYANA
RUSSIA]

Tolstoy and Gandhi

1-1-1910, with a preface by Gandhiji. A Gujarati translation by him was also published, first, in *Indian Opinion* and, later, in the form of a book.

[1] Tolstoy agreed to this.

[2] A booklet written in 1904 by a Bengali saint, Baba Premananda Bharati, then resident in California

[3] Tolstoy replied to this letter on October 7; *vide* Appendix XXVII.

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[After *October 1, 1909*]

Natal Deputation

There is no further information to give, for the present at least, about the activities of this deputation. There has been no reply so far to the latest letter to Lord Crewe. It is quite possible that there will be none. Mr. Ali Imam has promised to help. The deputation had asked for a permit for the entry of a Moulvi to serve in the mosque at Maritzburg. The Natal Government has sent a reply to the request, against which a strong protest has been addressed to Lord Crewe. The Natal Government has replied to Mr. Amod Bhayat that they will issue a permit for the Moulvi which will be renewable every three months, a fee of £1 being payable at every renewal. This means paying an annual tax of £4. The deputation, writing about this letter to Lord Crewe, has pointed out to him that the reply is an open insult and an offence to the community. How can the community possibly invite a Moulvi on such conditions? The matter has also been taken up by the Muslim League. Personally, I hope that the community will resort to satyagraha rather than submit to such wanton tyranny. First, a Moulvi must enter the Colony after giving due notice. If imprisonment follows, he must accept it. If deported, that, too, he must accept and then raise the banner in India. A satyagrahi must be afraid neither of imprisonment nor of deportation. He must neither mind even being reduced to poverty, nor be frightened, if it comes to that, of being mashed into pulp with a mortar and pestle. A satyagrahi will shine the brighter and grow the more courageous the more he is crushed. Then alone he deserves to be called a satyagrahi. The reply about the Moulvi is an attack on religion; so it appears to me at least. It only means that we are to be denied even religious facilities, so that we may ultimately leave the country in sheer desperation. If the Indians have any spirit in them, they will not leave the country and will follow their respective religious practices in every detail. We will not submit to any injustice that the Government may choose to inflict on us in its intoxication of power. Satyagraha is the only straightforward and simple method of fighting patent injustice, the one that will ensure the quickest redress.

Suffragettes

The suffragette movement has again come into prominence. I wrote earlier that some of the women had crossed the limit of propriety. They not only stoned the Prime Minister's car, but also attacked the guards.

They had armed themselves [for the purpose]. There is no doubt of the women's courage, but they have used their courage to a wrong end. They are, it seems, serving notice that, should they be denied the franchise, they will resort to stone-throwing, or will go even further and commit arson or murder. If everyone does the same, that will simply mean that, whenever any claim to a right, legitimate or otherwise, is denied, even a murder can be justified. This will be the undoing of nations. These ladies are no longer prepared to submit to any suffering. They went on a hunger-strike with the intention of securing their immediate release. The Government has now resorted to forcible feeding. Food is passed through a tube inserted into the stomach. If the women resort to physical force, they will necessarily invite similar force against them. That will mean, in the end, that England will no longer be a land worth living in. If these same ladies were to adhere to pure satyagraha, there would be no trouble of any kind. Maybe there will be some delay in their winning the franchise, but the whole social fabric will not be endangered through their activities. If they have been in the wrong, they are bound to suffer. As they have resorted to unruly methods, quite a few women have also turned against them. One of the latter has even gone to the length of saying that, if the franchise is to be won through murders and violence, she does not want it. The suffragettes argue that the present law-makers have grown to be an unscrupulous lot. If the women win power through violent means, that will give us no reason to believe that administration under them will register any very great improvement. I have already pointed out that their example should teach us to eschew violent methods. Another thing that we may learn from them is courage. The methods they have been resorting to these days are, of course, bad, but their determined spirit of resistance, the hardships they suffer, the funds they raise—all these things deserve to be emulated. Nothing ever disheartens them. They have pledged themselves not to rest till they have won the franchise. Faithful to that pledge, they sacrifice their property and their lives to gain their end. When the suffragettes have to put up such a fight against men of their own race in order to secure voting rights for themselves, why should it be surprising that Indian satyagrahis have to carry on a prolonged fight, suffering imprisonment, assaults and hunger?

Tolstoy's Satyagraha

Count Tolstoy is a Russian nobleman. He was once a very wealthy man. He is a man of about eighty now, with wide experience of the world. He is considered to be the best among the writers of the West. He may be looked upon as the greatest of satyagrahis.

Acting upon his views, thousands of men have gone to gaol and are still doing so. The Russian Government stands in fear of him. His

writings are very trenchant. He is fearless in advising the people not to obey the laws of the Russian Government, not to serve in the army, and so on. Though his writings are proscribed, a great many of them are, in fact, published. The Russian Government has therefore arrested his *shirastedar*[1] and sentenced him to imprisonment. Count Tolstoy's comments[2] on this action being noteworthy, I give their substance below:

> The Russian Government has arrested many persons before my *shirastedar*, but the drama had a greater effect on me for being enacted in front of my very eyes. Really speaking, it is I that should have been arrested, for they were but my writings which he circulated.
>
> When they carried off Gooseff I burst into tears,[3] but this was not out of pity for him and for his fate; there was no reason for me to feel sorry for him, for I knew that Gooseff trusted in his soul-force. No one who does that is ever affected by external circumstances; such a man knows wherein lies his true welfare. They were tears of joy which I shed, for I saw that Gooseff appeared to be pleased that he was arrested and went away with a smile on his face. The man whom they have carried off is a kind and upright person who would harm no one. This man was seized in the night, locked up in a typhus-infected prison, and would be banished to a spot where one can hardly live.
>
> The authorities are afraid of arresting me. They do not like my telling the people that it is not good to kill anyone. If I were to be locked up for five or seven years, that would stop me from writing or speaking. But others in Europe do not think, as they do, that I am an empty-headed man. Hence, instead of arresting me they arrest my men.
>
> But this high-handed action will have no effect. I consider that my views are true, and that it is my duty to propagate them. I am living on only for that purpose, and therefore, I shall continue to express them as long as I live. I shall now send out my writings through others as I used to do through Gooseff. There are many who are ready to take Gooseff's place. If they arrest everyone who comes to work with me, I shall myself send or give my writings to anyone who asks for them.
>
> I am not, however, writing this letter merely to speak for myself or for Gooseff. What about those who oppress, imprison or hang thousands of men ? They will suffer under the curses which the victims of oppression in their suffering call down upon them. Perhaps, some of those who perpetrate this oppression believe that

[1] Literally, an official of the rank of a head clerk

[2] This letter, published in the *Daily News*, was addressed to L. W. Ritch.

[3] This happened on August 18, 1909.

by their actions they are serving the common good. I pity such men. They ought to wake up. They are squandering their God-given wealth of spiritual powers. They never get to taste real happiness. To be sure, what happens to Gooseff and me is of little consequence in itself. But I take this opportunity to tell the tyrannical officers: "Bethink you of yourselves and of your life. Look into your souls and have pity on yourselves."

A man who can write this, who has such thoughts and can act up to them has mastered the world, has conquered suffering and achieved his life's end. True freedom is to be found—only in such a life. That is the kind of freedom we want to achieve in the Transvaal. If India were to achieve such freedom, that indeed would be *swarajya*.

Polak's Work

The work Mr. Polak has been doing in India will surely bear fruit one day. I can see from the letters which I receive from others that in Bombay they talk of nothing but our struggle. Mr. Polak has certainly captivated the hearts of the people of Bombay.

Petit's Munificence

Mr. Polak has received very good help in his effort from Mr. Jehangir Bomanjee Petit. Not only is he staying with Mr. Petit, but 20,000 copies of a pamphlet by him were printed by the latter at his own cost. Mr. Petit spent Rs. 1,000/- on this.

These efforts should inspire the satyagrahis to exert themselves with redoubled determination.

Madness

A journal named *Bande Mataram* has recently started coming out in Switzerland, publication in India or England being impossible. It contains open incitement to violence, as if that would make India free this very moment! Even if India could be free that way, what would it do with that freedom? But this time I do not wish to emphasize the question of violence. Some young Indians, carried away by "progressive ideas", pour inconsiderate abuse on those who have spent their lives in the service of India to this day, looking down upon them with contempt. Of course, they cannot by these means bring freedom to India. This *Bande Mataram* has attacked Mr. Gokhale and his fellow-workers. The author of the article refers to them as mean and cowardly. He thinks he is serving the motherland by making such attacks. Personally, I think that the author of such an article must be puerile. Let us consider a little. It is possibly true that Mr. Gokhale, Sir Pherozeshah Mehta and others are not prepared to go as far as the young men would like to do. Does that mean that what they have done so far is of no value ? Mr. Gokhale lived in poverty and for 18 years taught at the Fergusson College for no more than a subsistence

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wage. He is a man of such ability that he could have earned much more if he had wanted to. A large portion of what he gets at present as a member of the [Legislative] Council he spends on philanthropic activities. When Mr. Gokhale lived thus [in poverty], there were very few men with any spirit [of self-sacrifice] in them. Everyone will admit that Mr. Gokhale's self-sacrifice was great. Sir Pherozeshah has worked for 30 years in the Bombay Corporation. At that time, there were few men who would work as he did. Shall we denounce these men because, in their views, they would not go as far as we do? It is their work which enables us to go further today. I do not want to enquire whether they are following a wrong course now. I only point out that, even if they are, it does us no credit to denounce them but rather betrays our unworthiness and proves that we have yet to learn the first lessons of freedom. Freedom does not mean licence. I may be free to enjoy what is my own. But it appears that we want to rob others of what is theirs. I have thought it necessary to set down these thoughts because I know that issues of this journal must be finding their way into the hands of readers of *Indian Opinion*. In the present context, it makes little difference to me whether any reader is an extremist or a moderate. It is the duty of both the extremists and moderates to see that they do not pull down the work of those who have been called the pillars of India; they are welcome to build further on it. Otherwise, they will be cutting off the very branch on which they are sitting. Humility, earnestness, thoughtfulness in conduct—these are the foundations of *swarajya*. To speak out what comes into one's head or to do whatever one likes is mere delirium.

Dr. Mehta

Only recently he contributed to the satyagraha fund. He has now gone to Rangoon.

Azam Haffeji

I see it reported in *Indian Opinion* that Mr. Azam Haffeji has passed his examination. This is an error. Being short of money, Mr. Azam has not yet been able to secure admission to any school. How, then, could he have passed an examination?

Syed Ali Imam

A dinner was given on October 1 in honour of Mr. Syed Ali Imam, president of the Bihar [branch of the] All-India Muslim League. It must have been attended by about a hundred men. Dr. Abdool Majid was in the chair. The Reception Committee comprised both Hindus and Muslims. Mr. Verma and Mr. Jaffer were the secretaries. Among the gentlemen present were Sir Henry Cotton, Dr. Rutherford, Mr. Upton, Sir Muncherji Bhownaggree, Mr. Nawab Saheb Syed Hussain Bilgrami, Major Syed Hussain, Mr. Ritch, Mr. [J. H.] Polak,

Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal, Mr. Khaparde, Mr. Parikh, Mr. Chhotalal Parekh and others.

Mr. Ali Imam said in his speech that India could remain with England, not under it. Indians must have the same rights [as the British]. They must make a success of what Lord Morley had granted and then demand more. Hindus, Muslims and Parsis must learn to live as one nation. In Turkey, Muslims, Jews and Christians lived in amity, and that was why they commanded respect. In every part [of India] where Hindus were in a majority and the Muslims in a minority, the former should help the latter to gain special rights, and vice versa. If this were done, there would be no Hindu-Muslim problem. There were many reforms to be carried out in India. We must ensure the spread of education and respect for women's rights. We must not be backward where we have to act on our own. His prayer for good health was received by the gathering with applause.

He was followed by Sir Henry Cotton who said in a short speech that it was for the Indians to win their own rights.

Then Sir Muncherji Bhownaggree spoke. He appealed for good wishes for [the success of] the Transvaal and Natal deputations. Sir Muncherji pointed out in his speech that the problem in South Africa was a very serious one. It had brought two deputations which they ought to help. Our fellow-countrymen were passing through hard times in South Africa. This appeal was also received with great enthusiasm.

Mr. Gandhi then replied. He said that it was in South Africa that the Indian nation was being formed. A nation, he said, could come into being only when people made sacrifices for the sake of freedom. Moreover, the Hindu-Muslim problem just did not arise in South Africa. There it was almost as good as solved. Mr. Imam was quite right when he said that the minorities should have special rights. That was the only way to bring about Hindu-Muslim unity.

The Transvaal Indians, [he said], were fighting—not for self-interest—but for India's honour. It was for that that Parsee Rustomjee was undergoing imprisonment. Some Sikhs had also gone to gaol. People would thus continue to go to gaol so long as men like Mr. Ali Imam were not free to enter the Transvaal as of right, and they would win that right.

In Natal they want to ruin the traders, exact an annual tax of £3 from poor Indians and prevent the boys from being educated. It was the duty of every Indian to fight such tyranny. The Nawab Saheb was a member of the India Council. It was his duty to press for justice and, if he failed, to resign [his membership].

Indians of the younger generation should examine the meaning of this problem. If they did, there would be a solution in no time.

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Speaking next, Major Syed Hussain said that Hindus and Muslims should sit for dinner at the same table in India, just as they did in an English hotel.

Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal said in his speech that Hindus and Muslims could be and must be united. It was an excellent thing, [he said,] that Mr. Ali Imam was honoured by both Hindus and Muslims. Hindus would, of course, remain Hindus and Muslims Muslims, but they should be more proud of being Indians.

Speaking again, Mr. Ali Imam said that it was exactly because the South African problem was a very serious one that he had not referred to it in his speech. It was very much present in his mind and he would not forget it. He would, of course, do everything he could for the removal of Indians' disabilities.

Dr. Rutherford said that Mr. Gandhi's speech had inspired him with a new spirit. Indians were putting up a good fight in the Transvaal. Their example should be followed by everyone. He would, on his part, render every possible assistance.

Mr. Upton, a Member of Parliament, also spoke in a similar strain. He was followed by Mr. Parikh, and the gathering then dispersed. I need not say that the dinner was attended by members of both the deputations.

Another function in honour of Mr. Ali Imam is to be held at 4 [p.m.] on Tuesday. It will be on behalf of the All-India Muslim League. The gentleman is proceeding to Istanbul, and will return thence to India.

Gujarati Meeting

A conference is to be held in Kathiawar for the development of the Gujarati language. A meeting of Gujaratis is to be held on Tuesday,[1] under the chairmanship of Sir Muncherji Bhownaggree, to extend support to it. The meeting is being convened by Mr. Rustom Desai, Mr. Hussain Dawad Mahomed and Mr. Jethalal Parikh.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 30-10-1909

[1] *Vide* "Speech at Gujarati Meeting", pp. 457-60.

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291. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

LONDON,
October 3, 1909

CHI. NARANDAS,

Again there is no letter from you. I hope your collection is going on. I wish you to go to South Africa if Chi. Chhaganlal decides to go to England. I would want you to go only if you also think likewise. Your going will automatically do good to your soul. In that case the first thing necessary is your father's permission. I am writing to respected Khushalbhai.[1] He will give this letter to you only if he thinks of sending you; or he will tell you what he thinks while giving you the letter. Let your reply come here on the assumption that I am here. If your going is decided upon, permission will have to be obtained from Phœnix. If you go there to court imprisonment, no permission would be required; for, in that case, you will have to go to Johannesburg. There is no misery in gaol; rather, there is happiness if one thinks that way. More you may discuss with Chi. Chhaganlal. The Gandhi family has done good deeds as well as bad ones. However, we are known for our good conduct. If we can add to it, that will be our real service to the family. That is why I am always desirous of stealing away all the young men of character from our family.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C. W. 4898
Courtesy : Narandas Gandhi

292. LETTER TO KHUSHALCHAND GANDHI

LONDON,
October 3, 1909

RESPECTED KHUSHALBHAI,

Once Chi. Chhaganlal had asked for your permission to let Narandas also be sacrificed for Phœnix. It was, however, not granted at that time. I remember that I, too, had written in that regard. The thing is again being considered here.

There would be nothing wrong, if you spare Narandas; it will be to his good.

[1] *Vide* the following item.

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It is quite natural to want to have all your sons near you in your old age; nevertheless, it is also infatuation. If, by staying away from you, they can do spiritual good to themselves and if one of them stays with you, why can the others not stay away? It is pure selfishness to keep one's sons always by one's side. Our religion preaches selflessness at all times. Therefore, when an occasion arises for them to follow the path of selflessness, it is but proper, as I see it, to let them go. If you can persuade yourself to accept this view, I would request you to permit Chi. Narandas [to join Phœnix].

Of course, the first thing to be considered in this connection is whether or not Narandas himself is inclined to do so. My request holds good only if he is. I do not recall if Narandas is married or not. If he is not married and not even betrothed, he will be, in my opinion, able to do much better work. I have given deep thought to this matter; and I have lived and am living accordingly. I shall not go deeper into it here. I am only putting my ideas before you; for I think and take for granted that among all the brothers you are the one who understands me to some extent.

Chi. Chhaganlal will tell you more. Please do what you think proper after hearing him.

Respects from
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand : C. W. 4899
Courtesy : Narandas Gandhi

293. LETTER TO LORD AMPTHILL

[LONDON,]
October 5, 1909

MY LORD,

I beg to thank you for your letter of the 4th instant.[1] I hope that you enjoyed the short holiday you were able to give yourself. I purposely refrained from wearying you with any further information on the subject. I may now, however, state that Mr. Polak has been very active in India. The public meeting in Bombay was a very great success. Since then, meetings have been held at Surat, Ahmedabad and Kathore. The Indian Press has been discussing the question at much greater length than heretofore and certainly much more intelligently. It now recognises, as it did not do before, that the Transvaal Indians are suffering not for achieving a selfish purpose, but for removing national dishonour.

[1] Gandhiji had written to Lord Ampthill on September 21 and 22, but the letters are not available. The latter's reply, however, throws some light on their contents; *vide* Appendix XXVIII.

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I gratefully note your advice as to Lord Morley's letter, and the information you gave me as to the question[1] you have on the Notice Paper of the House of Lords.

I have just received a reply[2] from Lord Crewe, copy of which and draft reply thereto I enclose herewith—the latter for your approval or amendment. The reply comes close on what appeared in *The Times* yesterday from its Johannesburg correspondent. Mr. Smuts spoke to the Rand Pioneers, and the correspondent giving the purport of his speech says:

> Mr. Smuts did not touch on current politics, although various efforts were made to draw him on such questions as, the views of the Government on the subject of coalition, and the rumoured change in the position taken up towards the Asiatic passive resisters. The latter still remains a rumour.

Lord Crewe's letter, in my opinion, is both satisfactory and highly unsatisfactory—unsatisfactory, because Lord Crewe evidently fears Mr. Smuts unduly: satisfactory, because negot[iation]. . .[3]

I feel that Mr. Hajee Habib and I should not go away without undertaking some public activity. At first thought, this is what appears to be necessary. We should address, if it is possible, a meeting of the members of the House of Commons who would care to listen to us; we should invite assistance and co-operation from all part[ies;] we should place the position before representatives of various religious denominations; we should circulate the short statement which has been approved by you, with a covering letter bringing the situation up to date; interview those editors who would permit us to see them and address a general letter to the Press.[4] This would probably mean our staying at least to the end of the month. I am also again considering whether it may not be wise for us to pay, subject to consent from the European and the Indian committees in Johannesburg, a brief visit to India and then return *via* London to South Africa. The first step, however, I take it, would be to send a letter to Lord Crewe, which I would do as soon as I have the draft returned by Your Lordship. With reference to the rest—at your discretion we might have a discussion[5] if you could spare the time and are coming to the city, or, in the absence thereof, I would value Your Lordship's advice.

I remain, etc.,

[1] This was answered by Lord Crewe on November 16, when the House of Lords assembled for the winter session.

[2] This was dated October 4; *vide* the enclosure, p. 457.

[3] A line is missing here.

[4] This was released on November 5, 1909.

[5] Gandhiji and Lord Ampthill met the next afternoon.

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[ENCLOSURE]
DRAFT LETTER

[LONDON,]
October 5, 1909

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE
COLONIAL OFFICE, S. W.
SIR,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 4th instant, in connection with the British Indian question in the Transvaal. Mr. Hajee Habib and I are grateful to the Earl of Crewe for the efforts His Lordship has made and will still make in order to bring about a satisfactory settlement, but my colleague and I feel that it is time for us to inform public opinion before our departure, which we are desirous not to indefinitely prolong. I assume that the Earl of Crewe has no objection to our making public the net result of the negotiations, so far as they have progressed.[1]

I have, etc.,

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy : S.N. 5111-2

294. SPEECH AT GUJARATI MEETING[2]

[LONDON,
October 5, 1909]

These days a new idea is in the air in India. Hindus, Muslims, Parsis—all are filled with the spirit of "my country" and "our country". We shall not on this occasion go into the political aspects of the matter. Thinking of it from the point of view of language, it requires little effort to see that we must cultivate pride in our language before we can speak of "our country" with genuine feeling. Turning to recent examples, we find that one strong reason why the Boers enjoy *swarajya* today is that they and their children mostly use their own language. General Botha uses the Boer language even when talking to Lord Crewe. His

[1] Gandhiji substituted a second draft for this, *vide* enclosure to "Letter to Lord Ampthill", pp. 461-2. The communication finally sent, however, was different; *vide* "Letter to Under Secretary for Colonies", p. 468.

[2] Speaking at a meeting of Gujaratis held in London on October 5, to extend support to the third Gujarati Literary Conference which was to be held at Rajkot, Gandhiji moved the following resolution: "This meeting sends its congratulations to the third session of the Gujarati Literary Conference which is being held at Rajkot during the current month, and wishes it success." In *Indian Opinion* the report of the speech appeared under the heading "Some thoughts on Gujarati". For a report of the meeting, *vide* Appendix XXIX.

knowledge of English can be considered to be much superior to ours, but he uses the language of his motherland as a point of honour and also with the object of setting an example. We come across many other instances of the kind, but there is no need to cite them here.

Personally, therefore, I think it a welcome development that everyone in India, young or old, is beginning to turn his attention to his own language. We find a desire being expressed that the people of India should have one single language. That may, perhaps, happen in future. Everyone will admit that such a language must be an Indian language. But that stage is yet to come. As the basis of my pride as an Indian, I must have pride in myself as a Gujarati. Otherwise we shall be left without any moorings. The leaders in every province have no option but to learn the language of some other province. A Gujarati can learn Bengali, Marathi, Tamil, Hindi, etc., with great ease; there is nothing difficult in that. If only we make on Indian languages half the effort that we waste on English, thanks to certain notions of ours, the situation will change altogether. India's uplift is, to a very considerable extent, bound up with this. I had been under the sway of Macaulay's ideas on Indian education. Others, too, are. I have now been disillusioned. I wish that others should be. This is not the occasion, [however,] to dilate on this point. If this argument is correct, we may proceed to consider the case of Gujarati. One cannot help saying that the fact of Gujaratis using English among themselves is an indication of their degraded state. This practice has impoverished the mother tongue. We ourselves despise it and, as a result, lose our self-respect. When I think that I cannot express myself well in Gujarati but can do so in English, I tremble. What good can we expect a man to do to his country when he has grown indifferent to his own language ? We cannot even dream of the possibility of the great people of Gujarat ever forgetting their own language and adopting another. If that is so, it will not be an exaggeration to say that those who give up that language are traitors to the country, that is, to their own people. It will not be incorrect to say that a language reflects the image of the people. It is, therefore, a very good sign that Gujarati, Bengali, Urdu and Marathi conferences are beginning to be held.

This fact should give much food for thought to Indians abroad. They carry a heavy responsibility. They will be the leaders of the people. It will be a sin on their part if they themselves grow indifferent to their respective languages.

I have come across men highly educated in English, writing or saying that they know English better than Gujarati. This is a matter of shame for us. What they say is in fact not true. I have no hesitation in saying that those who make such a claim cannot really write or speak correct English. That is but natural. I admit that some thoughts can be

expressed with [greater] ease in English, but that, too, is a matter of shame for us. Generally speaking, however, it cannot be claimed that we are quite familiar with the idiom and grammar of the English language. On the other hand, the grammar and the idiom of Gujarati are generally familiar to every Indian as a matter of course. We shall never use in Gujarati the present tense in place of the past. But we shall come across errors in the use of tenses in English even in the writings of Indians who have been very well educated. Errors in the use of idioms are endless. It does happen that we [sometimes] do not pronounce Gujarati correctly, that we do not distinctly enunciate syllables with more than one sound. This is a fault easy to point out, but it cannot be said for that reason that we know less Gujarati.

I also hear it said that students who come [here] to learn English must have practice in English and, if so, they cannot bother themselves with Gujarati. This is a fallacious notion. If Gujaratis talk Gujarati among themselves, their proficiency in English will not suffer. It may possibly improve, for in that case they will hear only Englishmen's English and the ear will be so trained as to be able to detect unidiomatic English immediately. Moreover, Indian students in England are not so engrossed in their studies that they cannot spare time for reading Gujarati books. If any student aspires, at the end of his studies, to serve the motherland, to take part in public life, he must find some time for the mother tongue. If English is learnt at the cost of the mother tongue, the purpose of learning English, service of the motherland, will be lost. Such a result will only go to prove that there is no use in learning English. If an operation is likely to lead to the patient's death, everyone will admit that it had better not be undertaken.

Furthermore, Gujarati is not a language of little worth. No limits can be placed to the growth of a language that has been served by poets like Narasinh Mehta[1], Akha Bhagat[2] and Dayaram[3] and which they have found it possible to develop, a language spoken by followers of three great religions of the world—Hinduism, Islam and Zoroastrianism. The same thought can sometimes be expressed in Gujarati in three different ways. He whom the Parsis call *Khuda*, Muslims *Allah-Tala*, Hindus *Ishvar*, is referred to in English by a single word, God. The Gujarati which a Muslim writes, will reflect traces of Arabic and

[1] (1414-79); saint-poet of Gujarat; author of Gandhiji's favourite hymn: *Vaishnav jan to tene kahiye*

[2] Metaphysical poet of the 17th century, famed for his satire; vedantist and rationalist

[3] (1777-1853); Vaishnav poet; author of numerous lyrical compositions popular all over Gujarat

the Persian of Sheikh Saadi[1]; the Parsi's Gujarati will reveal the influence of Zoroaster's Zend and the Gujarati of a Hindu that of Sanskrit. Hindus and Muslims serve all the languages of India, but the Parsis, so to say, were sent by *Khuda* from Iran exclusively for the service of Gujarati. Their spirit of adventure can be of great benefit to the Gujarati language. Several Gujarati newspapers are owned by them. They should, therefore, exercise great care to ensure the progress of Gujarati. There is only one request to be made to them, "Please do not murder what has now become your mother tongue and which you can never give up." Parsi writers express excellent ideas in simple language, but they behave as though they were determined to spite the language in respect of pronunciation and spelling. This is a matter for regret. All the Gujaratis should think about this. On deep reflection, one will be forced to admit that all the three—Hindus, Muslims and Parsis, go their different ways. They seem to be concerned only with their own interests. Muslims have not shown much interest in education so far, and have not, therefore, left their impress on Gujarati; but now they are taking to education. Hindus and Parsis must make a big effort to see that they do. If they become educated, Gujarati may receive a powerful impetus from them.

To the Conference at Rajkot I make this humble request, that its leaders should appoint a standing committee of Hindus, Muslims and Parsis proficient in the language and charge the committee with the duty of watching the trends in the Gujarati writings of all the three communities and of offering advice to the writers. It should also be possible for writers with ideas to have their writings corrected through this committee free of cost.

To the Indians in England I say that—while here, we must not show indifference to this language which is our heritage, but cultivate greater love for it, taking a lesson from the British. If they make it a point to use their own ancestral language in writing or speaking to one another, that will ensure its quicker development. India will make progress, in consequence, and they will be deemed to have discharged their duty. With a little exercise of thought they will find this effort very easy.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 20-11-1909

[1] (*c.* 1184-1292); Persian poet

CWMG - IX

295. LETTER TO LORD AMPTHILL

[LONDON,]
October 6, 1909

MY LORD,

I enclose herewith the draft letter to Sir Francis Hopwood. As nothing can be lost by sending a letter as per draft, it is not of much moment whether that letter or the letter as per draft[1] sent yesterday, is forwarded. But the more I think [of] the matter, the more I feel that we will not get any further satisfaction at the present moment, and that the ambiguity is deliberate and diplomatic, and, therefore, it does not admit of being cleared up. To me, who am so inexperienced in high politics and diplomacy, the draft enclosed in yesterday's letter to Your Lordship, appeals as the more correct letter to be sent, after an addition to it sketching roughly the plan of campaign to be followed here and the intended visit to India. However, I am entirely in Your Lordship's hands, and would be guided by the advice you will kindly give.[2]

I remain, etc.,

[ENCLOSURE]

DRAFT LETTER

[LONDON,]
October 6, 1909

SIR FRANCIS J. G. HOPWOOD
COLONIAL OFFICE, S. W.

SIR,

With reference to the letter addressed to me over your signature, dated the 4th October, No. 31649—I venture to address you informally, [in ord]er to save time and in order to ascertain, if I may, the [exac]t meaning of the communication. As you are fully aware of the negotiations that have proceeded in connection with the British Indian

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Lord Ampthill", p. 457.

[2] Acknowledging Gandhiji's letters of October 5 and 6, Lord Ampthill wrote on October 7: "...I note that on further reflection you are not inclined to adopt the more elaborate procedure which I then suggested. I dare say that your instinct is quite right and there is, of course, ample reason for thinking that in present circumstances Lord Crewe will not be able, even if he were inclined, to pay much attention to your business. In these circumstances I should be very sorry to interfere with your discretion and I agree with you that you cannot go wrong if you write as you first intended, with the addition of a brief explanation of the methods by which you propose to inform the public."

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question in the Transvaal, I take the liberty of asking for my colleague, Mr. Hajee Habib, and myself an informal interview.

The difficulty that faces us is this. The letter referred to by me says:

> The Colonial Government must first decide. . . whether they are prepared to introduce legislation on the lines proposed by Mr. Smuts.

As reference is made to my attitude at the interview with the Earl of Crewe, I do not know whether the legislation proposed by Mr. Smuts is on the basis suggested by me at the interview, or whether it is on the basis proposed by Mr. Smuts before he embarked for South Africa. As you are aware, there is a fundamental difference between the Indian proposal submitted by me, and what Mr. Smuts was prepared to give. It will be admitted it is of the greatest importance to my colleague and myself to know the exact position taken up by Mr. Smuts after His Lordship's cable, which evidently was sent after the interview in question.

I remain, etc.,

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy : S. N. 5114-5

296. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

[LONDON,]
October 6, 1909

MY DEAR HENRY,

I have your letter from Kathore. Can you not dismiss me from your conversations, at least with me ? I think, for the sake of the cause, too, you should leave me out of consideration except where you may find it necessary to bring me in. I know you will retort that you never unnecessarily discuss me, but that is really not so. Your enthusiasm at times, as you will admit, does carry you away. You will find that, if you persist there will be a reaction, not against me, which would be quite bearable, but against the cause, which you at any rate will not like. I had to speak somewhat like this to Mr. Gokhale also, when I was with him in Calcutta[1] and when he heaped upon me praise that I thought was excessive. Indeed, I spoke to him somewhat bitterly.

I am glad that the life over there does not appear to you to be strange. I never expected it would. You had already sufficiently pictured it in your imagination.

[1] Gandhiji had stayed with Gokhale for about a month, after the Indian National Congress session, in 1901. *Vide An Autobiography*, Part III, Chs. XVII to XIX.

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The cuttings received this week are very meagre. Whoever is responsible has not done his duty. I have not even the *Times of India* report nor the *Bombay Gazette*. I never received a report of the ladies' meeting you addressed,[1] nor the verses composed in your honour. I want badly to see the original.

I am dictating this letter after the receipt of Lord Crewe's reply, of which by and by. And yet I wish to say that our friends over there, who are so despondent in spite of enthusiastic meetings, have evidently either little faith in the righteousness of our cause, or in the right prevailing in the end, and by the end I do not mean the dim and distant future, but within a measurable time, the measure being the measure of effort put forth. Can you not make them see that the real success lies in the effort itself, which in our case is passive resistance, that we are giving ourselves the finest type of education, better than any university education, that the more prolonged the struggle is, the better will the people be when the end comes, and the better prepared for deserving and procuring further reforms? If the meetings are held there by the leaders without faith in the cause, or in their efficacy, they will inevitably fall flat. They may appear to be enthusiastic, but the undercurrent, which the leaders themselves will have seen, will not be missed by the Government either. Can you not make them see that, although we have no real freedom in India, that is no reason why the Transvaal Indians—if they are worthy of their salt—should not be able to make good their position and why they should not receive from Indians in India that support to which they are entitled? Will they not see that the effort in the Transvaal and the corresponding activity in India must in their very nature bring India nearer her goal, and that, by means of the purest type? Without being impertinent, can we not show to them that no part of the struggle has been idealised in India as the Transvaal one has? Every reform that the Congress has been asking for is intended to bring forth some tangible and worldly good, but not purely and simply that form of good which simply adds to the national manhood, without any visible signs. If a handful of the Transvaal Indians are determined to sacrifice themselves for the honour of India, why will not India rise to the occasion and place this thing in the forefront of its programme? Leaders of India can and ought to place the question boldly either in India or the Colonies. The latter cannot with impunity hurl insult at India and yet pretend to own the Union Jack. We know that the theoretical equality of a very limited type that we are fighting for is of no immediate good. That, to you and to me, is all the greater

[1] On September 15, Polak spoke at a meeting of women in Bombay on "Condition and Status of Indian Women in South Africa".

reason for putting forth the best that is in us. Will the leaders over there not see it? Will they not see that, in fighting the battle, we are presenting the Indian Motherland with a disciplined army of the future; an army that will be able to give a good account of itself against any amount of brute force that may be matched against it? Let the leaders there write to us through the Chairman of the British Indian Association, asking us to go on with the fight and giving us their blessing.

I am speaking on Friday to the Emerson Club on the "Ethics of Passive Resistance",[1] and on Wednesday the 13th to the Peace and Arbitration Society, Hampstead, on "East and West".[2]

You will have received Nagappen's photograph. I wish you could get the papers there to reproduce it. Will you please write to the *Indian Review* and other papers in Madras, to take it up. I think I told you that I suggested to our people in Johannesburg to found a Nagappen Scholarship. If there is anybody in Bombay or in Madras who would do so, it would be very striking. Let them realise that a youth of 20, of unblemished character, has died for the sake of his country.

Mr. Doke's book will probably be in my hands next week. Mr. Cooper[3] promised a few copies even on Saturday.

On Friday came off the function in honour of Mr. Ali Imam. Quite unexpectedly, a toast was drunk for the South African deputations. Sir Mancherjee had charge of it and he spoke grandly. There is no denying the fact that he realises the full significance of the struggle. In replying,[4] I gently took Mr. Ali Imam to task for not having referred to the South African question in his speech, and appealed to the Indian members of the Council that they should demand redress, and if the Indian Council refused to move, they should give up their posts. The Mohammedan member of the Council was present at the function. Mr. Ali Imam thereupon got up and explained why he had not referred to the South African question, saying that it was too vast to be dealt with among many other subjects, but that he had the question at heart and that he would do all he could in India. There was an at-home to him yesterday. I was unable to go as I had to be at a Gujarati Literature Encouragement meeting, but he told Maud that, if you were anywhere near Calcutta, he would ask you to be his guest. Mr. Ali Imam, let me tell you, is a very genial man, and whenever you are on that side, if he makes the offer to you, you should stay with him. You will be on the look-out for him; he will be leaving for India this month.

[1] *Vide* " Speech at Emerson Club", p. 471

[2] *Vide* " Speech at Hampstead", pp. 475-6.

[3] Nasarwanji M. Cooper, editor of the *Indian Chronicle*, London, published Doke's biography of Gandhiji.

[4] *Vide* "London", p. 452.

Mr. Kaikobad Cowasjee Dinshaw and Mrs. Dinshaw left last Saturday. They will be in Bombay by the same mail that will take this letter. Mr. Petit knows him. You may meet his people at Zanzibar. Mrs. Dinshaw has given me a letter[1] addressed to the Editor of *Indian Opinion* in Gujarati, sympathising with us and encouraging the women who are suffering. Did I also tell you that Mr. Ramsay MacDonald[2] should be there by this time? Miss Winterbottom speaks highly of him as a very earnest man. He was a member of one of the Ethical Societies. I dare say you will make it a point to see him.

If you have not written short notes to Parsee Rustomjee, Randeri, Sorabjee, Vyas, Nanalal, Cama, Daud Mohamed, Ravikrishna, Medh,...[3], Harilal, Chettiar and others, please do.

Continued 7-10-1909

From the copies of various letters and draft letters you will see how the position stands. By the time this is in your hands, you will have received a cablegram[4] also from me. Lord Crewe's reply is as I have described it in my letter to Lord Ampthill.[5] One thing is now certain and that is that the struggle is prolonged. I am looking forward to it. My only regret is that, instead of being in the Transvaal, I am here. There was a meeting of the Committee yesterday, principally to meet the Natal delegates, but the Transvaal question must crop up wherever there is a discussion on South Africa. Lord Ampthill happened to be there; he had not seen my letter. I sketched the programme to him and he approved of it entirely so that there will be a distribution of the statement, probably a meeting of the members of the House of Commons, and such other things. This will take fully three weeks. Before the work is taken up, I have to wait for Lord Ampthill's approval of one draft letter or the other, then to forward it and then wait for a reply. This may mean a loss of one precious week. The greatest question is, however, the proposed Indian visit. In reality I should not go to India at all. My place is in the Transvaal, but the reasoning that enabled me to come here is the reasoning that is applicable to the visit to India. I feel sure, however, that I must not come to India, if at all, without Mr. Hajee Habib. He realises the importance of the Indian visit, but he has some important business of his own in the Transvaal. He assures me that he sees the inwardness of the struggle, and he wants to take part in it fully in the Transvaal also. If, then, he must return to South Africa, I too must do

[1] This was published in the issue dated 23-10-1909.

[2] (1866-1937); a leading member of the Labour Party; Prime Minister of England, 1924, 1929-35

[3] Here the original is damaged and the name indecipherable.

[4] This is not available.

[5] *Vide* "Letter to Lord Ampthill", p. 461.

likewise. The odds, therefore, are that there will be no visit to India. Lord Ampthill himself (this is quite confidential) seems to lay great stress upon the proposed visit to India. Sir Muncherjee, who was present at the Committee meeting yesterday, saw the report of the Bombay meeting as published in *Sanj Vartman*. He was grieved that there was no "anna" subscription. He thinks that there should be some workers who will make it their business to collect an anna subscription or a pice subscription,[1] and that the papers there should give the widest publicity to these collections. It is undoubtedly a fine method of education, but for that we want an army of workers. If you can get them, it is worth doing. The workers may be those who have South African experience. They need not be very many. If you can get about five in each centre, it is quite enough. Sir Muncherjee also thinks that the stopping of recruiting[2] should take place unofficially also; that we should have speakers going to the places where recruiting agents are sent, and these men should tell the would-be emigrants that they should not indenture for Natal. This work you can only discuss in Calcutta and Madras. At both these places, I trust, you will make it a point to see the Immigration Depots, meet even the officials, and study the system and come in touch, if possible, with the recruiting agents. So you see that your work there is becoming more and more important, and that the centre of gravitation is shifting to India. No effective work can be or is to be done here without the fire of passive resistance being kept alive in the Transvaal, and there being a tangible response to it in India. If Chhaganlal is prepared to come, it may be advisable—after he has travelled with you a bit—for him to come over here even before March and brave the cold weather. As a matter of fact, Indians do not feel the severity of their first winter in England, and so it may be with Chhaganlal. With Ritch withdrawn—as I hope he will be—from here, Chhaganlal will be able to do some useful work. Lord Ampthill will need somebody who can give him information on points, as they may arise from time to time.

Will you please send important cuttings, both Gujarati and English, to Dr. Mehta also?

I have told you that Mr. Badat, of the Natal deputation, left some time ago. Mr. Bayat, seeing that really there is nothing to be done here, is leaving next Saturday, that is the same day as this letter. Mr. Anglia, I understand, is staying as long as we do.

[1] Gandhiji had suggested a pice fund; *vide* "Cable to H. S. L. Polak" p. 367. The pice subscription, known as "paisa-fund", originally sponsored by Lokamanya Tilak, had by this time become almost an institution in the Bombay province. The fund was used for the promotion of *swadeshi*.

[2] Of indentured labourers for Natal

I send you copy of letter I have received this morning from Lord Ampthill. The first draft letter[1] will therefore be sent to the Earl of Crewe.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy : S. N. 5113 and 5152 a

297. DEPUTATION NOTES [–XIV]

[Before *October 8, 1909*]

I hope my giving indefinite news every week will not dishearten any Indian.

"There's no help like self-help." One must learn this saying by heart. I am sure of one thing at least, that the continued delay must be blamed entirely on us. No one must believe that the Government will not notice our weakness. We, of course, know our strong points. But one feels as though we were trying to conceal our weakness. We should give no cause for such a feeling. We have now grown used to imprisonment.

I was, personally, very happy to read that Mr. Nanalal Shah was deported once again and, immediately thereafter, re-arrested. I congratulate him. We must understand once for all that it is far better to die in prison than to be happy outside.

I have an invitation from the Union of Ethical Societies to speak at the Emerson Club.[2] It will not be a political speech. The subject is limited to "The Meaning of Satyagraha". But it will make a reference to our struggle. There is also a proposal for another speech of the same kind.[3]

I went to see Mr. Meyer, taking advantage of my meeting with him in Johannesburg. He has also agreed to help, should there be an unfavourable reply from Lord Crewe. A similar assurance has been given by Dr. Clifford, a prominent clergyman here, who is an acquaintance of Mr. Doke's.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 30-10-1909

[1] *Vide* enclosure to "Letter to Lord Ampthill", p. 457.

[2] This was on October 8; *vide* "Speech at Emerson Club", p. 471.

[3] *Vide* "Speech at Hampstead", pp. 475-6.

298. LETTER TO UNDER SECRETARY FOR COLONIES

[LONDON,]
October 8, 1909

SIR,

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 4th instant, in connection with the British Indian question in the Transvaal. The last portion of the letter is not quite clear to my colleague and myself. The difficulty that faces us is this. The letter under reply says:

> The Colonial Government must first decide ... whether they are prepared to introduce legislation on the lines proposed by Mr. Smuts.

I do not know whether the legislation proposed by Mr. Smuts is on the basis suggested by me at the interview of the 16th ultimo, or whether it is on the basis proposed by Mr. Smuts before he embarked for South Africa. There is a fundamental difference between the proposal submitted by me and what Mr. Smuts was prepared to give. It will be admitted it is of the greatest importance to my colleague and me to know the exact position taken up by Mr. Smuts after His Lordship's cable, which evidently was sent after the interview in question.

We recognise that the negotiations will now take some time before the final result is known. We are, however, desirous not to indefinitely prolong our stay in this country. My colleague and I, therefore, feel that it is time for us to inform public opinion before our departure. In wanting to do so, we have no desire to embarrass the Earl of Crewe. Indeed, we are grateful to His Lordship for the efforts he has made, and will still make, in order to bring about a satisfactory settlement. In taking up public activity we only wish to strengthen His Lordship's hands, and to be able to render a satisfactory account of our mission to our countrymen in South Africa. We propose to interview those leaders of public opinion who are likely to be interested in our troubles; if possible to address meetings of representative men; to circulate a short statement in the Press, etc., and, if we receive advice from the European and the Indian Committees at Johannesburg, and if time permits, to pay a visit to India, and to give to the Indian public an account of our mission here.

I assume that the Earl of Crewe has no objection to our making public the net result of the negotiations, so far as they have progressed.

May I request an early reply?

I remain, etc.,
M. K. GANDHI

Colonial Office Records : 291/142; also, from a photostat of the typewritten office copy : S. N. 5119

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299. LETTER TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO LORD MORLEY

[LONDON,
October 8, 1909]

SIR,

I beg to enclose herewith a copy of the last letter from the Earl of Crewe and the reply[1] thereto, in connection with the Transvaal British Indian question, for Lord Morley's information.

I remain, etc.,

From the typewritten office copy : S. N. 5118

300. LETTER TO LORD AMPTHILL

[LONDON,]
October 8, 1909

MY LORD,

I am obliged to Your Lordship for your letter[2]. As you have thrown the sole responsibility on my shoulders, I have adopted the middle course and combined the two letters into one. I enclose herewith copy of the letter as it has gone forward.[3] I trust it will meet with Your Lordship's approval.[4] In the meantime, the order is being sent to the printers to strike off 2,000 copies of the statement[5].

I remain, etc.,

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy : S. N. 5120

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

[2] This was dated October 7.

[3] *Vide* "Letter to Under Secretary for Colonies", p. 468.

[4] Lord Ampthill, in his reply of October 9, denied that he had thrown " the whole responsibility " on Gandhiji's shoulders for his course of action. He considered that the letter sent to the Colonial Office could not be easily improved upon. "It seems to me to be admirably expressed and it includes everything so that I shall be greatly disappointed if you do not receive a satisfactory reply. "

[5] *Vide* "Statement of Transvaal Indian Case", pp. 288-301.

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301. LETTER TO "GUJARATI PUNCH"

[LONDON,]
October 8, 1909

TO
THE EDITOR
GUJARATI PUNCH
[BOMBAY]

SIR,

You have requested me to write something for the Special Diwali Number.

My life is taken up at present by one single thing—the life-and-death struggle for the fulfilment of the pledge taken by the Indians living in the Transvaal in South Africa. The pledge was taken by thousands of poor Indians—Hindus, Muslims, Parsis, Punjabis, Bengalis, Madrasis, Gujaratis and others—to uphold India's honour. A tiny country like the Transvaal refuses entry even to a person like the Dada[1] of India, a country as vast as the ocean. The few Indians here, illiterate traders, hawkers and labourers, cannot, will not, bear this insult. To obliterate it, to uphold their religion, be it Hinduism or Islam or Zoroastrianism (for every religion teaches us that failure to honour a pledge taken is a violation of one's religion), 2,580 persons out of a total Indian population of 13,000 in the Transvaal have already suffered imprisonment. Even now many of them are in gaol, and many will go to gaol in future. I must say that the gaol here is a terrible place. We do not get there the food that we are used to, and are classified with the Kaffirs. Many strong-minded Indian women, the so-called weaker sex, bear separation from their husbands in order that the latter may carry on the fight. Some of them, along with their children, go starving. Many of those who suffer thus are Gujaratis, for Hindus and Muslims from Gujarat are in a majority [among the Indians] in this land.

If this letter is published, the readers of the *Gujarati Punch* must ask themselves on this festival of Diwali what they propose to do for the Transvaal Indians. There will be a Diwali, or *Id*, or Pateti for them only when they return from the battle-field[2] victorious.

Yours etc.,
MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI

[From Gujarati]

Egypt-no Uddharak athawa Mustafa Kamel Pasha-nu Jivan Charitra tatha Bija Lekho

[1] Dadabhai Naoroji

[2] The original has a word meaning "army" which appears to be a misprint for another meaning "battle-field".

CWMG-IX

302. SPEECH AT EMERSON CLUB[1]

[LONDON,
October 8, 1909]

War with all its glorification of brute force is essentially a degrading thing. It demoralizes those who are trained for it. It brutalizes men of naturally gentle character. It outrages every beautiful canon of morality. Its path of glory is foul with the passions of lust, and red with the blood of murder. This is not the pathway to our goal. The grandest aid to development of strong, pure, beautiful character which is our aim, is the endurance of suffering. Self-restraint, unselfishness, patience, gentleness, these are the flowers which spring beneath the feet of those who accept, but refuse to impose, suffering, and the grim prisons of Johannesburg, Pretoria, Heidelberg and Volksrust are like the four gateways to this garden of God.

Indian Opinion, 12-2-1910

303. DEPUTATION NOTES [–XV]

[After *October 8, 1909*]

This time I am in a position to give some more news, but I am afraid it is not very cheering. Lord Crewe has written to say that he has no further information to give "for the present", and that something will be known after General Smuts has had a discussion with the other members of his Cabinet. There is no information as to what General Smuts will propose to the Cabinet. If the proposal follows Lord Crewe's cable, that will mean our demand. If he proposes what is in his mind, that will mean the repeal of the Act and admission of a limited number of educated men as a matter of favour but on a permanent basis. If it is this latter proposal which he is thinking of presenting for consideration, we can be sure it will lead to nothing. It will be all right if he presents our demand. But this letter has a deeper significance which must be grasped by every Indian. It is this, that General Smuts wants to gain time by putting forward this excuse, so that in the interval he

[1] This is an extract from a report of Gandhiji's speech on the "Ethics of Passive Resistance" delivered at the Club. It was reproduced in *Indian Opinion* from the *Indian Review*, November 1909. In a dispatch from its London correspondent, the *Amrit Bazar Patrika*, Calcutta, reported that the meeting was held on the premises of the Reform Club to accommodate the large audience.

can break the spirit of the satyagrahis. He would like to concede our demand only if his efforts failed. The satyagrahis should understand this underlying motive of his and keep up the highest spirit. They cannot afford to keep silent or to show any weakness.

This reply of Lord Crewe's proves that it is not in England that we shall find the means for the solution [of our problems]; we have it in our own hands. If we have failed to gain our demands so far, it is because we have not employed that means, our soul-force, in full measure.

It is not enough that people have gone to gaol. I have often said that we should have no mental reservations. We should place no limit on our self-sacrifice. Rather, we must be prepared to bear every hardship that we may encounter. If we do not, we shall lose the fight. One should not feel as though going to gaol once, or maybe ten times, was all that one could do. We ought to be ready to welcome any suffering, whether imprisonment or death. I hope, therefore, that all the satyagrahis will remain perfectly steadfast and fill the gaols. Every Indian must remember that all over India they are singing praises of the epic struggle in the Transvaal. Polak has been rousing India with his speeches. The newspapers are full of our struggle. I hope that Indians will bear in mind all this and not retreat even an inch—nor show weakness. In England, too, they say the same thing, that the Transvaal Indians have put up a most wonderful show, that they are men who will not accept defeat. Let it be remembered that they are fighting the battle for the whole of South Africa.

Lord Crewe's letter referred to above shows that the deputation can no longer continue to work merely in private. It is necessary now to come out in the open. We have, accordingly, requested Lord Crewe's permission to place the entire matter before the public.[1] That will be done when the permission is received. Thereafter, we shall place the facts before the members of the House of Commons, if they agree to give us a hearing. We shall have the matter discussed in newspapers and also hold such meetings as may be possible.

A very important question facing us is whether or not we should both pay a flying visit to India. On this point, our advisers are of the view that it will be the right thing to do. There are reasons to believe that it will be profitable to pay such a visit.

My own view is that it is in the Transvaal that our main work lies, and even there—in its gaols. There is but one consideration against this. Our coming here this time was an admission of weakness; [we came] in the hope that an early solution could be found. The very reasons which brought us here will justify our going to India. However,

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Under Secretary for Colonies", p. 468.

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there are many other considerations. A visit to India will delay our return to South Africa. As I said above, the work in India will take up much time. We can leave for India after October 30. We shall need about a month there, and another for the journey. By that time, it will be December, and we can return from here at the end of that month. If there is no solution, even after all this, we shall be where we were. The simplest course, instead, appears to be to drop the idea of a visit to India. However, it is necessary that the suggestion which has been discussed here should be placed before everyone. Besides, this extension will involve some expenditure. Personally, I cannot express any definite view. If I am asked to state my own view simply as a satyagrahi, I would say that we should immediately return to the Transvaal.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 6-11-1909

304. LONDON

[After *October 8, 1909*]

Natal Deputation

A special meeting of the [South Africa British Indian] Committee was called to meet the Natal deputation. It took place on Wednesday last and was attended by Lord Ampthill, Sir Raymond West, Mr. Thornton, Sir Muncherji Bhownaggree, Mr. Polak and Mr. Ritch. Mr. Anglia acquainted Sir Raymond with the whole position. Lord Ampthill asked for all the documents. He will go through them himself. After reading Lord Crewe's reply, he felt that there was nothing more to be done.

Mr. Anglia has placed all the facts before the editor of the *Daily Telegraph*, London[1]. Lord Crewe has replied that the matter is receiving the attention of both Lord Morley and himself. Even the fact that he has replied to say that he is thinking about the Natal problem shows that he has been influenced by [events in] the Transvaal. He is afraid lest Natal, too, should resort to satyagraha.

Mr. Amod Bhayat is returning by the same ship which will carry this letter. He thinks no more remains to be done here. Mr. Anglia, it appears, will be here as long as the Transvaal deputation remains. Probably Mr. Abdul Caadir will do the same.

"Ethics of Passive Resistance"

Mr. Gandhi gave a lecture under this title on Friday evening to members of the Union of Ethical Societies at Emerson Club.[2] Miss

[1] The original has "Lucknow", an obvious misprint.
[2] *Vide* " Speech at Emerson Club", p. 471.

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Winterbottom took the chair on the occasion. Many Indians were present. They included Sir Muncherji, Mr. Pal, Mr. Parikh and others. Miss Joshi and Mrs. Dube had also turned up. The burden of Mr. Gandhi's speech was that soul force is far superior to brute force, and that it is invincible. Afterwards, a number of questions were answered. The Transvaal problem was raised and everyone was moved by the tale of our sufferings. There was a speech by Mr. Pal, in which he argued that soul force should be backed by physical force. Mr. Gandhi replied that, in that case it would not deserve the name of soul force. There were speeches by Mrs. Tedman and Mrs. Polak. Mr. Ritch also spoke.

Suffragette Function

On the 7th there was a very big gathering of suffragettes in a large hall called Albert Hall. It was attended by hundreds of women. There were speeches by Mrs. Pankhurst and others. Enthusiasm ran so high that a sum of about £3,000 in cash was received on the spot in aid of the struggle. About four of them paid £250 each. In all, the women have collected £51,000 by now. Their journal has a weekly circulation of about 50,000. They appeared determined to fight till death. Leaving aside their use of physical force, they deserve to be emulated for their spirit, their enthusiasm and their intelligence. Their organisation is unrivalled by men. They have, it may be said, a huge army of volunteers. There is no limit to their resourcefulness. They go through extreme suffering. Many a woman has allowed herself to be reduced to poverty for the sake of franchise. Many have given up their jobs. This is no ordinary fight. It will be enough if the Indians follow their example. Only, we should avoid imitating them in their use of physical force. We may be sure that no good will come out of it.

My Hope

Mr. Amod Bhayat is returning with a full knowledge of all this. He has been convinced that the Transvaal campaign has been of benefit to Natal as well. He has also been able to see that even the people here get no justice by making petitions. Everyone knows that a petition carries no weight. I hope, therefore, that after returning there, Mr. Amod Bhayat will take to satyagraha. In any case, he has promised to help the satyagraha campaign in the Transvaal.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 6-11-1909

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305. LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI[1]

[LONDON,][2]
October 12, 1909

CHI. MANILAL,

The service you are rendering to Mr. West and others is the best study for you. He who does his duty is all the while studying. You say that you had to leave your studies; but it is not so. You are certainly studying when you are serving. It would be correct to say that you had to give up reading books. There is no harm in thus leaving studies. One can get academic education later on, one cannot say that one will get an opportunity of serving others later on. . . .[3] Let this be inscribed in your heart that, since your mind is pure, you will not fall ill while serving others. And even if you fall ill, I will not worry. You and I, all of us, will achieve perfection only by being moulded in this manner. Learning to live a good life is in itself education. All else is useless.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

[From Gujarati]
Gandhiji-na Patro

306. SPEECH AT HAMPSTEAD[4]

[LONDON,
October 13, 1909]

Mr. Gandhi said that the question of East and West presented a vast and complex problem. He had had 18 years' experience of contact between East and West and had endeavoured to study the question, and he felt that he might give an audience such as the present one the results of his observations. As he thought of the subject, his heart sank within him. He would have to say many things which would seem repugnant to his audience, and use hard words. He would also have to speak against a system under

[1] The first part of the letter seems to have been omitted in *Gandhiji-na Patro*, the Gujarati collection from which it has been taken.

[2] The place of writing given in the source is "Johannesburg" which is evidently wrong as Gandhiji was, at the time, in England.

[3] Some words have been omitted here.

[4] Gandhiji spoke on "East and West" at a meeting held under the auspices of the Hampstead Peace and Arbitration Society at the Friends' Meeting House. C. E. Maurice presided.

which he had been brought up. He hoped they would bear with him if he hurt their feelings. He would have to break many idols which he and his countrymen had worshipped, and which his audience may have worshipped. He then referred to the lines in Kipling's poem, that " East is East and West is West and never the twain shall meet ", and said he considered that doctrine to be a doctrine of despair, and inconsistent with the evolution of humanity. He felt it utterly impossible to accept a doctrine of that nature. Another English poet, Tennyson, had in his " Vision " clearly foretold the union between East and West and it was because he (the lecturer) believed in that vision that he had cast in his lot with the people of South Africa, who were living there in very great difficulties. It was because he thought it possible for the two peoples to live together in perfect equality that he found himself in South Africa. If he had believed in Kipling's doctrine, he would never have lived there. There had been individual instances of English and Indian people living together under the same rule without a jarring note, and what was true of individuals could be made true of nations. To a certain extent it was true that there was no meeting place between civilizations. The barriers between the Japanese and the Europeans were daily vanishing, because the Japanese assimilated Western civilization. It seemed to him that the chief characteristic of modern civilization [was that it] worshipped the body more than the spirit, and gave everything for the glorifying of the body. Their railways, telegraphs and telephones, did they tend to help them forward to a moral elevation ? When he cast his eyes upon India, what was represented there today under British rule? Modern civilization ruled India. What had it done? He hoped he would not shock his hearers when he said that civilization had done no good to India. There was there a network of railways and telegraphs and telephones; we had given them a Calcutta, a Madras, a Bombay, a Lahore and a Benares—these were symbols of slavery rather than of freedom. He noticed that these modern travelling facilities had reduced their holy places to unholy places. He could picture to himself Benares of old, before there was a mad rush of civilization, and he had seen the Benares of today with his own eyes, an unholy city. He saw the same thing here as in India. The mad activity had unhinged us and, although he was living under the system, it seemed to him desirable that he should speak to them in that strain. He knew it was impossible for the two peoples in India to live together until the British changed their ways. We had offended the religious susceptibilities of the Hindus by sport in their sacred places. Unless this mad rush was changed, a calamity must come. One way would be for them to adopt modern civilization; but far be it from him to say that they should ever do so. India would then be the football of the world, and the two nations would be flying at each other. India was not yet lost, but had been immersed in lethargy. There were many things which could not be understood, for which we must be patient; but one thing was certain, and that was that, so long as this mad rush lasted, with its glorification of the body, the soul within, which was imperishable, must languish.

India, 22-10-1909

307. LETTER TO LORD AMPTHILL

[LONDON,]
October 14, 1909

MY LORD,

A cablegram has just been received from Johannesburg, which says:

Smuts tells newspapers he awaits Secretary State's answer regarding his proposals.

My interpretation of this cable is that the proposals referred to in Lord Crewe's letter to which I have sent a reply are Mr. Smuts' original proposals, and that he is waiting to know whether, if those proposals are carried out, passive resistance will cease. There is no reply yet from Lord Crewe.[1] It is evident to me that, if Lord Crewe and Lord Morley were to do their duty, this is just the psychological moment. When Mr. Smuts made his statement to Reuter's agent at Southampton before embarking for South Africa, he spoke light-heartedly and confidently, thinking that there was no fight left in the passive resisters. It is evident that he has been disillusioned on reaching Pretoria, and he, therefore, wants to know whether we here are prepared to advise acceptance of his proposals and cessation of passive resistance. Cessation, unless the theoretical right is granted, is impossible. Mr. Doke, in a letter to me, says that passive resisters have never been so strong as they were when his letter left South Africa.

Your Lordship's obedient servant,

From a photostat of the handwritten office copy: S. N. 5125

308. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

[LONDON,]
October 14, 1909

MY DEAR HENRY,

I have your cable from Madras. I am sorry Mr. Doke's book is not yet ready. I have just got two advance copies, but I suppose it is not necessary for me to send one out to you. As soon as the copies are ready, I shall ask Mr. Cooper to send 250 to Mr. Natesan.

I enclose herewith cutting from *The Times* reporting the Madras meeting[2]. You will see also a cablegram from Pretoria. I do not know

[1] Gandhiji received a reply the next day; *vide* "Letter to Under Secretary for Colonies", pp. 486-7.

[2] This was held on October 11.

what it means. Surely, negotiations have gone on after Smuts' departure. However, we have to work as if they have fallen through. The report of the Indian Immigration Commission is good at the present juncture. I think that when you are in Calcutta, an attempt should be made to have an All-India deputation to wait on Lord Minto[1]. You may get Sir Charles Turner to join you, though I can well imagine your difficulty, but whether he does or not, there would be no difficulty in having the deputation, and a representative may travel from Madras, Bombay, Allahabad, Lahore, etc. I am writing with reference to your appointment as a delegate to the Congress and [the] Mahomedan Conference. They will be held, I suppose, about the same time, but [if] it is the same day, you will have to use your discretion whether you will go to the Mahomedan Conference or whether you will go to the Congress. Along passive resistance lines, it appears to me that the Mahomedan Conference will be the best. I take it, too, that you will go to Aligarh.

I am still creeping. I had thought that there would be a letter from Lord Crewe in reply to mine at once, but up to the time of dictating this (Thursday morning) there is none, and until his authority for publishing the net result of the negotiations is received, I feel that nothing can be done. It is now problematical whether, even if a reply is received this week from him, I can finish the work of education before the 30th inst. As you will be seeing practically the whole of India—a privilege I have myself not yet been able to enjoy—I think I should jot down the definite conclusions to which I have almost arrived after more matured observations made here.[2]

The thing was brewing in my mind, but there was no certain clear light. The heart and brain became more active after I accepted the invitation of the Peace and Arbitration Society to speak to them on "East and West".[3] It came off last night. I think this meeting was a splendid success; they were earnest folk, but some insolent questions were put on the South African situation. You will be surprised to learn that even in Hampstead there were men enough to stand up for the tragedy in South Africa, and to talk all the claptrap about the Indian trader being a canker, and what not. A dear old lady got up and said that I had uttered disloyal sentiments and, just as we have to deal with idolaters in South Africa who would think of and cling to form and superficiality as in the case of finger-impressions, so had I last night in the Friends' Meeting House. My main purpose was, in all the questions that were

[1] (1845-1914); Viceroy and Governor-General of India, 1905-10

[2] In the office copy from the Sabarmati Sangrahalaya, two pages are missing here. These have been supplied from a handwritten copy in the Gokhale papers with the Servants of India Society, Poona and collated with the part of the letter given in *M. K. Gandhi and the South African Indian Problem* by Dr. P. J. Mehta.

[3] *Vide* "Speech at Hampstead", pp. 475-6.

addressed to me, forgotten, and details were warmly taken up and discussed. The following are the conclusions:

(1) There is no impassable barrier between East and West.

(2) There is no such thing as Western or European civilization, but there is a modern civilization, which is purely material.

(3) The people of Europe, before they were touched by modern civilization, had much in common with the people of the East, anyhow, the people of India; and, even today, Europeans who are not touched by modern civilization are far better able to mix with the Indians than the offspring of that civilization.

(4) It is not the British people who are ruling India, but it is modern civilization, through its railways, telegraphs, telephones, and almost every invention which has been claimed to be a triumph of civilization.

(5) Bombay, Calcutta, and the other chief cities of India are the real plague spots.

(6) If British rule was replaced tomorrow by Indian rule based on modern methods, India would be no better, except that she would be able then to retain some of the money that is drained away to England; but, then, Indians would only become a second or fifth edition of Europe or America.

(7) East and West can only and really meet when the West has thrown overboard modern civilization, almost in its entirety. They can also seemingly meet when East has also adopted modern civilization. But that meeting would be an armed truce, even as it is between, say, Germany and England, both of which nations are living in the Hall of Death in order to avoid being devoured, the one by the other.

(8) It is simply impertinence for any man or any body of men to begin or contemplate reform of the whole world. To attempt to do so by means of highly artificial and speedy locomotion is to attempt the impossible.

(9) Increase of material comforts, it may be generally laid down, does not in any way whatsoever conduce to moral growth.

(10) Medical science is the concentrated essence of Black Magic. Quackery is infinitely preferable to what passes for high medical skill.

(11) Hospitals are the instruments that the Devil has been using for his own purpose, in order to keep his hold on his kingdom. They perpetuate vice, misery and degradation, and real slavery.

(12) I was entirely off the track when I considered that I should receive a medical training. It would be sinful for me in any way whatsoever to take part in the abominations that go on in the hospitals.

If there were no hospitals for venereal diseases, or even for consumptives, we should have less consumption, and less sexual vice amongst us.

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(13) India's salvation consists in unlearning what she has learnt during the past fifty years.

The railways, telegraphs, hospitals, lawyers, doctors, and such like have all to go, and the so-called upper classes have to learn to live conscientiously and religiously and deliberately the simple peasant life, knowing it to be a life giving true happiness.

(14) Indians should wear no machine-made clothing, whether it comes out of European mills or Indian mills.

(15) England can help India to do this, and then she will have justified her hold of India. There seem to be many in England today who think likewise.

(16) There was true wisdom in the sages of old having so regulated society as to limit the material condition of the people: the rude plough of perhaps five thousand years ago is the plough of the husbandman today. Therein lies salvation. People live long, under such conditions, in comparative peace much greater than Europe has enjoyed after having taken up modern activity, and I feel that every enlightened man, certainly every Englishman, may, if he chooses, learn this truth and act according to it.

There is much more than I can write upon today, but the above is enough food for reflection. You will be able to check me when you find me to be wrong.

You will notice, too, that it is the true spirit of passive resistance that has brought me to the above almost definite conclusions. As a passive resister, I am unconcerned whether such a gigantic reformation, shall I call it, can be brought about among people who derive their satisfaction from the present mad rush. If I realize the truth of it, I should rejoice in following it, and, therefore, I could not wait until the whole body of people had commenced. All of us who think likewise have to take the necessary step; and the rest, if we are in the right, must follow. The theory is there : our practice will have to approach it as much as possible. Living in the midst of the rush, we may not be able to shake ourselves free from all taint. Every time I get into a railway car, use a motor-bus, I know that I am doing violence to my sense of what is right. I do not fear the logical result on that basis. The visiting of England is bad, and any communication between South Africa and India by means of Ocean's grey-hounds is also bad, and so on. You and I can, and may, outgrow those things in our present bodies, but the chief thing is to put our theory right. You will be seeing there all sorts and conditions of men. I, therefore, feel that I should no longer withhold from you what I call the progressive step I have taken mentally. If you agree with me, it will be your duty to tell the revolutionaries and everybody else that the freedom they want, or they think they want, is not to be obtained by killing people or doing violence, but by setting

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themselves right, and by becoming and remaining truly Indian. Then the British rulers will be servants and not masters. They will be trustees and not tyrants, and they will live in perfect peace with the whole of the inhabitants of India. The future, therefore, lies not with the British race, but with the Indians themselves, and if they have sufficient self-abnegation and abstemiousness, they can make themselves free this very moment, and when we have arrived in India at the simplicity which is still ours largely and which was ours entirely until a few years ago, it will still be possible for the best Indians and the best Europeans to see one another throughout the length and breadth of India and act as the leaven. When there was no rapid locomotion, traders and preachers went on foot, from one end of the country to the other, braving all the dangers, not for pleasure, not for recreating their health, (though all that followed from their tramps,) but for the sake of humanity. Then were Benares and other places of pilgrimage holy cities, whereas today they are an abomination.

You will recollect you used to rate me for talking to my children in Gujarati. I now feel more and more convinced that I was absolutely right in refusing to talk to them in English. Fancy a Gujarati writing to another Gujarati in English, which as you would properly say, he mispronounces and writes ungrammatically. I should certainly never commit the ludicrous blunders in writing in Gujarati that I do in writing or speaking in English. I think that, when I speak in English to an Indian or a foreigner, I in a measure unlearn the language. If I want to learn it well and if I want to attune my ear to it, I can only do so by talking to an Englishman, and by listening to an Englishman speaking.

Now I think I have given you a terrible dose, I hope you will be able to digest it. It is very likely that you with your great imagination and sound common sense have perhaps, in your varied experience there, probably come to the conclusions independently of me. After all, they are not new but they have only now assumed such a concrete form and taken a violent possession of me.

I have just received the following cablegram from Johannesburg:

> Smuts tells newspapers he awaits Secretary State's answer regarding his proposals. London Committee continues for present.

This cablegram means that the question is being somewhat agitated in Johannesburg and that Smuts is no longer sanguine about smashing passive resistance. It shows, too, if Lord Crewe made a supreme effort, he could bring about a settlement. However, we can but fight on. So the London Committee continues. This does not alter the situation, and it eases Ritch's position.

Poor Mrs. Ritch will have to undergo another and further operation. She may not even survive it. It will be a great relief to her if the living death turns into real death.

9–31

Later—Millie was here after the foregoing portion of this letter was finished. As I considered it to be so important, I read it to her. This was followed by a fruitful discussion, which you can picture to yourself.

Mr. Ali Imam is still here. He leaves, I believe, on Monday.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 5127, a photostat of the handwritten copy and *M. K. Gandhi and the South African Indian Problem*

309. DEPUTATION NOTES [–XVI]

[*October 15, 1909*]

The last week was rather bad. First, we saw a cable report in *The Times* that the talk about a settlement had no truth in it. Mr. Smuts [it said] had a talk with Lord Crewe, but the Government had no intention of conceding the Indian demand.

There was another private cable which reported that Mr. Smuts was awaiting Lord Crewe's reply.

There was a reply from Lord Crewe today (Friday)[1] in which he says that what General Smuts offered was what he had earlier suggested, namely, repeal of the Act and amendment [of the Immigrants' Restriction Act] so as to permit the admission of selected educated Indians on a permanent basis. Lord Crewe states, moreover, that it was for us to decide whether we should carry on any public agitation here. He asks us to consider what effect such agitation would have on General Smuts.

That is the situation here. It needs rather careful consideration now as to what is best for us to do. If Mr. Smuts is really thinking of conceding our demands, a public agitation here will prove embarrassing to him. If not, such agitation would be the right course.

It is not easy to express any definite view immediately. Indifference to consequences is justified in pure satyagraha, but one must pause to think when dealing with a mixed lot of men, some strong and some weak. We have now to await the reactions of Lord Ampthill and other gentlemen. Before this letter is published, some decisive step will have been taken here. The biggest issue involved in this is that concerning India. But, personally, I feel that as the struggle develops, the correct step will suggest itself at each stage. Meanwhile, everyone will need patience and courage and will have to go through extreme suffering[2].

[1] October 15; *vide* "Letter to Under Secretary for Colonies", p. 486.

[2] The Gujarati has "Mahabharat", obviously a reference to the tribulations of the Pandavas.

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The one great man in Russia is Count Tolstoy. I had addressed a letter[1] to him in connection with the struggle and other related matters. I quote below a paragraph from his reply:[2]

> I have just received your most interesting letter, which has given me great pleasure. God help our dear brothers and co-workers in the Transvaal! That same struggle of the tender against the harsh, of meekness and love against pride and violence, is every year making itself more and more felt here among us also, especially in one of the very sharpest of the conflicts of the religious law with the worldly laws—in refusals of military service. Such refusals are becoming ever more and more frequent.
>
> I greet you fraternally, and am glad to have intercourse with you.

This great man has now attained the age of 80. In Europe, at least, one will not find his equal in purity of character and godliness. He has been a soldier, has enjoyed authority over hundreds of thousands of men, has spent millions in enjoyment, and has known a life of luxury. He has no equal among European writers. In spite of all this, he has chosen to live like a fakir at present. He offers uncompromising opposition to oppressive laws in Russia and exhorts others to do the same. But he never employs physical force and forbids others to employ it. He relies entirely on spiritual force. Moreover, his books are read all over the world. We come across a number of men in this land who base their conduct on his principles. He places his trust in God alone. And so, on me at least, his words have had a highly cheering effect, and I hope that every Indian will welcome them and allow them to guide his conduct. It is a matter of deep satisfaction that we have the support of such a great and holy man. His letter shows us convincingly that soul-force—satyagraha—is our only resort. Deputations and the like are all vain efforts.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 13-11-1909

310. LETTER TO "SOUTH AFRICA"[3]

[LONDON,
Before *October 16, 1909*]

SIR,

Your Johannesburg correspondent, in his weekly letter published by you in the current issue of your journal, has done a serious injustice

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Leo Tolstoy", pp. 444-6.

[2] This is quoted here from the English original signed by Tolstoy. *Vide* also Appendix XXVII.

[3] This appeared under the caption: "*South Africa* Again Corrected" along with the dispatch to which Gandhiji replied. *Vide* Appendix XXX.

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to the British Indian community in the Transvaal, by mis-stating facts in connection with the Nagappen case. Moreover, your correspondent has omitted to state in his letter, that many men besides British Indians who have read the evidence laid before the Commissioner[1], have refused to accept the Commissioner's finding, and that Mr. Benson[2], who represented the British Indian Association at the inquiry, has exposed the weakness of the finding in a three-column letter published in the Transvaal Press. That letter still remains unanswered. And after all, what is Major Dixon's finding? He does leave it an open question as to whether the deceased had two blankets or not. He admits that the deceased did not have rice supplied to him. It is very charitable on the part of your correspondent to suggest that, if no rice were supplied, water certainly was, and that amply. My countrymen, however, consider that even an ample supply of water is not a substitute for rice, nor has the Commissioner, as your correspondent suggested, found that poor Nagappen was healthier when in custody. Any layman, and I should imagine even a medical man, would consider, as certainly did Dr. Godfrey[3], that partial starvation and insufficiency of clothing, in the very rigorous winter on the high veldt of the Transvaal, apart from anything else, would be quite sufficient to induce pneumonia from which this poor passive resister died within six days after his discharge.

In spite of your correspondent, the Indian community and many other unbiassed Europeans[4] in the Transvaal, indeed, throughout South Africa, will continue to believe that Nagappen died a martyr to duty, and that his death must lie upon the conscience of those who were in immediate charge of him whilst he was serving imprisonment.

Indian Opinion, 16-10-1909

[1] Major F. J. Dixon who had held the public inquiry into the case at Yokeskei River Prison Camp on July 19. A report of the evidence tendered was reproduced in *Indian Opinion*, 24-7-1909, and the Commissioner's findings, in the issue of 14-8-1909.

[2] Alex S. Benson had watched the proceedings and reported his observations in *Indian Opinion*, 24-7-1909. On August 14, he addressed to *The Transvaal Leader* a letter criticizing the facile acceptance of the Commissioner's findings by a section of the Johannesburg Press, which was also published in *Indian Opinion*, 21-8-1909.

[3] Dr. W. Godfrey had attended on Nagappen during his last illness and later certified that the primary cause of his death was acute double pneumonia and that it had been "accelerated by the conduct of the gaol officials, if all is true".

[4] Among these were Rev. J. J. Doke and Edward Dallow, whose letters to the Transvaal papers were reproduced in *Indian Opinion*, 21-8-1909.

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311. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

[LONDON,]
October 18, 1909

DEAR MR. MAGANLAL,

I have your post card of the 15th ultimo[1]. With regard to Mr. Budrea, I shall be obliged if you will kindly immediately forward the documents to him at his Dannhauser address. The documents should be sent by registered letter post. I am writing to Mr. Budrea also.[2]

Yours sincerely,

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 5132

312. LETTER TO BUDREA

[LONDON,]
October 18, 1909

DEAR SIR,

With reference to your letter of the 8th inst., the deposit receipt was on the 12th inst. forwarded by me to Mr. Maganlal Gandhi with a request to obtain your signature thereto, as I thought that you were in Durban. I have now written to him asking him to forward it to you. Immediately upon receipt thereof duly completed by you, I shall re-deposit it as requested.

Yours faithfully,

MR. BUDREA
C/O GURDEEN AHEER
DANNHAUSER

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 5133

[1] The original has "inst.", which appears to be a slip.
[2] *Vide* the following item.

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313. LETTER TO UNDER SECRETARY FOR COLONIES

[LONDON,]
October 19, 1909

SIR,

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letter[1] of the 15th instant.

The letter leaves my colleague and me in a state of great uncertainty. The Earl of Crewe was pleased to tell Mr. Hajee Habib and me when we waited on His Lordship on the 16th ultimo that he agreed that the proposal submitted by me was reasonable, and that he would place it before Mr. Smuts for his acceptance. The letter under reply does not say whether the proposal was placed before Mr. Smuts and, if it was, what his decision was in respect of it. His Lordship will, I have no doubt, appreciate the fact that, in order not to prejudice the negotiations that have been carried on, we have remained, so far as the public are concerned, entirely inactive, and we should consider it our duty to do so, so long as the negotiations are carried on on the basis of the proposal submitted by me. The great and prolonged suffering British Indians in the Transvaal are undergoing can only end with the security of the theoretical right of British Indians of culture being attained in accordance with my submission. If, therefore, Mr. Smuts intends only to place his own original proposal made at the time of his departure for South Africa before the Transvaal Ministers and the Transvaal Parliament, it is respectfully submitted that, so far as British Indians are concerned, nothing is to be gained by a policy of inactivity. I feel sure that His Lordship will agree that we should know the exact position under the negotiations, in order that we may thereby guide our conduct and, so far as it lies within our power, facilitate them. May I, therefore, request fuller information on the subject of the negotiations at an early date ?

[1] This was in reply to Gandhiji's letter of October 8 and ran as follows: ". . . the proposals referred to in the letter from this Department of the 4th instant as a possible basis of legislation with regard to the British Indian question in the Transvaal were those made by Mr. Smuts before his departure, not those made by you at the interview on the 16th ultimo.

"I am to add that the question of the action to be taken by you in connection with the controversy can only be one for your own decision. You will, however, no doubt bear in mind the effect which your proposed course may have on the attitude of the Transvaal Government and Parliament towards Mr. Smuts' proposals, and will consider whether it is not preferable to await a declaration of their policy in the matter before taking further action."

I may add that a cablegram received from Johannesburg states that to a newspaper reporter Mr. Smuts said that he was waiting for a reply from the Earl of Crewe before he made any public statement regarding his proposals on the question. This cablegram adds to our difficulty as to the course we should adopt, so long as we are uninformed as to the action which His Lordship proposed to take when the interview of the 16th ultimo was granted.

I have, etc.,
M. K. GANDHI

Colonial Office Records: 291/142; also, from a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 5136

314. LETTER TO LORD AMPTHILL

[LONDON,]
October 19, 1909

MY LORD,

I have to thank you very much for your letter of the 18th instant, and for your very kind and excellent advice.[1]

I have now sent a letter to Lord Crewe,[2] copy of which I enclose herewith, and which I think embodies all the points of your letter. I hope it will meet with Your Lordship's approval.

I remain, etc.,

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 5137

[1] Lord Ampthill had written: "It was, of course, to be expected that the Colonial Office should wish you to remain quiet and it is difficult to judge how far their advice is disinterested or otherwise. They tell you that it is General Smuts' own proposals which are under consideration but they do not tell you whether Lord Crewe has taken any steps to show the Transvaal Government that, from your point of view, these proposals are altogether inadequate. If I were in your position, I should point this out to the Colonial Office either by letter or by personal interview before I did anything else and say that, while you are naturally unwilling to embarrass any negotiations which are being made on your behalf, you require some assurance that your latest representations are not being ignored. I would tell them quite plainly, but, of course, in appropriately guarded language, that you cannot allow an unsatisfactory 'compromise' to be negotiated while you are kept out of the discussion and then to be told, when it is all over and you are obliged to protest, that you are 'raising new questions'. I think that they have given you an opening for a representation of this sort which you will well know how to express in a tactful and diplomatic manner. It must be exasperating for you to be put off and kept waiting in this way, and I only hope that the Colonial Office is going straight and not trading on the patience and self-restraint of which you have given such conspicuous proof."

[2] *Vide* the preceding item.

315. LONDON

[Before *October 20, 1909*]

Natal Deputation

So far as I can see, there is nothing for this deputation to do now. Mr. Anglia and Mr. Hajee Habib are on a brief visit to Paris. They are likely to return in a day or so.

Ali Imam

Mr. Ali Imam has been mixing a great deal among all the Indians here. He had asked several Indians to tea today, on the eve of his departure. A good many of them attended. Mr. Ali Imam will leave for India on the 20th. He has promised to give every help to our cause from there. He has been appointed public prosecutor in Patna.

Suffragettes' Courage

I have written and spoken strongly in the past against the use of physical force by the suffragettes—women who are demanding votes. But we must show all honour to them, at any rate, for the courage they display and the suffering they go through. Some of them, very delicate women, were recently arrested and sentenced to imprisonment. They refused to take any food, so that those among them who were very weak were let off after being starved for a few days. The rest are still in gaol and refuse to take food; they are, therefore, being forcibly fed with the help of a tube put through the throat.

These women have created such a terror that no member of the Cabinet can attend any function in peace. The suffragettes' spies follow every member wherever he goes and make a nuisance of themselves. They even pelt him with stones. A mere handful, the women have created a terror as though a great war was on.

Mr. Lloyd George is a member of the Cabinet. He addressed a meeting in Newcastle. But so great was the fear of the suffragettes that the strictest arrangements had to be made for maintaining order. Writing on it, *The Times* says:

> In Mr. Lloyd George's meeting were to be witnessed strong iron bars, mounted police and crowds. There was a time not very long ago when no tickets were required for admission to such meetings and when one or two constables sufficed to maintain order. But the suffragettes have changed all that. Wherever a member of the Cabinet addresses a meeting, the local authorities have to close the main traffic routes and requisition police and mounted guards

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in large numbers from neighbouring towns. Everyone who wants to attend the meeting has to show his ticket while he is yet one or two streets away from the venue, and he reaches it at last after passing through narrow lanes. If, on the way, anyone suspects him he may even be required to give his name. All this is a very expensive business.

Such is the women's spirit. They do not allow themselves a moment's rest. To the hundreds of thousands of women who oppose them, they merely say: "You do not know your interests. We shall fight for you. That you will not help makes no difference to us." They have also written to the Government to say that, if it agreed to grant the franchise to women who were qualified for it, those who were in gaol would serve their terms of imprisonment quietly and would not even demand voting rights for themselves. Such brave women will never be defeated. It is obvious that they have no interest of their own to serve. They fear nothing—neither rough treatment nor monetary loss nor being called immodest by the people. There is no short-cut to rights in this world. These very women, by their disorderly behaviour, bring disgrace to a struggle so fine as theirs. Their misdeeds will recoil on themselves in the end.[1] The people here yield to physical force, they worship it. Hence the women will certainly get the vote. But after that they will practise the same kind of tyranny that they are opposing now, so that the masses will remain where they are. If they had based their fight on pure satyagraha, they could have changed conditions all over England and the change would have had repercussions throughout the world. The use of physical force will ultimately lead to selfishness. Taking a warning from their example, we must learn to avoid the use of physical force, but emulate their capacity for suffering. We may also observe that the British will not concede any rights even to the women in their country without putting them to the test.

Blow for a Blow

I have come across two very beautiful poems in the *Gujarati* of Bombay. In one of them the poet has, without meaning it, given a vivid description of satyagraha. The poem is as follows:

The lamp not burning,
On what will the moth throw itself and be burnt?
Seeking to burn us,
You burn yourself first.
The union of soul and body,
The same in you as in me;

[1] The original has "The heart will pay for the misdeeds of the hands", a Gujarati saying.

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Unless you wound yourself,
Us you cannot hurt.
So soon as I owned myself your lover,
You stood declared my beloved;
A name I've bestowed on you,
And will cease only when I perish.
Such airs you give yourself today,
Your eyes stern and proud;
These your arrows
Will turn back upon you, myself unharmed.
You live, if I live; if I die,
Tell yourself you die too;
Can a tree exist without seed?
The fruit, whereon will it grow?
Where is the king if there are no subjects?
Would he rule over wood and stone?
Your being is wrapped up in mine
Aiming a blow at me,
You shall only hurt yourself.

—*Diwano*[1]

This is a very interesting *gazal*[2]. It is addressed by an Indian to an Englishman. "Your arrows will turn back upon you, myself unharmed." This contains the divine law of satyagraha. So long as the victim does not resist, the aggressor will only injure himself. If we attempt to strike merely at the air, the hand will come down with a jerk. When force is employed only by one party, it will spend itself for want of resistance. That is the reason why every religion has held that, if all human beings were to become good, even the poisonous and predatory creatures would disappear from the world. This may be taken to be a scientific law. If so, it is all success for me so long as I refuse to meet force with force. The man who sought my life will, in the end, meet death himself. In the same way, "Where is the king if there are no subjects, would he rule over wood and stone" means that, if the subjects refuse to recognize the authority of the king, the latter will have nothing to do. The subjects may resort to satyagraha and tell him: "We shall not submit to your orders, no matter whether you imprison or kill us." There has never been, and will never be, a king in this world who can rule by imprisoning a whole people. The king will lose the game, even if he imprisons only a few who defy him. If all defy him, he just cannot imprison them. The soul of the man who has embraced imprisonment continues

[1] Literally, the mad one
[2] A poetic composition in the style of lyrics

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its work till, in the end, others too defy [the king] in like manner. All the verses of the poem quoted above deserve careful thinking over.

"FAKIRS WE"

In the same issue, I find another poem—Fakirs We—which also, being quite interesting, I give here:

Fakirs we've made of ourselves
For the motherland's sake;
We've kindled the flame of love
To burn us for India's sake.

We have quit the idols we worshipped,
Flung our books in dust;
The precious begging bowl
We've taken up for India's sake.

The angel's words and the priest's
We've put away from us,
Turned away from pleasures sweet as nectar
For draughts of bitterest poison.

The tomes of *Vedas* and *Puranas*
Down the stream we've let them float;
Little do we reck of God,
For India alone is all our care.

Through every vein of our being
Is coursing a wild intoxication;
Why do you seek, you men of medicine,
To cure us of that?

In soft living you spend your days,
'Tis your way of life;
Ours, the bad habit,
The burden of loyalty to bear.

Such is the strange gladness
Of the madness in our drunken hearts;
'Tis for India
And India alone that we live.

—*Bulbul*[1]

This poem is certainly not as good as the first one, but the idea is good. The words are well arranged. Its fervent sentiment should appeal to a satyagrahi. Without it—without the voluntary poverty of the fakir that it speaks of—it is difficult to be a satyagrahi. One must kindle the flame of the Invisible for the service of India. Then alone shall we be

[1] Literally, a singing bird, songthrush

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able to discharge the debt we owe to India for having been born in it. When the words, " 'Tis for India and for India alone that we live" proceed from the depth of our heart, God will hear us. He sees the heart. He cannot be taken in by words. This is a game to be played in right earnest. A mere actor has no place in it.

Indian Languages

Reading these Gujarati poems, one realizes that it will not be easy to express such thoughts in English words of equal sweetness; for the two words, "satyagraha" and "fakir", will evoke no response in an Englishman's heart. Why should we not cultivate a language that is so beautiful? India will be aroused when we touch all the Indian languages with the spirit of patriotism. Mr. Lloyd George, about whom I have already written, was born in Wales, a principality in Great Britain. It has a dialect of its own and Mr. Lloyd George is taking steps to ensure that Welsh children do not forget their language. How much more need is there for Indians to preserve their languages than for the Welsh to preserve theirs, and how much more keen should we be?

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 13-11-1909

316. LETTER TO N. M. COOPER

[London,]
October 21, 1909

DEAR MR. COOPER,

Will you kindly send Mr. Doke's book as follows: 24 copies to Dr. Mehta, 14 Mogul Street, Rangoon, India; 250 copies to Messrs Natesan & Co., Booksellers, Madras, India.

250 copies to the Manager, [Inter]national Printing Press, Durban, Natal, South Africa. (Postal address, Box 182, Durban, Natal)

Yours faithfully,

N. M. Cooper, Esq.
154, High Road
Ilford
Essex

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 5140

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317. LETTER TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO LORD CREWE

[LONDON,]
October 22, 1909

SIR,

The following cablegram has just been received from Johannesburg:

> Twenty-one arrested including Aswat; Thambi sent to prison for three months; Sorabji, Joshi, Medh ordered deported.

Mr. Aswat is a Mohammedan, and Acting President of the British Indian Association, and has now gone to gaol for the third time, and Mr. Thambi is Thambi Naidoo, one of the leaders of the Tamil community, and has now gone to gaol for the fifth or sixth time. The three others who are deported are, one a Parsee and the other two Hindoos, all cultured, educated British Indians, two of whom served as sergeants in the Stretcher Bearer Corps that was formed at the time of the Zulu Rebellion.[1]

I have, etc.,
M. K. GANDHI

Colonial Office Records: 291/142; also, from a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 5141

318. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

[LONDON,]
October 22, 1909

MY DEAR HENRY,

I am not going to write at length this week. You will see the copies of various correspondence which shows that I have still to wait.

Mrs. Ritch has to undergo another serious operation next week. Ritch is now practically fixed up here, possibly for good.

Mr. Doke's book cannot still be delivered. Poor Cooper is at his wit's end. His printer being in gaol,[2] the printer's wife has not been able to keep her promise. Next week, I think, delivery will take place without fail.

I am sending you one of the booklets of Tolstoy, which you should read. I think it is very good.

[1] In 1906; *vide* Vol. V, pp. 368-73.
[2] *Vide* "London", p. 311.

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Mr. Abdul Caadir leaves for South Africa tomorrow, so that now there will be only Mr. Anglia and Mr. Hajee Habib here.

I enclose herewith Mr. Phelp's letter and a pamphlet addressed to Mr. Roosevelt.

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 5144

319. DEPUTATION NOTES [–XVII]

[*October 22, 1909*]

I have now got fed up. I think the reader, too, must have grown tired of reading uncertain news. There is no certain information yet from Lord Crewe and correspondence is going on. So long as he has not washed his hands of the matter entirely, it appears advisable not to give out anything to the public. That is also Lord Ampthill's advice.

Just now a cable[1] has been received from Johannesburg, saying that 21 persons were tried and sentenced to three months. They include Mr. Aswat and Mr. Thambi Naidoo. Moreover, Mr. Sorabji, Mr. Joshi and Mr. Medh have been deported. I congratulate all these friends and pray to God to bestow on them the utmost strength of spirit. According to me, such strength is the only real deputation. It is strength which holds the real key. When I think of Mr. Aswat's and Mr. Sorabji's health, I even tremble a little, but take heart again because I know that gaol-going is the best course, whatever the state of one's health.

At this juncture, I wish to see Mr. Dawad Mahomed in the Transvaal. Soldiers cannot afford to wait on their health. I am convinced that, even when in poor health, we are in duty bound to suffer imprisonment for the sake of the motherland. I think many Indians press Mr. Dawad Mahomed, out of their regard for him, that he should plunge himself into the fight only after he is restored to health. I would request him not to heed any such advice, and I would urge those who give such advice that they should not, in the interest of the community, hold back Mr. Dawad Mahomed even for an hour longer. The women who are fighting here go to gaol and give no thought to their health. Moreover, they take no food after going to gaol. Going to the front necessarily means risking one's head. It is, therefore, my earnest request to everyone not to stop Mr. Dawad Mahomed; rather, people should turn out in their thousands, as on former occasions, to see him off to the Transvaal.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 20-11-1909

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Private Secretary to Lord Crewe", p. 493.

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320. LETTER TO MANILAL GANDHI

[LONDON,
October 22, 1909]

CHI. MANILAL,

Received your letter. I see that you have again begun to be worried about your education. Can you not give an answer to the question, "What class are you in?" Henceforward you may say that you are in Bapu's class. Why does the idea of study haunt you again and again? If you think of study for earning your livelihood, it is not proper; for God gives food to all. You can get enough to eat even by doing manual labour. Moreover, when we want to die in Phœnix or in some similar mission, why should there be any thought of earning at all? If you want to study for the sake of service to the country, why, you are already doing so. If you want to study in order to have self-knowledge, you have only to learn to be good. Everyone says you are a good person. Only one thing remains. You may want to study in order to be able to do more work. There is no need to hurry about it. Do whatever you can in Phœnix. We shall see to it later on. Please give up all worry if you are sure that I am taking all the necessary care of you.

You gave a good reply to Dr. Nanji.

What more shall I write?

I want you to shed all fear. Do have faith in me.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original in Gandhiji's hand: C. W. 91
Courtesy: Sushilabehn Gandhi

321. LONDON

[Before *October 23, 1909*]

NATAL DEPUTATION

Mr. Abdul Caadir is to leave[1] by the ship which will carry this letter. Mr. Anglia will then be the only one left. He and Mr. Hajee Habib have returned from Paris.

[1] He was to sail on October 23; *vide* "Letter to H. S. L. Polak", p. 494.

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Ali Imam

Speaking on Sunday at a meeting of the Indian Social Union, Mr. Ali Imam referred to the need for Hindu-Muslim unity. There was no reason [he said] why the two [communities] should have any differences. Muslims and Hindus will both mix with the dust of India. There should be a mutual give-and-take and readiness on the part of both to give in on minor points. India must get *swarajya* and can get it through [the goodwill of] the British. This is the substance of what he said. He left for India on Wednesday. About 15 Indians, including Mr. Parikh, Mr. Banerjea, Dr. Abdool Majid and Mr. Bose, were present to give him a send-off. Mr. Ali Imam repeated at the moment of departure that he would exert himself to the utmost about South Africa. Mr. Polak's sister was also present at the station. Mr. Ali Imam promised to help Polak in every way. Mr. Abdool Aziz Peshawari also left with him.

Chhotalal Parekh

Mr. Chhotalal Ishvarlal Parekh is the first manager of the first Indian bank here. The bank was established in the wake of the *swadeshi* movement. Its capital is mostly Indian. A farewell party was held in his honour in recognition of his services in placing the bank on a sound footing, and with the object of giving encouragement to the *swadeshi* movement. After two years of service, Mr. Parekh is leaving for Bombay. The function was attended by about 50 people. Sir Muncherji was in the chair. Tea was followed by a speech from him, in which he spoke of the bank and of Mr. Parekh's ability. Mr. Parekh was then presented with a silver tea-set. Offering his thanks in reply, he said that India was not new to the profession of banking. Judging from his experience [he said], the bank was sure to make progress. He had encountered no difficulties in England.

Dr. Abdool Majid and Mr. Gandhi also spoke a few words.

Mrs. Ritch

I feel sorry to write that Mrs. Ritch's complaint has not yet been cured and that she will have to undergo another operation. It will be a serious one this time, but Mrs. Ritch has ample courage. As for Mr. Ritch, he is buried under the heavy expenditure on account of her treatment.

Suffragettes

The women continue to cause great excitement. The newspapers here discuss the question every day. The women were advised by Mr. Churchill to desist from physical attacks, and that has provoked them all the more. Mr. Churchill was to address a meeting, which the

suffragettes sought to break up. They openly say that they can secure no justice except by defiance of authority. They have resolved, therefore, to continue to make physical attacks, break up ministers' meetings and harass them in other ways. Their leaders brave extreme suffering, undaunted by any fear of physical harm. Mrs. Pankhurst, their chief, has gone to America to rouse the women there.

Futility of Brute Force

There was a famous man in Spain, Ferrer by name, who worked to spread education among the people. He was, besides, a strong opponent of the Roman Catholics. An atheist, he was an enemy of the State. It appears that he was behind the riot which broke out some time ago in one of the districts of Spain. He was accordingly court-martialled and ordered to be shot. The order was immediately carried out. This has created a stir among a large number of whites in Europe. They assert that Ferrer was not properly tried, that injustice was done to him. It had not been proved [they argue] that he had a hand in the riot. Meetings were held at several places to denounce the Spanish Government. Excitement ran so high among the people of Paris that it appeared as though there would be a big riot. One constable even lost his life.

Here, too, a big open-air meeting was held. People attacked the office of the Spanish Ambassador, but the building was saved because of the strict police arrangements.

Some whites argue that people elsewhere in Europe should not thus interfere in Spain's domestic affairs. They have no right to do so.

This leads me to think that Ferrer having been shot dead, his comrades want to avenge his death. That will increase mutual hatred. It is now being rumoured that the King of Spain will be killed. What will be the result? It does not seem likely to benefit anyone. It is beyond doubt that Ferrer himself approved of violence. Because he has lost his life, revolutionaries in Europe have given way to a frenzy of excitement, abandoning all reason. There is no concern for justice in all this. "Kill, kill", that is all they want. If this is the way things go on, no one's life will be safe in Europe. Emperors and big officers are not safe even today. Since they too are votaries of brute force, the fashion they have set will spread as days pass. Some Indians have been thinking of introducing these methods in India. I think Ferrer's case should serve as a warning to them.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 20-11-1909

322. LONDON

[After *October 24, 1909*]

VIJAYA DASHAMI[1]

It is in a way a remarkable thing that the Indian communities in England observe their respective festivals. To be sure, it need not be so very remarkable, but we have been reduced to such a state of degradation that we forget to celebrate our festivals in a country like England. How can we claim, so long as this state of affairs continues, that we are ripe for nationhood? We shall also not be justified in condemning the rulers as being responsible for it. In this matter the fault is obviously ours. It is, therefore, a good thing that the different [Indian] communities have started celebrating their respective festivals.

It was the Parsis who made a beginning. They have been celebrating *Pateti* for many years now. The Muslims too celebrate *Id.* The Hindus started two years ago. All the communities join in these celebrations, more or less. That is as it should be. It is certainly necessary for us all to be familiar with one another's festivals.

The Hindus here arranged a subscription dinner on the *Vijaya Dashami* day[2]. Non-Hindus were invited as guests. The rest took tickets of 4/- each. The dinner was cooked by volunteers from among Indian students of medicine and law. One of them was a very active fellow. He has struggled against odds in order to become a barrister. The same volunteers waited at the table. It cannot be claimed that the arrangements were perfect. The function started behind time. Those in charge of the service also did not know their job well. All the same, considering that this was a new experience, the function went off satisfactorily.

The gathering was entertained by Mr. Hussain Dawad with some songs about gaol life which were set to music. Mr. Gandhi was requested to preside. *Vijaya Dashami* recalls the war between Rama and Ravana. Mr. Gandhi pointed out in his speech that as a historical personage Shri Ramachandra could be honoured by every Indian. Everyone, whether Hindu, Muslim or Parsi, should be proud of belonging to a country which produced a man like Shri Ramachandra. To the extent that he was a great Indian, he should be honoured by

[1] The 10th day of Ashvin, on which Lord Rama triumphed over Ravana, the king of Lanka, who had abducted the former's wife, Sita. The day is celebrated by Hindus to mark the triumph of good over evil.

[2] This fell on October 24.

every Indian. For the Hindus, he is a god. If India again produced a Ramachandra, a Sita, a Lakshmana and a Bharata, she would attain prosperity in no time. It should be remembered, of course, that before Ramachandra qualified for public service, he suffered exile in the forest for 12 years. Sita went through extreme suffering and Lakshmana lived without sleep all those years and observed celibacy. When Indians learn to live in that manner, they can from that instant count themselves as free men. India has no other way of achieving happiness for herself.

Mr. Hajee Habib proposed a toast to India, and was supported by Mr. Chattopadhyay. Mr. Savarkar delivered a spirited speech on the great excellence of the *Ramayana* and said that every Indian should realize the significance of the fact that *Vijaya Dashami* is preceded by *Navratri*[1] (*Roza*). The function was attended by about 70 Indians.

Lalaji's Case

Lala Lajpatrai had sued *The Daily Express* here for defamation for making certain allegations against him. Lalaji has been awarded £50 and costs. Some of the judge's remarks in this case show that, in a political case, it is extremely difficult to get justice from the court. The judge held that, since Lalaji had been banished by a man like Lord Morley, there must be some reason. The remark was altogether uncalled for. He made it, moreover, even though he had no evidence before him on the point, his only object being to mislead the jury by casting aspersions on Lalaji.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 27-11-1909

323. LETTER TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO LORD CREWE

[London,]
October 26, 1909

SIR,

The following cablegram has just been received from Johannesburg:

> Pretoria Indians charged section 39 Town Regulations 1899 residing town. Case 1st November. Sorabji, Medh returned sent to prison for six months.

The first part of the cablegram shows that an old Act that has never been enforced against British Indians is now being revived with a view to remove British Indians from the town of Pretoria to a Location. The latter part shows that Messrs Sorabji and Medh, who according to my

[1] The first nine days of Ashvin usually observed with a fast to render oneself worthy of Goddess Durga's grace

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letter of the 22nd instant[1] were deported, have been sent to prison for six months. Mr. Sorabji has now gone to gaol, I believe, for the fifth time, and Mr. Medh for the fourth time.[2]

I have, etc.,

Colonial Office Records: 291/142; also, from a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 5145

324. LETTER TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO LORD CREWE

[LONDON,]
October 26, 1909

SIR,

The following cablegram has been received from Madras:

> Excellent meetings Madura, Tinnevelly, Palamcotta, Trichinopoly, Salem, Masulipatam, Bellary, Penukonda, also Madras Moslem League. Over dozen District Congress Committees condemning action Transvaal, urging immediate intervention stoppage recruiting. Profound indignation everywhere.

The recruiting mentioned in the cablegram refers to the recruiting of Indian labour for Natal.

I have, etc.,
M. K. GANDHI

Colonial Office Records: 291/142; also, from a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 5147

325. LETTER TO LORD AMPTHILL

[LONDON,]
October 28, 1909

MY LORD,

I beg to enclose herewith copy of a letter to the Private Secretary to Lord Crewe with reference to meetings held all over the Presidency of Madras.[3]

I may also add that cablegrams have been received from Johannesburg saying that active operations have commenced against passive resisters again in the Transvaal. Twenty-one have been arrested and imprisoned for three months, including the Acting Chairman of the

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Private Secretary to Lord Crewe", p. 493.

[2] Replying to this on November 4, the Colonial Office informed Gandhiji that it was in communication with the Transvaal Government on the subject. The latter was asked whether Gandhiji's statements were correct.

[3] *Vide* the preceding item.

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British Indian Association. Three educated Indians were deported, two of whom have returned and have been arrested and sentenced to six months' imprisonment.[1]

I remain, etc.,

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 5148

326. LETTER TO LORD AMPTHILL

[LONDON,]
October 29, 1909

MY LORD,

I have received a cablegram as follows:

Committee advises delegates return Africa if work finished London.

This is in reply to my letter[2] which reads as follows (writing on the 8th instant to Mr. Kallenbach, a German friend, who together with Mr. Doke, looks after the matters connected with the struggle there):

This letter will be in your hands on Thursday. My programme now is that we should leave here on the 30th of this month. There is every hope of our being able to finish off the work by that time. If we do, then comes the question about India. This will be in your hands two days before the proposed date for departure. Unless you hear something from me to the contrary, or unless the situation has developed otherwise, will you please cable what the intention of the Committee is. Next week I may have to cable myself asking for full instructions, but if I do not, a cable from you on receipt hereof may be necessary. The Indian tour means two months, one month for the voyage there and back here, and one month in India—it may mean even more. As a passive resister I feel that the Indian tour, as indeed this tour, is useless, but thinking from the standpoint of non-passive resisters, just as a few months have been given to London, two more may be added to finish off India. There will be, then, a question of funds also, and funds will have to be cabled to me.

Whether the Committee has taken a purely passive-resistance view, or whether it is owing to the want of funds, or both, it seems that, under the circumstances, we should abandon—for the time being at least—

[1] Acknowledging this letter on November 1, Lord Ampthill wrote: "I am very much obliged to you for the news you have sent me, as I should otherwise be in ignorance of what is happening both in India and in South Africa, seeing that the boycott of our cause by the Press is now complete. I am distressed at hearing that there is no relaxation of the active operations against 'passive resisters' in the Transvaal."

[2] The original letter is not available.

the Indian visit. The matter is further complicated by a cable from Mr. Polak, who cables today from India as follows:

Very strongly advise you to come.

But on the whole, I feel that, no matter at what stage the struggle stands, we shall leave definitely on the 13th November for South Africa, and challenge arrest on the Transvaal border.

Lord Crewe's reply has not yet been received. I do not know what this means, but if it comes too late for public action whilst we are here, I think it should then be carried on by the Committee.[1] Mr. Ritch['s opinion] coincides with this view.

I remain, etc.,

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 5150

327. LETTER TO AYLMER MAUDE

[LONDON,]
October 29, 1909

DEAR SIR,

I wrote[2] to you last week in reply to your kind note, and as I am anxiously awaiting an appointment from you, I take the liberty of reminding you again. I wonder if my letter has miscarried.

Among the things appertaining to passive resistance that I wish to discuss with you, I would appreciate your advice as to whom I should approach for the publication of Tolstoy's "Letter to a Hindoo"[3] which, I presume, you read at Tolstoy's when you were with him in Russia last month. I offered it to the *Daily News* for publication, but Mr. Gardiner has sent a message that it is too long for his columns.

I remain,
Yours faithfully,
M. K. GANDHI

AYLMER MAUDE ESQ.[4]
GREAT BADDOW
CHELMSFORD

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: C. W. 4438

[1] Acknowledging this letter, Lord Ampthill agreed with this view.
[2] This letter is not available.
[3] *Vide* "Letter to Leo Tolstoy", pp. 444-6.
[4] Biographer of Tolstoy who, in collaboration with his Russian wife, translated most of his works into English.

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328. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

[LONDON,]
October 29, 1909

MY DEAR HENRY,

At last Mr. Doke's books are ready. I enclose herewith a list of complimentary copies sent to the newspapers in India. If there are any newspapers left out which, in your opinion, should get complimentary copies, please take them from the parcel that will be received by Natesan, not, I fear, by the mail that takes this letter but by the following mail. I have had great difficulty in getting the copies. Ritch and I have come to the conclusion that, apart from the newspapers, no public men should receive complimentary copies. None have therefore been sent, but if you think that any should be sent on your side, you should consult Dr. Mehta and then distribute. Dr. Mehta has bought 25 copies for such distribution. You may either get some of these or, in order that the same person may not get two copies, after having learnt from him the names of those who may receive his copies, you will be able to get them from Natesan. I take it you have come to some arrangement with Natesan so that we may receive cash without delay. 85 complimentary copies have been distributed here. Of these 81 are to newspapermen. Will you please arrange for cuttings containing the reviews to be sent to Mr. Doke.

I have your two cablegrams, one informing me of the various meetings in the Madras Presidency and of your proposed departure for Rangoon. It is wonderful how Madras has come to the fore on this question. The people there seem to be so practical. They either do a thing thoroughly or do not do it at all. I am glad you will be seeing Dr. Mehta almost immediately on his arrival. I hope that each of you will be pleased with the other.

There is no reply yet from Crewe at the time of dictating this (Thursday evening)[1]. Your last letter (I mean the long one, which you evidently dictated) was very interesting and the whole of your family have read it. Of Sally and Maud and other members of your family we shall talk when we meet. Although Maud has left me, we meet almost everyday, and so also with Sally. For some time, I have become emboldened, and have been taking fruit luncheon at the hotel in the sitting-room just as we used to in Johannesburg, and Sally joins us. Twice a week Millie also joins us. Simmonds, of course, is there, and Myron

[1] It appears this letter was dispatched the next day, i.e., Friday, October 29.

J. Phel very often. He insists on bringing his own contribution. Ritch also drops in. The rest you may picture to yourself. On Sunday last, I presided at the Dussera Festival Dinner.[1] It was given practically by the extremist Committee. Nearly seventy Indians came. I accepted the proposal unhesitatingly so that I might speak to those who might assemble there on the uselessness of violence for securing reforms. This I did. My terms were that no controversial politics were to be touched upon, and these were fully carried out. I drew the moral that I wished to point out from the *Ramayana*. The Dussera Festival is a celebration of the victory of Rama over Ravana, i.e., of Truth over falsehood. I give you this information to enable you to see how I have been utilizing my time here. I have endeavoured to come in contact with as many Indians as I could. The programme still remains the same. I hope to leave on the 13th November, unless Lord Crewe unduly delays his reply, or unless something very urgent happens here necessitating our presence. The proposal about an Indian visit has been entirely abandoned. I am addressing a meeting of the Indian Social Union[2] on Saturday. There is another meeting of Indian students on Tuesday,[3] and a third, on Sunday week, of the Indian Majlis at Cambridge.[4]

Mrs. Ritch undergoes a somewhat dangerous operation on Saturday. The invitation to send a message to the Congress is rather an awkward thing. However, I shall try to write out something. Probably, you will have a copy of my letter[5] with this.

I see that you have been collecting well in Madras. It is necessary to enquire how the moneys collected are disbursed. Who keeps charge of these moneys? As the struggle is to be a prolonged one, we are bound to support the families of those who might be in gaol. The question has arisen already, so that, if these funds or part of them can be sent for the support of the families, it will be highly satisfactory. A gentleman. . .[6] to have subscriptions from others also of the same nature. I hope that there will be no difficulty on your side. Are any men specially appointed to look after the men who are deported? If there are, have you any names? All this information should be published and letters from those who are so helped may also be sent.

After you have finished your tours, so far as I can say at present, you will be staying there until the struggle has ended. If so, I think it will be highly desirable for you to take Hindi or Gujarati lessons. As

[1] *Vide* "London", pp. 498-9.

[2] Indian Union Society, *vide* "Speech at New Reform Club", p. 510 and "Letter to H. S. L. Polak", p. 512.

[3] *Vide* "Speech at Meeting of Indians", p. 511.

[4] No report of the speech made on this occasion is available.

[5] *Vide* "Letter to G. A. Natesan", pp. 506-7.

[6] One line is cut off here.

you will be doing steady Committee work, there may be no difficulty in your having some time.

I have your cablegram saying you strongly advise me to come to India. I have another cablegram from Johannesburg saying that, if the work was finished here, we should return to the Transvaal. I therefore think that it is highly necessary that I should go to the Transvaal. I feel that I have over-stayed my time here. You should therefore do the best you can under the circumstances. I know there are obvious advantages in our paying a visit to India, but perhaps it is as well that we should not do so just now.

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 5151

329. DEPUTATION NOTES [–XVIII]

[*October 29, 1909*]

NOTE ON DEPUTATION

Still there is no final reply from Lord Crewe. Meanwhile, there has been a cable[1] from Johannesburg asking the deputation to return if its work in England is over. There was a cablegram from Madras, at the same time, saying that it was very necessary for us to go to India. Sir Muncherji is also very keen that we should proceed to India. I am convinced, however, that the right course will be not to go to India. According to the present arrangements, therefore, we plan to leave here on November 13. If no final reply is received from Lord Crewe, we are thinking of leaving without making any moves in public. There are only three things to be done by way of public agitation. They are, a public statement of the history of our [problem], calling a meeting of all clergymen through the Rev. Meyer and, if practicable, acquainting members of the House of Commons with the facts of the case. Out of these, I think we shall carry out the programme which requires the Rev. Meyer's services. The history may be given, if necessary, after our departure, and a meeting of the members of the House of Commons may also be called after we leave, if that is possible.

A meeting of Indians is to be held on Saturday, since it is felt that Indians should be fully acquainted with the facts. I am to speak there. Another meeting will be held on Tuesday, to explain what steps Indians should take. A third meeting will be held in Cambridge. These are the steps as at present planned.

But we may be sure that nothing will avail us so long as we do not put forth all our strength. I must point out again and again that there is no other strength. I was glad that Mr. Sorabji and Mr. Medh returned.

[1] It was received on October 29; *vide* "Letter to Lord Ampthill", p. 501.

I congratulate them. Every Indian should emulate these brave Indians. Mr. Sorabji laid the foundation of the second phase of the struggle and it appears as though it will be brought to a successful issue through him. Let the future be what it may, Indians must realize that, in a tyrannical State, honest citizens have their true home in gaol.

In Aid of Satyagrahis

An Indian who wants to be known as "A Servant of India" has decided to give Rs. 50/- every month in aid of the poor for the duration of the struggle, and has already handed over a cheque of £3 as the first instalment. It will be good if other Indians too help in this way. I think it is likely that they will.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 27-11-1909

330. LETTER TO G. A. NATESAN[1]

[London,
After *October 29, 1909*]

DEAR SIR,

You have cabled me for a message to the forthcoming Congress. I do not know that I am at all competent to send any message. Simple courtesy, however, demands that I should say something in reply to your cable. At the present moment, I am unable to think of anything but the task immediately before me, namely, the struggle that is going on in the Transvaal. I hope our countrymen throughout India realise that it is national in its aim in that it has been undertaken to save India's honour. I may be wrong, but I have not hesitated publicly to remark that it is the greatest struggle of modern times, because it is the purest as well in its goal as in its methods. Our countrymen in the Transvaal are fighting for the right of cultured Indians to enter the Transvaal in common with Europeans. In this the fighters have no personal interest to serve, nor is there any material gain to accrue to anybody after the above-mentioned right (which has, for the first time in Colonial Legislation, been taken away) is restored. The sons of Hindustan, who are in the Transvaal, are showing that they are capable of fighting for an ideal pure and simple. The methods adopted in order to secure relief are also equally pure and equally simple. Violence in any shape or form is entirely eschewed. They believe that self-suffering is the only true and

[1] This was published in the December issue of *Indian Review*. Evidently, Gandhiji had simultaneously sent a copy to *Indian Opinion* which published it under the heading: "Message to Indian National Congress". *Vide* also "Letter to H. S. L. Polak", p. 504.

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effective means to procure lasting reforms. They endeavour to meet and conquer hatred by love. They oppose the brute or physical force by soul-force. They hold that loyalty to an earthly Sovereign or an earthly constitution is subordinate to loyalty to God and His constitution. In interpreting God's constitution through their conscience, they admit that they may possibly be wrong. Hence, in resisting or disregarding those man-made laws which they consider to be inconsistent with the eternal laws of God, they accept with resignation the penalties provided by the former, and trust to the working of time and to the best in human nature to make good their position. If they are wrong, they alone suffer, and the established order of things continues. In the process, over 2,500 Indians, or nearly one-half of the resident Indian population, or one-fifth of the possible Indian population of the Transvaal, have suffered imprisonment, carrying with it terrible hardships. Some of them have gone to gaol again and again. Many families have been impoverished. Several merchants have accepted privation rather than surrender their manhood. Incidentally, the Hindu-Mahomedan problem has been solved in South Africa. We realise there that the one cannot do without the other. Mahomedans, Parsees and Hindus, or taking them provincially, Bengalees, Madrasees, Punjabis, Afghanistanees, and Bombayites, have fought shoulder to shoulder.

I venture to suggest that a struggle such as this is worthy of occupying the best, if not, indeed, the exclusive attention of the Congress. If it be not impertinent, I would like to distinguish between this and the other items on the programme of the Congress. The opposition to the laws or the policy with which the other items deal does not involve any material suffering: the Congress activity consists in a mental attitude without corresponding action. In the Transvaal case, the law and the policy it enunciates being wrong, we disregard it, and therefore consciously and deliberately suffer material and physical injury; action follows and corresponds to our mental attitude. If the view here submitted be correct, it will be allowed that, in asking for the best place in the Congress programme for the Transvaal question, I have not been unreasonable. May I also suggest that, in pondering over and concentrating our attention upon passive resistance such as has been described above, we would perchance find out that for the many ills we suffer from in India passive resistance is an infallible panacea. It is worthy of careful study, and I am sure it will be found that it is the only weapon that is suited to the genius of our people and our land, which is the nursery of the most ancient religions and has very little to learn from modern civilization—a civilization based on violence of the blackest type, largely a negation of the Divine in man, and which is rushing headlong to its own ruin.

Indian Opinion, 27-11-1909

331. LETTER TO LORD AMPTHILL[1]

[LONDON,
October 30, 1909][2]

MY LORD,

I have for some time past been wishing to place before Your Lordship the result of my observations made here during my brief stay on the nationalist movement among my countrymen.

If you will permit me to say so, I would like to say that I have been much struck by Your Lordship's candour, sincerity and honesty of which one notices nowadays such an absence among our great public men. I have noticed too that your imperialism does not blind you to matters of obvious justice and that your love of India is genuine and great. All this coupled with my desire to withhold nothing from Your Lordship regarding my own activity about Indian matters as they may have a direct or an indirect bearing on the struggle in the Transvaal, emboldens if it does not require me to inform you of what I have seen.

I have made it a point to see Indians here of every shade of opinion. Opposed as I am to violence in any shape or form, I have endeavoured specially to come into contact with the so-called extremists who may be better described as the party of violence. This I have done in order if possible to convince them of the error of their ways. I have noticed that some of the members of this party are earnest spirits, possessing a high degree of morality, great intellectual ability and lofty self-sacrifice. They wield an undoubted influence on the young Indians here. They are certainly unsparing in their efforts to impress upon the latter their convictions. One of them came to me with a view to convince me that I was wrong in my methods and that nothing but the use of violence, covert or open or both, was likely to bring about redress of the wrongs they consider they suffer.

An awakening of the national consciousness is unmistakable. But among the majority it is in a crude shape and there is not a corresponding

[1] Though the draft does not carry the addressee's name, it is clear from the contents that the letter was addressed to Lord Ampthill. Acknowledging it on November 1, he wrote to Gandhiji: ". . .although I am not yet prepared to make any comment, I hasten to thank you for the expression of your views of which I fully appreciate the spirit and the candour. I must, however, confess that I do not fully understand your arguments and that I am in doubt as to the conclusions at which you have arrived. I should like to talk the matter over with you and I will ask you to come and see me (as I am now in London) as soon as I can see my way to a free moment."

[2] The original bears no date. This is derived from Lord Ampthill's acknowledgement.

spirit of self-sacrifice. Everywhere I have noticed impatience of British rule. In some cases the hatred of the whole race is virulent. In almost all cases distrust of British statesmen is writ large on their minds. They (the statesmen) are supposed to do nothing unselfishly. Those who are against violence are so only for the time being. They do not disapprove of it. But they are too cowardly or too selfish to avow their opinions publicly. Some consider that the time for violence is not yet. I have practically met no one who believes that India can ever become free without resort to violence.

I believe that repression will be unavailing. At the same time, I feel that the British rulers will not give liberally and in time. The British people appear to me to be obsessed by commercial selfishness. The fault is not of men but of the system and the system is represented by the present civilization which has produced its blasting effect as well on the people here as on India. India suffers additionally only in so far as it is exploited in the interest of foreign capitalists. The true remedy lies, in my humble opinion, in England discarding modern civilization which is ensouled by this spirit of selfishness and materialism, is vain and purposeless and is a negation of the spirit of Christianity. But this is a large order. It may then be just possible that the British rulers in India may at least do as the Indians do and not impose upon them the modern civilization. Railways, machinery and corresponding increase of indulgent habits are the true badges of slavery of the Indian people as they are of Europeans. I, therefore, have no quarrel with the rulers. I have every quarrel with their methods. I no longer believe as I used to in Lord Macaulay as a benefactor through his minute on education. And I do think that a great deal too much is being made of *pax Britannica*. To me the rise of the cities like Calcutta and Bombay is a matter for sorrow rather than congratulation. India has lost in having broken up a part of her village system. Holding these views, I share the national spirit but I totally dissent from the methods whether of the extremists or of the moderates. For either party relies ultimately on violence. Violent methods must mean acceptance of modern civilization and therefore of the same ruinous competition we notice here and consequent destruction of true morality. I should be uninterested in the fact as to who rules. I should expect rulers to rule according to my wish otherwise I cease to help them to rule me. I become a passive resister against them. Passive resistance is soul-force exerted against physical force. In other words love conquering hatred.

I do not know how far I have made myself understood and I do not know how far I carry you with me in my reasoning. But I have put the case in the above manner before my countrymen. My purpose in writing to Your Lordship is twofold. The first is to tell Your Lordship that, whenever I can get the time, I would like to take my humble share in national regeneration and the second is either to secure Your Lordship's

cooperation in the larger work if it ever comes to me or to invite your criticism.

The information I have given Your Lordship is quite confidential and not to be made use of prejudicially to my countrymen. I feel that no useful purpose will be served unless the truth is known and proclaimed.

If you will pursue the inquiry further, I shall be pleased to answer any questions you may wish to put. Mr. Ritch has full knowledge of the contents of this letter. If a discussion is considered necessary, I am at your service.

In conclusion, I hope I have not unduly or unwarrantably trespassed upon your courtesy and attention.

I remain, etc.,

From a photostat of the original draft in Gandhiji's hand: S. N. 5152

332. SPEECH AT NEW REFORM CLUB[1]

[LONDON,
October 30, 1909]

The fight (he said) was for freedom of conscience, for mental independence and independence of action, not for the mechanical right of voting. British Indians first emigrated to the Transvaal in 1883, and from the first, their very virtues were set down as vices by those who could not realize how difficult it was for Indians to live in such a country.

They had heard from Lord Lansdowne that the war was undertaken as much for the British Indians as for other Outlanders, but after the war was over, the former were in a much worse position. They could only trade or hold land in Locations reserved for them, they had no burgher rights and no right to walk on the footpath, and it could be imagined how they were therefore treated by the people of the Transvaal when they were so degraded in the eyes of the law. Many statesmen allowed themselves to be betrayed into the hands of a few agitators, rivals in trade of the British Indians, and the new Registration Law of 1906 was used for oppressing British Indians. It was impossible for those who had the slightest sense of self-respect to accept that legislation. Deputations were repulsed, as was the request for a judicial enquiry. British Indians had been thrown into gaol and classed in treatment with the black men being forced to live upon the same dietary, with the consequence that they were practically starved. For the sake of the national honour they became passive resisters. It might be years before they could make themselves heard, but that would only be because they had not suffered enough. They had justice on their side, and Hindus, Mahomedans and Tamils, by working together in the cause, had solved a great racial problem.

India, 5-11-1909

[1] Gandhiji addressed the members of the Indian Union Society at the New Reform Club on "The Struggle for Fellow-citizenship in South Africa: Its Lessons".

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333. SPEECH AT MEETING OF INDIANS[1]

[LONDON,
November 2, 1909]

Mr. Gandhi, in the course of his remarks, stated that in the Transvaal would be solved the question, so far as the whole of South Africa was concerned, of the status of British Indians, and that it had a far-reaching effect in India also, and as the struggle in the Transvaal was for preserving the national honour, every Indian was bound to do his utmost to help the cause. He felt that if Indian volunteers came forward to do propaganda work in London and surrounding districts a great deal could be done to inform public opinion, which was ultimately bound to react on the Transvaal. The volunteers should set apart consistently with their ordinary occupations a certain amount of time for paying house-to-house visits and getting subscriptions from one farthing upward to relieve the distress amongst passive resisters and their families, and signatures to a document[2] expressing sympathy with the struggles of the passive resisters, encouraging them and trusting that the authorities will grant relief.[3]

Indian Opinion, 4-12-1909

334. LETTER TO UNDER SECRETARY FOR COLONIES

[LONDON,]
November 3, 1909

SIR,

I shall be obliged if His Lordship the Earl of Crewe could now favour me with a reply to my letter of 19th October.

I have, etc.,

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 5158

[1] Convened by Messrs Delgado and Azad, the latter being one of the secretaries of the Muslim League in London, the meeting was held at 3 p.m. in the Essex Hall, Strand. Parekh presided. Hajee Habib and M. C. Anglia also addressed the gathering consisting of some 40 Indians. *Vide* also "Deputation's Last Letter", pp. 522-3 for a fuller report.

[2] *Vide* "Letter to Transvaal British Indians", pp. 519-20.

[3] The report stated that some 20 Indians and an equal number of Europeans volunteered to do propaganda work in London, under the guidance of L. W. Ritch, and it was decided to publish later on a weekly bulletin about the progress of the struggle, to be financed by English sympathisers in London. *Vide* also "Letter to H. S. L. Polak", pp. 512-3.

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335. LETTER TO LORD AMPTHILL

[LONDON,]
November 4, 1909

MY LORD,

I have now received a letter from Lord Crewe, of which I enclose a copy[1], which shows clearly where we stand. The last paragraph I do not understand at all. I beg to enclose herewith draft[2] of the proposed reply to Lord Crewe. I await Your Lordship's advice before sending it.[3]

I remain, etc.

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 5159

336. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

[LONDON,]
November 5, 1909

MY DEAR HENRY,

I can send you only a brief letter today, although I have a lot to say. You will find a copy of the letter from Lord Crewe, and copy of my reply. It has not yet been delivered to Lord Crewe because it has been sent to Lord Ampthill for approval.[4]

The statement[5] is now being distributed. I send you one copy along with the *Times Literary Supplement* by parcel post, and I hope to send you also copy of the letter which will accompany the statement, bringing the matters to date. The letter from Lord Crewe has been received in time for the Congress to do its duty. Let us hope that it will.

We leave on 13th November. On Saturday last I addressed a meeting of the Indian Union Society.[6] All these things are now[7] necessary in order to let every Indian know the position. There might be a report of the meeting in the columns of *India*. On Tuesday, as per card herewith,

[1] *Vide* Appendix XXXI.

[2] This was the same as the letter sent on November 6; *vide* "Letter to Under Secretary for Colonies", p. 519.

[3] For Lord Ampthill's reply, *vide* Appendix XXXI.

[4] *Vide* the preceding item.

[5] This was the printed statement of July 16, which had been withheld from circulation till then. It was released with a covering letter; *vide* the following item.

[6] *Vide* "Speech at New Reform Club", p. 510.

[7] The original has "not", an obvious typing error.

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there was a meeting of young Indians to consider what they could do. Mr. Anglia, Mr. Hajee Habib, and I spoke to them.[1] The proposition I made before them was that students and other resident Indians should give what time they could regularly to propaganda work, should get a memorandum signed by thousands of people here, with whatever subscription they may choose to give towards the maintenance of the struggle. I send you draft memorandum.[2] A meeting is to be held tomorrow to consider the programme of work and the draft memorandum. The idea is also to publish a weekly bulletin, if possible, that would give a resume of the position in India and South Africa, but there are obvious difficulties about the paper. The paper, in my opinion, cannot be financed from India. It must be self-supporting and any deficiency found by the English people, because I hold that it is their duty from many points of view to take up the work. But you require a man who is able enough, and who can give his exclusive attention to this. Ritch cannot do it at present. It therefore remains to be seen whether this can come out. If Chhaganlal is here in time, there is a likelihood of it. The work of the Committee will continue. I take it that you will correspond with Ritch regularly.

I send you herewith copy of my letter to Lord Ampthill,[3] which is quite confidential, but of course you should know the whole position. After reading the letter I would like you to destroy it. I am sending a copy to Dr. Mehta with a similar request, and I am sending also a copy of this letter to him in order to avoid my having to write about the same thing. If the volunteers do their duty here, and if India makes a sufficient effort, there is no reason why the thing cannot go through, provided, of course, that we in the Transvaal are firm. It is a curious coincidence that along with the letter from Lord Crewe comes the news from the Transvaal that Harilal too is safely lodged in gaol. I am itching to join him.

I have your cablegram asking me to repeat the last word of my last cable, which I shall do tomorrow in the hope of being able to add something more to the cable. The last word was "NEARCTIC" meaning thirteenth November. It occurs in the 5th edition of the A.B.C. code.

I am addressing a meeting of the Indian Majlis at Cambridge on Sunday.[4]

You will notice from the list of volunteers that both Sally and Maud are offering their help.[5] The Pater and Mater also are coming tomorrow.

[1] *Vide* "Speech at Meeting of Indians", p. 511.
[2] *Vide* "Letter to Transvaal British Indians", pp. 519-20.
[3] *Vide* "Letter to Lord Ampthill", pp. 508-10.
[4] No report of this speech is available.
[5] *Vide* "Deputation's Last Letter", pp. 524.

I do not know what they will do. Of course if they will they also can do the missionary work, but I can hardly conceive it as possible. Miss Winterbottom has thrown herself into it.

Mr. Doke's book has been reviewed in the *Edinburgh Evening News* in about 20 lines. *The Times* has just acknowledged it, giving a 4-line notice. I do not think it has been reviewed anywhere else yet. Mr. Meyer calls a meeting to bid us farewell and to hear me on the position on Friday the 12th inst. and about sixty people are being invited to tea.[1]

From the typewritten office copy: S. N. 5162

337. LETTER TO THE PRESS

LONDON,
November 5, 1909

SIR,

The Transvaal British Indian deputation arrived in London on the 10th day of July last. The enclosed statement[2] of the British Indian case in that Colony was prepared immediately after the arrival in London of that deputation, but it was not issued as delicate negotiations with a view to arriving at a quiet settlement were in progress. We have now learnt that these have proved abortive and that the position remains unchanged. It has therefore become necessary for us to inform the public as to how the matter stands and what the struggle of the British Indians in the Transvaal means.

The ex-Colonial Secretary of the Transvaal during its administration as a Crown Colony, writing in a magazine in South Africa in the month of February last, thus correctly summed up the question:

> The position of the Indian leaders is that they will tolerate no law which does not put them on an equality with Europeans in regard to restriction on immigration. They are willing to see the number of Asiatics limited by administrative action. . . They insist on equality in the terms of the law itself.

That is still the position.

Mr. Smuts, the present Colonial Secretary of the Transvaal, offers to repeal the Registration Law around which the struggle has been raging for the last three years, and to concede to a limited number of British Indians, other than former residents of the Transvaal, certificates of permanent residence. Were the objectaimed at by the British Indians the admission into the Colony of a few more of their brethren, this concession would be material, but the object they have had in view in agitating

[1] *Vide* "Speech at Farewell Meeting", pp. 539-43.
[2] *Vide* "Statement of Transvaal Indian Case", pp. 288-301.

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for the repeal of the Law being to secure legal or theoretical equality in respect of immigration, their purpose is by the proposed maintenance of the legal disability not advanced a step. We are not aware whether the above modification of the present law proposed by Mr. Smuts will take place irrespective of the continuance of the passive resistance at present being offered by the British Indians of the Transvaal, but we are in a position to state that the proposed concession will not satisfy passive resisters. The struggle of the Indian community of that Colony was undertaken in order to obtain the removal of the stigma cast upon the whole of India by this legislation, which imports a racial and colour bar into the Immigration Laws of a British Colony for the first time in the history of Colonial legislation. The principle so laid down, that British Indians may not enter the Transvaal because they are British Indians, is a radical departure from traditional policy, is un-British and intolerable, and if that principle is accepted even tacitly by British Indians, we consider that they will be untrue to themselves, to the land of their birth, and to the Empire to which they belong. Nor is it the passive resisters in the Transvaal who in a matter of this kind have alone to be considered. The whole of India is now awakened to a sense of the insult that the Transvaal legislation offers to her, and we feel that the people here at the heart of the Empire cannot remain unmoved by this departure, so unprecedented and so vital, from Imperial traditions. Mr. Smuts' proposal brings out the issue in the clearest manner possible. If we were fighting not for a principle but for loaves and fishes, he would be prepared to throw them at us in the shape of residential permits for the small number of cultured British Indians that may be required for our wants, but because we insist upon the removal of the implied racial taint from the legislation of the Colony, he is not prepared to yield an inch. He would give us the husk without the kernel. He declines to remove the badge of inferiority, but is ready to change the present rough-looking symbol for a nicely polished one. British Indians, however, decline to be deluded. They may yield everything, occupy any position, but the badge must be removed first. We, therefore, trust that the public will not be misled by the specious concessions that are being offered into the belief that British Indians, because they do not accept them, are unreasonable in their demands, that they are uncompromising, and that, therefore, they do not deserve the sympathy and support of a common-sense and practical public. In the final reply received by us from Lord Crewe the following is the position that is taken up:

> His Lordship explained to you that Mr. Smuts was unable to accept the claim that Asiatics should be placed in a position of equality with Europeans in respect of right of entry or otherwise.

Herein lies the crux. Legal equality in respect of the right of entry, even though never a man does enter, is what British Indians have been fighting

for and, according to the reports we have received from the Transvaal, is what some of them, at least, will die for. The only possible justification for holding together the different communities of the Empire under the same Sovereignty is the fact of elementary equality, and it is because the Transvaal legislation cuts at the very root of this principle that British Indians have offered a stubborn resistance.

It would be contrary to fact to argue that no relief can be had in this matter because the Transvaal is a self-governing Colony, and because now South Africa has got its Union. The difficulty of the situation is due to a mistake committed at the centre of the Empire. The Imperial Government are party to the crime against the Imperial Constitution. They sanctioned when they need not have, and when it was their duty not to have sanctioned, the legislation in question. They are now undoubtedly most anxious to settle this troublesome matter. Lord Crewe has endeavoured to bring about a satisfactory result, but he is too late. Mr. Smuts, perhaps very properly, has reminded His Lordship of the fact that the legislation in question had received Imperial sanction, and that he should or could not now be called upon to retrace his steps, because the British Indians in the Transvaal had undertaken to disregard the legislation, and to suffer the penalties of such disregard. His position as a politician and as an aspirant to high office in " a white South Africa " is unquestionable, but neither the British public nor the Indian public are interested in his position, nor are they party to this crime of the Imperial Government.

We may add that, during the last four months, arrests and imprisonments have gone on unabated. The leaders of the community continue to go to prison. The severity of the prison regulations is maintained. The prison diet has been altered for the worse. Prominent medical men of Johannesburg have certified that the present dietary scale for Indian prisoners is deficient. The authorities, unlike their action during last year, have ignored the religious scruples of Mahomedan prisoners, and have refused to give facilities for observing the sacred annual fast which millions of Mahomedans scrupulously undergo from year to year. Sixty passive resisters recently came out of the Pretoria Gaol emaciated and weak. Their message to us is that, starved as they were, they are ready to be re-arrested as soon as the Government wish to lay their hands on them. The Acting Chairman of the British Indian Association has only just been arrested and sentenced to be imprisoned for three months with hard labour. This is his third term. He is a Mahomedan. A brave Parsee, a well-educated man, was deported to Natal. He re-entered, and is now undergoing six months' imprisonment with hard labour. He is in gaol for the fifth time. A young Indian, an ex-Volunteer sergeant, has also gone to gaol for the third time on the same terms as the Parsee. Wives of imprisoned British Indians and their children either take up baskets

of fruit, hawk about and earn their living in order to support themselves, or are being supported from contributions. Mr. Smuts, when he re-embarked for South Africa, said that he had arrived at an understanding with Lord Crewe that would satisfy the large body of British Indians who were heartily sick of the agitation. His prophecy has been totally disproved by what has happened since.

We remain, etc.,
M. K. GANDHI
HAJEE HABIB

[ENCLOSURE]

SUMMARY OF STATEMENT

The British Indians in the Transvaal have been suffering for the past two years and six months untold suffering in order to secure:

Repeal of a Transvaal law called the Asiatic Registration Act (2 of 1907) which its authors claim to be a measure merely for effecting the identification of the British Indians entitled to remain in the Colony, but which is regarded by the British Indians themselves as most objectionable, because, in reality—

(1) The Act wounds their religious susceptibilities and degrades them in many ways; and

(2) Read together with another law of a later date (called the Immigration Act), it constitutes an impassable barrier to the immigration of Indians, however highly cultured, on the score of their race and colour.

The desired relief can easily be granted by repealing the Registration Act and slightly amending the Immigration Act, without in any way endangering the colonial policy of preventing an influx of British Indians. The practical effect of such repeal and amendment would be the removal of the racial insult, and would at the most involve the entry of the few Indian new-comers necessary for the spiritual and intellectual needs of the resident community.

The Indians at present actually residing in the Transvaal number about 5,000.

The population of Indians domiciled in the Transvaal is about 13,000.

The difference means that nearly 8,000 Indians have been driven away, for the time being, from the Transvaal, being too weak to undergo the physical suffering of gaol life.

Over 2,500 British Indians have passed through the Transvaal gaols, all but 150 having been imprisoned with hard labour. Sentences have ranged from four days' to six months' hard labour. Hundreds of

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British Indians have been ruined in the struggle. Several families have been supported from public subscriptions, the wage-earners being in the Transvaal gaols. Indians both young and old have suffered and are still suffering imprisonment. Many leaders are at present in the gaols, including the Mahomedan Chairman of the British Indian Association and a Parsee gentleman who is renowned for his philanthropy throughout South Africa. Fathers and sons have been in gaol at the same time. About sixty Indians have been deported to India, where they were landed penniless and friendless.

A band of noble Europeans in the Transvaal, headed by Mr. Wm. Hosken, M. L. A. of the Transvaal, have formed themselves into a committee for securing justice.

Hindoos and Mahomedans, Parsees and Sikhs are fighting shoulder to shoulder. The struggle to-day is being continued to maintain the honour of the three hundred millions of their fellow-countrymen, and is absolutely selfless. The sufferers have no personal interest to serve.

The Indians contend that General Smuts, the Colonial Secretary of the Transvaal, is under promise to repeal the Asiatic Registration Act of 1907. If that Act had been repealed, the question of educated Indians would have been automatically adjusted, because, without it, the Immigration Law above referred to would not have prevented the entry of highly educated Indians. General Smuts contends that, whilst he discussed the question of repeal of the Act with Mr. Gandhi, he does not remember having made a definite promise. Mr. Gandhi has made an affidavit swearing that such a promise was made and has produced documentary evidence in support of his contention. General Smuts holds that the Indian demands are in effect satisfied in that he wishes to treat the Registration Act as a dead letter and is prepared to admit educated Indians on sufferance and on temporary permits, which may be extended from time to time. Indians hold that they are under a solemn obligation to secure repeal of the Act above-mentioned, and that, if it is a dead letter, it can be of no use to the Government. They further contend that the admission of educated Indians on sufferance is useless because the struggle is not so much to secure the admission of a few individuals as to conserve national honour. *It is the unnecessary legal racial disability which makes the situation so degrading, and affords an abiding source of irritation to the whole Indian nation.* This legislation is the first of its kind in the history of the Colonies. No other self-governing Colony possesses legislation containing the racial taint, described by Lord Morley as the "bar sinister".

British Indians do not desire an indiscriminate influx of their countrymen into the Transvaal. They submit that, by a judicious administration of the Immigration Act, all but a few—say six highly educated Indians per year—may be prevented from entering the Colony. The

Cape, Australia and other Colonies have solved the question of Asiatic immigration without resort to racial legislation.

From a photostat of the printed copy: S. N. 5180

338. LETTER TO UNDER SECRETARY FOR COLONIES

[LONDON,]
November 6, 1909

SIR,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 3rd instant, numbered 34519/1909.[1] It is a matter for very deep regret that the Earl of Crewe is unable to hold out any hopes of obtaining recognition of theoretical equality as to immigration such as is claimed by British Indians in the Transvaal, and as has hitherto been accepted throughout the Colonies, and which alone, it is respectfully submitted, can justify the holding together of different peoples of the world under the same sovereignty. There remains nothing for my colleague and me to do but to place the position before the public and to return to the Transvaal. In view, however, of the Imperial importance of the question, my colleague and I respectfully trust that His Lordship will still use his influence in order to secure the removal of the offensive colour bar in the immigration laws of the Transvaal.[2]

I have, etc.,
M. K. GANDHI

Colonial Office Records: 291/142; also, from a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 5164

339. LETTER TO TRANSVAAL BRITISH INDIANS[3]

[LONDON,
November 6, 1909]

We of the United Kingdom have learnt, through those who are working here on your behalf, about your sorrows and trials under the

[1] *Vide* Appendix XXXI.

[2] The Colonial Office reaction to this letter is available in a minute of November 9. On receipt of Gandhiji's communication, the Colonial Office sent a cable to the Transvaal Government. *Vide* Appendix XXXIII.

[3] The draft of this memorandum, evidently drawn up by Gandhiji, was ready on November 5 and was to be placed before a meeting to be held the next day "to consider the programme of work and the draft memorandum"; *vide* "Letter to H. S. L. Polak", p. 513. It was addressed to "Our British Indian Brothers and Sisters in the Transvaal", by British sympathizers of the passive resistance movement whose signatures were obtained by a group of volunteers.

British flag. That you are fighting for the honour of your race and your motherland commands our admiration. In our opinion, the Transvaal Government has no right to debar British subjects who may be of a different race or a different colour to themselves from entering that Colony because of colour or race. We hold it to be contrary to the traditions of the Empire to which you and we belong. We appreciate the moderation of your position in that, whilst you naturally insist upon your national honour being preserved untarnished, you do not oppose the desire of the Colonists in the Transvaal to regulate and restrict immigration from India under general and non-racial legislation, and on economic grounds which to the Colonists appear to be just.

The method you have adopted for seeking redress appeals to us who believe in religion as the guiding force of life. In making your position good, and in convincing the authorities of the justice of your cause and of the earnestness of your demand, you have not resorted to methods of violence and physical force, but you have heroically suffered in your own persons by refusing to accept a law which you rightly consider to be repugnant to your conscience and by submitting to the penalties provided by it for non-submission. 2,500 of you have already been imprisoned — mostly with hard labour, and for long terms up to six months. Some of you have become impoverished. Wives have patiently borne separation from their husbands, and have also been reduced almost to starvation. Your merchants have allowed their goods to be sold, and have allowed their creditors to take away their stock. In undergoing such suffering you are showing the true spirit of the great teachers of the different religions of the world. We sympathise with you. We mean that our whole life shall testify how earnestly we desire for you strength and courage to continue your struggle, and, as a tangible expression of our sympathy for you, we subscribe our names herein below, and pay whatever we feel impelled to give towards the relief of your distress. We hope that the authorities, as well in the Transvaal as in London, will open their eyes and give immediate relief.

Indian Opinion, 11-12-1909

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340. DEPUTATION'S LAST LETTER[1]

[After *November 6, 1909*]

Lord Crewe's Reply

Everything now is as clear as daylight. Lord Crewe has given a plain reply. Says he:[2]

> I am to inform you that the proposals in question were those put before you by His Lordship on the 16th of September as having been made by Mr. Smuts, *viz.*, the repeal of Act 2 of 1907 and the admission of six educated Asiatics each year on certificates of permanent right of residence, which would involve, in your own view, a real step in advance and would, so far as their practical effect is concerned, provide a solution of the present difficulty. They were not, nor were they connected with, those made by yourself, and involving a theoretical claim for which His Lordship is not able to hold out any hope of obtaining recognition. Indeed, at the interview on the 16th of September, His Lordship explained to you that Mr. Smuts was unable to accept the claim that Asiatics should be placed in a position of equality with Europeans in respect of right of entry or otherwise.

Deputation's Reply

The deputation has replied to this letter as under:[3]

Comments

It is now necessary for every Indian to understand what the struggle is about and how important are the issues involved. We are carrying a burden on behalf of the whole of India. It is but our duty to do so. Mr. Smuts is prepared to offer us whatever we want if only we concede that we are not the equals of whites. He clings to the position that we shall not have equality under the law. He has struck at the root of British principles and the principles of humanity. We have taken the blow on ourselves in order to defend those principles. Were the blow to strike at the root, the British Empire will cease to have any meaning, and it will be slavery for Indians to stay on in the Transvaal or South Africa. No one can enslave us against our will. If we

[1] This was published in *Indian Opinion* with the following sub-headings: "Steps Taken in England: Detailed Statement in Press: Volunteers to Canvass Support for Struggle."

[2] What follows is an extract from the letter dated November 3 from the Under Secretary for Colonies; *vide* Appendix XXXI.

[3] For the text of the letter, *vide* "Letter to Under Secretary for Colonies", p. 519.

do not recognize the principles of the man [who may attempt to enslave us] and refuse to carry out his orders, we cease to be slaves. In former times, they used force to impose slavery; now they use blandishments. In olden days, one might say, things were better, since all the evil was there on the surface for everyone to see, with the result that people were repelled by it. When the slaves could no longer bear their sufferings, they ran away or killed themselves. Now that they seek to confer slavery upon us through baits, we readily accept it, not even knowing that it is slavery. We are fighting the battle of satyagraha in South Africa in order to save ourselves from such a plight. The Government knows, and we ought to—if we do not know already—that, if we once compel it to give up its effort [to enslave us], the rest will be easy enough for us. We are carrying on a fight for the franchise that really matters. We are demonstrating that we have the potentialities of nationhood in us, the spirit that people aspiring to be a nation must possess.

Moreover, we are not fighting against the Transvaal [Government] only, but also against the Imperial Government, for the latter has assented to the law[1] in question. " You will get all that you want if you give up the claim to legal equality;" in other words, " Sign a bond of slavery and you will be treated well. " Or, we may explain this by imagining Germany saying to the British : " Come under our rule and we shall treat you well. " In reply, the British will say : " We do not care to be treated well by you. We are happy defending our freedom, whatever the suffering we may have to go through. " That is exactly the kind of reply that we have been giving for the last three years, and which, I hope, we shall for ever continue to give. Many embraced poverty in the course of the fight for legal equality in respect of right of entry, and we are prepared to lay down our lives in it. I take it that the brave ones who have taken up arms will never retreat. Let every Indian tell himself over and over again that the remedy for this situation is in our own hands, not in those of the Imperial Government or of the Transvaal Government. It is our duty to make formal representations to them and reason with them. But it should not be forgotten that no pressure other than that of our own strength will avail us.

Feelings

The cable-report in the newspapers about the imprisonment of my son, Harilal, coming as it did at the same time as Lord Crewe's letter, certainly made me very happy. When so many Indians were re-arrested, I was not in the least happy that my son and I should be free. And just then appeared the cable-report. Miss Polak, who understands my feelings on this matter, congratulated me as she gave me the news.

[1] The Asiatic Registration Act No. 2 of 1907

Though I know that the boy, poor child, will suffer, I welcome the news all the same. It will do him good to suffer, and me too; he will be doing a service to the community. It is the command of God [that one should suffer]. Nagappen, you too were a mere child, and sacrificed your life for the sake of the motherland. I regard your sacrifice as a blessing on your family. I believe that, though dead, you are immortal. Why, then, should I be upset by my son's imprisonment? His associates have returned to gaol. None of them stands to gain anything by doing so, and yet they have submitted to the hardships of gaol. I refuse to believe that this suffering will not be rewarded with happiness and that the law will not be repealed on our terms. I hope that no Indian will be timid enough to entertain such a belief.

To South African Indians

I say to all the Indians in South Africa that this struggle is not confined to the Transvaal, that it is on behalf of them all and that they should extend every encouragement to those who are fighting. To Mr. Abdul Caadir and Mr. Amod Bhayat, who have seen for themselves how matters stand here, I say that their duty requires them to instil the highest spirit in the people. Everyone can, and will, I hope, help to the best of his means, some by expressing their views, some with money and others by going to gaol.

We have only one week before leaving,[1] and plenty to do in the meantime. A printed statement is ready, which is now to be sent round. It is accompanied by a forwarding letter, which reads as follows:[2]

It is hoped that newspapers will publish the letter.

Indian Union Society

A meeting of the Indian Union Society was held on Saturday, when all the facts about the struggle were placed before the Indians and the whites. A brief report of the meeting appeared in one of the newspapers here.

Meeting of London Indians

A meeting of the local Indians was held on Tuesday last. Between 40 and 50 Indians were present. Mr. Hajee Habib, Mr. Anglia and I spoke. I asked for some Indians to come forward as volunteers. They would have to go from house to house and collect signatures on a letter[3] of sympathy. Besides signing the letter, one may also offer, if so inclined, anything from a farthing upwards. There can be thousands of such signatures. They cannot but produce an effect on the Imperial

[1] The deputation left England on November 13.

[2] For the text of the letter, *vide* "Letter to the Press", pp. 514-7.

[3] *Vide* the preceding item.

Government as also on others. In response to the call, about 20 Indians gave their names on the spot. This is a very promising idea. It is likely to take root and, if all the volunteers put their heart into the work, they may achieve a big result. In that case, while pressure is being exerted in India on the one hand, there will be similar pressure in England on the other and, if we meanwhile maintain our spirit in the Transvaal, the fight can well be brought to an early conclusion. Afterwards, some whites, too, gave their names. In all, the following names have been received :

Messrs G. C. Verma, S. P. Verma, F. Lalan, J. P. Patel, K. Amid, N. Dwarkadas, D. C. Ghose, H. M. Bose, G. H. Khan, Abdool Haq, S. Manga, A. Haffeji, B. Sahai, H. R. Bilimoria, D. Singh, B. Prasad, Hussain Dawad, A. H. Gool, R. G. Munsif, M. K. Azad, P. Banerjee, A. Mann, H. E. Cheeseman, and among the ladies, Miss F. Winterbottom, Mrs. G. Nag, Mrs. Polak, Mrs. Dube, Miss Hussain and the Misses Polak.

Suggestion to Start Newspaper

There is also an idea that we may start a small journal here in England itself for the duration of the struggle. It should give a digest of all the news received from South Africa and India and should be put on sale at a number of places. The intention is to start the journal only if some whites here offer to finance it. It is their duty to do so, and they must, of course, carry it out. The difficulty is that Mr. Ritch does not have enough time for the purpose and no one equally capable is available at present. There are many who can work under him, but it is necessary to have a man who will offer his whole-time services to the work. The journal can start only when such a man is available.

Meyer's Help

To end, Mr. Meyer, the well-known clergyman who had been in Johannesburg for some time, has arranged a tea-party at his own cost to enable people to meet us both. He has invited some 60 persons. We are to explain the whole position there. The function will take place on Friday, the 12th.[1] Things are thus on the move on every side. But the effectiveness of every step will depend on our courage. The following were the final words of Mr. Meyer,[2] "We (the British) shall not be of much help to you. You will have to suffer and go to gaol. It is only when you have done so and when India is aroused that you will see the end of your trials. Otherwise, be sure that nothing will happen. I will, of course, do my best." This was well-said. It is only deluding ourselves to believe that others will do anything for us.

[1] *Vide* "Speech at Farewell Meeting", pp. 539-43.

[2] Gandhiji met Rev. F. B. Meyer at lunch on September 24.

Dr. Miss Joshi and Mr. Mhaskar have contributed £3 [each] to the struggle. Likewise, Mr. Gokulbhai Dalal has sent 10s. Dr. Joshi has also addressed a letter to the editor [of *Indian Opinion*].

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 4-12-1909

341. LONDON

[Before *November 8, 1909*]

SUFFRAGETTES

The campaign that women have been carrying on for the franchise can prove most useful to us, or so I think at least. It has importance both for South Africa and India. They do much that deserves to be copied, and much that should be avoided. Like us, they believe that they are being denied their rights, and that they are treated as inferior [to men]. Their struggle has been going on for quite some time. They, too, have two parties, one moderate and the other extremist. The difference between them and us is that they are not satyagrahis, but believe in brute force.

Their courage, their unity, their readiness to bear pecuniary losses, their intelligence—all these deserve to be admired and emulated. They throw stones and injure others, forgetting all sense of propriety, and these ways of theirs deserve to be shunned. Three such incidents occurred only recently. A suffragette in Manchester Gaol was being forcibly fed. She, therefore, resorted to a stratagem which made it impossible to open the door [of her cell]. Thereupon, the authorities sprayed her with a water-hose. Still, she did not open the door. This lady had real courage, indeed, but used it to a wrong end. Those who come forward to suffer are not justified in behaving as she did. Her object was to secure her release from gaol, and she achieved it. But the women won no rights [thereby]. When it came to be known that she was sprayed with a water-hose, she was ordered to be released.

In a certain locality here, election of a member to the House of Commons was going on. Two women went there with the intention of spoiling election papers.[1] They had with them some liquid with which they could burn paper. Having managed somehow to enter the election booth, they squirted the liquid all round. Not many papers were spoiled, but one of the women caused a serious injury to an officer's eye. This was a very base thing to do. It is being condemned by everyone. And

[1] Reports of these two incidents appeared in the Gujarati columns of *Indian Opinion*, 6-11-1909.

yet, her Association has accepted responsibility for what she did. The women are now being prosecuted.

At a third place, they broke the door-panes of the physician who used to carry out forcible feeding. This was done merely with the object of damaging the physician's property. In what way was the physician to blame? He was only an officer of the Government and undertook the task [of forcible feeding]. All these are courageous acts, but courage by itself cannot win any rights. Courage should be put to a worthy use.

I came to know only recently that the suffragettes publish four journals—three weeklies and one monthly. A single branch of their Association raised the entire sum of £50,000 much before the target date, and so, they are now planning to raise the figure to £1,00,000. They have a band of their own, and also a special photographer for their journal. There are meetings of the Association branches at one place or another all through the week. The franchise is nowhere in sight yet, but they refuse to accept defeat and go on fighting. This is surely no ordinary spirit.

BUDGET

The storm over the budget raged for six months in the House of Commons. It has now passed the Budget Bill, which will go to the House of Lords on Monday. The Bill is expected to meet with fierce opposition there. Many believe that the House of Lords will refuse to pass the Budget. In that case, there will be new elections in January. Many people hold that even if that happens, the Liberal Party will win. For the present, the British people are intensely preoccupied with this question. They can think of nothing else, for it is a fierce strife that is going on between the commoners and the nobility. Each side reviles the other and doubts its *bona fides*. The only thing they have desisted from, so far, is actual physical fighting and that, too, not because they think it bad but because neither side expects to profit by it. They are not likely [however] to invite help from a third party to settle their quarrel. That much is certain.

[From Gujarati]
Indian Opinion, 4-12-1909

342. INTERVIEW TO REUTER[1]

[LONDON,
November 9, 1909]

Mr. Gandhi, interviewed by a representative of Reuter's Agency, expressed disappointment at the failure of negotiations with Mr. Smuts. He paid a tribute to the efforts of Lord Crewe to effect a settlement of the Asiatic question with the Transvaal Government, but he said that the concessions which had been made did not touch the vital principle of legal equality.

Mr. Gandhi said he expected Hajee Habib and himself to be arrested on the Transvaal border. The campaign with which he was associated would, however, be continued most strenuously in India, the United Kingdom and South Africa, where Indian and English volunteers had organized a house-to-house visitation with the object of securing support and funds.

Indian Opinion, 13-11-1909

343. LETTER TO AYLMER MAUDE

LONDON,
November 10, 1909

DEAR MR. MAUDE,

I have not succeeded in getting the *Manchester Guardian* to take up Tolstoy's "Letter to a Hindoo". I have not been able to go to the British Museum myself, but I asked a friend to look up Ballows' books[2]. His books are there.

Could you please now tell me whether you would act as co-judge with Dr. Clifford with reference to the Passive Resistance Essay.

I remain, etc.,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the handwritten original signed by Gandhiji: C. W. 4439

[1] This was published under the caption "News from London".

[2] Only one book entitled *A Treatise of Equity* by Henry Ballow (1707-1782) is mentioned in the catalogue of the British Museum. It was first published in 1737, the edition in the British Museum being that of 1756.

344. LETTER TO LORD AMPTHILL

[LONDON,]
November 10, 1909

MY LORD,

I am much obliged to Your Lordship for your letter of today. As you propose to make use of the information about the interview[1] at the forthcoming discussion in the House of Lords, I quite agree that the minutes should be sent to Lord Crewe for confirmation or . . . [2]

I am delighted to learn that your son is making good progress.[3]

I remain, etc.,

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 5172

345. LETTER TO LEO TOLSTOY

LONDON,
November 10, 1909

DEAR SIR,

I beg to tender my thanks for your registered letter in connection with the letter addressed to a Hindu, and with the matters that I dealt with in my letter[4] to you.

Having heard about your failing health I refrained, in order to save you the trouble, from sending an acknowledgment, knowing that a written expression of my thanks was a superfluous formality; but Mr. Aylmer Maude, whom I have now been able to meet reassured me that you were keeping very good health indeed and that unfailingly and regularly you attended to your correspondence every morning. It was a very gladsome news to me, and it encourages me to write to you further about matters which are, I know, of the greatest importance according to your teaching.

I beg to send you herewith a copy of a book[5] written by a friend—an Englishman, who is at present in South Africa, in connection with my life, in so far as it has a bearing on the struggle with which I am so

[1] *Vide* "Substance of Interview with Lord Crewe", pp. 408-11 and Appendix XXXIII.

[2] Some words have not registered on the office copy.

[3] On November 7, Lord Ampthill had informed Gandhiji that one of his children was ill, and put off an appointment with him fixed for the next day.

[4] *Vide* "Letter to Leo Tolstoy", pp. 444-6.

[5] *M. K. Gandhi: An Indian Patriot in South Africa* by Rev. J. J. Doke

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connected, and to which my life is dedicated. As I am very anxious to engage your active interest and sympathy, I thought that it would not be considered by you as out of the way for me to send you the book.

In my opinion, this struggle of the Indians in the Transvaal is the greatest of modern times, inasmuch as it has been idealised both as to the goal as also the methods adopted to reach the goal. I am not aware of a struggle in which the participators are not to derive any personal advantage at the end of it, and in which 50 per cent. of the persons affected have undergone great suffering and trial for the sake of a principle. It has not been possible for me to advertise the struggle as much as I should like. You command, possibly, the widest public today. If you are satisfied as to the facts you will find set forth in Mr. Doke's book, and if you consider that the conclusions I have arrived at are justified by the facts, may I ask you to use your influence in any manner you think fit to popularise the movement? If it succeeds, it will be not only a triumph of religion, love and truth over irreligion, hatred and falsehood, but it is highly likely to serve as an example to the millions in India and to people in other parts of the world, who may be down-trodden and will certainly go a great way towards breaking up the party of violence, at least in India. If we hold out to the end, as I think we would, I entertain not the slightest doubt as to its ultimate success; and your encouragement in the way suggested by me can only strengthen us in our resolve.

The negotiations that are going on for a settlement of the question have practically fallen through, and together with my colleague I return to South Africa this week, and invite imprisonment. I may add that my son has happily joined me in the struggle and is now undergoing imprisonment with hard labour for six months. This is his fourth imprisonment in the course of the struggle.

If you would be so good as to reply to this letter, may I ask you to address your reply to me at Johannesburg, S.A., Box 6522.

Hoping that this will find you in good health.

I remain, etc.,
M. K. GANDHI

From an illustration of the original in *Mahatma*, Vol. I; also, from a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 5173

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346. LETTER TO H. JUST

LONDON,
November 10, 1909

DEAR MR. JUST[1],

With reference to the official letter No. 34924/1909, may I trouble you to send me a copy of my letter[2] of 24th August last referred to in the above mentioned letter. My clerk seems to have mislaid the carbon copy.

I remain, etc.,
M. K. GANDHI

H. JUST, ESQ.
COLONIAL OFFICE
DOWNING STREET
[LONDON]

Colonial Office Records: 291/142

347. LETTER TO UNDER SECRETARY FOR COLONIES

[LONDON,]
November 10, 1909

SIR,

I have the honour to draw the attention of the Earl of Crewe to the following cablegram received from Rangoon:

> Crowded public meeting held yesterday, attended by all sections community, Indians, Chinese, Burmese, emphatically condemned Transvaal Asiatic legislation, urging immediate Imperial intervention remove racial indignity, prevent further ill-treatment resident Asiatics; urging also stoppage recruitment Indian labour for South Africa until existing grievances have been remedied. Other resolutions passed expressing admiration attitude adopted by Asiatics resident Transvaal. Committee being formed raise fund to alleviate their needs. Great indignation, enthusiasm displayed.

I have, etc.,
M. K. GANDHI

Colonial Office Records: 291/142; also, from a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 5174

[1] Hartmann Just (1854-1929); Assistant Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, 1907-16

[2] *Vide* "Letter to Private Secretary to Lord Crewe", p. 366.

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348. INTERVIEW TO "THE DAILY EXPRESS"[1]

[LONDON,
November 10, 1909]

General Smuts took a step forward when he said he would repeal the obnoxious Asiatic Act and, so far as the status of educated Indians arising from the Act is concerned, said he was prepared to grant certificates of permanent residence to a limited number of Indians. This is satisfactory as far as it goes, but it leaves untouched the principle for which and for which alone we have been fighting. That principle is for legal equality so far as immigration is concerned. General Smuts' offer is not enough to stop passive resistance on our part. Mr. Hajee Habib and myself are returning at once to Johannesburg. The next step probably is that both of us will be arrested at the Transvaal frontier, but the campaign will continue with unabated vigour. Hitherto we have refrained from asking for funds in India or elsewhere outside South Africa, but the severe strain upon our resources and the number of ruined families whom we have to support now make this essential. We have organised a band of Indian and English volunteers who, immediately on our departure from this country, will commence house-to-house visits both in London and in the provinces, asking for signatures for a memorandum to the authorities of the Transvaal and in London.

India, 12-11-1909

349. LETTER TO G. K. GOKHALE

LONDON,
November 11, 1909

DEAR PROFESSOR GOKHALE,

Although I have your kind message through Mr. Polak that I should not address you as Professor[2], my reverence for you will not enable me to adopt a more familiar style.

In his last letter, Mr. Polak tells me that overwork and anxiety have ruined your health and that your plain-spokenness has endangered your

[1] This report of the interview was reproduced in *India* from *The Daily Express*, 10-11-1909.

[2] In his letter of September 10, Polak had informed Gandhiji that Gokhale thought it "too formal and he and you know each other too well for these formalities."

life.[1] I venture to suggest that you should come to the Transvaal and join us. I claim that the Transvaal struggle is national in every sense of the term. It deserves the highest encouragement. I have considered it to be the greatest struggle of modern time. That it will succeed in the end I have not the slightest doubt. But an early success will break up the violence movement in India.

I have moved very freely among our countrymen here and I notice extreme bitterness against you. Most consider that violence is the only method for securing any reform. In the Transvaal, we are trying to show that violence is futile and that the proper method is self-suffering, i.e., passive resistance. If, therefore, you came to the Transvaal, publicly declaring that it was your intention to share our sorrows and, therefore, to cross the Transvaal border as a citizen of the Empire, you would give it a world-wide significance, the struggle will soon end and your countrymen will know you better. The last consideration may not weigh with you. But it does with me for the sake of themselves. If you would come, and if you are left untouched and I am free, I should deem it a great privilege to nurse you. If you are arrested and imprisoned, I should be delighted. I may be wrong, but I do feel that it is a step worth taking for the sake of India. Feeling so strongly, I would be pardoned for suggesting that the Transvaal question should have a prominent place on the Congress platform and nothing can be so effective as for you to say that you would join the struggle.

I have written this letter in the midst of interruptions. I have not therefore been able to explain all I should like to. I would only [add] that my reverence for you has prompted this suggestion. I would see you reach perfection among your countrymen in S. A., where you would not be misunderstood and where you would be mentioned as nowhere else.

Will you kindly send your reply to me at Johannesburg, Box 6522 ?

I remain, etc.,
M. K. GANDHI

From the original in Gandhiji's hand: C. W. 924
Courtesy: Servants of India Society, Poona

[1] Polak had written on October 14: "You will see what poor Gokhale has to suffer. He tells me (privately) that the Governor sent for him and warned him that his person was in danger. The S[ervants] of I[ndia] watch him day and night and never let him go out unguarded."

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350. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

[LONDON,]
November 11, 1909

MY DEAR HENRY,

I should like to write a very long letter to you, but I do not know how to. I am full of information of the greatest importance but I cannot give it to you in a presentable form during the time at my disposal. The first thing, however, I want to deal with is Maud's condition. I had only once joked with her, asking whether she wanted to go to South Africa, and the joke proceeded from a remark made by Hajee Habib, but it is evident that she has been very seriously thinking about it. Last evening she could not restrain herself, and told me she wanted to go to South Africa very badly and work for the cause. I was not surprised, and yet this is not quite accurate, because I was taken aback a little, as I have felt she was permanently fixed up at the place where she is, not that I am at all in love with it, but it appeared to me to be the best in the circumstances. She is very sweet-natured. I think she is capable of great self-sacrifice, and she is willing to work, but I do not know how far the Phœnix life would suit her. Personally, I feel that, if she wants to go to South Africa merely to earn her living, it is hardly worthwhile ; but if she wants to work for an ideal, she must have the strength and courage to do it. I have told her all I could about things. I have told her as well as I could about the jarring notes there, and I have told her, too, that there is no money in it. I have further told her how Millie herself finds it difficult to reconcile herself to life at Phœnix. She is in possession of all the information that I can give her. I have further told her that I am not in a position to give a definite opinion, that first of all she must secure Pater's and Mater's consent, and then Sally's. After she has the approval of the three, she should place her position before you, and finally depend upon Millie's advice. I have told her, too, that however much she may regard my view, and like it, I consider myself incompetent to enter into all a woman's feelings, and when she has accessible to her Millie's loving assistance and advice, she cannot do better than rely upon her judgment. She tells me that she wants to be able to send home £4 per month. I have told her that this is not impossible, but that the chief thing to consider is whether she will be able to appreciate and love the Phœnix life. I have told her, too, that there is no definite work that can be assigned to her—that it may be anything, from what is considered the meanest household duties, to teaching, and moulding the characters of the children at Phœnix. Now, I think, I

have told you everything. She will be writing you fully. You know her much better than I do, and you will be able to guide her in the path you think best for her moral well-being. The other household matters that I would like to discuss with you must wait, unless I get the time between now and reaching Madeira, but my programme for the voyage is so full that domestic matters which are not urgent are likely to be crowded out. Maud is writing to you very fully, and she has promised to show me her letter, and if I have any further suggestions, after I have read the letter, I will write again. Millie is coming here from Westcliffe on Friday, and I shall fully discuss it with her, as also with Pater and Mater, if I get an opportunity of seeing them. Millie will sleep at the Hotel, so I am looking forward to a long and quiet chat with her. Naturally, we are much nearer each other now than we were ever before, having seen more of each other than in Johannesburg, where I rarely met her apart. Waldo and Brownie are looking superb. I still retain the opinion that it is difficult, if not impossible, to match Waldo in beauty, and he is daily becoming more and more wilful! He is certainly very original, and you will appreciate the fact when I tell you that Simmonds completes his happiness. Sally, who is sitting by me, just reminds me that I should not finish this letter without telling you something about Brownie; that he is outgrowing his superficial ugliness, and that he has begun to speak is stale news, but probably you do not know that the first name he learnt to pronounce was Sally's. Sally may be a good worker in her office; she claims to be an estimable suffragette, not to be beaten by mere man; I can certainly certify to her being at her best when she is with Waldo and Brownie. When one meets a woman who is at her best with children, you know what an opinion I have of her.

Since dictating this letter, I have seen Sally. Just fancy Sally saying she is also anxious to go to Phœnix and that she would simply love the life. I wonder if the taint (?) of simplicity runs through the family and if it only requires a little nursing to bring it all out. She says that it was she who suggested to Maud that Maud should go out, but she also adds that they do not want to desert the parents, and so she recognises that one or the other should stay. I do not know how to take all this. I am afraid that I am very largely responsible for their enthusiasm. I have spoken in such glowing terms about the charm of simplicity and all that, that they have pictured Phœnix as a Paradise. Simmonds cautions me against any hasty advice or hasty step. His caution I appreciate very greatly, and I therefore pass it on to you. I have no intention of advising the girls to take the plunge.

As I mentioned in another letter, I should like to write at very great length, and yet this is being dictated after one o'clock a.m. and there is a vast amount of humdrum work to go through before Saturday.

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 5175

351. LETTER TO UNDER SECRETARY FOR COLONIES

[LONDON,]
November 11, 1909

SIR,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 9th instant, enclosing a copy of a despatch from the Governor of the Transvaal, together with a minute from the Transvaal Ministers regarding the treatment of British Indian prisoners.

I note in the minute from the Prime Minister's Office, Pretoria, to the Deputy Governor, that there is a categorical denial of every complaint made. I venture, however, to submit for His Lordship's consideration the fact that, from my own personal observations made at the different prisons of the Transvaal, the complaints received by me and passed on to the Colonial Office appear to me, in the main, to be substantial.

As to the death of the late Nagappen, the magistrate's finding has been challenged by the Indian community,[1] as also by the European Committee presided over by Mr. Hosken, and that a reopening of the enquiry was asked for and refused.[2] Moreover, I invite His Lordship's attention to the fact that the allegation that the deceased was not supplied with rice was sustained. That the magistrate left it an open question as to whether he had two blankets or not, that the deceased was taken from Johannesburg to a camp in a rigorous winter, and was called upon to do rough work, are undisputed facts.

As to the diet scale, His Lordship is already in possession of the exhaustive report of the independent medical men of Johannesburg bearing out the Indian allegation that this scale is deficient.

[1] E. I. Aswat, Acting Chairman of the British Indian Association, in a letter to the *Rand Daily Mail*, had expressed surprise at the judgment of the Commission and felt that "sufficient weight has not been attached to some portions of the evidence". The Secretary of State for the Colonies received on September 30 a communication from the British Indian Committee at Pretoria, saying that Government had been requested to reopen the enquiry. An official of the Colonial Office recorded in a minute dated October 1: "I am afraid this is a bad business. The Government enquiry into Nagappen's death is a complete white-washing and is accordingly heartily endorsed by the Ministers . . . but the evidence, it is pretty clear, hardly supports the conclusions . . ."

[2] The European Committee had appealed to General Lord Methuen, Acting Governor of the Transvaal but the latter, on the advice of his Ministers, had refused to sanction a fresh inquiry.

With regard to the prisoner Mahomed Khan, I have already stated in my letter[1] of the 16th August that there might be some exaggeration, but I venture to trust that I shall be pardoned for saying that the denials of the officials concerned of the truth of the complaints are hardly sufficient answer. It was open, as it is now, to the Government, if they wish, to invite Mr. Mahomed Khan to corroborate or withdraw his complaints.

The later developments, in the shape of a refusal to allow Indian prisoners to receive religious consolation, and to permit Mahomedans during the sacred month of *Ramzan* to receive facilities for observing their fast, hardly bear out the statement that Indian prisoners are treated humanely, and that there is no desire on the part of the prison officials to treat them harshly because they are passive resisters.

It is likely that Indian prisoners are now invariably housed in cells by themselves, but it is within my own knowledge that, up to the month of May, Indian prisoners have been housed in the self-same cells as the Natives.

I have, etc.,
M. K. GANDHI

Colonial Office Records: 291/142; also, from a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 5177

352. LETTER TO "DAILY TELEGRAPH"

[LONDON,]
November 11, 1909

THE EDITOR
DAILY TELEGRAPH

DEAR SIR,

I am sorry that you could not spare a few minutes to grant me an interview. I received the message that I was to write to you. The position to date in connection with the Transvaal British Indian question is given in the statement issued to the Press,[2] a copy of which I trust you have seen. The reason why I wished to have a personal interview with you was to place before you the gravity of the Transvaal Indian question. As you will notice from the supplementary statement, the question is not now that of saving the Transvaal from an Asiatic influx; it purely and simply resolves itself into the question whether, so far as immigration is concerned, highly cultured Indians may be placed on an equality with the European immigrants, as they were before the legislation against which

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Private Secretary to Lord Crewe", p. 359.

[2] *Vide* "Statement of Transvaal Indian Case", pp. 288-301 and also "Letter to the Press", pp. 514-9.

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passive resistance has been offered and as they are now throughout the British Colonies. Thus, for the first time in the history of Colonial legislation, in the words of Mr. Chamberlain, "an affront" has been put upon the millions in India. In our struggle, therefore, I venture to think that we have a right to expect the Press of the United Kingdom to support us, and I hope that you will see your way to give due publicity to the movement, and favour it with your advocacy, regard being had to the fact that nearly fifty per cent. of the present Indian population of the Transvaal have passed through its gaols, and that one young Indian[1] has succumbed to pneumonia, caught by him, according to the testimony of witnesses, whilst he was in gaol.

I remain, etc.,

From a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 5176

353. LETTER TO UNDER SECRETARY FOR COLONIES

[LONDON,]
November 12, 1909

SIR,

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 9th instant. I am not aware of the circumstances beyond what was contained in Mr. Polak's cablegram, but I am aware of the deportation of Mr. Chunilal Panachand who, although he knew English and, therefore, had a right to enter Natal or the Cape Colony, and although he was domiciled in Delagoa Bay, was deported to India. His is a well-known case.

I myself appeared in another case; that was of Mr. Shelat.[2] He would have been deported to India had he not sent a message to me and had I not appeared before the Magistrate to have the matter rectified. Cases like this can certainly be multiplied, and from the experience I have of the working of the section of the Act bearing on deportation, the hardship caused could be satisfactorily demonstrated.

I have, etc.,
M. K. GANDHI

Colonial Office Records: 291/142; also, from a photostat of the typewritten office copy: S. N. 5178

[1] This was Sammy Nagappen; *vide* "Statement of Transvaal Indian Case", p. 299.

[2] *Vide* "Trial of Naidoo and Others", p. 251 and also "Johannesburg Letter", p. 264.

354. LETTER TO THE INDIAN PRESS[1]

[LONDON,
November 12, 1909]

SIR,

I venture to trust that you will give as wide publicity as possible to the statement[1] that my colleague, Mr. Hajee Habib, and I have issued in connection with the British Indian struggle in the Transvaal. Although it is raging in the Transvaal, the fact that it is a matter of vital importance to the whole of India is so clear that he who runs may read, and the Transvaal Government have made that issue clear by emphatically declaring that, although they would give us the incidence that would flow from the granting of the principle we are fighting for, they are not prepared to meet us on the question of the principle itself, and so the struggle must go on. The principle we are fighting for cannot be better described than in the words of the Transvaal Government itself. Lord Crewe says in his reply to the Transvaal British Indian deputation:

> His Lordship explained to you that Mr. Smuts was unable to accept the claim that Asiatics should be placed in a position of equality with Europeans in respect of right of entry or otherwise.

The phrase "or otherwise" may, for the time being, be dismissed from consideration. All that we have asked for is equality in the eye of the law with Europeans in respect of the right of entry. It should be remembered that we are fighting for the restoration of this equality, which we enjoyed before the legislation in question was passed, as well during the Boer regime as after the British occupation, that is, up to the close of the year 1906. The doctrine laid down by the Transvaal Government, and assented to by the Imperial Government cuts at the foundation of the Empire. In the words of Lord Ampthill,[2] who has made the cause his own :

> It is a matter which touches the honour of our race and affects the unity of the Empire as a whole; it, therefore, concerns every part of the Empire. Moreover, it is certain that any departure from principle, which may be sanctioned or ignored at the heart of the Empire, will operate as a mischievous example to other places inside and out, and then only by some rude shock to the whole system will the arrest of moral decay be possible.

[1] This was published under the title: "The Indian Struggle in the Transvaal". *Vide* also "Letter to the Press", pp. 514-9.

[2] These are from his introduction to Doke's biography of Gandhiji; *vide* Appendix XVIII.

Further on His Lordship states :

> Theory can be modified in practice to suit the exigencies of time and place, but if theory is cast to the winds, there is no means of steering practice.

I cannot place our position in clearer terms. If the doctrine of the Transvaal Government be true, the people of India cease to be partners in the Empire, and it is in order to resist this dangerous, immoral and pestilent doctrine that we in the Transvaal are fighting. How is India, including Anglo-India, to help in this national struggle ? It should be remembered that we have taken practical steps for seeking redress, that is, we are suffering in our own persons by disregarding a law which we hold to be repugnant to our conscience and to religion in the highest sense of the term. Hundreds of Indians, otherwise illiterate, drawn from all classes, have gone to gaol to vindicate their ideal. Will not India come to the rescue? Will she not make this the all-important issue? Will the Congress give it the most prominent place in its programme? Will the reformed Legislative Council assert its right and dignity by undertaking to solve the problem ? Whether all this is done or not, may I conclude by assuring the public in India that the fight in the Transvaal will go on so long as a single passive resister is left alive, and I very much question whether the death of every resister can end a struggle such as the Transvaal Indians are engaged in.

I am, etc.,
M. K. GANDHI

Gujarati, 5-12-1909

355. SPEECH AT FAREWELL MEETING[1]

[LONDON,
November 12, 1909]

Mr. Gandhi said he was thankful to Mr. Meyer for having called the meeting and given his colleague and him an opportunity of making a statement with reference to the very difficult position of the British Indians in the Transvaal. He thought the caution Mr. Meyer had uttered with reference to what they had been doing in the Transvaal was a very proper caution;[2] they did not come before the public of England

[1] A meeting to bid farewell to Gandhiji and Hajee Habib on the eve of their departure for South Africa was held at Westminster Palace Hotel. Among the guests were Dr. Rutherford, M. P., Sir Raymond West, Sir Frederick Lely, Sir Muncherjee Bhownaggree, J. M. Parikh, the Hon'ble Mr. Khare, Motilal Nehru and L. W. Ritch. Rev. F. B. Meyer, the host, introduced Gandhiji and Hajee Habib. Speeches were made by Sir Raymond West and Sir Frederick Lely besides Gandhiji. This is an extract from a report in *Indian Opinion*.

[2] Rev. Meyer had observed: "He thought their presence there did not endorse in every particular all Mr. Gandhi's works and acts in the long and arduous agitation

for an endorsement of every step they had taken in the struggle, but to receive their generous support, their sympathy and their encouragement, in the arduous struggle in which they were engaged. The question upon which he would venture to occupy their attention for a few minutes was, in his humble opinion, a question of the most solemn importance, not only to the British Indians of the Transvaal, who were engaged in that struggle, but to the whole of the British Empire. It was perfectly true that a certain offer had been made in connection with the struggle, and Mr. Meyer had placed the position quite correctly before them in stating that they declined to accept the offer that had been made because it did not touch the principle for which they were fighting. There were in South Africa nearly 150,000 British Indians who had been settled there for close upon forty years, if not longer. The immigration of British Indians commenced with the system of Indentured Labour in Natal. This was followed by the advent of free British Indians who paid their own passage and these free British Indians it was who had excited the trade jealousy of their rivals in commerce; hence the present British Indian problem in South Africa. The position they occupied in that country was a very difficult and a very delicate position. It was also exceedingly precarious. In Natal, at the Cape, in the Orange Free State, and in the Transvaal, there existed legislation which hurt their feelings, which hurt their self-respect, and which deprived them of many avenues of earning an honest livelihood. In the Transvaal particularly, the position had become exceedingly acute. Before the War, they could not hold landed property. They had, of course, no Burgher rights. They could live only in Locations. They might not walk on the footpaths nor ride on tram cars. With regard to the living in Locations, that difficulty had now been removed, although this was not because of the good-will of the Government, but because a flaw was discovered in the laws of the country. All the other restrictions, it would be seen, vitally affected the position of British Indians in the Transvaal, as also throughout South Africa. Hitherto, that is up to the year 1906, they had been able to put up with these restrictions. They had had to suffer all these disabilities. They had memorialised the Government, they had gone to the British Agent. His friend and co-delegate, Mr. Hajee Habib, could tell them that, during his stay in Pretoria as a merchant of some standing, he had been times without number to the British Agent before the last War, for relief, but very little had been granted. Still there had been the British Agent to fall back upon, who had given them some sympathy and had sometimes obtained a measure of redress, but they had not felt called upon to go beyond taking these steps. When, however, in 1906, the law about which he had to address them was passed, he felt that that was the coping stone of an edifice that was erected in order to degrade them and to drive them out of South Africa. That legislation, as he had elsewhere said,

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he had been conducting. If a man made no mistakes, he made nothing. No man had not had to regret some word or act which might have been said or performed better, but, on the whole, their presence at that meeting was their endorsement of a struggle of a singularly pure character and unselfish methods, and he felt they represented a very large number of men who were watching this conflict with interest and who felt that they could not but contribute their influence to it."

was conceived in distrust, it was born in an atmosphere of criminality, and it was nurtured in arrogant high-handedness. When that legislation was brought in, all kinds of charges were brought against his community, and had since been disproved, and it constituted an attack on their conscience and, he would say, upon their religion also in the truest and highest sense of the word, for it took away from them their manhood. They felt it was utterly impossible to accept legislation of that character. They again approached the Government. He would here add also that the object of that legislation was not only to degrade them, but was, together with the legislation that had been foreshadowed by the gentleman who had introduced that legislation, to put a barrier upon British Indian immigration into the Transvaal. This legislation was to be undertaken for the first time in the history of Colonial legislation. His community realised what all this meant. It was an attempt of the Transvaal Government to introduce into the Statute-book of the Colony the principle that British Indians might not enter the Transvaal *because they were British Indians*. They felt that very keenly. They felt that it was degrading to the national spirit and their manhood to accept such legislation and to remain in the Colony, and be satisfied simply with having petitioned and memorialised the Government in a matter of such very serious import, and it was for that reason that, when all attempts to secure justice and the removal of this bar sinister had failed, his friend and colleague, Mr. Hajee Habib, had administered an oath in a Johannesburg theatre to all assembled at a mass meeting[1] of British Indians—a meeting of nearly two thousand—not to submit to any legislation of such sinister import, and that meeting had risen as one man and had declared solemnly that, if that legislation were sanctioned by the Imperial Government, they would not accept it but would suffer the penalties for breaking it. Here, they would see, was no personal interest to serve. So long as it was a personal matter, so long as it touched their pockets only, they had put up with the disabilities under which they worked, but when it constituted a reflection on their national honour, when it meant they were not to be considered equal to Europeans even with respect to immigration, and saw that the very foundations upon which the British Constitution is built were being endangered by the Transvaal Colony, they felt that it was time for them to act more vigorously and they had before them two alternatives. One was to meet violence with violence. They rejected that doctrine. What was the other alternative? It was decided by the leaders of the community that they would not adopt any violent method, but that they would not accept this legislation and, instead, would suffer in their own persons the penalties provided. This method had been called, for want of a better phrase, Passive Resistance. He did not know how he could define the meaning he would like to attach to this term. He had been wondering how he could make their attitude clear to his audience, but an incident from the Bible occurred to him—a chapter in the life of Daniel, and he would say that the British Indians in the Transvaal had been doing what Daniel did when he was called upon to accept the laws of the Medes and the Persians. He regretted to have to say that the Imperial Government were party to this crime. They need not have accepted this legislation. They might have known

[1] *Vide* Vol. V, pp. 419-23 and 441-2.

that this legislation would deeply wound the susceptibilities of British Indians, and render it impossible for them to accept it while retaining their self-respect, and they might have stayed the hand of the Transvaal administration. They might have at least hesitated before they set their hand to such a document, but under the exigencies of party politics they had yielded. He could not suggest under what other motives they had lent their countenance to such a law. They (Indians) felt that acceptance was impossible, and so they became passive resisters. In effect they said to the Transvaal Government: "We will fill your gaols and suffer all the penalties you will put us to, but it is impossible for us to accept this law." He must pause and ask himself what was the meaning of the British Constitution. Did it not confer equality upon the different members of the Empire comprised in the British Constitution? He could understand that. He could consent to remain a subject of an Empire based upon this principle, but, in the light of his experience, he must declare it was utterly impossible for him to give his allegiance to an Empire in which he was not to be treated, even in theory, as an equal of any other member of that Empire. If he was to be treated as an inferior, then he would never aspire to a position of equality. He might be content to be a member of an Empire in which he participated to the extent even of a one per cent. share, but if he was to be merely a slave, then the Empire had absolutely no meaning for him. The term "British subject" then became meaningless to him, and it was this effect of that legislation that he would like to impress upon the meeting, and which they had been feeling for the last three years. This legislation of the Colony of the Transvaal was cutting at the root of the British Empire, and in resisting the doctrine implied by such legislation, they had been rendering a service not only to British India but to the British Empire. They were undoubtedly offering passive resistance not only to the Transvaal Government but to the Imperial Government, and he hoped that meeting would tell him in no uncertain voice that they were doing rightly in doing so ("hear, hear," and applause). They felt they could not do less and deserve to be members of the British Empire—they would not deserve to be partners in the Empire and, unless there was partnership there could not be Empire. He had therefore not hesitated to say that this struggle was one of the greatest of modern times, and this was so because of the great principle at stake, because of the pure ideal for which they were fighting and, lastly, because of the pure methods they had adopted in endeavouring to attain that ideal. What was the offer that had now been made? It was that this legislation should be repealed, but the condition it was sought to impose was that British Indians shall not in future enter the Transvaal on terms of equality in the eye of the law with Europeans. The Transvaal Government were quite willing to grant British Indians the incidence that would flow from this change of legislation, namely, that a few British Indians would be able on sufferance to enter the Transvaal. They (British Indians) were not satisfied with that. As an illustration, let them suppose a master telling his slave: "You may sit at the table with me, and live with me: you may enjoy all these privileges, but on this condition, that this bond of slavery shall always exist between us." Could they suppose the slave would be satisfied? Could the slave be satisfied even with the highest place at that table, whilst the taint of slavery existed? Was it not clear that acquiescence was impossible so long as that bar

remained—so long as the taint of slavery was unremoved? They could not accept as sufficient what was now offered by the Colonial Government; hence, they had come to appeal to the British public for their sympathy and support in this struggle. He realised that it was impossible for the Imperial Government to force by arms the hands of the Transvaal Government, and they as passive resisters could not even ask them to appeal to force. They themselves used no force: they asked nobody to use physical violence in their behalf, but they did think that the British public should know what that struggle meant, should learn that 50 per cent. of the resident community had already been in the gaols, should know also that one young man had already died of pneumonia contracted in the gaols, that fathers and sons had together gone to gaol, that mothers had taken up baskets and sold fruit in the streets in order to support themselves and their children whilst their husbands were in gaol, that many families had been pauperised and had had to be supported out of contributions. If they, at that meeting, thought that the ideals that had led the passive resisters cheerfully to experience these sufferings appealed to them, they should send that little community of passive resisters their encouragement and sympathy and a word of cheer. They might at least show the Imperial Government that they would be no party to this crime against Imperial conscience. They in the Transvaal knew that they must not rely upon sympathy in England but upon their own strength, and he (Mr. Gandhi) felt that they had that strength. He felt that, so long as a single passive resister was left alive, he would continue the struggle. He had just received a cable from Johannesburg which told him that they were determined to continue to the end. This was a message sent not only from the British Indian Association, but included the small band of European workers who had formed a Committee under Mr. William Hosken, a Member of the Legislative Assembly, and he would ask his hearers to imitate that European Committee and to give them all the encouragement they could, and so hasten the end of their sufferings.[1]

Indian Opinion, 11-12-1909

[1] Sir Raymond West and Sir Frederick Lely spoke next. At the conclusion of the meeting, the following resolution was unanimously passed: "That this meeting desires to express its earnest sympathy with the Transvaal British Indians in their peaceful and selfless struggle for civic rights and to offer its warmest encouragement to them in this struggle."

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

ASIATICS REGISTRATION AMENDMENT ACT (1908)

FULL TEXT

We print below the full text of the Act "To validate the Voluntary Registration of certain Asiatics who failed to comply with the provisions of Act No. 2 of 1907 and to make further provision for the registration of Asiatics," recently passed by the Transvaal Parliament :

Be it enacted by the King's Most Excellent Majesty by and with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council and Legislative Assembly of the Transvaal as follows:

1. In this Act unless inconsistent with the context :

"adult" shall mean of the age of sixteen years or over;

"application for registration" shall mean an application to be placed on the register of Asiatics made in the manner and form prescribed by regulation and accompanied by the particulars and means of identification required by regulation;

"Asiatic" shall mean any male person belonging to one of the native races of Asia and shall include a coolie, an Arab and a Malay but shall not include—

(a) a Malay born and resident in any British Colony or possession in South Africa; or

(b) a person introduced into this Colony under the Labour Importation Ordinance 1904; or

(c) an officer of any consular service;

"certificate of registration" shall mean a certificate of registration under Act No. 2 of 1907, or a certificate under this Act in the form set forth in the Schedule to this Act or as prescribed by regulation;

"commencement of this Act" shall mean the date on which Act came into operation;

"Governor" shall mean the officer for the time being administering the Government of this Colony acting by and with the advice and consent of the Executive Council thereof;

"guardian" shall mean the parent of a minor Asiatic or any other person under whose care such minor is living for the time being, or failing any such person the employer of such minor;

"lawful holder" as used in relation to any certificate of registration shall mean the person (other than a minor named therein) whose registration is thereby certified;

"minor" shall mean under the age of sixteen years;

"register of Asiatics" shall mean the register to be kept for purposes of this Act in manner prescribed by regulation;

"registrar" shall mean the officer appointed by the Governor to keep the register of Asiatics and any person lawfully acting in such capacity;
"regulation" shall mean any regulation made under Section *seventeen* of this Act;
"unregistered Asiatic" shall mean an adult Asiatic who is not the holder of a certificate of registration.

PART I

VALIDATION OF VOLUNTARY REGISTRATION

2. (1) Every person—
(a) who is an Asiatic as defined by Act No. 2 of 1907; and
(b) by or in respect of whom an application for registration was on the tenth day of February 1908, or on any day subsequent thereto up till the tenth day of May 1908, made to the registrar or other duly authorised officer; and
(c) to or in respect of whom a certificate in the form set forth in the Schedule to this Act was issued by the registrar;
shall, when in possession of such certificate, be deemed to be lawful holder of a certificate entitling him to enter and reside in the Colony.

(2) Every person who, having been the lawful holder of a certificate of registration under Act No. 2 of 1907, has been permitted to obtain a certificate in the form in the Schedule to this Act in substitution for such first-mentioned certificate, shall also be deemed to be the lawful holder of a certificate entitling him to enter and reside in this Colony.

(3) Every Asiatic who holds any certificate mentioned in this section shall be subject in all respects to the provisions of this Act and not to the provisions of Act No. 2 of 1907.

PART II

REGISTRATION OF ASIATICS AFTER THE COMMENCEMENT OF THIS ACT

3. An Asiatic shall be entitled to registration under this Act if—
(a) he satisfies the conditions described in sub-sections (2) or (3) of Section *four*, whether he was or was not in this Colony at the commencement of this Act; or
(b) being the lawful holder of a certificate of registration issued under Act No. 2 of 1907, he desires to exchange such certificate for a certificate of registration under this Act; or
(c) having been a minor resident in this Colony at the commencement of this Act, he first entered the Colony with an adult Asiatic who was his guardian and who was registered under Law No. 3 of 1885 or any amendment thereof or is registered or entitled to registration under this Act; or
(d) he was born in any part of South Africa which was at the date of his birth within the boundaries of the Transvaal.

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4. (1) Every unregistered adult Asiatic resident in this Colony at the commencement of this Act shall before such date or dates and at such place or places and to such person or persons as the Colonial Secretary may by notice in the *Gazette* prescribe for particular areas of this Colony, make application for registration, and the registrar shall, on being satisfied that such Asiatic is entitled to registration, issue to him a certificate of registration.

(2) Every unregistered adult Asiatic resident outside the Colony at the commencement of this Act, shall,

(a) if he was resident in the Transvaal for three years prior to the eleventh day of October 1899; and

(b) upon application for registration from a place in South Africa but outside the Colony within one year after the commencement of this Act; and

(c) upon satisfying the registrar of the facts mentioned in this sub-section;

be entitled to obtain a certificate of registration.

(3) Every unregistered adult Asiatic resident outside this Colony at the commencement of this Act but who was—

(a) duly authorised to enter and reside in this Colony by a permit issued under the Indemnity and Peace Preservation Ordinance 1902 or any amendment thereof or issued between the first day of September 1900 and the date of the passing of the said Ordinance (unless such permit shall have been fraudulently obtained); or

(b) was resident and actually in this Colony on the thirty-first day of May 1902;

shall be entitled, upon satisfying the registrar of the fact set forth in paragraph (a) or (b) of this sub-section and upon application for registration from a place in South Africa but outside the Colony, to obtain a certificate of registration.

Minor Asiatics

5. In respect of every unregistered minor Asiatic born in this Colony, not being the child of a labourer introduced into this Colony under the Labour Importation Ordinance 1904, the following provisions shall apply:

(1) If his guardian is an Asiatic, the minor's name, his age, his residence and his relationship to his guardian shall be included in the certificate of registration of his guardian.

(2) Within one month after such minor attains the age of sixteen years, he shall make application to the registrar for a certificate of registration; provided that, if he be absent from the Colony on attaining that age or one month thereafter, he may, from a place in South Africa but outside the Colony, make application to the registrar for registration and upon satisfying the registrar that he is entitled to registration, the registrar shall issue to him a certificate of registration, and his name shall thereupon be expunged from the register of Asiatics as a minor and shall be deemed to be no longer included in his guardian's certificate of registration.

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6. (1) Whenever the registrar is satisfied that any Asiatic claiming to be entitled to registration under Section *three* is not so entitled, he shall refuse to issue to him a certificate of registration, and notice of the refusal shall be sent by post to such Asiatic at the address given upon his form of application.

(2) In every case of refusal by the registrar to issue a certificate of registration, an appeal may, within fourteen days of the date of the notice of refusal, be noted by letter addressed to the Colonial Secretary, and such appeal shall be heard by a magistrate specially assigned by the Governor to hear such appeals, and such magistrate shall be deemed, when hearing any such appeal, to be an inferior court within the meaning of Section *nineteen* of the Administration of Justice Proclamation 1902.

(3) In the case of an Asiatic who is in South Africa but outside this Colony, the officer in charge of the Immigration Department shall, as soon as the date has been fixed for the hearing of such appeal, send by post to the appellant at the address given upon his application for registration a temporary permit entitling him to enter and remain in the Colony until the appeal has been determined. If the appeal be dismissed, the said magistrate shall make an order in writing directing the appellant to be removed from the Colony, and every such order shall be deemed to be an order made under Section *six* of the Immigrants' Restriction Act 1907 or any amendment thereof.

(4) In the case of an adult Asiatic in the Colony who has not within a period prescribed by sub-section (2) of this section noted an appeal or whose appeal having been noted has not been proceeded with or has been dismissed, the said magistrate shall make an order in writing directing such Asiatic to be removed from the Colony, and every such order shall be deemed to be an order made under Section *six* of the Immigrants' Restriction Act 1907 or any amendment thereof.

Removal from the Colony

7. Any adult Asiatic who, after such date or dates as may be notified by the Colonial Secretary in the *Gazette*, is found within the Colony and fails, upon such demand as is mentioned in Section *nine*, to produce a certificate of registration of which he is the lawful holder, may be arrested without warrant and brought before a resident or assistant resident magistrate and if he fails to satisfy such magistrate that he is the lawful holder of a certificate of registration or that the time within which he is required to make application for such certificate has not expired the magistrate shall, save as in the next succeeding section is provided, make an order in writing directing him to be removed from this Colony and every such order shall be deemed to be an order under Section *six* of the Immigrants' Restriction Act 1907 or any amendment thereof.

8. If an adult Asiatic who has failed to make application for registration in accordance with the provisions of sub-sections (1) of Section *four* shall satisfy the magistrate before whom he is brought that such failure was due to some good and sufficient cause, the magistrate may, instead of making such order as aforesaid, direct such Asiatic forthwith to make application for registration within eight days,

and if such Asiatic shall comply with such direction, his application shall be dealt with in all respects as if it had been made in accordance with the provisions of the said sub-section and all the provisions of this Act which would have applied if the application had been so made shall apply accordingly, but, if he shall fail to comply with such direction, the magistrate shall make an order for removal as aforesaid in respect of such Asiatic and any such order shall be deemed to be an order made under Section *six* of the Immigrants' Restriction Act 1907 or any amendment thereof.

PART III

GENERAL AND MISCELLANEOUS

9. Every Asiatic who enters or is within this Colony shall, upon demand made upon him by any European member of a police force lawfully established therein or by any other European person authorised thereto by the Colonial Secretary, produce the certificate of registration of which he is the lawful holder, and shall also on like demand supply such particulars and furnish such means of identification as may be prescribed by regulation. Any Asiatic who fails upon lawful demand to produce such certificate shall, unless he is the lawful holder of a certificate of registration, be liable to be dealt with in manner mentioned in Section *eight*.

10. (1) If at any time any certificate of registration is lost or destroyed, the person to whom it was issued shall forthwith apply to the registrar to have the same renewed and the registrar shall, upon compliance by such person with such procedure as is prescribed by regulation and upon payment of a fee of five shillings, renew the certificate. Such fee shall be denoted by means of revenue stamps to be affixed to the application for renewal and shall be defaced by the said registrar.

(2) Any person into whose hands shall have come any such certificate shall, unless he is the person to whom it was issued, forthwith deliver or transmit the same as soon as may be to the Registrar of Asiatics, Pretoria.

11. Every certificate of registration shall be accepted as conclusive evidence in all places that the lawful holder thereof is entitled to enter and reside in this Colony; provided that this section shall not apply to persons who have, under Section *five* or *six* of the Immigrants' Restriction Act 1907 or any amendment thereof, been removed from the Colony.

12. Whenever, in any prosecution or other proceeding under this Act the age of any Asiatic is in question such Asiatic shall unless and until the contrary be proved be taken to be of the age which the registrar shall in any certificate issued under his hand certify to be in his opinion the apparent age of such Asiatic.

13. Any affidavit or sworn declaration which is required by regulation to be made by any person who makes an application for registration shall be exempt from stamp duty.

TRADING LICENCES

14. (1) No Asiatic shall obtain any trading licence under the Revenue Licences Ordinance 1905 or any amendment thereof or under any bye-law or regu-

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lation in force within the jurisdiction of a local authority, unless he produce to the person appointed to issue the licence a certificate of registration of which he is the lawful holder and either give his signature in English or supply such other or additional particulars or furnish such means of identification as the Colonial Secretary may either generally or in particular cases prescribe.

(2) Any trading licences issued under such Ordinance or under any such bye-law or regulation between the tenth day of February 1908 and the commencement of this Act to an Asiatic who made such application as is prescribed in sub-section (1) (b) of Section *two* of this Act shall, notwithstanding anything in Section *thirteen* of Act No. 2 of 1907 contained, be deemed to have been lawfully issued.

(3) Section *thirteen* of Act No. 2 of 1907 shall be and is hereby repealed.

THE PENALTIES

15. Any person who—

(a) for the purpose of or in connection with an application for registration or for the purpose of obtaining a certificate of registration, commits any fraudulent act, or makes any false statement or false pretence;

(b) forges or prior to the commencement of this Act has forged any document in the form set forth in the Schedule to this Act or forges any certificate of registration or utters any such document or certificate knowing the same to be forged; or

(c) uses or attempts to use as a certificate of registration any such forged document or any such certificate of which he is not the lawful holder;

shall be guilty of an offence and liable to a fine not exceeding five hundred pounds or, in default of payment, to imprisonment with or without hard labour for a period not exceeding two years or to both such fine and imprisonment, and any person who incites to, or aids or abets any other person in, the commission of any such offence shall be liable to the like penalty.

TEMPORARY PERMITS

16. Notwithstanding anything in the Immigrants' Restriction Act 1907 or this Act contained, the Governor may approve the issue of a permit, in the form prescribed by regulation, authorising an Asiatic to enter and remain in the Colony for any period named in such permit, and after the expiry of such period the person in respect of whom such permit was issued shall be deemed to be a person not duly authorised to be in this Colony, and if found may be arrested without warrant and the provisions of Section *six* of the Immigrants' Restriction Act or any amendment thereof shall apply to such person as if he were a person mentioned in paragraph (c) thereof.

THE GOVERNOR'S POWERS

17. The Governor may from time to time make, alter, or rescind regulations for any of the following purposes:

(1) Prescribing the form of the register to be kept for the purposes of this Act.

(2) Prescribing the manner and form in which application shall be made for registration, the particulars to be supplied and the means of identification to be furnished by any applicant for the purpose of or in connection with such application.

(3) Prescribing the form of certificates of registration.

(4) Prescribing the particulars to be supplied and the means of identification to be furnished

(a) by any Asiatic upon such demand as is mentioned in Section *nine*;

(b) by any Asiatic applying for the renewal of any certificate of registration which has been lost or destroyed.

(5) Prescribing the procedure to be observed on or in connection with appeals to the magistrate mentioned in Section *six*.

(6) Prescribing the form of permit to be issued under Section *sixteen*.

(7) Generally for the better carrying out of the objects and purposes of this Act.

18. Any Asiatic or the guardian of any Asiatic failing to comply with any requirement of this Act or of the regulations shall, except where otherwise specified, be liable on conviction to a fine not exceeding one hundred pounds or in default of payment to imprisonment with or without hard labour for a period not exceeding three months.

19. Notwithstanding anything to the contrary in sub-section (b) of Law No. 3 of 1885 as amended by Volksraad Resolution Article 1419 of the twelfth day of August 1886 the portion of Erf No. 373 Church Street, Pretoria which was registered in the name of the late Aboobaker Amod and which at the commencement of this Act was registered in the name of Henry Salomon Leon Polak may be transferred into the name of the heirs of the said Aboobaker Amod.

20. This Act may be cited for all purposes as the Asiatics Registration Amendment Act 1908 and shall not come into operation unless and until the Governor shall have declared by proclamation in the *Gazette* that it is His Majesty's pleasure not to disallow the Act and thereafter it shall come into operation on such date as the Governor shall by like proclamation declare.

SCHEDULE

TRANSVAAL ASIATIC REGISTRATION CERTIFICATE

Name in full.....

Race.....Age.....Height.....

Description.....

Right Thumb Impression

.....

Registrar of Asiatics

Date of Issue.....

Holder's Signature.....

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Name of Wife.....Residence.....

SONS AND MALE WARDS UNDER THE AGE OF 16 YEARS

Names	Age	Residence	Relationship to Guardian

No alterations or endorsements are to be made on the face of this Certificate except by the Registrar of Asiatics.

Indian Opinion, 5-9-1908

APPENDIX II

WARRANT FOR REMOVAL OF A PERSON UNDER SECTION 6 OF IMMIGRANTS' RESTRICTION ACT 1907

Whereas . . . . . having been ordered to leave the Transvaal under Section 8, sub-section 3 of Act No. 2 of 1907 has failed to comply with the terms of such order, you are hereby ordered in His Majesty's name immediately to arrest the said . . . . . and remove him from the Colony and place him over the Transvaal-Natal border at the point where the railway line between Volksrust and Charlestown crosses the said border.

(Sgd.) J. C. SMUTS

Indian Opinion, 5-9-1908

APPENDIX III

P. DUNCAN ON COLOUR QUESTION

Mr. Patrick Duncan, C.M.G., spoke by invitation on the colour question at the annual meeting of the Rosebank branch of the League of Women. We take the following important extracts from the report of the speech given in *The Star* dated the 5th instant [September, 1908]:

It was a very difficult matter in a country where there was supposed to be political freedom to have the largest section of the population entirely deprived of political rights—it was practically a condition of slavery. No people had ever been able to survive for long who lived on an inferior race in what was practically a state of slavery. It was bad for the superior race just as much as for the inferior. If they looked into the cases where a small superior population lived on the work of the larger inferior population, giving them no political rights, that state of things did not exist for long. It was hardly possible in the present state of society's civilisation for them to say that, however educated a man might be, however he may have advanced in civilisation in every way, he was to be excluded from political rights if his skin

was not of the finest white. If they tried to make colour the test for political rights, they would find the greatest difficulty in drawing the line. They would find they were inflicting great hardship on many people, to all intents and purposes as civilised, educated, and as responsible citizens as themselves. It was difficult, then, to maintain the colour distinction as a bar to the franchise without inflicting very serious injustice and injury on many people.

There was also the social side to this question. They ought to give to every man, whatever his colour might be, equal justice in the eyes of the law. They ought to give him a chance of improving his position. They ought not to look down on the ways in which he improved himself, however queer or awkward they may be. They could not benefit from his labour and refuse to give him every opportunity of raising himself in the social scale. There was too much prejudice in this country against people on account of their colour. In applying the principle that the white man must be the predominant partner in this country, they must also allow the coloured man to live according to his rights, and make the best of what was in him, and not expect him to be a beast of burden and nothing else.

They must give him every opportunity of living in a cleaner and better way. Many of the so-called Locations found outside the towns in South Africa were a disgrace to civilisation. They could not expect the Native to be a decent citizen if they made him live in such hovels. When they complained that he was a danger to society, they should remember, if they expected a man to live as a beast, he would be a beast, and, if they wanted him to be a man, they should treat him in a fitting way. They would not deter the Native from crime merely by savage punishment. Given the incentive to improve himself in social life in his own place, in that place they should respect him as a man. The question was a difficult one. Some people talked of segregation. That was impossible. Both people had to live side by side, and they had the white people in this country who were the trustees for the future of both races, and they had to think how they could live together for the common good of both.

Indian Opinion, 19-9-1908

APPENDIX IV

AFFIDAVITS REGARDING REPEAL OF REGISTRATION ACT

(1) H. S. L. Polak's Affidavit

I, Henry Salomon Leon Polak, of Johannesburg, do hereby solemnly and sincerely declare as follows :

I am a British subject, born in England, and domiciled in the Transvaal, of which Colony I am a registered Parliamentary Voter. I am an Attorney of the Supreme Court of the Transvaal. I am also Assistant Honorary Secretary of the British Indian Association of the Transvaal. In this latter capacity, I had occasion frequently, during the early part of the voluntary registration of the Asiatic communities that commenced on the 10th February last, immediately after the compromise had been effected, to discuss the situation with Mr. Chamney, Registrar of Asiatics, who told me, within

the Registration Office, that, of course, the Law would be repealed immediately Parliament met, if the voluntary registration had been satisfactorily completed. I have a distinct recollection also, although I did not take special note at the time, of hearing Mr. Chamney make similar statements to several persons who were at the Registration Office at different times during this period.

HENRY, S. L. POLAK

Before me,

Declared at Johannesburg,
this 9th day of September, 1908

CHAS H. SMITH
JUSTICE OF THE PEACE

(2) P. K. NAIDOO'S AFFIDAVIT

I, P. K. NAIDOO of Johannesburg, do hereby solemnly and sincerely declare as follows:

On the day that Mr. Gandhi was assaulted in connection with the compromise, and a few hours after, I went over to the Registrar's Office, in order to protest against Asiatic Law Amendment Act receipt forms being issued in connection with voluntary registration applications, and told him that Indians would not submit to the Act, and that they were undergoing voluntary registration because they were assured that, on their doing so, the Act itself would be repealed. Mr. Nadir Cama was present at the time, and Mr. Chamney emphatically assured us that, voluntary registration being gone through, the Act would certainly be repealed, and that the Asiatic Law Amendment Act forms had been issued only by mistake. In order further to impress us, the Registrar had other typewritten copies made, in which there was no mention of the Asiatic Law Amendment Act.

P. K. NAIDOO

Before me,

Declared at Johannesburg,
this 5th day of September, 1908

J. RILL
JUSTICE OF THE PEACE

(3) N. CAMA'S AFFIDAVIT

I, NADIR CAMA, of Johannesburg, do hereby solemnly and sincerely declare as follows:

I have read the affidavit of Mr. P. K. NAIDOO, of even date, and confirm the contents thereof. I was largely concerned with persuading the people to accept the compromise, and I had, besides the interview with Mr. Chamney in Mr. Naidoo's presence, many other interviews with the Registrar of Asiatics, and the latter very often repeated the assurance that the Act would be repealed, in order to strengthen my hands and to pacify the people.

NADIR CAMA

Before me,

Declared at Johannesburg,
this 5th day of September, 1908

J. RILL
JUSTICE OF THE PEACE

(4) A. M. Andrews' Affidavit

I, A. M. Andrews of Johannesburg, do hereby solemnly and sincerely declare as follows:

On the second or third day of the opening of the Von Brandis Square Office for voluntary registration, I entered the Office to make my application. Mr. Chamney asked me to give my thumb-impression. This I declined to do, claiming exemption on the ground of educational qualifications, and also because I had some misgivings, as, the previous day, I had seen receipts for voluntary registration applications issued on forms under the Asiatic Act. Mr. Chamney then pleaded with me, begging me to give the thumb-print in order to enable the Government to have some means of identification. He informed me that the leaders had given their finger impressions, that this was merely an act of grace on the part of the Asiatics and had no connection whatsoever with the Act, that the issuing of the receipts under the Act was merely a clerical error, and that, on the completion of voluntary registration, that Act would be removed from the Statute-book. Mr. Thambi Naidoo was also present at the time.

A. M. Andrews
Before me,
L. Lionel Goldsmid
Justice of the Peace

Declared at Johannesburg,
this 9th day of September, 1908

(5) Thambi Naidoo's Affidavit

I, Thambi Naidoo, of Johannesburg, do hereby solemnly and sincerely declare as follows:

I was one of the signatories to the letter addressed to the Colonial Secretary of the Transvaal in connection with the Asiatic Registration Act from the Johannesburg Gaol on the 29th January last.[1] When I sent the letter, I did so fully believing that, by Asiatics undergoing voluntary registration, the Act would be repealed. There was no definite mention made in the letter, in order to make the position of the Government as smooth as possible, but the intention, in stating that the Act be not applied to all those who voluntarily register and in making the clause applicable to those who might enter at any future time after the expiry of the period of three months fixed for the voluntary registration of those Asiatics who were resident in the Transvaal on the date of the compromise, was that, the Asiatics having honourably fulfilled their obligations, Act 2 of 1907 could be of no use to the Government and would, therefore, be naturally repealed. But the actual promise as to repeal of the Act was reserved for discussion at the interview between the Colonial Secretary and Mr. Gandhi, the first signatory to the said letter. Two days after the letter was sent to the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Gandhi was summoned to Pretoria. On his return from Pretoria, all the prisoners were discharged, and a meeting of British Indians was addressed by him the same day in the afternoon, that is Friday, the 31st January.[2] At this meeting, Mr. Gandhi announced

[1] *Vide* Vol. VIII, p. 42.
[2] ibid., p. 45

that General Smuts had promised to repeal the Act, if the Asiatics fulfilled their part of the compromise, namely, if the Asiatics made application for voluntary registration.

Subsequently, when the compromise was in working order, and when Mr. Gandhi was assaulted, together with Mr. Essop Mia, I was also assaulted while defending him from further injuries; and, in a bandaged condition, I attended the Registration Office and helped the authorities. The reason of the assault undoubtedly was suspicion, on the part of those who assaulted, to the effect that Mr. Gandhi had not acted properly or that the Government would not carry out the promise of repeal, if such promise was given. Another reason for the assault was that the leaders had accepted the principle of registration by ten finger-prints, which, among others, the Pathan section of the community resented most bitterly. The task of prevailing upon the people to take out voluntary registration, and of assuring the people that the compromise was fair, and that the Act would be repealed, fell upon the shoulders of myself and my co-workers.

In connection with this, I several times discussed the situation with Mr. Chamney, Registrar of Asiatics, and Mr. Chamney definitely stated to me that, on voluntary registration being undergone by the Asiatics, the Act would be repealed. Mr. Chamney, I am aware, even took to Mr. Gandhi a draft notice that was to be published in the *Gazette* in connection with the repeal. The assurance given to me was conveyed by me to my countrymen; and I am certain that, but for such an assurance, the community would never have accepted the compromise.

C. K. THAMBI NAIDOO

Before me,

A. S. C. BARTROP
JUSTICE OF THE PEACE

Declared at Johannesburg,
this 5th day of September, 1908

Colonial Office Records: 291/128

APPENDIX V

RESOLUTIONS AT MASS MEETING

[JOHANNESBURG,
September 10, 1908]

"This Meeting of British Indians deplores the heavy sentences passed on the British Indians who were tried at Volksrust on Tuesday, the 8th instant, some of whom are the most distinguished among Indians in South Africa, and all of whom claim the right of entering the Transvaal. Despite the suffering that the Government imposes on British Indians, they hereby resolve to continue to suffer till the redress to which they are entitled is granted."

Proposed by Mr. Sorabji Shapurji, seconded by Mr. Chettiar (Chairman, Tamil Benefit Society) and supported by Messrs Abdul Gani, Imam Abdool Kadir Bawazeer (Chairman Hamidia Islamic Society), Khursetji Desai, and P. Lucheram.

"This Meeting implores His Majesty's Government to intervene, and end the state of uncertainty, anxiety, and very great suffering that British Indians in the Transvaal are undergoing."

Proposed by Mr. Ebrahim Coovadia, seconded by Mr. Nadirsha Cama, and supported by Messrs Omarji Sale and P. K. Naidoo.

"This Meeting hereby authorises the Chairman to send the resolutions to the proper quarters."

Indian Opinion, 19-9-1908

APPENDIX VI

REV. J. J. DOKE'S LETTER TO GANDHIJI

11, SUTHERLAND AVENUE,
JOHANNESBURG,
September 30, 1908

DEAR FRIEND,

Your beautiful present of the *Song Celestial* I appreciate very much. In every respect it [is] one of the choicest treasures which I have—dainty in appearance—fascinating in its contents—and of great value and a memento of a friendship which I shall always regard with gratitude. Yes, even if the darling wish of your heart is fulfilled and I get into prison for it.

By the way, I hope you won't attribute to me any selfish motive when I confess that I am just now hammering away with all my heart at Prison reform! Still who knows what may happen? Many thanks for this kindness. I am reading the *Bhagvad Gita* with intense interest—although I cannot say that the doctrine : "He who shall say—'Lo! I have slain a man!' He who shall think 'Lo! I am slain'—those both know naught! 'Life cannot slay. Life is not slain!' " commands altogether my assent. But thereby hangs a long argument. The poetry and much of the teaching is beautiful! I went down to the Office this morning, in hope of seeing Quinn. But failed. I am afraid the poor fellow is in dire straits. The stupid prosecutions are going on as hitherto —one more glaring than another has just for a moment caught the public eyes—but only for a moment—[which] will be forgotten tomorrow. So shall we all be—and at last, even the Asiatic question will be settled. Cheer up my friend—all will yet be well.

Try and not get confiscated and deported or any thing of that kind—if you can help it just now. I have a thousand questions to ask—on any one of which—of course the welfare of the British Empire depends. I want to know why the Indians recalled you from India by cable.[1] I want to know whether the Durban people gave the Indian Stretcher-bearers a good send off when they went to Colenso and Spion Kop,[2] and did the work done on the battle fields make them more friendly to you? I want to know all that happened since, and especially I want a good cabinet photograph of yourself—

[1] This happened in 1902; *vide* Vol. III, p. 315.
[2] ibid., pp. 153-4 and 174-6.

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without your hat. So don't get caught! With kind remembrances from us all to Mrs. Gandhi and yourself,

Yours faithfully,
JOSEPH J. DOKE

[PS.] Olive tells me your birthday is near—many happy returns and God bless you!

From a photostat of the handwritten original: S. N. 4883

APPENDIX VII

TREATMENT IN PRISON : HARD LABOUR

(1) EXTRACT FROM CABLE DATED OCTOBER 15, 1908 BY BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION, JOHANNESBURG, TO SOUTH AFRICA BRITISH INDIAN COMMITTEE, LONDON

". . . Gandhi today working Public Square Volksrust. . . . "

Colonial Office Record: 179/251

(2) EXTRACT FROM CABLE DATED OCTOBER 15, 1908 BY NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS, DURBAN, TO L.W. RITCH, LONDON

". . . Gandhi and others working on Market Square : such treatment resented. . . . "[1]

Colonial Office Record: 179/251

(3) TEXT OF L. W. RITCH'S LETTER DATED DECEMBER 1, 1908 TO COLONIAL OFFICE, LONDON

The attention of my Committee has been drawn to Colonel Seely's reply to the question put by Dr. Rutherford in the House of Commons yesterday to the effect that from a telegram received from the Governor of the Transvaal it would appear that Mr. Gandhi had never performed hard labour on the public streets.

I am desired to inform the Secretary of State that my Committee have this morning received a cablegram which states that:

"Colonel Seely is absolutely misinformed as to Gandhi's treatment. Forwarding affidavits."

I am also desired to point out that on October the 17th Reuter's Volksrust Correspondent cabled to the Johannesburg press as follows :

"The Indians who were sentenced yesterday including Mr. Gandhi were today working on the Market Square here at road making."

Further, that in a letter addressed by the Rev. J. J. Doke to the Rev. F. B. Meyer on the 21st October, the writer states :

[1] Ritch forwarded copies of these cablegrams to the Colonial Office, London, on October 17.

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"Mr. Gandhi was sentenced last Wednesday to two months' imprisonment with hard labour and may now be seen in prison clothes with a pick-axe road making in Volksrust Market Place in company with the kaffir gang."

Colonial Office Record: 291/132

(4) Extract from Robert Sutherland's letter to "Rand Daily Mail"

. . . If President Kruger sent Mr. Gandhi and other high-class educated British Indians in prison garb to break stones on the public roads of the late Republic for no better reason than they have been convicted; if he treated Indian women and children with the inhumanity which an eye witness states he saw done at one of our frontier towns, and forced Hindus and Mussulman political prisoners to eat fat or starve; if he put men born and bred on the plains of India in ice-cold water on a winter's morning in this, to them, rigorous climate, and made them go for a full hour in *puris naturaubus*, it would lead to an ultimatum from the British Government, which would put a stop to it in twenty-four hours. Yet this British Colony of eighteen months old, which has scarcely shed its political swaddling clothes, does it with impunity . . . . Mr. Gandhi's crime which he is expiating by breaking stones on the streets of Volksrust in a dress ornamented with broad arrows is practically a protest against these odious laws. There are in India gentlemen who rank much higher than the Prime Minister of Nepal; who has lately been the honoured guest of England, and there are several who take precedence at the Court of St. James, of any in this country, yet to the highest the Transvaal laws offer the same insult.

Mr. Gandhi, the convict of this country's laws, comes of the same class as the Prime Minister of Nepal, and his father when he died held the same rank, being Prime Minister of one of the States of Western India. Mr. Gandhi himself is a man of high educational attainments, a barrister of the Inns of Court and a man of high moral character and exemplary life. He was born a Hindoo, but he has taken for his guidance what is best in all religions, including Christianity, the essence of which he has practised more strictly than the majority of nominal Christians.

The Magistrate, when passing sentence, we are told, remarked that he was sorry to see a man who was an advocate of the Courts of this country in such a position, and, had he been in his private house instead of on the bench, he might, with equal appositeness, have added that he was ashamed of administering a law which compelled a high-minded patriot to immolate himself in the interest and honour of his country and countrymen.

Indian Opinion, 7-11-1908

(5) Extract from "Notes on the Transvaal Struggle"

On Saturday, spans of Indian prisoners from 20 to 25 strong were sent to work on the Municipal Water Works, cleaning the cemetery, and tending the soldiers' graves. Mr. Gandhi was included. It must have been peculiar for him to contemplate his present occupation, after having tended the sick and wounded during the Boer War and led the Stretcher-Bearer Corps during the recent Natal Rebellion,—*tempora mutantur*.

Indian Opinion, 21-11-1908

(6) R. M. Sodha's Affidavit[1]

I, Ratanshi Mulji Sodha, of Natal, presently of Johannesburg, do hereby solemnly and sincerely declare as follows :

On the 14th day of October, Mr. Gandhi, a number of other Indians, and myself were sentenced to periods of imprisonment with hard labour at Volksrust. On the morning of the 15th Mr. Gandhi, I and 13 others, together with about 15 Natives, were taken out to work on the side of agricultural show ground close to the fence which divides the ground from the public road. Our work there was to dig and remove stones. We were quite close to the road, and anybody who passed could easily see us and hear distinctly what was going on. A number of Europeans and Natives did pass by. The ground is within the Municipality of Volksrust, and the road is used by a number of people. The European warder who was in charge of the Indian prisoners kept on urging Mr. Gandhi to work harder and harder, though Mr. Gandhi was doing his best. All this might have been clearly heard by passers-by. The exact words used were "Come on, Gandhi; come on, Gandhi". Mr. Gandhi replied that he was doing his utmost, and was even trying to do more. The Warder kept urging Mr. Gandhi when he saw Mr. Gandhi stoop to pick up earth to rub on the palms of his hands, which were getting raw through blistering. When after nine hours' almost continuous work, with a delay of one hour between 12 and 1, Mr. Gandhi returned to the gaol, he was so stiff with pain and fatigue that he could scarcely move. At 12 o'clock on this day, one of the Indian prisoners who had fainted through over-strain, heat and lack of water, which the Warder did not allow him to get, was taken in a sanitary cart to the gaol. Mr. Gandhi accompanied him in this cart. On the afternoon of that day, we were under the charge of a Native Warder, who also kept urging Mr. Gandhi to go on working, although he was doing his best. The words used were "Come on, Gandhi; come on, Gandhi". Passers-by could easily hear and see this. On the next day we were taken to a piece of ground near the road-side, almost opposite Mr. Suliman Ahmed Cajee's store. Mr. Cajee who was standing in front of the store, could easily see and hear whatever was going on. This, of course, would be from the opposite side of the road, but passers-by could come quite close to us. We were digging holes for trees, and worked on this day as on the previous day, for nine hours.

(Signed) R. M. Sodha

Before me,

(Signed) A. L. C. Bartrop
Justice of the Peace

Declared at Johannesburg,
this 30th day of November 1908

Colonial Office Record: 291/132

(7) Transvaal Prime Minister's Minute

[Pretoria,
January 30, 1909]

Ministers have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of His Excellency the Governor's Minute No. 15/1/08 of the 31st December last and His Excellency the Deputy-

[1] Copies of this and three other affidavits were forwarded by Ritch to the Colonial Office.

Governor's Minute No. 15/1/09 of the 14th instant covering respectively copies of despatches Nos. 424 and 451 from the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for the Colonies on the subject of the treatment of Mr. Gandhi while undergoing imprisonment.

2. Information is apparently required on two points, namely, Mr. Gandhi's treatment in Volksrust and his journey from the Johannesburg railway station to the Gaol.

3. With regard to the first point, Ministers have the honour to confirm the telegram sent on the 3rd November last to the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for the Colonies in which it was stated that Mr. Gandhi, who always worked in the Indian gang of prisoners, was employed for two and half days in the Agricultural Show Ground at Volksrust digging holes for trees, and thereafter in the Municipal Plantation and Gaol Gardens. He never performed hard labour in public streets. Further enquiry also shows that Indian prisoners were treated with every consideration consistent with the Gaol Regulations. The work performed was of a very light nature and water was at no time refused when required. One of the prisoners fainted owing to the extreme heat and was conveyed back to the gaol in a "scotch", or ordinary transport cart, and not in a, sanitary cart as is alleged.

4. As regards the second point, Ministers have the honour to state that Mr. Gandhi was returned from Volksrust to Johannesburg Prison in his Prison clothes as prescribed by the Regulations. During the journey from Volksrust, the Warder in charge offered Mr. Gandhi to procure a cab for him at Johannesburg station and repeated his offer on arrival at the station. Mr. Gandhi, however, elected to walk to the Prison and carried his kit in accordance with the Regulations. On arrival at the Prison, Mr. Gandhi was received by the Chief Warder and informed him that he had no complaint to make. He was seen the following day by the Governor of the Prison to whom he made the same statement.

Colonial Office Records: 291/136

APPENDIX VIII

TREATMENT IN PRISON : (a) *MARCHED IN CONVICT'S GARB*

(1) Extract from H. S. L. Polak's Letter to the Press, October 26, 1908

Mr. Gandhi has been sentenced to two months' hard labour for the offence of failing to give totally unnecessary finger-prints for identification purposes. He has been set to work upon the public streets at Volksrust. Nobody complains about that. It is part of the punishment to be borne by people whom General Smuts calls conscientious objectors. But is there any excuse for bringing Mr. Gandhi from Volksrust to Johannesburg in convict garb, as happened yesterday, and marching him from Park Station to the Fort publicly? Doubtless it was all part of the regulations. I believe that, when the Spanish Inquisition desired to degrade its victims, among whom were probably ancestors of mine, it clothed them in bag shaped yellow garb and marched them in this fashion through the streets prior to despatching them at the customary *auto-da fe*. We, Transvaal Britishers, do not seem to have gone far beyond those mediaeval torturers in our desire to bring our victims to what, in our opinion, is a fitter frame of mind. Can

you wonder that the Indian community is getting more and more embittered and exasperated; and do you not marvel how, in spite of all these injuries and insults, they remain content to be passive resisters, suffering themselves rather than imposing suffering upon their European fellow-colonists? Contrast the Christian example shown by these non-Christian people with the Pagan cruelty of their Christian rulers. It makes one flush with shame to think of it all.

Indian Opinion, 31-10-1908

(2) "A Shocking Sight"[1]

On Sunday last, Mr. Gandhi was removed from Volksrust Gaol to the Fort, Johannesburg, he having been subpœnaed as a witness for the Crown in the case of Daya Lalla, who was charged with using a forged registration certificate, the case being now sent to the Criminal Sessions for trial. Mr. Gandhi was removed in convict dress, in charge of a warder, in whose company he travelled to Johannesburg. A few members of the Committee of the Association had got wind of the removal, and met the train upon its arrival at Park Station at six o'clock in the evening. Mr. Gandhi, carrying his bundle of clothes in a large bag marked with the broad arrow, a basket of books, and, of course, wearing the convict suit, was then marched in custody from Park Station to the Fort. It was then broad daylight, and the streets were filled with onlookers, some of whom recognized Mr. Gandhi, even in the hideous disguise that he wore. Mr. Gandhi, of course, wore the convict garb of coloured prisoners, a particularly conspicuous one. Doubtless all this happened in terms of the regulations, but it is typical of the anti-Asiatic policy of the Government that no instructions were issued that Mr. Gandhi should be transferred in civil dress, and taken to the Fort in a cab. So long as cultured Indian passive resisters and conscientious objectors are treated as though they were aboriginal native felons of the worst type, so long must this fight continue.

Indian Opinion, 31-10-1908

(3) H. S. L. Polak's Affidavit

I, Henry Salomon Leon Polak of Johannesburg do hereby solemnly and sincerely declare as follows :

I am a British subject, born in England. I am an Attorney of the Supreme Court of the Transvaal. I am Assistant Honorary Secretary of the British Indian Association. I was present on the afternoon of Sunday the 25th October last, when Mr. Gandhi arrived by the Natal train from Volksrust. He was in custody and dressed in convict suit. He carried a large bundle and a basket of books. The train arrived at the scheduled time 6.0 p.m. It was then broad daylight. The sun did not set until a considerable time afterwards. Mr. Gandhi was marched through the public streets from the Station to the Johannesburg Gaol. This would take about twelve minutes. It would have been broad daylight all the time. I walked part of the way to the gaol at Mr. Gandhi's side. I left Mr. Gandhi half way to the Gaol. I then walked back for about ten minutes to catch my tram, and thereafter went home. When I arrived home it was still daylight

[1] This was published under the weekly feature: "Notes on the Transvaal Struggle: From Our Correspondent".

approaching dusk. As Mr. Gandhi walked through the streets he was in full view of every passer-by who could distinguish him clearly and many people recognised him. The official sunset time on that afternoon was 6.17 p.m. I make this statement as it has been suggested that Mr. Gandhi was taken through the streets at dusk. This is not true. During the whole time that I was with Mr. Gandhi, it was broad daylight.[1]

(Signed) H. S. L. POLAK

Before me,

Declared at Johannesburg,
this 30th day of November, 1908

(Signed) A. L. C. BARTROP
JUSTICE OF THE PEACE

Colonial Office Records: 291/132

(b) *MARCHED IN HANDCUFFS*

(1) REV. J. J. DOKE'S LETTER TO "RAND DAILY MAIL"[2]

[JOHANNESBURG,
March 11, 1909]

TO
THE EDITOR
RAND DAILY MAIL

SIR,

As most of your readers are aware, Mr. Gandhi is serving a term of three months' imprisonment with hard labour for failing to produce means of identification.

He has now been removed from Volksrust, and is now closely confined in the Central Prison, Pretoria.

Yesterday it was necessary that he should appear in some case in the Magistrate's Court. I understand he was brought there from the cells, dressed in civilian clothes, but handcuffed !

Of course, there may be amongst us those who will be glad to hear that indignities are being heaped on this great Indian leader; but I venture to hope that the great majority of our colonies will feel ashamed and angry that a man of the character and position of Mr. Gandhi should be needlessly insulted in this way.

He came voluntarily from Natal to be imprisoned. He has always shown the utmost chivalry in his dealings with the authorities. Why then should shameful indignity be put upon him?

Some will no doubt reply, "It is simply a prison regulation." Allow me to point out that there are no regulations scheduled for the class of prisoners represented by

[1] A similar affidavit was made by Thambi Naidoo. These were among the affidavits copies of which were forwarded by L. W. Ritch to the Colonial Office on December 21, 1908.

[2] This and the following letter were reproduced in *Indian Opinion*, 20-3-1909. Also, its issue of March 27 carried an editorial on the subject entitled "Hand-cuffed!"

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Mr. Gandhi; a class, not of criminals, but, as General Smuts termed them, of "conscientious objectors". From Volksrust Gaol to Pretoria, it was not considered necessary to use handcuffs, neither were they employed in Johannesburg, surely in Pretoria this needless insult should have been avoided.

His Excellency the High Commissioner, speaking in Cape Town last week, in the course of a very fine address on the Native question, is reported to have reflected strongly on "the policy of pin-pricks" and its "cumulative effect".

It is that "policy of pin-pricks" applied to the Asiatics here, not by irresponsible persons, but by officials of the Government, which increases the irritation in India and renders a settlement of this difficult business well nigh impossible.

I am, etc.,
JOSEPH J. DOKE

Rand Daily Mail, 12-3-1909

(2) EMILE NATHAN'S LETTER TO "THE TRANSVAAL LEADER"

[JOHANNESBURG,
March 12, 1909]

SIR,

A few days ago rumour had it that Mr. Gandhi, now suffering three months' imprisonment for a cause which he rightly or wrongly espouses, when testifying as a witness in the Court at Pretoria was handcuffed. One could hardly believe the rumour to be correct, but in your issue this morning the Rev. J. J. Doke draws further attention to the rumour.

I am not aware that the prison regulations demand that a prisoner when giving evidence in Court should in all circumstances be handcuffed. If it is a fact that a man like Mr. Gandhi—one of the quietest and most unassuming men going, highly educated, and a gentleman to the tips of his fingers—was handcuffed and submitted to that unnecessary indignity, it seems to me monstrous, and nothing short of a shame and a disgrace.

I trust an enquiry will be held, and, if the rumour be true and the action unwarranted, that the wrong and insult administered will be redressed and the wrongdoer adequately punished.

I am, etc.,
EMILE NATHAN

The Transvaal Leader, 15-3-1909

(3) "AN EXPRESSION OF REGRET"[1]

While on the topic, we may express what we believe to be the general regret of the Natal public that certain Transvaal officials should have thought it necessary the other day to subject Mr. Gandhi to the indignity of handcuffing while being walked through the streets to give evidence in the Police Courts. This, we believe,

[1] This is from a report entitled: "Treatment of Mr. Gandhi".

is the prescribed procedure under the regulations, but Mr. Gandhi is at least a political prisoner, and as such deserves better treatment than that measured out to debased criminals. A regulation that subjects any man, no matter what the charge against him, to such treatment is monstrous, and in this particular instance should have been avoided, as it will only provide a weapon against the Transvaal regarding its attitude towards Asiatics.

Indian Opinion, 27-3-1909

(4) Question in House of Commons

Mr. O'Grady asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he was aware that Mr. Gandhi, the Transvaal Indian leader, who was undergoing three months' hard labour under the Registration Laws, was, on March 10, marched from the Pretoria Gaol to the magistrate's court, where his attendance was required as a witness, handcuffed; whether he would enquire if this indignity upon Mr. Gandhi was intentionally imposed by the authorities, or occurred by mistake; and whether representations would be made to the Transvaal Government to treat British Indians, who were going to gaol for what they consider to be conscience sake, less severely than convicted criminals?

Colonel Seely: There has been no suggestion that Mr. Gandhi has been subjected to any special disability. Mr. Gandhi has been treated in every respect as any other prisoner would have been treated, and on a previous occasion he himself said he did not wish to be treated in any other way. . . . I am quite certain that I am correct in saying that Mr. Gandhi has not been subjected to any special indignity. . . . I am satisfied on the evidence laid before me that Mr. Gandhi has been subjected to no indignity beyond that suffered by any person of any colour in similar case.

Indian Opinion, 12-6-1909

(5) Transvaal Prime Minister's Minute

Prime Minister's Office,
Pretoria,
May 21, 1909

MINUTE NO. 223

Ministers have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of His Excellency the Deputy-Governor's Minute No. 15/1/09(2) of the 13th instant, covering copy of despatch No. 146 dated 24th April, from the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for the Colonies on the subject of the treatment of Mr. M. K. Gandhi while undergoing imprisonment.

2. In reply, Ministers have the honour to inform His Excellency that the statement that M. K. Gandhi was marched handcuffed from the Pretoria Gaol to the Pretoria Magistrate's Court is correct. It is the universal rule to handcuff prisoners when so marched and they are so marched when the prison van is not available, as happened in the case in point. The rule applies equally to European convicted prisoners and there was no reason therefore for exempting an Indian from its operation.

Mr. Gandhi was however allowed to draw his sleeves over his handcuffs and to carry a book, which concealed the fact of his being handcuffed.

LOUIS BOTHA

Colonial Office Records: 291/137

APPENDIX IX

COMMENTS BY "RAND DAILY MAIL"

On the 21st instant, the *Rand Daily Mail* made the following editorial comments:

Though the scheme of the Asiatics in the Transvaal for closing their stores is undoubtedly a clever one, it will hardly popularise their cause in this country. It simply means that the so-called passive resistance has degenerated into coercion. There is no doubt that numbers of the Indians have been intimidated by their fellows, and are afraid to register or to take out trading licences; and now the scheme is to intimidate the European merchants and the Transvaal Government. We hope these methods commend themselves to Mr. Hosken and *The Transvaal Leader* and the other advocates of deliberate law-breaking in this Colony. But in the case of the majority of the people we feel sure that these tactics will destroy the last shred of sympathy with the Asiatic cause. Anyway we are convinced the Transvaal Government will not be bullied into making concessions by such methods, and we hope that the wholesale traders affected will not allow themselves to be made the tools of law-breaking Indians. We do not think that many of the Asiatics will fall in with Mr. Gandhi's little plan, and ruin themselves completely to further the cause of passive resistance when it assumes such a new and startling form. We believe that a firm attitude will quickly make the plot a failure. And in the meantime the Government should pay a little more attention to the picketing system which is intimidating so many of the law-abiding Indians and preventing them fulfilling the letter of the law.

Indian Opinion, 30-1-1909

APPENDIX X

THE KAFFIR INCIDENT

(1) EXTRACT FROM REVIEW OF "A TRAGEDY OF EMPIRE" BY H. S. L. POLAK, IN "RAND DAILY MAIL", 5-10-1909:

". . . it is alleged that whilst in prison, Mr. Gandhi was 'seized by a Kaffir, lifted high in the air and dashed violently to the ground. Had he not seized hold of a door-post as he fell, he would have undoubtedly had his skull split open!' "

(2) EXTRACT FROM REV. J. J. DOKE'S LETTER DATED OCTOBER 7 TO "RAND DAILY MAIL":

"In a sub-leader on the above subject published in your issue of Tuesday, I notice that you hesitate to accept Mr. Polak's statement that a brutal assault had

been made by a Kaffir on Mr. Gandhi, while the latter gentleman was imprisoned in Johannesburg Gaol. You say: 'It is not stated whether Mr. Gandhi complained to the prison authorities and had the Kaffir punished' . . . and you add, 'in any case the attack does not seem to us to be one for which the Transvaal Government can be held responsible.'

It happens that I am able to supply part of the missing information. When I knew of the shameful assault, the details of which you naturally do not publish, I spoke of it personally to Mr. Roos, who expressed regret, and said that Mr. Gandhi had already told him of it. The Kaffir, I imagine, was not punished, as Mr. Gandhi would make it a point of conscience not to identify the man who had injured him. In similar circumstances, he refused to prosecute the Pathan by whom he had been assaulted.

Regarding the responsibility of the Government, I fail to agree with you. It is perfectly true that the Government had nothing immediately to do with the assault, and that great regret was privately expressed, and I have no doubt was felt, that this had happened, but the Government is nevertheless responsible for the system under which it was possible. The fact is that passive resistance Indians have been classed as 'Natives' and as criminals, and all attempts to get this altered, so far as I am aware, have failed. As a 'Native', Mr. Gandhi was locked up on one occasion in a cell with Natives, and suffered a night of torture such as Mr. Polak describes. As a Native he was obliged to consort with Natives, and in that enforced contact the assault was committed. Efforts are made now and I believe successfully, to keep the Indians as much as possible to themselves. But so long as they are classed with Natives as criminals, and watched by Native warders, what happened to Mr. Gandhi in the Fort, to Nagappen at Yokeskei River Camp, and the others in different gaols may happen at any moment."

Indian Opinion, 16-10-1909

APPENDIX XI

EUROPEANS' LETTER TO "THE TIMES"[1]

TO
THE EDITOR
THE TIMES
LONDON

SIR,

The signatories of this letter are, most of them, South African Colonists of many years' standing. One is a member of the Transvaal Legislative Assembly, others are clergymen of various Christian denominations, whilst others belong to one

[1] This was dated "Johannesburg, November, 1908" and reproduced in *Indian Opinion*, 6-2-1909.

or other of the professions or are engaged in commercial pursuits. In addressing this letter to you, we are moved by feelings of concern regarding the present phases of what is known as the Transvaal Asiatic question. We frankly accept the position that the further immigration of Asiatics into this Colony shall be most stringently restricted. And the Asiatics themselves have publicly accepted that position.

But recent events have shown us that the welfare of the Empire, which we have at heart, may be endangered unless a speedy termination of the present state of affairs can be effected. The Transvaal-domiciled Indians to-day in India are likely to be a grave source of danger to the Empire, since they will have left this Colony with a feeling of bitterness in their hearts at the remembrance of their harsh treatment by their European fellow-subjects of the Crown, a feeling which they will not be slow to ventilate amidst the sympathetic surroundings of their native land.

It has been, perhaps too easily, assumed that the public opinion of the white population of the Transvaal is unitedly opposed to the Asiatic claims. We believe, however, that, whilst the number of European sympathisers with the Asiatics who will openly express their views is not great, there is an important body of sympathisers in the European section of the community who are grieved and hurt at the treatment being meted out to the Asiatics for no apparent useful purpose. We have carefully examined the claims put forth by them, and we have had opportunities of satisfying ourselves that they are legitimate and of such a degree of moderation as to be capable of being granted, without danger to the Colony. They are, in effect, two only. The first is that, at the next session of Parliament, the Government will introduce as a Government measure legislation repealing the obnoxious Asiatic Law Amendment Act, which the Colonial Secretary has declared to be unworkable. This law, which was passed unanimously by Parliament without consultation with the Asiatic leaders, and on the assumption that there was a considerable illicit influx of Asiatics into the Transvaal, has now been, for all practical purposes, replaced by the new Validation Act, which is generally acceptable to the Asiatics, and which removed the stigma under which they feel they labour so long as the old Act remains on the Statute-book. In a speech delivered at Richmond, Johannesburg, on February 5 last, General Smuts is reported to have said:

"The character of that law was that it should come into force once, and should have its effect once, and once for all. It was a very risky law, because, if the Asiatics did not come forward during that period, registration became impossible, and the law became a dead-letter. What happened? They were at a complete deadlock. That was the position into which they had drifted now. It was not by the fault of the Government, not by the fault of a party, but because a law had been passed that required the co-operation of the Indian population. They did not give the co-operation; but they simply stood aside."

Thus, besides being declared by the Colonial Secretary to be unworkable, the old Asiatic Act has also been superseded by more recent and generally unobjectionable legislation, and is, consequently, no longer of any real value to anyone. The Asiatics have all along resented the imputations upon which the policy laid down in the old Act was based, and realise that so long as it remains their position is peri-

lous. Undoubtedly, in our opinion, they undertook voluntary registration in the belief that the Act would be repealed, and they feel that their straightforward action in carrying out their voluntary obligations has not been reciprocated.

The second point is that the Asiatics request the recognition of the right of educated Indians to enter the Colony under the restrictions of the general Immigration Law of the Colony. It is admitted that the Immigration Act alone does not exclude educated Asiatics from entry into the Transvaal. On their side, the Asiatics are willing to allow the Government, by administrative methods, to restrict such immigration by raising the education test for Asiatic immigrants so as to make it impossible for others than professional men and university graduates to enter the Colony, and they have further publicly consented that the Government may administratively limit the number of these to six per annum. They urge, and we are at one with them in this, that the provision of temporary permits, renewable from time to time, is un-British and unsuited to their needs, for those to whom these permits would be granted would be allowed to enter the Colony as an act of grace and not as a matter of right, that they would be prohibited immigrants with the penalties suspended, and they would, consequently, be unable efficiently to practise their professions. We feel that the unhampered admission of this small number of cultured Asiatics is a necessity to the welfare of the Asiatics themselves, and even more important to the European population. Without the means of communal development, the Asiatics must, in course of time, become a source of danger to the white Colonists, for, in the absence of their natural leaders, they would sink to a depth of degradation which we cannot contemplate with equanimity.

It is to secure these two points—all else being a matter of detail only—and easily capable of adjustment—that the Asiatics are prosecuting a resolute policy of passive resistance. They are the greatest sufferers by their acts, and, as they are an unrepresented and otherwise voiceless minority, whose views have been on almost every occasion ignored by the Legislature, it is difficult to discover any other course open to them, to secure redress of their grievances than that which they have adopted.

It has been suggested that the hardships of the present struggle, that the Asiatics have so vehemently protested against, are largely fictitious. We are unable to subscribe to that opinion. We consider that the Asiatics' complaints are, on the whole, justified. There has been an enormous amount of hardship and suffering inflicted as the result of this unfortunate misunderstanding. Since the new phase of the struggle commenced, some four months ago, nearly 900 sentences of imprisonment with hard labour have been imposed upon men whom General Smuts himself has called "conscientious objectors". They have been treated in gaol no better than aboriginal native felons, and the prison diet has been entirely unsuited to their national habits. Indeed, in some gaols, the food has been religiously "unclean", and, as a result, many of the Asiatic prisoners have been half-starved. There can be no doubt, too, of the immense financial loss that has befallen the Asiatic communities since the struggle first commenced, over two years ago, both by way of actual expenditure, and business loss due to restriction of trade. The mental anxiety of the Asiatic population, too, induced by the present unsettlement, has been intense, and this has reacted upon all sections of the population.

For ourselves, we are satisfied, from personal observation, of the earnestness and

determination of the Asiatics in the prosecution of their struggle for what they believe is justly due to them. They have shown a degree of courage and self-sacrifice, and an honourable intention to abide by their obligations, that have evoked admiration. Many of their leaders, who are to-day in gaol for the sake of their compatriots, are cultured men who would be an honour to any community. They include professional men, wealthy merchants, priests and well-known traders. Those who are to-day in gaol include representatives of all sections of the Asiatic communities, from the hawker to the wholesale merchant, from the clerk to the professional man. All faiths and castes are represented, and the Asiatics have shown a unanimity that is as praiseworthy as it was unexpected. We feel that the prolongation of this struggle must have a most unfavourable effect upon the trade and commerce of this country, adding unnecessarily to the many difficulties with which it is faced in its efforts to achieve nationhood.

In these circumstances, we trust that a settlement on the lines above indicated will be sought by the Transvaal Government. In our opinion, there is nothing in the Asiatic demands that cannot safely be conceded. There is a grave danger lest the British public be misled as to the real nature of the struggle now proceeding. It appears to us that it would be wise and prudent if, in future, legislation concerning the unrepresented sections of the people were not passed without previous consultation with their leaders. We wish it distinctly to be understood that we are in the fullest sympathy with all efforts of the Government to equalise conditions of European and Asiatic competition. To this end, it may be wise not only to apply existing municipal, sanitary, and other standards strictly, but even to raise such standards. But we respectfully submit that nothing could react more injuriously upon the European race than to deprive the Asiatics of all opportunity for development, and thus to diminish their wants instead of increasing them.

We are, etc.,
WM. HOSKEN, M.L.A.
H. KALLENBACH
JOSEPH J. DOKE
AND 24 OTHERS

The Times, 6-1-1909

APPENDIX XII

LORD CURZON'S LETTER TO GANDHIJI

GROOTE SCHUUR,
RONDEBOSCH,
February 2, 1909

DEAR SIR,

I am extremely sorry that owing to an alteration in my plans caused by illness, I was in Johannesburg for so short a time as to be unable to meet your Committee in person and discuss with them the circumstances of the case.

As it was, I endeavoured to make myself acquainted with both sides of it by personal enquiries and by a study of the papers with which I was provided by the courtesy of yourself and of others.

Upon my arrival here, H. E. Lord Selborne had arranged to meet me with General Botha and Mr. Smuts; and we had a prolonged and friendly conversation about the matter, in which every aspect of it was passed under review.

I had of course no authority to act upon your behalf. But my connection with India and the earlier history of the case, perhaps, gave me some title to express an opinion.

My own impression, in entering upon the discussion, was that it should not be impossible to find some solution of the present difficulty which should be equally honourable to all parties; and I received repeated assurances from General Botha and Mr. Smuts of their anxiety to treat the British Indians in the Transvaal in a spirit of liberality as well as justice.

How far it would have been possible, had I remained longer in the country, and been able to communicate personally with the principal parties concerned—to effect any settlement, it would be useless now to conjecture.

The main obstacle to such an arrangement at the moment appeared to be that, if the anticipations as to the formation of a single Government for South Africa are realised—as everyone hopes will be the case—the question will shortly be taken up again by a more powerful authority than the Government of any one State, and settled on wider grounds than those which affect the position of the Indians in the Transvaal alone.

As soon as unification is carried [out] in this country, there must be communications between the joint Government of South Africa and the Home Govt. on this as on other matters; and I should hope personally that these communications—which ought not now to be long delayed—may be made the occasion for a final and satisfactory settlement of this vexed problem.

If either then or at any other time, I can be of service to the Indian community in S. Africa, I shall be very happy.

I am,
Dear Sir,
Yours very faithfully,
CURZON

TO
THE HON. SEC., B. I. ASSOCIATION
JOHANNESBURG

From a photostat of a typewritten copy: S. N. 4920

APPENDIX XIII

MINUTES OF MEETING HELD ON JUNE 13, 1909

A Special Committee of British Indians has been appointed to decide the personnel of the delegation to England.

The members thereof are :

1. H.O. Ally, 2. M.K. Gandhi, 3. Hajee Habib, 4. A. M. Cachalia, 5. T. Naidoo 6. N. A. Cama, 7. Shaboodeen, 8. Omerjee Sale, 9. Kamissa, 10. Dadabhai, and 11. G. V. Godfrey.

Mr. Gandhi proposes that Messrs Cachalia, himself, with V. A. Chetty and Mr. H. Habib should go to England as the latter now declares himself as a passive resister.

Mr. Ally objects to this on the grounds: (1) that it is not sincere, (2) because the mandate is not on Unification, and (3) because V. A. Chetty is not competent.

Mr. Kamissa agrees with Mr. Ally. Mr. Cama might be preferred if elected.

Mr. G. V. Godfrey objects to the proposition on the grounds, that : (1) some of the personnel will not be of any use in England on account of incompetency and, (2) the majority of Indians in the Transvaal will not agree to this one-sided proposition.

Mr. Dadabhai counter proposes that Mr. Cama, Mr. Gandhi and Habib should go.

Mr. Cama supports Mr. Gandhi's original proposition.

Mr. Naidoo explains that the meeting is mistaken about the abilities of Mr. Chetty and that he is quite able to address an English audience. Mr. Naidoo corrects this and says, that Mr. Chetty can explain himself as well as Mr. Habib or Mr. Cachalia. Mr. Shaboodeen proposes at this stage "that non-passive resisters should go and not passive resisters."

This proposition is put to the meeting and the following gentlemen vote for, *viz* : Mr. Ally, Godfrey, Shaboodeen, Kamissa and Hajee Habib, against Cama, Gandhi, Naidoo, Dadabhai, Cachalia and Omerjee Sale.

Mr. Gandhi moves his original proposition. It is put to the vote and carried by 6 against 3. The six voting for it are Mr. Gandhi, (mover) Mr. Omerjee Sale, (Seconder) Naidoo, Cama, Dadabhai, and Cachalia, against Mr. Ally, Godfrey, and Shaboodeen. Mr. Kamissa declines to vote.

Mr. Godfrey restores his objections to Mr. Gandhi's proposition. Mr. Ally does likewise.

Mr. Hajee Habib hereby declares himself a passive resister and on this condition he is to go in the delegation.

About 300 Indians present at the meeting.

From a photostat of the typewritten draft : S. N. 4938

CWMG-IX

APPENDIX XIV

LORD AMPTHILL'S LETTER TO GANDHIJI

CONFIDENTIAL

MILTON ERNEST HALL,
BEDFORD,
August 3, 1909

DEAR MR. GANDHI,

I take the opportunity afforded by an interval in the House of Lords to write you a few lines. In the first place, let me thank you for your letter of the 29th July and for the copy of your "Concise Statement", which you sent to me so promptly. I am also much obliged to you for the several telegrams in which you intimated that you would be guided by me for the present. I am afraid that it must seem to you that I am losing time but this is really not the case. The authorities are, of course, tremendously busy over the South Africa Bill and Imperial Defence, not to mention the appalling weight of party political business, and I am obliged to await their convenience. Meanwhile, I am putting in a touch here and there by letter or by word of mouth wherever I see an opportunity. Now as regards your letter of the 29th: There is only one point on which I should be glad of a little further explanation, for the rest was quite clear and explicit. You tell me unequivocally that you receive no financial support from sedition-mongers in India but you do not answer my question (I think I put it) whether they are co-operating with you or advising you in any other way. I should like to be able to give a positive denial to that charge, which I do not myself believe, and to say that the continuance of your "Passive Resistance" is absolutely independent of anything that is being said or done in India. The contrary is alleged against you and I am naturally anxious to be able to repudiate the charge with proofs more effective than my own personal belief.

You marked the "Statement" as an "unrevised proof" and so I am encouraged to make a few suggestions.

PARA 15: With reference to the first two sentences, I suggest that you should add as an *appendix* Mr. Ritch's comparative statement of the position now and before the War. There ought to be some brief explanation of the effect of Law 3 of 1885.

PARA 17: Before the last sentence but one I would suggest a little amplification. It would be appropriate to explain that the five-finger method of identification, which in India is confined to criminals, was deliberately adopted although Sir E. Henry's report stated that thumb-impressions only were sufficient.

PARA 20: It seems to me advisable to explain exactly how the total prohibition was brought about by reading the Asiatic Law and Immigration Law together.

PARA 21: Surely "Act 2 of 1907" should be substituted for "Act 1908".

PARA 22: The terms of the compromise should be set forth.

After this paragraph a little connecting narrative seems to be wanting. You

want to tell how the Indians found that the compromise was not what they honestly believed it would be.

PARA 25: This might be re-drafted so as to show that it was not the fault of the Indians that "repeal fell through". It would also be desirable to explain in what respect General Smuts "went back even upon the written and manifest terms of the compromise".

PARA 26: does not explain sufficiently clearly why the Indians burned their certificates. It should be remembered that this Statement, if it is used at all, will be for the instruction of persons who know nothing at all about this question.

PARA 29: I suggest that the petition referred to should be printed as an *appendix*.

PARA 30: (1) Is not "1908" again a misprint for "1907"? For the rest I think that you have wonderfully compressed the long story and brought out all the essential points. I hope that you will not mind my offering these few suggestions, for it seems to me that I am necessarily in a better position to appreciate what information is required by people in this country than you to whom the whole circumstances are so familiar.

Yours very faithfully,
AMPTHILL

From a photostat of the handwritten original : S. N. 4975

APPENDIX XV

TRANSVAAL INDIANS' PETITIONS

(1) PETITION TO THE QUEEN[1]

THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY
LONDON

THE PETITION OF THE WIVES, THE MOTHERS, OR THE DAUGHTERS OF BRITISH INDIANS IN THE TRANSVAAL WHO HAVE PASSED THROUGH THE TRANSVAAL GAOLS DURING THE PAST TWO YEARS FOR CONSCIENCE'S SAKE

HUMBLY SHEWETH THAT:

Your Petitioners are the wives, mothers or daughters of British Indians who have suffered or still are suffering imprisonment in the Transvaal in connection with the Asiatic struggle that has been unfortunately going on in the Transvaal.

Your Petitioners believe the struggle on the part of the British Indians to be righteous and for the honour of their race.

Your Petitioners are further aware that those Indians who have been continually courting imprisonment are bound by a solemn oath not to submit to the Asiatic Act of the Transvaal Parliament until the grievances which have dictated the oath are redressed.

Your Petitioners have felt bound to encourage their sons, husbands or fathers, as the case may be, in observing their obligation.

[1] There is no evidence that this and the following two petitions were drafted by Gandhiji, but it is not unlikely that he had initiated the move to present them. They were ready for circulation, to secure signatures, before he left for England, and were published in *Indian Opinion* with the remark that they were being extensively signed in the Transvaal.

CWMG - IX

Owing to the above, Your Petitioners have in many cases been obliged to suffer not only the pangs of separation but [also] privation. Many Indian families have been reduced to poverty during the struggle.

Your Petitioners are aware that, under the British Constitution, Your Majesty cannot directly intervene on behalf of the sufferers. But Your Petitioners respectfully lay their case before Your Gracious Majesty in the hope that it may be possible for Your Majesty to use your influence unofficially, as mother or wife feeling for mothers or wives, and help to end a situation that has become most acute.

The points required by the sufferers are the repeal of a law which is no longer required by the Government and the removal of a racial bar in the immigration law of the Colony, so that it may be possible for the most highly educated Indians to enter the Colony on the same terms as any other immigrants.

Your Petitioners respectfully hope that their humble prayer will be taken into consideration by Your Gracious Majesty.

And for this act of justice and mercy, Your Petitioners shall for ever pray, etc.

Indian Opinion, 3-7-1909

(2) Petition to Dadabhai Naoroji

TO

THE HON'BLE DADABHAI NAOROJI

SIR,

We, the undersigned, British Indians residing in the Transvaal hereby approach you as the father of the Indian nation that is to be, with reference to the gigantic struggle in which we are engaged in this Colony. Through you we appeal to the whole of India.

We will not go into the history of the struggle, but will state the question as it stands today.

The Indian inhabitants of the Transvaal have asked for repeal of the Asiatic Registration Act of 1907, so that Indians possessing educational attainments, be they ever so few, even six per year, may enter the Transvaal on the same terms as the other immigrants. To-day, by reason of the Registration Act read together with the Immigration Act of the Colony, no British Indian can immigrate into the Colony unless he has been previously domiciled. The laws of the Colony, therefore constitute a colour bar. No other British Colony possesses such legislation. Indians have, therefore, publicly entered into a solemn covenant not to submit to the Registration Acts of the Colony but to suffer imprisonment and other hardships until the national insult is removed.

Under the covenant, during the past two years and six months, over 2,500 Indians have suffered imprisonment mostly with hard labour. Many homes have been broken up, many families have been ruined, in the struggle. Fathers and sons have gone to gaol at the same time, leaving behind them weeping wives and mothers. Many families are being supported from charitable funds raised by us. At the present moment, nearly two hundred Indians are suffering imprisonment for conscience' sake.

The hardship felt has been so great that many have succumbed owing to sheer exhaustion. Others have left the Colony and are probably today starving. A resolute

band of over 300 continues an active struggle. Some have passed through the Transvaal gaols five times.

The covenanters are derived from all classes and strata of Indian society. Hindus, Mahomedans, Parsees, Sikhs and Christians are all fighting India's battle. Merchants who have never undergone physical exertion and have been brought up in the lap of luxury are breaking stones, or doing scavenger's work, or wheeling barrows of earth and living on coarse mealie meal and boiled potatoes or rice and ghee.

We ask India to come to the rescue and demand from the Indian Government a removal of the bar sinister. Until the racial taint from the Transvaal legislation is removed, the little band of Indians referred to above will suffer unto death. We pray for relief.

Indian Opinion, 3-7-1909

(3) Petition to Bengal Chamber of Commerce

TO
THE PRESIDENT OF THE
BENGAL CHAMBER OF COMMERCE
CALCUTTA

SIR,

We, the undersigned, British Indians residing in the Transvaal, beg to approach you as the leader of Anglo-India. We approach you regarding the Asiatic struggle that has now been going on in this Colony for the past two years and a half.

We do not desire to trouble you with the history of the question. The point of dispute between the local Government and the British Indians is whether, as regards immigration, the laws of the Colony are to contain a racial disqualification. The local Parliament has passed two laws—one called the Asiatic Registration Act of 1907, and the other the Immigration Act of the same year—whereby a British Indian, no matter what his educational attainments may be, becomes upon entering the Colony, unless previously domiciled, a prohibited immigrant by reason of his Indian birth or extraction. This legislation is without parallel in British Colonies. We have, therefore, after other efforts had become vain, publicly entered into a solemn covenant not to submit to the Registration Law above-named and another passed in the year 1908, whilst the struggle was yet going on, until the Registration Act of 1907 is repealed so as to remove the racial taint.

By reason of the covenant, over 2,500 Indians, representing all races, classes, and religions, have undergone imprisonment. Many Indians domiciled in the Transvaal or in some other South African Colony have been, by arrangement with the Portuguese administration at the Province of Mozambique, deported direct to India, at a moment's notice, in some cases leaving families and businesses behind uncared for and unattended. Many homes have been ruined. Many merchants have been reduced to poverty. Many families are being supported out of charitable funds collected by the Indian community.

We do not desire unrestricted Indian immigration into the Colony. We accept the principle of white predominance in this sub-continent. All we claim is that the

Transvaal cannot, unlike the other Colonies, impose a racial test and thus, in the words of Mr. Chamberlain, wound the susceptibilities of India's millions.

We have appealed to all parties—all British subjects. And we have received support from all of them. Even in the Transvaal, a small European Committee, composed of prominent members of the community, under the Chairmanship of Mr. Wm. Hosken, M.L.A., has been supporting us.

The honour of India, we doubt not, is as dear to Anglo-Indians as it must be to Indians. Through you, therefore, we ask the whole of Anglo-India to help us, in any manner you may consider best, to end the unfortunate situation.

Owing to the almost unbearable severity of the struggle, many have succumbed. But the heroic band still continues to court imprisonment again and again. They are determined to fight unto death. The Transvaal gaols contain, at the time of addressing this appeal, nearly 200 Indian conscientious objectors. The Government have, for the purpose evidently of gagging us, arrested five such objectors, who were chosen as delegates to proceed to India and England. We pray for relief.

Indian Opinion, 3-7-1909

APPENDIX XVI

LORD AMPTHILL'S LETTER TO GANDHIJI

CONFIDENTIAL

July 29, 1909

DEAR MR. GANDHI,

I have just returned home to find your letter of yesterday. I write hastily to reply in the midst of a local "tamasha".

Nothing would be more unfortunate than that Sir Mancherjee and I should be at cross purposes and that must be avoided at all costs.

I cannot "insist", as you tell me that Sir Mancherjee does; I can only advise. It is for you to choose between his advice and mine.

Your choice lies between the "diplomatic" and the "political" method.

If you choose the former, then you must leave the conduct of the business entirely to me justas the Cabinet leave their diplomacy entirely to Sir Edward Seely. Diplomacy is only possible through individual agency and by private action.

If, however, you choose the political method, then I will stand aside altogether so as to leave Sir Mancherjee a free hand. I could not take part in a course of action which seems to me inappropriate and erroneous at the present juncture.

As the result of the past ten days' work, I am in touch with Lord Crewe, Lord Morley, Lord Lansdowne and Lord Curzon on the one side and with Lord Selborne, General Smuts and Sir George Farrar on the other. I am to have a discussion with General Smuts next week, probably on Wednesday. All those I have named are open to a settlement.

My advice to you is that you should leave matters to me for the present seeing how far I have already gone, and that, if my negotiations should fail, you should then try Sir Mancherjee's suggested course of action.

Please let me know as soon as possible what you decide.

Yours very faithfully,
AMPTHILL

From a photostat of the handwritten original: S. N. 4967

APPENDIX XVII

LORD AMPTHILL'S LETTER TO GANDHIJI

CONFIDENTIAL

July 28, 1909

DEAR MR. GANDHI,

I am away from home and have only just received your letter of the 26th inst. I must reply hastily as it is past midnight and I am at the end of a long and tiring day, but as I am off again early tomorrow morning I shall lose much time if I do not write to you now. I have not been idle since I last wrote to you. I have had long talks with Lord Selborne, Lord Crewe, Sir George Farrar and I have also approached Lord Morley, General Smuts and others. Lord Curzon is working with me.

There is no fixed disinclination for a settlement on the part of any of the above-mentioned, but there is nothing to be gained by unduly pressing them or by any loud public action. Private negotiation is the only possible means.

In reply to your question, please let me see your "statement" and then I shall be better able to suggest what you should do with it. But I beg you not to *publish* or *circulate* anything without first consulting me. It would be fatal if any of the responsible statesmen were offended or put out at the present juncture. I may be too sanguine, but I really hope that they will agree upon a settlement if they are allowed to do so of their own accord. Now, I want an answer from you to this question:

If the Act of 1907 is repealed and if a promise is given that six Indians will be admitted to the Transvaal annually in the way you have proposed, will you be contented? Will that finally remove the sense of injustice and indignity under which the Indian community in the Transvaal is suffering?

Please let me know explicitly what I can say on this point, for the objection which I have to meet is the assertion that the Indians will never be contented, and that any concession will lead to fresh demands.

There is also much prejudice in high quarters on account of a belief that "Passive Resistance" in the Transvaal is being fomented and financed by the party of sedition in India who do not desire that the question should be settled. Please tell me how I am to meet this charge.

You may of course show this letter to your colleague and I should be obliged if you would show it to Mr. Ritch, as I have not time to write it all to him, but please do not show it to anyone else.

Yours very faithfully,
AMPTHILL

From a photostat of the handwritten original: S. N. 4965

APPENDIX XVIII

LORD AMPTHILL'S INTRODUCTION TO "M. K. GANDHI: AN INDIAN PATRIOT IN SOUTH AFRICA"

The writer of this book is not known to me personally, but there is a bond of sympathy between him and me in the sentiments which we share in regard to the cause of which he is so courageous and devoted an advocate.

I commend his book to all who are willing to take my word that it is worth reading. I respectfully suggest that others who attach no value to my opinion would do well to avail themselves of the information afforded by this book in regard to the question of which few, unfortunately, in this country have any knowledge, but which is nevertheless an Imperial question of the highest importance.

Mr. Doke does not pretend to give more than a short biography and character sketch of Mr. Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, the leader of the Indian community in the Transvaal, but the importance of the book is due to the facts that men and matters are inseparably connected in all human affairs, and that the proper comprehension of political affairs in particular ever depends on a knowledge of the character and motives of those who direct them.

Although I am not in a position to criticise I do not doubt that in these pages the facts are accurately recorded, and I have sufficient reason to believe that the appreciation is just.

The subject of the sketch, Mr. Gandhi, has been denounced in this country, even by responsible persons, as an ordinary agitator; his acts have been misrepresented as mere vulgar defiance of the law; there have not even been wanting suggestions that his motives are those of self-interest and pecuniary profit.

A perusal of these pages ought to dispel any such notions from the mind of any fair man who has been misled into entertaining them. And with a better knowledge of the man there must come a better knowledge of the matter.

The Indian community in the Transvaal are struggling for the maintenance of a right and the removal of a degradation. Can we as Englishmen find fault with them for that? The only method of protest, except that of violence and disorder, which is open to them, who have neither votes nor representation, is that of passive resistance. Can we find fault with them for that? They are not selfishly resisting a tax or insidiously striving for new political privileges; they are merely trying to regain that which has been taken from them—the honour of their community. Let him who blames them

say what he would do in similar circumstances. Is there one of us who, out of respect for the law, would submit meekly and without protest to deprivation of rights and social degradation?

The Colonial Government can remove both grievances without sacrificing an ounce of principle or losing a grain of dignity. Will the Colonial Government do so for the sake of the Empire at this moment of reconciliation, union, and new hope for the future? That is the question to which we are anxiously expecting an answer at the present moment—the question whether or not the Indians, who have their homes in the Transvaal and who have assisted as a community in the development of South Africa, who are British citizens and subjects of His Majesty the King, are to have any lot or share in the general rejoicing over the Union of South Africa.

The Colonial Government has but to repeal an Act, which has served its purpose, which is now useless and unworkable, and which they themselves declare to be a dead letter, and to make a slight amendment of another Act, so as to remove the explicit racial distinction imposed by these laws and in practice admit a maximum of six Indians annually to the Colony, on the old principle of right, and the question would be settled. The Indians would then have no further reason for persisting in a struggle which for them means suffering and ruin while for the Colony it means a scandal and disgrace. This does not imply that they have no further grievances. They would still labour under the disabilities imposed by the late Transvaal Republic—the incapacity to acquire the franchise and to own land, and the liability to segregation in Locations.

It is not realised in this country that in the Transvaal, during the past three years, Indians have for the first time been deprived of a right which they have enjoyed, at any rate in theory, and still enjoy in every other part of the Empire, viz., the legal right of migration on the same terms as other civilized subjects of His Majesty. That is the simple but startling fact, and if this were understood, as it ought to be understood, surely there would be protest from men of all parties in both Houses of Parliament who have so solemnly expressed their disapproval and regret at the establishment of a "colour bar" under the new Constitution for South Africa. Undoubtedly this disfranchisement, under a Liberal administration, of men on account of their colour, this deprivation of an elementary right of British citizenship on racial grounds, constitutes a reactionary step in Imperial Government almost without parallel, and perhaps there never has been so great or momentous a departure from the principles on which the Empire has been built up and by which we have been wont to justify its existence; the principles of that true Liberalism which has hitherto belonged to Englishmen of all parties. But the violation of the political ethics of our race is even greater in the case of the "colour bar" which has been established in the Transvaal than in that of the new South African Constitution. If the Houses of Parliament and the Press cannot see this and do not think it worth while to take account of so momentous a reaction, it would seem that our genius for the government of an Empire has commenced its decline.

What is to be the result in India if it should finally be proved that we cannot protect British subjects under the British Flag, and that we are powerless to abide by the pledges of our Sovereign and our statesmen? Those who know about India will have no doubt as to the consequences. And what if India—irritated, mortified and

humiliated—should become an unwilling and refractory partner in the great Imperial concern? Surely it would be the beginning of the end of the Empire.

These, briefly, are the reasons why this question of "the British Indians in the Transvaal" is a great Imperial question and not one of mere internal administration of a self-governing Colony in which the Mother Country has neither right nor reason to interfere.

It is a matter which touches the honour of our race and affects the unity of the Empire as a whole; it therefore concerns every part of the Empire. Moreover, it is certain that any departure from principle, which may be sanctioned or ignored at the heart of the Empire, will operate as a mischievous example to other places inside and out, and then only by some rude shock to the whole system will the arrest of moral decay be possible.

The matter therefore concerns all who would "think Imperially", and it needs more "clear thinking" than it has hitherto received.

The question must be decided, not by methods of temporary expediency in which practice ignores theory, but on the fundamental principles of the ethics of our race. Theory can be modified in practice to suit the exigencies of time and place, but if theory is cast to the winds, there is no means of steering practice.

There is still hope that the danger may be realised and averted, for as I write I hear that negotiations for a settlement of the British Indian question in the Transvaal are still proceeding. I have no more earnest hope than that Mr. Gandhi and his fellow countrymen may see the accomplishment of that end, for which they have struggled so bravely and sacrificed so much, before this book is published.

AMPTHILL

MILTON ERNEST HALL,
BEDFORD,
26th August, 1909

M. K. Gandhi: An Indian Patriot in South Africa

APPENDIX XIX

STATEMENT MADE ON BEHALF OF NATAL DELEGATES

August 12, 1909

I and my co-delegates have to thank Your Lordship for receiving us here to-day. The reason why we have come is to lay before you some of the very serious grievances we labour under in the Colony of Natal.

A statement which has been sent to you deals slightly with three of the most important cases, which have been referred to in the statement.

The British Indian population of Natal is a very large one—more than that of the other Colonies combined together; the *vested rights* and *interests* are also very large. As regards the grievance of the Licensing Act of 1897, the manner in which the Licensing Officers have been using their discretion in refusing British Indian licenses has caused

CWMG-IX

great consternation amongst our mercantile community. It is therefore a matter of life and death to us, as we do not know who will be the next unfortunate trader to be deprived of his license, no matter how long he may have been established. This spells, practically, ruination, some of the most glaring instances of which have been stated in the statement.

Mr. Chamberlain, who was then the Colonial Secretary, had to enter a very strong protest against its very one-sided administration. This protest has also been slightly cited in the statement. This attitude has been followed by all his successors at the Colonial Office. The reasons given for refusal of some of the British Indian licenses by the Licensing Officers were (1) "to satisfy the popular feeling"—i.e., the European trade rivals (for whose sake our long-acquired interests are sacrificed); and (2) on account of extreme prejudice, which would not hold good in courts of equity.

Some of the European traders complain of us competing unfairly in business, which is not only incorrect, but in all civilised countries competition is considered as very healthy. Considerable misunderstanding exists upon the question of how we live and feed. Our business premises are open to inspection, and compare favourably with premises of the Europeans.

We are burdened with such restricting laws that our fate hangs practically on a balance, especially those who possess vested interests in the Colony.

The British Indian merchants buy land, erect business premises thereon, pay rates and taxes, custom dues, etc. The small shopkeepers purchase their stock from local European merchants.

The refusal to transfer British Indian licenses to others of the same standing is very unjust. Not only are Licensing Officers satisfied so far, but they go even further and refuse transfers between relatives and even sons or partners.

Natal is our adopted country, and many of us have children who have never seen India. We feel very much for their future because our own is not safeguarded, although in the past we have helped to push forward the trade of the Colony.

I may mention we are not laying great stress on the political franchise, although we have it in India in a different manner. For instance, your humble speaker was a Municipal Councillor in India, and was also a member of the local board, chairman of the school board, and was also elected to vote for the election of a member to the Legislative Council, Government of Bombay, on behalf of the Municipality.

Our interest in public concerns has been evidenced on numerous occasions. We furnished Stretcher-Bearer Corps during the Boer War and during the latest Native rebellions. Moreover, when necessary, we have been ready to help financially or otherwise with any public work. During the late Boer War a relief fund was opened by several Municipalities, advantage of which was taken by large numbers of whites, even non-British subjects. All the Indian refugees were kept by our community. In Maritzburg, Mr. Amod Bayat, one of my co-delegates, and a few others upkept them and also helped others, while in Durban we never requested any help from the relief fund, which was publicly praised by the then Mayor of Durban, Mr. Nicol, C.M.G.

In spite of all protests made by the Colonial Office and the request for fair treatment made by us, no redress has yet been granted.

It is not our profession to agitate, as we are born traders, and what we only ask for is justice, which if denied now, it will be difficult for us what to say to the people.

We are a recognised loyal and law-abiding people, and we wish for an amendment in the Dealers' Licenses Act, No. 18 of 1897, for which the community will be grateful to Your Lordship.

With reference to the Indentured Immigration Act, 1895, before the introduction of Indian labour Natal was in a state of bankruptcy, but after their arrival things began to prosper and the country was placed on a sound financial basis. The chief and nearly all the industries of the Colony rely on this kind of labour for their very existence. A reference thereto has been made in the statement. After the expiration of the indenture, and after having given the best part of their lives to the welfare of the Colony, they are allowed to settle there, on the annual payment of £3, irrespective of sex and age. The age limit for boys and girls is 14. The treatment meted to them is in some cases horrible, as the case which occurred of Armitage, who cut out a portion of his Indian's ear and openly admitted doing so in the courts of law.

What we wish done in this connection has been mentioned in the statement.

The education of Indian children has been ridiculously restricted recently by the Natal Government. No child can now attend any Government School who has completed the age of 13. This is a deliberate way in which education—which is sorely needed for the benefit of both the country and the community—is hampered. It is our duty, therefore, to protest against such curtailing of education.

The Immigration Restriction Act is also one of the injustices. No father, mother, brother, or sister of Indian birth can join a person who may have established himself, and even children of over certain age limit cannot join their parents who can upkeep them, and their presence cannot but be considered as beneficial.

There are many more injustices, but we have related a few only of the most heartrending cases. I and my co-delegates again thank Your Lordship for giving us this patient interview and a patient hearing.

Your Lordship is doubtless aware of the pressing circumstances under which we are labouring in Natal, and humbly hope that you will be kind enough to give us a message to convey to our people.

After the introduction, Mr. Abdul Caadir, on behalf of the Natal delegates, thanked His Lordship for kindly consenting to grant them an interview.

A cablegram received from a mass meeting held in Natal was also read to His Lordship, which was in support of the deputation.

At the close of the interview Mr. Abdul Caadir stated that he had been a member of the Natal community for over 25 years, and that from his experiences he feared that no justice to British Indians in Natal was to be expected from the Union.

M. C. ANGLIA

India Office Records: 179/09

APPENDIX XX

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN AMPTHILL, CREWE AND SMUTS

(1) Lord Ampthill's Letter to General Smuts

August 10, 1909

DEAR GENERAL SMUTS,

I went to see Mr. Gandhi yesterday afternoon and spoke to him in accordance with your suggestions, but without saying that they came from you. I found him as clear, convincing, and unyielding from his point of view as you are from yours, and after two hours of argument, in which we discussed the question from every standpoint, practical, political, legal and ethical, I came away in despair of any compromise.

Mr. Gandhi is contending for a principle which he regards as essential and, so far as I can judge, he is no more likely to abandon a cause which he considers vital and just than any of us are likely to abandon our life-long principles of politics or religion. Indeed it seems to me that he is less likely to do so, for there are few of us who would sacrifice everything in order to secure a theoretical and unavailable right. It is impossible not to admire the man, for it is evident that he recognises no court of appeal except that of his own conscience.

Now, I hope you will not think it presumptuous on my part to offer you a suggestion. Why should you not do that which you are prepared to do without making any bargain with the passive resisters? Would you not "take the wind out of their sails" if you gave them, at any rate in effect, what they are asking for, namely, the repeal of Act 2 of 1907 and the admission by law of a maximum of six Indians annually as permanent residents? If it is right to do this, why not do it anyhow whether the passive resisters profess themselves contented or not? You would silence the criticism of outsiders and you would be giving the Imperial Government an effective answer to complaints in India.

May I venture a step further and suggest a means by which the limited admission of Indians could be provided for in the law without maintaining the "colour bar".

Enclosed is a copy of the amendment of the Immigrants' Restriction Act which was sometime back proposed to you by Mr. Gandhi. I have added a proviso at the end which seems to me to meet the case and of which I venture to beg your consideration. You will see that it avoids making an invidious distinction between Asiatics and other immigrants and, incidentally, gives you a power which might possibly be useful in future circumstances, and so far as I can judge, it would fully effect your purpose.

What distresses me and makes me anxious from the Imperial standpoint is this: thus far Indians have enjoyed the theoretical right of entry to any part of the British Empire. It is only in the Transvaal, during the past few years, that the theoretical right has been taken away as well as limited in practice. The perpetuation and possible

extension of this disability seems to me to be fraught with grave peril to British influence and reputation in India and that is why I am so persistent in this cause.

Believe me,
Yours sincerely,

Colonial Office Records: 291/141

(2) Lord Ampthill's Letter to Lord Crewe

August 11, 1909

DEAR LORD CREWE,

Please forgive me if that which I am writing seems to you an intrusion and also for sending you a typed letter. It is too hot to write with any ease.

I had long talks with General Smuts and Mr. Gandhi yesterday and found to my bitter disappointment that there is no possible compromise between the views which they respectively hold on the abstract question of "right". You are so familiar with the views of both parties that I need not explain this any further, but in order that you may know what I am doing, I send you the enclosed copy of a letter which I have just written to General Smuts. The suggestions which I made therein are my own; that is, that they are not made by way of mediation between Mr. Gandhi and General Smuts, for such mediation only belongs to you.

I venture to hope that they may not seem unworthy of consideration now that you are bringing your negotiations to a head.

My great anxiety that there should be a settlement of the difficulty is my excuse for intruding my ideas upon you.

The final "denouement" that I should like to see is that, on the occasion of the third reading of the South Africa Bill in the House of Commons, Colonel Seely should announce on your behalf that the Transvaal Government have decided spontaneously on an act of generosity which would enable the Indians to participate in the rejoicing over the South Africa Union.

Would not this be greatly to the credit of your Government and would it not be worthwhile to avoid the reproach, that, under a Liberal Government, Indians in the Transvaal have been deprived of a right which they enjoy, at any rate, theoretically, in every other part of the British Empire?

I do not wish to say a word myself or to appear in the matter at all if you can bring this about.

Believe me,
Yours sincerely,
AMPTHILL

Colonial Office Records: 291/141

(3) Lord Crewe's Letter to Lord Ampthill

CONFIDENTIAL

Colonial Office,
August 11, 1909

MY DEAR AMPTHILL,

I also have seen General Smuts and Mr. Gandhi, and I am afraid that the divergence in principle which you mention certainly exists, though the difficulty may not be insuperable.

Assuming, as one fairly may, that the repeal of Act 2 of 1907 would form part of any settlement, the controversy narrows itself down to the form by which the admission of six just men is to be secured. Assuming, again, that to secure a settlement they must be introduced as residents, not under a licence liable to revocation, it appears that legislation would be required for this purpose. Such legislation might provide expressly for executive power to admit a limited number of persons, notwithstanding any existing law to the contrary; or it might proceed, as your suggestion does, through the education test. It strikes me, however, as I told Mr. Gandhi that it is not quite logical to stand by the principle of admission under an education test, and then to say (as your last proviso does) that Government may exclude any man in spite of his having satisfied that test; and I confess I should like to feel convinced that the Indian community would accept such a solution, and not use the wide general permission accorded under your clause as a basis for further claims.

Whether General Smuts could be got to agree to it, or something like it, I cannot say. I am expecting to hear from him.

Yours Sincerely,
CREWE

Colonial Office Records: 291/141

(4) Lord Ampthill's Letter to Lord Crewe

R. SECRET

August 12, 1909

DEAR LORD CREWE,

Just a line to thank you for having replied so kindly and speedily, and with your own hand, to my letter of two days ago.

I am afraid that I cannot tell you whether the Indian community would accept the solution which I propose to the extent of undertaking to refrain from further demand. I would not put that question to Mr. Gandhi as I am not in the position of an authorized mediator. My impression, however, is that the community as a whole would be [only] too glad to accept it as a means of retiring without dishonour from a hopeless contest. But men like Mr. Gandhi will continue the struggle until their last breath for that which they regard as justice and right.

The failure, however, to satisfy a small band of stalwarts need not, I venture to think, deter you from giving contentment to the great majority. The Transvaal Government can put an end to the disagreeables of 'passive resistance' at any moment

by refraining from prosecuting the leaders who are all well known. I think, therefore, that, if you were to *impose* the settlement I suggest without making a bargain with Mr. Gandhi, he would accept a situation which would enable him to cease from active [contest] without disavowing his principles. I should certainly urge him to do so and should decline to assist in the furtherance of any further dema[nd]. Indeed, I have told him already that it is worse than useless to ask for m[ore] until time and circumstances have al[tered] the view of South African Colonists.

Yours sincerely,
AMPTHILL

Colonial Office Records: 291/141

APPENDIX XXI

NATAL DELEGATES' LETTER TO VICEROY

WESTMINSTER PALACE HOTEL,
4, VICTORIA STREET,
LONDON, S. W.
August 27, 1909

TO
HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY OF INDIA
MY LORD,

We took the liberty of sending through Your Lordship's Private Secretary, a preliminary copy of a statement setting out some of the grievances of our fellow-countrymen in Natal, by the last mail. We now beg to transmit 12 copies of the statement as submitted to the Secretaries of State for the Colonies and India and of the statement read to the Colonial Secretary.

We appeal to Your Excellency to give the same the favourable consideration of Your Excellency in Committee and to take such action as the case urgently calls for.

The British Indians form a very important portion of the inhabitants of Natal; have very large interests in that Colony and are drawn from all parts of India. They number over 100,000, of whom 60,000 are indentured labourers imported by the Natal Government, and it is an acknowledged fact that the prosperity of Natal depends largely if not entirely, on this labour she receives from India.

As will appear from the statement, we are being crushed out of existence in Natal in a threefold manner. Our trade is slowly being taken from us by means of the unjust and tyrannical administration of a Licensing Law, which leaves in the hands of a Licensing Officer and his employers—who are themselves our trade rivals—unlimited powers in regard to the granting or refusal of trading licenses, old or new, without any check from the judicial tribunals of the Colony. Indian labourers are worked and treated almost as slaves for the material profit of Natal, but as soon as they have finished their services with the Natal planters or mine-owners to whom they are allotted, they and their wives and their children are subjected to a special exorbitant annual tax, with a view to preventing them from settling in the Colony as freemen and

earning an honest livelihood, and our future progress is almost entirely prevented, by the deprivation of even ordinary facilities for giving a suitable education to our youths.

Unless, therefore, the Government of India as our protector and guardian, takes up our case, and insists on some measure of bare justice being meted out to us by the authorities in Natal, it is only a question of time when we will be slowly starved out of the Colony. There is a tangible remedy at the disposal of the Indian Government, and that is, to stop the supply of indentured labour that annually flows into it, unless the Colony will deal justly by the Indian traders and the Indian labourers. This is no new remedy. Lord Curzon accepted the proposal that was made some years ago by us and he even sent a dispatch to the Natal Ministers intimating the taking of action unless redress was granted. We do not know what was the result of those negotiations. But instead of any redress being vouchsafed to us, our condition ever since that time has become much worse, owing to the stringency of the measures stated above and their almost remorseless enforcement. Our means of subsistence are every day curtailed and our very existence in the Colony, in the enjoyment even of the elementary rights of British citizenship, is imperilled.

We therefore pray that Your Excellency in Council would be pleased to take such action and if necessary invite the intervention of the Imperial Government to that end, as might secure to us relief from the oppressive and unjust treatment of the Natal authorities.

We remain,
Your Excellency's obedient servants,

India Office Records: 179/254

APPENDIX XXII

AMPTHILL'S LETTERS TO GANDHIJI AND CREWE

(1) Lord Ampthill's Letter to Gandhiji

Personal & Private

August 31, 1909

DEAR MR. GANDHI,

I have received your letter of yesterday and I should anyhow have written to you this morning.

I have not seen the statement by Reuter's agent to which you refer, but I will search the newspapers and add a line to this letter if it should be necessary. Meanwhile, I will tell you that which I should anyhow have written to you this morning.

Yesterday morning, I received a letter from General Smuts which he had written hastily on the eve of his departure. He said that he was sorry not to be able to see me again and told me very briefly that he had made certain proposals to Lord Crewe. I gather that these proposals are that Act 2 of 1907 should be repealed and that permanent certificates of residence should be granted annually to a limited number of educated Indian immigrants, but, I fear from what he says that General Smuts is not going to meet us on the question of "right".

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I went to London yesterday and at once sought an interview with Lord Crewe in the House of Lords, suggesting to him that the moment had arrived when I might invite him to make a statement. Lord Crewe had not yet read the communication which had been addressed to him by General Smuts and he objected to making any statement in Parliament (and as I think quite justifiably) on the grounds that it would not do to anticipate any announcement which General Smuts might have to make on his arrival in South Africa. I admitted that this was quite fair but I pointed out that you were waiting for an answer, that your time was precious and that it would not be fair to keep you waiting in this country. Lord Crewe then said that he would ask you to come and see him or some member of his department on his behalf and I agreed that he could not do better. We then proceeded to discuss the whole question and I argued the question of "right". Lord Crewe seemed to be impressed by my assertion that Indians have always enjoyed the right of entry, at any rate in theory, in every part of the Empire until they were deprived of it in the Transvaal. He is very anxious that you should be satisfied and his general attitude was more sympathetic than it has been before. If, therefore, you see him personally, you will have a very good opportunity of making your position clear. It will be for you to decide whether you are bound to continue passive resistance for the sake of the theoretical right, but, personally, I hope that you will not feel so bound, as I am anxious for the sake of your community that the struggle should cease and because I think you have already done enough for the sake of honour. You will be gaining something very substantial in the repeal of Act 2 of 1907 and you can make it quite clear that your opinions on the question of right remain unaltered even though you feel justified in giving up a quixotic struggle.

This is all the advice I can give you at present but we must consult again after you have seen Lord Crewe or his representative.

I hope you have seen the introduction which I have written to Mr. Doke's book, for I venture to think that it places on record that I am entirely with you on the question of "right".[1]

Yours very faithfully,
AMPTHILL

From a photostat of the typewritten original: S.N. 5036

(2) LORD AMPTHILL'S LETTER TO LORD CREWE

August 30, 1909

DEAR LORD CREWE,

I have just received a note from General Smuts, written hastily on the eve of his departure, to tell me that he has agreed upon a settlement of the British Indian question with you. He does not tell me precisely what it is but I gather that the settle[ment] falls short of that which I proposed.

Would it be convenient to you to make a statement in the House of Lords on Wednesday?

[1] For Lord Ampthill's introduction amplifying his stand on this question, *vide* Appendix XVIII.

If so, may I put a brief question to you before 4.30 on Wednesday, that is to say, "by private notice" and without speeches?

I do not want to press you if it is still inconvenient to make a public announcement, but I think that it would be well to let Mr. Gandhi depart as soon as possible. He is only waiting to know the result of the negotiation, I believe.

Yours sincerely,
AMPTHILL

[Lord Crewe's Note]

I have seen Lord Ampthill, and explained why no question should be put at present.

C[REWE]

Colonial Office Records: 291/141

APPENDIX XXIII

LORD AMPTHILL'S LETTER TO GANDHIJI

PRIVATE

September 11, 1909

DEAR MR. GANDHI,

I am afraid that you cannot have explained sufficiently your reason for asking for a further interview with Lord Morley or you could not have received so discouraging a reply.

Apparently, you said that you wished to "re-state your position"; if so, it was hardly a persuasive manner of asking Lord Morley to give you more of his time. I think that you ought to have explained the question of "right" in the light of the latest developments and in view of the movement in India, so that Lord Morley might have seen that you have something new to tell him and that you were able to throw fresh light on the situation. Even now I think that you would do well to write such a letter in order that your reasons for refusing to regard General Smuts' proposals as a satisfactory settlement may be recorded in advance. Otherwise, you will again be accused of using each concession as an occasion for making fresh demands. Lord Morley does not understand the question and you ought not to neglect to let him have a clear and simple explanation in writing; something to which you will be able to point and refer later on as the definite statement of your case. Could you not draft such a letter and let me see it before you sent it off?

Lord Crewe must be away from London or you would surely have had a reply to your letter. I hope that ere this reaches you it will have arrived.

Yours very faithfully,
AMPTHILL

M. K. GANDHI, ESQ.

From a photostat of the typewritten original: S. N. 5065

CWMG DIGITAL

APPENDIX XXIV

LORD CREWE'S MINUTE

[London,]

Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Habib came to see me today. I informed them of the result of our conversations with Mr. Smuts, and of the two concessions which he was prepared to make, (a) the repeal of Act 2 of 1907, and (b) the admission of 6 educated Asiatics each year as permanent residents. Mr. Gandhi admitted that these changes would mark a real step in advance, and so far as their practical effect was concerned, he would be ready to accept them. But it was not possible to abandon the position which he and his friends had taken up, and for which great sufferings had been undergone, that of the necessity of being equal before the law, even though the equality were only theoretical. So that even the granting of these concessions would not make him to cease from agitating for such equality. He added that the plan suggested in Lord Ampthill's letter and encl[osure] to Mr. Smuts of 10 Aug. 1909, would be accepted, though it had been reluctantly agreed to by some, such as Mr. Gokhale. I said that one reason, in addition to dislike of the fictitious character of the proposed admission, which might actuate T[rans]v[aal] Ministers in rejecting this proposal, was the probability that, if the exclusion remained purely administrative, there would be perpetual agitation to increase the number. Mr. Gandhi said he did not mind how difficult an increase were made, if only theoretical equality were maintained, and that as a matter of fact if 6 were admitted, this side of the question would be regarded as closed, though Indians would work for reforms in other matters. I then asked whether, assuming that TV Ministers would not go beyond what they had offered, the Indians would or would not prefer that the whole question should stand over till Union. Mr. Gandhi said that, as he read the Act, Asiatics being excluded from TV under the general Immigration law, and not by differential treatment, would not for this purpose come under the Union. I pointed out that there was nothing to prevent the Union from adopting a general Immigration law, which, while in fact excluding, might establish theoretical equality, if statesmen were so minded. Mr. Gandhi said that at any rate there would be months of intervening agitation.

The conversation ended by Mr. Gandhi asking me to telegraph to the TV Govt. that, though he admitted the practical advances involved in Mr. Smuts' suggestions, yet he must still hold out for theoretical equality.

The impression left on my mind is that, in spite of this, the TV Govt. would do well to make the two concessions, thus removing all practical hardship, and putting themselves right with a considerable section of public opinion.

A telegram can accordingly be drafted, giving the substance of Mr. Gandhi's statement, and adding the substance of the last preceding paragraph.

C[rewe]
16. ix

Colonial Office Records: 291/41

APPENDIX XXV

LORD AMPTHILL'S LETTER TO GANDHIJI

September 17, 1909

DEAR MR. GANDHI,

Your letter of yesterday which I have just received has cheered me up. I was beginning to be rather despondent about the whole situation, prejudiced as it is by the intense preoccupation of the Government in the critical fortunes of their party at the present moment. It is indeed satisfactory that Lord Crewe should have actually promised to telegraph to General Smuts pressing him to accept our amendment. I have been in correspondence with Sir George Farrar and have arranged to see him when I return from Scotland, so you will see that I have not lost sight of the necessity of squaring the opposition. If you can now get an interview with Lord Morley and enlist his sympathy in the same manner as you did that of Lord Crewe, I think you will have done all that is possible and that you will be able to leave this country feeling that no stone which could be of any avail has been unturned. If you are leaving shortly, I am afraid that I shall have no opportunity of seeing you again, which is a matter of great regret to me. I am obliged at last to take a short holiday while it is still possible and I go up to Scotland for a fortnight, tomorrow. I shall be somewhat out of reach so that you must not be surprised if there is delay about answering your communications.

Meanwhile, I bid you and Mr. Hajee Habib "farewell" with every good wish, and I trust that, when we next meet, it will be to rejoice over an honourable and notable success.

Yours very faithfully,
AMPTHILL

M. K. GANDHI, ESQ.

From a photostat of the typewritten original: S. N. 5081

APPENDIX XXVI

M. C. ANGLIA'S LETTER TO UNDER SECRETARY FOR COLONIES

Westminster Palace Hotel,
4, Victoria Street,
[London,] S. W.
September 20, 1909

TO
The Under Secretary of State
Colonial Office
[London,] S.W.

SIR,

I have the honour to acknowledge with thanks the receipt of your letter of the 13th instant, in reply to the Natal Indian deputation that recently waited on the Earl of Crewe and subsequently on Colonel Seely.

On behalf of my colleagues and myself, I venture to express our regret and disappointment over the substance of the reply. We fully appreciate and are grateful for the sympathy expressed by Lord Crewe, but we miss any assurance on the part of His Lordship that further friendly and firm representations will be made direct to the Colonial Government in connection with the existing grievances. May we point out once again that these grievances bear harshly on the community at the present moment, and that they are not such as to admit of delayed redress. The trading community approaches the ensuing year with fear and trembling, because that is the time when the Licensing Officers will be applying the pruning knife vigorously to the Indian licenses. Similar apprehension is felt by the poor Indians, who will be called upon to pay the annual £3 tax for themselves, their wives and their major children, while the education of Indian boys is now being sorely neglected.

It is perhaps not realised that the Licensing Law being of a general nature, does not fall within the amendment that was secured at the instance of His Majesty's Government in the South Africa Bill, placing the control and administration of matters specially and differentially affecting Asiatics in the Union Government. The Licensing Law is applicable to all, irrespective of race. It is, in the opinion of the deputation, capable of being amended by the present Natal Parliament, and will be when it is converted into a provincial legislature.

The deputation also regretfully notice the absence of any reply to its [*sic*] humble submission that the supply of indentured labour to Natal may be stopped, unless the serious grievances are redressed.

The deputation therefore respectfully venture to draw Lord Crewe's attention to the desperate nature of the Natal Indian case and request His Lordship to urge upon the Natal Government the desirability of granting relief.

I have the honour to remain,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
M. C. ANGLIA

Colonial Office Records: 179/255

APPENDIX XXVII

TOLSTOY'S LETTER TO GANDHIJI

YASNAYA POLYANA,
October 7, 1909

M. K. GANDHI
TRANSVAAL

I have just received your most interesting letter, which has given me great pleasure. God help our dear brothers and co-workers in the Transvaal.

That same struggle of the tender against the harsh, of meekness and love against pride and violence, is every year making itself more and more felt here among us also, especially in one of the very sharpest of the conflicts of the religious law with the worldly laws—in refusals of military service. Such refusals are becoming ever more and more frequent.

The letter to a Hindoo was written by me, and the translation is a very good one. The title of the book about Krishna shall be sent you from Moscow. As to the word 'reincarnation', I should not myself like to omit it, for, in my opinion, belief in reincarnation can never be as firm as belief in the soul's immortality and in God's justice and love. You may, however, do as you like about omitting it. If I can assist your publication, I shall be very glad. The translation into and circulation of my letter in the Hindoo language can only be a pleasure to me.

A competition, i.e., an offer of a monetary inducement in connection with a religious matter would, I think, be out of place.

I greet you fraternally, and am glad to have intercourse with you.

LEO TOLSTOY

From a photostat of the handwritten original signed by Tolstoy : S. N. 5152b

APPENDIX XXVIII

LORD AMPTHILL'S LETTER TO GANDHIJI

October 4, 1909

DEAR MR. GANDHI,

I have to thank you for your two letters of the 21st and 22nd September respectively which duly reached me while I was tramping across the mountains in Scotland. In the former, you kindly sent me a copy of the reply which you have received from Lord Morley. I regard it as very satisfactory that you should have secured Lord Morley's admission that his sympathies are with you on abstract and general grounds. That is an admission which ought to be valuable to you hereafter and of which I advise you to take careful note.

In the second letter, you refer to the question which I have on the notice paper of the House of Lords. This is nothing new; it is the question of which I gave notice very soon after your arrival in this country and which I have kept on the notice paper to be ready against any emergency and to remind the Government that the question may be raised at any moment. I have, as you know, asked Lord Crewe on several occasions whether he is yet in a position to answer it or not.

I am now anxiously waiting to hear whether you have any further news for me.

Yours very faithfully,
AMPTHILL

M. K. GANDHI, ESQ.

From a photostat of the typewritten original: S. N. 5109

APPENDIX XXIX

GUJARATI MEETING IN LONDON

EXTRACT FROM *Indian Opinion* REPORT

A letter was received by Mr. Jethalal Parikh, Bar-at-law, and other Gujaratis from the Secretary of the Gujarati Literary Parishad, Mr. Balvantrai Thakore, requesting encouragement to the third session of the Parishad to be held at Rajkot in Kathiawar. A meeting of Gujaratis was accordingly held on October 5 in Westminster Palace Hotel under the Chairmanship of Sir Muncherjee Bhownaggree. . . .

Sir Muncherjee, on being proposed to the chair, said: ". . . I took keen interest in Gujarati when I was young. I translated into Gujarati an account of Queen Victoria's travels. . . . This is sufficient evidence that I know a little Gujarati. Hence, I agreed to take the chair.

A body named Gujarati Sahitya Parishad has been in existence for the past few years. It meets every year. There is no intrusion of politics into the activities of

this body. Its main object is the preservation and development of Gujarati. If anyone asks why this should be necessary, the answer is that the Indian languages are in some danger. Not that there has been an attack by an enemy; but, these days, an attitude of indifference to our languages and to other things of our country is in the air. All the men and women are taking to the study of English. That is, of course, in the fitness of things. People are naturally eager to learn a language that is the language of administration and commerce. But that does not justify one in giving up one's own language. Many of us learn French, German, etc. How, then, can we give up a language that Nature has made our own? It would not be in the least proper to ridicule that language. And yet, no one will deny that such indifference is prevailing in India. I remember that, when I was a child, there were young men who would not talk Gujarati even in their homes. I can give the names of some of these. And a few of them went to such lengths in imitating the British that even the Ayahs they engaged would be from North India, so that the children might talk only Hindustani, whenever necessary, as the British did. All this happened because of half-baked education. We come across fewer such instances now. For the past many years, I have been settled here (in England), but I have not given up the use of my own language. If anyone writes to me in Gujarati, I reply in Gujarati. . . . It occurs to me, as I use the phrase 'Reception Committee', that we must find a Gujarati equivalent for it, but in the draft of the Parishad constitution which we have received they have used the English phrase and so I, too, use the same. We can see from this that we have lost control over our own language. . . ."

First Resolution

Mr. Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi moved the following resolution:[1]

Seconding it, Mr. Nusserwanji said:

I have pleasure in seconding this resolution. The first Gujarati newspaper was started by a Parsi. *Gnanprakash* was started by a Parsi. Mr. Kabraji, who started *Stribodh*, was a Parsi. It was a Parsi who started writing humorous pieces. *Kautuksangraha* was also started by a Parsi. Parsis have also translated numerous books from English. Bacon's *Essays* were translated by a Parsi. Munchersha, who wrote a book on Gujarati grammar, was a Parsi. The first dictionary was also compiled by a Parsi. Drama was introduced in Gujarati by a Parsi. Parsis have thus done valuable work indeed for the progress of our language; it is a matter of regret, however, that they do not take the same pains now.

Second Resolution

Mr. Edulji Khodi next moved the following resolution:

"This meeting welcomes the efforts being made for the progress of the various languages of India and believes that the progress of entire India depends upon such efforts."

Speaking on the resolution, Mr. Khodi, who has been a well-known writer since his young days, said:

[1] Here followed the resolution and Gandhiji's speech; *vide* pp. 457-60.

Really speaking, Gujarati is the language of the Parsis. . . . Parsis in rural areas speak much better Gujarati than those in cities. Parsi writing is quite interesting, but not correct in expression as the Hindus' . . . I have been able to see from this that we can contribute to the development of Gujarati. Though Manekbai is a Parsi, her paper was lucid enough. . . .

Mr. Jorawarsinghji of Bhavnagar, Mr. Khaparde of Nagpur and Mr. Hajee Habib and Mr. Anglia of South Africa also spoke on this resolution.

Mr. Hajee Habib said:

The efforts being made to preserve our mother tongue must be welcomed. . . . I am proud that I was born in Gujarat. . . .

THIRD RESOLUTION

Dr. Ghadiali moved the third resolution as follows:

"If an Association which would function entirely through Gujarati is established to promote the development of Gujarati, the Gujaratis present here would be happy to join it." Three persons opposing the resolution, it was carried by a majority vote.

Mr. Parikh then proposed a vote of thanks to the Chairman, which was carried, and the meeting terminated at 6.30 p.m.

[From Gujarati]

Indian Opinion, 6-11-1909 & 13-11-1909

APPENDIX XXX

DISPATCH IN "SOUTH AFRICA"

Another Indian invention exploded! A few weeks ago, London was being dosed with cablegrams from the agitating Asiatics in this part of South Africa, alleging that a poor young Indian had died as a result of his treatment while serving a short sentence for deliberate defiance of the ordinary laws of the Colony. Whatever the effect of this yarn upon the credulous section of the British public, such statements as this could not go without an official inquiry. Major Dixon, the Magistrate appointed to report on the circumstances concerning the treatment of Nagappen, who died shortly after discharge from prison, says that Nagappen was passed as fit by a medical officer. It is not, he says, clear whether the deceased had two blankets in the camp, and there is nothing to warrant the opinion that sleeping on coir mattresses would have an injurious effect. Though no rice was supplied, there was an ample supply of water. The allegation that deceased was assaulted he finds to be groundless, as also allegations regarding Nagappen's sickness in camp, he having left camp in an apparently healthy condition. The allegations of two Indian witnesses are, he holds, entirely refuted. Deceased had a right to leave camp at any time on payment of a proportionate part of his fine. The Commissioner, having inquired into prison conditions, suggests two or three small improvements, but these have no bearing on the case. The result of all this fuss and invention on the part of the Asiatics has been to show that their compatriot was healthier when in custody and on his discharge than when he returned to his old manner of life.

Indian Opinion, 16-10-1909

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APPENDIX XXXI

LETTERS FROM COLONIAL OFFICE AND AMPTHILL

(1) Letter from Colonial Office to Gandhiji

Downing Street,
November 3, 1909

SIR,

I am directed by the Earl of Crewe to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 19th ultimo further respecting the proposals referred to in the letter from this Department of the 4th ultimo as a possible basis of legislation with regard to the British Indian controversy in the Transvaal.

I am to inform you that the proposals in question were those put before you by His Lordship on the 16th of September as having been made by Mr. Smuts, *viz.*, the repeal of Act 2 of 1907 and the admission of six educated Asiatics each year on certificates of permanent right of residence, which would involve, in your own view, a real step in advance and would, so far as their practical effect is concerned, provide a solution of the present difficulty. They were not, nor were they connected with, those made by yourself, and involving a theoretical claim for which His Lordship is not able to hold out any hope of obtaining recognition. Indeed, at the interview on the 16th of September, His Lordship explained to you that Mr. Smuts was unable to accept the claim that Asiatics should be placed in a position of equality with Europeans in respect of right of entry or otherwise. His Lordship cannot, therefore, admit that at the interview he undertook, as stated by you, to place your proposal before Mr. Smuts for his acceptance. His Lordship understood you to desire that he should telegraph to the Transvaal Government that, though you admitted the practical advance involved in Mr. Smuts' suggestions, yet you could not consent to abandon your claim for theoretical equality, and this has been done.

I am,
Sir,
Your obedient servant,
Francis G. S. Hopwood

From a photostat of the typewritten original: S. N. 5157

(2) Lord Ampthill's Letter to Gandhiji

Confidential

41, Faton Square, S.W.,
November 5, 1909

DEAR MR. GANDHI,

The contents of your letter of the 4th inst. are a rude shock to me. The letter from the Colonial Office shows either that you were entirely mistaken in the impression which you derived from your interview with Lord Crewe, or else that Lord Crewe's recollection of what he said to you is at fault.

In the former case much time has been needlessly wasted; in the latter case there is no remedy, for it is a question of Lord Crewe's word against yours. In these circumstances, I see no objection to your proposed reply which is, at any rate, dignified and restrained. I should say more myself if I were in your position and quite sure of my ground.

We will talk the matter over if possible on Monday.

Yours very faithfully,
AMPTHILL

From a photostat of the handwritten original: S.N. 5163

APPENDIX XXXII

COLONIAL OFFICE MINUTE

[LONDON,
November 15, 16, 1909]

This contains little or nothing that is new—it is substantially what Mr. Gandhi has been saying everywhere (e.g. *Times* 13 Nov. meeting at Westminster Palace Hotel) and is all summed up in his statement that legal equality in respect of entry though never a man enter is what the British Indians want. (c. f. 36631)

It is a strong case and well stated and when the Union Government is well launched, I think we shall have to make an effort to get an immigration law on the lines of Natal and Australia and the Governor-General should be instructed accordingly before the time comes. But, for the moment, we must take the concessions which Transvaal offers (answer to telegram on 36631 not yet in).

Lord Crewe should see this before tomorrow afternoon.

Sd. H. L.

We are still without an answer from the Transvaal Government, but hope to get it before the Debate tomorrow. I understand that Lord Ampthill only prefers to raise the question after negotiations.

Sd.

Colonial Office Records : 291/141

APPENDIX XXXIII

COLONIAL OFFICE MINUTE

[LONDON,
November 9, 1909]

See today *Times* p. 5, headed "Failure of the Negotiations"—we must get Tr[ansvaal] to say what they mean to do. I submit draft for consideration.

This is a very strong letter indeed. If Mr. Gandhi means what he says, *viz.*, that there is no justification for home rule in India—he does not quite, but almost,

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says this in so many words. We cannot dispute the rightness of his claim to equality before the law, it is indeed a fundamental principle, we only refuse to press for the recognition of the principle about which we feel no doubt, because we have no power to enforce our views on those who have the settlement of the question in their hands. When a Colony is given responsible Government, the settlement of such questions necessarily passes into the hands of the Colonial Government and Parliament and though the Transvaal Government have shown readiness to meet us on points of detail, they have on the point of principle shown a tenacity (due, no doubt, to the historical abhorrence of equality of white and Coloured shown by the Dutch) quite equal to that of the Indians. If they will not accept our principle, the Empire being what it is, we cannot dragoon them.

Possibly an answer somewhat on these lines might be desirable for publication.

Sd. H. L.

In using the phrase "Colour bar", Mr. Gandhi has an eye to the Debates in Parliament on the South Africa Bill, and the position of His Majesty's Government is the same in both the cases, *viz.*, that they have been obliged to accept the local view which is strongly held.

The statement in Mr. Gandhi's telegram to Mr. Polak (in the *Times* summary of the position) is no doubt based upon Lord Crewe's interview and our letter of 3rd November.

We might await an answer to the telegram before replying to the letter.

Sd. HWJ

The telegram should go at once—the reply may give us some answer to the letter. In any event, the true answer can only be found in describing in detail the sympathetic action of the Home Government, at the same time referring to the present policy of South Africa historically and not with animus.

Sd.

[TELEGRAM]

Gandhi has published statement in press stating *inter alia* that Transvaal Government have agreed to repeal Act of 1907 but desire to insert clause in Immigration Law limiting annual number of Asiatic immigrants. A question will be addressed to me next week in House of Lords. Please therefore ask Ministers to let me have reply to my telegram of 10 October No. 1.

CREWE

Colonial Office Records: 291/142

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SOURCES

Bapu-na Ba-ne Patro: International Printing Press, Phœnix; 1948

Cape Times: Daily newspaper of Cape Town

COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS: Housed in the Library of the Colonial Office, London; *vide* Vol. I, p. 349.

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Gujarati: Weekly published in Gujarati and English from Bombay

India (1890-1921): Weekly issued every Friday by the British Committee of the Indian National Congress in London; *vide* Vol. II, p. 369.

INDIA OFFICE RECORDS: Placed in the library of what used to be India Office, these comprise papers and documents relating to Indian matters with which the Secretary of State for India was concerned.

Indian Opinion (1903-61): Weekly issued on Saturdays; founded in Durban and later shifted to Phœnix. Had English and Gujarati—and also, initially, Hindi and Tamil—sections.

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Mahatma: Life of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi: D. G. Tendulkar, Jhaveri and Tendulkar, Bombay; 1951-54; in 8 Volumes

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M. K. Gandhi and the South African Indian Problem: Dr. P. J. Mehta; Natesan & Co., Madras

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Rand Daily Mail: Daily published from Johannesburg

SABARMATI SANGRAHALAYA : Library and records containing documents relating to Gandhiji's South African period and Indian period up to 1933; *vide* Vol. I, p. 349.

The Star: Evening daily of Johannesburg

Tolstoy and Gandhi: Dr. Kalidas Nag; Pustak Bhandar; Patna; 1950

The Transvaal Leader: Daily newspaper of Johannesburg

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CHRONOLOGY

(*September 1908 – November 1909*)

September 2 : Asiatics Registration Amendment Act published in *Government Gazette*.

September 5 : Gandhiji commended in *Indian Opinion* Col. Seely's statement in Parliament of July 31, that "those who have a right to be in the Colonies should be accorded equal rights with the whites and must be accepted as full-fledged citizens".

Thambi Naidoo, Nadirsha Cama and others deposed in affidavits that Transvaal authorities had definitely promised repeal of Asiatic Registration Act before Indian leaders decided to accept voluntary registration.

September 7 : At BIA[1] meeting, Gandhiji asked for financial provision, in view of his suspension of legal practice, for defraying Association's office rent, Polak's expenses and *Indian Opinion* deficit. Left for Pretoria for collection of funds.

September 9 : Cabled SABIC[2] reporting 175 Indians imprisoned to date and hoping Lord Ampthill and others would endeavour to obtain relief.

In interview to *The Star*, stated that Indians were real out-landers, strangers in their own homes, and demanded equality before law.

BIA petitioned Secretary of State for Colonies for repeal of Act 2 of 1907 and for establishing status of educated Indians.

H. S. L. Polak and A. M. Andrews made affidavits affirming that authorities had promised repeal of Registration Act.

BIA took over Gandhiji's financial responsibilities, his own needs being looked after by Kallenbach.

September 10 : Gandhiji spoke at Johannesburg mass meeting.

Cachalia assumed BIA chairmanship.

Before *September 12:* Gandhiji defended Randaree in Johannesburg Court.

September 13 : Presided over meeting to compose differences between Konkanis and Kanamias.

September 14 : Drew up petition to Secretary of State for Colonies on behalf of Transvaal Pathans and Punjabis, demanding repeal of Asiatic Act.

[1] British Indian Association

[2] South Africa British Indian Committee

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Indian ex-soldiers petitioned Secretary of State for Colonies for repeal of Asiatic Act.

September 15 : Gandhiji, in Pretoria Court, defended Vally Bagas and others charged with trading without grocers' licences.

September 16 : Interviewed by Reuter, reiterated Indian demand for legal equality.

Director of Prisons informed BIA that Medical Officer considered prisoners' diet perfectly healthy and could be changed only on medical grounds.

September 17 : Gandhiji wrote to *The Star* clarifying position regarding education test and charging Smuts with breach of promise to repeal Registration Act.

Harilal Gandhi deported from Transvaal.

BIA informed Director of Prisons that failure to effect diet reform would be interpreted as intention to starve Indian community into submission to Act.

September 18 : Sanction of Royal assent to new Asiatic Act reported; also decision of SABIC authorising Lord Ampthill to represent grievances of Transvaal Indians to Imperial Government.

BIA protested against inclusion of animal fat in Indian prisoners' diet and demanded restoration of ghee.

September 19 : Gandhiji, along with Indian and Chinese leaders, met Hosken and communicated terms for settlement.

Writing in *Indian Opinion*, exhorted Natal Indians to oppose Natal Government's Bill to restrict municipal authority for granting certain kinds of licences.

BIA drew attention of Director of Prisons to ill-treatment of Syed Ali in Boksburg Gaol and demanded investigation.

Lord Ampthill wrote to *The Times* stating that Validation Act undid compromise and subjected Indians again to indignities of Registration Act.

BIA, Calcutta, cabled Secretary of State for Colonies pleading for Imperial Government's protection to Transvaal Indians.

September 21 : BIA demanded from Colonial Secretary relief in Syed Ali's case; asked for prisoners' diet reform.

Harilal Gandhi and others released from Volksrust Gaol, cases against them being withdrawn.

New Asiatic Act came into force.

September 22 : Natal Supreme Court ruled immigrants' children subject to penalties under Immigrants' Restriction Act, 1907.

Harilal Gandhi arrived in Johannesburg. Regulations under new Act published.

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September 23 : Smuts rejected Indian terms for settlement. Director of Prisons denied ill-treatment of Syed Ali.

September 24: BIA forwarded Syed Ali's affidavit to Director of Prisons. Colonial Secretary expressed inability to interfere with diet regulations in Transvaal gaols.

September 25 : BIA wrote to Director of Prisons demanding uniform diet scale for Indian prisoners and substitution of ghee for fat.

September 26 : Gandhiji arrived in Durban, advised Natal leaders to dissuade Indians entering Natal from giving thumb-impressions; commended Natal's part in Transvaal campaign.

September 28 : BIA demanded from Colonial Secretary information about diet scale for Indian prisoners.
Polak repudiated *Pretoria News* charge that British Indians had not fulfilled their part of compromise.

September 30 : Gandhiji, in interview to *The Natal Mercury* at Durban, stressed that Indians did not want unrestricted immigration or trade, but objected to legislative discrimination.
BIA cabled SABIC regarding Indian arrests and sentences under old Act and demanded its repeal.

October 2 : Gandhiji prepared draft memorandum for Johannesburg clergymen about ill-treatment of Indians.
NIC[1] wired Colonial Secretary about Immigration Officer's refusal to let Indian passengers disembark at Durban; cabled SABIC about Komatipoort arrest of Indians.

October 3 : Gandhiji urged Natal Indians to agitate for ending indenture system.

October 5 : Cabled SABIC about herding of 80 Indians in small, filthy room at Komatipoort.

October 6 : Left Durban for Transvaal.

October 7 : Arrested at Volksrust, along with fifteen other Indians, for entering Transvaal without registration certificates.

October 8 : Produced before Magistrate, refused to avail of bail; remanded for a week.

October 9 : BIA wrote to Colonial Secretary, Pretoria, demanding public inquiry into alleged ill-treatment of Indians returning from Delagoa Bay.

October 11 : Drew up, in Volksrust Gaol, petition to Resident Magistrate about deficient diet-scale.

[1] Natal Indian Congress

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October 12 : Batch of Indians including minors deported from Barberton to Portuguese territory.
National Convention met at Durban.

October 13 : Gandhiji, in detention, sent message exhorting Indians to face gaol-going for sake of motherland.

October 14 : Defended Dawjee Amod and others before De Villiers, Assistant Resident Magistrate.
Sent message to Indian youth before trial.
Sentenced to two months' imprisonment with hard labour.
On way to prison, sent message to Indians to keep "absolutely firm to the end".
NIC meeting in Durban resolved to ask Government to withdraw educational order.

October 15 : Gandhiji reported at road-making work on Market Square. Reuter's Volksrust correspondent wrote, "Mr. Gandhi expressed himself as being the happiest man in the Transvaal."

October 16 : BIA, NIC in cable to Ritch resented Gandhiji being made to work on road-making.
London meeting, presided over by Sir Muncherjee Bhownaggree and addressed, among others, by Lajpat Rai and Bipin Chandra Pal, protested against Gandhiji's imprisonment.
Kasturba thanked sympathizers who congratulated her on Gandhiji's incarceration.

Before *October 17 :* Sir Pherozeshah Mehta cabled Lord Ampthill: "Public feeling in India was keenly hurt over maltreatment of Indians in South Africa" and invoked the British Government's intervention to save Indians suffering from such outrage and tyranny.

October 17 : Ritch forwarded to Colonial Office copies of BIA, NIC cables.

October 18 : Mass meeting held at Hamidia Mosque, Fordsburg.

October 21 : In reply to question in House of Lords by Ampthill, Earl of Crewe stated he had wired Transvaal for facts about Gandhiji's arrest, and added that Gandhiji had been participating in "passive resistance campaign, and paid the penalty".

October 22 : Viceroy of India conveyed to India Office Indian resentment of treatment of passive resisters in Transvaal, recommended considerateness and urged concession of Indian demand for entry of six educated Indians annually.

October 25 : Gandhiji removed from Volksrust Gaol to Johannesburg in convict's garb to testify in Daya Lala's case; refused offer of cab, and marched on foot from Park Station to Fort, carrying prison knapsack.

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October 27 : Escorted from Johannesburg Gaol to High Court.

October 31 : Secretary of State for Colonies cabled Transvaal Governor recommending acceptance of temporary admission of limited number of educated men into Transvaal.

November 3 : Transvaal Government cabled Colonial Office that Gandhiji "was employed for two and a half days in agricultural show ground at Volksrust digging holes for trees and thereafter in municipal plantation and gaol gardens."

November 4 : Gandhiji removed to Volksrust Gaol in convict's garb. Mass meeting held at Hamidia Mosque to consider Transvaal situation, addressed also by Europeans, passed resolution demanding right of free immigration for six educated Indians.

November 5 : Transvaal Government replied to Colonial Office cable that Indian claim for entry of professional men was rejected after very careful consideration, that present law made provision for this, but Indians defied Act for agitational purposes.

November 9 : Gandhiji, writing to A. H. West, declared satyagraha a religious fight and refused to obtain release, by paying fine, even to visit Kasturba lying gravely ill; addressed her farewell note.

November 14 : Was made to work, with other prisoners, on municipal water-works, cleaning cemetery and tending soldiers' graves.

November 19 : Fifty prisoners, from Barberton and Volksrust, released on appeal, on Supreme Court ruling that domiciled Indians returning to Colony must be allowed to register themselves.

November 22 : Calcutta public meeting condemned failure of Transvaal Government to repeal Act 2 of 1907; Surendranath Banerjea expressed indignation that Gandhiji of "whom any nation would be proud, had been ignominiously handled through the streets of Johannesburg."

November 24 : Polak pleaded in Court for release of Gandhiji and others on ground of gross miscarriage of justice.

Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce passed resolution trusting Government would not be deflected by pressure of Indian community from enforcing law.

November 25 : Sanderson Commission on immigration in Crown Colonies set up.

November 27 : Attorney-General refused to order release of Gandhiji and others in Volksrust Gaol.

November 28 : Muslims telegraphed protest against General Botha's statement that many Mahomedans had declined to join passive resistance movement.

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BIA wrote to Attorney-General, Pretoria, complaining of harsh treatment meted to Indian prisoners in Johannesburg Gaol.

November 29 : Gandhiji's message from Volksrust Gaol, asking Indians to remain steadfast in their pledge, read out at Johannesburg mass meeting.

BIA meeting asked Government to grant Indian demand, failing which struggle would continue.

November 30 : Gokhale, in address to New Reform Club, London, referred to Indians' sufferings in South Africa as one of the causes for loss of faith in British rule.

Col. Seely stated in Commons that, according to his information, Gandhiji had never performed hard labour on public streets.

December 1 : BIA cabled SABIC. "Col. Seely is absolutely misinformed as to Gandhi's treatment. Forwarding affidavits."

Volksrust Magistrate discharged Indian accused of refusing identification, accepting Polak's defence that section 9 of Registration Act and regulations relating thereto came into operation only then and could not apply to registered Indians arrested earlier.

Annie Besant sent Gandhiji and colleagues, " a message of hope, of consolation, of friendship".

December 10 : Lord Selborne conveyed to General Botha Imperial Government's view that Transvaal Government should extend considerate treatment to Indians with pre-war rights, admit limited number of educated Indians and repeal Act 2 of 1907 and Act 36 of 1908, and at a later date enact strict legislation on immigration.

December 12 : Gandhiji released from Volksrust Gaol. Interviewed at Volksrust, on way to Johannesburg, about ill-treatment in prison. Spoke at Johannesburg reception.

December 13 : HIS[1] held meeting to honour Gandhiji and Imam Abdool Kadir Bawazeer.

December 14 : Gandhiji addressed meeting of Tamil community at Johannesburg; later, entertained at dinner by Tamil Benefit Society.

December 15 : General Botha communicated to Lord Selborne Government's inability to revise policy.

Transvaal Colonial Secretary, in reply to Transvaal Governor, denied promise of repeal of Act 2 of 1907.

December 18 : Gandhiji defended Naidoo and other Indian pickets at Johannesburg.

Spoke at meeting of representative Europeans of Transvaal.

[1] Hamidia Islamic Society

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December 21 : Ritch forwarded to Colonial Office copies of affidavits regarding Gandhiji's hard labour in prison.

December 23 : Gandhiji presented Nelson, Volksrust Prison Officer, Tolstoy's *Kingdom of God Is within You.*

December 24 : Appeal in Transvaal Asiatic Test Case dismissed in Pretoria Court for lack of jurisdiction.

December 26 : Gandhiji reached Durban; given rousing reception; left for Phœnix to meet Kasturba who was ill.

December 28 : In letter to Maganlal Gandhi, stressed need to strive for spiritual growth, which would ensure advance of religion and country.

December 30 : Harilal Gandhi and Randeria arrested at Johannesburg as prohibited immigrants and remanded till January 5.

Pretoria News pleaded for conceding Indian demands, admitting the "persistency and unfailing good temper with which Mr. Gandhi and his compatriots are pursuing their campaign for what they consider to be their rights".

Eight Madrasis, entitled to settle in Transvaal but refused registration, deported for entering Transvaal.

Thambi Naidoo and others sentenced to fine of £50 or jail with hard labour for three months. Polak, who defended, filed appeal.

Natal Government reissued earlier notice banning higher education for Indian children above 14 years. Question raised in Commons.

Before *December 31 :* Five more men arrested and dealt with under Act 36 of 1908. Amod Mia and his brother fined £25, for trading without licences, in Rustenburg.

Indian National Congress, in resolution on South Africa, considered harsh, humiliating and cruel treatment of British Indians as injurious to British Empire.

1909

January 1 : Gandhiji entertained at dinner by Dada Osman, NIC Joint Secretary; addressed meeting.

Before *January 2 :* Dawad Mahomed, Parsee Rustomjee and M. C. Anglia detained under Registration Act for refusing to give thumb-impressions.

January 2 : Gandhiji, in *Indian Opinion*, exhorted countrymen, in New Year message, to adopt *swadeshi.*

While narrating in *Indian Opinion* his experiences during second jail term, asserted that gaol-going was "the most effective means of fighting political disabilities".

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Pickets arrested in Pretoria under section 3 of Law 6 of 1894, concerning unlawful assemblies.

January 4 : Pretoria pickets informed that they were being tried under section 7 of new Act and were liable to deportation.

January 5 : Gandhiji, in interview to *The Natal Mercury*, stated that Indians were fighting with the "cleanest weapons possible".
Harilal Gandhi and others remanded at Volksrust.
Three Indians charged under section 7, at Roodepoort, for failing to produce registration certificates.

January 6 : Moulvi Ahmed Mukhtiar of Hamidia Mosque refused renewal of permit on ground that he had preached against Asiatic Registration Act; served with quit notice, left Transvaal for Cape.
Dawad Mahomed and 31 others charged for failure to produce registration certificates.

January 7 : Gandhiji accused by *The Star*, of "quoting the breaches already made and legalized in the Asiatic law as an argument for repealing it altogether".
Boksburg Indian dealers refused trading licences except for Stands in Location.

Before *January 9 :* Several Indians, including some Colonial-born, who were deported to Natal from Transvaal were dealt with under Regulations of Act 36 and nominally convicted for entry into Natal.

January 9 : Gandhiji attended meeting of Indian Chamber of Commerce at Durban, made suggestions for Rules and Regulations of Chamber.
Ritch protested to Colonial Office against Natal Government Notice banning admission of Indian students above 14 to higher-grade schools.

January 10 : Dr. Nanji operated on Kasturba, seriously ill for 3 months, in Durban. Gandhiji attended on her.

January 12 : Three Indians, charged with contravention of section 7 of Act 36 of 1908, ordered to register within 8 days.

January 16 : Gandhiji, on way to Johannesburg, arrested at Volksrust for failing to produce registration certificate. Deported and escorted to border, returned immediately and was re-arrested. Released on his own recognizance, returned to Johannesburg.
Supreme Court ruled deportation of registered citizens illegal.

January 20 : Gandhiji wrote to the Press stating that Indians had entered third and final phase of struggle.
Johannesburg Town Council urged Government to deal firmly with Asiatic problem and enforce Registration Act.

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January 21 : In interview to *The Natal Mercury*, Gandhiji observed it was difficult to say categorically if Indian merchants would be prepared to undergo sacrifice implied in placing all their assets at creditors' disposal.

Johannesburg correspondent of *Indian Opinion* reported that 30 merchants were ready to follow Cachalia's example.

Rand Daily Mail, commenting on meeting of Cachalia's creditors, observed that "the so-called passive resistance movement has degenerated into coercion", that "the Transvaal Government will not be bullied into making concessions by such methods", and added, "We do not think that many of the Asiatics will fall within Mr. Gandhi's little plan, and ruin themselves completely to further the cause of passive resistance when it assumes such a new and startling form." Called for Government check on picketing.

Telegram in *The Natal Mercury* reported Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce's resentment against attempt of Indian merchants to force hands of Government. Extremist opinion supported move to confiscate merchants' goods and to stop picketing of firms.

January 22 : Gandhiji attended meeting of Cachalia's European creditors and submitted accounts.

Criticized *Rand Daily Mail*, for calling passive resistance an act of coercion.

Naidoo's appeal against conviction under Asiatic Registration Amendment Act dismissed by Supreme Court.

The Soft Goods Section of Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce adopted resolution supporting Government in enforcement of Asiatic Registration Law.

Bulawayo Town Council refused Indians new trading licences.

January 23 : *The Star* welcomed Supreme Court judgment in Naidoo appeal and doubted if more than a few "deluded faddists will consent to sacrifice their businesses and damage their credit at the dictation of Messrs Gandhi and Cachalia".

E. I. Aswat, other Indian merchants followed Cachalia's example.

January 25 : Gandhiji, in interview to *Rand Daily Mail*, stated he would not be satisfied until Asiatic traders got their rights in South Africa. *Rand Daily Mail* observed that "if the tactics of the passive resisters should spread to the Coloured and Native population of South Africa, anarchy would reign".

January 26 : Gandhiji addressed meeting of Tamilians. Wrote to Dr. Krause repudiating allegation regarding Cachalia's move.

Creditors notified Cachalia of their intention to sequestrate his estate.

Several Indians, including 14-year-old residents, served orders of deportation to Delagoa Bay.

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January 27 : Gandhiji forwarded to Lord Curzon statement of Indian position, hoping latter's intervention would result in happy termination of struggle.
Cachalia and 31 others arrested under Section 9 and produced before Magistrate.
Kholwad Conference of Indians resolved not to take out licences or renew registration certificates.

January 28 : Indian merchants at Johannesburg decided to do without licences and to court imprisonment.

January 29 : Gandhiji informed of improvement in Kasturba's condition. Left for Durban. 18 Asiatics, arrested at Komatipoort as prohibited immigrants, stood trial at Barberton.

January 30 : Cachalia, Naidoo and others sentenced to 3 months or £50 fine; Shelat to 2 months.
Transvaal Government wrote to Secretary of State for Colonies denying that Gandhiji "performed hard labour in public streets", Indian prisoners were ill-treated or their religious susceptibilites hurt.

February 1 : E. I. Aswat unanimously elected Acting Chairman of BIA during Cachalia's incarceration.

February 2 : Lord Curzon informed Gandhiji of his discussion with Botha and Smuts and of their "anxiety to treat British Indians . . . in spirit of liberality as well as justice".

February 3 : Parsee Rustomjee and others arrested for defying deportation orders.

February 4 : Gandhiji removed Kasturba, convalescing after operation, to Phœnix.

February 5 : Appeal of Randeria dismissed by Transvaal Supreme Court. Deportation of Harilal Gandhi, Dawad Mahomed and other leading Indians ordered.

February 9 : Draft Act of Union published in *Government Gazette*.
Dawad Mahomed and Cachalia agreed in Court to sequestration of their estates.

February 10 : Harilal Gandhi and several others sentenced at Volksrust to terms ranging between 3 to 6 months.
Imperial Government withheld assent to Asiatic Act of Rhodesia.

February 11 : Parsee Rustomjee and others, arrested on re-entering Transvaal after deportation, sentenced to 6 months.

Before *February 15 :* National Convention put up Draft South Africa Act.

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February 16 : V. A. Chettiar sentenced to 3 months.
General Botha in letter to Governor stated Government's stand in regard to demand for repeal of Act 2 of 1907, denied any promise was made for its repeal, and observed that 97 per cent. of Asiatic residents had actually registered and that passive resistance was breaking down.

February 17 : More passive resisters awarded sentences from 3 to 6 months; others remanded; arrests reported from Pretoria, Heidelberg, Germiston, etc.

February 18 : N. A. Cama sentenced to 3 months; several other prominent Indians deported or sentenced.

February 19 : Six Indians arrested at Standerton for failure to identify themselves or produce registration certificates.

February 20 : Leung Quinn arrested for failing to produce registration certificate and refusing identification.

February 22 : Gandhiji left Phœnix for Johannesburg.

February 25 : Arrested at Volksrust along with Polak and Vyas.
Sentenced to 3 months or £50 fine for failure to produce registration certificate.
Issued message to Tamils exhorting them to keep up struggle.

February 28 : British Indian meeting at Hamidia Islamic Society, Vrededorp, congratulated Gandhiji, Cachalia, Parsee Rustomjee and others who had sought imprisonment; resolved to continue struggle.

March 2 : Gandhiji's transfer from Volksrust to Pretoria Gaol ordered. Left by evening train.

March 3 : Reached Pretoria Central Gaol.
Indian Opinion correspondent from Volksrust telegraphed : "Mr. Gandhi has been taken to Pretoria for departmental reasons; I believe it is in order to completely isolate him. The rumour of an impending compromise is strongly discounted by the Executive of the BIA." Polak inaugurated meeting of imprisoned passive resisters' wives and relatives. E. I. Aswat and Leung Quinn sentenced to 3 months.

March 4 : Gandhiji given work of polishing prison floor and doors. Secretary of Tamil Benefit Society and Chief Picket, K. K. Samy, sentenced to 3 months. Randeria released after serving 2 months' sentence.

March 5 : Randeria re-arrested.
Meeting of Cape Coloured people discussed Draft Act of Union, demanded representation in Union Parliament and political rights. E. S. Coovadia appointed Acting Chairman, BIA, in view of imprisonment of Cachalia and Aswat.

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March 6 : Whites started agitation to set up Locations at Barberton, Boksburg, Krugersdorp, etc.

March 7 : British Indian meeting in Hamidia Islamic Society addressed among others by Coovadia, Kallenbach and Polak.

March 8 : In statement on Gandhiji's imprisonment, Col. Seely observed : "Mr. Gandhi had been imprisoned because of his refusal to comply with the Transvaal Law, . . . that the Imperial Government was unable to prevent the Transvaal Government from enforcing the law relating to registration certificates."

March 10 : Gandhiji taken in handcuffs to Court to appear as witness.

Passive resisters congratulated Kasturba Gandhi on Gandhiji's third sentence of imprisonment for sake of self-respect and honour of Asiatic communities.

Chinese passive resisters congratulated Gandhiji and Leung Quinn on being sentenced, resolved to continue struggle for justice and self-respect.

Deportation of passive resistance prisoners *via* Delagoa Bay to India commenced.

BIA wrote to Transvaal Governor, protesting against deportation arrangement between Transvaal and Portuguese Governments.

March 11 : Indian women held meeting in Johannesburg. Letter from Kasturba reported saying : "Had she wings, she would fly to the meeting."

Letter to Transvaal Press signed by Kasturba and four others released.

Doke, in letter to Johannesburg Press, referring to Gandhiji's being handcuffed, observed that "the great majority of our Colonists feel ashamed . . . that a man of the character and position of Mr. Gandhi should be needlessly insulted in this way."

March 12 : Indian Opinion special correspondent in telegram stated : "Mr. Gandhi looks thin and unhealthy."

Meeting of Nyasaland Indians condemned treatment of Indians in Transvaal and Imperial Government's weakness.

Kimberley meeting of non-whites expressed concern at inadequate provision in proposed Constitution to protect their interests.

March 13 : Indian Opinion, commenting on official statement that removal of Gandhiji from Volksrust to Pretoria Central Gaol was "simply a matter of administrative convenience", observed that "it has no other purpose than to completely isolate Mr. Gandhi, so that no breath of encouragement should reach his people from him."

BIA requested High Commissioner to receive deputation concerning deportation policy.

March 14 : Natal Indian Congress meeting at Durban, declared support to Transvaal passive resistance, condemned deportation arrangements between Transvaal and Delagoa Bay authorities.

BIA meeting at Johannesburg resolved to continue passive resistance "with unabated energy" till Government conceded demands.

March 15 : Draft of South Africa Act laid before South African Parliament; question raised in Commons.

High Commissioner refused to see BIA deputation on deportation.

March 16 : Meeting of Indians in Delagoa Bay, addressed by Abdulla Hajee Adam and Polak on Transvaal situation and deportation arrangement, decided to send deputation to Portuguese Governor-General.

March 17 : Meeting of Kimberley Indians protested against unjust treatment of Indians in Transvaal.

Transvaal Governor cabled Colonial Office that no Indians producing proof of registration were deported but only those Asiatics without domicile in South Africa, who were ordered to be deported by Magistrate.

BIA, Port Elizabeth, cabled urging Viceroy's intervention on behalf of Transvaal Indians.

March 19 : Transvaal Supreme Court ruled Indians were not disabled from securing trading licences in mining areas.

March 22 : Natal Municipal Association criticized Imperial Government for not sanctioning discriminatory provisions in Municipal Laws Consolidation Bill.

March 24 : Meeting of BIA, East London, condemned Transvaal Government's deportation policy.

March 25 : Meeting of Indian women at Hamidia Society Hall, addressed by Mrs. Thambi Naidoo, Mrs. Polak and Miss Schlesin, formed Indian Women's Association.

BIA, East London, protested against ill-treatment of Indians to High Commissioner, Colonial Office and Viceroy of India.

Lord Crewe, replying to Lord Ampthill in Lords, defended Transvaal deportation policy on ground that Indians not being Mozambique Indians *ex hypothesi* could be deported under Portuguese Law.

March 26 : Moulvi Ahmed Khan of Surti Mosque examined in Court of Mr. Jordan.

Registration at Pretoria reported at standstill.

Schreiner, addressing meeting at Cape Town, considered colour bar a blot on Draft Union Constitution.

Government of India, in reply to cable of March 17 from BIA, Port Elizabeth, assured continued "endeavours to obtain sympathetic

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treatment for British Indians in the Transvaal" but regretted inability to interfere in cases of penalty for non-compliance with law.

March 27 : More arrests, convictions and deportations at Johannesburg, Vereeniging and Volksrust reported.
65 prisoners reported removed from Volksrust to Heidelberg to work on quarries.

March 28 : BIA meeting protested against Lord Crewe's misleading statement in Parliament regarding Transvaal deportations *via* Delagoa Bay.
Dildar Khan elected Acting Chairman, BIA.
HIS resolved to protest against Transvaal Government's treatment of passive resisters.

March 29 : Thambi Naidoo and others released after 3 months' imprisonment, felicitated by BIA. Over 150 Indians reported to be still in gaol.
13 passive resisters including Shelat, set free at Barberton, detained pending deportation arrangement with Portuguese.
Transvaal Governor informed Secretary of State for Colonies that in deporting Indians, Portuguese authorities acted under their general immigration regulations.
BIA, writing to British High Commissioner, countered Transvaal Government's claim that deportation policy did not apply to domiciled Indians, by citing deportation of a registered Indian's son.
Transvaal Governor communicated to BIA reply from Secretary of State for Colonies to their petition of September 9, 1908, that Transvaal Government was unwilling to repeal Registration Act and Imperial Government not in a position to press repeal; and that views of two sides on yearly admission of six educated Indians differed only as regards method and machinery.

March 30 : Blue-book on Transvaal Indian question, published in London, revealed that Botha had disagreed with Lord Crewe's suggestion for repeal of Registration Act.

April 1 : Settlement of 20 shillings in £ liabilities effected at third meeting of Cachalia's creditors.

April 3 : Indian women at Germiston set up Association.
Indian Opinion correspondent reported that passive resisters, domiciled in Natal and ordered to be deported, would only be put across border at Volksrust.
Indian meeting at Barberton protested against deportation policy, paid tribute to Gandhiji's "courage in facing hardships and insults,

such as handcuffing, being taken from one gaol to another in a third-class compartment".

Before *April 5 :* BIA and HIS committee meetings congratulated Gandhiji and others on "having gone to gaol for the sake of religion and the welfare of their brethren" and resolved to continue struggle.

April 6 : BIA wrote to High Commissioner deploring latter's refusal to cable to Colonial Office representation regarding Indians' deportation.

Four Transvaal Indians deported, 10 awaited deportation at Barberton.

April 7 : Polak addressed Johannesburg meeting at Hamidia Society Hall on condition of passive resisters in Diepkloof and Heidelberg gaols; BIA wrote to Acting Director of Prisons complaining of prisoners' ill-treatment.

Natal Prime Minister in Parliament denied any agreement with Colonies for continuance of immigration of indentured Asiatic labour.

April 11 : Indian mass meeting at Johannesburg repudiated Botha's statement to Lord Crewe that many Asiatics were content with prevailing state of affairs; urged Imperial Government's intervention to terminate struggle.

April 12 : Question of Gandhiji being marched in handcuffs raised in Commons; Under Secretary of State for Colonies insisted that no special disability or indignity was imposed on Gandhiji as passive resister.

29 Chinese passive resisters, charged with refusal to give thumb-impressions and signatures, acquitted.

April 14 : Dr. Aburrahman inaugurated at Cape Town seventh annual Conference of African Political Organization.

16 Indians, old Johannesburg residents, deported to India *via* Delagoa Bay.

April 15 : Ritch made representations about Transvaal deportation policy to Colonial Office.

April 17 : Indian Opinion correspondent reported that Gandhiji "in the Pretoria Central Gaol, is slowly starving himself as a protest against the treatment of Indians, under the Gaol Regulations, as Kaffirs" and refusing personal allowance of ghee unless same was extended to all Transvaal Indian prisoners.

April 22 : Lord Crewe- made lengthy statement in Lords on indentured labour and Indian immigration to Crown Colonies.

April 24 : Chinese passive resisters' organization commended refusal of Chinese to give finger-impressions.

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April 26 : Polak, writing to *Rand Daily Mail*, refuted its observation that agitation was confined to a "handful of irreconcilables" or "bitter-enders"; denied a single Indian had "accepted" Registration law.

April 27 : New Regulations under Section 9 of Act 5 of 1894, published in *Government Gazette*, banned admission of Native, Indian or Coloured children to European schools.

April 29 : Cachalia and 18 other Indians released after serving 3 months sentence.

April 30 : Supreme Court ruled, in Mohamed Makda's Case, that no appeal lay against Asiatic Registrar for refusing registration.

May 1 : *Indian Opinion* explained that 97 per cent. of Transvaal Asiatics who had already registered, according to Botha's statement, had actually registered "under voluntary registration through the efforts of the leaders of the passive resistance movement . . . "

May 4 : Indian satyagrahis in Transvaal gaols started receiving ghee as part of diet.

May 8 : P. K. Naidoo sentenced to 3 months for trading without licence at Vereeniging.

May 10 : Johannesburg Court ordered deportation of 92 Asiatics refused registration by Registrar.

May 15 : NIC protested to Colonial Secretary, against Regulations under Section 9 of Act 5 of 1894, being discriminatory against Indian students.

May 19 : Transvaal Supreme Court held that Government had no power under Notice of 1908 to cancel reservation of Location.

May 24 : Gandhiji released from Pretoria Central Gaol at 7.30 a.m.; said at meeting in Mahomedan Mosque Hall that he felt no pleasure at being free.

In interview to *Pretoria News*, deploring deportation of 16-year-old boy to India, asserted that such methods would not break spirit of Indians.

Given rousing reception on arrival at Park Station. Addressing meeting on Mosque grounds, exhorted Indians to resist unjust law. Welcoming Gandhiji's release on Empire Day, *Pretoria News* observed that Transvaal Government should "find better use for a man like Gandhi than persistent imprisonment with hard labour", that "the man is suffering for conscience' sake . . . his motives are of the highest and his methods beyond impeachment".

May 26 : Gandhiji wrote to Johannesburg Press on jail experiences.

May 29 : Explained in *Indian Opinion* meaning and implications of satyagraha; commenced series of articles on jail experiences.

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Transvaal British Indian Conciliation Committee set up by non-passive resisters.

May 31 : Indians in Madras Presidency presented memorial to British Parliament urging repeal of Act 2 of 1907 and sanction of right of entry to six educated Indians.

June 2 : Gandhiji spoke at reception at West End Hall, and later at tea party to Aswat and Leung Quinn on their release.

June 3 : Pretoria Town Council withdrew ban on use of Municipal wash-houses by Coloured persons.

June 6 : Spoke at meeting of Transvaal British Indian Conciliation Committee, which decided to present memorial to Colonial Secretary.

June 7 : Addressed Germiston Literary and Debating Society on "Ethics of Passive Resistance".

June 8 : Colonial Secretary placed before House return showing Asiatic entry into Transvaal during 1909, in response to demand of G. C. Munnik, M.L.A.
Polak left on propaganda tour of Cape Colony.

After *June 8 :* Gandhiji demanded, in letter to *The Transvaal Leader*, that Munnik withdraw his charge of illegal Asiatic entry.

June 13 : BIA Committee meeting decided personnel of deputations to England and India.

June 14 : Colonial Secretary turned down NIC request for withdrawal of ban on Indian education imposed by Government Notice No. 201 of 1909.

June 15 : Imam Abdul Kadir Bawazeer released. Thambi Naidoo, G. P. Vyas, N. A. Cama and U. M. Shelat arrested in Johannesburg. More Tamils arrested in Pretoria.

June 16 : Gandhiji defended Thambi Naidoo and others.
Addressed Johannesburg Indian mass meeting convened to appoint deputations to England and India; meeting authorized A. M. Cachalia, Hajee Habib, V. A. Chettiar and Gandhiji to proceed to England, and N. A. Cama, N. G. Naidoo, E. S. Coovadia and H. S. L. Polak to India.
A. M. Cachalia, V. A. Chettiar, E. S. Coovadia arrested. Cachalia and Chettiar sentenced to 3 months or fine of £50.
BIA Chairman telegraphed Colonial Secretary requesting suspension of sentences of delegates.

June 17 : Gopal Naidoo and other Tamils, delegates-elect to India, arrested.

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Habibia Moslem Society, Cape Town, adopted resolution protesting against ill-treatment of British Indian Mahomedans in Transvaal.

June 18 : Colonial Secretary, rejecting BIA representation for suspension of sentences of delegates-elect, denied knowledge of their impending deputation abroad.
Gandhiji in letter to *The Star* repudiated Colonial Secretary's claim.
Madras Provincial Conference at Behrampore adopted resolution condemning unfair treatment of British Indians in South Africa.

June 19 : Gandhiji in *Indian Opinion* justified sending of deputations abroad; suggested meetings all over South Africa to express support for purposes of explaining movement and shortening struggle.
Deputation of Transvaal British Indian Conciliation Committee waited on Smuts.

Before *June 21 :* In appeal to all Transvaal Indians, Gandhiji stressed gaol-going as the only "unfailing remedy".
Justified, in letter to Habib Motan, appointment of Muslim to Viceroy's Council; stressed need for blood-brother relationship between Hindus and Muslims.

June 21 : Gandhiji and Hajee Habib left Johannesburg for Cape Town *en route* to England.
Sammy Nagappen, passive resister, sentenced to 10 days with hard labour.

June 23 : In interview to *Cape Times* and *Cape Argus*, Gandhiji apprehended ruin of Asiatics under Union unless Imperial Government secured safeguards.
Embarked for England.
Smuts turned down petition of Transvaal British Indian Conciliation Committee.
Coovadia, Sorabjee sentenced to 3 months.

June 25 : Transvaal British Indian Conciliation Committee, in letter to Smuts, regretted his departure from assurances given to deputation.
Polak left for Natal *en route* to India.

June 26: Indian Opinion reported appointment of Kallenbach as Honorary Secretary in BIA Committee meeting.
BIA, Port Elizabeth, represented to Government of India necessity for "repeal of measures which are an insult to the whole of India, a source of continued strife and bitterness within the Empire, and a menace to Indian residents elsewhere in South Africa".

June 30 : Nagappen discharged from Johannesburg Gaol in "dying condition".

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July 2 : Sir Curzon Wyllie assassinated by Madan Lal Dhingra in London. Dr. Lalkaka also killed.

July 3 : London meeting of Indian students, presided over by Surendranath Banerjea, condemned Wyllie's murder.
Indian Opinion reported circulation, for obtaining mass signatures, of three petitions addressed by Transvaal Indians to Queen, Dadabhai Naoroji and Bengal Chambers of Commerce, concerning repeal of Asiatic Act and removal of colour bar and racial taint from legislation.

July 4 : Meeting of Indian women in Pretoria Location expressed indignation at arrest of some 70 Pretoria Indians.

July 6 : Nagappen died.

July 7 : Nagappen given public funeral by Indian community.

July 8 : Official statement regarding Nagappen's death absolved Gaol authorities of responsibility.

Before *July 9 :* Met members of Natal Cabinet and Coloured people's deputation on board the ship.

July 9 : Bengal Provincial Congress Committee proposed Gandhiji's name as one of three nominees for presidentship of forthcoming session of Indian National Congress.

July 10 : Gandhiji, along with Hajee Habib, arrived at Southampton; interviewed by Reuter. Reached London at 10.30 a.m.; interviewed by South Africa Associated Press Agency.
Met Ritch and Abdul Caadir; called on Sir Muncherjee Bhownaggree. Wrote to Lord Ampthill for interview.
Six Indians deported from Transvaal.
BIA demanded, in letter to Director of Prisons, restoration of ghee in diet of Indian prisoners.
Natal Indians addressed petition to Secretary of State for Colonies regarding grievances relating to indenture, franchise, trade etc.; demanded amendment of Draft Union Act.

July 11 : Habibia Moslem Society mass meeting expressed sympathy with Transvaal and Natal deputations. British Indian League, Cape Town adopted resolution urging Imperial Government to give sympathetic consideration to Transvaal deputation.
Mass meeting of Indians at Hamidia Mosque, Johannesburg, adopted resolutions urging Imperial Government to give sympathetic consideration to deputation's submission; demanded thorough and open investigation into Nagappen's death.

July 12 : Gandhiji received BIA cable regarding Nagappen's death and release of Dawad Mahomed due to illness.

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William Hosken and 15 other prominent European ministers of religion and professional men petitioned Attorney-General, Johannesburg, for public inquiry into deaths of Nagappen and Gibbon, a white convict.

Before *July 14 :* Gandhiji saw Ameer Ali.

July 14 : Met H. E. A. Cotton, editor of *India*, Sir Richard Solomon and Lord Ampthill. Transvaal Indian women's petition to Queen forwarded.

July 16 : Sir William Lee-Warner called on Gandhiji.
14 Indians deported to India from Transvaal.

July 18 : Mass meeting at Pretoria urged Imperial Government to give sympathetic consideration to deputation's submissions.

July 19 : Public inquiry into circumstances of Nagappen's death opened under Major Dixon.

July 20 : Gandhiji wrote to Lord Crewe seeking private interview.

July 21 *:* Met Ameer Ali, Sir William Lee-Warner and Theodore Morison.

July 22 : Repudiated in letter to *South Africa* its allegation that Lord Ampthill and SABIC were associated with extremist movement in India.
Deputation led by Dr. Abdurrahman and Schreiner, on behalf of Coloured people and Natives, waited on Lord Crewe.

July 23 : Gandhiji wrote to Gokhale requesting help in Polak's work in India.

July 26 : Gandhiji and Hajee Habib had private interview with Lord Morley.
Referred in letter to Lord Morley to prohibition of Indians from land-holding, riding on tramcars, as grievances apart from Act 2 of 1907 and restriction on immigration of educated Indians.

July 27 : House of Lords debated and passed second reading of Union Bill.

July 28 : Col. Seely stated in Commons that definite representations had been made to General Botha regarding Transvaal Indians and that latter was "really anxious to find a solution of the question".

July 29 : Gandhiji in letter to Lord Ampthill denied any connection between Transvaal passive resistance movement and "party of sedition" in India; suggested amendment of Immigration Law to give Immigration Officer power to admit only six Indians to Colony. Sent Lord Ampthill proofs of "Statement of Transvaal Indian Case".

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Attended suffragette meeting at St. James' Hall. Met Mrs. Pankhurst. Deputation led by Schreiner on behalf of Coloured people and Natives waited on Liberal-Labour Party members in Commons, urged it to move amendments to Union Bill.

July 31 : Natal delegation arrived in London, received by Gandhiji. Polak reached Bombay.

August 2 : Pretoria women set up Indian Women's Association.

August 3 : In letter to *The Englishman*, Gandhiji corrected misstatements about Registration Act, indenture system, etc., stated that British Indians had been agitating for 15 years for abolition of indentured labour.

August 4 : Repudiated categorically, in course of letter to Lord Ampthill, that Transvaal passive resistance movement was "fomented" or financed from India or had anything to do with "party of violence" there.

Major Dixon issued report of inquiry on Nagappen's death.

William Hosken, Chairman of European Committee, initiated correspondence with Director of Prisons, supporting diet reform.

August 6 : Gandhiji sent Lord Ampthill copies of "Statement" incorporating changes and additions suggested by him.

August 9 : Discussed with Lord Ampthill Smuts' suggestions. Forwarded to him amendment to Immigrants' Restriction Act authorizing Governor to limit number of immigrants of any nationality. Sent Lord Ampthill proofs of Doke's biography.

Natal Indian delegation submitted petition to Lord Crewe.

Harilal Gandhi and others released at Heidelberg. Sorabjee Shapurji released from Diepkloof Prison.

August 10 : Gandhiji and Hajee Habib called on Lord Crewe. Gandhiji cabled BIA, Polak, regarding his amendment to Immigration Act.

Deputation on behalf of Coloured people and Natives led by Schreiner attended Labour Party meeting in Commons, which assured support for amending Union Bill.

Lord Ampthill had talks with Smuts and Gandhiji; later forwarded to Smuts amendment to Immigration Act and urged him to agree to repeal of Act and admission of six Indians a year.

August 11 : Gandhiji sought Lord Crewe's intervention to stop impending deportation of 100 British Indians.

Wrote to Lord Ampthill that proposed amendment of Immigration Act did not constitute "a sacrifice of any important principles".

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In letter to Lord Crewe, Lord Ampthill appealed to help settlement on basis of Gandhiji's formula conveyed to Smuts.
Parsee Rustomjee sentenced to further term of 6 months. Indian mass meeting at Johannesburg welcomed Sorabjee Shapurjee, Harilal Gandhi and others; supported deputations; demanded Imperial Government's intervention and expressed dissatisfaction over Commission's findings about Nagappen's death.

August 12 : Natal Indian delegation informed by Lord Crewe that existing laws could not be repealed and conditions would improve after Union came into being.

August 13 : Natal Indian delegation addressed letter to Viceroy of India forwarding statement of grievances.

August 16 : Gandhiji forwarded to Lord Crewe Mahomed Khan's complaint of ill-treatment in prison.
In letter to Lord Ampthill, observed that inquiry substantially proved allegations about Nagappen's death.

August 17 : Dhingra executed.

August 18 : NIC meeting at Durban supported deputation to England and criticized treatment of Transvaal Indians.
Tolstoy's secretary, N. N. Gooseff, arrested by Russian Government on charge of distributing revolutionary literature.

August 19 : Gandhiji purchased books for Phœnix Library.

August 20 : In weekly dispatch to *Indian Opinion*, emphasized that Natal Indians would be free only through satyagraha.
Lord Kitchener relinquished office of Commander-in-Chief of Indian Army.

August 21 : Gandhiji met Schreiner.
Witwatersrand Church Council adopted resolution urging some form of representation for Natives.

August 22 : Gandhiji visited Whiteway countryside.

August 25 : Suggested to Polak pice fund in aid of passive resistance struggle.

August 29 : Smuts, in interview to Reuter, stated that "vast majority of Transvaal Indians are sick to death of the agitation carried on by some of their extreme representatives . . . "

August 30 : Gandhiji wrote to Swami Shankeranand deprecating his criticism of Islam.
Smuts wrote to Lord Ampthill on latter's proposal to Lord Crewe for repeal of Act 2 of 1907 and issue of permanent residence certificates to limited number of educated Indian immigrants.

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Lord Ampthill invited Lord Crewe to make statement in Parliament on Transvaal problem; later, called on him and discussed question of "right" of entry.

August 31 : Lord Ampthill wrote to Gandhiji hoping he would not feel bound to continue passive resistance and suggested that Gandhiji clarify to Lord Crewe position in regard to "right".

September 1 : Gandhiji informed Lord Ampthill that Smuts' proposal only accentuated racial insult, and that he could not recede from position as to question of "right".

September 2 : Cabled Polak regarding Smuts' proposal, urged Bombay public meeting be held independently of Sheriff.

Sought clarification from Lord Crewe of Smuts' interview to Reuter indicating settlement.

In letter to Lord Ampthill, welcomed crusade implied in fresh arrests of Indians and Chinese in Transvaal.

Lord Morley informed Natal delegation that their problem was concern of Colonial Office.

September 6 : In communication to Colonial Office, stressed that he had "avoided all public activity, in order not to prejudice negotiations".

In letter to Ameer Ali, declared his life devoted to demonstrating that Hindu-Muslim co-operation was indispensable condition to India's salvation.

September 7 : Wrote to Khushalchand Gandhi that all Phœnix activities were religious.

September 9 : BIA requested Director of Prisons, Johannesburg, to extend facilities to Muslim prisoners during *Ramzan*.

September 10 : In letter to Colonial Office, Gandhiji repudiated Smuts' statement to Reuter that majority of Indians had submitted to Registration Act; asserted that strength of Indian opposition still remained unabated.

Deprecated suffragette's resort to violence and declared that Indians should "never forsake the sword of satyagraha".

BIA protested, in *The Star*, against Superintendent Vernon's statement in Court that Asiatics should be hunted out of country.

Natal delegation's letter in *The Times* stressed three-fold disabilities of Natal Indians and appealed to Imperial Government to stop supply of indentured labour from India failing redress of grievances.

September 11 : Reduction of grants for higher education of Indians by Natal Legislative Assembly reported by *Times of Natal.*

September 13 : Gandhiji attended *Pateti* celebrations in London; proposed felicitations to prominent Parsi passive resisters.

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September 14 : Public meeting in Bombay appealed to Imperial Government to prevent continued injustice to Indians in South Africa, demanded stoppage of indentured labour for Natal.

September 15 : Mass meeting at Johannesburg greeted Cachalia, Chettiar and Thambi Naidoo on release; Doke, Howard and other Europeans spoke.

80 Chinese passive resisters arrested.

September 16 : Gandhiji and Hajee Habib had interview with Lord Crewe, expressed readiness to give undertaking that, if theoretical right of entry conceded, there would be no further agitation.

67 Chinese charged at Johannesburg for failure to produce registration certificates.

BIA request for facilities to Muslim prisoners during *Ramzan* turned down by Director of Prisons.

Public meeting at Surat addressed by Polak.

September 17 : In letter to Manilal Gandhi, Gandhiji observed that "body should not be dearer than the soul", and he "would have preferred Kasturba's passing away without the [beef] soup; but would not have allowed it to be given to her without her consent".

Before *September 18 :* Natal delegation met Ali Imam of All-India Muslim League.

September 18 : Gandhiji represented to Lord Morley that denial of *Ramzan* facilities to Muslim prisoners would be an attack on their religion. Wrote to Lord Ampthill requesting him to enlist Sir George Farrar's active sympathy to avoid unfavourable reply from Smuts; in latter case, felt public activity by deputation necessary.

September 19 : Polak addressed public meeting at Ahmedabad.

September 22 : Meeting of Chinese passive resisters in Johannesburg pledged continued support to passive resistance movement, and sympathized with efforts of deputations abroad.

E. S. Coovadia, Omarji Sale released from Diepkloof Prison.

September 23 : Gandhiji enquired of Colonial Office if any reply had been received from Smuts to cable Lord Crewe was to have sent regarding Gandhiji's amendment.

Proposed to Polak institution of prizes for best essay on passive resistance from India.

Public meeting at Kathore addressed by Polak.

Bombay public meeting, addressed by Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, G. K. Gokhale and others, appealed to Imperial Government to stop ill-treatment of Indians.

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September 24 : Gandhiji met Rev. F. B. Meyer at lunch.

September 27 : Polak and Gokhale spoke at public meeting in Poona.

September 28 : Gandhiji addressed letter to *The Advocate of India* defending Polak.

September 29 : Smuts denied, in minute, deportation of any Asiatic domiciled in Orange River Colony from Transvaal to India; asked that Gandhiji might furnish evidence of any such case.

Polak addressed ladies' meeting in Poona presided over by Mrs. Ramabai Ranade.

September 30 : Transvaal Government repudiated, in minute, complaints about ill-treatment of Indian prisoners and responsibility for Nagappen's death.

October 1 : Gandhiji wrote to Tolstoy regarding passive resistance movement in Transvaal and Tolstoy's "Letter to a Hindoo".

Spoke at dinner in honour of Ali Imam.

October 4 : Colonial Office informed Gandhiji that initiative rested with Colonial Government whether to undertake fresh legislation on lines proposed by Smuts.

October 5 : Gandhiji wrote to Lord Ampthill of his desire to undertake some public activity for educating influential quarters about Transvaal situation.

Addressing meeting of Gujaratis in London, advised them to cultivate love for their own language.

October 6 : In letter to Polak, emphasized need for India to see Transvaal struggle as part of her own movement for freedom and to help it.

Discussed future programme with Lord Ampthill. SABIC held reception to Natal delegation.

October 7 : Gandhiji attended suffragette meeting.

Doke wrote to *Rand Daily Mail* giving details of Kaffir assault on Gandhiji in prison.

Tolstoy replied to Gandhiji's letter of October 1.

October 8 : Gandhiji, in speech at Emerson Club, extolled way of suffering.

Enquired of Colonial Office about exact position taken by Smuts; informed it of deputation's intention to educate public about Transvaal situation and failure of negotiations. Ordered printing of 2,000 copies of "Statement of Transvaal Indian Case".

In message to *Gujarati Punch*, stressed his complete preoccupation with "the life and death struggle" in Transvaal.

67 Chinese, charged under Asiatic Ordinance, discharged.

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October 9: Sanderson Committee on Indian immigration, reported to have completed inquiry, held that abolition of Indian labour would seriously affect whites.

October 11 : Public meeting in Madras, presided over by Turkish Consul, addressed by Polak.

October 12 : Writing to Manilal Gandhi, Gandhiji declared "learning to live a good life is in itself education".
Fund in aid of deported Indians started.

October 13 : Spoke on "East and West" at Hampstead Peace and Arbitration Society.

October 14 : In letter to Lord Ampthill, asserted that cessation of passive resistance was impossible "unless the theoretical right was granted".
Wrote to Polak expressing his views on modern civilization, later elaborated in *Hind Swaraj*.

October 15 : Colonial Office informed Gandhiji that proposals referred to as possible basis of legislation in Transvaal were those made by Smuts and not by Gandhiji.

October 17 : Ali Imam, speaking at meeting of Indian Union Society, stressed need for Hindu-Muslim unity.
Thambi Naidoo and others, arrested in Johannesburg, sentenced to 3 months.

October 19 : Gandhiji wrote to Colonial Office asking for exact position. More Indians arrested and sentenced to 3 months. Sorabji Shapurji and S. B. Medh deported.

October 20 : E. I. Aswat, Acting-Chairman, BIA, sentenced to 3 months.
Sorabji Shapurji and S. B. Medh arrested at Volksrust border on return to Transvaal.

October 24 : Gandhiji presided over and spoke at *Vijaya Dashami* celebrations in London.

October 25 : Indian Immigration Law Amendment Bill read for third time in Natal Legislative Assembly.
Sorabji Shapurji and S. B. Medh sentenced to 6 months as prohibited immigrants.

October 26 : Polak reported successful meetings all over Madras Presidency.

October 29 : Gandhiji informed Lord Ampthill of decision to leave for South Africa and to challenge arrest on Transvaal border.

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Sought interview with Aylmer Maude to discuss matters relating to passive resistance; asked for advice regarding publication of Tolstoy's "Letter to a Hindoo".
Received cable from Polak to visit India.
Received cable from South Africa asking him to return.

After *October 29 :* Sent message to Indian National Congress.

October 30 : Spoke at meeting of Indian Union Society.
Conveyed to Lord Ampthill his views on Indian nationalist movement and modern civilization.

November 1 : Harilal Gandhi arrested at Volksrust, sentenced again to 6 months.

November 2 : Gandhiji addressed meeting in London. Several Indians and some Englishmen enrolled as volunteers.

November 3 : Colonial Office informed Gandhiji of Lord Crewe's inability "to hold out any hopes of obtaining recognition" of theoretical equality as to immigration or otherwise.

November 5 : Gandhiji released "Statement of Transvaal Indian Case" along with summary to the Press.

November 6 : Attended meeting of British sympathisers.
In valedictory letter to Colonial Office, expressed hope Lord Crewe would still use his influence to secure removal of colour bar from Transvaal immigration laws.

November 7 : Indian meeting at Tongaat decided to send delegation to India for stopping supply of indentured labour to Natal.

November 9 : Gandhiji interviewed by Reuter. *The Times* reported failure of negotiations on Transvaal Asiatic legislation.
Colonial Office minute recorded: "We cannot dispute the rightness of his [Gandhiji's] claim to equality before the law, it is a fundamental principle."

November 10 : In interview to *The Daily Express*, Gandhiji stated that passive resistance campaign would continue "with unabated vigour".
Wrote to Tolstoy acknowledging letter; sent copy of Doke's biography.
Forwarded to Lord Crewe cable from Polak reporting public meeting in sympathy of Transvaal Indians.

November 11 : Addressed letter to *Daily Telegraph* urging British Press to support Transvaal struggle. In letter to Gokhale, invited him to visit South Africa and participate in struggle. Wrote to Colonial Office asserting that complaints about Transvaal prison conditions were substantially true.

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November 12 : Released "Statement" to Indian Press.

Addressed farewell meeting, convened by Rev. F. B. Meyer, attended among others by Dr. Rutherford, Sir Raymond West, Sir Frederick Lely, Sir Muncherjee Bhownaggree, Motilal Nehru and L. W. Ritch.

November 13 : Gandhiji and Hajee Habib left for South Africa by s. s. *Kildonan Castle*.

Indian Opinion reported setting-up in Bombay of an influential Indian Committee consisting of Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, G. K. Gokhale, M. A. Jinnah, J. B. Petit and others, to collect funds for Transvaal Indians deported to India.

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NOTE. *Names of persons have all been indexed under the last name. The following abbreviations have been used throughout:* BIA = *British Indian Association;* BICC = *British Indian Conciliation Committee;* NDLA = *Natal Dealers' Licenses Act;* PPO = *Peace Preservation Ordinance;* SABIC = *South Africa British Indian Committee;* TALAA = *Transvaal Asiatic Law Amendment Act;* TALAO = *Transvaal Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance;* TARA = *Transvaal Asiatic Registration Act;* TARAA = *Transvaal Asiatics' Registration Amendment Act;* TARAB = *Transvaal Asiatics' Registration Amendment Bill*; TIRA = *Transvaal Immigrants' Restriction Act;* TVL = *Transvaal; The Union of South Africa is referred to as 'Union'.*

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17	* Footnote 1	These have not . . . before.	Vide *p. 14.*
355	* item 216, line 1-2	The Natal deputation . . . on Thursday.[1]	*The Natal deputation . . . on Thursday.*
386	* Footnote 1	*Vide* "Deputation Notes [-I]", p. 271.	Vide "*Deputation's Voyage [-I]*", *p. 271.*
423	item 275, date line	[After *September 18, 1909*]	[*After* October 26, 1909] The item should be placed next to item 324.

* Due correction made.

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462	Footnote 1	1901	1901-1902

ADD TO THE TEXT OF THE FOOTNOTE

REFERENCE MAY BE TO A MEETING THAT TOOK PLACE IN THE ALBERT HALL, CALCUTTA, ON JANUARY 27, 1902; GOKHALE WAS IN THE CHAIR; *VIDE* VOL. III, PAGE 266.

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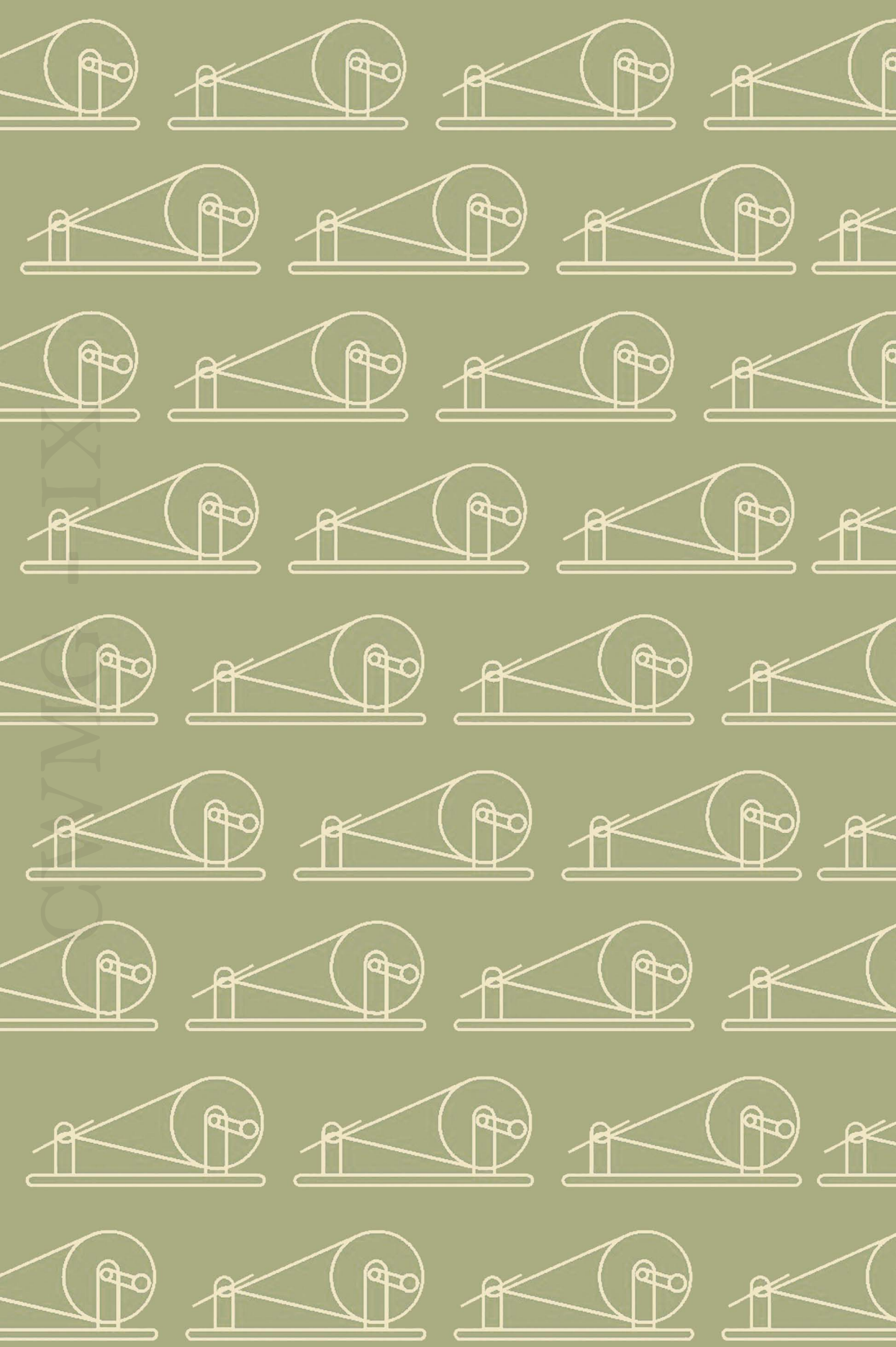

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668	ERRATA			REF-P-E/C

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Page No.	Location	Source Images	Finished Digital Searchable Images	Corrected as per - what
669	CORRI-GENDUM-NEW			ADDED
670	CORRI-GENDA-NEW			REF-Vols. 001-I-Ed.1969 002-II-Ed.1976 003-III-Ed.1979
CWMG CELL, GUJARAT VIDYAPITH, AHMEDABAD; 2019.				

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ABOUT THE ELECTRONIC MASTER COPY OF

THE COLLECTED WORKS OF MAHATMA GANDHI:

CWMG – KS – EDITION – 1956-1994 (ENGLISH SERIES):

VOLUMES – I (001) TO C (100):

.....

CONTENT LIST OF THIS USER DOCUMENT *

- NOTE TO THE READER [2019] ..... (pp. 3-4 of 15)
- NOTES FOR INFORMATION AND RECORD ..... (pp. 5-7 of 15)
- AVAILABLE AS OF NOW ..... (pp. 8 of 15)
- TABLE OF STANDARD EDITIONS USED ..... (pp. 9-15 of 15)

.....

* FOR THIS USER DOCUMENT &

THE RESPECTIVE DATA OF THE CWMG-KS-1956-1994 (ENGLISH SERIES),

PLEASE REFER THE FOLLOWING URLs :

www.gandhiheritageportal.org/the-collected-works-of-mahatma-gandhi &
www.gandhiheritageportal.org/fundamental-worklist

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COURTESY:

THE PUBLICATIONS DIVISION,

MINISTRY OF INFORMATION & BROADCASTING,

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, NEW DELHI.

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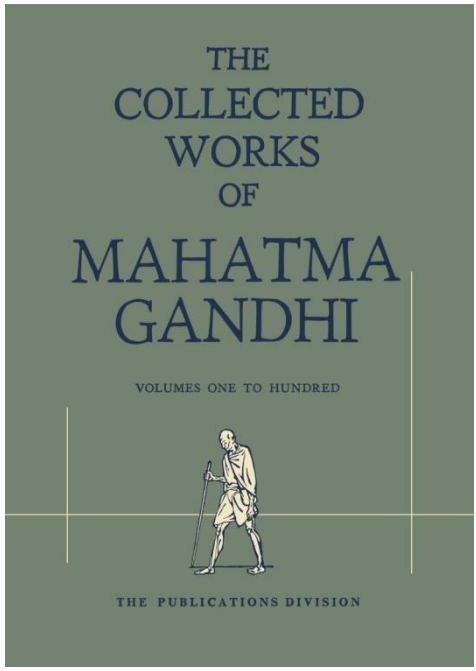

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". . . But to cut out words or passages from a letter without reference to the writer may lead to dangerous interpretations or interpretations not intended by the writer. . . . My letters are all thought out and conceived as one piece. They contain mostly ethical matters. The removal of a word may change the meaning. I should not like my letters to be interfered with without my knowledge. . . . / I wish you could grant relief in this matter by no means trivial to me."

MKG, January 16, 1933; CWMG-Vol.-053-LIII-p.61.

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"It was after much thought that I declared a trust in connection with my writings. . . . I preserved fully the idea lying behind dislike for copyright, i.e., for personal gain for one's writings. The idea also was to prevent profiteering by publishers or distortion or misrepresentation, wilful or unintentional. . . ."

MKG, July 5, 1944**;** CWMG-Vol.-077-LXXVII-p.353.

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NOTE TO THE READER [2019]

The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi (English series) is a monumental document of Gandhiji's words as he spoke and wrote, day after day, year after year, beginning with the year 1884 till his assassination on January 30, 1948. In this series his writings, scattered all over the world, have been collected and constructed with stringent academic discipline and with an ethical sense of loyalty.

The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi (English series) (CWMG-original-KS-Eng-edition, called so after Prof. K. Swaminathan, the chief architect of the original series, who had led uniquely qualified team of editors) had taken about 38 years in the making (1956-1994). They are a series of one hundred volumes, intricately connected across the series, as an integrated whole. The CWMG-original-KS-Eng-edition volumes were published by the Publications Division, Ministry of Information & Broadcasting, Government of India in the years 1956 to 1994. The exercise was directed by the CWMG Advisory Board of the Gandhi veterans closely connected with him. Some details in this respect can be viewed in volumes I, XC, XCVIII, XCIX, C, and the standard edition table.

The Electronic Master Copy as reproduced from the scanned images of the CWMG-original-KS-Eng-edition (Volumes I to C – 1 to 100) (1956-1994) is in the form of refined (finished) electronic images, matched with the original-KS-edition, word by word, verified with the original source-documents where necessary. This will now form the basis for all future printing, as impressions of the images thereof.

The Electronic Master Copy of the CWMG-original-KS-Eng-edition retains the original architecture – volume structure, font structure, line structure, page structure – including its visual look – fully and loyally. The Master Copy of the CWMG-original-KS-Eng-edition retains the original editorial edifice and content entirely and loyally.

The reproduction from the CWMG-original-KS-edition for volumes from I to XCIII-Supplementary III, and for volumes XCVIII-Index of Subjects and XCIX-Index of Persons has been done from the respective editions as printed at the Navajivan Press (Mudranalaya), Ahmedabad, India. The reproduction from the CWMG-original-KS-edition for volumes from XCIV-Supplementary IV to XCVII- Supplementary VII has been done from the respective editions as printed at different Printers from Delhi, India. The details of editions used for reproduction for individual volumes can be seen in a table given on pages 9 to 15 of this user document.

The original manually prepared indexes – appearing at the end of each volume, and in the two volumes, of Subjects and of Persons – as appearing in the CWMG-original-KS-Eng-edition – give varied, numerous and logical profiles of Gandhiji's life and thought, action and engagements. Also, the Prefaces, as written for respective volumes when published, take us on an epic journey through his life and the nation in the making. Together, these navigators guide us far and wide and into the depths where computer technology may not lead us.

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In the Volume C (100), texts of the individual Prefaces, as written for each volume as and when they were published, have been picked and stringed together to avoid any error of reproduction. Also, the Forewords that appear in volumes I (001), XC (090), XCVIII (098), XCIX (099) and C (100) (1994-Ed.) have been repeated here to give an overview and a perspective of the effort that took place in the years 1956 to 1994.

The task of preparing the Electronic Master Copy of the CWMG-original-KS-Eng-1956-1994-edition has been accomplished by the Gujarat Vidyapith (university founded by Mahatma Gandhi in 1920 as part of non-co-operation movement and for holistic education to help win swaraj), Ahmedabad, India, through a specially set up CWMG Cell in its premises.

Execution of the task involved an intensely focused, organic, and stringently supervised effort over a period of more than five years. A lot of research, customization, and innovation have gone into the process. The research and trials had started in the years 2006-07; the real work had started in the years 2009-10.

The preparation of the Archival Electronic Master Copy of the CWMG-original-KS-Eng-1956-1994-edition was accomplished in the year 2015. The same is in the following forms for every page of the full series of hundred volumes: (a) Cluster of *archival-source-images* and the *corresponding black-&-white images*; (b) *Finished-digital-image-PDFs* with *searchable text* as hidden layer in the backend; (c) *Finished-digital image-PDFs* as print-ready static, non-editable images organized in suitable folders for jacket cluster, including photographs, maps, etc. and the text from cover-to-cover, so as to facilitate all-time printing as an ongoing process; (d) The above data suitably reduced for web-display; (e) The entire record including the work record for all-time archivation.

The above work was first presented to the Government of India in March 2015. The BETA version of the Electronic Master Copy of the *digital-searchable image-PDF*s for the full series of hundred volumes was dedicated to the people of the world on September 8, 2015, in two forms: i. DVD SET / PEN-DRIVE; ii. Downloadable form – in volume-wise manner – on the Gandhi Heritage Portal hosted by the Sabarmati Ashram Preservation and Memorial Trust (SAPMT). A full, unbroken set of the hundred volumes of the CWMG-original-KS-Eng-edition-1956-1994 has been reprinted by the Publications Division, GoI, New Delhi from the Electronic Master Copy thus prepared at the CWMG Cell set up at the Gujarat Vidyapith, and has been rededicated to the people of the world in June 2017.

The Gujarat Vidyapith, Ahmedabad, through the CWMG Cell specially set up at its premises, has performed the specific task of preparing such archival electronic record on behalf of the Publications Division, Ministry of Information & Broadcasting, Government of India, New Delhi, with the permission of the Navajivan Trust, Ahmedabad.

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THE PUBLICATIONS DIVISION,
MINISTRY OF INFORMATION & BROADCASTING,
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, NEW DELHI.

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- This record of CWMG-original-KS-Eng-edition-1956-1994 – from volume I to C is one integrated whole and is to be treated as such;
- Its integrity is not to be violated; and it is not for commercial purpose.

1. On display at :

i. www.gandhiheritageportal.org/the-collected-works-of-mahatma-gandhi
The cluster of *archival-source-images* and the *corresponding black-&-white images* of every page for the full series of hundred volumes, suitably reduced in property for web-display;

ii. www.gandhiheritageportal.org/fundamental-worklist
Finished-digital images corresponding to the finished-digital-searchable image-PDFs, with necessary corrections (a record of which is attached at the end of each respective volume – *see remarks at item 6, p.7 of 15); these images are of every page for the full series of hundred volumes, suitably reduced in property for web-display.

Remarks :

- These *images* can be compared with each other, if so desired;
- These *images* can be viewed individually page-wise and volume-wise;
- These *images* are reduced in property suitably for web display view;
- These *images* are also printable in such lower resolution;

2. Downloadable from : www.gandhiheritageportal.org/the-collected-works-of-mahatma-gandhi
Finished-digital-searchable image-PDFs, with necessary corrections (a record of which is attached at the end of each respective volume – *see remarks at item 6, p.7 of 15); these *image-PDFs* are for the full series of hundred volumes, in downloadable form – in volume-wise manner – replacing the BETA version;

a. The download searchable PDF icon to be clicked;
b. Fully searchable image-PDF files can be opened in any PDF reader;
c. They contain individual files of finished-digital-searchable image-PDFs, volume-wise from cover to cover, arranged in sequential order;
d. They contain archival images of refined (finished) quality in the form of image-PDFs; the searchable text is hidden in the background;
e. These image-PDFs are fully searchable for English text; the same are fully searchable for non-English text as well;

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f. Any text area from the same can be selected and copied and pasted in any text-based document;

g. Such copied and pasted text would retain the volume structure, page structure and line structure and font structure;

h. Such copied and pasted text would appear in in-built fonts, i. e.: TimesNewRoman font (different from regular Times New Roman font);

i. Readers are requested to convert the text thus copied and pasted to: Times New Roman font for reading comfort;

j. Readers are also requested to check the text thus copied and pasted on text-based document word by word with the given image-PDF;

k. These image-PDFs can be printed in high resolution; they are water-marked, non-editable and locked;

3. Volume structure :

a. Volumes I to XC (001 to 090) are the main series.

b. Volumes XCI to XCVII (091 to 097) are the supplementary series.

c. Volume XCVIII (098) is Index of Subjects for volumes I to XC (001 to 090).

d. Volume XCIX (099) is Index of Persons for volumes I to XC. (001 to 090).

e. Volume C (100) is a compilation of Prefaces as written for respective volumes as and when they were published.

f. Each volume from I to XCVII (001 to 097) carries its own Index.

4. Authentic navigational guide-posts : as in-built in the original series :

i. For every volume individually :
   a. Contents – Item-wise and Date-wise;
   b. Index of Titles; Index (Subjects and Persons together);

ii. For volumes upto XC collectively:
   a. Volume of Index of Subjects (XCVIII – 098); and
   b. Volume of Index of Persons (XCIX – 099);

iii. For all volumes: Volume of Prefaces (C – 100);

5. The following records is for archiving of the Master Copy with dedicated Gandhi-archives and some of it with The National Archives of India, New Delhi, as well :

i. *Archival-source-images* in high-resolution scanning;

ii. *Corresponding black-&-white images*;

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iii. *Finished-digital images, with necessary corrections* (a record of which is attached at the end of each respective volume – *see remarks at item 6, p.7 of 15);

iv. *Finished-digital-ready-to-print images, with necessary corrections* (*see remarks at item 6, p.7 of 15) (in single PDF volume-wise); these images are from cover-to-cover – with separate folders : text, jacket cluster, photographs, maps, etc. in suitable formats, so as to facilitate printing as an ongoing process;

v. *Finished-digital-searchable images* in the PDF format volume-wise :

a. As a full, sequential series of hundred volumes to be made available on demand in DVD SETS / PEN-DRIVES; with necessary corrections (*see remarks at item 6, p.7 of 15);

b. In volume-wise downloadable form as for the web-portal; with necessary corrections (*see remarks at item 6, p.7 of 15); (a record of the same is attached at the end of each respective volume);

vi. Full work-record including project-story of the CWMG Cell – Gujarat Vidyapith, Ahmedabad.

Remark : All the above records are in multiple formats, in original property, as well as suitably reduced property, where and in a manner necessary.

6. * Note on corrections – for record :

Out of the above, matter indicated with '*' bear the following kinds of corrections (a record of which is attached at the end of each respective volume) with proper and disciplined documentation; these changes can be verified with *archival- source-images* as well:

a.	Listed dummy errors of the original editions :	corrections done;
b.	Listed errata / corrigenda :	corrections done;
c.	Fresh errata / corrigenda :	added;
d.	References to editions later standardized :	corrected and / or listed as fresh errata / corrigenda

7. Standard edition of each volume : Table of standard edition used for reproduction of each respective volume separately attached herewith.

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THE COLLECTED WORKS OF MAHATMA GANDHI :
CWMG – KS – EDITION – 1956-1994: VOLUMES – I (1) TO C (100) : ENGLISH SERIES
AVAILABLE AS OF NOW:

1. Linkage with :
   www.gandhiheritageportal.org/the-collected-works-of-mahatma-gandhi
   (For the cluster of *archival-source-images* and the *corresponding black-&-white images*)
   www.gandhiheritageportal.org/fundamental-worklist
   (For *finished-digital images corresponding to the finished-digital-searchable image-PDFs with necessary corrections* – a record of which is attached at the end of each respective volume)
   – Request for linkage can be made by :
   Educational institutions / libraries / museums / archives / and Gandhi study centers of the world.
   – Request for linkage to be made to :
   The Gandhi Heritage Portal hosted at the Sabarmati Ashram Preservation and Memorial Trust - SAPMT, Ahmedabad

2. In printed form – as hard copies : FROM :
   The Publications Division, Min. of I & B, Govt. of India,
   New Delhi, INDIA; Telephone no.: +91-11-24365609
   Website : www.publicationsdivision.nic.in
   E-mail : businesswng@gmail.com

3. E-copy of the *fully-searchable image-PDFs* –
   as a two-DVD SET and/or PEN-DRIVE : FROM :
   i. The Publications Division, Min. of I & B, Govt. of India,
      New Delhi, INDIA : Telephone no.: +91-11-24365609
      Website : www.publicationsdivision.nic.in
      E-mail : businesswng@gmail.com
   ii. CWMG Cell, Gujarat Vidyapith, Ashram Road,
      Ahmedabad -380 014, Gujarat, INDIA;
      E-mail : cwmg.gv@gmail.com
   iii. Sabarmati Ashram Preservation and Memorial Trust – SAPMT,
      Gandhi Ashram, Sabarmati, Ahmedabad – 380 027;
      E-mail : sales@gandhiashramsabarmati.org;
   iv. National Gandhi Museum, Rajghat, New Delhi : 110 002;
      Telephone no. : 011-23310168;
      E-mail : nationalgandhimuseum@gmail.com
      Website : www.gandhimuseum.org

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CWMG – KS – EDITION – 1956-1994: VOLUMES – I (1) TO C (100) (ENGLISH SERIES) :
ELECTRONIC MASTER COPY REPRODUCED FROM THE FOLLOWING EDITIONS :

VOLUME NO.	PERIOD COVERED	EDITION USED
001 - I	1884 – June 4, 1896	*Second revised edition: January 1969* (*Māgha 1890*)
	{**EDITIONS NOT USED** *First edition: January 26, 1958* (*Māgha 6, 1879*) *Reprinted: August 1958* (*Srāvana 1880*)}	
002 - II	May 26, 1896 – December 17, 1897	*Second Edition: October 1976* (*Asvina 1898*)
	{EDITION NOT USED *First Edition: January 1959* (*Pausa 1880*)}	
003 – III	February 28, 1898 – October 1, 1903	*Second Revised Edition: June 1979* (*Jyaishtha 1901*)
	{EDITION NOT USED *First Edition: April 1960* (*Chaitra 1882*)}	

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VOLUME NO.	PERIOD COVERED	EDITION USED
004 – IV	October 8, 1903 – June 30, 1905	*August 1960* (*Bhādrapad 1882*)
005 – V	July 1, 1905 – October 20, 1906	*June 1961* (*Asādha 1883*)
006 – VI	October 20, 1906 – May 30, 1907	*December 1961* (*Pausa 1883*)
007 – VII	June 1, 1907 – December 31, 1907	*July 1962* (*Asādha 1884*)
008 – VIII	January 3, 1908 – August 30, 1908	*December 1962* (*Agrahāyan 1884*)
009 – IX	September 1, 1908 – November 12, 1909	*April 1963* (*Vaisākh 1885*)
010 – X	November 18, 1909 – March 31, 1911	*September 1963* (*Bhādra 1885*)
011 – XI	April 1, 1911 – March 29, 1913	*March 1964* (*Chaitra 1886*)
012 – XII	April 1, 1913 – December 23, 1914	*August 1964* (*Shrāvana 1886*)

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CWMG – KS – EDITION – 1956-1994: VOLUMES – I (1) TO C (100) (ENGLISH SERIES) :
ELECTRONIC MASTER COPY REPRODUCED FROM THE FOLLOWING EDITIONS :

VOLUME NO.	PERIOD COVERED	EDITION USED
013 – XIII	January 9, 1915 – October 4, 1917	*November 1964* (*Agrahāyana 1886*)
014 – XIV	October 9, 1917 – July 31, 1918	*March 1965* (*Phālguna 1886*)
015 - XV	August 1, 1918 – On or after July 30, 1919	*March 1965* (*Phālguna 1886*)
016 – XVI	Before August 2, 1919 – January 31, 1920	*July 1965* (*Shrāvana 1887*)
017 – XVII	February 1, 1920 – Before July, 1920	*September 1965* (*Ashvina 1887*)
018 – XVIII	July 1920 – November 17, 1920	*November1965* (*Agrahāyana 1888*)
019 – XIX	November 19, 1920 – April 13, 1921	*March 1966* (*Phālguna 1888*)
020 – XX	April 15, 1921 – August 19, 1921	*May 1966* (*Vaisākha 1888*)
021 – XXI	August 21, 1921 – On or after December 14, 1921	*August 1966* (*Bhādra 1888*)
022 – XXII	December 15, 1921 – March 2, 1922	*November 1966* (*Agrahāyana 1888*)
023 – XXIII	March 4, 1922 – May 7, 1924	*March 1967* (*Chaitra 1889*)
024 – XXIV	May 8, 1924 – August 15, 1924	*March 1967* (*Chaitra 1889*)
025 – XXV	August 16, 1924 – January 15, 1925	*May 1967* (*Vaisākh 1889*)
026 – XXVI	January 16, 1925 – April 30, 1925	*November 1967* (*Agrahāyana 1889*)
027 – XXVII	May 1, 1925 – July 31, 1925	*March 1968* (*Phālguna 1889*)
028 – XXVIII	Before August 1, 1925 – November 22, 1925	*April 1968* (*Chaitra 1890*)

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CWMG – KS – EDITION – 1956-1994: VOLUMES – I (1) TO C (100) (ENGLISH SERIES) :
ELECTRONIC MASTER COPY REPRODUCED FROM THE FOLLOWING EDITIONS :

VOLUME NO.	PERIOD COVERED	EDITION USED
029 – XXIX	November 22, 1925 – February 10, 1926	*June 1968* (*Jyaistha 1890*)
030 – XXX	February 11, 1926 – June 14, 1926	*September 1968* (*Asvina 1890*)
031 – XXXI	June 15, 1926 – November 4, 1926	*February 1969* (*Māgha 1890*)
032 – XXXII	November 5, 1926 – January 20, 1927	*April 1969* (*Chaitra 1891*)
033 – XXXIII	January 21, 1927 – June 15, 1927	*May 1969* (*Vaisākha 1891*)
034 – XXXIV	After June 15, 1927 – September 15, 1927	*June 1969* (*Asādha 1891*)
035 – XXXV	September 16, 1927 – January 31, 1928	*August 1969* (*Srāvana 1891*)
036 – XXXVI	February 1, 1928 – June 30, 1928	*January 1970* (*Māgha 1891*)
037 – XXXVII	July 1, 1928 – October 31, 1928	*February 1970* (*Māgha 1891*)
038 – XXXVIII	November 1, 1928 – February 3, 1929	*March 1970* (*Phālguna 1891*)
039 – XXXIX	February 3, 1929 – February 14, 1929	*September 1970 (Bhādra 1892)*
040 – XL	On or after February 15, 1929 – May 31, 1929	*September 1970 (Bhādra 1892)*
041 – XLI	June 2, 1929 – October 15, 1929	*October 1970 (Asvina 1892)*
042 – XLII	October 16, 1929 – February 28, 1930	*December 1970 (Agrahāyana 1892)*
043 – XLIII	March 2, 1930 – June 30, 1930	*January 1971 (Pausa 1892)*
044 – XLIV	July 1, 1930 – December 15, 1930	*May 1971 (Vaisākha 1893)*

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CWMG – KS – EDITION – 1956-1994: VOLUMES – I (1) TO C (100) (ENGLISH SERIES) :
ELECTRONIC MASTER COPY REPRODUCED FROM THE FOLLOWING EDITIONS :

VOLUME NO.	PERIOD COVERED	EDITION USED
045 – XLV	December 13/16, 1930 – April 15, 1931	*July 1971* (*Asādha 1893*)
046 – XLVI	April 16, 1931 – June 17, 1931	*August 1971* (*Srāvana 1893*)
047 – XLVII	June 18, 1931 – September 11, 1931	*September 1971* (*Bhādra 1893*)
048 – XLVIII	September 12, 1931 – January 3, 1932	*November 1971* (*Agrahāyana 1893*)
049 – XLIX	January 4, 1932 – May 30, 1932	*January 1972* (*Pausa 1893*)
050 – L	June 1, 1932 – August 31, 1932	*March 1972* (*Chaitra 1894*)
051 – LI	September 1, 1932 – November 15, 1932	*August 1972* (*Bhādra 1894*)
052 – LII	November 16, 1932 – January 10, 1933	*October 1972* (*Asvina 1894*)
053 – LIII	January 11, 1933 – March 5, 1933	*December 1972* (*Pausa 1894*)
054 – LIV	March 6, 1933 – April 22, 1933	*April 1973* (*Chaitra 1895*)
055 – LV	April 23, 1933 – September 15, 1933	*August 1973* (*Bhādra 1895*)
056 – LVI	September 16, 1933 – January 15, 1934	*November 1973* (*Kārtika 1895*)
057 – LVII	January 16, 1934 – May 17, 1934	*January 1974* (*Pausa 1895*)
058 – LVIII	May 18, 1934 – September 15, 1934	*March 1974* (*Chaitra 1896*)
059 – LIX	September 16, 1934 – December 15, 1934	*November 1974* (*Kartika 1896*)
060 – LX	December 16, 1934 – April 24, 1935	*December 1974* (*Agrahāyana 1896*)

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CWMG – KS – EDITION – 1956-1994: VOLUMES – I (1) TO C (100) (ENGLISH SERIES) :
ELECTRONIC MASTER COPY REPRODUCED FROM THE FOLLOWING EDITIONS :

VOLUME NO.	PERIOD COVERED	EDITION USED
061 - LXI	April 25, 1935 – September 30, 1935	*May 1975* (*Vaisākha 1897*)
062 – LXII	October 1, 1935 – May 31, 1936	*October 1975* (*Asvina 1897*)
063 – LXIII	June 1, 1936 – November 2, 1936	*January 1976* (*Māgha 1897*)
064 – LXIV	November 3, 1936 – March 14, 1937	*April 1976* (*Chaitra 1898*)
065 – LXV	March 15, 1937 – July 31, 1937	*July 1976* (*Asādha 1898*)
066 – LXVI	August 1, 1937 – March 31, 1938	*October 1976* (*Asvina 1898*)
067 – LXVII	April 1, 1938 – October 14, 1938	*December 1976* (*Pausa 1898*)
068 – LXVIII	Before October 15, 1938 – February 28, 1939	*January 1977* (*Māgha 1898*)
069 – LXIX	March 1, 1939 – July 15, 1939	*July 1977* (*Asādha 1899*)
070 – LXX	July 16, 1939 – November 30, 1939	*September 1977* (*Bhādra 1899*)
071 – LXXI	December 1, 1939 – April 15, 1940	*January 1978* (*Pausa 1899*)
072 – LXXII	April 16, 1940 – September 11, 1940	*March 1978* (*Phālguna 1899*)
073 – LXXIII	September 12, 1940 – April 15, 1941	*April 1978* (*Chaitra 1900*)
074 – LXXIV	April 16, 1941 – October 10, 1941	*June 1978* (*Jyaistha 1900*)
075 – LXXV	October 11, 1941 – March 31, 1942	*January 1979* (*Māgha 1900*)
076 – LXXVI	April 1, 1942 – December 17, 1942	*July 1979* (*Asādha 1901*)

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CWMG – KS – EDITION – 1956-1994: VOLUMES – I (1) TO C (100) (ENGLISH SERIES) :
ELECTRONIC MASTER COPY REPRODUCED FROM THE FOLLOWING EDITIONS :

VOLUME NO.	PERIOD COVERED	EDITION USED
077 – LXXVII	December 17, 1942 – July 31, 1944	*October 1979* (*Asvina 1901*)
078 – LXXVIII	August 1, 1944 – December 31, 1944	*December 1979* (*Pausa 1901*)
079 – LXXIX	January 1, 1945 – April 24, 1945	*May 1980* (*Vaisākha 1902*)
080 – LXXX	April 25, 1945 – July 16, 1945	*September 1980* (*Asvina 1902*)
081 – LXXXI	July 17, 1945 – October 31, 1945	*September 1980* (*Asvina 1902*)
082 – LXXXII	November 1, 1945 – January 19, 1946	*September 1980* (*Asvina 1902*)
083 – LXXXIII	January 20, 1946 – April 13, 1946	*September 1981* (*Asvina 1903*)
084 – LXXXIV	April 14, 1946 – July 15, 1946	*November 1981* (*Kārtika 1903*)
085 – LXXXV	July 16, 1946 – October 20, 1946	*February 1982* (*Māgha 1903*)
086 – LXXXVI	October 21, 1946 – February 20, 1947	*August 1982* (*Srāvana 1904*)
087 – LXXXVII	February 21, 1947 – May 24, 1947	*February 1983* (*Māgha 1904*)
088 – LXXXVIII	May 25, 1947 – July 31, 1947	*May 1983* (*Vaisākha 1905*)
089 – LXXXIX	August 1, 1947 – November 10, 1947	*September 1983* (*Asvina 1905*)
090 – XC	November 11, 1947 – January 30, 1948	*April 1984* (*Vaisākha 1906*)
SUPPLEMENTARY VOLUME I		
091 – XCI	1894 – January 14, 1929	*April 1989 (Chaitra 1911)*

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CWMG – KS – EDITION – 1956-1994: VOLUMES – I (1) TO C (100) (ENGLISH SERIES) :

ELECTRONIC MASTER COPY REPRODUCED FROM THE FOLLOWING EDITIONS :

VOLUME NO.	PERIOD COVERED	EDITION USED
SUPPLEMENTARY VOLUME II		
092 – XCII	January 13, 1929 – December 21, 1934	*June 1991* (*Asādha 1913*)
SUPPLEMENTARY VOLUME III		
093 – XCIII	January 16, 1935 – July 15, 1941	*March 1993* (*Phālguna 1914*)
SUPPLEMENTARY VOLUME IV		
094 – XCIV	July 18, 1941 – April 1947	*August 1994 (Bhādrapad 1916)*
SUPPLEMENTARY VOLUME V		
095 – XCV	June 29, 1900 – After December 25, 1947, and without dates	*August 1994* (*Bhādrapad 1916*)
SUPPLEMENTARY VOLUME VI		
096 – XCVI	July 3, 1905 – December 3, 1944, and without dates	*August 1994* (*Bhādrapad 1916*)
SUPPLEMENTARY VOLUME VII		
097 – XCVII	November 25, 1903 – April 22, 1947, and without dates	*August 1994* (*Bhādrapad 1916*)
INDEX OF SUBJECTS		
098 – XCVIII	Index of Subjects for volumes upto XC	*April 1988* (*Vaisākha 1910*)
INDEX OF PERSONS		
099 – XCIX	Index of Persons for volumes upto XC	*December 1992* (*Pausa 1914*)
PREFACES		
100 – C	Compilation of Prefaces as written for respective volumes	* SEE SPECIAL REMARK BELOW

* SPECIAL REMARK : CWMG VOLUME 100 – C PUBLISHED IN 1994 IS REORGANIZED IN 2015 AS FOLLOWS :

IN THE VOLUME C (100), TEXTS OF THE INDIVIDUAL PREFACES, AS WRITTEN FOR EACH VOLUME AS AND WHEN THEY WERE PUBLISHED, HAVE BEEN PICKED AND STRINGED TOGETHER TO AVOID ANY ERROR OF REPRODUCTION. ALSO, THE FOREWORDS THAT APPEAR IN VOLUMES I (001), XC (090), XCVIII (098), XCIX (099) AND C (100) (1994-Ed.) HAVE BEEN REPEATED HERE TO GIVE AN OVERVIEW AND A PERSPECTIVE OF THE EFFORT THAT TOOK PLACE IN THE YEARS 1956 TO 1994.

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